

# Oaxaca

2010

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*The Oaxaca results are difficult to compare with other states since the process of forging an anti-PRI coalition have deeper roots there than just the recent formal Alliance.*

*At the end of the day, it appears that the PRI party structures ran out of steam in the face of a skillful grassroots campaign that began years ago. In this sense the Cué campaign was “beyond the media”, therefore more difficult to follow. Given the fact that 418 of the 570 municipalities in Oaxaca function under the system of a collective decision on the vote (not an individual one) it is also much more difficult to poll.*

*Further, the Cué campaign recognized that in many parts of Oaxaca both the PRD and the PAN had become “damaged brands”, and the work centered on the unifying symbol of a charismatic candidate with the kind of support that comes from a campaign that is “beyond the parties.” This included both strategic on-the-ground support from López Obrador, and, a “blessing” from Calderón. No Governor of a big, poor Southeastern Mexican state can hope to govern without a clear link to the federal budget.*

*(Chiapas, now in the second successive term of a center/left coalition Governor, is the case in point here). In fact, Cué’s first press conference following his electoral victory began with his thank you to AMLO for strategic work, and then to Calderón for support.*

*The 1998 gubernatorial campaign coordinated by AMLO as National President of the PRD showed that the PRD and the PAN might potentially combine to win: the PRD had 37.4% and the PAN 10.4%. Their potential combination of 47.8% made for a teasing challenge to the 48.8% garnered by the PRI.*

*The coalition of PRD and PAN began under Cué with AMLO support in 2004 and came close, losing by only 2.6%. The campaign for 2010 began immediately, continuing the established PRD/PAN/CONV coalition (and adding the PT, formerly allied here with the PRI), preceding by years the 2010 formal establishment of the PRD/PAN Alliance. By 2008-9 the intense municipality-by-municipality campaign was well underway with the full participation of AMLO. (See page 4)*

*López Obrador's formal position on the Alliance strategy as developed by the current PAN and PRD national leadership in the Spring of this year has been negative, emphasizing his strategic formula of "no votes for the PRI, no votes for the PAN." Working with Cué in Oaxaca was not so much a contradiction with his formulation of strategic principles but more a pragmatic continuation of the special effort coming off the lessons of 1998 on what may be necessary to win in this key bastion of the PRI Southeast.*

*In a sense, the 8.2% victory of Cué on July 4, 2010 is an example of an electoral process taking place within the advances of the democratic transition as crystallized by the IFE, but also to one side of the IFE and its local counterpart with their elaborate "regulations" of how and when to campaign. Oaxaca suggests that the development of a robust political culture in Mexico now requires more strategic effort and less "instructions" from a formal authority.*

*Voting for the local State Congress is a good test of how deep is the alternation in party power. In the 2004 Cué-coalition election, the opposition forces achieved 17 seats compared with the PRI's 25. There was a setback in the by-election of 2007, with the opposition dropping to 14. But, with the 2010 election there is a fundamental reversal of fortunes with the opposition holding 25 seats to the PRI's 17. (See page 7)*

*The new Governor and the new State legislature will need all the mandate they garnered and all the political skills they can muster for moving Oaxaca into a democratic transition. While analysts correctly talk of campaigns as one thing and governing as another, it is clear that campaigns tend to suggest and sometimes even determine governing. The majority in Oaxaca voted for change, and what Cué and his supporters will find on entering office is a depleted State budget and a horrendous PRI legacy crystallized in a bureaucracy overloaded with PRI midnight appointments carrying civil service status.*

*The page of municipal results in this report/bulletin is incomplete as the final results are not available for the 570 municipalities. However, from what we can see there is an apparent rough balance of the PRI and the opposition forces in the tallying of the local contests. The PRI has dominated at the municipal level for decades. Early results show that the PRI domination is broken, but not vanquished. As in other areas of Mexico, the PRI has its own deep roots. Nonetheless, the newly organized coalition is visible in the Governorship, in a legislative majority, and probably with more than half of the municipal presidents. (See page 8)*

## Gubernatorial Elections Results

<b>2010 (Final Results)</b>	PRD+PAN+CONV+PT	PRI+PVEM	PANAL	PUP	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	50.11%	41.91%	1.38%	3.34%			55.90%
Votes	733,783	613,651	20,178	48,972	1,464,237	2,597,973	

<b>2004</b>	PAN+PRD+CONV	PRI+PVEM+PT	Unidad Popular	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	44.60%	47.20%	4.10%			46.20%
Votes	448,264	474,758	41,257	1,005,094	2,175,501	

<b>1998</b>	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	PARM	PFCRN	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	10.40%	48.80%	37.40%	1.20%	1.10%	0.40%	0.60%			50.70%
Votes	89,271	417,421	320,045	10,554	9,041	3,623	4,792	854,747	1,684,939	

<b>1992</b>	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	PARM	PFCRN	PPS	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	5.20%	74.70%	9.40%	2.00%	1.70%	1.80%	3.20%	2.00%			40%
Votes	26,441	382,943	48,278	10,477	8,902	9,054	16,150	10,340	512,585	1,279,915	

**Pre-election Surveys**

Candidate/ Party/Alliance	IPSOS Public Affair	REFORMA	El Universal June 30	GCE June	MITOFSKY June	Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo de Proyectos Sociales June	PARAMETRÍA May 27	GCE May	PARAMETRÍA May 13	GCE April	IPSOS April
PRD+PAN+CONV+PT Pino Cué	44.1%	48%	48%	32.5%	35%	29%	47%	44.9%	36%	45.7%	44.4%
PRI, PVEM Eviel Pérez Magaña	25.4%	48%	47%	38.6%	44%	34.5%	49%	51.1%	24%	50.9%	25%
Nva. Alianza Antonia Irma Piñeyro	0.7%	3%	3%	1.1%	4%		2%	1.8%	2%	3.2%	1%
Partido Unidad Popular María de los Ángeles Abad	0.8%	1%	2%	0.6%	2%		2%	1.4%	3%	0.2%	1%
Other				0.1%				0.8%		0.8%	
None											
Nc/Ns	26%			21.9%	16%				24%		29%

The pre-electoral polls tell a fascinating but inconsistent and incomplete story. Oaxaca is one of the most difficult States to survey in pre-electoral terms with a territory as large as a Central American country and a political culture even more varied and fragmented. Some 570 municipalities include approximately 418 with “usage and customary” voting procedures involving community discussion and collective vote. In April three polling groups showed the PRD alliance with Cué ahead; then by late May most pollsters had the PRI ahead, with the respected major print media polls showing a dead heat by late June. IPSOS seems to have been most consistent, though their constant margin of 19% seems distorted given the final result of an 8.2% PRD alliance victory.

## Comparative:

### Final Results – Exit Polls – Quick Counts

Party	Final Results	Quick Count Consulta Mitofsky	Exit Polls Consulta Mitofsky	Exit Polls Mendoza Blanco
<b>PRD+ PAN+CONV+PT</b>	<b>50.11%</b>	53%	53.2%	54%
<b>PRI+PVEM</b>	41.91%	45%	45.1%	40%
<b>PANAL</b>	1.38%			
<b>PUP</b>	3.34%			
<b>OTROS</b>		2.0	1.7%	
<b>NR</b>			10.1%	

At the end, when it “counts”, the major electronic media pollsters were helpful. The TV Azteca pollster Mendoza Blanco was slightly less helpful projecting a 14% margin for the PRD alliance (almost twice the final tally). Consulta Mitofsky had the critically important 8% PRD coalition margin clear from the exit poll through the quick count.

One interpretation of the Consulta Mitofsky data was that the PRI led up through the last period, and then the PRD coalition candidate surged. (This is consistent with the late June statistical “dead heats” projected by the Reforma and Universal polling.) Another interpretation is that, in the context of Oaxaca, likely voters were being reserved or disingenuous about expressing their preferences.

Our working hypothesis leans toward a consolidation of preference for Cué taking place over the winter and early spring -- something that can only be established in a post-electoral poll, with a broad sample appropriate to the particularities of Oaxaca.

## State Congress: Election Results

### Results for ALLIANCES

	PAN+PRD+PT+CONV (1)	PRI+ PVEM (2)	PUP	PANAL	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	46.87%	43.10%	3.87%	2.22%			56.40%
Votes	680,786	625,938	56,239	32,228	1,465,298	2,597,973	
*DEPUTIES	16	9	0	0			

(1) Unidos por la paz y el progreso "UPP"

(2) Por la transformación de Oaxaca "PTO"

Proportional representation deputies are missing.

### Results for PARTIES

2010 (Resultados finales)	PAN	PRI	PRD	PVEM	PT	CONV	Unidad Popular	PANAL	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	19.61%	40.46%	20.18%	2.61%	3.30%	3.83%	3.87%	2.21%			56.40%
Votes	287,297	592,809	295,682	38,272	48,333	56,109	56,651	32,447	1,465,298	2,597,973	
*DEPUTIES	12	17	8	0	1	4	1	0			

2007	PAN	PANAL	ALTERNAT	PRD+CONV+PT	PRI+PVEM	PUP	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	13.00%	2.60%	1.90%	27.60%	47.50%	3.30%			59.36%
Votes	115,278	23,343	17,168	243,526	419,613	28,787	1,121,210	1,888,898	
*DEPUTIES	4	1	1	10	25	1			

2004	PAN+PRD+CONV	PRI+PVEM+PT	PUP	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	42.80%	47.70%	5.00%			52.70%
Votes	462,295	515,296	54,453	1,080,624	2,175,501	
*DEPUTIES	17	25				

## Previous Municipal Election Results

### RESULTS FOR ALLIANCES

2010 (Final Results)	PAN+PRD+PT+CONV (1)	PRI+PVEM (2)	PUP	PANAL	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	46.27%	42.70%	4.64%	5.15%			39.77%
Votes	458,046	441,113	47,987	53,247	1,033,139	2,597,973	
Municipalities	72	74	3	2			

(1) Unidos por la paz y el progreso "UPP"

(2) Por la transformación de Oaxaca "PTO"

At San José Estancia Grande alliances (1) y (2) are equal with 215 votes each one.

### RESULTS FOR PARTIES

2010 (Final Results)	PAN	PRI	PRD	PVEM	PT	CONV	PUP	PANAL	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	18.62%	40.65%	19.88%	2.04%	2.42%	3.41%	4.64%	5.15%			39.77%
Votes	192,344	420,014	205,403	21,099	25,026	35,273	47,987	53,247	1,033,139	2,597,973	
Municipalities	10	105	29	0	0	1	3	4			

2007	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	CONV	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	13.50%	<b>41.20%</b>	34.00%	0.00%	2.70%	12.70%			81.81%
Votes	221,100	567,231	241,300	32,990	55,900	75,004	1,545,230	1,888,898	
Municipalities	4	66	34	0	2	5			

2004	PAN	PRI	PRD	PT	PVEM	CONV	PUP	Total Votes	Registered Voters	Participation
% Votes	15.00%	<b>41.60%</b>	27.00%	1.10%	5.40%	6.00%	2.10%			33.54%
Votes	109,724	303,850	197,281	7,676	39,479	43,872	15,601	729,743	2,175,501	
Municipalities	20	72	46	0	5	3	0			

## REFERENCES:

The organization of these results is a work product of the MUND Group research team, based on the sources indicated below. In this series of reports/bulletins we have utilized only public and published material. Of course, there is information from non-public and non-published sources, but that is for presentation and use at another time. The observations we make are hypotheses developed to guide our initial follow up work.

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