

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 4: Macro Report

September 10, 2012

Country: Mexico

Date of Election: July 1st, 2012

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Date of Preparation: 10/31/2013

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, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

PAN

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

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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
PAN	9
Independent	10
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. The head of the Secretariat of the Navy and the Secretariat of National Defense in the last cabinet before the election are members of the Mexican armed forces (i.e. navy and military respectively).

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.

The cabinet in Mexico until November 30th, 2012 had nineteen secretariats.

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

PRI

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

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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
PRI	14

PVEM	1
Independent	5
<hr/>	
Total	20

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. The head of the Secretariat of the Navy and the Secretariat of National Defense in the first cabinet after the election are members of the Mexican armed forces (i.e. navy and military respectively).

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.

Since December 1st, 2013 the cabinet in Mexico consists of twenty secretariats

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. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

- 1) Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party, PAN)
- 2) Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI)
- 3) Partido de la Revolución Democrática (Democratic Revolution Party, PRD)
- 4) Partido Verde Ecologista de México (Mexican Green Ecological Party, PVEM)
- 5) Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party, PT)
- 6) Nueva Alianza (New Alliance)
- 7) Movimiento Ciudadano (Citizens' Movement)

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.

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.

Results for the Presidential Election

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
1. PAN	12,732,630	25.4	114	23
2. PRI	14,509,854	28.9	213	43
3. PRD	9,720,224	19.4	101	20
4. PVEM	958,712	1.9	28	6
5. PT	1,243,155	2.5	14	3
6. MOVIMIENTO CIUDADANO	999,681	1.99	20	4
7. NUEVA ALIANZA	1,146,085	2.3	10	2
8. PRI-PVEM Alliance	3,690,026	7.4	NA	NA
9. PRD-PT-MOV.CIUDADANO Alliance	2,981,833	5.9	NA	NA
10. PRD-PT Alliance	633,465	1.26	NA	NA
Total		96.95*	500	100

*The total does not add to 100% because it excludes two alliances that did not get at least 1% of the votes: PRD-MOV. CIUDADANO (0.3%), and PT-MOV. CIUD (0.2%). In this last presidential and legislative election voters could vote for either individual parties or for alliances, thus the different numbers of votes assigned to parties that were also members of an electoral alliance. The total does not consider either the null and cancelled votes.

Sources: <http://siceef.ife.org.mx/pef2012/SICEEF2012.html#>;
http://www.diputados.gob.mx/apps/gps_parlam.htm

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

The turnout was 63.08%. The information comes from www.ife.org.mx

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. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

All the data comes from the 2010 census available at: <http://www.censo2010.org.mx/>. Mexico has a census every 10 years and a limited version of the census every 5 years (i.e. counting the population based on a representative sample). All the electoral data comes from: <http://siceef.ife.org.mx/pef2012/SICEEF2012.html#>

- Total Population: 112,336,538

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

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 71,712,388

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

- Total Vote: 50,143,616 (Presidential vote, 2012)

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: 1,257,482 (Presidential election, 2012)

- Voting Age Population: 71,712,388

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: 79,492,286

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 (10%). 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). This difference indicates that the actual list of eligible voters ("lista nominal") has not been fully updated, most likely because of persons who have passed away and are not taken out from the list. Another likely source of error might be due to the fact that people who would turn 18 years the year of the election and before election day can register to vote. So the 2010 number does not take into account the new voters who turned 18 after 2010 and right before the election.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. PAN	Christian Democratic
B. PRI	Social Democratic
C. PRD	Social Democratic
D. PVEM	Green/Ecology
E. PT	Social Democratic
F. Movimiento Ciudadano	Social Democratic
G. Nueva Alianza	Right Liberal
H.	

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).

1. I think the most important issue in the mind of voters when deciding their vote was the state of the economy. Even though the “war” wage by the government of Presidente Calderón and its consequences have been felt by most Mexicans, either indirectly or directly, as the candidates did not present different alternatives to deal with drug dealers I do not think that it had a major effect on the direction of citizens’ vote. Those people who supported the war against drugs tended to support Calderón’s government, and by itself the war against drugs did not seem to sway voters during the campaign.

2. The candidacy of Gabriel Quadri de la Torre to the presidency by Nueva Alianza brought a different tone to the campaign. Quadri was not a member of Nueva Alianza so he presented himself as an independent candidate bringing in the voice of the citizenry. He managed to invigorate the first half of the campaign and attract young voters with his liberal discourse. He managed to maintain some effect after the debates and give Nueva Alianza more than enough votes it needed to maintain its registration.

3. College students, both from private and public universities, created a movement called “Yo soy 132” (I am 132). The origin of the movement was at a visit from Enrique Peña Nieto, PRI’s candidate, to the Jesuit university in Mexico City (Universidad Iberoamericana). There, students started booing and opposing the candidate because when he was governor of the State of Mexico (Estado de México) he ordered the police to break up a protest by local residents at Atenco. The police used force and two protesters were killed, and human rights groups have charged the police with multiple rapes and violence during that event. The candidate defended his decision to use force at the time of the protest and he had to leave the auditorium because of the opposition from the students. The media and the PRI dismissed the event and said that it was an incident created by 131 students. Thus, a movement, mainly through social media (i.e. Twitter and Facebook), started with the name “Yo soy 132”. The movement took place mostly, but not only, in Mexico City. There were also protests in Guadalajara, Puebla, Mérida, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Hermosillo, Cuernavaca, Tijuana, among others. Students protested both the media coverage and the PRI’s political positioning on human rights issues and corruption. Students wanted to organize their own presidential debate, which they successfully did. All the candidates, except from Peña Nieto who said that there were no conditions for impartiality, attended the debate.

4. The support from all the members of the PAN to the candidate, Josefina Vasquez Mota, was not clear throughout the election. President Calderón did not seem to be behind her a hundred percent and former President Vicente Fox publicly announced that he would vote for Enrique Peña Nieto, the PRI’s candidate. Vasquez Mota did not have clear conservative positions in a few social issues like abortion which could have also affected the support from the panista base.

5. Andrés Manuel López Obrador created a movement called MORENA (Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional, National Regeneration Movement). He asked people to support and vote for MORENA. But MORENA was not a party so some analysts argue that some less educated and sophisticated people could get confused at the time of voting looking for the MORENA logo.

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 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. PAN	Gustavo Madero	Josefina Vázquez Mota
B. PRI	Pedro Joaquín Coldwell	Enrique Peña Nieto
C. PRD	Jesús Zambrano	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
D. PVEM	NA	Enrique Peña Nieto
E. PT	Alberto Anaya*	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
F. Movimiento Ciudadano	Dante Delgado	Andrés Manuel López Obrador
G. Nueva Alianza	Luis Castro	Gabriel Quadri de la Torre
H.		
I.		

* Alberto Anaya is the best known and spokesperson of the PT's collective presidency. There are seven members in the presidency.

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 1st, 2012

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

July 1st, 2012

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.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
Alliance 1: Compromiso por México (Commitment for Mexico)	PRI* , PVEM
Alliance 2: Movimiento Progresista (Progressive Movement)	PRD* , PT y Movimiento Ciudadano
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

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.

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

Please refer to this note for this section:

The Mexican Congress

The Mexican Congress consists of 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 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 vote.

In the legislative elections for each chamber voters cast only one vote that counts for two things: to determine the winner in each district by the simple majority principle (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 is entitled for that seat as an independent legislator.

Chamber of Deputies:

The Lower House or the Chamber of Deputies consists of 500 seats. Of these, 300 are elected in single-member districts (distritos *uninominales*) elected by plurality rule, and the other 200 come from five multi-member districts (circunscripciones *plurinominales*) assigned by proportional representation.

The Chamber of Deputies is fully 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 containing the party's logo and label as well as the candidate's name 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. The criterion

for assigning these seats is the percentage of votes obtained by each party in the single-member-districts within each multi-member district. The probability of obtaining this kind of seat in the Lower House depends on two factors: the first one is the percentage of votes the party gets in the single-member districts and the second is the place where the candidate is located in the party list (composed of 40 members). The lists are closed, so each party decides who the candidates are and their place on the list.

Mexican Senate

The Mexican Senate has 128 members. Of those, 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 are 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 in 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 closed-national list composed by 32 formulas of candidates to be voted by the principle of proportional representation.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

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.)

*Refer to the note

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.)

*Refer to the note

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.

*Refer to the note

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: They vote for both candidates and list on the same ballot.

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

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.

*Refer to note

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

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.

It applies to both tiers.

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/portal/site/ifev2/Internacional_English/
<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/>