# Mexican E-Politics The Mexican Citizen in Transition

#### Alejandro Pastrana Valls

#### Department of Government University of Essex World Association for Public Opinion Research

#### France, 2014





Theory 00	Methodology 0000	Results 00000000000	Discussion O
Outli	ne		
1	Theory <ul> <li>Motivation</li> <li>Objectives</li> </ul> Methodology <ul> <li>Dataset</li> <li>Hypotheses</li> <li>Models</li> </ul>		
3	<ul> <li>Results</li> <li>Latent Variable</li> <li>Who votes?</li> <li>Voting for the Incumbent</li> <li>Voting for PRI</li> <li>Voting for PRD</li> <li>Generations Analysis</li> </ul>		
4	Discussion		

Discussion

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
●○	0000	00000000000	O
Motivation			

- 2008 Obama presidential campaign made extensive use of the internet and social media (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011; Gibson, 2010; Robertson et al., 2010)
- Micro blogging services (e.g., Twitter) and social network sites (e.g., Facebook) are believed to have the potential to increase political participation (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013)
- In Mexico little attention has been given to the different sources of information, heuristic (Lupia & McCubbins, 1998; Popkin, 1991; Sniderman et al., 1991)

Theory ○●	Methodology 0000	Results	Discussion
Objectives			

- Generate a latent variable related to citizens' cognitive mobility (Inglehart, 1970; Dalton, 1984, 2000 and 2007; for the case of Mexico; Temkin, et al., 2008; Cisneros, 2012)
- The effect that cognitive mobility has on political behaviour (to vote or not) and the influence that these variables have on the decision of which political party to vote for.
- Investigate the impact that the traditional tools of communication (radio, television and newspapers) and new technological tools (social networks: Twitter, Facebook, YouTube) have on voting and vote choice.
- Explores the implications of birth cohort for political participation and the impact these distinct forms of information have on each generation's political behaviour.

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	●○○○	00000000000	0
Dataset			

◆□ ▶ < 圖 ▶ < 圖 ▶ < 圖 ▶ < 圖 • 의 Q @</p>

#### • Latinobarometer from 2000 to 2010

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	○●○○	00000000000	O
Hypotheses			

- H1: Ceteris paribus, Mexican citizens who have higher cognitive mobility (skills) are more likely to go to the polls.
- H2: All other things being equal, Mexican citizens with greater cognitive mobility whose source of information is the social media are less likely to vote for the incumbent party. Additionally, citizens with greater cognitive mobility using traditional media will be more likely to vote for the ruling party.

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	○O●○	00000000000	O
Hypotheses			

- H3.1: People who belong to the political alternation generations, whose principal source of information is the social media, have a higher probability to vote. In the opposite sense, Mexican citizens belonging to the political alternation generations using traditional tools of communication (radio, television and newspapers) have a lesser probability of voting.
- H3.2: In comparison to other generations, the political alternation generations have less probability of supporting the party in government if they have higher cognitive mobility and if the source of information are the new technological tools (social networks: Twitter, Facebook, YouTube).

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	○○○●	00000000000	0
Models			

- I Generation of the Latent Variable: Exploratory (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) were estimated using Mplus (Muthn and Muthn, 2010).
- II We will answer hypotheses 1 and 2 using a logit (Wooldridge 2002, 2003) by using Stata and the bootstrapping and semi parametric models were generated by using R.
- III For hypotheses 3.1 and 3.2 we will use a multigroup logit model (Muthn and Muthn, 2010), where estimated using Mplus.









э

- 日本 - 4 画 - 4 画 - 4 画 - 4

Discussion 0

#### Table 1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis, CM

	Estimate				
Variables	Standardization	STDY	S.E.	Est./S.E.	<b>P-Value</b>
	(STDYX)				
Movilidad Cognitiva [MC] (by)					
Interés Político	0.385	0.385	0.020	19.386	0.000
Capacidades Individuales	0.732	0.732	0.070	10.402	0.000
Capacidades Individuales (by)					
Nivel Socioeconómico	0.301	0.290	0.051	5.879	0.000
Ingreso Subjetivo	0.526	0.526	0.055	9.581	0.000
Escolaridad	0.318	0.318	0.035	9.171	0.000
Nivel Socioeconómico (with)					
Ingreso Subjetivo	0.226	0.177	0.036	6.355	0.000
Escolaridad	0.234	0.204	0.019	12.278	0.000
RMSEA	0.000				
CFI	1.000				
TLI	1.000				
WRMR	0.000				

Results

Discussion 0

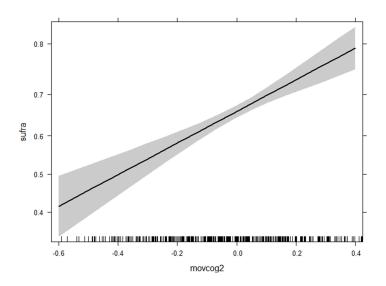
## Table 2. Logit Models Results

Variables	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	Model F
Variables Centrales						
Movilidad Cognitiva (MC)	1.682***	1.225***	0.628**	1.055***		
	[0.271]	[0.314]	[0.222]	[0.317]		
Fuentes de Información						
Redes Sociales					-0.247	
					[0.157]	
MC * Redes Sociales					0.259	
					[0.706]	
Medios Tradicionales						0.216
						[0.230]
MC * Medios Tradicionales						1.248*
						[0.495]
Attitudes						
Satisfacción Democracia	0.203***	0.229***	0.200***	0.180***	0.183*	0.181*
	[0.0386]	[0.0476]	[0.0482]	[0.0494]	[0.0752]	[0.0753]
Situación Futura de Empleo	0.0567	0.0962+	0.110+	0.112+	0.14	0.144+
	[0.0373]	[0.0569]	[0.0568]	[0.0574]	[0.0855]	[0.0854]
Aprobación Presidencial		0.170*	0.0884	0.0731	0.189	0.187
		[0.0785]	[0.0805]	[0.0814]	[0.126]	[0.126]
Confianza Gobierno			0.244***	0.225***	0.270***	0.258***
			[0.0486]	[0.0493]	[0.0752]	[0.0754]
Evaluación Egocéntrico				0.0752	0.173 +	0.163
				[0.0693]	[0.104]	[0.104]
Evalución Sociotrópico				0.0278	-0.00529	-0.0199
				[0.0643]	[0.0995]	[0.1000]
Variables de Control						
Observations	4916	3388	3388	3388	1299	1299
AIC	6016	4188	4182	4169	1723	1718
BIC	6140	4298	4286	4298	1821	1817
Grados de Libertad	18	17	16	20	18	18
McFeeden R2	0.067	0.08	0.081	0.085	0.062	0.065
PRE	0.6674	0.6535	0.6443	0.6555	0.6082	0.6159

▲目▶ 目 の9

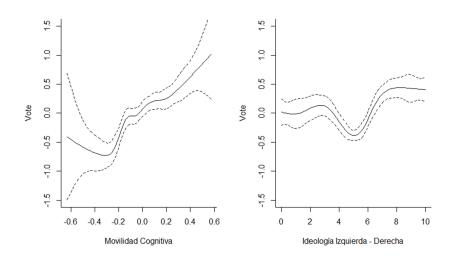
Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
		0000000000	

# Figure 2a. Marginals Effects



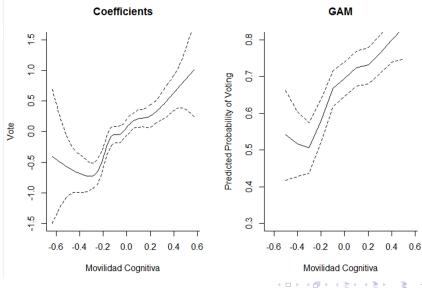
◆□ > ◆□ > ◆豆 > ◆豆 > ̄豆 = のへ⊙

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	0000		O
Figure 2b.	Semiparametric /	Approach	



▲□▶ ▲圖▶ ▲臣▶ ▲臣▶ 三臣 - のへで





≣ ४) Q (¥

Methodolog 0000 Results

Discussion 0

## Table 3. Bootstrapping

Variables	Modelo 1		Mode	Modelo 3 Bootstrap		
variables	Woueld 1	Original	Bias	Estimación	Std. Error	would be bootstrap
<u>Variables Centrales</u> Movilidad Cognitiva (MC)	1.682*** [0.271]	1.682	0.006	1.688	0.275	0.747 [0.727 -0.768]
Attitudes						
Satisfacción Democracia	0.203*** [0.0386]	0.203	0.000	0.203	0.039	promedio
Situación Futura de Empleo	0.0567 [0.0373]	0.057	0.000	0.056 0.000	0.038	promedio
Variables de Control						
Observations	4916					
AIC	6016					
BIC	6140					
Grados de Libertad	18					
McFeeden R2	0.067					
PRE	0.6674					

◆□▶ ◆□▶ ◆臣▶ ◆臣▶ 臣 の�?

Results 000000000000

#### Table 4. Logit Models Incumbent

-						
Variables	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	Model F
Variables Centrales						
Movilidad Cognitiva (MC)	-0.165	-0.252	-0.23	-0.223		
	[0.341]	[0.432]	[0.435]	[0.438]		
Fuentes de Información						
Redes Sociales					0.257	
					[0.240]	
MC * Redes Sociales					-3.692**	
					[1.140]	
Medios Tradicionales						-0.547
						[0.344]
MC * Medios Tradicionales						-0.212
						[0.740]
Attitudes						
Satisfacción Democracia	0.128**	-0.00817	-0.0032	-0.0465	-0.0296	-0.0261
	[0.0461]	[0.0625]	[0.0635]	[0.0658]	[0.112]	[0.111]
Situación Futura de Empleo	-0.0282	-0.0267	-0.0272	-0.0114	0.0187	0.0461
	[0.0439]	[0.0758]	[0.0758]	[0.0764]	[0.129]	[0.127]
Aprobación Presidencial		1.585***	1.595***	1.568***	1.414***	1.400***
		[0.114]	[0.116]	[0.117]	[0.220]	[0.219]
Confianza Gobierno			-0.0281	-0.0568	-0.122	-0.115
			[0.0643]	[0.0652]	[0.113]	[0.112]
Evaluación Egocéntrico				-0.0299	-0.321+	-0.300+
				[0.0969]	[0.167]	[0.166]
Evalución Sociotrópico				0.267**		0.484***
-				[0.0827]	[0.147]	[0.145]
Variables de Control						
Observations	3161	2087	2087	2087	688	688
AIC	4003	2391	2392	2386	818	827
BIC	4118	2492	2500	2504	904	913
Grados de Libertad	18	17	18	20	18	18
McFeeden R2	0.028	0.1	0.1	0.104	0.103	0.093
PRE	0.6606	0.6943	0.6948	0.7063	0.7137	0.6977

Results

Discussion 0

## Table 5. Multilogit Models PRI/PAN

Variables	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D	Model E	Model F
Variables Centrales						
Movilidad Cognitiva (MC)	-0.0906	-0.035	-0.0947	-0.101		
	[0.373]	[0.469]	[0.473]	[0.476]		
Fuentes de Información						
Redes Sociales					3.201**	
					[1.180]	
MC * Redes Sociales					-0.171	
					[0.246]	
Medios Tradicionales						0.089
						[0.766]
MC * Medios Tradicionales						0.481
						[0.360]
Attitudes						
Satisfacción Democracia	-0.0667	0.0964	0.0839	0.119+	0.0729	0.0698
	[0.0502]	[0.0675]	[0.0686]	[0.0710]	[0.116]	[0.115]
Situación Futura de Empleo	0.0809+	0.109	0.109	0.0948	0.0135	-0.0117
	[0.0483]	[0.0822]	[0.0823]	[0.0827]	[0.132]	[0.131]
Aprobación Presidencial		-1.622***	-1.645***	-1.624***	-1.359***	-1.348***
		[0.124]	[0.127]	[0.127]	[0.227]	[0.226]
Confianza Gobierno			0.0713	0.0955	0.12	0.116
			[0.0695]	[0.0704]	[0.116]	[0.115]
Evaluación Egocéntrico				0.0555	0.325+	0.305+
				[0.105]	[0.172]	[0.171]
Evalución Sociotrópico				-0.234**	-0.570***	-0.508***
				[0.0897]	[0.152]	[0.151]
Variables de Control						
Observations	3161	2087	2087	2087	688	688
AIC	6585	4174	4175	4170	1288	1299
BIC	6815	4377	4389	4407	1460	1471
Grados de Libertad	36	34	36	40	36	36
McFeeden R2	0.047	0.089	0.089	0.092	0.104	0.113
PRE	0.4441632	0.442262	0.44178	0.450886	0.530523	0.521802

き▶ ★ き▶ うき つく

Results

Discussion 0

### Table 6. Multilogit Models PRD/PAN

Variables Model A Model B Model C Model D Model E Model F Variables Centrales
Movilidad Cognitiva (MC) 0.566 0.658 0.71 0.714
[0.430] [0.529] [0.534] [0.538]
Fuentes de Información
Redes Sociales 5.828**
[1.885]
MC * Redes Sociales -0.764+
[0.459]
Medios Tradicionales 0.544
[1.120]
MC * Medios Tradicionales 0.758
[0.542]
Attitudes
Satisfacción Democracia -0.252*** -0.164* -0.156+ -0.0989 -0.15 -0.159
[0.0601] [0.0793] [0.0804] [0.0827] [0.166] [0.166]
Sítuación Futura de Empleo -0.0696 -0.127 -0.126 -0.147 -0.188 -0.216
[0.0566] [0.0944] [0.0945] [0.0951] [0.192] [0.190]
Aprobación Presidencial -1.509*** -1.487*** -1.447*** -1.540*** -1.522**
[0.137] [0.140] [0.141] [0.294] [0.290]
Confianza Gobierno -0.0571 -0.0225 0.084 0.0616
[0.0806] [0.0815] [0.167] [0.166]
Evaluación Egocéntrico -0.0369 0.316 0.263
[0.120] [0.247] [0.246]
Evalución Sociotrópico -0.320** -0.455* -0.344
[0.104] [0.219] [0.218]
Variables de Control
Observations 3161 2087 2087 2087 688 688
AIC 6585 4174 4175 4170 1288 1299
BIC 6815 4377 4389 4407 1460 1471
Grados de Libertad 36 34 36 40 36 36
McFeeden R2 0.047 0.089 0.089 0.092 0.104 0.113
PRE 0.4441632 0.442262 0.44178 0.450886 0.530523 0.521802

500

æ

Theory	Methodology	Results	Discussion
00	0000	○○○○○○○●○○	O
Rirth Cohorte			

- Generations Analysis
- The party system generation: those who came into adulthood during the dominant party system, from 1921 through to 1976.
- The pluralism generation spans those who came to adulthood between 1977 and 1988.

• The alternation generation comprises those who came to adulthood during the period from 1989.

#### Table 7. Logit Models Results by Generations: Who Votes?

Variables	Betas	<b>P-Value</b>	Betas	<b>P-Value</b>	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value
	Sistema de Partidos			Pluralismo				Alternancia				
Variables Centrales												
Redes Sociales			-0.431	0.331			0.062	0.839			-0.356	0.092
MC * Redes Sociales			0.391	0.831			-1.379	0.301			1.277	0.179
Medios Tradicionales	-0.202	0.629			-0.087	0.854			0.843	0.020		
MC * Medios Tradicionales	1.571	0.112			1.119	0.263			1.077	0.139		
Attitudes												
Satisfacción Democracia	0.245	0.084	0.267	0.062	0.415	0.007	0.422	0.007	-0.020	0.863	-0.026	0.825
Situación Futura de Empleo	0.091	0.612	0.096	0.585	0.187	0.211	0.176	0.255	0.120	0.391	0.120	0.388
Aprobación Presidencial	0.308	0.217	0.269	0.280	0.084	0.731	0.100	0.686	0.142	0.471	0.161	0.415
Confianza Gobierno	0.350	0.016	0.373	0.010	0.266	0.078	0.263	0.083	0.222	0.052	0.235	0.040
Evaluación Egocéntrico	0.164	0.440	0.193	0.357	0.407	0.052	0.448	0.032	0.076	0.636	0.076	0.632
Evalución Sociotrópico	0.209	0.291	0.211	0.285	-0.176	0.399	-0.122	0.554	-0.060	0.691	-0.065	0.664
Variables de Control												

heory Methodology 0 0000 Results

# Table 7. Logit Models by Generations: Voting for the Incumbent

Variables	Betas	P-Value	Betas	<b>P-Value</b>	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value	Betas	P-Value
	Sistema de Partidos			Pluralismo				Alternancia				
Variables Centrales	1											
Redes Sociales			-0.065	0.915			0.527	0.224			0.279	0.400
MC * Redes Sociales			-1.141	0.596			-2.561	0.277			-6.044	0.011
Medios Tradicionales	-0.878	0.147			-1.044	0.084			0.594	0.436		
MC * Medios Tradicionales	0.570	0.686			-0.324	0.840			-0.859	0.536		
Attitudes												
Satisfacción Democracia	0.344	0.119	0.324	0.147	0.167	0.480	0.232	0.319	-0.351	0.069	-0.414	0.041
Situación Futura de Empleo	0.226	0.437	0.218	0.456	0.000	0.999	-0.015	0.951	-0.040	0.845	-0.059	0.774
Aprobación Presidencial	1.538	0.001	1.504	0.001	1.230	0.004	1.124	0.011	1.690	0.000	1.775	0.000
Confianza Gobierno	0.037	0.862	0.048	0.827	-0.547	0.016	-0.539	0.020	0.170	0.338	0.143	0.433
Evaluación Egocéntrico	-0.715	0.048	-0.740	0.047	0.090	0.796	0.110	0.750	-0.319	0.184	-0.381	0.116
Evalución Sociotrópico	0.412	0.173	0.427	0.169	0.098	0.736	0.222	0.431	0.717	0.003	0.817	0.001
Variables de Control												

תודה Dankie Gracias Спасибо akk Merci Köszönjük Terima kasih Grazie Dziękujemy Dėkojame Dakujeme Vielen Dank Paldies Täname teid Kiitos \_ 谢谢 感謝您 Obrigado Teşekkür Ederiz 감사합니다 Σας ευχαριστούμε อบคณ Bedankt Děkujeme vám ありがとうございます Tack

 $@Alejandro_PV \\$ 

Alejandro Pastrana Valls





・ロト ・ 理 ト ・ ヨ ト ・ ヨ ト