Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Macro-Level Data

MEXICO

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Variable number/name in the data set that identifies the primary electoral district for each respondent.

2. Names and party affiliation of secretaries of State (cabinet ministers) serving at the time of the dissolution of the most recent government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Cabinet Member</th>
<th>Name of the Office Held</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesús Reyes Heroles</td>
<td>Secretary of Energy</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilio Chuayfett Chemor</td>
<td>Secretary of Interior</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillermo Ortiz Martínez</td>
<td>Secretary of Finance</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsenio Farell Cubillas</td>
<td>Secretary of Administrative Control</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enríque Cervantes Aguirre</td>
<td>Secretary of Defence</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arturo Warman Gryi</td>
<td>Secretary of Agrarian Reform</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Ramón Lorenzo Franco</td>
<td>Secretary of the Navy</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia Carabias Lillo</td>
<td>Secretary of Environment, Natural Resources and Fisheries</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Angel Gurría Treviño</td>
<td>Secretary of International Relations</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javier Bonilla García</td>
<td>Secretary of Labor and Social Security</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Limón Rojas</td>
<td>Secretary of Education</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos Rojas Gutiérrez</td>
<td>Secretary of Social Policy</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herminio Alonso Blanco Mendoza</td>
<td>Secretary Trade and Industry</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Ramón de la Fuente</td>
<td>Secretary of Health</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge Madrazo Cuellar</td>
<td>Attorney General</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Labastida Ochoa</td>
<td>Secretary of Agriculture</td>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In Mexico members of the presidential cabinet are designated Secretarios de Estado (Secretary of State).
3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Political Party</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
<th>Ideological Family Party is Closest to</th>
<th>International Organization Party Belongs to (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Revolutionary Party</td>
<td>1929¹</td>
<td>National Parties/Social Democratic Parties</td>
<td>Socialist International²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Revolution Party</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Social Democratic Parties</td>
<td>Socialist International³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Party</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Social Democratic Parties</td>
<td>Socialist International³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The PRI was founded in 1929 under the name of National Revolutionary Party (PNR). It adopted its current denomination in 1946.  
²Observer status.  
³Full membership

4. (a) Parties position in left-right scale (in the expert judgement of the CSES Collaborator):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PRI</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 X 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PAN</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 X 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. PRD</td>
<td>0 1 2 X 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. PT</td>
<td>0 1 X 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. PVEM</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 X 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. (b) If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on a dimension other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings on this other dimension.

Name of dimension: _________________________________________________________

Label for left position: ________________________  
Label for right position: _______________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. 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)?
1. 1995 economic crisis.
2. First elections for Mexico City mayor
3. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, a former presidential candidate and leader of the PRD ran for the Mexico City mayoralty

6. Electoral Alliances

   a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?
      Yes __ X __   No _____
   b) (If yes) Did any electoral alliances form?
      Yes _____   No __X__
   c) (If yes to b) List the party alliances that formed:

7. (If a presidential election was held concurrently with the legislative elections) List presidential candidates

8. If the national team plans to collect aggregate election returns (or constituency-level returns) please
   include these returns with the study materials provided when the data are archived.

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

I. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

1) How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?
   1 segment: Single-Member districts (*distritos uninominales*)
   2 segments: Multi-Member districts (*circunscripciones plurinominales*)

For the first segment, please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11):

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? 300

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district?: One

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? 5

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there? None

II. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters? 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 name of its candidate for deputy of the specific single-member district in which the voter is registered. The lists of 40 candidates that each party presents for the multimember district (*circunscripción*) is provided in the voting station.

   6a) How many votes do they or can they cast? One
6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? **Both**

(Explain) The vote cast for the party’s candidate to the single-member district also counts for the allocation of the 40 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**.

7) Are the votes transferable? **No**

8) If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? **No**

9) Are there any other features of voting that should be noted? **No**

### III. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

The 300 single-member districts elect deputies by plurality or first-past-the-post system. The five multimember districts or **circunscripciones** elect 40 members each through proportional representation. **Circunscripciones** and single-member districts are geographically overlapping. Each **circunscripción** encompasses a similar number of districts. To allocate multimember seats the vote cast in single-member districts is added up to calculate new totals at the **circunscripción** level. Two systems are employed to accord seats to political parties. Firstly, a quotient is calculated by dividing the total number of votes in the **circunscripción** between 40. The quotient represent the number of votes a party must gather in order to gain one multimember seat in the **circunscripción**. Secondly, once parties have been granted seats according to the quotient system, if there are any seats left they will be apportioned to the parties that have the largest remaining vote. The remaining vote is a portion of the quotient that is left after dividing the party’s vote cast by the quotient.

Parties that did not pass the electoral threshold (two percent of the national vote) are excluded from the calculations at **circunscripción** level. This means that vote totals at the **circunscripción** level are re-calculated without taking these parties into account. Also, the Constitution provides that the majority party’s percentage of seats in the Chamber of Deputies can not exceed by more than eight percentage points its share of the national vote cast. This works in practice as a limit to the total number of proportional representation seats that the majority party can attain.

• For those interested in Mexican legislative politics and electoral laws, check the working papers annexed:

10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats? **Yes**

If so, what is the threshold? **2%**

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used?
1) The quotient system
2) The largest remaining vote

11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?
   closed __X__
   flexible, but in practice virtually closed _____

IV. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

11) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system? .-

   Political parties can form alliances in all Federal elections. The three possibilities are:
   1. Two or more parties can nominate the same presidential candidate only if they also
      agree on a single slate of legislative candidates (in the Chamber of Deputies and in
      the Senate, both single-member and multi-member districts candidates).
   2. Two or more parties can produce a single list of candidates for the 200 proportional
      representation seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the 32 proportional seats in
      the Senate (5 regional multi-member districts in the case of the Chamber of
      Deputies and one national multi-member district in the case of the Senate), only if
      they agree on the same slate of candidates for the 300 simple majority deputies and
      the 32 three-member federal districts for the Senate.
   3. Two or more parties can form a partial alliance to nominate candidates running for
      the Chamber of Deputies in single-member districts if the number of common
      candidates postulated is between 33 and 100, otherwise the parties must commit to
      a total alliance. In the case of the Senate, two or more parties can form a partial
      alliance to nominate candidates of simple majority if the number of common
      candidates postulated is between 6 and 20, otherwise the parties involved must
      commit to a total alliance including all the legislative formulas.

12a) Can parties run joint lists? Yes

12b) Is there apparentement or linking of lists? No

12c) Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party? Yes

12d) Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their
      supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate? No

12e) Other?

13) 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.-
    No

14) 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? _______
15) If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?
Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties ___X___

Part III: Data on Regime Type

I.) Questions regarding the Head of State.

1) Who is the Head of State?
___X___ President
_____ Monarch
_____ Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
_____ Other (please specify) ______________________________

2) How is the head of state selected?
___X___ Direct election
_____ Indirect election
_____ Birth right
_____ Divine right
_____ Other (Explain) ______________________________________________________

a) If by direct election, by what process?
___X___ Plurality election
_____ Run-off or two-ballot system
_____ Other (Explain) ______________________________________________________

(i) If by run-off system, what is the

Threshold for first-round victory? ____
Threshold to advance to second round? ____
Threshold for victory in second round? ____

b) If by indirect election, by what process?
_____ Electoral college
_____ Selection by the legislature
_____ Other (Explain) ______________________________________________________

(i) If by electoral college,

How are electors chosen?
Does the electoral college deliberate? ____ Yes ____ No
What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

(ii) If by the legislature,
By which chamber(s) of the legislature?
What is the voting procedure used?

3) If there is a Head of State, does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]
   a) Introduce legislation? __X__ Yes ____ No
   b) Require expedited action on specific legislation? ____ Yes __X__ No
      If yes, what is the default if the legislature takes no action?
   c) Package veto? __X__ Yes ____ No
      If yes, what is the requirement to override the veto? Two third majorities in both, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.
   d) Partial veto? ____ Yes __X__ No
      Note: The Constitution says that the president can make general observations on the whole or just part of the legislation approved by the Congress or on specific parts of it. Some authors interpret this as granting the president with a partial veto. However, the Constitution does not explicitly authorise the president to approve only the part of the legislation of and return to the Congress the parts he rejects.
      If yes, what is the requirement to override the partial veto?
   e) Legislate by decree? ____ Yes __X__ No
      If yes, does this require that the legislature must first specifically delegate decree authority to the head of state by statute? ____ Yes ____ No
      If yes, are there restrictions on the policy areas in which the head of state can legislate by decree? ____ Yes ____ No
      If yes, are there other restrictions on the head of state's authority to legislate by decree? ____ Yes ____ No
   f) Emergency powers? __X__ Yes ____ No
      If yes, what actions can the head of state take under emergency authority?
      If yes, under what conditions can the head of state invoke emergency authority?
      If yes, what restrictions are there on the head of state's authority to invoke and exercise emergency authority?

According to the article 29 of the Mexican Constitution, in the cases of invasion, grave perturbation of the public order, or crisis that puts the society in grave danger or conflict, only the President of the United States of Mexico, in agreement with Members of the Cabinet and with the approval of the Congress, or Permanent Commission of the Congress (if the Congress is in recess), can suspend, for a limited period of time, either in
the entire country, or in a specific zone, the constitutional rights of citizens hampering the resolution of the problem.

g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements?  
   __X__Yes  ____No

   If yes, what other requirements are there for approval of treaties and international agreements negotiated by the head of state?

   In the case of international agreements and treaties the approval of the Senate is required.

h) Commander of the armed forces?  ___X__Yes  ____No

   If yes, does the head of state control promotions of high-ranking officers?
   __X__Yes  ____No (with the approval of the Congress)

   If yes, can the head of state dismiss or demote high-ranking officers?
   __X__Yes  ____No (with the approval of the Congress)

   If yes, can the head of state mobilize and demobilize troops?
   __X__Yes  ____No (with the approval of the Congress)

j) Introduce referenda?  ____Yes  __X__No

   If yes, under what conditions?

k) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?  
   __X__Yes  ____No

m) Convene special legislative sessions?  ____Yes  __X__No

   If yes, is this the head of state's power exclusively, or can any other (s) do this as well?  ____Yes, other power ____ No other powers

   (If yes, explain):

II.) Questions about the Head of Government.

1) Who is the Head of Government?

   __X__ President
   ____ Prime Minister (or equivalent)
   ____ Other (please specify)  

2) If the Head of Government is a prime minister, how is the prime minister selected?

   ____ Appointed by the head of state alone
   ____ Appointed by the legislature alone
   ____ Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature
   ____ Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state
3) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the composition of the cabinet? [Check all that apply.]

___ Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
___ Nominates ministers for approval by the president
___ Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
___ Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
___ Other (Explain):

4) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the policy making process? [Check all that apply.]

___ Chairs cabinet meetings
___ Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature
___ Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order
___ Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees
___ Calls votes of confidence in government
___ Other (Explain)

III.) By what method(s) can cabinet members, or the entire cabinet, be dismissed? [Check all that apply.]

___ By the head of state alone
___ By the prime minister alone
___ By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
___ By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required
___ By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)
___ Other (Explain)

IV.) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? ____Yes ____No

1) If yes, by what method?

___ By the head of state alone
___ By the prime minister alone
___ By majority vote of the legislature
___ By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)
___ Other (Explain)