



DIRECTORIO
LEGISLATIVO

FORTALECEMOS
LAS DEMOCRACIAS
DE AMÉRICA LATINA

STRENGTHENING
DEMOCRACIES
IN LATIN AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 2021

Argentina

Legislative Elections Post-election Report



Executive summary

On September 12, the Open, Simultaneous and Mandatory Primary Elections (or 'PASO elections) were held. While the purpose of the PASO is not to elect legislators but rather to choose candidates to compete in the congressional elections proper, due November 14, their outcome augurs badly for the ruling coalition, Frente de Todos. With the provisional count now almost complete, Frente de Todos suffered sweeping countrywide losses winning only in 6 out of the 24 provinces, which were Salta, Formosa, Tucumán, Catamarca, La Rioja and San Juan.

Looking ahead, if the November ballot saw a repeat of the PASO result then the governing coalition would lose its majority in the Senate, while also being weakened in the Chamber of Deputies. To push forward its agenda in the upper house, it would have no option then but to attempt to reach out and forge consensus with other actors – including opponents. Similarly, in the Chamber of Deputies it would struggle to advance were it to hold only a one seat advantage over the opposition coalition, Juntos por el Cambio and in the event of ideologically extreme outfits like Frente de Izquierda Unidad (FIT Unidad) and Avanza Libertad reprising their gains.

Caution, however, should be shown in using the PASO as an accurate predictor of the November ballot. The PASO ballot is a lot more dispersed than the general elections, with far more options to choose from. Yet with that being said, on the basis of this voting trend there will be significant concerns over the ruling party's chances of retaining its current grip on the Congress.

If we think of the PASO as a gauge of public satisfaction with the government of Frente de Todos, discontent is clearly widespread. And this could have internal ramifications within its coalition, with competing sub-factions likely to engage in finger-pointing and jostling for power. The chances of the different Peronist parties of the Frente de Todos coalition being able to turn things around before November and indeed beyond, will in part depend on how these internal dynamics play out in the coming weeks.

So expect, then, to see internecine tensions in the ruling party in the next two months. Frente de Todos will have to choose whether to harden their stance, doubling down more aggressively against the opposition (and perhaps taking on particular sectors such as agri-businesses or the media) or rather softening to engage in more composed dialogue and so appealing to votes from the center.

Either way, the run-up to the November legislative elections is firmly underway.

Basic questions

What was voted?

On September 12, Argentina held its so-called “Primary, Open, Simultaneous and Mandatory Elections” - better known by its Spanish acronym ‘PASO’. In these, voters chose which candidates and political groups are to face off in the subsequent legislative elections where half of the Chamber of Deputies and a third of Senate seats are up for grabs. Specifically, in these legislative elections, which will take place on November 14, 127 deputies will be elected throughout the country and 24 senators across eight different provinces (Catamarca, Chubut, Córdoba, Corrientes, La Pampa, Mendoza, Santa Fe and Tucumán).

How are the winners decided?

The PASO on September 12 did not lead to the election of new legislators but rather established the lists of candidates to compete for seats. For each chamber, the candidate selection process varies in the event that parties or electoral alliances present more than one list per office and district.

In the Senate, when a party presents more than one list of candidates, the one with the most votes will compete in the November elections. In the Chamber of Deputies, meanwhile, each political grouping will apply the system of distribution of positions established by its party charter or the rules of the party alliance. Under this, multiple mechanisms are allowed - the most common being an allocation of seats that is proportional to the votes received per list (D'Hont System).

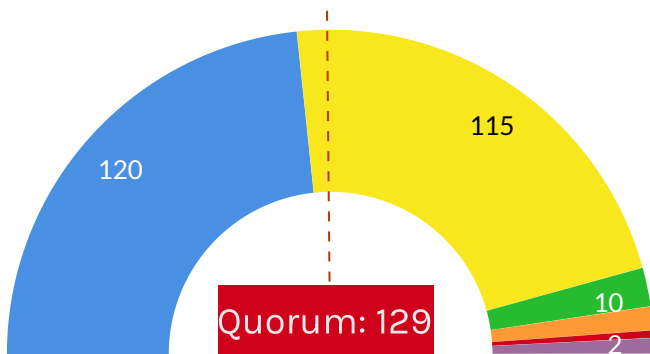


Future composition:

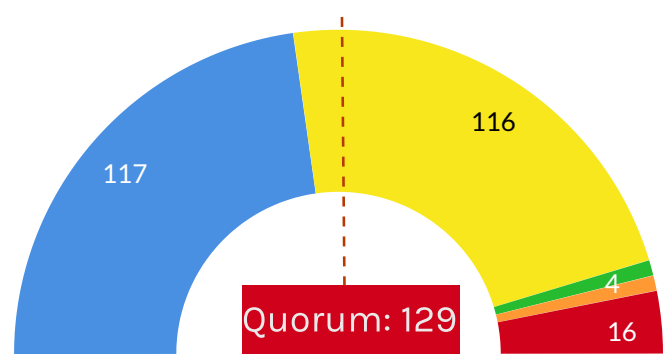
If the results obtained in the PASO were repeated in the general elections, the new Congress would be composed as follows:

Chamber of Deputies

2019-2021



2021 -2023



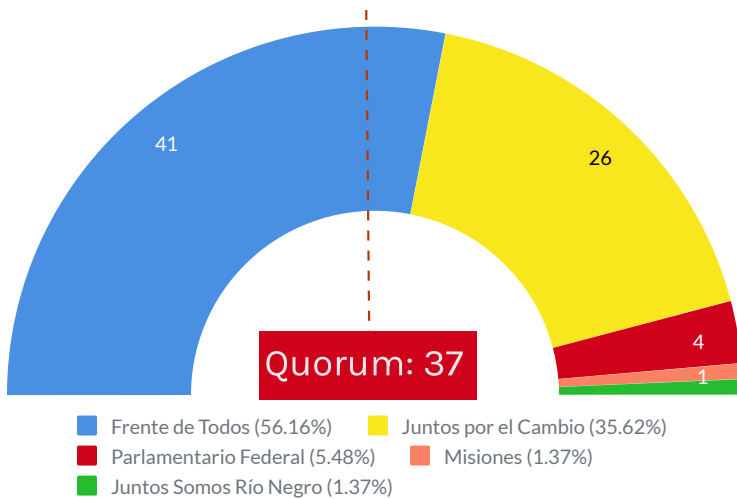
- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ■ Frente de Todos (46.69%) | ■ Juntos por el Cambio (44.75%) |
| ■ Interbloque Federal (3.89%) | ■ Izquierda (0.78%) |
| ■ Unidad Federal para el Desarrollo (2.33%) | ■ Otros bloques (Acción Federal, MPN, Justicia Social) (1.56%) |
| ■ Frente de Todos (45.53%) | ■ Juntos por el Cambio (45.14%) |
| ■ Frente de Izquierda Unidad (1.56%) | ■ Avanza Libertad (1.56%) |
| ■ Otros bloques (Fte Concordia Misionero, MPN, Fte Amplio ...) | |

Juntos por el Cambio has the highest number of seats up for grabs, at 60. Frente de Todos, meanwhile, has 52 legislators due to complete their tenures.

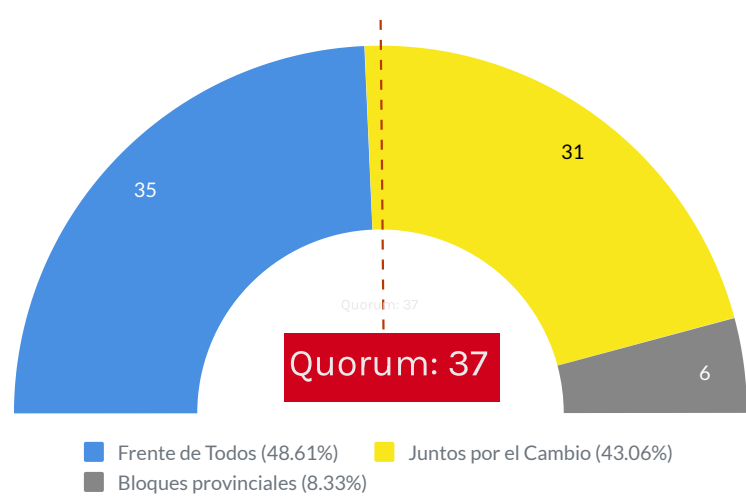
In a repeat of the PASO results, Frente de Todos would lose 3 seats falling short of an outright majority (129 deputies). Meanwhile, Juntos por el Cambio (opposition) would be only one seat shy of the ruling party's. 'Frente de Izquierda y de los Trabajadores' and 'Avanza Libertad' would each gain 4 seats. Some local parties would also gain representation: Frente Renovador de la Concordia Misionero (1 seat), Movimiento Popular Neuquino (2 seats), Juntos Somos Río Negro (1 seat) and Partido Ser de Santa Cruz (1 seat).

Senate

2019-2021



2021-2023



24 seats are at stake. 15 from Frente de Todos and 8 from Cambiemos. The provinces renewing seats are Catamarca, Chubut, Córdoba, Corrientes, La Pampa, Mendoza, Santa Fe and Tucumán.

Frente de Todos, in a repeat of the PASO, would lose 6 seats and, with that, its outright majority. Meanwhile, with wins in Corrientes, Córdoba, Mendoza, Chubut, Santa Fe and La Pampa, Juntos por el Cambio would add 6 seats and become the second minority (second biggest bloc) with 31 senators. The provincial party Hacemos por Córdoba would also obtain one seat.

After all the difference between the 2019 PASO and subsequent elections were significant. In the primary elections of that year, the current President Alberto Fernández registered a +15% win over the then incumbent President Mauricio Macri, though this was reduced to 8% in the general elections.

In any case, if the electoral scenario were to be repeated in November the ruling party would lose strength in Congress, which represents a great challenge in terms of governability. In that case, it would be forced to negotiate the parliamentary agenda with allies and opponents alike.

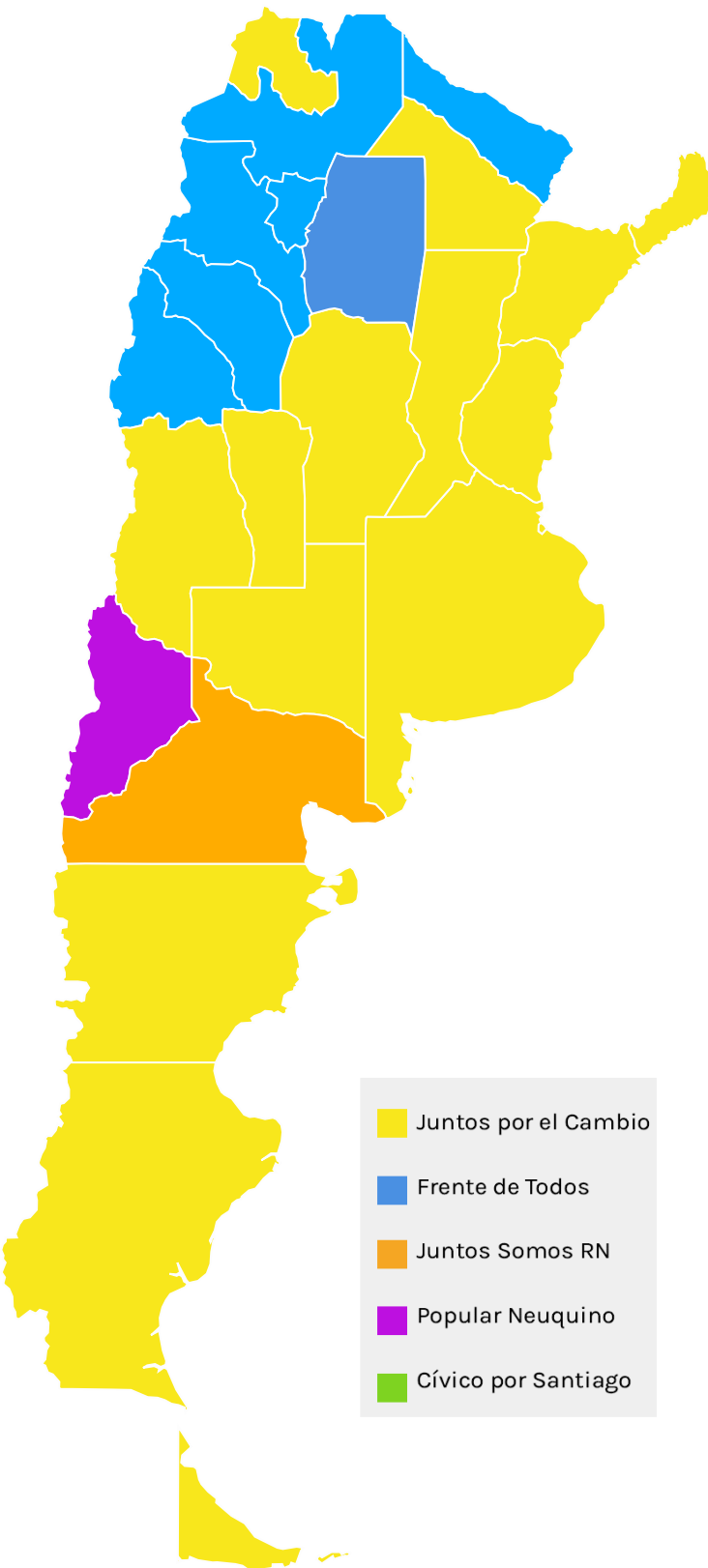
Can the results be turned around?

It should be remembered that much could change between now and November and so the PASO should be viewed as little more than a large-scale gauge of voter intention, albeit a fascinating one.

There are few experiences of elections where the most voted-for party in the primaries went on to lose the general elections.

However, it can happen. Indeed it occurred in the 2017 legislative elections, when following a victory in the primaries by the opposition (Juntos por el Cambio) in the provinces of La Pampa and San Luis, Frente de Todos went on to win in the general elections thanks to a mix of support from local governors and a promise of social plans and the development of public works.

Results by province:



At the province (or district) level, Juntos por el Cambio (opposition) won in 15 districts, while Frente de Todos (ruling party) claimed 6 provinces. Meanwhile, local political groups won first place in Neuquén, Río Negro and Santiago del Estero.

Buenos Aires

Juntos por el Cambio would, in a repeat of the PASO, emerge with 16 seats, two more than the 14 that it will be renewing. Meanwhile, Frente de Todos would lose 3 deputies. The remaining seats at stake would be distributed among Frente de Izquierda Unidad (2), Avanza Libertad (2) and Vamos con Vos (1).

Among the candidates that would enter the new Chamber of Deputies should the results be repeated are: Diego Santilli, Graciela Ocaña, Facundo Manes, Emilio Monzó, Margarita Stolbizer, Fabio Quetglas (for Juntos por el Cambio), Victoria Tolosa Paz, Daniel Gollán, Marcela Passo, Sergio Palazzo, Leopoldo Moreau, Vanesa Siley, Hugo Yasky (for Frente de Todos), Nicolás del Caño, Romina Del Plá (for FIT Unidad), José Luis Espert (Avanza Libertad).

City of Buenos Aires

Despite winning the district in the event that the general elections mirror the PASO results, Juntos por el Cambio would only have 7 seats, which is three fewer than its current 10. Meanwhile, Frente de Todos would retain its three seats up for grabs. In addition, two deputies from the Frente Avanza La Libertad and one from the FIT Unidad would gain seats.

Some of the candidates entering the Chamber of Deputies under this scenario are: María Eugenia Vidal, Martín Tetaz, Ricardo López Murphy, Adolfo Rubinstein (for Juntos por el Cambio), Leandro Santoro, Gisela Marziotta, Carlos Heller (for Frente de Todos), Javier Milei (for La Libertad Avanza) and Myriam Bregman (for FIT Unidad).

Cordoba

Juntos por el Cambio would keep 5 deputies, Hacemos por Córdoba 3 and Frente de Todos 1. In the Senate, Juntos por el Cambio would get 2 seats and Hacemos por Córdoba would keep the minority senator. Thus, Frente de Todos would lose one senator.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are: Rodrigo de Loredó (Juntos por el Cambio), Natalia De la Sota (Hacemos por Córdoba) and Martín Gill (Frente de Todos). Luis Juez and Carmen Álvarez (Juntos por el Cambio) and Alejandra Vigo (Hacemos por Córdoba) could enter the Senate.

Santa Fe

Juntos por el Cambio would keep 5 deputies, Frente de Todos 3 and Frente Amplio Progresista would get one seat. Meanwhile, Juntos por el Cambio would add two seats and Frente de Todos would lose one seat in the Senate, keeping one senator for the minority.

Some of the candidates that could enter the Chamber of Deputies are: Mario Barletta (Juntos por el Cambio), Roberto Mirabella (Frente de Todos) and Mónica Fein (Frente Amplio Progresista). Carolina Losada and Dionisio Scarpin (Juntos por el Cambio) and Marcelo Lewandowski (Frente de Todos) would enter the Senate.

Mendoza

The Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio would get two deputies each. Meanwhile, in the Senate, Juntos por el Cambio would obtain two seats and Frente de Todos would keep one seat.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Julio Cobos (Juntos por el Cambio) and Adolfo Bermejo (Frente de Todos). Alfredo Cornejo and Mariana Juri (Juntos por el Cambio) and Anabel Fernández Sagasti (Frente de Todos) would enter the Senate.

Catamarca

Frente de Todos would retain two deputies and Juntos por el Cambio one. Also in the Senate, the existing correlation of forces would be maintained, so Frente de Todos would have two senators and Juntos por el Cambio one.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Silvana Ginocchio (Frente de Todos) and Francisco Monti (Juntos por el Cambio). Lucía Corpacci and Guillermo Andrada (Frente de Todos) and Flavio Fama (Juntos por el Cambio) would enter the Senate.

Corrientes

Juntos por el Cambio would keep two seats and Frente de Todos one. In the Senate, Frente de Todos would lose one seat to Juntos por el Cambio.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are: Manuel Aguirre (Juntos por el Cambio) and Jorge Romero (Frente de Todos). Eduardo Vischi and Mercedes Valenzuela (Juntos por el Cambio) and Carlos Espínola (Frente de Todos) would enter the Senate.

Chaco

The Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio would keep two deputies.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Juan Carlos Polini (Juntos por el Cambio) and Juan Pedrini (Frente de Todos).

Chubut

Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio would keep one deputy each. Meanwhile, Frente de Todos would lose two senators, keeping one, while Juntos por el Cambio would add two.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Ana Romero (Juntos por el Cambio) and María Eugenia Alianello (Frente de Todos). Ignacio Torres and Edith Terenzi (Juntos por el Cambio) and Carlos Linares (Frente de Todos) would enter the Senate.

Entre Ríos

Juntos por el Cambio would keep three deputies and Frente de Todos two.

Some of the deputies that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Rogelio Frigerio (Juntos por el Cambio) and Enrique Cresto (Frente de Todos).

Formosa

Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio would keep one deputy each.

The candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Ramiro Fernández Patri (Frente de Todos) and Fernando Carbajal (Juntos por el Cambio).

Jujuy

Juntos por el Cambio, Frente de Todos and FIT Unidad would split the three seats at stake.

The candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies would be Gustavo Bouhid (Juntos por el Cambio), Leila Chaher (Frente de Todos) and Alejandro Vilca (FIT U).

La Pampa

Juntos por el Cambio would obtain 2 seats, while Frente de Todos would keep one seat. In turn, in the Senate, Frente de Todos would lose one seat to Juntos por el Cambio.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Martín Maquieyra (Juntos por el Cambio) and Varinia Marín (Frente de Todos). Daniel Kroneberger and Victoria Huala (Juntos por el Cambio) and Daniel Bensusán (Frente de Todos) would enter the Senate.

La Rioja

The Frente de Todos could win the two seats at stake in the Chamber of Deputies.

One of the candidates to enter the Chamber of Deputies is Gabriela Pedrali (Frente de Todos).

Misiones

Juntos por el Cambio would obtain two seats in the Chamber of Deputies, while Frente Renovador de la Concordia would retain one.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Martín Arjol (Juntos por el Cambio) and Carlos Fernández (Frente Renovador de la Concordia).

Neuquén

The Movimiento Popular Neuquino would obtain two deputies and Juntos por el Cambio one. Frente de Todos would lose one deputy.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Rolando Figueroa (MPN) and Pablo Cervi (Juntos por el Cambio).

Río Negro

Juntos Somos Río Negro and Juntos por el Cambio would get one deputy each, while Frente de Todos would lose one seat.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Agustín Domingo (JSRN) and Aníbal Tortoriello (Juntos por el Cambio).

Salta

Frente de Todos would win one seat in the Chamber of Deputies if it keeps the two seats in stake. Juntos por el Cambio would retain one.

Some of the candidates that would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Emiliano Estrada (Frente de Todos) and Carlos Zapata (Juntos por el Cambio).

San Juan

Frente de Todos would keep two seats in the Chamber of Deputies and Juntos por el Cambio one.

Some of the candidates who would be entering the Chamber of Deputies are Walberto Allende (Frente de Todos) and Susana Laciari (Juntos por el Cambio).

San Luis

Juntos por el Cambio would get two seats, while Frente de Todos would keep one deputy.

Some of the candidates who would enter the Chamber of Deputies are Claudio Poggi (Juntos por el Cambio) and María José Zanglá (Frente de Todos).

Santa Cruz

Juntos por el Cambio could obtain two deputies, while Frente de Todos would keep one seat.

Some of the candidates who would join the Chamber of Deputies are Roxana Reyes (Juntos por el Cambio) and Gustavo González (Frente de Todos).

Santiago del Estero

Frente Cívico por Santiago would keep the three seats at stake. Thus, Silvia Sayago, Bernardo Herrera and María Luisa Montoto would be elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Tucumán

Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio would keep two deputies each. In the Senate, the balance of power would not be altered either: Frente de Todos would keep two seats and Juntos por el Cambio would keep one.

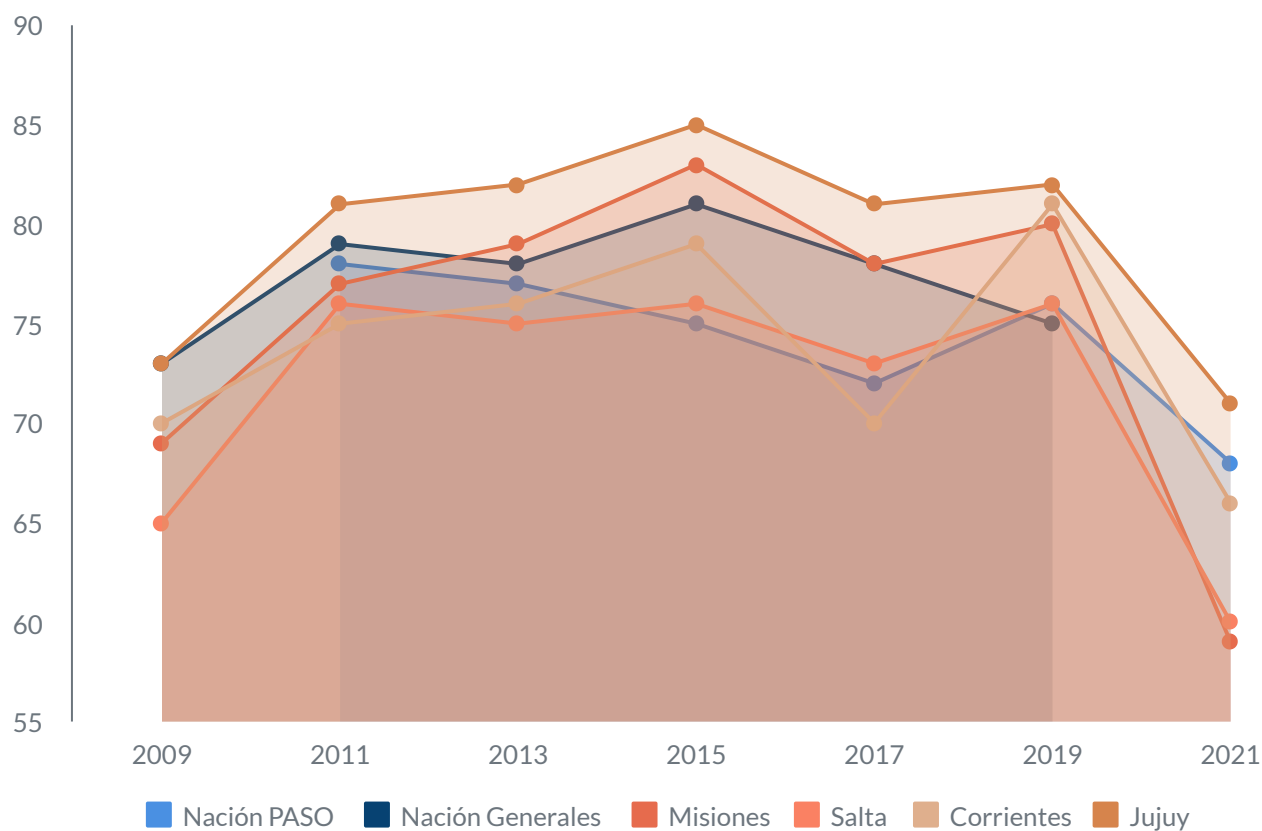
Some of the candidates that would be admitted to the Chamber of Deputies are Rossana Chahla (Frente de Todos) and Roberto Sánchez (Juntos por el Cambio). Instead, to the Senate would be entering Pablo Yedlin and Sandra Mendoza (Frente de Todos) and Germán Alfaro (Juntos por el Cambio).

Tierra del Fuego

Juntos por el Cambio and Frente de Todos would share the two seats at stake. Thus, Héctor Stefani (Juntos por el Cambio) and Carolina Yutrovic (Frente de Todos) would renew their mandate.

Voter turnout

The PASO registered a voter turnout of close to 68%, lower than in any other previous elections. Up to now the the lowest had been the mentioned legislative primaries of 2017, when 72.30% of the population took part.



However, historical trends indicate that voter turnout will be higher come the November legislative elections. Also, midterm legislative elections tend to attract fewer voters than those in which executive offices are elected.

Main alliances

The [Law 23.298](#) of the Political Parties establishes that the groups must submit an electoral platform and send it to the court with electoral competence of their district before the elections. Meanwhile, [Law 26.571](#) of democratization of political representation determines that pre-candidates must sign an affidavit that commits them to respect the platform presented by their list. In the following link it is possible to access the [Platforms 2021](#).

For the purposes of comparative analysis, the proposals presented by the party lists in Buenos Aires and the City of Buenos Aires were grouped by thematic categories:

ENVIRONMENT



Preserving the environment, biodiversity and sustainable development with emphasis on the development of science and technology.



Nurture public space and sustainable mobility. Promote rational use of natural resources, renewable energies and clean technologies and industries. Develop a 'circular economy' based on recycling and efficient use of resources. Promote measures for the reconversion of packaging to sustainable ones and strengthen awareness campaigns for waste separation at source.



Prohibition of aerial spraying with toxic agro-chemicals, open-pit mega-mining and land clearing. Defense of wetlands and native forests. Protection of the marine environment against fishing plundering.



Preservation of the environment and natural resources. Promotion of the use of clean energies.



Protection of the environment and natural resources to prevent contemporary mismanagement from jeopardizing the economic viability and quality of life of future generations.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE



Expanding the scope of social policies.



Reinforce social assistance and the message that education is the only path to true human development. Promote documentation, health, inclusion, training, counseling and recreation services in vulnerable neighborhoods. Eliminate intermediaries between the State and the people.



Emergency family handout of \$40 thousand pesos for all needy families



Address unemployment with a temporary subsidy (maximum of 2 years, on a declining scale).

EDUCACIÓN



Deepening the quality of education.



Incorporation of technologies and tools to modernize education; prioritizing strategic learning; generating new vacancies in the public system; ensuring the quality of public education through evaluations and measurements of students and teachers. Increase the School Food Service (Servicio Alimentario Escolar in Spanish) budget, diversify the menu and strengthen audits.



Defense of free public education. Free connectivity for all teachers and students. Elimination of subsidies to private education. Repeal of the Higher Education Law. Single, state, free and secular national education.



Declare education an essential public service. Eliminate or severely limit the right of teachers to strike.

Experience-based learning and talent development. Promotion of research. Creation of a national evaluation system.

JUSTICE



Frente de Todos: Supporting the human rights policy initiated in 2003, developing policies against human trafficking, combating drug trafficking and border control, detecting and closing slave labor sites, and denouncing institutional violence and violations of rights by the State.



Juntos por el Cambio: Transparency in the operation of the courts by incorporating technological systems that enable access to information; guaranteeing the independence of powers and providing the necessary conditions for judicial officials to perform their work with complete freedom.



No to lowering the age of imputability. Popular election of prosecutors and judges with revocable mandates.



Reform of the Judicial Council. Elimination of per saltum. Implementation of trial by jury. Immediate deportation of foreign criminals. Application of life imprisonment. Partial privatization of the penitentiary system.

PRODUCTION AND LABOR



Aim at a society of full employment, through laws that invigorate the domestic market and the way of insertion in a competitive world. Expansion of the areas of research and technological innovation, improvement of strategic infrastructure and policies aimed at the development of SMEs and micro-enterprises. Exploit the potential of the agricultural sector without neglecting the strategic objective of diversifying the productive matrix and preserving the environment.



Promote entrepreneurship, the development of creative industries and the incubation of young companies. Promote investment and exports of SMEs and MSMEs. Promote production, training and formalization of the popular economy. Deepen the articulation between the State and the private sector.

PRODUCTION AND LABOR



Minimum wage equal to the cost of the family basket indexed monthly according to the real increase in the cost of living. Prohibition of dismissals and suspensions. 82% mobile and increase of the minimum wage to cover the pensioners' food basket.



Freedom of contracting. Abolition of the minimum wage. Limit the right to strike to an exceptional minimum. Eliminate the regime of severance pay without just cause and replace it with unemployment insurance. Elimination of employer contributions. Pension reform. Declaration of bankruptcy of the state pay-as-you-go system and its replacement by a system of capitalization of contributions actually made.



Strengthening of the domestic market and promotion of foreign trade. Improving business competitiveness. Reduction of the tax burden to encourage productive investment.

SECURITY



Strengthening of democratic, comprehensive and effective citizen security policies that articulate a set of actions in different areas of public policy.



Increase police presence and the number of personnel; build prevention policies with citizen participation. Hierarchization of the police force, improvement of salaries and respect for promotions, training of new police officers and ongoing training of in-service personnel.



Annulment of anti-terrorist laws. Dissolution of intelligence agencies.



Lowering the age of criminal responsibility to 14 years of age; reducing the rights of prisoners (e.g. right to vote); modifying laws and procedures that interfere with police action and grant concessions to criminals.

Main candidates



Leandro Santoro

Pre-candidate for Deputy for Frente de Todos - City of Buenos Aires. Political scientist and teacher of radical origin. Since 2017 he has held a seat in the Legislature of Buenos Aires for the Frente de Todos block. Close to the President of the Nation, Alberto Fernández. Moderate and pro-dialogue.



Victoria Tolosa Paz

Pre-candidate for Congresswoman for Frente de Todos - Buenos Aires. Public Accountant. In 2020 she was appointed President of the National Council for the Coordination of Social Policies. Answers to the leadership of the President of the Nation, Alberto Fernández.



Anabel Fernández Sagasti

Pre-candidate for senator for Frente de Todos - Mendoza. Lawyer, public auctioneer and commercial broker. She has been a senator since 2015. She founded La C mpora in the province of Mendoza. Responds to the leadership of CFK.



Pablo Yedlin

Pre-candidate for senator for Frente de Todos - Tucum n. Physician. He has been a national deputy for Frente de Todos since 2017. He responds to the leadership of the governor of the province of Tucum n, Juan Luis Manzur.



Main candidates

María Eugenia Vidal

Pre-candidate for Congresswoman for Juntos por el Cambio - City of Buenos Aires
Political scientist. Former governor of the province of Buenos Aires. Referent of the
PRO party with national projection.



Diego Santilli

Pre-candidate for Deputy for Juntos por el Cambio - Buenos Aires.
Public Accountant. Current Deputy Chief of Government of the Autonomous City
of Buenos Aires. Responds to Horacio Rodríguez Larreta's leadership.



Emilio Monzó

Pre-candidate for National Deputy for Juntos por el Cambio - Buenos Aires.
Lawyer. With Peronist roots. Former President of the Chamber of Deputies.
Dialogist profile and consensus builder.



Rogelio Frigerio

Pre-candidate for National Deputy for Juntos por el Cambio - Entre Ríos.
Economist. Former Minister of the Interior during the Cambiemos
administration. Referent of the Integration and Development Movement. He has
a strategic and consensus profile.



Main candidates

Juntos por el
CAMBIO

Silvia Elías de Pérez

Pre-candidate for National Deputy for Juntos por el Cambio - Tucumán. National Public Accountant. She has a seat in the Senate since 2013. Referent of radicalism.



Ricardo López Murphy

Pre-candidate for National Deputy for Juntos por el Cambio - City of Buenos Aires. Economist. He was Minister of Economy, Defense and Infrastructure during the presidency of Fernando de la Rúa.



LA
LIBERTAD
AVANZA

Javier Milei

Pre-candidate for Congressman for La Libertad Avanza - City of Buenos Aires. Economist. Referent of the libertarian current. Disruptive profile.

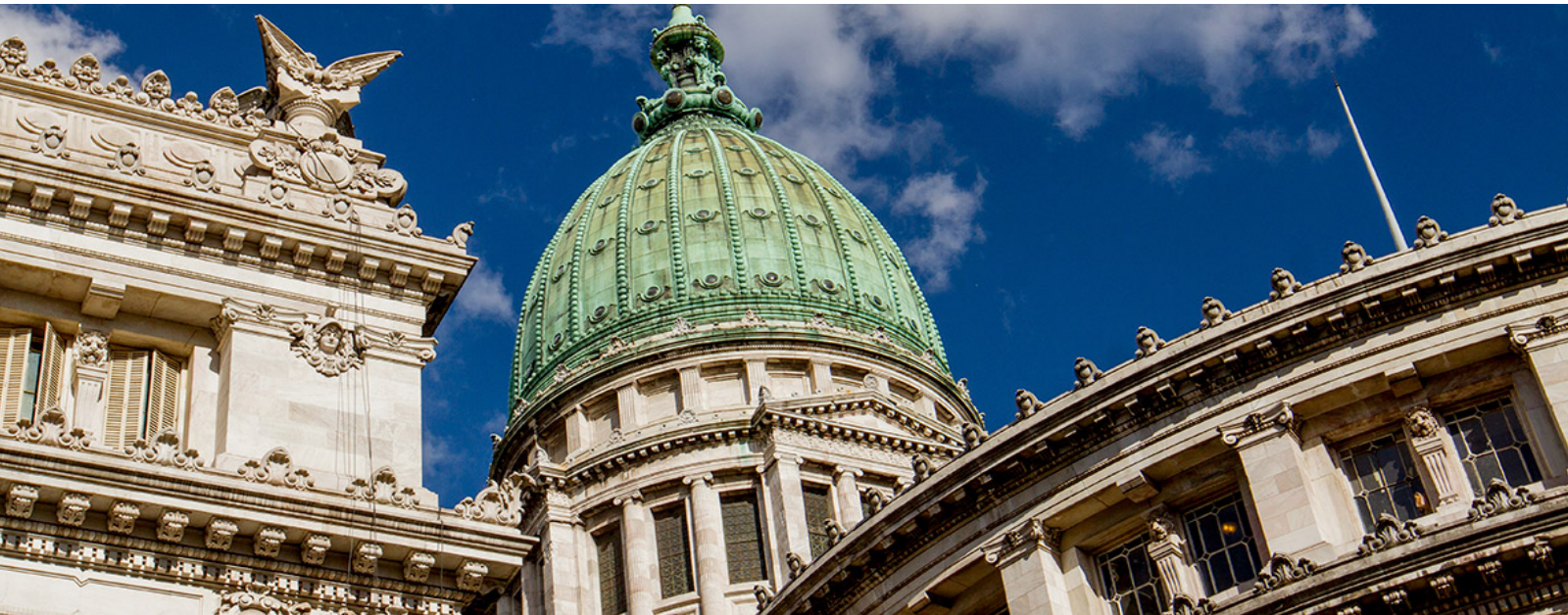


José Luis Espert

Pre-candidate for Deputy for Avanza Libertad - Province of Buenos Aires. Economist and agricultural producer. Referent of liberalism.



Conclusions



The primary elections ended in defeat for the Frente de Todos (ruling party). Meanwhile, the main opposition front, Juntos por el Cambio, registered positive results in most of the country including the province of Buenos Aires. As expected, voter turnout was lower than in previous elections – however still significant given the health context and given that these were legislative primary (not presidential primary) elections.

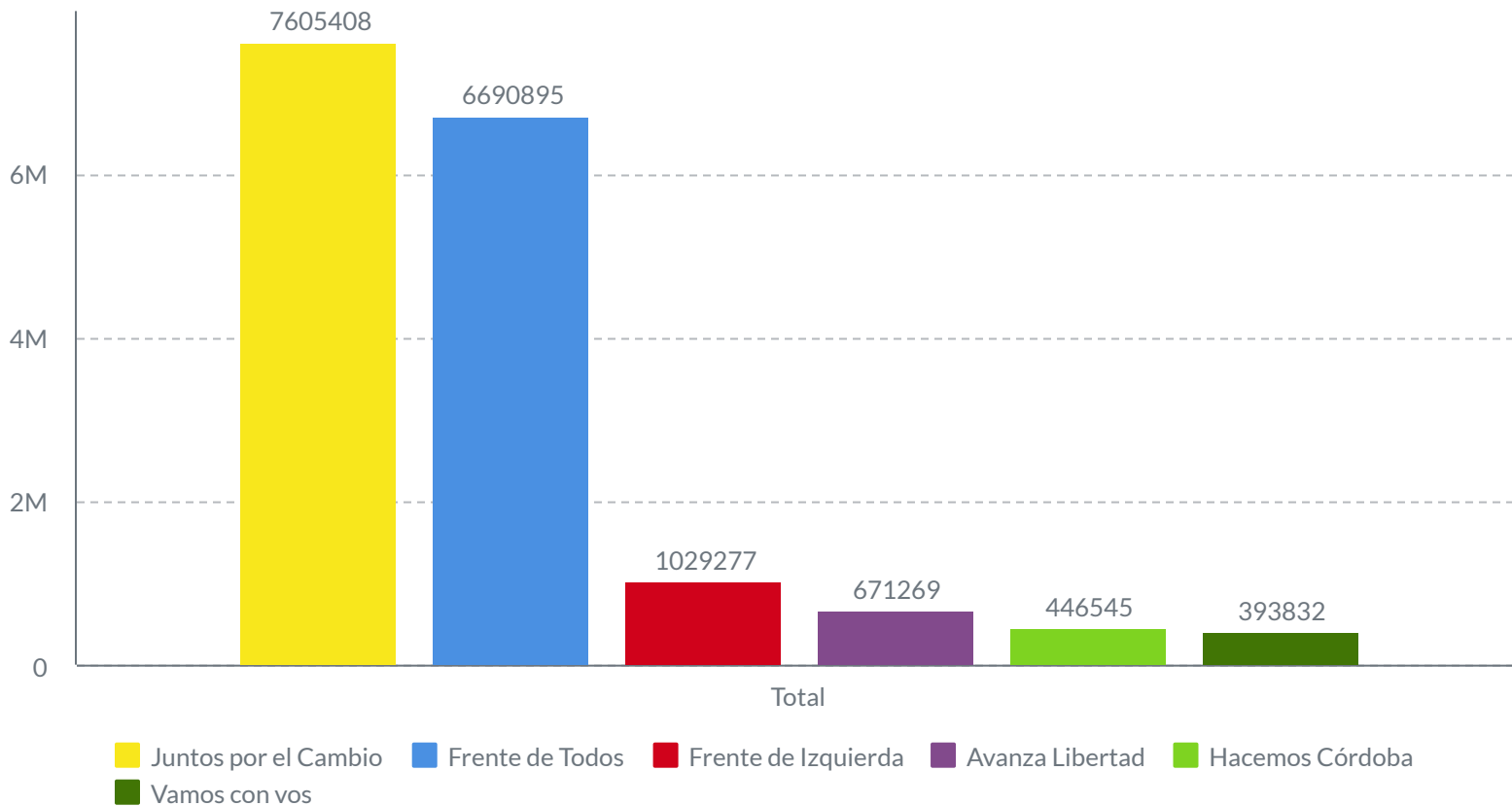
Frente de Todos responded to the results with regret. It was predicted that the ruling party would struggle owing to multiple challenges and missteps: criticism over its handling of the pandemic, an ongoing economic crisis, and scandals such as "Olivos Gate" (where the President held a party during lockdown) and "Vacunatorio VIP" (where vaccines were fastracked to assorted well-connected individuals) – which eroded public confidence. However, the electoral map shows defeats even in traditional Peronist stronghold districts such as La Pampa, Chaco and Santa Cruz – not to mention, and most alarmingly for the government, the province of Buenos Aires.

If the government coalition fails to improve on its results ahead of November it will lose its overall majority in the Senate and its strength in the Chamber of Deputies will be diminished. This would be very damaging for the government, which would be forced to reach a consensus with allies and opponents to advance its legislative agenda. Furthermore, pushing that agenda will be harder still if, as would be the case should the results remain unchanged, they only hold a one-seat advantage over the opposition coalition Juntos por el Cambio in the Chamber of Deputies and if the more extreme groupings such as Frente de Izquierda Unidad (FIT Unidad) and Avanza Libertad reprise their results.

On the other hand, the opposition coalition Juntos por el Cambio won in the main electoral districts - where most seats are at stake - among which the city of Buenos Aires and, far less predictably, the Province of Buenos Aires stand out. It also won in provinces where senators were elected: Córdoba, Mendoza, Santa Fe, Chubut and La Pampa. Thus, if the results of the primaries are sustained in November Juntos por el Cambio will maintain its power in the Deputies and be strengthened in the Senate.

Another point to consider is the performance of the candidates of Avanza Libertad, especially in the city of Buenos Aires. In the capital, its leader Javier Milei attracted over 10% of voters which, if repeated, would win the party four seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The FIT Unidad also did well in the City of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires Province and Jujuy. If it puts in the same performance in November it could win up to 4 deputies. At the national level, indeed, FIT Unidad was the third most voted for group, albeit a long way off Frente de Todos and Juntos por el Cambio.



Contrastingly, the other Peronist electoral options performed badly. In particular, former Minister of Interior Florencio Randazzo had a night to forget, coming fifth in Buenos Aires - and now facing the risk of losing his seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

Looking ahead to the 2023 presidential elections, the following conclusions can be drawn. The head of the Buenos Aires government and likely future presidential candidate, Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, consolidated his overall national standing following wins in the City of Buenos Aires and Buenos Aires Province by his candidates María Eugenia Vidal and Diego Santilli, respectively. Furthermore, within the Juntos por el Cambio coalition, PRO triumphed over the UCR, which narrows down its leadership possibilities. Illustrative of this is Luis Juez's victory over Mario Negri in Córdoba and Diego Santilli's win over Facundo Manes in Buenos Aires.

If the governing coalition fails to improve its results in November, it would lose its majority in the Senate and cede strength in the Chamber of Deputies. This would be a big blow to the ruling party which would be forced to reach out to allies and opponents for support on its legislative agenda. Furthermore, pushing that agenda will be harder still if, as would be the case should the results remain the same, they are left with only a one-seat advantage over the opposition coalition Juntos por el Cambio in the Chamber of Deputies and if the more extreme groupings such as Frente de Izquierda Unidad (FIT Unidad) and Avanza Libertad reprise their results.

If we think of the PASO as a gauge of public satisfaction with the government of Frente de Todos, discontent is clearly widespread. And this could have internal ramifications within its coalition, with competing sub-factions likely to engage in finger-pointing and jostling for power. The chances of the different Peronist parties of the Frente de Todos coalition being able to turn things around before November and indeed beyond that will in part depend on how these internal dynamics play out in the coming weeks.

In the next two months the electoral campaign will intensify ahead of the November elections, and all the more so given the striking results of the primaries. Frente de Todos will look to improve its standing in the eyes of the electorate through the likely promotion of key policies including economic measures. Meanwhile, Juntos por el Cambio is expected to maintain its polarisation strategy, which in its case proved effective.

More by Directorio Legislativo



Image of Power
Power of a Image. July 2021



2021 Elections: Lists closing.
July 2021.



**DIRECTORIO
LEGISLATIVO**

FORTALECEMOS
LAS DEMOCRACIAS
DE AMÉRICA LATINA

STRENGTHENING
DEMOCRACIES
IN LATIN AMERICA

Directorio Legislativo is an independent, non-profit organization working to strengthen democracy and make law- and policy-making in Latin America more transparent, representative and participatory. We achieve this by improving access to public information, and through the creation of spaces for legislators and politicians to engage and be influenced by outside specialists, civil society and the public at large.

✉ info@directoriolegislativo.org



BUENOS AIRES

Av. Entre Ríos 258 3o E
(1079), CABA. Argentina
+ (5411) 5218-4647



WASHINGTON D.C.

1110 Vermont Ave, NW, Suite 500
Washington DC 20005, USA
+1 (786) 828-0675



www.directoriolegislativo.com