

Mexico 2018: Elections that will make history

SUMMARY

Mexico's 1 July 2018 elections will be the biggest in its history, as people go to the polls to vote for the country's president and legislature, but also for most of its governors and local councillors. There is a record number of registered voters (89 million), 45 % of whom are below the age of 35 and 12 million are newly entitled to vote. For the first time in decades, a candidate of the left has real chances of becoming president. For the first time in the country's political history, some candidates are able to stand for consecutive re-election, and independent candidates are running for president or member of the Senate. On a more negative note, the 2018 Mexican election process has been one of the most violent so far, with over a hundred politicians and candidates murdered since it started in September 2017, and hundreds others exposed to aggression.

Nine political parties grouped in three different coalitions, as well as some independent candidates, will participate in the elections. There are four presidential candidates. Of these, left-wing candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador leads the polls with nearly 50 % of the voting intention, followed by right-wing candidate Roberto Anaya with over 25 %, centre candidate Juan Antonio Meade with just around 20 %, and independent candidate Jaime Rodríguez with slightly over 2 %.

The high number of young and new voters, the climate of political violence and US President Donald Trump's Mexican policy – or the 'Trump effect' – are among the main factors likely to influence the results.

Mexico is a strategic partner of the EU and the parties hold high-level dialogues with each other. The Global Agreement between the two parties is being modernised, with a new trade agreement in principle having been reached in April 2018. This process has been supported by the European Parliament, which has also shown concern for the violence affecting the country.



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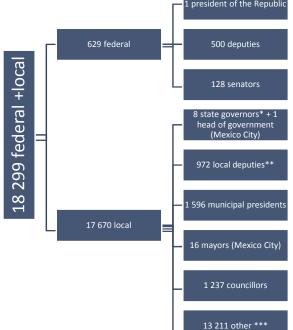
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Introduction

The elections scheduled to be held on 1 July 2018 in Mexico are unlike any previous ones, for a series of <u>reasons</u>: 1) they will be the biggest in Mexican history: given that the presidential and legislative elections coincide with votes in most of the country's states and local councils, there will be a record number of public posts to be voted on – for the presidency and the 628 seats in the Congress of the Union at the federal level, and for over 17 000 local offices¹ – at a total cost of around US\$1.8 billion; 2) there will be a record number of registered voters (89 million), around 45 % of whom will be 18-35 years-old; of those, around 12 million will be newly entitled to vote. Furthermore, there is an expected increase in the diaspora vote; 3) for the first time since 1934, a left-wing candidate – Andrés Manuel López Obrador – stands a real chance of assuming the presidency and reversing policies; 4) mayors and deputies will, for the first time, be able to stand for consecutive re-election (up to a total of 12 years); 5) again for the first time, independent candidates are running for the presidency or the Senate. On a more negative note, the election process has been among the most violent so far, with over 112 politicians murdered since it started in September 2017, and hundreds more exposed to aggression.



Figure 1: Offices to be elected in 2018 (by number and type)



- *Chiapas, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Morelos, Puebla, Tabasco, Veracruz and Yucatán
- ** Most states will renew their congresses, except Coahuila, Quintana Roo **Tamaulipas**
- *** Síndicos, regidores, regidores étnicos and members of juntas municipales.

Sources: INE, Integralia.

Political parties and coalitions

Nine political parties, grouped in three different coalitions, will participate in the elections. There will also be some independent candidates, for whom this will be the first chance to run for the president's or a senator's post.

- <u>Por México al Frente</u> (Forward for Mexico) coalition, grouping the following parties:
 - a. Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática, PRD). President: Manuel Granados Covarrubias. A social-democrat, left-wing party originating in the PRI's Democratic Current, founded in 1989 by <u>Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas</u> with the help of smaller left-wing parties. The party's

- 2012 presidential candidate was Andrés López Obrador, and it is affiliated to the <u>Socialist International</u>, the <u>Progressive Alliance</u> and the <u>Foro de Sao Paulo</u>.
- b. National Action Party (Partido de Acción Nacional, PAN). President: Damián Zepeda Vidales. This conservative, right-wing political party was created in 1939 by former Autonomous University of Mexico Rector Manuel Gómez Morín and leaders of the National Union of Catholic Students. The party won the 2000 and 2006 presidential elections, with candidates Vicente Fox Quesada and Felipe Calderón, respectively. It belongs to the Centrist Democrat International and the Christian Democrat Organisation of America (ODCA).
- c. <u>Citizens' Movement</u> (*Movimiento Ciudadano*, MC). National coordinator: <u>Dante Alfonso Delgado Rannauro</u>. A left-wing, socialist party registered in 1999 as Convergence for Democracy, and renamed in 2011. In the 2012 elections, the party was integrated into the Progressive Movement coalition. It is affiliated to the Progressive Alliance.
- 2 Juntos Haremos Historia (Together We'll Make History) coalition, consisting of the PT, MORENA and the PES:
 - a. <u>Labour Party</u> (*Partido del Trabajo*, PT). Founded in 1990 and led by <u>Alberto Anaya Gutiérrez</u>, this left-wing party joined the Progressive Movement coalition in the 2012 elections, and is affiliated to the <u>Foro de Sao Paulo</u>.
 - b. The National Regeneration Movement (Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional, MORENA) was originally created as a civil association to support Andrés Manuel López Obrador's candidacy for the presidency in alliance with the PRD, the PT and the MC. In 2014, it officially became a new left-wing nationalist party led by López Obrador, who is now coalition candidate.
 - c. Social Encounter Party (Encuentro Social, PES). Leader: <u>Hugo Eric Flores Cervantes</u>. It is a <u>Christian</u> conservative party, founded in 2006. It entered Congress for the first time in the 2015 elections. It is the right-wing exception in this mainly left-wing <u>coalition</u>, which has led to criticism.
- 3 Todos por México (Everyone for Mexico), grouping the PRI, the PVEM and the NA:
 - a. Revolutionary Institutional Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI). President: René Juárez Cisneros. Founded in 1929 by Plutarco Elías Calles, to institutionalise Mexican Revolution agreements, it ruled for 71 consecutive years. The party of outgoing President Enrique Peña Nieto and coalition candidate José Antonio Meade Kuribreña, it is centre to centre-left and is affiliated to the Socialist International.
 - b. <u>Green Party of Mexico</u> (*Partido Verde Ecologista de México*, PVEM). Leader: <u>Carlos Alberto Puente Salas</u>. Founded in 1986 to promote environmental issues, in 2012 the party supported President Peña Nieto. It is affiliated to the <u>Global Greens</u> and the Federation of the Green Parties of the Americas (FPVA).
 - c. New Alliance Party (Nueva Alianza, PANAL). President: <u>Luis Castro Obregón</u>. A centre-right political party, created in 2005 on the initiative of the National Union of Education Workers, it is affiliated to the <u>Liberal International</u> and the <u>Liberal Network</u> for Latin America.

- 4 <u>Independent candidates</u>: The possibility of participating as independent candidates, not affiliated to any political party, was introduced by the <u>electoral reform</u> of <u>2014</u>, and has been implemented since 2015 for the elections to the Chamber of Deputies (only 1 out of 22 registered candidates was elected) and the local elections (the best-known case is current presidential candidate Jaime Rodríguez Calderón, who was
 - elected governor of Nuevo León in 2015). In 2018, independents will also run for the presidency and the Senate. Nevertheless, their chances are still low: among the aspiring candidates, only 40 out of 187 have been approved for the lower chamber and 7 out of 55 for the Senate. A mere 2 out of 46 have been given the green light to run for the presidency: Margarita Zavala, who has recently withdrawn her candidacy, and Jaime Rodríguez, who, despite having initially been disqualified by the National Electoral Institute (INE), was later authorised to participate by the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary.

Figure 2: Requirements for independent candidates in the 2018 elections

Presidency:

 support from 1 % of the nominal list of voters, equivalent to 866 593 signatures; distributed among at least 17 federative entities

• Congress of the Union:

- o support from 2 % of the nominal list of voters in the corresponding electoral area
 - in 50 % of the election districts (senators)
 - in 50 % of the district election sections (deputies)

Source: Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE).

Elections to the Congress of the Union

The Mexican Congress (Congreso de la Unión) is composed of two Chambers:

- a. The <u>Chamber of Deputies</u> has <u>500 members</u>: 300 are directly elected for a three-year term in single-member constituencies, by simple majority vote; the remaining 200 are elected in one multi-member nationwide constituency through proportional representation from regional-party lists. The majority party cannot hold more than 300 seats (or 315, provided it has won more than 60 % of the popular vote). The last elections were held on <u>7 June 2015</u>.
- b. The <u>Senate of the Republic</u> has a total of <u>128 senators</u>, elected for a six-year term (which coincides with that of the president). Of these, 96 seats are filled by applying the majority system in 32 three-seat constituencies (the 31 states and the federal district). Some 64 of these seats are allocated to the two candidates from the party with the highest number of votes in each state, and 32 seats to a candidate from the party with the second-largest number of votes in each state (minority senators). The remaining 32 senators are elected in a single national constituency with proportional representation.

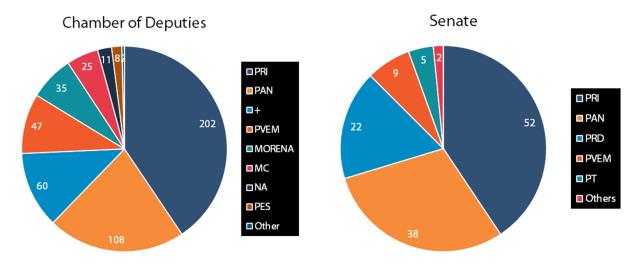
All 629 members of the Congress of the Union will be elected on 1 July 2018. For the first time, deputies elected in 2015 can opt for re-election (up to a maximum of 12 consecutive years). Recent opinion polls have predicted a majority for the Juntos Haremos Historia coalition, followed by Por México al Frente and Todos por México. The PRI-led coalition would be the great loser.

Figure 3: Consulta Mitofsky agency poll estimates for the Congress of the Union (23 May 2018)

Estimate	Coalición por México al Frente (PRD/PAN/MC)	Juntos Haremos Historia (PT/MORENA/PES)	Todos por México (PRI/PVEM/NA)	Independent candidacy
Senators	28-50	51-73	18-40	0-2
Deputies	120-176	236-298	62-105	0-1

Source: El Economista, Consulta Mitofsky, cámaras de diputados y senadores, 23.5.2018.

Figure 4: Current composition of the Mexican Congress of the Union by number of seats, (2012-2018)



Source: IPU, PARLINE database on national parliaments.

Presidential elections

Mexico is a <u>presidential republic</u>. Its president, who is both head of state and head of government (Article 80 of the <u>Constitution</u>), is <u>directly elected</u> by simple majority (in a single round) for a six-year term and cannot be re-elected. The current president is the PRI's Enrique Peña Nieto, who won the <u>2012 elections</u> with 38.2 % of the votes, against the PRD's Andrés López Obrador (31.6 %) and the PAN's Josefina Vázquez Mota (25.4 %). There are four presidential candidates for the 2018 elections, representing the three coalitions and an independent candidacy.²

Figure 5: Coalitions and candidates for the 2018 Mexican presidential elections

	Coalición por México al Frente	Juntos Haremos Historia	Todos por México	Independent
Presidential candidate	Ricardo Anaya Cortés	Andrés Manuel López Obrador	José Antonio Meade Kuribreña	Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón
Election coalition	PRD/PAN/MC	PT/MORENA/PES	PRI/PVEM/NA	

Source: National Electoral Institute ($\underline{\sf INE}$).

Of the four candidates listed in Figure 5 above, one has consistently led the polls: MORENA's Andrés Manuel López Obrador, with nearly 50 % of the voting intentions, followed by Roberto Anaya with over 25 %, Juan Antonio Meade with just around 20 % and independent candidate Jaime Rodríguez with over 2 %.

The <u>Oraculus Poll of Polls</u> of 11 June 2018, which also takes into account other poll aggregators, predicts that AMLO has a 94 % chance to elicit the president, Anaya a 5 % chance and Meade a less than 1 % chance. The 3 June poll aggregator by <u>El País</u> predicts López Obrador has a 92 % chance,³ Anaya 7 % and Meade a mere 1 %. And GPpolls even gives him over 99 %, with less than 1 % for the other candidates.

Figure 6: Poll aggregator results for the Mexican presidential elections (11June 2018)

Agregator	Date	R. Anaya	J. A. Meade	AMLO	J. Rodríguez
<u>Oraculus</u>	June 11	25-30 %	19-22 %	47-52 %	2-4 %
Bloomberg	June 11	24,8 %	21,3 %	51,1 %	3,8 %
<u>El País</u>	June 3	27,5 %	19,5 %	48,2 %	2 %
gppolls	June 11	25-31 %	18-23 %	45-51 %	2-4 %
<u>Numérika</u>	June 11	25-32 %	18-23 %	44-52 %	2-4 %

Source: Oraculus, Poll of Polls, updated 11 June 2018.

The presidential candidates

Ricardo Anaya Cortés

At 39, this law graduate and doctor in political science from Querétaro is the youngest candidate. He started his meteoric political career at 21, running for the state legislature in Querétaro, and has since been local deputy of the State of Querétaro, tourism planning under-secretary, federal deputy and president of the Chamber of Deputies (2013-2014). He has also been secretary general and president of the National Action Party (PAN), when his mentor and former party president Gustavo Madero decided to run for Congress. Under his presidency, in 2016 the PAN obtained six governorships previously held by the PRI (and seven of the 12 disputed ones that year), getting governorships in 12 out of 32 states. Nevertheless, some of his decisions have created friction within his party, which lead to first lady Margarita Zavala's decision to leave the party and run for the presidency as an independent candidate. He has also recently been affected by a money-laundering scandal. Among his proposals are: to provide a universal basic income, reduce inequality and eradicate extreme poverty in Mexico; to enable his country to transition from a manufacturing to a knowledge-based economy; to end corruption and impunity and to restore peace and security; to reduce the number of civil servants and supporting entrepreneurs.

Andrés Manuel López Obrador

A graduate in political science and founder of the National Renovation Movement (MORENA), at the age of 64, López Obrador – also known as AMLO and *El Peje* – is the oldest candidate. From 2000 to 2005 he enjoyed a successful and popular career as mayor of Mexico City (then federal district, DF). He ran for the 2006 and 2012 presidential election on behalf of the PRD, the PT and the MC (losing in both elections by a narrow margin to Felipe Calderón and Peña Nieto), and has been president of the PRD. He is considered a very charismatic leader, and even a populist one (some <u>commentators</u> compare him to US President Donald Trump, but unlike Trump, he has very long experience as a politician). He is the only candidate considered to have a personal voter base due to his rhetoric of honesty and policies to help the poor, which explains why politicians and supporters of other left-

wing parties followed him to MORENA. His main proposals are included in the 'Project 18' document. The main ones are: eliminating the immunity of high-level officials, including the president; implementing an austerity policy; ending insecurity; and getting rid of the 'mafia of power' that has led to corruption and widespread poverty. He also wants to introduce controversial measures, such as reversing (or at least 'evaluating') Peña Nieto's reforms; revising big energy contracts; and setting fixed prices for agricultural products. He has also proposed granting an amnesty to criminals who took up drug trafficking out of necessity, without entering into negotiations with drug lords; restoring the Secretariat for Public Security; and merging the police, the army and the navy into a National Guard.

José Antonio Meade Kuribreña

This 48 year-old economist and lawyer chosen to succeed Peña Nieto as the PRI presidential candidate is considered a technocrat, as he has wide experience in the finance sector and has served under both PAN and PRI governments without being a member of these parties. He has been secretary of finance under Peña Nieto and Felipe Calderón, and has also led other ministries (social development, foreign relations, and development). Not officially belonging to the governing party, he was thought to be less negatively affected by the failures of the Peña Nieto administration in fields such as corruption (since 2012, 14 former state governors have been involved in graft scandals), impunity and the failure of the new national anticorruption system; or the huge increase in violence in the past few years (including the disappearance of 43 students from the Ayotzinapa teaching school in Iguala, the State of Guerrero). However, this strategy does not seem to be working well, as he is only third in the polls, well behind AMLO and Ricardo Anaya. Some media also point to his lack of charisma as a contributing factor. Among his proposals are improving security, health and education; ensuring equal pay for women and men and giving women better access to credit; and fighting corruption by confiscating the money and property of the offenders.

Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón (alias El Bronco)

Jaime Rodríguez (60 years old) is the only independent candidate left in the final race for the presidency. A former PRI member, he has been federal deputy (1991-1994), local deputy of Nuevo León (1997-2000), and governor of that state (2009-2012). He left the PRI in 2014, to compete as an independent candidate, and was elected governor of Nuevo León again in 2015, making history as the first independent candidate governing a Mexican state. His candidacy for the presidency was initially rejected by the National Electoral Institute, but finally the Electoral Tribunal of the Federal Judiciary authorised him to participate in the elections. If he wins, he intends to apply the model followed in Nuevo León at the federal level. Among his proposals are reducing taxes to boost employment and improve purchasing power; reducing public spending and fighting corruption; reducing the number of politicians in the administration; and allocating 10 % of GDP to the national infrastructure programme.

Factors that may influence the elections

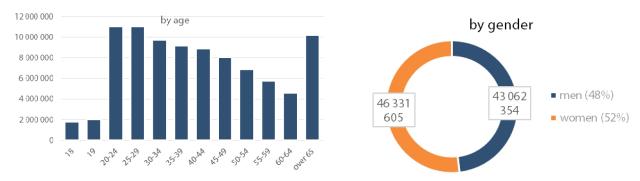
Young voters

Around 12 million young Mexicans out of a total of 89 million registered voters will be entitled to vote for the first time in these elections, which gives them the possibility to sway the final results. Experts have therefore advised political parties and electoral authorities to focus their attention on this group. Besides, Mexicans aged 18 to 35 make up the largest age group, representing around 45 % of registered voters. Given that the last three presidential elections were decided by a slim margin, the importance of this bloc of voters is evident, even though on average only around one-third to one-half of them finally cast their votes. Their priorities seem to be similar to those of most Mexicans: finding solutions to poverty, unemployment, insecurity, corruption, violence and drug trafficking. However, they seem to be more open-minded, more prone to being influenced by online

political debates and less by the traditional media, and a significant share of them lean to the left of the political spectrum (around 27 %).

As internet and social media use also tends to be more widespread among young people, and given the high level of internet access and the history of corruption in Mexico, these elections could also be an ideal test-bed for <u>digital manipulation</u>, by inside and outside players alike.

Figure 7: Number of voters in the 2018 Mexican elections by age group and gender



Source: National Electoral Institute (INE), nominal voter list, as of 4 May 2018.

Figure 8: Registered voters, voter turnout and victory margin in the 2000, 2006 and 2012 presidential elections

	2000	2006	2012	2018
Registered voters	58 782 737	71 374 373	79 492 286	89 123 355*
Voters	37 601 618	41 557 430	50 143 616	?
Participation (%)	64.0 %	58.2 %	63.1 %	?
Victory margin (%)	6.4 %	0.6 %	6.6 %	?

^{*} Nominal list of voters as of 30 April 2018.

Source: Election Resources on the Internet: Federal Elections in Mexico, by Manuel Álvarez-Rivera, and Baker Institute Issue Brief 03.13.18.

Political violence

<u>Violence</u> in Mexico has been on the rise in the past few years while President Peña Nieto has been in office, despite his campaign commitment to reduce it. Since 2015, homicides have gradually risen to reach record levels both as a whole and in particular in relation to organised crime, with 2017 considered the most violent year in Mexican history. Many have blamed this on Peña Nieto's security strategy, which is more based on a reactive approach of deploying federal forces to affected areas than on proactively reinforcing institutions to deter violence. Besides, unpunished serious human rights violations have also continued, sometimes with the involvement of public officials and state actors: the Ayotzinapa/Iguala student massacre and the <u>Tlatlaya</u> killing of 15 citizens by the military in 2014 are blatant examples of such violations. <u>Over 75 %</u> of intentional homicides in Mexico are estimated to go unpunished. Mexico is also recognised as the world's most dangerous country for journalists outside a war zone (12 journalists were murdered in 2017 alone).

The above situation has been compounded by numerous <u>political killings</u> and aggressions since the start of the current election process in September 2017. According to the <u>Indicator of Political Violence</u>⁴ in Mexico elaborated by Etellekt Consulting, on 9 June 2018 the number of murders against politicians had reached 112 (among them 28 pre-candidates and 14 more candidates

registered for elected offices). Besides, 127 politicians (73 candidates and 16 pre-candidates) had been threatened and intimidated by this date, and a total of 401 aggressions had been registered against politicians and candidates in 31 Mexican local entities and 263 municipalities (over 10 % of municipalities). Of the 110 politicians murdered, 15 were women, 43 were members of the PRI-PVEM-NA coalition, 37 of the PAN-PRD-MC and 17 of MORENA-PT-PES.

President Trump's policy

The 'Trump effect' could also influence the outcome of the Mexican elections. Although US President Trump's anti-Mexican discourse (including his declared intentions to modify migratory policy and expel the 'dreamers', revise NAFTA and extend the existing wall along the whole US-Mexico border) has stirred patriotism in all candidates, many think it could benefit López Obrador more than the others, as he has been the most vocal in attacking these policies, by appealing to Mexican nationalism and threatening to retaliate against the US with similar measures. For instance, he has proposed to re-orient Mexico's energy policy by ending oil exports, which go mainly to the US, by 2022; to build two refineries, which would considerably reduce US petrol exports to Mexico; and to review contracts with international oil companies. Besides, as half a million Mexicans living in the USA are eligible to vote by absentee ballot in the Mexican elections, the Trump factor could also encourage their participation, and they could also influence the election results. López Obrador knows this and has campaigned in eight US cities to denounce President Trump's 'inhumanity'.

Mexico and the EU

Mexico was the first Latin American country to sign an Economic Partnership, Political Coordination and Cooperation Agreement ('global agreement') with the EU in 1997, which entered into force in 2000, covering political dialogue, trade and cooperation. It is currently being modernised, with a new trade agreement having been reached in principle on 21 April 2018. The agreement in principle includes the most important elements related to trade, though some technical details still need finalising. On the basis of this agreement in principle, Mexican and EU negotiators will continue working on the details, the aim being to have finalised the full legal text by the end of 2018. After its legal verification and translation into all official EU languages, the European Commission will submit the agreement for approval by the European Parliament and Council of the European Union. Mexico is also one of two Latin American countries (the other one being Brazil) to have a strategic partnership with the EU, which enables a broader dialogue and deeper cooperation between the two parties (e.g. scientific cooperation).

The current EU-Mexico <u>development cooperation</u> portfolio includes some €100 million grants. Ongoing bilateral programmes include actions co-financed by Mexican institutions in the field of social cohesion (€42 million in the Social Cohesion Laboratory phases I and II), economic innovation and competitiveness (€18 million through the <u>PROCEI</u> programme) and culture (€5.6 million). Funding under EU thematic lines and funding instruments include the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) and Civil Society Organisations and Local Authorities (CSO-LA) programme, through which 39 projects are running with a budget of over €10 million. Other thematic calls for proposals on energy, environment, health and migration support 10 more projects with a budget of some €12 million.

Mexico benefits from EU regional programmes for Latin America, in particular through EUROSociAL dialogues and exchanges – in areas such as justice, taxes, health, democracy and regional development – and Latin America Investment Facility (LAIF) grants (some €25 million). Erasmus+ and the Research Framework programmes also include support for many Mexican partners (€12 million per year on average). The EU engages in dialogue on key policy areas for inclusive and sustainable development with over 20 federal and state institutions and over 100 CSOs and universities in Mexico on a regular basis. And directly benefits 900 communities and 600 micro-, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs). The new EU thematic lines (the Global Public Goods and Challenges (GPGC) thematic programme, the EU-Latin America regional programme, Horizon

2020, Erasmus+) and instruments (the Partnership Instrument) open an even wider scope for cooperation actions between the EU and Mexico in the future.

The latest (VII) <u>EU-Mexico summit</u> was held in Brussels on 12 June 2015. The EU also holds high-level dialogues with Mexico. <u>The 5th Mexico-EU high-level political dialogue</u> took place on 15 March 2018 in Mexico City. Furthermore, up to 12 high-level dialogues are foreseen, in areas such as human rights, macroeconomics, climate change, environment, science and technology, higher education and culture. The EU has recently voiced concern over the murder of journalists in Mexico, through a <u>statement</u> delivered by the spokesperson of the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini.

The European Parliament and Mexico

The European Parliament, in its <u>resolution</u> of 13 September 2017 on EU political relations with Latin America, highlighted the importance of 'speeding up the ongoing negotiations for the updating of the EU-Mexico Global Agreement'. Additionally, the EP expressed its concerns about violence in Mexico in its October 2014 <u>resolution</u> on the disappearance of 43 teaching students in Mexico, condemning the 'unacceptable forced disappearances and crimes in Iguala', and calling 'on the Mexican authorities to investigate all the crimes' and identify, arrest and bring to justice the perpetrators' and to take actions to prevent events like these from ever occurring. The 24rd meeting of the EU-Mexico Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) was held in Mexico on 13-15 February 2018.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Including all members of municipal presidencies and juntas (*síndicos* and *regidores*); 2 777 local offices and over 3 400 in total if the latter are not taken into account.
- A second independent candidate, Margarita Zavala, has recently withdrawn from the presidential race.
- Seven points more than on <u>31 March</u>. As there are still a few weeks to go before the elections, the error margin estimated by El País is around 15 points for a candidate with 40 % of the votes.
- ⁴ These data reflect the situation as of 9 June, and may be lower than those posted later on the website.

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