

**Appendix 7.1. Sociological Models of Vote Choice in Mexico's Presidential Elections, 2000-2012**

	2000			2006			2012		
	PRI/ PAN	PRI/ PRD	PRD/ PAN	PRI/ PAN	PRI/ PRD	PRD/ PAN	PRI/ PAN	PRI/ PRD	PRD/ PAN
Gender (female)	1.423*	2.424***	0.588*	0.875	1.837***	0.565***	0.776	2.210***	0.466***
	(2.12)	(3.60)	(-2.38)	(-0.66)	(3.56)	(-3.38)	(-1.44)	(4.00)	(-3.86)
Age	1.019**	0.997	1.023***	1.010	1.000	1.001	1.003	1.002	0.999
	(2.88)	(-0.28)	(3.54)	(1.39)	(0.07)	(0.24)	(0.50)	(0.25)	(-0.10)
Household income	0.998	1.167	0.842	0.890**	1.144***	0.872***	0.892	1.042	0.927
	(-0.04)	(1.61)	(-1.94)	(-2.78)	(3.80)	(-3.94)	(-1.00)	(0.32)	(-0.58)
Education	0.928	0.913	1.040	0.973	1.009	1.002	1.009	0.939	1.087
	(-0.84)	(-0.65)	(0.40)	(-0.53)	(0.21)	(0.04)	(0.20)	(-1.24)	(1.65)
Religiosity	0.987	1.031	0.995	1.072	1.004	0.968	0.949	1.092	0.898
	(-0.19)	(0.31)	(-0.06)	(0.78)	(0.06)	(-0.42)	(-0.65)	(0.98)	(-1.19)
Rural	3.342***	1.373	2.667***	2.285**	0.859	1.022	1.146	1.712*	0.559*
	(5.33)	(1.03)	(3.33)	(3.07)	(-0.58)	(0.09)	(0.58)	(2.04)	(-2.22)
Region (South)	0.915	0.891	1.231	1.272	0.255**	3.593**	1.358	0.159***	6.892***
	(-0.36)	(-0.19)	(0.63)	(0.57)	(-2.90)	(2.95)	(0.81)	(-4.72)	(4.87)
Region (Center)	0.862	0.472	1.701	0.616	0.182***	4.629***	1.357	0.228***	4.135***
	(-0.60)	(-1.22)	(1.67)	(-1.13)	(-3.62)	(3.57)	(0.88)	(-3.90)	(3.78)
Region (Center-west)	0.729	1.003	0.878	0.657	0.620	1.319	0.905	1.012	0.960
	(-1.15)	(0.00)	(-0.33)	(-0.91)	(-0.92)	(0.58)	(-0.26)	(0.03)	(-0.09)
Constant	0.389	2.462	0.154	0.423	1.604	0.758	2.623	1.139	0.940
	(-1.88)	(1.03)	(.)	(-1.34)	(0.81)	(-0.49)	(1.72)	(0.21)	(-0.10)
Est. variance of random effects	0.043	0.929	0.043	0.331	0.447	0.331	0.223	0.235	0.223
Std. error of est. variance of r.e.	(0.066)	(0.472)	(0.066)	(0.161)	(0.255)	(0.161)	(0.136)	(0.128)	(0.136)
Observations		839			988			1,054	
% correctly predicted		51.25			49.49			44.59	

\* p<0.05 \*\* p<0.01 \*\*\* p<0.001

Entries are exponentiated coefficients (relative risk ratios) from two-level multinomial logit models with shared random effects at the state level. Parentheses contain t statistics. A ratio greater (smaller) than one indicates a higher (lower) probability of voting for the first party listed in the column, relative to the second. Only relative risk ratios between candidates of the three main parties are shown. The North is the base region in all models. Data come the Mexico Panel Studies (Greene 2013; Lawson 2001, 2007).

Appendix 7.2. Key Elements of Mexico's Election Law, 1946-2014

	1946 <sup>1</sup>	1977	1986	1989-90	1993 <sup>2</sup>	1996	2003	2007-2008	2014
<b>Party registration rules</b>	30,000 members across the country; 1,000 members in at least 2/3 of all states. To be verified in public assemblies.	"Definitive registration" (access to the ballot in federal, state, and municipal elections): 65,000 members nationwide; and 3,000 members in at least half of all states, or 300 in at least half of all electoral districts. To be verified in public assemblies. OR "Conditional registration" (access to the ballot only in federal elections): proof of permanent political activity in the previous four years; representing a significant "current of opinion" and political ideology of a social group; and having functioned as a national political association one year prior to the application.	No change in rules for definitive registration. Conditional registration abolished.	No change in rules for definitive registration. Conditional registration re-established, with the following change: proof of political activity in the two years prior to the application.	Same as previous.	Distinction between definitive and conditional registration eliminated. Requisites to obtain legal registration: Members must represent at least 0.13% of registered voters nationwide; and 3,000 members in at least 10 states, or 300 members in at least 100 electoral districts (out of 300). To be verified in public assemblies.	Registration requirements for national political parties doubled: Members must represent at least 0.26% of registered voters nationwide; and 3,000 members in at least 20 states, or 300 members in at least 200 electoral districts.	Same as previous. However, registration takes place only every six years after the presidential election, forcing new parties to meet the threshold in an intermediate legislative election before they could participate in a presidential contest.	Same as previous for national parties. Requirements for regional parties established in national law: at least 0.26% of all registered voters in the state and active members in 2/3 of the state's municipalities.
<b>Legal threshold</b>	-	1.5% of national vote (to be met within three election cycles for parties with definitive registration).	1.5% of national vote.	Same as previous.	1.5% of national vote (to be met within two election cycles for parties with definitive registration).	2% of national vote.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	3% of national vote.

Appendix 7.2. Key Elements of Mexico's Election Law, 1946-2014 (continued)

	1946 <sup>1</sup>	1977	1986	1989-90	1993 <sup>2</sup>	1996	2003	2007-2008	2014
<b>Party finance</b>	-	Access to public financing established in the law, but no rules on amount and distribution established in the law.	Federal Electoral Commission establishes minimum cost of a deputy campaign, to be multiplied by total number of candidates to determine amount of public financing.  50% of resulting sum distributed among parties in proportion to party vote shares; 50% in proportion to share of seats.	Same procedure to determine amount of public financing. Four types of public financing defined: 1) "Electoral activities," distributed in proportion to vote shares; 2) "General activities", equivalent to 10% of total financing for electoral activities and distributed equally; 3) "Subrogation": the state underwrote contributions made by legislators to sustain their parties, up to 50% of their annual salaries; 4) "Specific activities," 50% refund for resources spent on research, educational, and editorial activities.	Distinction is made between the following financing sources: public financing, activists, supporters, self-financing, financial returns. Each private individual contribution cannot exceed 1% of the total sum of public financing for all parties; each corporate contribution cannot exceed 5%; all anonymous contributions cannot exceed 10%.	Public financing increased by about 600%. 30% distributed equally among registered parties, 70% in proportion to vote shares.  The sum of contributions by supporters cannot exceed 10% of the total sum of public financing for all parties. Each individual or corporate contribution cannot exceed 0.05% of that sum. Anonymous contributions prohibited.	Same as previous.	Annual public financing for all parties calculated by multiplying the number of registered voters by 65% of the value of the minimum wage. 30% distributed equally among registered parties; 70% in proportion to vote shares.  Funds increased by 50% in presidential election years and by 30% in legislative election years.	Same as previous.

Appendix 7.2. Key Elements of Mexico's Election Law, 1946-2014 (continued)

	1946 <sup>1</sup>	1977	1986	1989-90	1993 <sup>2</sup>	1996	2003	2007-2008	2014
<b>Media access</b>	-	Free airtime established as a party prerogative, but no legal formula to determine distribution (determined by a special commission within the Secretariat of the Interior).	Free airtime provided to parties: 15 minutes per month for each party + two programs a month with participation of all registered parties. Additional airtime during campaigns.	Same as previous. Additional media airtime during campaigns to be distributed in proportion to party vote shares.	Same as previous. Possibility of purchasing campaign advertising in electronic media established as exclusive right of political parties. Introduction of regulations to support fair access and pricing to all parties in media advertising.	Same as previous. Additionally, during presidential campaigns: 250 hours in radio and 200 hours in television (50% in midterm elections). 4% distributed to registered parties without legislative representation; the remainder distributed among parties with legislative representation, 30% equally and 70% in proportion to vote shares. Federal Electoral Institute will purchase up to 10,000 ads in radio and 400 in television, to be distributed according to the same formula.	Same as previous.	All purchasing of political advertising in the electronic media prohibited. Free airtime provided to parties: During their internal candidate selection processes, 18 minutes for all parties in each radio station and TV channel, in ads of short length. During campaigns, 41 minutes. 30% of airtime to be distributed equally, 70% in proportion to vote shares. Outside of electoral periods, about 3 minutes per day on average, distributed equally among parties.	Same as previous. Airtime distributed among parties during internal candidate selection processes increased to 30 minutes per day in each radio station and television channel.

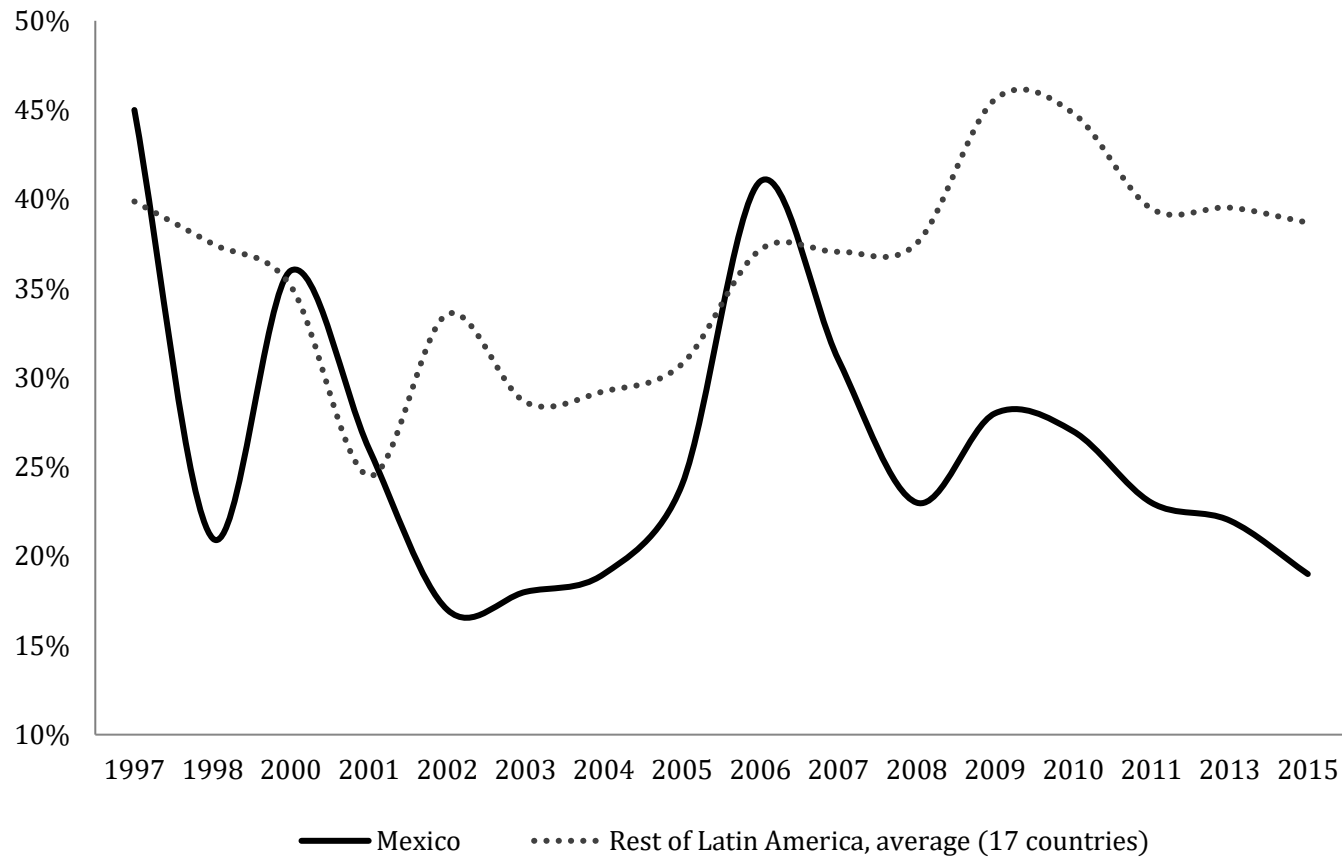
Appendix 7.2. Key Elements of Mexico’s Election Law, 1946-2014 (continued)

	1946 <sup>1</sup>	1977	1986	1989-90	1993 <sup>2</sup>	1996	2003	2007-2008	2014
<b>Independent candidates</b>	Nomination by a registered party required to have access to the ballot.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Same as previous.	Independent candidates allowed to run in all federal and local elections (except proportional representation seats). Independent presidential candidates require signatures from at least 1% of all registered voters and at least 1% of voters in at least 17 states to access the ballot. Candidates for single-member districts, signatures from 2% of all voters in the district and 1% in each of half of the electoral precincts in the district. Candidates for the Senate, 2% of all voters in the state and 1% in each of half of all districts in the state.

<sup>1</sup> Five electoral reforms were implemented between 1946 and 1977. In general, party registration requirements were hardened, retaining a similar structure to the 1946 law. They are not included here for reasons of space.

<sup>2</sup> The 1994 electoral reform is not included because it did not include significant changes in these areas.

**Appendix 7.3. Satisfaction with Democracy (Percent of Respondents Who Are Very or Quite Satisfied)**



*Source:* Authors' calculations from Latinobarómetro surveys, 1997-2015 (Latinobarómetro 2015).