Participatory democracy, consensus building and social demands

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Abstract: The Mexican elections of June 6, 2021 are a window through which one can observe the complexity of the relationships between the social agents that fight for power, the tensions between the State and society, as well as the forms of citizen participation in an incipient democracy. Organizing the perception of the reality of Mexican society through a discourse that allows not only to recognize it but also to intervene in it seems to be the propitious space for the emergence of new political-social projects through the creation of new political parties, which give rise to different perceptions of social reality. The formation and participation of new political parties in the June 6 election in Mexico allowed the expression of other social actors not represented in the former hegemonic parties (PAN-PRI-PRD), nor of the new hegemonic party with its satellite parties (MORENA plus PT, PVE, PES, PNAL). The greater number of political proposals should have promoted more deliberative democracy; but the result contracted the plurality of the political parties to two large alliances PAN-PRI and MORENA plus their coalition parties, not only at the national level but in the various regions, as well as locally in a differentiated way, but under the same trend of formation of two opposing blocks.

In this context of reduction of possibilities, concentration of power, concurrence of electors agglutinated by the perspective of the narration of the already consolidated social reality, The question arises: How do political parties, as well as the majestic media of information through public opinion, contribute to deliberative democracy and the

formation of consensus? As a conjecture, it is postulated that the ways of guiding public opinion affect the social polarization that induces the formation of reduced consensus, which generates greater tension between the State and society, in addition to polarizing social agents in two antagonistic proposals. Thus, the reduction of political parties is related to social polarization more than to the formation of consensus.

To corroborate the research assumption, a political perception survey was applied in the state of Morelos to 2400 people of legal age with voting credentials from the different micro-regions of the entity, being a representative sample for infinite populations. The results of the survey were juxtaposed with the results of the PREP at the state and national levels, finding that people who decide to exercise their vote do so deliberately, trying to build consensus around the main social demands and state policies of social intervention, therefore, government discourse is a piece of political communication that guides social actions.

Introduction

The dynamics of societies is revealed in multiple ways, one of them is through the vote, concentrating or dividing power in societies with institutions of formal democracy. On June 6, 2021, Mexican society continued to experience the opportunity to communicate its feelings to powerful groups through voting, Mexican voters remain certain that their vote can make profound social changes by dividing or concentrating power in the preponderant political actors. Phenomena such as the "useful vote" (Torres, 2017), the "divided vote" (Rodríguez, 2012) and the "crossed vote" (Rodríguez, 2012); They reflect that voter no longer "vote in cascade" even though the ruling party's slogan is "vote all MORENA."

Synthesizing the complexity of political participation in Mexican society by stating that it is the social stratum that defines the intention to vote, is to refuse to recognize the complexity of contemporary political systems, in which aspects such as ideology, social class, union or labor affiliation are disrupted by meta structural and identity factors. When analyzing the results obtained by the PREP for the election of this June 6, 2021, the political participation of the voters is varied as well as irregular, there does not seem to be a determining factor that stands as the only cause of the direction of the vote. of Mexican citizens. Of course, the close to 48% abstention (INE, 2021a) could make it seem that citizens have not yet rationalized the importance of their political participation, but, on the other hand, the public deliberation of sensitive information increases citizen participation, which was reflected in a more frequent "crossover vote".

It would be risky to synthesize the complexity of Mexican society by reducing its plurality and dynamism to a single factor that determines the actions of the social subjects that comprise it, as well as their collective contributions. Link people's income, or their purchasing power, or the mayor's office where they live; with their political actions through a cause-effect relationship, is not recognizing social plurality, nor the contradictions of a highly stratified society exposed to a discursive diversity that ways of thinking about social reality seek to impose.

The complexity of Mexican society fosters multiple actions in various contexts, many factors related to many processes that complicate collective actions in the public sphere, in particular the struggle for political power in the public space. Many times the

preponderance of the economic sphere over politics or vice versa has been insisted on (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012), leaving aside the importance of the social sphere and its ability to transform social networks into political networks, thus influencing political institutions, particularly the State through voting in democratic societies (Bobbio, 1990). In this sense, continuing with the proposal of the "Theory of the three powers" (Toledo, 2013), also called the "model of the three parts", which recognizes the tension between State and society, as well as between the various social actors it contributes a lot to the reflection and understanding of social transformations from social movements; it is possible to think about the complexity of political-social-economic systems and how they interact with each other, exerting influence on the various processes within each system.

In this sense, it starts from the recognition of the economic, political and social spheres; how they are related from a perspective of complexity, how the reality of contemporary society can be visualized as the result of the encounter between "three powers", each of which interacts with the other two simultaneously, but within each one ff these spheres there are other sub spheres in tension. That is why this research report starts from the theoretical assumptions of the habermasian proposal of "System and world of life" (Habermas, 1999), in order to recognize the relationships as well as the influences that the various spheres exert on each other, without considering people as passive individuals, but the perception of the reality of people influences the coordination of actors, the formation of social actors capable of generating social changes through communication and the rationalization of actions.

Determinisms contrast with multi-causal processes, the complexity of Mexican society cannot be reduced to "chairos" and "fifis"; the diversity and plurality of Mexican society entails multiple identity forms of regionally distinguishable people as well as social actors who try to organize social movements. The appearance of various emerging social agents, in a changing national and international context, increases the indeterminacy of social processes in Mexico, including social, political, and economic ones. The perception of the Mexican social reality by people determines in many ways their social participation, so that the processes of rationalization and communication, individual and/or collective, transcend from the social to the political. In this research, the habermasian "deliberative democracy" proposal was taken as a theoretical basis, since it is linked to the communication and rationalization processes that guide the actions of social actors towards self-government (Habermas, 1999). On June 6, up to 23 political parties were presented in the elections in Mexico, depending on the number of local political parties in each federal entity, which presented candidates for the 21,368 popularly elected public positions that were contested (INE, 2021b). The appearance of new political parties opened the possibility of including in the political agenda issues that concern various sectors of society and that are openly debated through public opinion using various communication platforms. The emergence of new political parties could have linked the political agenda with public opinion, thus responding to the tensions that emerging social movements demand in the traditional political spectrum.

But the fact that most of the political parties have lost their registration according to Mexican law by not having achieved 3% of the general vote, reflects that the proposals of the new parties as well as other existing minorities were not communicated (PES, PNAL, PRD) with the voters, or that their proposals do not correspond to the social perception of the national, regional, or local reality that would make sense to the voters. On the other hand, the fact that the votes have been concentrated in two political aspects with their

variants mediated by satellite parties, indicates that the perception of the crisis in the country can be mediated through two antagonistic proposals that polarize the discourse, the opinion public, and electoral trends. The concentration of power in two antagonistic poles shows that public opinion has contributed to forming these two perceptions of the Mexican reality.

On the other hand, the various crises that Mexican society faces, such as insecurity, economic recession associated with the Covid-19 pandemic or prior to it, unemployment, mortality; among other; It does not tie with the programmatic proposals of the political parties that were not voted on, but the narrative of how to face these crises and the results of crisis management has formed two discursive blocks that the electorate recognizes. The crisis approach used in this work recovers the marxian tradition of the systemic crisis approach, by relating the economic crisis to the social one; but that at a given moment can generate contradictions that end with the balance of self-government; "...crises arise when the structure of a system of society admits fewer possibilities of solving problems than those required for its conservation" (Habermas, 1975, 21).

In this sense, the investigation began by observing the creation of political parties, which, however, became extinct due to the few votes they accumulated. Thus, a greater offer of partisan's proposals did not lead to greater citizen participation capable of generating less abstention, but perhaps contributed to a greater public life understood as the ability of citizens to communicate and interact (Arendt, 2002). It is intended to answer the research question: what are the critical factors that affect citizen participation, as well as the direction of the vote of the voters during the electoral day of June 6? Thus, the research question was raised: How do political parties, as well as the media management of information through public opinion, contribute to participatory democracy and the formation of consensus?

The permanence or change of a political regime in a democratic system requires an individual exercise of freedom, which does not transform into an individualism that could put community ties or social integration at risk, so freedom is not in contradiction with all form of government, rather it is about knowing the processes that allow linking government with action, self-government. Therefore, the research is based on the conjecture that the ways of guiding public opinion affect social polarization that reduces the formation of consensus, which generates greater tension between the State and society, in addition to polarizing social agents in two antagonistic propositions. Thus, the reduction of political parties is related to social polarization more than to the formation of consensus.

In order to discern the multiplicity of factors that come into play through the "rationalization" of the felt social needs and demands, linked to the electoral processes differentiated by regions in the states, that is, the perception of systemic crisis (Habermas, 1999), through a multifactorial analysis based on a multiple relationship model that allows differentiating how multiple factors are linked in the exercise of political participation of Mexican citizens, from the perspective of complex systems (systems approach); that is, to identify the concept of "action" that corresponds to the normative processes of participatory democracy.

To corroborate the research assumption, three scales of political-electoral participation were applied in various micro-regions of the state of Morelos, adding a sample of 2400

citizens, so the sample is representative for infinite populations, likewise the results of the PREP were collected. of the vote for mayors and/or city councils, as well as local deputies. The regional and micro-regional analyzes of the election results show that the diversity of political parties and election options is not enough to guarantee the inclusion of otherness, so the most voted proposals are those with the greatest contrast.

Deliberative democracy, action and self-government

Plurality is the condition of all political life (Arendt, 2002, 22), which implies the recognition of otherness in conditions of equality, but also in relation to their participation in public affairs. Social plurality can generate tension between individuals, so the diversity of interests, as well as the struggle to define the sphere of individual rights that can come into conflict with others, since each one would be seeking the expansion of their rights individuals, even though this might reduce the sphere of rights of others. But the freedom of people can only be given in society, so individual development and moral autonomy of people depends on the social context to which they belong. People, even with all their diversity, are socialized within historical and cultural contexts from which their identity, both individual and collective, emerges. The plurality of collective action (Arendt, 2002) is at the base of public life, of forms of social organization, of self-government (Habermas, 1999).

The individualist assumption that is based on abstract universal precepts is framed within negative freedom; In opposition to this assumption are the rights of participation and communication, that is, positive freedoms (Habermas, 1999). Communication does not guarantee freedoms from external coercion, but rather participation in a common practice; communicative action creates the conditions for citizens to become what they really are, that is, politically responsible actors in a society of free and equal persons (Habermas, 1999). People in community create regular social interactions that allow them to live among people, live among human beings (Arendt, 2002), the very condition of the action is given by being among people, living in community. The State is the social institution that must safeguard the inclusive processes of public opinion and political participation.

Thus, the ethical-political assumptions of deliberative democracy are citizenship, public opinion, and participation, which come into tension in the world of life but are organized by the system of government (Habermas, 1999). The world of life, being that of substantive reality, is where people can carry out actions based on codes of communication and interaction, it is the space in which social actors are producers as well as assimilators of meanings. On the other hand, formal rationality is given by systemic conditions materialized in the institutions (conservation of the species, articulation of individual needs) in which an order is generated (Habermas, 1999).

It is necessary to distinguish, conceptually, that the social sphere can be differentiated from politics (State, political parties) in the same way that the market is the social structure of reciprocity of goods resulting from the exchange of society with its environment, which also constitutes the boundary conditions of social systems (Figure 1). Thus, the economic and political spheres are determinants of the normative structures that make social action possible. Of course, in the world of life these spheres are not differentiated, but conceptually the social structures are contained in each of these systems that interact with each other in boundary conditions that are foreign to the system itself. Thus, the link between the spheres is given by the normative structures that allow their relationship based on the conditions of the system.

Figure 1: Social systems and environment
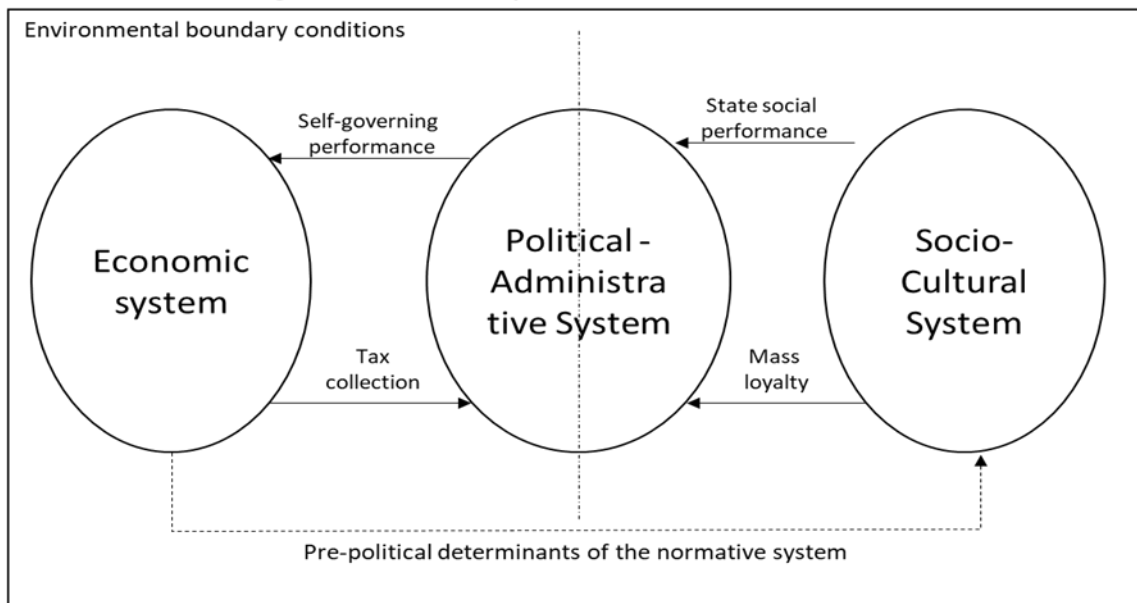
Source: Habermas, 1999, 27.

It is in the social sphere where the political participation of social agents is given by the actions that they undertake towards other agents, mediated by the State as guarantor of the inclusive processes of opinion formation and common will. In the public space, all social agents have the capacity to produce and assimilate meanings, within a structural (institutional) framework that limits while enabling their right to express their opinion, participate, agree and/or disagree. The actions of the social agents are framed within the political possibilities that society itself has given itself, even when the emergence of some social actor could put the system in crisis; since "...it is only possible to speak of structural contradictions if pertinent structures can be pointed out with respect to the conservation of the system" (Habermas, 1999).

The State, as guarantor of inclusive processes and political participation, allows free participation in conditions of equality between social agents and citizens, who can maintain a dialogue since there is a mutual understanding of rules that are of common interest to all. In this context, the social agents can be understood with respect to the criteria from which it is possible to establish what is fair and unfair, what is permitted and prohibited, action and participation. But they also put into play various action strategies in order to maintain or change social structures without "... modifying the field of possibilities demarcated by the principle of organization of society" (Habermas, 1999, 30).

It is in this sense that, in the case of the Mexican political system, it can be understood and interpreted that the actions of the Mexican State and the National Electoral Institute (INE), a decentralized body of the federal public administration, as the entities that must guarantee political participation of the political-social agents in conditions of equality, at least formally, in the electoral political processes in Mexico, contributed to greater political participation by generating the conditions that allow the emergence of new partisan proposals by creating new federal and local political parties. The state itself, as well as the institute, are guarantors of social participation, of creating equal conditions so that all social agents can occupy public space, according to the conditions that the social actors themselves have given themselves.

The rules that allow the creation of new political parties, as well as the participation of independent candidates (without a party) in electoral processes, make it possible to expand the political offer, as well as dialogue by being able to produce and assimilate meanings in the public space. Thus, in the last election of June 2021, in some cases up to 23 political parties participated through the registration of candidates for a popular election position, with which the public debate was expanded by having a greater number of social agents that generated speeches. The integration of new political parties, added to the existing ones, should have generated greater public debate, since the speeches through which the debate took place in the public space increased.

The emergence of new social actors does not lead to a crisis of the social system since their emergence is limited by the principles of organization of the capacity for social transformation. The very structures that allow their emergence to have the capacity to adapt to the new conditions, to assimilate the emerging actors. Participation in public space is something that the political system itself through the State must guarantee and protect. Public space is a guarantor of publicity and the participation of otherness, which can occupy public space as a right of each social actor, but also as the recognition of the rights of otherness to occupy that space. "The elasticity of the normative structures (that is, the field of possible variations without breaking the tradition) certainly does not depend only, nor, in the first place, on the congruence requirements of the normative structures themselves" (Habermas, 1999, 29).

The plurality and diversity of social actors, which reflect social heterogeneity, can generate consensus in the public space through communicative action and public opinion. The emergence of new political actors, grouped around the figure of a political party, according to Mexican legislation, reflects social plurality and the need for expression of the actors who are not recognized in the existing political parties. But its emergence is possible due to the very conditions of the normative structures that allow it, whose elasticity allows its emergence without generating a crisis in the system.

The emergence of new political actors does not put the system in crisis, not so much because the system can assimilate them or not, but because the emergence of new actors is given by the field of possibilities demarcated by the principle of organization of society. Los actores emergen por las propias cualidades del sistema que permite su autoorganización a partir de los elementos ya existentes, en este sentido no son disruptivos, sino consecuencia misma de las condiciones del sistema. However, even when the elements pre-exist the emergence of the actor, each actor organizes them in a new way that can lead to social change. "The formation of a society is determined in each case by a fundamental principle of organization, which establishes an abstract space of possibilities for social change" (Habermas, 1999, 30).

Public space is the place of emergence and meeting of social actors, among themselves and with otherness, with those who may or may not identify with them; Participation in public space is properly part of the human condition, but this participation is framed by the conditions of possibility of the political system, as well as the social one.

The social perception of reality, pressure factors and resolving speeches.
The search to broaden the consensus of the political actors leads them to deliberate their proposals in the public space through the predominance of public opinion and the identity

of the audiences with their programmatic proposal, but mainly with the speeches that solve socially perceived problems. Social problems are not perceived or valued in a similar way by all people, as well as social groups and subgroups; the perception of social reality depends on community and cultural forms of socialization, mainly on community forms of construction of the perception of reality.

The multiplicity of ways of perceiving reality becomes increasingly complex by including pressure factors on social problems, not everyone perceives how pressure factors generate or amplify a social problem, because not all people are affected in the same way manner. Diversity and social stratification encourage pressure factors to be perceived as well as valued differently by people, but also by social groups. The perception of social reality, the visualization of certain problems, including their solving speeches, depend on the assessment of the pressure factors as well as the coping strategies that the various actors implement to reduce the adverse effects of social problems.

The multiplicity of ways of recognizing social problems, as well as the pressure factors that drive them, encourages intense public debate, generating multiple discourses that solve divergent problems. That is why social heterogeneity implies a discursive diversity from the generation of multiple meanings of the same social reality, the diversity of ways of perceiving and representing reality, social problems, as well as problem-solving discourses, favors the emergence of multiple discourses as many as the perceptions of social problems. When deliberating on what the main social problems are, in addition to the possible solution strategies, multiple dialogues are created whose meeting can generate consensus.

It is here where the positioning of the discourses that resolve recognized social problems becomes relevant, thus the creation of a public that is likely to identify with some solving discourse creates audiences while it legitimizes itself by reaching consensus, or at least the consensus of the majorities. That is why the public space in which all the social actors participate is disputed through communicative actions, the consensuses are creating public opinion about the problems and the ways to solve them. Advertising, understood as the ability to guide public opinion, becomes strategic in building consensus from deliberative actions. The narrations of the problems, as well as of the solving speeches are strategic in the conformation of the public opinion and the social consensus.

The debate in the public sphere of social problems and solving discourses is where the social reality is defined, based on the deliberations, as well as the way in which social action strategies are generated. The appearance of new political parties should respond to the narration of social problems not perceived and/or attended to, in addition to new discourses that solve socially perceived problems. Communicating the problems, as well as the discourses that resolve said problems, is a narrative that allows the emergence of new political actors that are consolidated in the public sphere. The emergence of a new political actor is given by the emergence of communicative actions that rationalize reality, glimpse social problems, and propose solutions to the perceived social problems. The rationalization of reality is accompanied by a communicative practice, as well as a deliberative exercise in public space.

The construction of consensus in the public space is the function of political advertising, political communication must shape public opinion. The public space as the place where social problems and their solving speeches are discussed is the space of advertising, social

consensus depends on advertising, public reasoning, as well as public opinion in the formation of social consensus. The subjectivity of people corresponds to the self-understanding of public reasoning, people will identify with public problems and the resolving discourses that accompany them to the extent that public reasoning passes through their subjectivity, that is, when the problems, as well how their solutions are communicated.

The boundary conditions, crossed by the normative structural conditions, in which multiple driving factors of social problems appear, create a complex social reality that is synthesized around a discourse that gives meaning to the dispersed complexity (Figure 2). But the way in which the discourses are articulated depends on rationalized formations of compression of a complex reality, even when the agents that create the discourse fail to see the multiplicity of interactions between the driving factors of social problems, the choice of a discourse that articulates and gives meaning to the complex social reality allows communication between people to build consensus through which social intervention strategies on reality are generated.

Figure 2: Pressure factors on social recognition
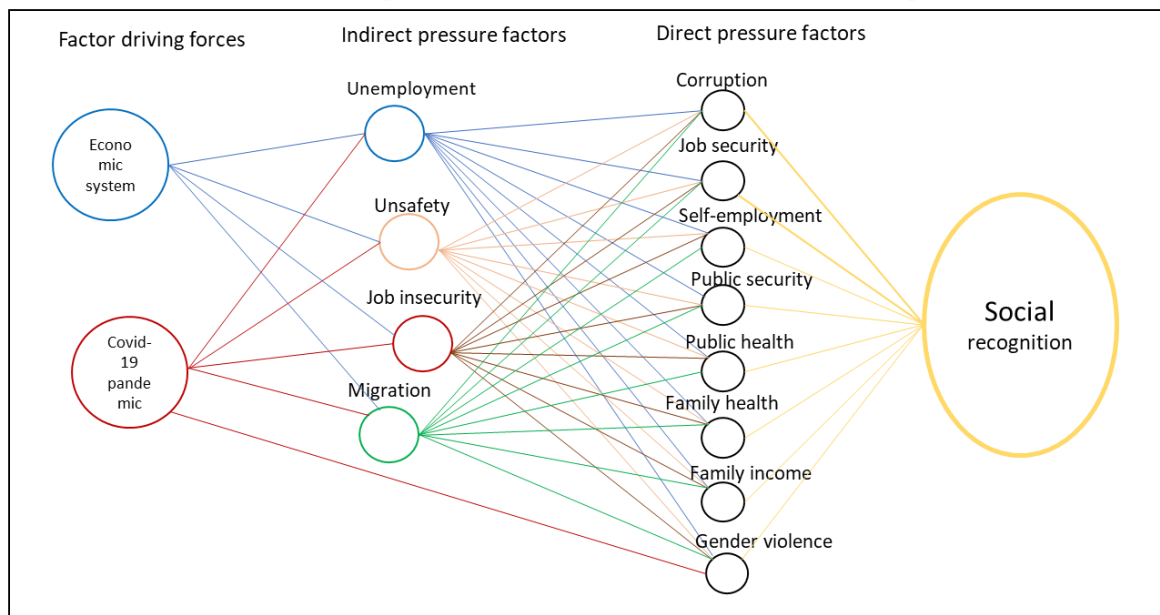
Source: Prepared by the authors.

Considering some of the various driving factors of the Mexican social problem, as well as the interactions between them, it is possible to graphically appreciate the complexity of representing reality as well as being able to articulate it around meanings capable of organizing it into a coherent discourse, whose rationalization and deliberation of meaning to the actions of the social actors, in addition to publicizing the discourse in order to generate consensus in the public space, where it will enter into deliberation with other discursive formations of the same reality.

However, when political parties emerge by articulating existing social factors, giving them meaning through a communication process that brings together part of the citizenry around a social problem, as well as its solution strategies, a social actor emerges capable of enter a dispute with other social actors for the historical field and the predominance of public space through the publicity of their discourse. The emergence of new political parties should be given by the articulation of a new discourse of social reality, capable of

communicating it to many citizens with the aim of creating the necessary consensus among them in order to promote an identity capable of generating a "mass loyalty" to the political party.

The disappearance of many political parties in the last elections on June 6, in some regions up to fifteen parties lost their registration by not reaching 3% of the total vote according to Mexican legislation, is related to the inability of these parties to communicate to the citizens what were the resolving speeches that they proposed to the electorate in relation to the perceived social problems. The possibilities of emergence of a political party in Mexico, given as political guarantees of the Mexican State, do not guarantee its consolidation as a preponderant political agent, this depends on the capacity for communication and deliberation of each political actor. Although the structural normative conditions condition the discursive factors, it is also true that the social agents can choose which discourse to position, as well as the instrumental means with which they can do it, political communication is not entirely determined by the structural normative conditions, what to communicate and how to communicate it is a rational decision of a social actor.

Most of the political parties did not present their own, original, disruptive narrative; of the problems of the Mexican society, as well as their own solution speeches; most of the narratives revolved around too abstract relationships such as "let's save Mexico", "let's recover Mexico", "Mexico is sick" "...the house of all Mexicans"; trying to place himself in the discursive center, but without making his own narrative, rationally communicative and instrumentally assertive. None of the emerging parties picked up one of the multiple factors identified by citizens as social problems to make their own narrative articulated in a solution discourse.

While the citizens personally announced a series of factors that they considered drivers of social problems, the emerging political parties did not create a narrative that could be the communicative link between the political party and the voters. That is to say, the political parties did not create their own political publicity that "...results from literary publicity; mediates, through public opinion, between the State and the needs of society" (Habermas, 1982, 63).

Study area

The citizen participation instruments were applied in the state of Morelos, in the central, eastern and los alto regions; corresponding to the federal electoral districts 1, 2, 4 and 5; which cover practically the entire territory of the entity. To carry out this research, an electoral preference scale was constructed that includes 4 subscales ranging from political positioning, popular expectations, recognition and positioning of political parties, as well as knowledge of the candidate.

From these scales, models of political participation and voting intention were built from the self-government of political processes within the normative structures of the Mexican political system, considering that the state of Morelos, due to its demographic characteristics, is representative of the regional. The instrument was applied to 2,400, 16 questionnaires were discarded due to inconsistencies, thus n = 2,384 people in order to reach a reliability level of 97% with a margin of error of 2.2% according to the formula $n = \frac{(p*q)*z2}{e2}$ for infinite samples. The capture and coding were carried out in all the questionnaires that were collected in the field and coded according to the progress of the field work. The internal consistency of the questionnaire was observed. A code book was

also designed for open questions, if any, as well as for questions that have an option to specify an answer.

Methodology

A training meeting was held with the presence of the entire work team where the spirit of the research and the objectives were explained. In this meeting, the interviewers were trained on the rules of completeness, consistency of the questionnaire and the method of survey. 25% of the interviews were supervised in the field. In this process, the following was verified: 1) the correct and complete completion of all the questionnaires, and 2) the behavior of the interviewer during the interview.

The questionnaires were applied in person at the home (face-to-face) of volunteers who wanted to participate in the study through a Google-forms electronic form, later they were reviewed in MS-Excel and analyzed in SPSS. With this information, a database was built with all the refined cases that contained the total number of questions duly labeled in .sav format (SPSS 20.0).

Inclusion-exclusion criteria and the participant selection mechanism

2400 surveys were applied in 4 of the five electoral districts of the state of Morelos. The respondents were residents who reside in the communities described above in a simple random manner, who had lived in the locality for at least 5 years, were over 18 years of age, who would have an INE credential and who voluntarily answered the scales. The sample collection teams went to the localities, collecting the data at the domicile of the respondents. Those who were under 18 years of age or who had a cognitive or linguistic disability that prevented them from answering the instrument, as well as those who did not have an INE, were excluded. People who had lived in the communities for less than 4 years and 11 months were also discarded, as well as the floating population that was found.

Analysis strategy and statistical tests used

In each of the countries where the scales were raised, two teams of enumerators were created, each of the field teams was made up of a field supervisor, as well as 4 enumerators. The objective was to reach four hundred completely answered questionnaires and without inconsistencies to obtain a database with a sample population equal to or greater than 2400 individuals (being n= 2384) to obtain a reliability level of 97% and a margin of sampling error of 2.2% for infinite populations according to the formula $n = \frac{(p*q)*z2}{e2}$, Therefore, the results obtained are considered valid in order to support the assumption according to which the ways of guiding public opinion affect the social polarization that induces the formation of reduced consensus, which generates greater tension between the State and society in addition to polarizing social agents in two antagonistic proposals. Thus, the reduction of political parties is related to social polarization rather than to the formation of consensus.

Analysis of results

The results of the statistical analysis show that even before the day of the election, at the end of May 2021, between the 25th and 28th of that month, when the survey was applied, the electoral preferences in Morelos were in favor of MORENA. To the question "If today were the elections for local Deputy for your District, which party would you vote for?" 13% of those surveyed answered MORENA (it should be considered that the MORENA-PES-PNAL coalition had an additional 11% of the votes), 10% said they would do it for the PAN

(it should also be considered that the PAN-PES-PNAL coalition PRI-PRD-PSD generated an additional 4% of votes) and 7% said they would vote for MC. The results of the survey show great similarity with the results of the PREP where MORENA had 12%, the PAN 10% and MC 8%.

The rest of the political parties had very low frequencies, the newly created parties such as RSP had a vote intention of 3.3% while FxM had a vote intention of 2.5% and the newly created local party MORELOS PROGRESA had a vote intention of the 1.6% vote. According to the PREP, the RSP party obtained 3.9% of the votes, FxM had 2.7%, while MORELOS PROGRESA had 2.3%.

The results indicate that the decision on the party for which the voters will vote was already given before the day of the election, that the decision had been constructed through very clear antagonistic positions, for or against the ruling party at the political level. federal, that is, the polarization occurred between MORENA plus its allies and the PAN with its allies. The narrative of the national problem as well as the solving speeches had been built through pieces of communication around the continuity or change in the congress of the union, which was equivalent to supporting or rejecting the government of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador. Narratives that had been built practically since the beginning of the administration of President López Obrador derived from controversial decisions such as the cancellation of the construction of the airport, among others.

The way of managing the Covid-19 pandemic by the Mexican federal government polarized public opinion around maintaining support for President Andrés Manuel or withdrawing it, the information, as well as the management actions of the federal government, were also perceived differently. polarized way, for some management has been good while others consider it bad. Among those surveyed, only 7% said that health was their main concern, even so, the issue on the public agenda was debated throughout 2020 and the first half of 2021, including the change of traffic light to green a few days before the election generated suspicion and controversy.

Chart 1: Cross table: If the elections for local Deputy for your District were held today, which party would you vote for?* What is the main problem that worries you the most? (%)

Recuento		NC	Job/Unemploy	High cost	Economic cri	Unsafety	Health	Education	Injustice	Impunity	Violence a/w	Total
						What is the main problem that worries you the most?						
If the elections for local Deputy for your District were held today, which party would you vote for?	PAN	0	15	4	6	7	4	1	1	0	2	100
	PRD	0	30	6	11	18	9	2	2	0	6	83
	Verde	0	21	7	25	24	4	2	2	2	9	95
	PRI	1	10	3	7	22	5	5	0	2	5	60
	PNAL	0	58	39	19	45	13	0	19	6	26	227
	Morena	2	2	4	11	2	2	2	0	0	4	30
	MC	1	27	4	9	12	6	3	1	2	3	67
	PT	2	25	11	18	29	7	7	3	2	7	111
	PES	0	21	5	12	27	4	4	4	1	6	83
	Can Ind	1	24	10	17	23	7	5	3	2	6	100
	RSP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	FxM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mor Prog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NS/NC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		1	16	6	9	14	4	2	2	1	5	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the database.

Current issues, such as the detachment of a section of line 12 of the Mexico City metropolitan train (Metro), an accident that caused fatalities, generated enormous controversy in public opinion, further polarizing people in agreement to their electoral preferences, since the narrative revolves around supporting the ruling party, not only local (Mexico City), but federal. The narrative of this tragedy showed the inefficiency, as well as the corruption of the first level officials of the local and federal government, linked to the party in government: MORENA, hence the importance of polarizing public opinion for or

against the government. ruling regime.

Also at the local level in the state of Morelos, the poor results of the government of Cuauhtémoc Blanco Bravo, which emerged from the coalition "Together we will make history" in 2018, led to polarize public opinion around maintaining support or removing support. I support President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and in particular MORENA. Although the governor is not from the same political party, maintaining the PES-MORENA coalition has generated multiple criticisms and estrangement, including a break between MORENA militants, since the coalition with the PES, Governor Blanco's party, sacrificed cadres who aspired policies.

The lack of results, the internal ruptures of MORENA, as well as other parties once allied with Morena in the state of Morelos, led to a decrease in the number of votes received by MORENA, even so, it was the winner of the electoral process. Governor Blanco's party, the PES (Social Encounter Party and Solidarity Encounter Party) for its part did not reach registration, thus the MORENA-PES alliance at the local level in the state of Morelos meant a decrease in the general vote for MORENA coupled with the departure of party cadres who emigrated to other political parties and from there turned against MORENA with whom they competed.

However, even with all this, public opinion was fragmented, but the acceptance of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador remained high in the state of Morelos, with an average evaluation of 5.8 (when qualified from 1 to 10). As expected, the people who would vote for the PAN-PRI-PRD parties were the ones who rated it the worst, while those who would vote for MORENA or its allies were the ones who rated it the best. It should be noted that those who would vote for the parties PES (with which it was in alliance), PT (which had been part of the alliance "Together we will make history in 2018) and MC rated it with a majority of 5. Those who would vote for the parties again federal creation approved the management of President Andrés Manuel, concentrating a higher frequency when approving his management with 10, while those who affirmed voting for another newly created party disapproved with a rating of 1; as shown in table 2.

Table 2: Cross table. If the elections for local Representatives for your District were held today, which party would you vote for? *Rating of authorities from 1 to 10, where 1 is very bad and 10 is very good, how would you rate President Andrés Manuel López Obrador? (%)

Recuento		4.6.1. Rating of authorities from 1 to 10, where 1 is very bad and 10 is very good, how would you rate President Andrés Manuel López Obrador?										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
2.7. If the elections for local Representatives for your District were held today, which party would you vote for?	PAN	18	6	7	6	10	8	10	11	9	16	100
	PRD	23	4	8	13	7	8	6	8	7	18	100
	Verde	11	4	11	14	8	8	6	9	2	28	100
	PRI	22	9	10	18	7	7	8	5	3	12	100
	PNAL	0	5	16	14	14	18	11	2	2	18	100
	Morena	5	2	2	3	6	5	10	20	21	26	100
	MC	8	1	9	9	19	10	9	11	7	15	100
	PT	3	1	7	10	26	11	13	10	6	12	100
	PES	13	6	4	9	16	12	10	12	8	10	100
	Can Ind	24	9	4	5	12	9	9	13	6	9	100
	RSP	3	0	6	11	17	6	20	3	3	31	100
	FxM	0	0	0	23	15	8	0	15	8	31	100
	Mor Prog	4	3	5	11	26	17	14	8	3	9	100
	Otro	15	3	8	7	13	9	9	16	7	13	100
	NS/NC	32	5	6	6	9	9	8	8	5	12	100
Total		12	4	7	11	14	10	10	10	6	17	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the database.

Finally, in order to corroborate the research assumption according to which the ways of guiding public opinion affect the social polarization that induces the formation of reduced consensus, which generates greater tension between the State and society in addition to polarizing the agents social in two antagonistic proposals; A Pearson correlation was carried out between selected variables, thus, the intention to vote per deputy and political

party in each electoral district is related to "the main attribute of the ruler", which of the political parties has more positive qualities to govern, if he would vote again for the same party for which they voted in 2018 and what is the problem that most concerns the respondents, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Correlations

		2.4. What do you think is the most	2.5. Which of the political parties has	2.12. For which party did you vote	2.13. Would you vote for the same	4.1. What is the main problem that
2.7. If the elections for local Representatives for your	Correlación de Pearson	.128[**]	.680[**]	.401[**]	.324[**]	0.014
	Sig. (bilateral)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.492
	N	2370	2379	2361	2330	2384

** The correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (bilateral).

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the database.

The results show that there is a strong correlation between the party for which I would vote if "today was the election" with the most important attribute, it is noteworthy that the honest response had a higher frequency, for which it is valid to recognize that being the honesty, an issue on President Andrés Manuel's communicative agenda, is also the quality that citizens highlight the most, that is, the president has successfully communicated that honesty should be a quality of a ruler. The narrative of President López Obrador's resolving speech has managed to position itself in the social imaginary, most of the people surveyed recognize honesty as the "most important" attribute of a person who governs, "courageous honesty" continues to be a piece of communication policy that gives meaning to citizen actions when assessing a ruler, as well as to cast their vote.

In the same vein, and as expected, a relationship was found between the political party with the best qualities to govern, with the intention of voting if "today was the election", that is, people had already identified the party by the one they would vote for before the election. It should be noted that the party with the highest frequency in relation to the best qualities to govern was MORENA according to the opinion of those surveyed, which is also related to the results of the election, since MORENA was the party with the highest number of votes. Psychological interests are also what guide reasoning and action, so it is fundamental in the public debate to position oneself as the most rational, that President Andrés Manuel maintain a high preference and acceptance that favors his party being identified as a party with qualities to govern.

The relationship between the party for which he voted in the last election and the party he would vote for "if the election was today" also had a very high correlation. It is important to point out that MORENA had the highest frequency to the question: Which party did you vote for in the last election? obtaining 30% of the answers. It is noteworthy that being the party with the highest vote intention was also the party with the highest preference in the last election of 2018, this corroborates the research assumption according to which the reduction of political parties (mainly the newly created ones) is related to social polarization rather than the formation of consensus, since the emergence of new political actors did not change the intention of the voters, nor did it change the "mass loyalty" to the party and the ruling regime.

Finally, it is noteworthy that no relationship was found between the problems that the respondents noted as a priority with their intention to vote for a political party if "today was the election", which is interpreted as a lack of link between the programmatic agenda of a political party with the problems of citizenship, that is, no link was found between the problems perceived by the citizens with the solving speeches of the political parties, nor of those parties that had already participated in the election of 2018 as those that were recently created in order to be able to participate in the 2021 election. This finding shows that the ways of guiding public opinion by political parties, through their political communication strategies, did not form consensus among the citizens, but neither were they recognized as agents capable of identifying social problems or proposing resolving actions. The pieces of communication of the emerging parties were not identified or remained in the memory of the voters.

The crossed vote is also noteworthy, the same political party obtained different votes in the same electoral district depending on the popular election position that was at stake. For example, according to the PREP, the PT obtained 5.1% of the vote for federal deputies as well as 6.2% of the vote for local deputies (INEa, 2021), in the same way it obtained 3.6% in the election of president municipal district of Cuernavaca, while in the local electoral districts corresponding to the same city it obtained 3.5% in the first district and 3.7 in the second district according to the PREP results (INEa, 2021). Citizens rationalized their vote, deliberated on how to vote, and differentiated their vote regionally, as well as locally.

The media campaign that was debated in the public space sought to concentrate power around the regime in government or to take power away from said regime, it was a campaign of contrasts in the ways of guiding public opinion. The media campaign polarized the voters forming small, reduced consensuses, polarizing the social agents in two antagonistic proposals. The polarization of society is a problem of "legitimation in late-capitalist societies"; polarizing society does not generate consensus or meetings, but apparently political strategists' resort to this artifice in search of winning an election, beyond rational actions or communicative rationality. The similarity between the most recent elections in Mexico and in the United States allows the argument to be maintained, since something very similar to what happened in Mexico happened in the last election in the United States, where more than the problems and the solving speeches, the proposals, it was debated to maintain or end the regime of President Donald Trump.

Conclusions

Deliberative democracy continues to be a pending issue in the Mexican political system, since hegemonic narratives prevent the emergence of new social actors capable of representing the national problem, as well as their resolving discourses in an alternative way. It can even be pointed out that the public debate was for the purpose of defining whether one was "with you know who"; regardless of the concerns of ordinary people, without echoing those problems that citizens face in their daily lives or how they could be solved.

The lack of identity with the emerging parties is given by the lack of communication between the political parties and civil society, the political parties, even the newly created ones, the emerging ones, do not collect the citizen sentiment. In this sense, the appearance of new political parties in the 2021 election in Mexico is not the product of irruptive social

processes, but rather the result of the same practices of the political nomenclature of the Mexican political system. There was nothing new in the emerging parties, even their own speech was difficult to differentiate from the rest of the speeches of the more traditional political parties.

Despite the meager results in the recently created parties, it seems that what is truly transcendent lies in the participation of citizens, since more than the "useful vote" or the "punishment vote" what could be observed is a " crossed voting" through which voters took the time to differentiate between candidates and parties; by giving his vote for the one who seemed more rational or closer to his personal interests. The results of the election show that the hegemonic parties do not have per-se the "loyalty of the masses" nor the citizen's will. The voters have forced a dialogue between the antagonistic political forces, we hope that the leaders of the political parties are up to the social demands of greater deliberative consensus.

Statistically, it was shown that exogenous factors do not affect the intention to vote, thus the reduction of political parties is related to social polarization rather than the formation of consensus. The regional and micro-regional analyzes of the election results show that the diversity of political parties and election options was not enough to guarantee the inclusion of otherness, so the most voted proposals are those with the greatest contrast. The voters had decided the direction of their vote long before the election, even before the formal start of the political campaigns, which is demonstrated by their loyalty to the government regime, even with all the contradictions that can be seen in the regime itself.

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Las democracias latinoamericanas se encuentran en proceso de consolidación lo que se transforma en un reto para la participación ciudadana en democracias incipientes, un ejemplo de ello es la transición democrática mexicana que tras una dedada de alternancia partidista, no logra una participación ciudadana que sume al menos el setenta por ciento de los electores. Las elecciones mexicanas de 2021 se desarrollaron durante la pandemia por Covid-19, por lo que el proceso electoral empleo formas atípicas de promoción electoral, pero la participación ciudadana se mantuvo dentro de las tendencias características de votación en México, aun cuando se crearon nuevos partidos políticos que presentaron nuevas plataformas político-electorales. En 2022 el régimen de gobierno impulsó una consulta de revocación de mandato del titular del poder ejecutivo, lo que generó un debate en torno a la participación ciudadana a favor y en contra de la revocación de mandato, los ciudadanos fueron convocados a la participación política aún en condiciones de pandemia con resultados de participación análogos a otros procesos electorales. El reto de fomentar la participación ciudadana ante el desgaste y desprestigio de los partidos políticos en condiciones de pandemia aumenta la complejidad de las relaciones entre los agentes sociales que disputan el poder, las tensiones entre el Estado y la sociedad. Así, surge la pregunta ¿Cómo contribuyen los partidos políticos, así como el manejo mediático de la información a través de la opinión pública a la democracia deliberativa y a la formación de consensos? Se puede observar que el discurso del régimen de gobierno en México polariza a la sociedad mexicana en dos percepciones de la realidad antagónicas que aglutinan a los electores en el marco de dichas visiones. Este trabajo parte del supuesto de investigación que vincula el posicionamiento de un discurso hegemónico capaz de orientar la percepción de la realidad social que permite reconocer dicha realidad además de propiciar el surgimiento de nuevos proyectos político-sociales, sobre poniéndose a temas coyunturales como la cobertura mediática de la pandemia de Covid-19. Con el propósito de comprobar el supuesto de investigación, se empleó la metodología de análisis de datos de la encuesta de percepción política aplicada en 2021 a 2400 personas con credencial para votar, estos resultados se confrontan con los resultados de la elección de 2021 así como a los resultados de la consulta de revocación de mandato de 2022 en 3 de los 5 distritos federales electorales del estado de Morelos. Se encontró que las personas que deciden ejercer su voto lo hacen de manera deliberativa aún en condiciones de pandemia, tratan de construir consenso en torno a las principales demandas sociales de intervención, por lo que el discurso gubernamental es una pieza de comunicación política que orienta las acciones sociales.