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Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024

ELECTION RESULTS



Summary

"A great democracy must progress. Otherwise, it will soon cease to be either great or a democracy."

Theodore Roosevelt

Three weeks after the June 2 election, Mexico's National Electoral Institute (INE) and local electoral institutes in all 32 entities have concluded the counting of votes. The will of 60.1 million citizens was expressed through democratic suffrage.

In this issue, we offer an assessment of the precision with which the National Electoral Institute provided results on election night. The high degree of agreement between the figures from the quick count, the Preliminary Electoral Results Program (PREP), and the district counts is a testament to the professionalism that characterizes the INE's administration of Mexico's elections.

However, the electoral process was also marked by constant Constitutional violations by various political actors, particularly the President of the Republic. In this context, electoral authorities were not able to enforce the law.

The quality of the INE's work organizing the elections within the country contrasted with poor preparations for in-person voting at various Mexican consulates abroad. Once the presidential election results are certified, we will publish the 20th and final edition of "Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024," and conclude this effort to provide information and analysis of the Mexican electoral system.

After Election Day

The remaining stages of the electoral process

After election day and the counting of votes by the National Electoral Institute (INE) and the 32 local electoral institutes, there remain four important steps in the electoral process:

- 1) The Electoral Courts will resolve appeals filed during the electoral process. Appeals related to the presidential election must be resolved before September 1.
- 2) Before July 22, the INE must process the campaign finance reports for income and expenses of all candidates who participated in the elections.
- 3) Before August 23, electoral authorities must determine the allocation of proportional representation legislators at federal and local levels (see "Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024" number 6) and formally incorporate the legislative chambers.
- 4) Before September 6, the Supreme Chamber of Federal Electoral Tribunal (TEPJF) must certify the results of the presidential election. The new president will take office on October 1, 2024.

Complaints and Appeals



May be filed to nullify, revoke, or modify acts or decisions made by the electoral authorities, or actions of other political actors.

Appeals may challenge:



Actions or decisions believed to violate the constitution or other laws.



Decisions regarding the eligibility of candidates.



Sanctions established by the INE for the candidate's income and expense reports during election campaigns.



The allocation of legislative seats according to the principle of proportional representation.



The nullification of one or more ballot boxes.



The nullification of an election.

Citizens, political parties, and independent candidates may submit appeals.

Source: Compiled by the authors based on the "Ley General en Materia de Medios de Impugnación."

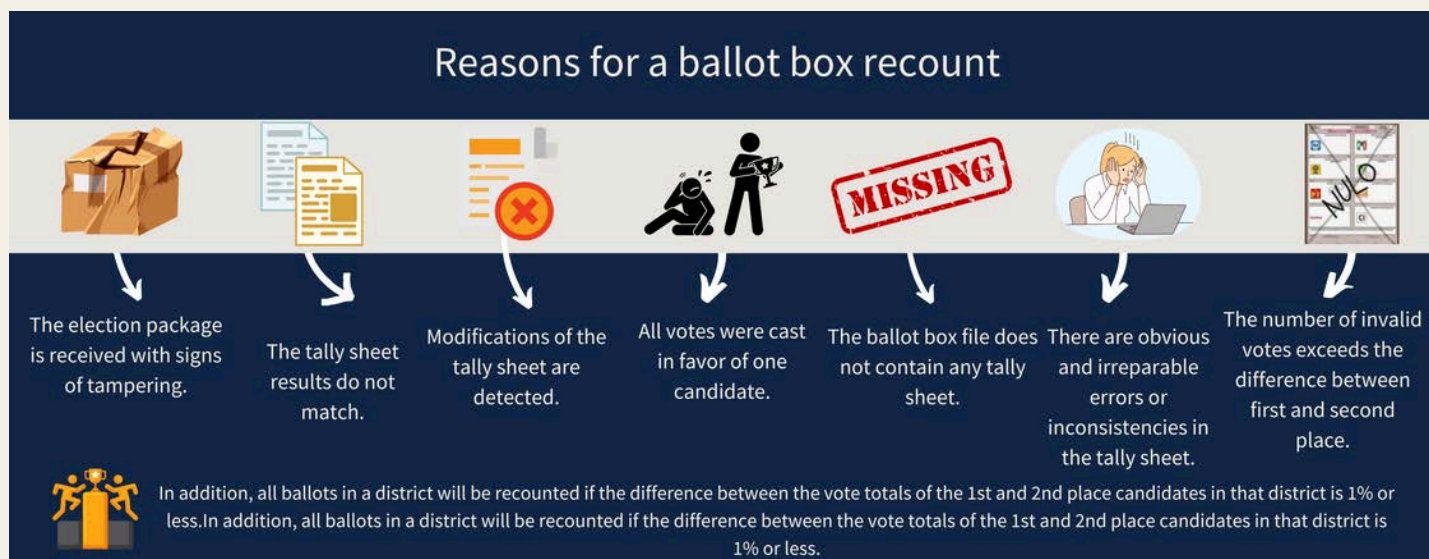
Accuracy of the INE's results

As explained in "Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024" number 17, there are three official mechanisms to provide election results: Quick Counts, the Preliminary Electoral Results Program (PREP), and District Counts. Of these, only the District Counts are legally binding.

The District Counts occurred from Wednesday, June 5, until Saturday, June 8. The counts are carried out in each of the country's 300 federal electoral districts and consist of summing the results reported on the tally sheet from each polling station in the district. This process is done manually, and observed by representatives from all political parties.

Each political party receives a copy of the final tally sheet for each polling station on the night of the election, allowing them to verify that the district tally corresponds to the results on election day.




Recounts are also conducted during the district counting process. Recounts may be conducted if there is doubt about the number of votes recorded on the tally sheets. In this case, the ballot box is opened, the ballots are removed, and the votes are recounted and recorded in the presence of electoral authorities and party representatives.



During the 2024 district counts, the INE recounted 67% of the presidential votes and 70% of the senate and congressional votes. These recounts confirmed the accuracy of the work done by the citizen officials who staffed the polling places and counted votes on June 2. Thus, all of the mechanisms for counting the ballots (Quick Count, PREP, and district counts) coincided, demonstrating once again that in Mexico, the will of the people, as expressed in the ballot box, is fully respected.

For more information on the National Electoral Institute's District Counts, please consult <https://computos2024.ine.mx/presidencia/nacional/candidatura>.

Presidential Election. Comparison of Official Results

	PREP	Quick Counts		District Counts
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
 	59.35%	58.3%	60.7%	59.75%
 	27.90%	26.6%	28.6%	27.45%
 	10.41%	9.9%	10.8%	10.32%

House of Representatives Elections. Comparison of Official Results

	PREP	Quick Counts		District Counts
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
	17.13%	17.3%	18.7%	16.89%
	11.25%	11.1%	11.9%	11.13%
	2.50%	2.4%	3.1%	2.43%
	8.31%	8.1%	9.1%	8.39%
	5.44%	5.3%	6.1%	5.47%
	10.99%	11.1%	12.2%	10.92%
	40.44%	41.2%	41.8%	40.84%

Senate Election. Comparison of Official Results

	PREP	Quick Counts		District Counts
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
	17.10%	15.8%	17.9%	16.84%
	11.02%	10.7%	12.3%	10.88%
	2.33%	2.0%	2.7%	2.27%
	8.84%	8.6%	9.8%	8.92%
	5.35%	5.3%	6.5%	5.35%
	10.94%	10.9%	12.0%	10.87%
	40.61%	41.9%	44.0%	40.80%

Electoral law violations

Article 134 of the Mexican Constitution establishes that: "Public officials of the Federal Government, of the Federal Entities, of the Municipalities and the Territorial Districts of Mexico City shall at all times have the obligation to apply impartially the public resources under their responsibility, without affecting the fairness of the competition between political parties."

This implies a duty of neutrality by those in power during electoral processes.

However, during the 2023-2024 federal electoral process, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador violated the Constitution. Using public resources, he held a press conference every morning at the National Palace and frequently called on the people to vote to "continue the transformation" initiated by his government, asking for support for Morena party and allied candidacies for various elected posts. At the same time, he repeatedly attacked the opposition parties and their candidates.

The INE issued 51 injunctions against the President of the Republic for behavior that the electoral authority considered contrary to Article 134 of the Constitution. However, the President continued to interfere in the electoral process.

Article 41 of the Mexican Constitution states that:

"During the federal and municipal election campaigns, and until the end of the respective election day, the broadcast in the media of all government propaganda, both of the federal powers and the federal entities, as well as of the municipalities, the districts of Mexico City, and any other public entity, shall be suspended. The only exceptions are the information campaigns of the electoral authorities, those related to education and health, or those necessary for civil protection in case of emergency."

However, the main instrument of government propaganda—President López Obrador's morning press conference—was held every working day and was not suspended as the Constitution required.

In these morning press conferences, the Constitution was violated on more than fifty occasions, without electoral authorities—either the National Electoral Institute or the Federal Electoral Tribunal—intervening to restore the legality of the electoral process by forcing the suspension of the press conference.

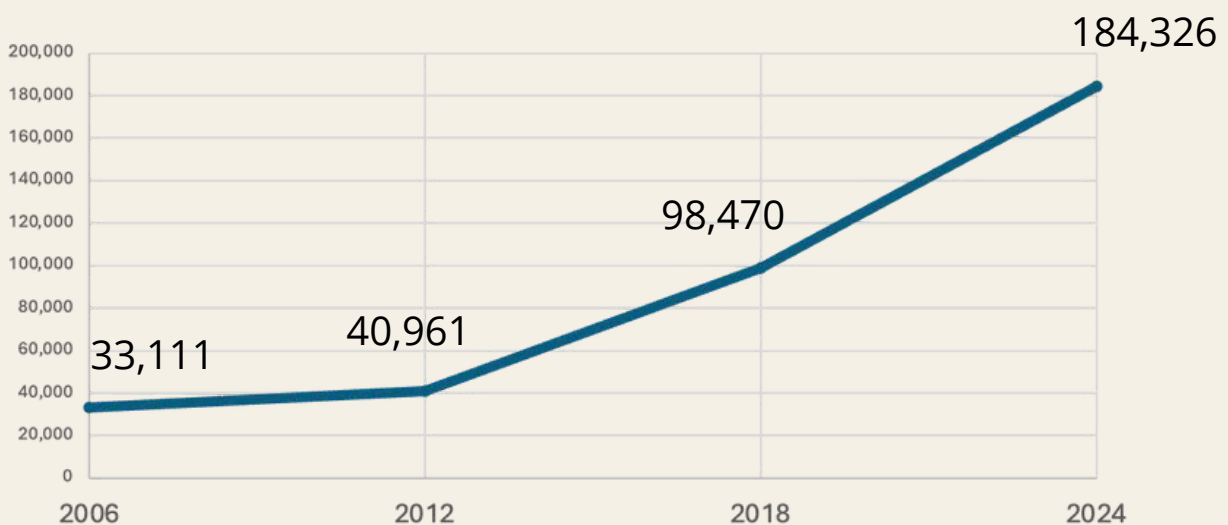
This caused clear damage to the fairness and legality of the electoral process that was, to a certain extent, allowed by the electoral authorities who did not put all their determination and capacity into defending the law and the Constitution.

The editorial team of "Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024" believes that the INE's valuable work as an electoral organizer contrasts with the Institute's weak role as arbiter in this electoral process. Full electoral integrity was not guaranteed.

Shortcomings of the first experience of voting in-person from abroad

According to the National Electoral Institute's District Counts, a total of 184,326 Mexicans voted from abroad in the presidential election. This is the highest number ever recorded, as 98,470 votes were received by mail in 2018.

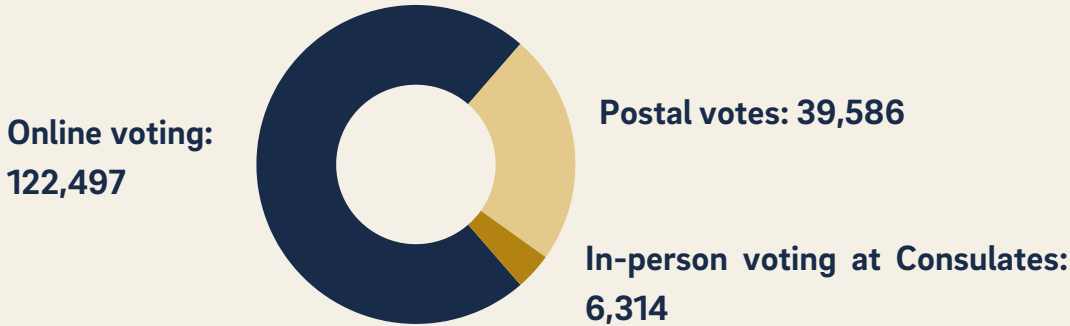
Votes received from abroad. Presidential Elections



Source: Compiled by the authors based on information from the National Electoral Institute.

The 2024 elections introduced two novel procedures for voting from abroad in federal races: online voting, and in-person voting at 23 consulates. In-person voting was available to a) those who had registered in advance to ensure they could vote; b) those who had not registered in advance and presented their voting credentials. In this latter case, each consulate could receive a maximum of 1,500 people. It is worth noting that in the 2023 pilot test of in-person voting at consulates, those who had not previously registered were not able to vote, making it possible to know exactly how many voters would appear at the consulate.

Modalities of voting from abroad. Presidential Election



On June 2, however, the same treatment was given to pre-registered voters and those who had not registered to vote from abroad in time. This situation led to long lines at various consulates (Madrid, Spain; Paris, France; and in the United States in Los Angeles, San Diego, New York, and Washington). There are testimonies of Mexicans who were registered and remained in line from 8:00 a.m. until the polls closed at 6:00 p.m., without being able to vote. Arturo Castillo, president of the INE's Commission for the Voting of Mexicans Abroad, acknowledged that these 23 consulates were insufficient to handle the number of voters.

In Paris and Madrid, the consulates extended their hours to ensure that all registered voters who were in line at 6:00 p.m. could cast their ballots (as required by electoral law), but this legal requirement was not respected at consulates in the United States and Canada.

This was unacceptable: in Mexico, everyone who arrives at the polling station to vote before 6:00 p.m. has the right to vote, and voting continues until the last person who queued before that time has cast their ballot.

Voting from abroad in 2024 presented two major problems caused by the INE's lack of foresight, planning, and management. On the one hand, there was no definitive register of foreign voters ("Democratic Integrity: Mexico 2024," number 16), which means that the constitutional principle of security was not fully respected. In addition, the INE did not guarantee the right to vote for all persons residing abroad who had registered as in-person voters, and had arrived at their respective consulates in a timely fashion.

These incidents deserve an objective, impartial, and independent diagnosis so that appropriate measures can be taken to prevent such failures from recurring.

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