

## Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 4: Macro Report

February 16, 2016

Country: MEXICO  
Date of Election: June 7, 2015

Prepared by: CIDE  
Date of Preparation: 2016

### 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?

PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party)

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.

Presidential system. The cabinet in Mexico is made up by eighteen portfolios held by state secretaries directly appointed by the President, and the General Attorney (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>
Institucional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	13
Mexican Green Ecological Party	1
Independent	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>

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

PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party)

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.

The cabinet in Mexico is made up by 19 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>
Institucional Revolutionary Party (PRI)	12
Mexican Green Ecological Party	1
Independent	6
<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. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

- A. Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party) (PRI)
- B. Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party) (PAN)
- C. Partido de la Revolución Democrática (Democratic Revolution Party) (PRD)
- D. Partido Verde Ecologista de México (Mexican Green Ecological Party) (PVEM)
- E. Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party) (PT)
- F. Partido Nueva Alianza (New Alliance Party) (PANAL)
- G. Movimiento Ciudadano (Citizen Movement) (MC)
- H. Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (National Regeneration Movement) (Morena)
- I. Partido Encuentro Social (Social Encounter Party) (PES)
- J. Partido Humanista (Humanist Party) (PH)

Note: For the first time, independent candidates could participate in the election.

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.ine.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: Lower House</b>				
	<b># of Votes*</b>	<b>% of Vote</b>	<b># of Seats**</b>	<b>% of Seats</b>
A. PRI	11,638,675	29.18	198	39.6
B. PAN	8,379,502	21.01	110	22
C. PRD	4,335,745	10.87	54	10.8
D. PVEM	2,758,152	6.91	45	9
E. PT	1,134,447	2.84	13	2.6
F. PANAL	1,486,952	3.72	10	2
G. MC	2,431,923	6.09	27	5.4
H. Morena	3,346,349	8.39	34	6.8
I. PES	1,325,344	3.32	8	1.6
J. PH	856,903	2.14	NA	NA
K. Independents	225,500	0.56	1	0.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37,919,492</b>	<b>95%*</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>

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

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

**Source:**

INE, <http://www.ine.mx/>

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.

39.6% of voting age population  
47.7% of registered to vote.

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.

- Total Population: 121 005 815 according to the projection estimated for 2015 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).

- Voting age population (18 years and more): 100,508,570.
- Registered to vote (“lista nominal”): 83’563,190  
see explanation in (4d):
- Total Vote: 39,872,757

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:

Legislative Lower Chamber: Non-registered: 52,384 and invalid votes: 1,900,881

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. PRI	Social Democratic (moderate)
B. PAN	Christian Democratic
C. PRD	Social Democratic (radical)
D. PVEM	Ecology
E. PT	Socialist
F. PANAL	Right Liberal
G. MC	Social Democratic
H. Morena	Social Democratic (radical)
I. PES	Christian Democratic
J. PH	Secular humanism

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

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). 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	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. PRI					X							
B. PAN								X				
C. PRD			X									
D. PVEM							X					
E. PT		X										
F. NUEVA ALIANZA							X					
G. MC				X								
H. Morena				X								
I. PES					X							
J. PH								X				

6b. 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. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension:

Label for left hand position: Liberal

Label for right hand position: Conservative

Party Name	Liberal					Conservative					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. PRI					X						
B. PAN								X			
C. PRD			X								
D. PVEM							X				
E. PT		X									
F. NUEVA ALIANZA							X				
G. MC			X								
H. Morena			X								
I. PES				X							
J. PH								X			



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. Tax reform
2. Reforms. High growth expectations and then lower growth expectations
3. “White House”. Corruption scandals.
4. Enforced disappearance of Ayotzinapa students
5. PVEM scandal about gifts in campaigns and vote buying
6. New institutional rules for electoral campaigns and independent candidates
7. New party: Morena. Which split from the third biggest party.

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.

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Name of Party Leader</b>	<b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b>
A.PRI	César Camacho Quiroz	
B.PAN	Gustavo Enrique Madero Muñoz	
C. PRD	Carlos Navarrete Ruiz	
D. PVEM	Jorge Emilio González	
E. PT	Alberto Anaya Gutiérrez	
F. PANAL	Luis Castro Obregón	
G. MC	Dante Delgado Rannauro	
H. Morena	Andrés Manuel López Obrador	
I. PES	Hugo Eric Flores Cervantes	
J. PH	Javier López Macías	

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?

June 7, 2015

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

June 7, 2015

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.

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.

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.

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

*Multi-Member District: 1 national district*

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

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

*\*Please see 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.)

*\*Please see 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.

One for president, 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

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 3% 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, he would get the seat and be declared as “independent”.

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

3% 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.ine.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.ine.mx>

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

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

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

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