



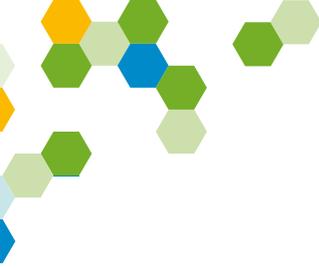
SPECIAL REPORT

# The July 1<sup>st</sup> election battle

Mexico City, June 2018

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LLORENTE & CUENCA



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July 1, Mexico's election day, is predicted to be complex and historic. Derived from the political reform of 2014, we will witness the implementation of unprecedented figures in the political system, such as the re-election of legislators, the coalition government and independent candidates. This is in addition to the fact that more than 3,000 positions of popular election are at stake, including the President of the Republic, 128 senators, 500 deputies and nine governors.

On the other hand, 89 million people form the nominal list—the highest number of citizens eligible to vote in Mexico's history. Within this, we must highlight the participation of young people, since they are a very important variable for the future of the country. In fact, 12 million [millennials](#) will vote for the first time.

A large majority of Mexicans are tired of corruption, insecurity, inequality and decades of poor growth, which is why Mexicans are torn between the continuity of a model implemented by the governments emanating from the Institutional Revolution Party (PRI), currently in power, and by the National Action Party (PAN), and another, led by a man with a leftist ideology that seeks to change the direction of the country.

After having contended for the presidency on two previous occasions (2006 and 2012), Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO), the former head of Government of Mexico City, is running for the third time, and on this occasion, his supporters believe he is the only candidate that can face the problem of corruption in Mexico and address the country's historical social problems, while the rest of Mexicans see in AMLO a politician that could harm the country's fragile economic development.

It should be noted: although AMLO is considered a leftist politician, his alliance has left room for the Social Encounter Party (PES), a socially conservative political group that seeks to overturn progressive policies in the name of "family values." Meanwhile, AMLO's former party, the PRD, has joined forces with the center-right PAN coalition.

## 2. CANDIDATES



### ANDRÉS MANUEL LÓPEZ OBRADOR

*Juntos Haremos Historia (Together We'll Make History); Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (MORENA), Partido del Trabajo (PT), Partido Encuentro Social (PES)*

#### Past Position

President of MORENA.

#### Resumé

Former presidential candidate of the PRD, PT and MC (2 times); Mayor of Mexico City; President of the PRD party; Former PRD candidate for the governorship of Tabasco (2 times); president of the PRI in the state of Tabasco.

#### Education

Bachelor's degree in political science from the UNAM.

His unique ability to set the political agenda, since his time as Head of government of Mexico City, has afforded him great visibility and an important follower base.

Over the past 17 years, he has campaigned to become the president of the Republic using a rhetoric based on honesty and promoting policies aimed at helping the poor, thus becoming the only politician in Mexico who has a personal voter base and not a party-based vote.

In other words, voters vote for him and not for the party that nominates him. This is the reason he commanded an important exodus of politicians (and supporters) from other left-wing parties, like the PRD, into the MORENA party in 2014—his own **political party**.

Between 2000 and 2005, AMLO was the head of government of Mexico City. He proved to be a **good administrator** of one of the largest metropolises in the world. He launched cost-cutting measures, improved security and stabilized the city's debts. To have incidence in the city's more vulnerable groups, AMLO created social programs for children and the elderly.

He professionalized the police department and brought former New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani to help him reduce crime in the capital. He also promoted public-private partnerships to revitalize parts of the city. In fact, he partnered with Carlos Slim Helu, one of the

richest men in Latin America, to transform the city's center.

It is important to highlight that December 2017, Lopez Obrador introduced his **potential cabinet** in an effort to ease fears he would wreck the economy. In this context, AMLO named several political actors that have served previous PRI governments, such as Esteban Moctezuma for the secretary of education, or Olga Sanchez Cordero, a former Supreme Court judge whom Lopez Obrador wants to be Mexico's first female interior minister.

For strategic positions such as Finance, AMLO is thinking of Carlos Urzua, a professor at the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education, who was finance minister of Mexico City from 2000 to 2003, when AMLO was mayor.

Also, AMLO has been working closely with Marcelo Ebrard, former Mexico City mayor, who played a role as a successor of AMLO's work in the city. Nowadays, Ebrard works as a political operator for AMLO and some people loyal to him, like former Senator Mario Delgado, who is running for Federal Deputy of MORENA.

### SOME OF THE KEY ACTORS BEHIND AMLO

#### **Alfonso Romo, Project Coordinator**

His business history began in the early '80s in a restaurant business—then he collaborated with the first Coca-Cola bottler. Years later, he took control of Modern Cigarette. His relationship with Carlos Slim took him into the financial world, as he bought Seguros Comercial America from him, which he then sold to ING. He also created the Vector brokerage house, which continues to operate under his leadership.

#### **Miguel Torruco Marques, Proposed Secretary of Tourism**

He is a tourist entrepreneur and former Secretary of Tourism of CDMX. His daughter, Maria Elena Torruco, is married to Carlos Slim Domit, son of Carlos Slim Helu.

#### **Marcos Fastlicht, Advisor on human rights issues**

He is a real estate entrepreneur, construction worker and philanthropist. He is the father-in-law of Emilio Azcarraga Jean, president of Grupo Televisa. If AMLO wins, he might be the link between AMLO's government and civil society for security issues. .

#### **Yeidckol Polevnsky Gurwitz, President of MORENA**

In 2005, she was a PRD candidate for governor of the State of Mexico. She was the first woman to chair the National Chamber of the Transformation Industry (CANACINTRA). He has experience as a member of the board of directors of Nacional Financiera (NAFIN), Banco de Comercio Exterior (BANCOMEXT) and the Consejo Coordinador Empresarial (CCE).



### RICARDO ANAYA CORTÉS

*Por México al Frente (For Mexico to the Front): Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), Movimiento Ciudadano (MC)*

#### Past Position

President of the PAN.

#### Resumé

Secretary General of the PAN; Federal Deputy (President of the Chamber of Deputies 2013 – 2014); Undersecretary of Tourism Planning; Local Deputy of the state of Queretaro legislature (PAN caucus leader 2009 – 2012).

#### Education

Ph.D. in Political Science from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM); Master's Degree in Fiscal Law from the Valley of Mexico University (UVM); Bachelor's Degree in Law from the Autonomous University of Queretaro.

The once called “boy wonder,” Ricardo Anaya’s meteoric rise in Mexican politics occurred thanks to former PAN President Gustavo Madero’s support. The young politician occupied various leadership positions within the PAN before becoming president of the party, when Gustavo Madero decided to run for a seat in Congress.

From the party’s presidency, Anaya has made a name for himself due to the successes the party has had under his guidance. The party’s impressive 2016 run, when they snatched six governorships previously governed by the PRI—including

the highly populated Veracruz for the first time, took the party to its highest total of states governed in history (12 out of 32 states).

According to political analysts, one of the reasons for Anaya's rise in politics are his pragmatic decisions. And one example is his presidential run, which showed that even if his decision created frictions within the party, he stood by his decision, thereby triggering the resignation of traditional member party [Margarita Zavala](#).



## JOSÉ ANTONIO MEADE KURIBREÑA

*Todos por México (All for Mexico): Partido de la Revolución Institucional (PRI), Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM), Partido Nueva Alianza*

### Past Position

Secretary of Finance and Public Credit.

### Resumé

Secretary of Social Development, Secretary of Foreign Relations (under President Peña Nieto); Secretary of Energy, Deputy Secretary of Finance, Deputy Secretary of Revenues, General Director of Banrural and Financiera Rural (as it was later known) (under President Calderon).

### Education

Ph.D. in economics from Yale University; bachelor's degree in economics from the Mexican Technological Autonomous Institute (ITAM); bachelor's degree in law from the UNAM.

Jose Antonio Meade is the ultimate Mexican technocrat. Proficient in multiple departments under two different administrations, “Pepe” Meade has become a political figure that lays in the intersection between right-wing PRI supporters and PAN supporters. The only secretary that remained from the Calderon (PAN) administration, Meade is the son of a former PRI Federal Deputy and Deputy Secretary of the Interior under President Fox (PAN), Dionisio Meade. His experience within the finance sector has led two presidents to make him Secretary of Finance in moments when the incumbent administration had to send strong signals of stability to the markets from what is

essentially the most powerful department in the Mexican government.

Thanks to his past performance, Meade increased his visibility over the last year, particularly as the PRI struggled to find a candidate who could beat the popular Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador from a pool of potential candidates that have to carry the weight of the decisions of the [incumbent administration](#).

### 3. POLLS

The [Oraculus survey](#) aggregator, which monitors citizens' intention of vote regarding the election of the President of the Republic, indicates the candidate of the coalition Together We'll Make History (*Juntos Haremos Historia*) (Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional, Partido Encuentro Social and Partido de Trabajo), Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador is ranked first with 49.5% (46.4%-52.3%), followed by Ricardo Anaya Cortes, from For Mexico in Front (*Por México al Frente*) (National Action Party, Democratic Revolution Party, Movimiento Ciudadano), with 27.8% (25.4%-30.4%).

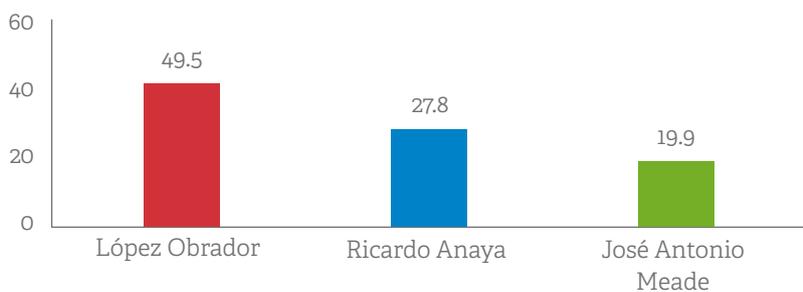
Jose Antonio Meade, All Together for Mexico (*Todos Por México*) (Institutional Revolutionary Party,

Green Ecologist Party of Mexico and New Alliance), with 19.9% (17.9%-21.9%), is in third place.

The polls reflect a trend that reinforces the growth phenomenon of the National Regeneration Movement (MORENA), a party that in just three years of formal registration before the National Electoral Institute (INE) became an important electoral force, turning Mexico City into one of its electoral bastions.

In contrast, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has lost around three million votes in recent years. As we saw, in the elections of the State of Mexico, the once political bastion that was PRI, and in spite of having obtained victory with Alfredo del Mazo, has lost 30.2% of the effective votes cast.

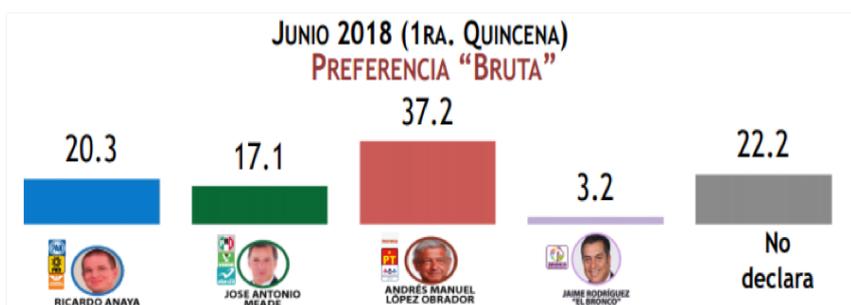
Vote intention



[Other polls](#), such as Consulta Mitosky, shows AMLO leads with 37.2%, followed by Ricardo Anaya with 20.3%. In third place, Jose Antonio Meade with a 17.1%. The Mitofsky poll classifies 22.2% of the people as undecided.

According to a survey published May 27 by [SDPNoticias](#) and [México Elige](#), through Facebook, the Together We'll Make History candidate may be the winner, with 43.2% of voter intent.

On the other hand, candidates Ricardo Anaya (24.1%) and Jose Antonio Meade (24.2%) continue in the dispute for the second place.



With Margarita Zavala out of the electoral contest, the independent option headed by Jaime Rodriguez Calderon, "El Bronco" obtains 4.1 percent of the preferences.

It is important to note there is a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of +/-0.8% in this survey, while the percentage of undecided is 2.2%.

#### 4. SCENARIO 1: AMLO WINS THE ELECTION

Until now, Lopez Obrador has maintained or increased his lead in opinion polls every month since December. Lopez Obrador's advantage has led to a focus on how his MORENA party will fare in national congressional and gubernatorial elections also held July 1.

Also, we need to consider that a MORENA victory of any kind will likely trigger defections from PRD, a partner in Anaya's electoral alliance.

Likewise, when he was the head of government of Mexico City, Lopez Obrador had the highest acceptance of any head of government in the history of the capital.

Its pension program for the elderly, community kitchens, scholarships for students, support for single mothers, the construction of the second level, the creation of public universities, as well as the rescue of the Historic Center and public areas, among other programs, made AMLO the most popular ruler.

According to the newspaper Reforma, in April 2005, AMLO reached the historic approval figure of 84%. During his tenure, the presidential candidate also collaborated with business executives such as Carlos Slim.

AMLO has a charismatic leadership and is a nationalist and messianic leader. This means he has a religious vision of his political leadership as he considers himself a social redeemer.

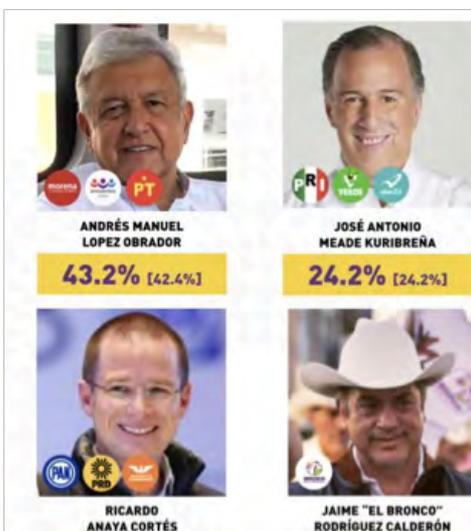
Since 2001, other leftist leaderships like Cuauhtemoc Cardenas started to decline; therefore, Lopez Obrador started positioning himself in the space of a left that was beginning to fracture.

Behind AMLO, there are key characters such as **Alfonso Romo**, an entrepreneur who, if Andres Manuel wins, would be Chief of Staff.

**Tatiana Clouthier**, is a former PAN member considered a woman with convictions who fights for human rights and legal culture.

We should also highlight the role of **Gerardo Esquivel**, who has served as an economic adviser to AMLO and collaborated with international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the IDB, ECLAC, the OECD, the United Nations Program for Development (UNDP) and the United Nations Program for the Environment (UNEP).

**Marcelo Ebrard**, former head of government of Mexico City, is a



“Mexico might see a different winner come election day because Mexicans could decide the country’s fate with a tactical vote”

man with a progressive vision that, during his administration, approved same-sex marriage and abortion in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. Likewise, he expanded social programs and expropriated properties that were used for criminal activities.

### 5. SCENARIO 2: TACTICAL VOTE

Based on 2006 polls, we can say the Mexican elections are not yet decided. In 2006, Felipe Calderon started the presidential run in second place with 24.9% of the preferences and AMLO had 30.6%; by the end of the electoral process, Calderon won with 35.91% and AMLO obtained 35.29%.

In the 2018 electoral process, Mexico might see a different winner come election day because Mexicans could decide the country’s fate with a tactical vote. In this context, Ricardo Anaya argues the presidential election on July 1 is now a two-horse race between himself and AMLO, adding that Mexicans should ask themselves what kind of change they want.

Anaya says AMLO proposes change with ideas that are very old and trapped in the past, while his own ideal is a modern democracy open to the world and to new technology. So, according to The Economist, Anaya offers the best hope of defeating AMLO. He is only 39, yet he is a formidable debater and political operator.

Therefore, the Mexican elections are not yet decided, and there are still almost two weeks to see

changes in trends. There is still the possibility that, after the resignation of Margarita Zavala to the presidential race, there could be a rapprochement with Ricardo Anaya.

According to a LLORENTE & CUENCA advisor, there are approximately 15 million votes in dispute because between April and June, voters will be deciding how they are going to vote. Besides, July 2, the candidates’ teams will also have to fight for a remaining 10 percent of undecided voters.

### 6. THE ROLE OF THE YOUNG AND THE UNDECIDED

Of the more than 89 million people who will be able to vote July 1, a little more than 4 million are between 18 and 19 years old, almost 12 million are between 20 and 24 years old, and almost 11 million are between 25 and 29 years old. That means slightly more than half of the voters are 39 years old or younger.

According to a study on citizen participation in the federal elections of 2012, young people who voted for the first time reached levels of participation higher than 62%. This percentage can be explained by the hyper connectivity to which young people are exposed.

Nowadays, young people are not indifferent to the electoral process in the country, rather, many of them feel a disconnect and a disengagement with politicians and the way they do politics.

**“Young people are not indifferent to the electoral process in the country, rather, many of them feel a disconnect and a disengagement with politicians and the way they do politics”**

In this regard, a character who has stood out during the electoral process, and who is a representative of Mexican youth, is the independent candidate for the Senate from Jalisco, Pedro Kumamoto, who, like many young Mexicans, wants us to rethink the political model as a society.

Therefore, the candidate who manages to connect and understand young people could become the wheel of change committed to a more participatory society and who will be the one who capitalizes these votes.

On the other hand, there are the undecided voters. [Alejandro Moreno](#), director of surveys of El Financiero, indicates that, demographically, the undecided voters have a lower level of schooling than the average voter, are older and are mainly women, who outnumber men by almost two to one. Slightly more than half of the undecided voters are nonpartisan. In this sense, Alejandro Moreno says it is likely 7% of these will not vote, so their impact on the result of July 1 could be minimal.

On the contrary, people like Jorge Castaneda, current advisor to Ricardo Anaya, state what happened in the year 2000 might happen again, when at the end of Vicente Fox's campaign, those undecided voters chose Fox in a much higher proportion than the "determined ones," earning him the victory.

Several specialists place the undecided in Anaya's or Meade's side. Many of them believe the undecided voters are anti-AMLO voters, who will vote for second place, whoever it may be, so July 1, we will be able to see how they behaved.

## **7. WHAT MAY HAPPEN WITH THE CONGRESS?**

The battle for the legislature comes down to two coalitions: one of which has frontrunner Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) as its presidential candidate and MORENA as the main party, and the other with Anaya as its presidential candidate and the PAN as its biggest force. Moreover, AMLO's Together We'll Make History coalition is expected to win the largest portion of seats in both houses. The PRI party polls far behind and, in the case of the lower house, Consulta Mitofsky gives the party's coalition as few as 71 out of 500 seats.

AMLO's ability to control Congress will be key for his proposals, including a review of major energy-sector reforms enacted in recent years. A majority would also allow Lopez Obrador to get his budgets through the legislature without obstructions.

It is highly improbable Lopez Obrador will gain the two-thirds majority needed to reverse laws like the landmark energy opening of 2014. But even with a simple majority, he can certainly slow down some agenda issues like energy reform.

### The Mexican Senate could be integrated in the following way:

ALL FOR MEXICO		
PRI	22	25
New Alliance	1	
PVEM	2	
TOGETHER WE'LL MAKE HISTORY		
MORENA	60	61
PES	0	
PT	1	
FOR MEXICO TO THE FRONT		
PAN	39	41
PRD	1	
Citizens' Movement	1	
Independiente	1	

### The House of Representatives, it may be formed by:

ALL FOR MEXICO		
PRI	94	115
New Alliance	5	
PVEM	16	
TOGETHER WE'LL MAKE HISTORY		
MORENA	203	229
PES	4	
PT	22	
FOR MEXICO TO THE FRONT		
PAN	125	156
PRD	24	
Citizens' Movement	7	

Debemos destacar que es altamente improbable que López Obrador obtenga la mayoría de dos tercios necesaria para revertir leyes como la histórica apertura energética de 2014. Pero incluso con una mayoría simple, puede, sin duda, ralentizar algunos temas de la agenda como la reforma energética.

According to COPARMEX and the Foundation Este País, the Mexican Senate could be integrated in the following way:

For the House of Representatives, it may be formed by:

## 8. THE GOVERNORS

As mentioned above, in addition to electing the President of the Republic and legislators of the Congress of the Union, eight entities and Mexico City will go to the polls to renew their governments.

The states that will have elections are: Tabasco, Mexico City, Chiapas, Veracruz, Morelos, Puebla, Guanajuato, Yucatan and Jalisco. Mexico City, Jalisco and Veracruz have three of the largest electoral registers in the country, only below the State of Mexico, which occupies first place.

According to surveys, four of these entities show a very favorable trend for Morena: Chiapas, Tabasco, Morelos and Mexico City.

While Veracruz and Puebla, are being disputed by MORENA and the PAN. In Yucatan, the vote is close between the PRI and PAN. Jalisco shows a favorable trend towards Citizens' Movement.

## 9. THE NEXT DAYS

We have to place current elections in a complicated economic and social context. Also, since Donald Trump became the U.S. president, relations between Mexico and the United States are strained and NAFTA is under great pressure, so analysts expect an important change in the way politics is done in Mexico.

At LLORENTE & CUENCA we believe, based on the trends and surveys, AMLO might win the elections by a wide margin, but the tactical vote can lead to adjusted results between AMLO and Ricardo Anaya.

Regardless of who wins, all Mexicans are aware that the way of doing politics and driving the country must be transformed into an exercise committed to transparency, accountability, combating insecurity with respect to human rights, as well as other key areas, for the good of Mexico's development and progress..

Today, [Mexico](#) could be on the verge of a rethinking of its political map, political alliances and national priorities, with a changing international environment.

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