

August 2023

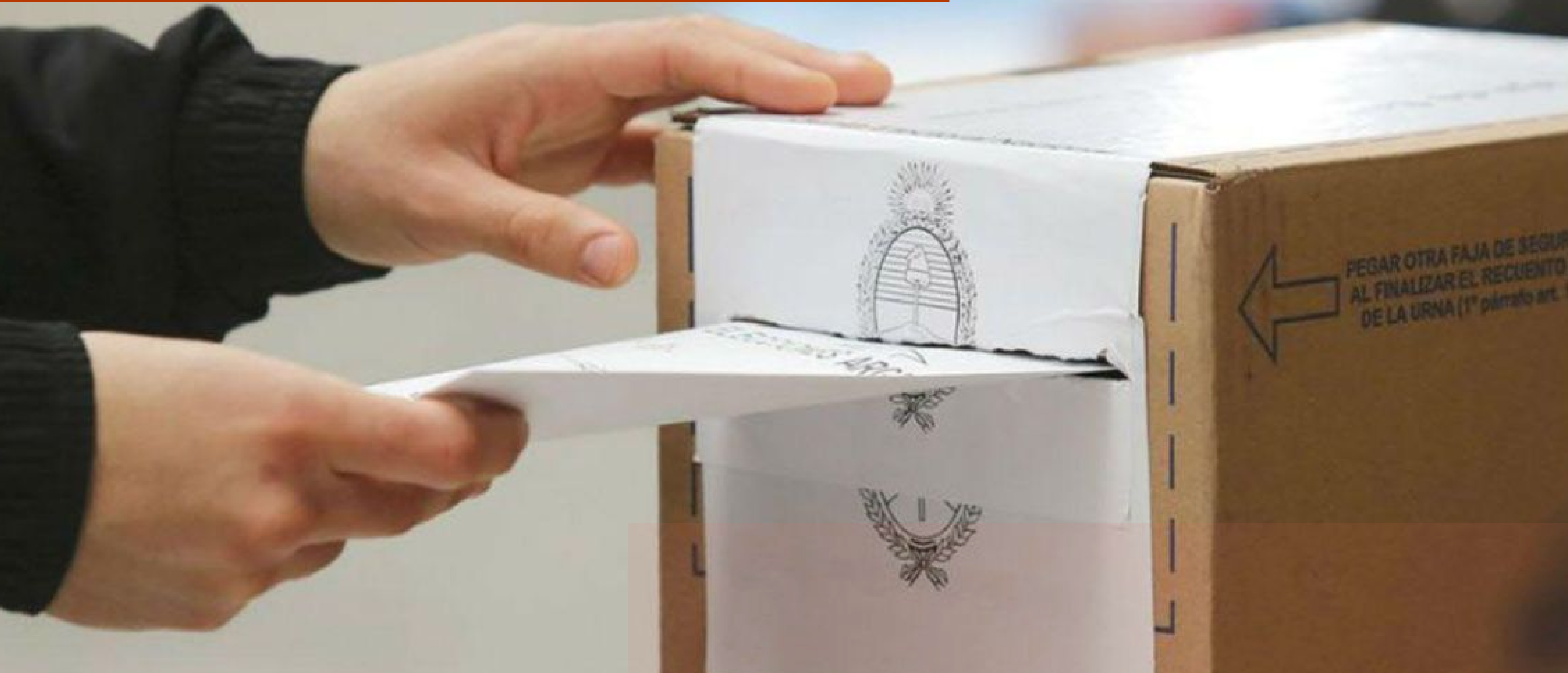


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# Simultaneous and Compulsory Open Primary Elections

## Post-election Report



# Which are the keys to this report?

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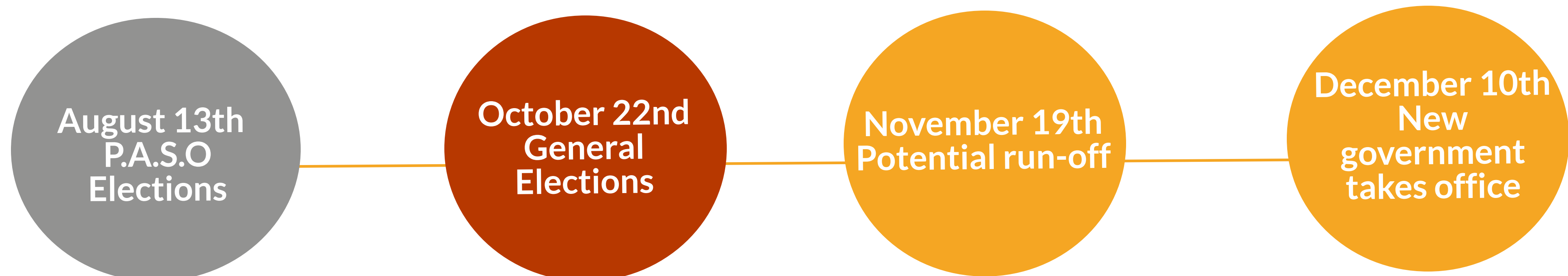
Argentina's primary elections served up a shock for the ages this Sunday with libertarian firebrand **Javier Milei** winning in 16 of the country's 24 districts and with **over 30% of the national vote**, in what is the biggest shake-up of electoral politics seen in the country for 20 years.

Looking on with concern was **Juntos por el Cambio**, the opposition bloc that had been tipped for victory. Its hardline candidate Patricia Bullrich overcome her more moderate adversary Horacio Rodríguez Larreta but - strikingly - the two of them together garnered almost 2% fewer votes than Milei. Both candidates have hastily committed to work together in an effort to stymie the outsider.

For its part, the the ruling bloc - Unión por la Patria - was the third most voted-for coalition (behind Milei's Libertad Avanza and Juntos por el Cambio) but had the consolation of their strongest runner for the presidency, Sergio Massa, finishing behind Milei in **second place**, albeit adrift by a huge 9%. Buoyed, however, by its victory in the decisive province of Buenos Aires, the ruling alliance still spies an opportunity to **recover ground and make a likely run-off ballot in November**, with both defeated pre-candidate Juan Grabois and provincial governor Axel Kicillof rallying behind Massa.

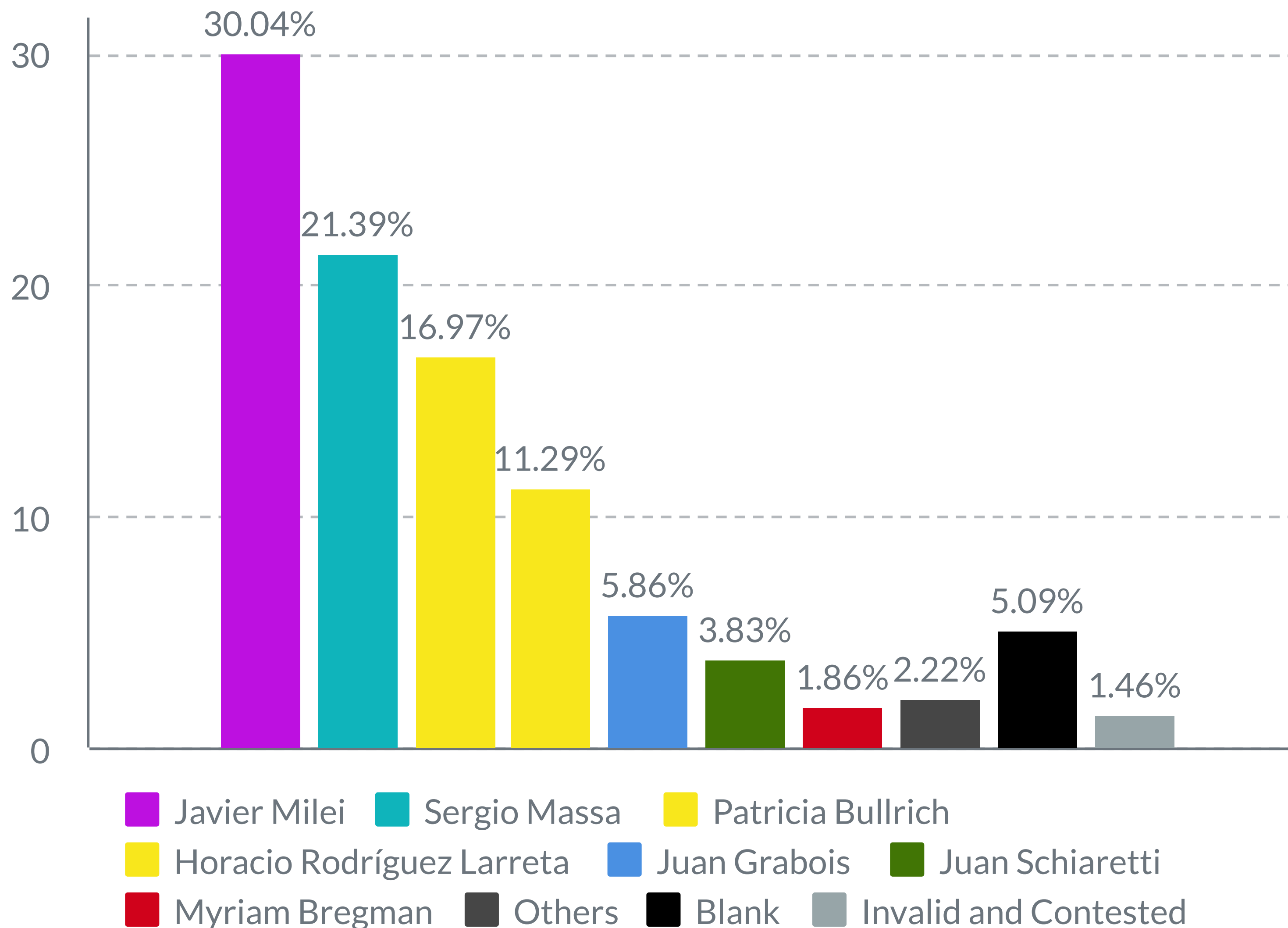
The scene is now set for a hotly contested general election in October. Ahead of that, Milei will likely keep beating the drum of social discontent, Bullrich double down on her safety and security credentials, and Massa attempt to break through the Peronist apathy that has dogged the current president amid crippling inflation and lacklustre post-covid recovery.

## — Key Steps



# The Results

## Votes obtained by candidates



Source: Own elaboration based on the results presented by the National Electoral Directorate (DINE) with 97.39% of the votes counted.

The main surprise on Sunday's election was **Javier Milei** who defied pollsters to capture nearly a third of the vote.

This overshadowed what had been billed as the great question mark on the night - namely who would win out of **Patricia Bullrich** and **Horacio Rodríguez Larreta** for **Juntos por el Cambio**. In the end, Bullrich beat her rival by a margin of just over 5% - similar to that predicted in some of the polls.

The support for Milei also upset the ruling bloc of **Unión por la Patria**, whose primary pick Sergio Massa had aimed to be the most voted-for individual candidate but trailed in second place by almost 10%.



## Votes obtained by party

Milei and Libertad Avanza also obtained the highest number of votes as a political space as a whole. Capitalizing on social discontent, it was the most voted party, slightly exceeding 30% of the votes.

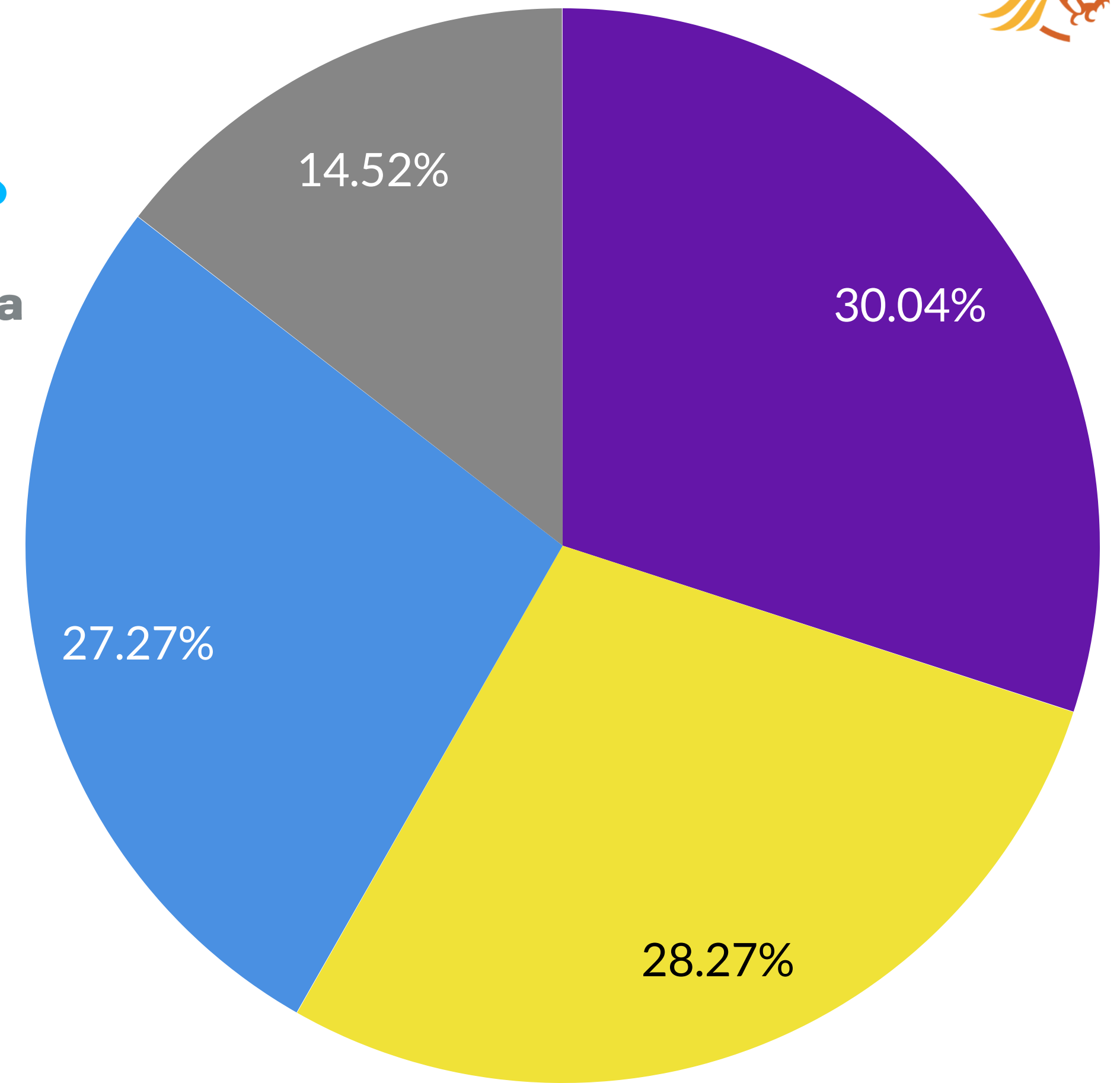
However, when looking at the data by coalitions (as opposed to presidential candidate), the triumph of the libertarian space is less resounding. **The three main alliances are separated by only 2.77%.**

What the polls did get right was that, unlike in 2019, **no candidate appears close to garnering the necessary votes to win the first round outright, (45%, or 40% to win on the condition that the second is within 10%)**

Thus, what took place yesterday is very possibly the **first of a three-step electoral process culminating in a run-off in November.**



Unión por la Patria

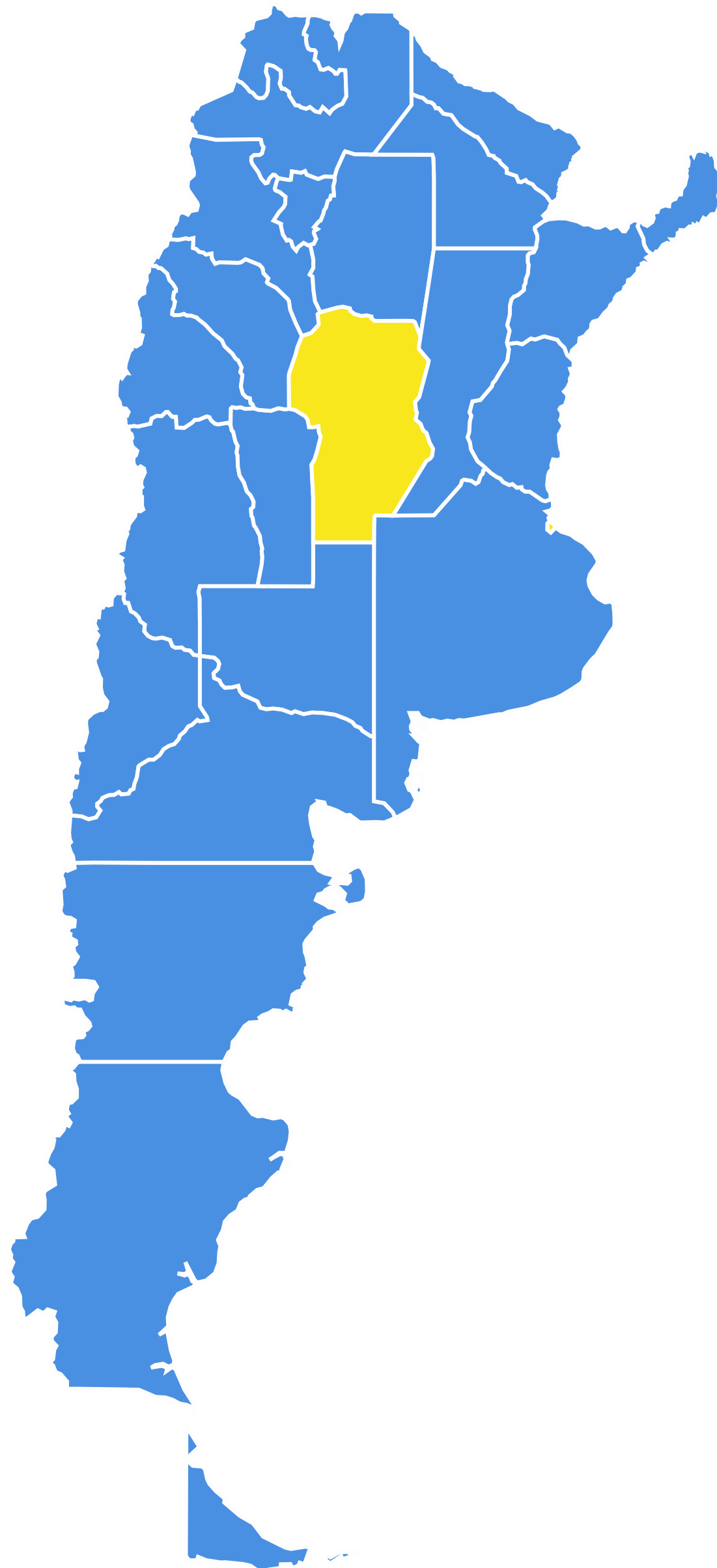


Juntos por el **CAMBIO**

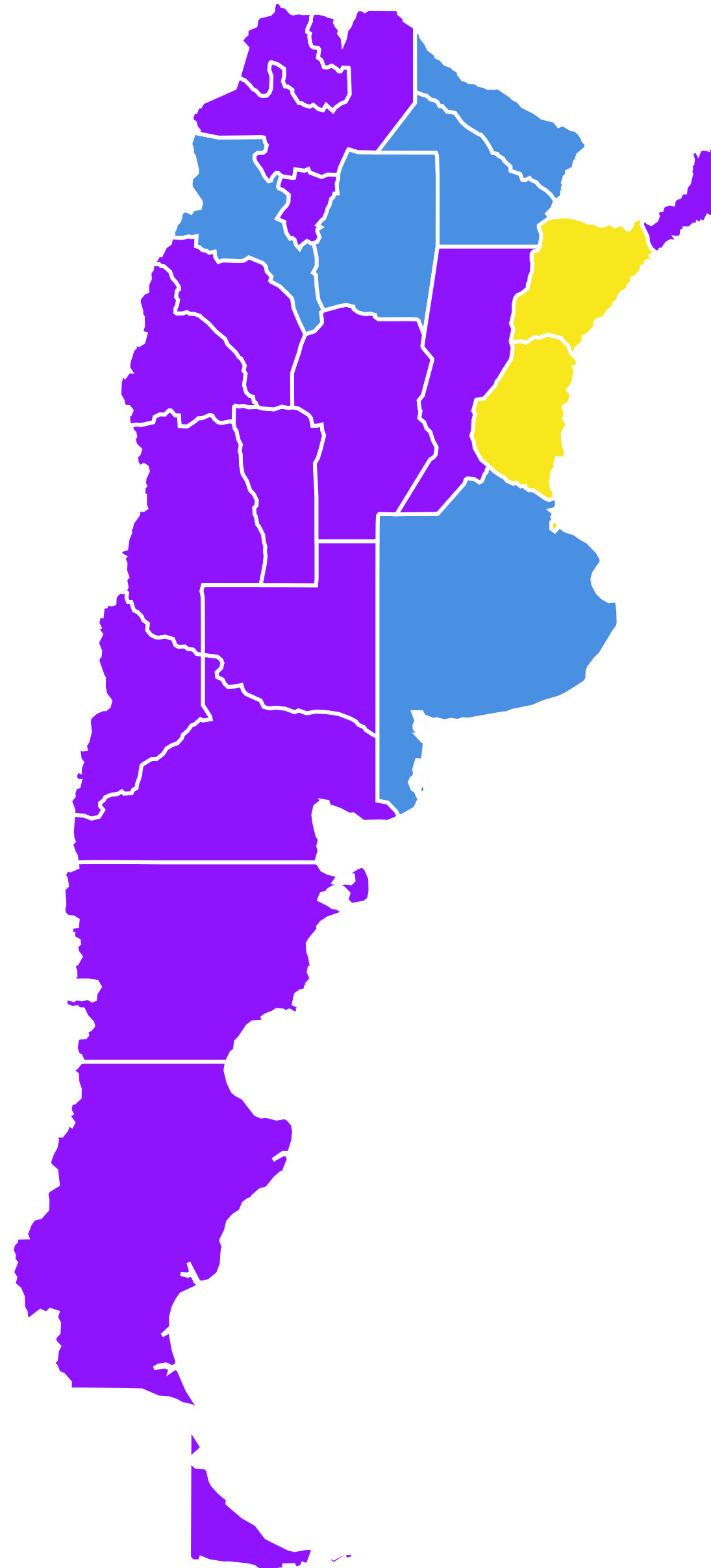
Source: Own elaboration based on the results presented by the National Electoral Directorate with 97.39% of the votes counted. The option others includes blank votes, null and void votes, and contested votes.

## Who won in each territory?

PASO 2019 results



PASO 2023 results



Contrary to what was expected regarding the capacity of the Libertad Avanza coalition to obtain good results in the interior of the country, **the space of Javier Milei won in 16 districts.**

Although up to now in each sub-national election the libertarian space suffered from the lack of candidates and structures of its own, **yesterday it managed to win in key districts of the country such as Córdoba, Mendoza and Santa Fe.**

**The main victim was Juntos por el Cambio,** a space that in the last elections had achieved good results in those provinces and, recently, had conquered San Luis, San Juan and Chubut.

However, **the Milei phenomenon also had an impact on classic bastions of Peronism,** taking away La Rioja, Tucumán, La Pampa or Santa Cruz.

In any case, the **good performance of the two main coalitions in the Province of Buenos Aires,** where they came first and second, allowed them to remain competitive and to be a few points behind the libertarian leader.

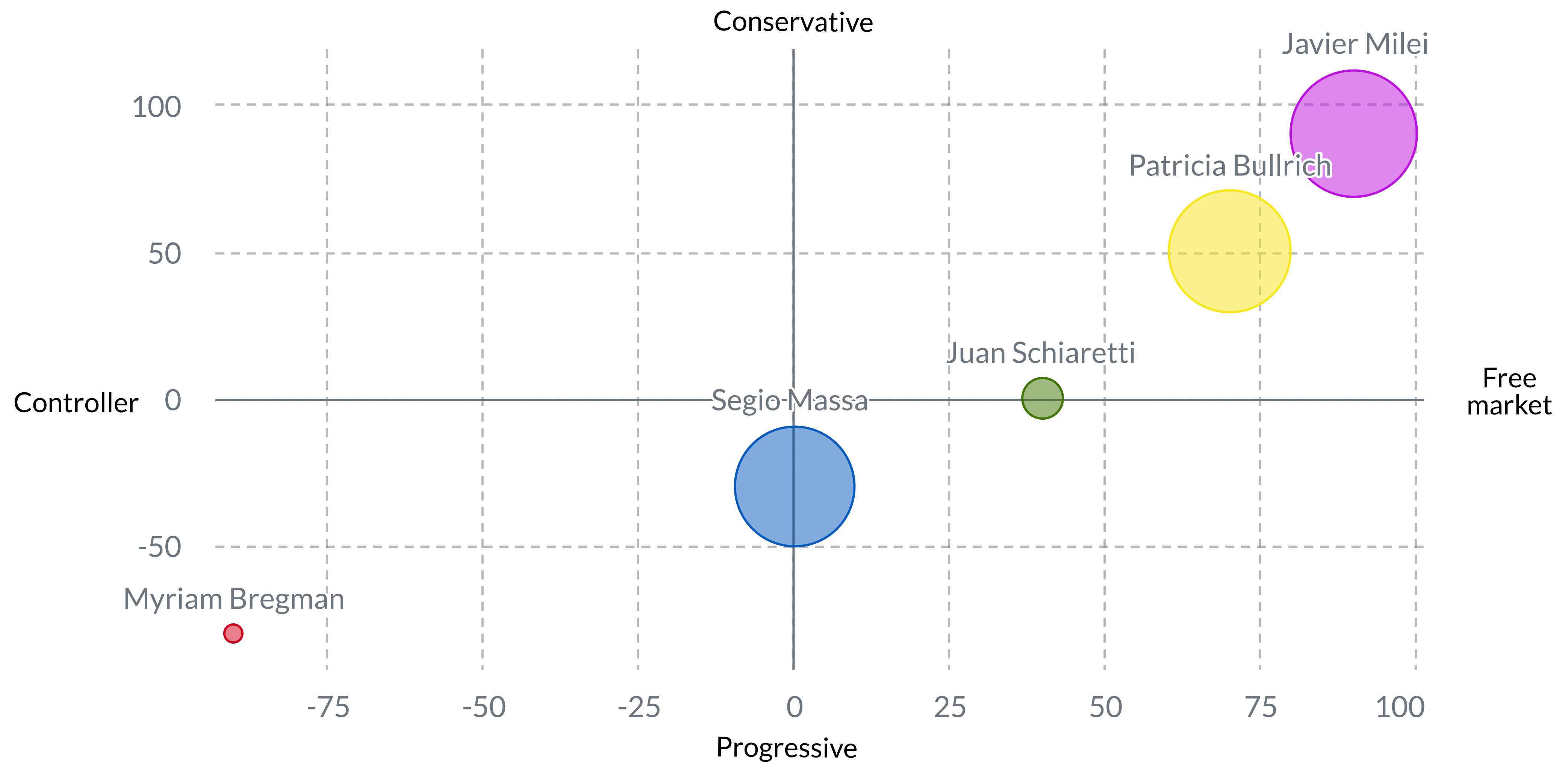
# What does the political spectrum look like now?



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\* The candidates were placed on the basis of their position in relation to economic and social issues.

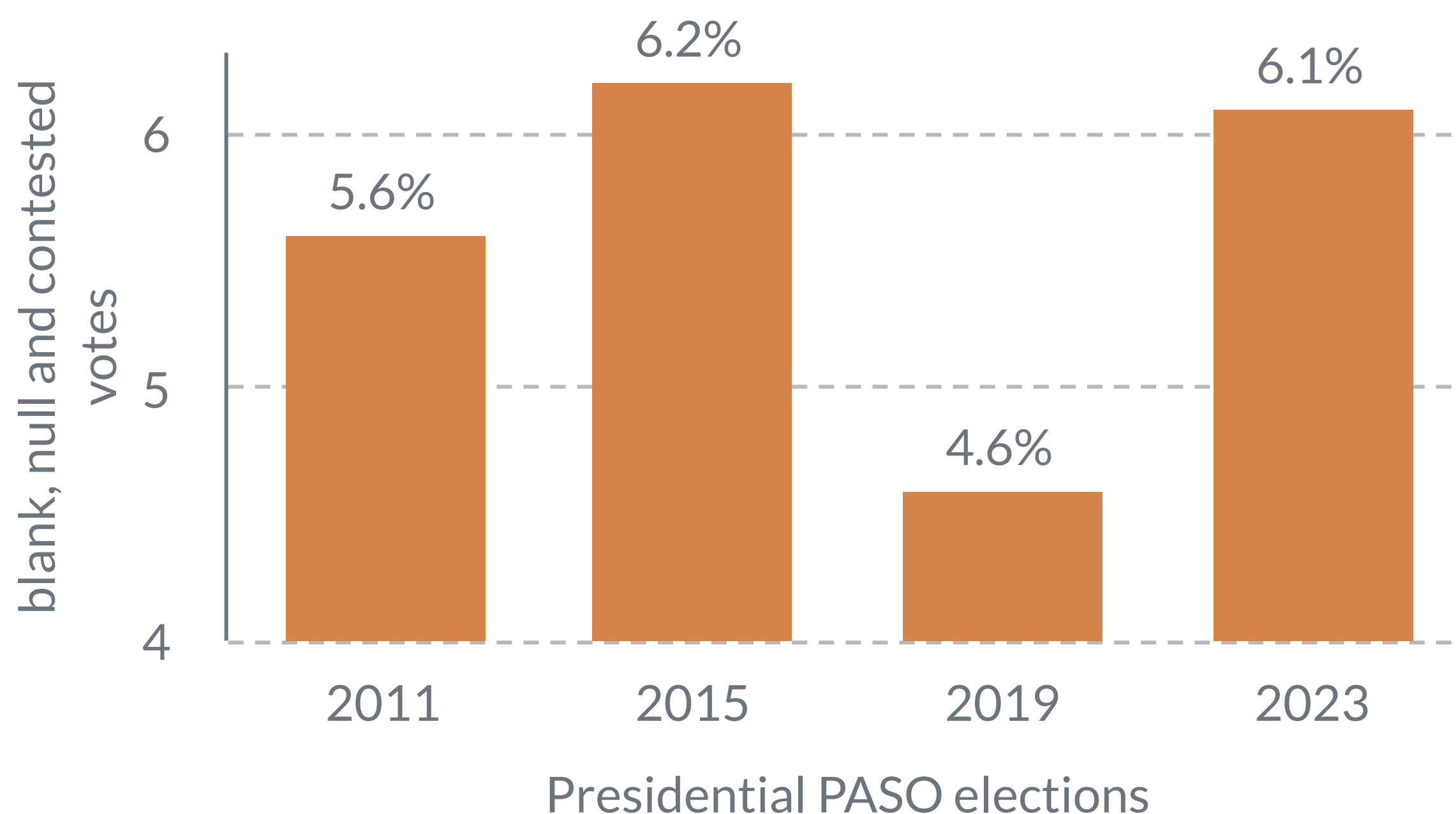
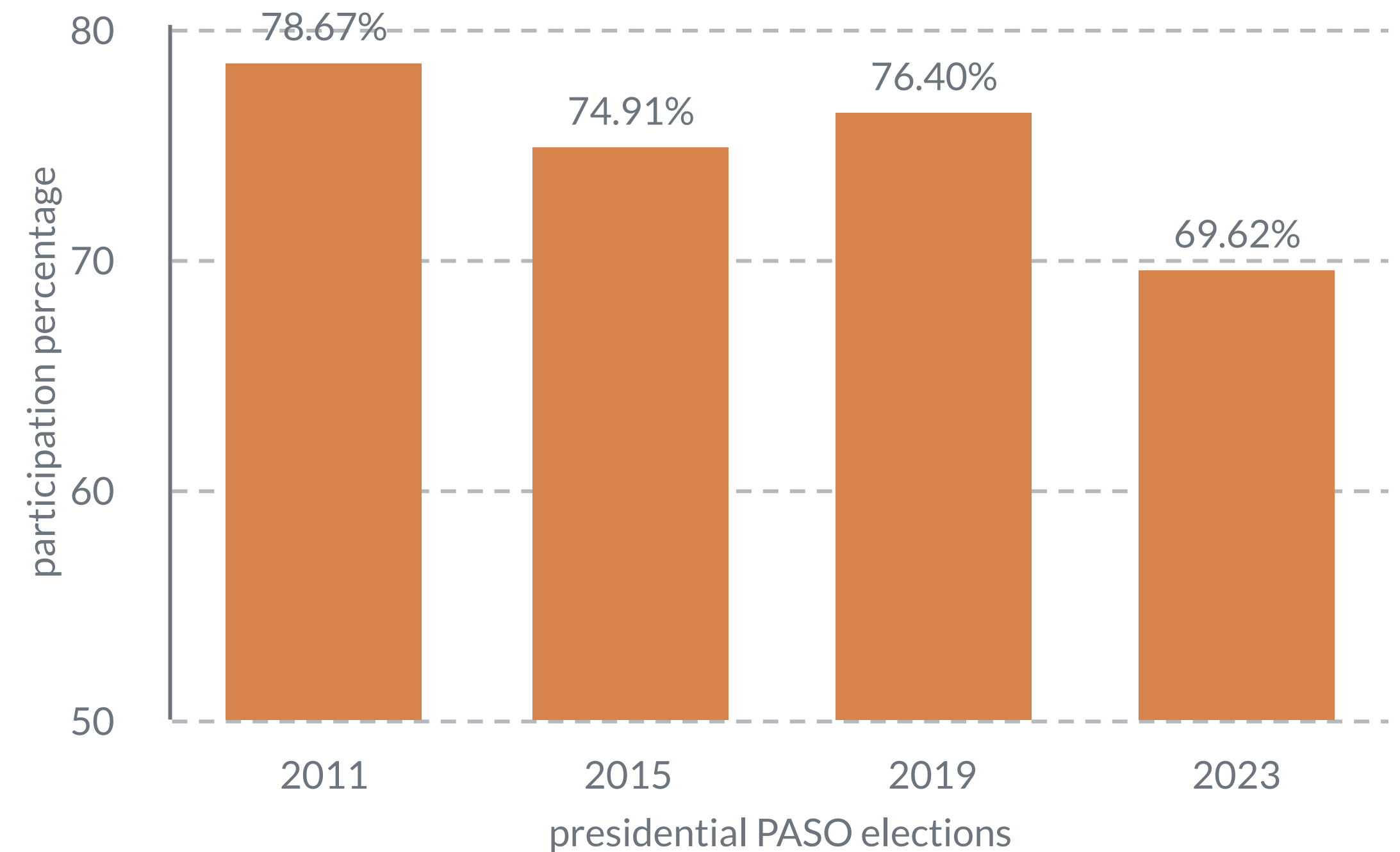
\*The size of each circle corresponds to the total votes obtained by the space according to the results of the National Electoral Directorate with 97.39% of the votes counted.

**Milei's election and Bullrich's victory over Larreta confirmed the shift of electoral supply and demand towards the conservative and liberal quadrant (of the above-depicted spectrum). The closeness of their political and ideological positions suggest a strong struggle to capture the vote of this quadrant and a challenge to obtain votes towards the "center" where Bullrich seems to have a better chance of picking up supporters. On the other hand, the progressive quadrant lost its maximum exponent, Juan Grabois, leaving only Sergio Massa or Myriam Bregman in the proximity of the highly sought-after top-right quadrant.**



# How did absenteeism and the "rejection vote" play a role?

The election day was marked by **multiple calls from the main candidates to vote**, due to the fear of high absenteeism. Those concerns turned out to be warranted: **turnout for a presidential PASO election was the lowest it has been since the mechanism was established** - barely above the striking absenteeism of 67.78% recorded for the legislative PASO in 2021.. **Looking ahead to October, this factor will be both an opportunity and a risk for all contenders** - but an indictment either way of the huge voter disaffection sweeping the country.



However, the level of blank, null or contested votes - expected to be high, as it has been thus far sub-nationally - actually remained close to that of the previous PASO elections. Everything seems to indicate that instead of expressing their discontent through these mechanisms, citizens opted for Javier Milei, a candidate who has emphasized to present himself as an alternative to an establishment that has not given satisfactory results. The great challenge for the libertarian candidate will be to capitalize and consolidate these votes for October.

# Candidates facing the general elections

## Javier Milei - La Libertad Avanza



**Votes: 30,04%**

### Who is he?

He is an economist. He is a national deputy for La Libertad Avanza, a space which he leads. He is characterized for being an "outsider" of Argentine politics, something he manifests through his criticism of what he considers "the political caste".

### Proposals

- Eliminate the Central Bank and unify the exchange rate.
- Eliminate social plans.
- Tariff all health services.
- Promote good agricultural practices.
- Reform the agricultural emergency system.

*"It is not possible to aspire to have different results with the same people as always" and therefore "we are the only ones able to do something different, I invite good Argentines to join the liberal revolution".*



# Candidates facing the general elections

## Sergio Massa - Unión por la Patria



**Votes: 21,39%**

### Who is he?

He was part of the governments of Eduardo Duhalde, Néstor and Cristina Kirchner. After a period as Mayor of Tigre.

He was elected as national deputy, a seat he kept until he became Minister of Economy. Currently, he is one of the main pre-candidates for President.

### Proposals

- To maintain the level of public investment.
- Increase exports volume.
- Maintain the system of free medicines for retirees.
- Promote energy and mining sector.
- Rebuild and recover the credibility of Justice.

*"I want to tell every Argentine who wants to live with a model of development and inclusion, that we are going to leave every drop of our sweat to win in October, and in November and to continue being the government in Argentina."*



# Candidates facing the general elections

**Patricia Bullrich - Juntos por el Cambio**



**Votes: 16,97%**

## Who is she?

Career politician, former Minister of Security of Mauricio Macri. Until the beginning of the campaign she was the president of PRO (one of the main political parties of the coalition).

She represents the most radical wing of the coalition having emphasized in her campaign the need to implement rapid and strong changes in the Argentine reality.

## Proposals

- Eliminate restrictions to operate in the foreign exchange market immediately.
- Promote the autonomy of the Central Bank.
- Convert social plans into unemployment insurance.
- Free the private sector from withholding taxes and promote exports.
- Limit mobilizations and protests.

*"I ratify to all Argentines that Juntos por el Cambio has made a great election throughout Argentina. Starting tomorrow we are all together to win the general elections".*

# Candidates for the general elections

## Myriam Bregman- Frente de Izquierda



**Votes: 1,86%**

### Who is she?

Bregman is the presidential candidate of the Frente de Izquierda. She is currently a national deputy. She is a lawyer and has a confrontational profile with large private sector companies. The central axes of her campaign can be synthesized in the need to generate solutions aimed at protecting workers.

### Proposals

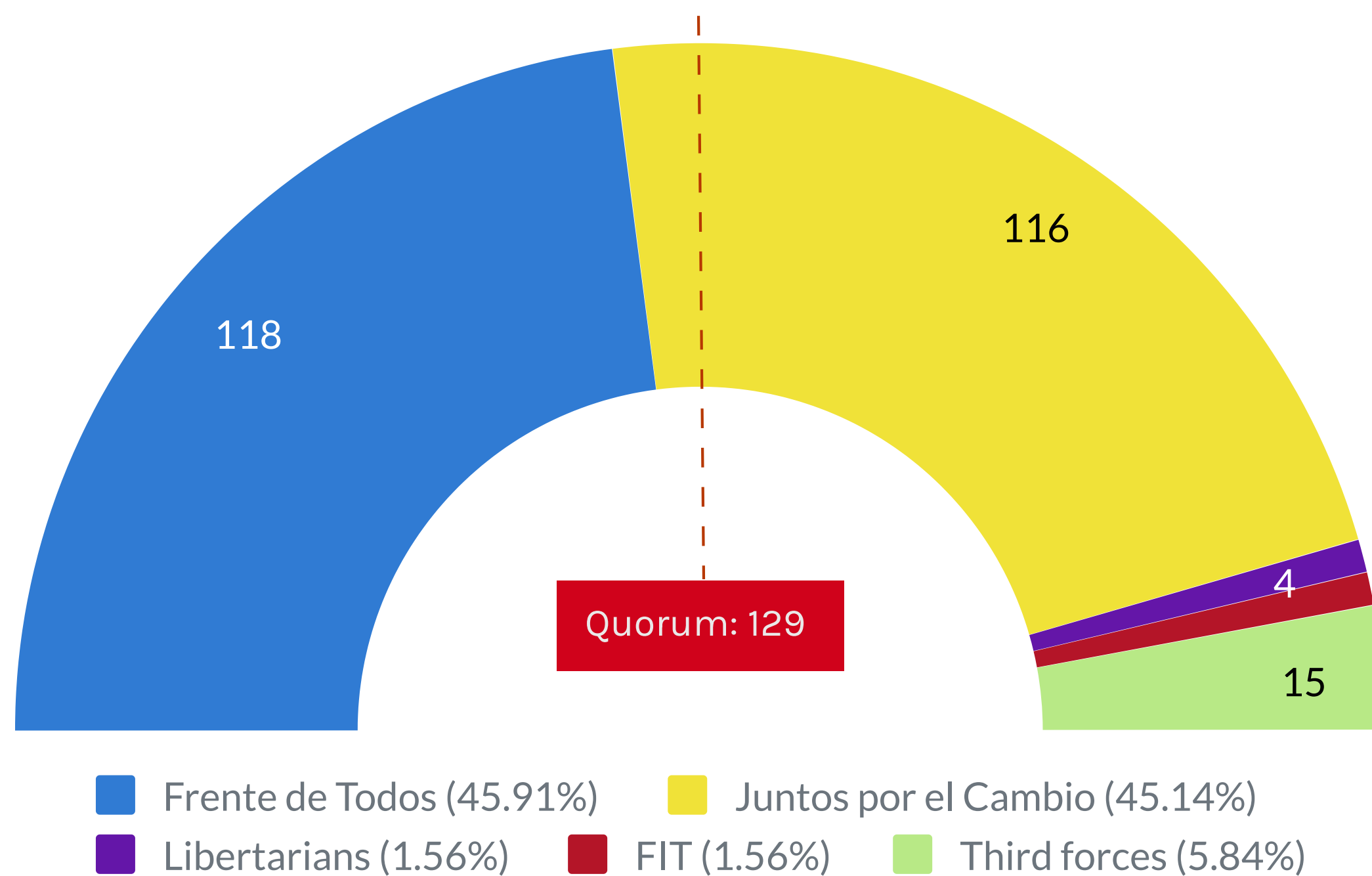
- Not to pay the debt with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).
- To increase salaries, pensions, annul the pension reform and prohibit dismissals and suspensions.
- To eliminate the Value Added Tax (VAT) from the family basket.
- Guarantee access to health care.
- Eliminate mining and the indiscriminate use of agrochemicals.



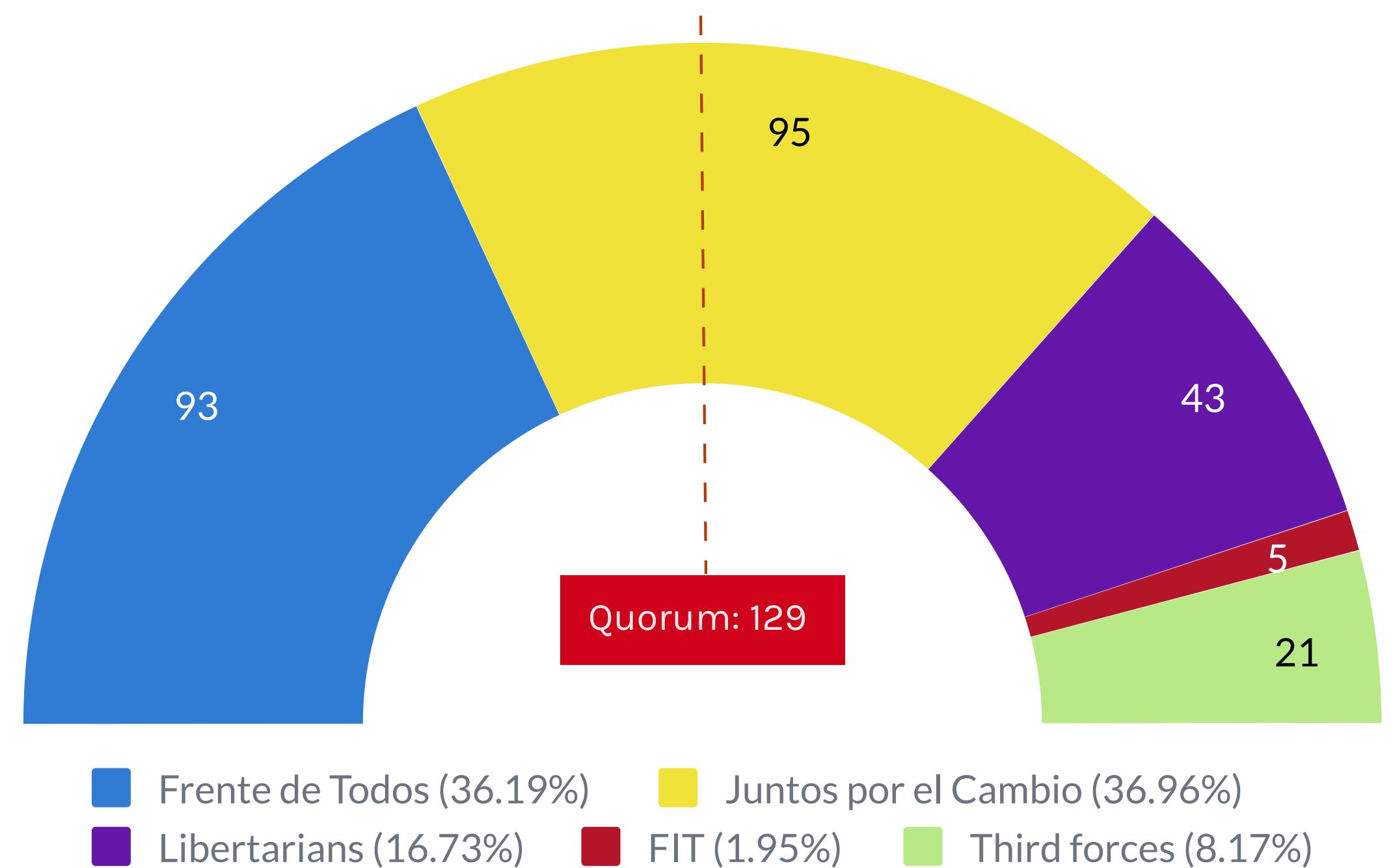
# Legislative elections

## What might the Chamber of Deputies look like?

Current composition



Projections 2023 - 2025

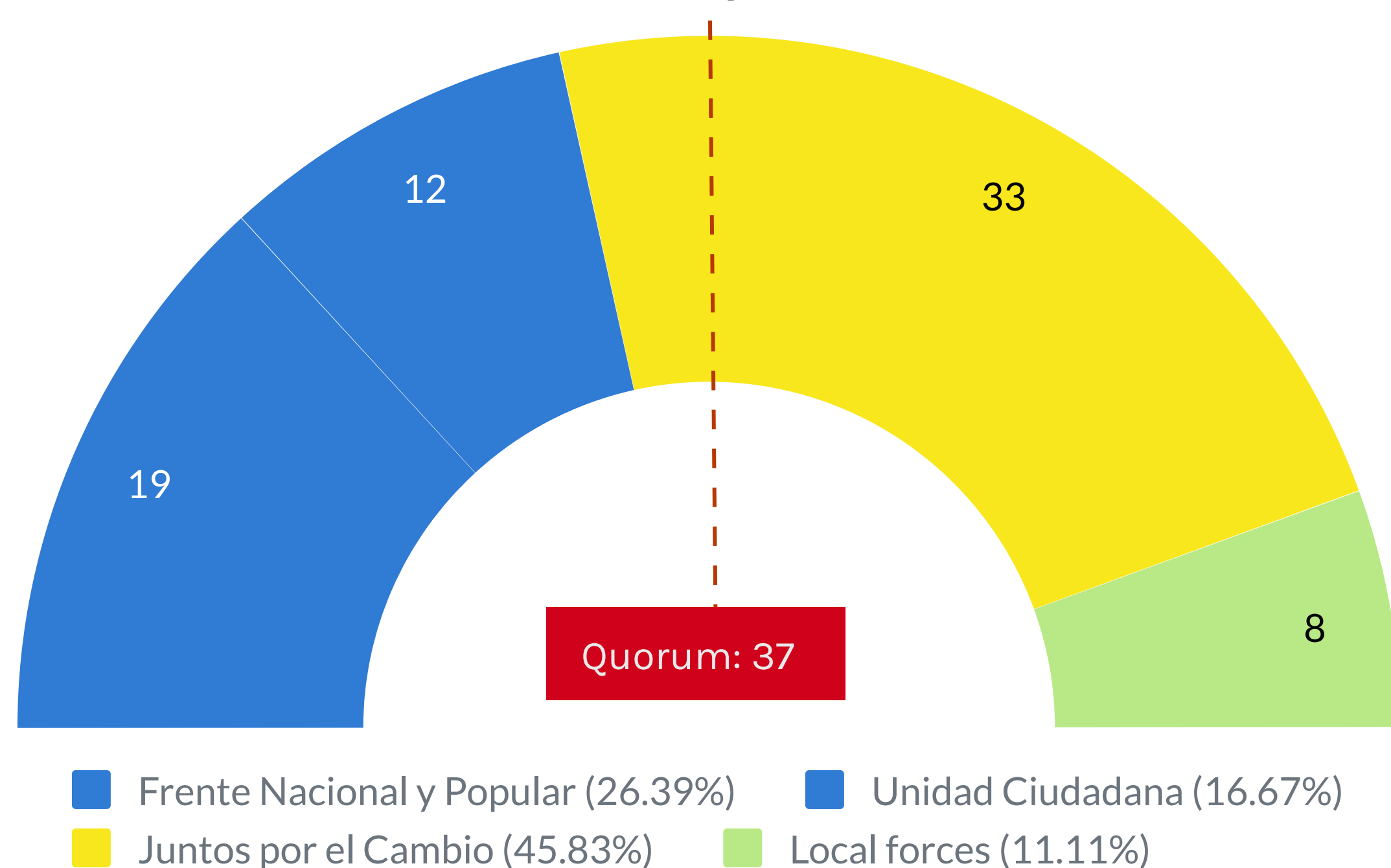


If the alliances manage to capitalize all the votes obtained by their pre-candidates in the PASO elections in view of the General Elections, a **Chamber of Deputies is projected in which no force will have its own quorum**. In this sense, no party will be able to set its legislative agenda without reaching a consensus with the rest of the political spectrum. **The main novelty in this scenario is the growth of the bench identified with Javier Milei**, which will have enough capacity to block the advance of any legislation that is not in its interest. In order for the study of any bill to prosper, it will be necessary that at least a portion of the libertarian bloc decides to support it.

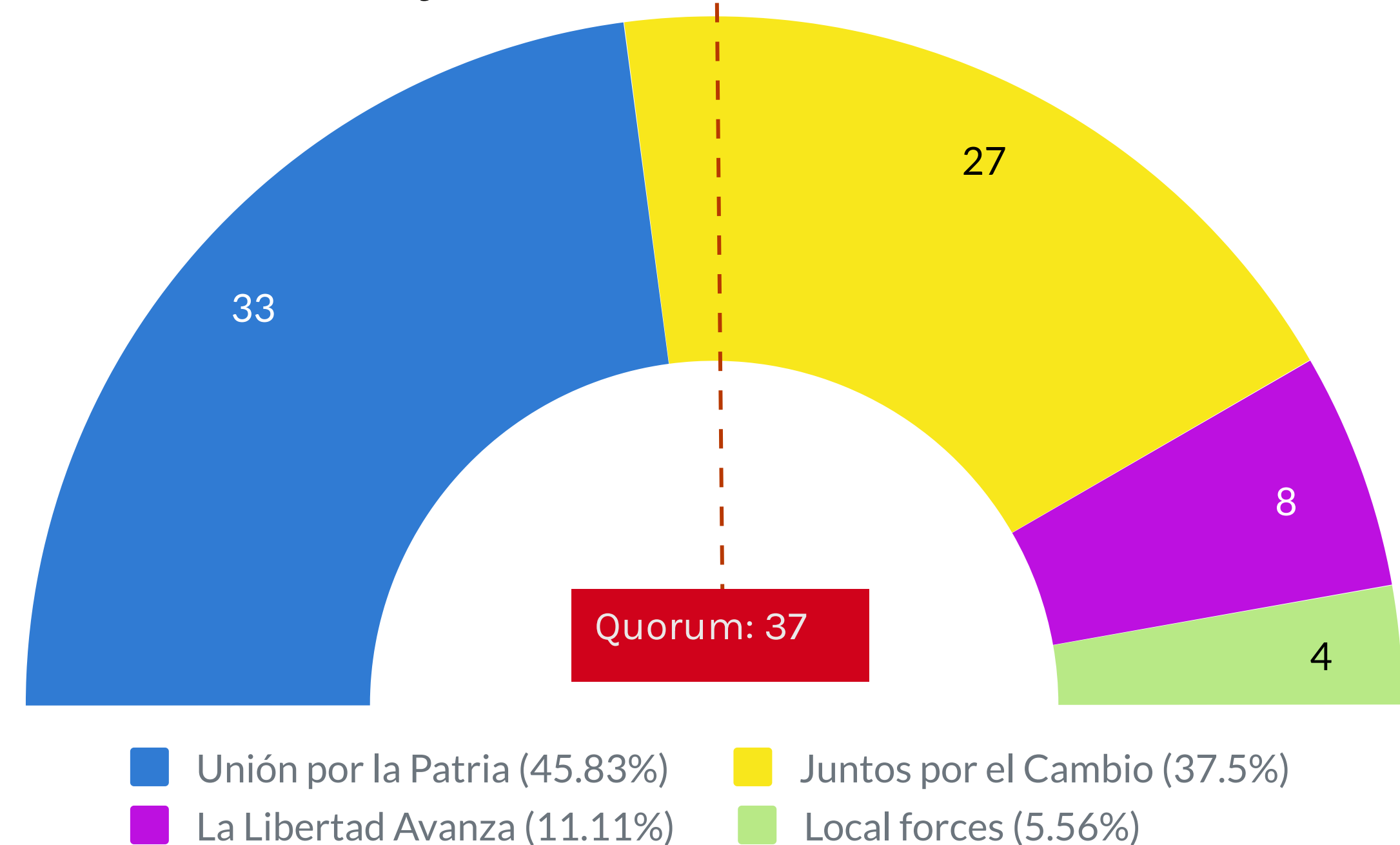
# Legislative elections

## What might the Senate look like?

Current composition

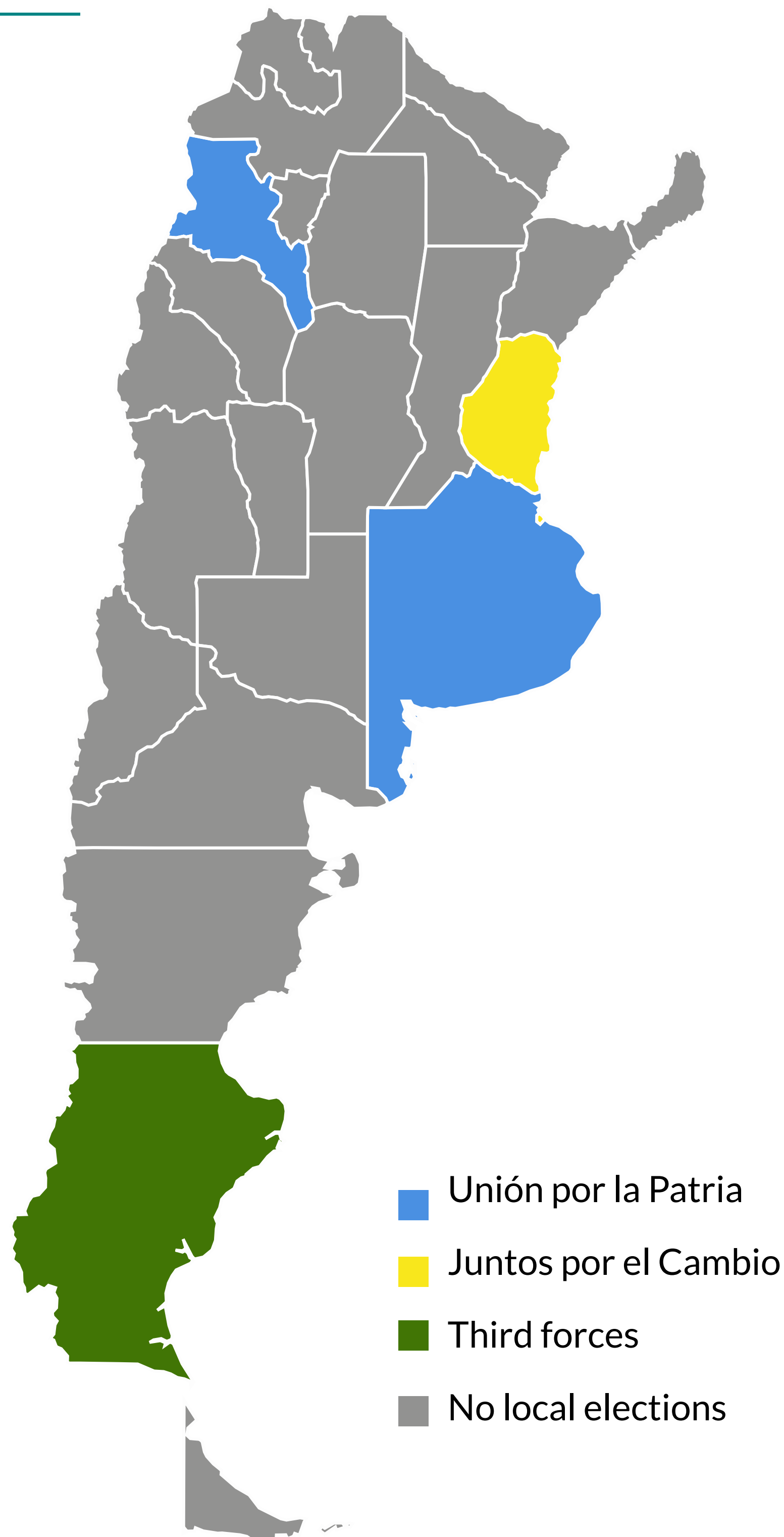


Projections 2023 - 2025



If the alliances were able to capitalize all the votes obtained in the PASO elections for the General Elections, it is projected a Senate in which Unión por la Patria (UP) would be the largest bench. Although UP will not have the possibility of setting the agenda of the chamber by itself, there is the possibility of articulating with the senators of the provincial forces to build a common position. However, the particularity in this type of agreements is that they are usually of a transitory nature. That is to say that they will be built according to each issue under debate and, in this sense, the eventual Executive Branch will have to encourage these agreements (in case Massa becomes the new president) or influence to guide these conversations in line with the agenda of the National Executive Power (if the new president were Milei or Bullrich).

# Subnational elections



This Sunday, governors were also elected in **five districts of the country**. Unlike what happened at the national level, and in line with what had been happening so far in this type of elections, **the traditional parties managed to retain most of the territories**.

The main highlight was the **Province of Buenos Aires**, where **Axel Kicillof** obtained **36.41%** of the votes. He will compete in October against **Nestór Grindetti**, who leads the internal Juntos por el Cambio by a narrow margin of **0.3%**, having obtained **16.6%** of the votes. Also competing for the Libertarians will be **Carolina Píparo** who obtained **23.8%**.

The second most important district that had PASO yesterday was the **Federal Capital**. There, Juntos por el Cambio obtained a wide majority between its two candidates (**55.9%**), having **won by a little more than 1.5%** the candidate related to **Patricia Bullrich, Jorge Macri**. There, **Leandro Santoro** of Unión por la Patria and **Ramiro Marra** of La Libertad Avanza will seek to reach at least a ballot in October.

On the other hand, another important contest was **Entre Ríos**. There, **Juntos por el Cambio** obtained **39.8%** of the votes as a joint force, **Rogelio Frigerio** having obtained **32.8%**. However, **Unión por la Patria** obtained **33.3%** of the votes with **Adán Bahl** and looks competitive for October.

Other provinces that also went to the polls were **Catamarca**, where the ruling party **Unión por la Patria** obtained a comfortable victory with **45.8%**. Meanwhile in **Santa Cruz**, Peronism lost by a narrow margin against the coalition "Por Santa Cruz".



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