

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems  
Module 3: Macro Report  
June 05, 2006

Country: MEXICO Date of Election: July 2, 2006  Prepared by: CIDE Date of Preparation: April 17, 2008
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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

PAN

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?

NA

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

The cabinet in Mexico is made up by nineteen portfolios (State Secretaries).

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<b>Name of Political Party</b>	<b>Number of Portfolios</b>
National Action Party (PAN)	12
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	1
Independent	4
Unknown	2
Total	19

Note: Mexico has a Presidential System in which the portfolios are designated directly by the president and for the case of General Attorney with the approval of the Senate.

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

PAN

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

NA

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

The cabinet in Mexico is made up by nineteen portfolios (State Secretaries).

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<b>Name of Political Party</b>	<b>Number of Cabinet Ministers</b>
National Action Party (PAN)	12
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	1
Independent	4
Unknown	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>

Note: Mexico has a Presidential System in which the portfolios are designated directly by the president and for the case of General Attorney with the approval of the Senate.

4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

- 1) National Action Party (PAN)
- 2) Democratic Revolution Party (PRD)
- 3) Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
- 4) Convergence Party (CONVERGENCIA)
- 5) Mexican Green Ecological Party (PVEM)
- 6) Labor Party (PT)
- 7) New Alliance Party (PANAL)
- 8) Social Democratic and Peasant Alternative Party (ALTERNATIVA)

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

<http://www.ife.org.mx/>

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

<b>Presidential Election</b>				
<b>Party Name</b>	<b># of Votes</b>	<b>% of Vote</b>	<b># of Seats**</b>	<b>% of Seats</b>
A. PAN	15,000,284	35.89	207	41
B. PRD <sup>a</sup>	14,756,350	35.31	127	25
C. CONVERGENCIA	-	-	18	4
D. PT	-	-	11	2
E. PRI <sup>b</sup>	9,301,441	22.26	106	21
F. PVEM	-	-	17	3
G. NUEVA ALIANZA	401,804	0.96	9	2
H. ALTERNATIVA	1,128,850	2.70	5	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40,588,729</b>	<b>97*</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>

a. Alliance For the Good of Everybody (PRD, PT & CONVERGENCIA)

b. Alliance For the Good of Mexico (PRI & PVEM)

\* Adding "not registered" & "blank"=100%

\*\* Lower House: plurality (300) & proportional representation (200)

Source:

<http://www.ife.org.mx/documentos/Estadisticas2006/presidente/nac.html>

[http://sitl.diputados.gob.mx/cuadro\\_tipo\\_elec.php](http://sitl.diputados.gob.mx/cuadro_tipo_elec.php)

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

58.55% of the registered voters with a valid ID: “nominal list”.

Note: Citizens register to vote in offices of the Electoral Commission (IFE), and they have to go back to pick up the valid ID the IFE issues, some week or two after they registered. This is what we call the “Padrón”, (Electoral Roll). Some of these citizens who asked for their voting ID-Card do not claim it afterwards, and these ids are destroyed, since they can not show a valid Id in election day, they can not vote. The list of those who registered and got their valid Id is called the “lista nominal” which is the actual list of voters.

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population: 103,263,388 according to the Mexican *II Conteo de Población y Vivienda of 2005* (2005 Population and Housing Counting). The Census is done every 10 years, and every five a limited version of the Census is taken.

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens (est. 2005) : 65,436,917

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

- Total Vote: President: 41,791,322

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes: 1,202,593. Invalid (non registered candidates) 297,989 and 904,604 blank votes.

- Voting Age Population: 65,436,917

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: 71,374,373 (Nominal list)

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

Note. Notice that the number of registered voters is larger than the voting age population (8%). In an extraordinary effort done in the 1990's, in a house by house visit the Electoral Commission made a census of all eligible voters. Independent estimates found that this original census covered close to 98% of the voting age population of the time (persons 18 years older and more). These difference indicates that the actual list of eligible voters (“lista nominal”) has not been fully updated, most likely because of persons who die and are not erased from the list. Another likely source of error might be due to errors in the estimate of age in limited census of 2005.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. PAN	Christian Democratic
B. PRD	Social Democratic
C. CONVERGENCIA	Social Democratic
D. PT	Socialist
E. PRI	Liberal, Social Democratic
F. PVEM	Ecology
G. NUEVA ALIANZA	Right Liberal
H. ALTERNATIVA	Social Democratic

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- (A) Ecology Parties
- (B) Communist Parties
- (C) Socialist Parties
- (D) Social Democratic Parties
- (E) Conservative Parties

- (F) Left Liberal Parties
- (G) Liberal Parties
- (H) Right Liberal Parties
- (I) Christian Democratic Parties
- (J) National Parties

- (K) Independents
- (L) Agrarian Parties
- (M) Ethnic Parties
- (N) Regional Parties
- (O) Other Parties



7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

- There is a general perception that the 2006 election was decided in an extremely polarized context where the leftist candidate López Obrador presented a radical challenge to the continuity of the market oriented economic model that has prevailed in Mexico even after the defeat of the PRI in 2000. It is very clear that this was indeed the case in terms of the messages the candidates issued during the campaign. In any case, it seems that this “polarized” context did not transcend to the formation of social clivages where the poor rallied behind the leftist message and middle and upper classes behind the center right PAN. But this radicalization, alone with the closeness of the results and the intervention of some entrepreneurial groups, turned out into an extremely difficult conflict.
- At the beginning of the electoral campaign, the PRD candidate, Andrés Manuel López Obrador had a clear advantage over all the other candidates. This meant that for the first time in almost 20 years the left was going to have a real opportunity to win the presidency. This confidence vanished when his levels of preferences fell two months before the elections due to strategic campaign errors (little spending at the beginning of the campaign and a lot at the end). Because of these errors and a good campaign strategy from the team of Felipe Calderón, the National Action Party (PAN) candidate, the preferences changed radically. From this moment on, both candidates had almost the same levels of preferences and popularity, but this did not mean that the levels of support for López Obrador that he had at the beginning were recovered (on December around 42% and by May 34%).
- The intense use of the mass media which led to an electoral reform in 2007. During the presidential campaign there were too many television ads, 242,358, that is equivalent to 841 hours. On the radio the political parties paid for 562,144 ads (3,155 hours), as well as 5,722 billboards and 15,579 press insertions. These paid publicity increased the candidates’ presence on the Mexican society, but they also saturated it.
- The former mayor of Mexico City, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, was almost impeached in 2004. On May 18, 2004 the General Attorney’s Office began a judicial process against López Obrador. This process required for the Lower House to remove all the legal privileges that by law corresponded to the mayor of Mexico City. The vast majority of the public opinion was against this and they exerted too much pressure. Vicente Fox, the Mexican president at the moment, decided that the General Attorney’s Office would not continue with the investigation so the Lower House never had to remove López Obrador’s legal privileges. This gave him a national media coverage which launched his levels of popularity in all the surveys. This assured him his place as the PRD candidate to the presidential election that was going to take place on July of 2006.
- The *Consejo Coordinador Empresarial* (Business Advisory Center) television ads against Andrés Manuel López Obrador. They were a severe critique against the public policy proposals of the PRD candidate.



8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Name of Party Leader</b>	<b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b>
A. PAN	Manuel Espino	Felipe Calderón Hinojosa
B. PRD	Leonel Cota	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
C. CONVERGENCIA	Luis Maldonado	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
D. PT	Alberto Anaya	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
E. PRI	Mariano Palacios Alcocer	Roberto Madrazo Pintado
F. PVEM	Jorge Emilio González Martínez	Roberto Madrazo Pintado
G. NUEVA ALIANZA	Miguel Ángel Jiménez Godínez	Roberto Campa Cifrián
H. ALTERNATIVA	Alberto Begné	Patricia Mercado Castro

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2006

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2006

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

### Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

#### 11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

<b>Alliance Name</b>	<b>Participating Parties (pleas indicate dominant members with an "*")</b>
<i>Alliance 1:</i> Alianza Por el Bien de México, CAPM ( <i>Alliance For the Good of Mexico</i> )	PRI* & PVEM
<i>Alliance 2:</i> Alianza Por el Bien de Todos, CPBT ( <i>Alliance For the Good of Everybody</i> )	PRD*, PT & CONVERGENCIA

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

### Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials. Copies are supplemented. As of April 16, 2008 a copy of the electoral law could be found in

<http://www.ife.org.mx/InternetCDA/estaticos/wwwife/incofipe.htm>

As of April 16, 2008 a brief description of the electoral rules can be found in

<http://www.ife.org.mx/portal/site/ife/menuitem.fd5fe0ad28d0c56c35a0a09c100000f7/?jsessionid=HkO0EX54cH4tVwVG2s2oCNM8ReyJeH7Efbjk2fei9PWnT5E9WmCw!1479139580!NONEfd5fe0ad28d0c56c35a0a09c100000f7#inicio>

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

Please follow this note:

#### **The Mexican Congress**

The Mexican Congress is composed by two chambers: the Deputies (Lower House) and the Senate (Upper House). The first is elected every 3 years and the second every 6. No consecutive reelection is allowed for the Mexican legislators. The constitution and the Electoral Code specifically state that the vote is an obligation and a right, but there's no mechanism to punish the people that don't.

In the Congress elections for each chamber the electorate cast only one vote that counts for two things: to determine the number of seats that each party will get by the plurality rule (winner takes all in the district that they win) and to give out the proportional representation seats at each chamber. In order for the parties to maintain their registration before the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), each party must obtain a minimum of 2% of the valid votes. If a party loses its registration, but their candidate won a single-member district, this candidate could be entitled for that seat as an independent.

#### **Chamber of Deputies:**

The Lower House or the Mexican Congress is composed by 500 deputies. Of these, 300 are elected in single-member districts (*distritos uninominales*) elected by plurality rule, and the other 200 are from five multi-member districts (*circunscripciones plurinominales*) given by proportional representation.

The Chamber of Deputies is renovated every three years. Each voter can cast only one vote that counts for two things: to elect the 300 deputies by the plurality rule and to determine the percentage of votes that each party obtained in the election in order to give the seats of proportional representation that each party will obtain (200 seats).

### *Single-Member Districts*

The 300 single-member districts are conformed by a portion of the Mexican territory with similar number of inhabitants. Voters are provided with a single ballot in elections for federal deputies. They vote by marking the box which contains the logo of the party and the name of its candidate for deputy of the specific single-member district in which the voter is registered.

### *Multi-Member Districts*

The Mexican territory is divided in five multi-member districts with 40 seats each. These seats are given depending on the number of votes obtained by each party for the single-member districts. The probability to obtain this kind of seats in the Lower House depends on two factors: the first one is the percentage of votes the party gets in the single-member districts<sup>1</sup> and the second is the place where the candidate is located in the party list (composed of 40 members). The place number that the candidate occupies in these lists only depends on the political parties that take this decision before the election.

## **Mexican Senate**

The Mexican Senate is composed by 128 members. 96 are elected by each State of the Republic and the 32 left are chosen by the principle of proportional representation in one national district. For the election of the Mexican Senate there are no single-member districts. The country is divided in two different multi-member districts (*circunscripciones plurinominales*):

### *Multi-Member Districts: 31 States and a Federal District*

Two senators will be elected in each State and in the Federal District by the plurality rule (64 seats). The third seat is given to the party that wins the “first minority”. This means, the party that got the second place for each State gets the third seat for the Senate. For every State, each political party must register a list with two candidate formulas for senator. The seat for the “first minority” will be given to the formula of the candidates that is on top of the party list.

### *Multi-Member District: 1 national district*

The last 32 seats for the Senate are chosen by the principle of proportional representation. They are voted in only one national district. Also, all the political parties must submit a national list composed by 32 formulas of candidates to be voted by the principle of proportional representation.

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

\* *Please see notes*

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<sup>1</sup> The number of votes that each party gets on the single-member districts results from the total of votes minus the votes for the political parties that lost their registration and the blank votes.

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

\* *Please see notes above*

#### Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

One for deputies and one for senators.

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

- Candidates
- Party Lists Note. Not in a separate vote.
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

Note: The vote cast for the party's candidate to the single-member district also counts for the allocation of the seats disputed in the larger multimember district (*circunscripción*). Voters are not allowed to split their vote. In fact, the same vote is subject to a double counting that produces two-seat relevant vote totals. The first, vote total determines who wins the plurality in the single-member district. The second serves to allocate seats in the *circunscripción*.

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)



17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

Yes

No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Without Sanction for Violation

No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

### Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes  
 No

See notes. If the party does not get more than 2% of the vote, it will not get any “plurinominal” seats, but if a candidate of such party wins in any of the “uninominal” seats elected by plurality rule, she would get the seat and be declared as “independent”.

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

2% of the vote.

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Apply for both Houses.

\*Both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate employ the same electoral rules. Thus, all responses from question 15a to 21d apply equally for both. \*There are some differences in the distribution of seats. *Please see notes above*

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

References

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

<http://www.ife.org.mx>

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

<http://www.ife.org.mx>

<http://www.inegi.gob.mx/>

<http://www.senado.gob.mx/>

<http://www.diputados.gob.mx/>