

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems  
Module 3: Macro Report  
July , 2009

Country: MEXICO  
Date of Election: July 5, 2009

Prepared by: CIDE  
Date of Preparation: 2009

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 (National Action Party)

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.

Presidential system. The cabinet in Mexico is made up by eighteen portfolios held by state secretaries directly appointed by the President, and the Attorney-General (19 in total). Only the Secretary of Foreign Relations and the General Attorney need approval from the Senate. There is no voting in the cabinet, and the positions are not necessarily political.

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
Independent	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?  
PAN (National Action Party)

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 18 portafolios (State Secretaries) and the General Attorney.

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 Portfolios</b>
National Action Party (PAN)	12
Independent	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>19</b>

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) Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party) (PRI)
- 2) Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party) (PAN)
- 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) Partido Nueva Alianza (New Alliance Party) (PANAL)
- 7) Convergencia (Convergence Party) (CONVERGENCIA)
- 8) Partido Socialdemócrata (Social Democratic Party) (PSD)

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>Legislative Election</b>				
	<b># of Votes*</b>	<b>% of Vote</b>	<b># of Seats**</b>	<b>% of Seats</b>
A. PRI	12,702,481	36.8	237	47.4
B. PAN	9,679,435	28.0	143	28.6
C. PRD	4,217,985	12.2	71	14.2
D. PVEM	2,254,716	6.5	21	4.2
E. PT	1,234,497	3.6	13	2.6
F. Nueva Alianza	1,181,850	3.4	9	1.8
G. Convergencia	822,001	2.4	6	1.2
H. PSD	357,003	1.0	0	0
I. Primero México (PRI-PVEM)	126,879	0.4	0	0
J. Salvemos México (PT- Convergencia)	59,351	0.2	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34,560,344</b>	<b>94.4*</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Adding "Not registered" and "blank" = 100%.

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

**Source:**

IFE, [www.ife.org.mx](http://www.ife.org.mx)

Chamber of Deputies, [www.diputados.gob.mx](http://www.diputados.gob.mx)

Note: Salvemos México (PRI-PVEM) and Primero México (PT-Convergencia) are alliances that participated in the plurality electoral districts. The former were running in all plurality districts while the latter in only 63. Party logos are shown separately on the ballot. These alliances may benefit small political parties in financial terms (they may obtain more economic support in coalitions than if they were alone).

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

44.61% of the registered voters with a valid ID: “nominal list”. Citizens register to vote in offices of the Electoral Commission (IFE). The actual voter IDs take some time to be produced, so those who registered have to go back to pick it up, some week or two after they registered. The list of solicitants is called “Padrón Electoral” (Electoral Roll). Some of these citizens who solicited a voting card do not claim it afterwards. These citizens are erased from the final voting list and their IDs are destroyed. The list of those who registered and got their valid ID is called the “lista nominal” which is the final actual list of registered voters. It is pertinent to mention that this figure underestimates actual turnout because the final list of registered votes is not sufficiently updated, and it contains some amount of people who for some reason is not a valid voter (deaths and illegal registration, mostly).

49.4% of the Voting Age Population according to the projection estimated by the National Council of Population (CONAPO) in Mexico for this electoral year. The Voting Age Population (est. 2009) is 70,289,650.

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: 107,550,697 according to the projection estimated by the National Council of Population (CONAPO) in Mexico for this electoral year.  
[www.conapo.gob.mx](http://www.conapo.gob.mx)

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

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens (“lista nominal”, see explanation in 4d):  
77,470,785

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

- Total Vote: Legislative: 34,708,444

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: 1,924,146. Invalid (non registered candidates) 56,417 and 1,867,729 blank votes.
- Voting Age Population (est.): 70,289,650

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: 77,470,785 (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. See 4d.

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. PRI	Social Democratic (moderate)
B. PAN	Christian Democratic
C. PRD	Social Democratic (radical)
D. PVEM	Ecology
E. PT	Socialist
F. NUEVA ALIANZA	Right Liberal
G. CONVERGENCIA	Social Democratic
H. PSD	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).

1. The government had to pay the consequences of the financial crisis of 2007-2009. Even though, the public finances did not suffer severe consequences, and the exchange rate peso-dollar did not suffer sudden and drastic changes, GNP dropped dramatically and unemployment spread. Therefore, the perception that the Government did not respond in the best way to solve these problems extended, causing a great discontent and frustration in the population.
2. The problem of crime, specially the “Drug War”—an armed conflict between rival drug cartels and government forces—, produced a lack of credibility in the Government (PAN) because the persistence of violence and murders related to this issue.
3. The former left candidate of the PRD, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, did not recognize his defeat in 2006, and has been campaigning across the country under two small parties (Convergencia and PT). This has created strong problems for the leftis parties in two senses. On the one hand strong rejection of López Obrador among many segments of the population and, strong divisions among the parties. This deteriorated their credibility.



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. PRI	Beatriz Paredes	-
B. PAN	Germán Martínez Cázares	-
C. PRD	Jesús Ortega	-
D. PVEM	Jorge Emilio González Martínez	-
E. PT	Alberto Anaya	-
F. NUEVA ALIANZA	Jorge Kahwagi	-
G. CONVERGENCIA	Luis Maldonado Venegas	-
H. PSD	Jorge Carlos Díaz Cuervo	-

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 5, 2009

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

July 5, 2009

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

### 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.

Parties could nominate common candidates to some posts, but no common logos were registered. Votes had to cast a vote for each party, even where they registered the same candidate

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.

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.

Be advised that in 2007 a major electoral reform took place, changing the rules related to the access of the political parties to the media. So please be sure that any version of the Electoral Code that you use is after these reforms.

As of January 28, 2010 a copy of the electoral law could be found in

[http://www.ife.org.mx/documentos/Reforma\\_Electoral/](http://www.ife.org.mx/documentos/Reforma_Electoral/)  
[http://normateca.ife.org.mx/internet/normaRE/normaRE\\_01.asp](http://normateca.ife.org.mx/internet/normaRE/normaRE_01.asp)

As of January 28, 2009 a copy of the regulations, handbooks, manuals, etc for the development of this electoral process (2009) can be found in

<http://normateca.ife.org.mx/internet/normaPEF2008-2009/normaPEF.asp>

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 do not vote.

In the legislative elections for each Chamber, voters 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 assign the seats of the proportional representation segments of each Chamber. The threshold required to maintain their registration is 2% of the valid votes. If a party loses its registration, but any of their candidates win 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 these 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, four for each state.

#### *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 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.

---

<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.

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*

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/>