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Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 2: Macro Report
Version 2004-07-01

Country (Date of Election): México (6 July 2003)

NOTE TO THE COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project- your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated!

Any supplementary documents that you can provide (i.e. electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and will be made available with this report to the CSES community on the CSES web page.

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

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
National Action Party	eight
Institutional Revolutionary Party	two

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?

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

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
National Action Party	eight
Institutional Revolutionary Party	two

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election?

The same.

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 elections held on July were for federal deputies. The executive power was not modified.

3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered):

Party Name/Label	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Party Organizational Memberships
A. National Action Party	1939	Right Liberal Parties	NA	Christian Democratic International

B. Institutional Revolutionary Party	1929 ¹	National Parties/Social Democratic Parties	NA	Socialist International
C. Democratic Revolution Party	1989	Social Democratic Parties	NA	Socialist International
D. Mexican Green Ecological Party	1990	Ecology Parties	NA	American Green Parties Federation
E. Convergence for Democracy	1999	Social Democracy Parties	NA	none
E. Labor Party	1990	Social Democratic Parties	NA	none
F. Nationalist Society Party	1999	Right Nationalistic Parties	NA	none
G. Social Alliance Party	1999	Right Liberal Parties	NA	none
H. Possible Mexico	2002	Social Democracy Parties	NA	none
I. Liberal Party	2002	Left Liberal Party	NA	none
J. Citizen Force	2002	Left Oriented to Citizen	NA	none

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).

Ecology Parties	Liberal Parties	Agrarian Parties
Communist Parties	Right Liberal Parties	Ethnic Parties
Socialist Parties	Christian Democratic Parties	Regional Parties
Social Democratic Parties	Conservative Parties	Other Parties
Left Liberal	Parties National Parties	Independents
		Single Issue Parties

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations that a particular party might belong to. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

European People's Party
European Democrats
Party of European Socialists
European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
Confederal Group of European United Left
Nordic Green Left
Greens
European Free Alliance
Europe for the Nations
Europe of Democracies and Diversities

International Party Organizations:

Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
Caribbean Democratic Union
Christian Democratic International
Christian Democratic Organization of America
Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Democratic Union of Africa
Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
Green Movement
Humanist Party
International Communist Union
International Democrat Union
International League of Democratic Socialists

Liberal International
 Natural Law Party
 Pacific Democratic Union
 Organization of African Liberal Parties
 Socialist International
 Socialist Inter-Africa

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?
 Nationalist Society Party, Social Alliance Party, Possible Mexico, Liberal Party and Citizen Force.

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?
 None of the new parties kept seats in the legislature. The following parties were not represented in the legislature: Nationalist Society Party, Social Alliance Party, Possible Mexico, Liberal Party and Citizen Force.

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?
 No

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name LEFT RIGHT

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT												
1. PRI	0	1	2	3	4	X	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	8	9	10	
2. PAN	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	8	9	10	0	1	2	X	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
3. PRD	0	1	X	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	X	6	7	8	9	10	
4. PT	0	1	2	3	4	5	X	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	X	10	
5. PVEM	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
6. Convergencia	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
7. PSN	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. PAS	0	1	2	3	4	X	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	X	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9. Possible Mexico	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
10. PLM	0	1	2	3	4	X	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11. FC	0	1	2	3	4	X	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?
 Yes

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

Name of dimension:
 Label for left hand position:
 Label for right hand position:

4bb. Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country

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. It was the first election after the change of party in the government (executive power) in 71 years, and the performance of the president did not cover the high expectations of the historical moment.

2. Important reforms were stuck in the congress. There was a deadlock situation between the congress and the president.

3. The scandals of “Pemex Gate” for the PRI and “Amigos de Fox” for the PAN, both concerning illegal finances during the presidential campaigns.

4. Vicente Fox (President) popularity vs. Lopez Obrador (Mexico City Mayor) popularity.

5. The lost of credibility in the political actors.

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

Yes

6. Electoral Alliances:

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you will identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

No Yes**X**.... , and the following alliances were formed:

Alliance Name Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members '*')

Alliance 1: Alianza para Todos (PRI-PVEM) in 97 federal districts. The dominant member was the PRI.

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

Party of Candidate

Name of Party Leader or Presidential Candidate

A. PAN

Luis Felipe Bravo Mena

B. PRI	<u>Roberto Madrazo Pintado</u>
C. PRD	<u>Rosario Robles Berlanga</u>
D. PVEM	<u>Jorge Emilio González</u>
E. PT	<u>Alberto Anaya Gutiérrez</u>
F. Convergencia	<u>Dante Delgado Renauro</u>
G. PSN	<u>Gustavo Riojas Santana</u>
H. PAS	<u>José Antonio Tinoco</u>
I. Possible Mexico	<u>Patricia Mercado Castro</u>
J. Liberal Party	<u>Salvador Ordaz Montes de Oca</u>
K. Fuerza Ciudadana	<u>Jorge Alcocer Villanueva</u>

Part II: 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.

References:

Electoral Law: Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales (<http://cofipe.ife.org.mx/>)

Electoral regime and the 2003 elections: Frequently asked questions about Mexico's electoral regime and the federal elections of 2003 (<http://www.ife.org.mx>)

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

- 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*).
 - more than 2

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

- How many primary electoral districts are there?
 - Single-Member districts (*distritos uninominales*): 300 districts
 - Multi-Member districts (*circunscripciones plurinominales*): 5 districts

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district?

One.

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

Five.

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

B. 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 (*circunscripcion*) 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:

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 (*circunscripcion*). 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 *circunscripcion*

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

C. 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 *circunscripcion* 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 *circunscripcion* 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 *circunscripcion* between 40. The quotient represent the number of votes a party must gather in order to

gain one multimember seat in the *circunscripcion*. 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 *circunscripcion* level. This means that vote totals at the *cicunscricpcion* level are recalculated 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:

- [Benito Nacif. 1997. Legislative parties in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies. México: CIDE Working Papers.](#)
- [María Amparo Casar. 1998. Executive-Legislative Relations: The Case of Mexico. México: CIDE Working Papers.](#)

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 **X**
- 2) The largest remaining vote

11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible? please code below

- a.) closed?....**X**....
- b) flexible, but in practice virtually closed?
- c) flexible?
- d) flexible, but in practice virtually open? or
- e) open?

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

D. 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.

12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system?

Political parties can form alliances in all Federal elections. There are three possibilities:

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 No

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists? YesNo

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party? YesNo

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

12e. Other?

13. Are joint lists possible?

13a. 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?

..... 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 or her, each time with the name of the endorsing party

..... Yes, other (please explain)

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semipresidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the *de jure* (or legal) situation and the *de facto* (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the de facto situation. Otherwise, describe the *de jure* situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Who is the Head of State?

- President
- Monarch
- Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- Other (please specify)

2. How is the head of state selected?

- Direct election
- Indirect election
- Birth right
- Divine right
- Other (Explain)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

- Plurality election
- Run-off or two-ballot system
- Other (Explain)

If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

- The (#) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
- Any candidate with at least% of the popular vote advances to the second round

2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
- Selection by the legislature
- Other (Explain)

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?

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]

3a. Introduce legislation? ...X...YesNo

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?Yes ...X...No

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

3c. Package veto? No ...X...Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is the vote against the veto in both cameras with qualified majority (two third of votes in each one).

3d. Partial veto? ...X... NoYes, and the requirement to override the veto is

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?X...YesNo

3f. Emergency powers? YesX... No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements? NoX...Yes, provided the following additional requirements are met: with the approval of the Senate and following the normative principles of the article 89 fraction X of the mexican constitution.

3h. Commander of the armed forces? ...X...YesNo

3j. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?YesX...No

3k. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality? ...X...YesNo

3m. Convene special legislative sessions? ...X...YesNo

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

Definitions: In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature.

In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

1. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature? ...X... Yes No

1a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State? ...X... Yes No

1b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government 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

..... Other (Explain):

2. What authorities does the Head of Government 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):

3. What authorities does the Head of Government 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):

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

1. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? [Check all that apply.]

...X...By the head of state **acting** alone

..... By the prime minister **acting** 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):

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

1. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? ...X...NoYes,

..... By the head of state **acting** alone

..... By the prime minister **acting** alone

..... By majority vote of the legislature

..... By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain):

..... Other (Explain):

2. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

[Check all that apply.]

.....On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election) (Explain)
.....As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Explain)
..... Other (Explain):

3. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? No ...**X**.... Yes, it is:
...**X**.... directly elected
..... indirectly elected through the following process
.....mixt.

3a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:
..... wholly regional and/or local officials?
..... partly regional and/or local officials?
..... not necessarily regional and/or local officials?

3b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive's proposed budget)? No...**X**.... Yes,

3c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers? Yes**X**... No

E. FEDERALISM

1. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments?**X**... Yes No

2. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments? Yes **X**. No

F. REFERENCES

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 here.

Mexican Political Constitution:

Instituto Federal Electoral: