

# Presidential Elections in Mexico

Reynaldo Yunuen Ortega Ortiz

# Presidential Elections in Mexico

From Hegemony to Pluralism

palgrave  
macmillan

Reynaldo Yunuen Ortega Ortiz  
Center for International Studies  
College of Mexico  
Mexico City,  
Distrito Federal  
Mexico

ISBN 978-3-319-56031-1      ISBN 978-3-319-56032-8 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-56032-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017939110

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image: © dezin100

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG  
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

*To my children Carmen and Yunuen  
May they promote a more democratic Mexico*

## PREFACE

A long time ago Charles Tilly, an extraordinary professor, told me that life was a collection of mistakes and falls; clever people get up and try to continue with their existence. Writing a book is a similar task; like in life, to get up we need a lot of advice and good friends, who support you when you think that you cannot continue. This book has a long history, I started thinking about it more than a decade ago; Fox's administration was ending and the results were very far from our high expectation as a country. Nevertheless, I had studied and compared the long struggle for democracy in Mexico and Spain and, considered that, at some point, I would have to review a part of that story, but focusing on the presidential elections in Mexico. Democracy goes far beyond elections; however, presidential elections have been a key arena where the Mexican political system has been forged. A long time ago, Lenin, contradicting Kautsky and the social democrats, argued that bourgeois democracy was the most important protection for capitalism. It was a facade for maintaining a brutal process of domination.<sup>1</sup>

The ideal of social democrats has been that through elections the process of domination could be tamed, socialist governments would develop a welfare state that made unnecessary the violent process of destruction involved in a revolution. In some countries, with all its contradictions, democracy has produced significant results for the majority of the population, a better and good life in the Aristotelian mode for the majority of the population. However, that is not the case in Mexico. We still live in an unequal society, not just economically, but socially and

culturally... The book that the readers have in their hands is the result of my thinking and discussions with multiple professors, colleagues, and friends. I have benefitted enormously from conversations with Fernanda Somuano, who has been my coauthor in multiple academic projects at El Colegio de Mexico, Edith Pacheco from the Center for Demographic and Environmental Studies (CEDUA) helped me enormously to develop the statistical models of the 2000 and 2012 presidential elections. Aldo Ponce from CIDE Centro gave me excellent comments on a draft of two chapters that I presented at LASA in New York City in 2016. Bernardo Mabire from the Center for International Studies read the whole manuscript and help me to polish my English. Martha Elena Venier has been an extraordinary reviewer, she also read and corrected the whole manuscript and made numerous suggestions to improve the book. Humberto Garza has always been a good friend, who has encouraged me to continue with all my projects. Julio Solís, my research assistant, has helped me to finish the bibliography and review the notes. I also want to thank the anonymous reviewers from Palgrave, who made key suggestions to improve the book and insisted on changing the structure of the book so that the typology developed in the theoretical chapter could be used along the whole text. I am thankful to the Center for International Studies at El Colegio de México. That has been my institutional home during the past 18 years. I also want to thank the Katz Center for Mexican Studies at the University of Chicago, where I finished the final revisions of the book. Let me express my affection and gratitude to my whole family, my parents, Leticia and Reynaldo, who have been a constant source of inspiration, and my sister and my brother Claudia and Hiquingari. I have a special debt to my two kids Carmen and Yunuen. I have borrowed too much time from them; I hope this book will compensate some of the pain involved.

I expect the result, although small, will help to understand and eventually give some ideas to transform our political system into an authentically democratic one. As Charles Tilly says, “Almost all crucial democracy-promoting causal mechanism involve popular contention—politically constituted actors’ making of public, collective claims and other actors, including agents of government—a correlates, causes and effects.”<sup>2</sup> The main argument of this book is that Mexican presidential elections have been crucial in those struggles for democracy. Here, I will present a theoretical approach to analyze that historical process.

I have adapted some material from my *Mobilización y democracia. España y México* (México, El Colegio de México, 2008); and a previous

version of my typology of presidential elections, developed in Chap. 1, appeared in my “De la hegemonía al pluralismo: elecciones presidenciales y comportamiento electoral, 1976–2006,” at S. Loeza and J.F. Prud’homme, *Instituciones y Procesos Políticos*, (México, El Colegio de México, 2010) pp. 405–447.

Mexico City, Mexico

Reynaldo Yunuen Ortega Ortiz

## NOTES

1. See: V. I. Lenin, “Democracy and Dictatorship,” in *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/dec/23.htm>. “The Scheidemanns and Kautsky’s speak about “pure democracy” and “democracy” in general for the purpose of deceiving the people and concealing from them the *bourgeois* character of *present-day* democracy. Let the bourgeoisie continue to keep the entire apparatus of state power in their hands, let a handful of exploiters continue to use the former, bourgeois, state machine! Elections held in such circumstances are lauded by the bourgeoisie, for very good reasons, as being “free”, “equal”, “democratic” and “universal”. These words are designed to conceal the truth, to conceal the fact that the means of production and political power remain in the hands of the exploiters, and that therefore real freedom and real equality for the exploited, that is, for the vast majority of the population, are out of the question. It is profitable and indispensable for the bourgeoisie to conceal from the people the *bourgeois* character of modern democracy, to picture it as democracy in general or “pure democracy”, and the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, repeating this, *in practice* abandon the standpoint of the proletariat and side with the bourgeoisie.
2. Charles Tilly, *Contention & Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 255.

# CONTENTS

1	Introduction: A <i>Longue Durée</i> View of the Process of Democratization in Mexico	1
2	The Democratization Process in Mexico and Presidential Elections. Toward a Typology of Presidential Elections	11
3	Maintaining Elections: 1970, 1976 and 1982	45
4	Converting Elections: 1988, 1994, and 2006	73
5	The Realigning Elections: 2000 and 2012	123
6	Conclusions: Presidential Elections and the New Structure of Power in Mexico	167
	Bibliography	173
	Index	183

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Mexico's <i>longue durée</i> view of the processes of democratization and de-democratization, 1821–2012. <i>Source</i> Figure elaborated by the author based on Charles Tilly, <i>Democracy</i> , Cambridge, University Press, 2010, p. 17	4
Fig. 2.1	Four causal models	29

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Elite Forecasts of the effects of extremism and the resulting scenarios for transitions to democracy	26
Table 2.2	Types of presidential elections, majority party's electoral result	34
Table 2.3	Typology of presidential elections in Mexico Majority Party's electoral result	37
Table 2.4	Correlations of the vote for the PRI in presidential elections, 1958–2012	38
Table 3.1	Presidential elections, 1970–1976	59
Table 3.2	Intermediate Federal Elections, 1979	62
Table 3.3	Elections, 1982–1985	64
Table 3.4	Three Maintaining Presidential elections, 1970–1976–1982	66
Table 4.1	Electoral results 1988	77
Table 4.2	Mexican economy 1987–1994	93
Table 4.3	Income distribution in Mexico (1984–1994)	99
Table 4.4	Polls results, January 2006	102
Table 4.5	Presidential election polls, April–May 2006	104
Table 4.6	Polls results, June 2006	105
Table 4.7	Presidential elections 2006	108
Table 4.8	Logistic model to explain the vote (2006)	111
Table 4.9	Congress election results by the majority principle 2006	111
Table 5.1	Mexico's Electoral Participation 1988–2000	128
Table 5.2	Elected officials 1994–1997	131
Table 5.3	Public funds of the political parties 1994–2000 (millions of dollars)	132

Table 5.4	PAN's vote share and expenses in the five circumscriptions 1991–1997	133
Table 5.5	PRD's vote share and expenses in the five circumscriptions 1991–1997	133
Table 5.6	PRI's vote share and expenses in the five circumscriptions 1991–1997	134
Table 5.7	Changes in parties' vote	136
Table 5.8	Mexicans' party identity 1994–2000	138
Table 5.9	Party identity by age groups	139
Table 5.10	Logit models of party identity 1994	142
Table 5.11	Logit models of party identity 2000	142
Table 5.12	Party voting (Congress 1994)	143
Table 5.13	Party voting (Congress 2000)	144
Table 5.14	Multinomial logistic model probabilities to vote: PAN, PRI, or PRD in 2000 Presidential election	148
Table 5.15	Mexico's electoral volatility	149
Table 5.16	Multinomial logistic model probabilities to vote: PAN, PRI, or PRD in 2012 Presidential election	156
Table 5.17	Economic growth 2009–2012	158
Table 5.18	Homicides per 100,000 people	159
Table 5.19	Victims of crime per 100,000 persons	160

## LIST OF GRAPHS

- Graph 2.1 Correlations of consecutive presidential elections, 1964–2012. *Note* Graphed from 1970 onwards. *Source* Prepared by the author 35
- Graph 2.2 Relation between the percentage of votes and the “traditional” vote for the PRI in presidential elections. *Note* Graphed from 1970 onwards. *Source* Prepared by the author 36
- Graph 4.1 A tale of two countries, the 1988 election. *Source* José Barberán, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Adriana López Monjardin y Jorge Zavala, *Radiografía del Fraude, Análisis de los datos oficiales del 6 de julio*, México, Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1988, p. 21 78
- Graph 4.2 Bimodal distribution of votes in favor of the PRI in 1988. *Source* Graph prepared by the author using a database of 1000 copies of the acts of the 1988 election 80
- Graph 4.3 Comparing the distribution of votes in favor of the PRI in 1988–1991 and 1994 elections. *Sources* Graph prepared by the author using the acts of 1988 in the NGA, and the electoral data of the IFE for 1991 and 1994, [www.ife.org.mx](http://www.ife.org.mx) 81
- Graph 4.4 Percentage of votes obtained by the three main candidates using different methods to “clean” the 1988. *Source* Francisco Báez Rodríguez, “Las piezas perdidas (ejercicios de reconstrucción” in Sánchez Gutiérrez, *Elecciones a debate*, pp. 33–34. The *Abrasivo 70* was calculated by the author using the acts at the GNA 82
- Graph 4.5 Correlation between “Traditional” PRI voting and subsequent election 1976–2006. *Source* Graph prepared by the author 84

Graph 4.6	Relation votes-seats. <i>Source</i> Juan Molinar y Jeffrey Weldon, “Elecciones de 1988 en México, crisis del autoritarismo,” <i>Revista Mexicana de Sociología</i> , LII, (4), 1990, pp. 241 and 244	86
Graph 4.7	Presidential elections 1994–2006. <i>Source</i> <a href="http://www.ife.org.mx">www.ife.org.mx</a>	109
Graph 5.1	Congress election 1988–2000. <i>Source</i> Elaborated by the author using the figures of the IFE <a href="http://www.ife.org.mx">http://www.ife.org.mx</a>	130
Graph 5.2	Presidential elections 1994–2000	135
Graph 5.3	Elections 1994–2000. <i>Source</i> Elaborated by the author with figures from IFE, <a href="http://www.ife.org.mx">www.ife.org.mx</a>	137
Graph 5.4	PRI’s partisans by age groups. <i>Source</i> Graphs 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 were elaborated by the author based on post-electoral polls of the CIDE	140
Graph 5.5	PAN’s partisans by age groups 1994–2000. <i>Source</i> Graphs 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 were elaborated by the author based on post-electoral polls of the CIDE	140
Graph 5.6	PRD’s partisans by age group. <i>Source</i> Graphs 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 were elaborated by the author based on post-electoral polls of the CIDE	141
Graph 5.7	Party identity-voting probability relationship. <i>Source</i> Graph elaborated by the author	146
Graph 5.8	Percentage of votes by party (Congress 1994–2012). <i>Source</i> <a href="http://www.ife.org.mx">http://www.ife.org.mx</a>	153

## LIST OF MAPS

- Map 4.1 1988 Presidential Election (Parties with the highest percentage of votes). *Source* Reynaldo Yunuen Ortega Ortiz, *Mobilización y democracia: España y México*, México, El Colegio de México, 2008, p. 200 85
- Map 5.1 Mexico's new pluralism. *Source* Map drawn by El Colegio de México, Department of Geographical Information Systems, using data by the author 150