

Calidad de la democracia electoral en Chihuahua en el proceso 2010

Quality of electoral democracy in Chihuahua in the 2010 process

Cecilia Sarabia Ríos

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte A.C. México

csarabia@colef.mx

Jesús Alberto Rodríguez Alonso

Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, México

jesusrodriguezalonso@gmail.com

Resumen

Debido a la importancia de las elecciones, este documento analiza la calidad de la democracia electoral en el Estado de Chihuahua durante la elección de Gobernador del Estado, en el año 2010.

El análisis se fundamenta la aplicación de una matriz para evaluar la calidad de la democracia en las elecciones compuesta por cinco subdimensiones: 1) desempeño del organismo operador de las elecciones, 2) desempeño del árbitro electoral, 3) desempeño de los partidos políticos, 4) acceso a la información y 5) legitimidad electoral. Cada subdimensión se compone por varios indicadores que, basándose en fuentes de información especializada, se expresan en forma numérica -1 (baja calidad), 2 (calidad media) y 3 (alta calidad)-, y cuyo promedio hace referencia al nivel general o global de la democracia electoral.

Bajo este parámetro, se concluye que en el estado de Chihuahua se desarrolló un proceso con una calidad democrática de nivel medio.

Palabras clave: elecciones, calidad de la democracia, autoridad electoral, instituciones político electorales, legitimidad.

Abstract

Due to the importance of the elections, this document analyzes the quality of electoral democracy in the State of Chihuahua during the election of Governor of the State, in the year 2010.

The analysis is based the application of a matrix to assess the quality of democracy in the elections composed of five sub-dimensions: 1) performance of the agency operator of the elections, 2) performance of the electoral referee, 3) performance of political parties, 4) access to information y 5) electoral legitimacy. Each sub-dimension is composed by several indicators which, based on sources of specialized information, are expressed in the form number 1 (low quality), 2 (medium quality) and 3 (high quality), and whose average refers to the general or global level of electoral democracy.

Under this parameter, it is concluded that a process with a democratic quality of middle level developed in the State of Chihuahua.

Key words: elections, quality of democracy, Democracy Ranking, electoral authority, electoral political institutions, legitimacy.

Fecha recepción: Junio 2015

Fecha aceptación: Diciembre 2015

Introduction

The elections are the most recognized mechanism of political participation around the world that allows the expression of the popular will. which deserve special attention by the number of elements involved in its realization as the recognized procedure to be conducted, the market of electors, the electoral authority and institutions and stakeholders for the legitimate creation of public power.

With the popularity and spread of democracy from the Decade of 1960, the concern for the proper functioning of the system has increased in all areas. Several theorists find in democracy a cycle of improvement that makes its way from authoritarianism, transition, consolidation and finally to the maintenance of a "good" democracy or good quality democracy (Dahl, 2002; Morlino, 1996; Levine and Molina, 2013; O'Donnell, Vargas Cullell, and Lazzetta, 2004;

Adrew, 2010). In the debate on the best form of the democracy arises the need of make quantitative and comparative their varied characteristics, elements and qualities intrinsic discussed by many.

In this context, the notion of quality of democracy has been accompanied by various dimensions, conditions, actions or parameters that help to integrate all the elements that are part of it. In other words, the dimensions, are concrete way back operating concept, understand it in its implementation in practice or in its possibilities of realization.

The various dimensions or conditions to identify the quality of democracy vary between the different perspectives and encompass different economic, social, political, legal, system of values, guarantees and rights issues; However, in most of the points of view, there is the coincidence in pointing to the elections (in conditions of equality and justice) as an essential issue for a democracy of good quality (Freedom House, 2015; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015; OEA, 2001).

Considering the above, from the matrix to assess the quality of democracy in elections (see annex 1)¹ the Governor election process of the State of Chihuahua is evaluated. The matrix includes five sub-dimensions: 1) performance of the agency operator of the elections, 2) performance of the electoral referee, 3) performance of political parties, 4) access to information y 5) electoral legitimacy. Each sub-dimension is composed by several indicators which, based on sources of specialized information, are expressed in the form number 1 (low quality), 2 (medium quality) and 3 (high quality), being 2 the medium value that denotes acceptable quality—, and whose average refers to the general or global level of electoral democracy (Jiménez Badillo, 2014). Each subdimension based his score on the revision of official sources of information from several institutions who can corroborate it.

According to the above, the contents of this document comprises three sections, the first describes the socio-political characteristics of the State of Chihuahua; the second details the general context or the conditions in which was held the election of Governor of the State; and the third part performs an evaluation according to the matrix described with which is grants to the State of Chihuahua an average global of 2.18 that is equivalent to a quality acceptable in the electoral dimension.

¹ La matriz fue producto de una discusión de la Red temática Calidad de la Democracia y Sociedad Civil en el año 2012 de la cual los autores forman parte.

Characterization sociopolitical state of Chihuahua

Chihuahua is the largest federal state of the country in terms of territory, with an area of 247,087 square kilometers, bordered on the north by the US states of Texas and New Mexico; south to the Mexican states of Durango and Sinaloa; east with Coahuila and Sonora to the west.

By 2010, the state had a population of 3,406,465 inhabitants (49.7% men and 51.3% women), corresponding to 3.03% of the total population. By the same date, the percentage of immigrant population in Chihuahua was 2%, while the total population of 15.31 percentage corresponded to non-native population in the state.

According to data from the Census of Population and Housing 2010, in the state there are 944,379 private dwellings with an average of 3.6 inhabitants. The coverage of services in general is good, as 95.2% of households have piped water, 96.3% have electricity and also 77.2% of homes have walls of solid materials.

The coverage of education in the state also has good conditions for the population aged 6 and over, up from 93% attend school; the average schooling of the population 15 and older is 8.8 years and 3.66% of the total population is illiterate.

Moreover, the economically active population (EAP) in the state for 2010 amounted to 1,407,060 persons while the economically inactive was estimated at 1,140,306; the EAP was 1,285,142 people, of which 66% were men and 34% women. The unemployment rate of the total population in the state for 2010 was 5.31.

With regard to the form of government, Article 30 of the Constitution of the state of Chihuahua it states that "The State adopts for its internal system the form of republican, representative and popular government, on the basis of their territorial division and free municipality "political and administrative organization.

For the exercise of public authority, the State is divided into executive branch (headed by an official called Governor), by the legislative power (exercised by an assembly called "State Congress") and the judiciary (comprised of a "Supreme Court" and by trial judges and under), who must reside in the state capital, ie, in the city of Chihuahua. The municipal government is exercised by municipalities.

The renewal of government of the state of Chihuahua is done through the issue of universal, free, secret and direct suffrage, and does not coincide with the timing of the constitutional

elections. The renewal of the executive power is held every six years and the legislature and local councils every six years.

The mechanisms of direct democracy that exist in the state are the referendum, the plebiscite, withdrawal of popular mandate, community collaboration and public hearing.

In Chihuahua there are 67 municipalities, which include population density in five municipalities: Ciudad Juarez (1,332,131 inhabitants), Chihuahua (819, 543 inhabitants); Cuauhtemoc (154,639 inhabitants); Delicias (137,935 inhabitants) and Hidalgo del Parral (107,061 inhabitants); the rest of the municipalities have less than 100 thousand inhabitants, including 38 of them did not reach 10 thousand. These data are indicative of the diversity among municipalities.

For purposes of organization, management and monitoring of elections and other processes requiring public consultation in the state, there is the State Electoral Institute is a public body with autonomous and independent legal entity with its own assets. To function it integrates a central body (general council) and district and municipal bodies.

The electoral geography of the state, understood as the political space in which it is divided into districts to define their representation, is based on three fundamental characteristics: 1) independent authority; 2) decentralized process, and 3) Process regularized and legalized (Leech, 2012). The process 2010 of the geographical distribution of electoral districts included 22 local constituencies and 9 federal electoral districts. This translates into 22 delegations of relative majority (MR), plus 11 proportional representation (PR) for the integration of the State Congress. According to the Constitution, the deputies by both principles have the same status and rights and in any case can be re-elected in office for the next period.

The CPECH stipulates that no political party may have a number of deputies by both principles that represent a percentage of the total Congress exceeding eight points to their percentage of issued statewide ballot.

The general context of the State of Chihuahua in the process 2010

By its policies, representation of citizens and public safety conditions Chihuahua state ranks well below an acceptable standard of quality. This is indicated by the average of 1.36 for the numerical evaluation of the three variables. Political representation is the variable with major faults, which adversely affect the long dominance of a single party; on the contrary, political

conditions reach higher levels but do not reach the minimum acceptable; in terms of public safety variable, this is also found in low levels; violence has increased, which has helped to provide a climate of unrest to democratic processes, particularly in terms of elections.

Political conditions

The evaluation of the indicators used to weigh the political conditions of the state of Chihuahua converges in average 1.33, ie very close to a low quality. This is due to the predominance of a political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), although the average falls to the lowest point due to the presence of an alternation in the period 1992-1998, when the Action Party National ruled the state. However, the PRI controlled 90% of the municipalities, so their evaluation is 1; also it has a 60% control of the legislature, which also gets the lowest rating.

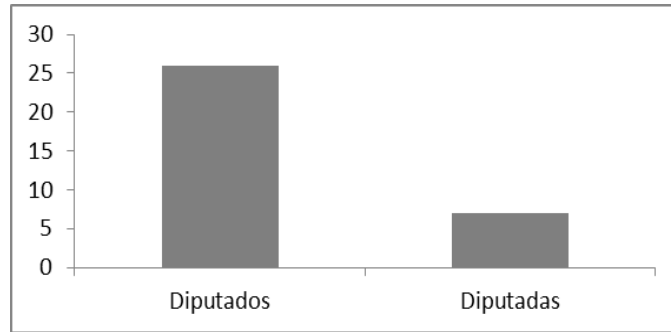
As already mentioned, the mechanisms of direct democracy and citizen participation that exist are: the referendum, the plebiscite, withdrawal of popular mandate, community collaboration, the public hearing; although these are covered by the law, they have not been carried out by various regulatory failures (Aziz Nassif, 1998).

Representation

In terms of political representation, the quality of democracy in the state of Chihuahua has an average of 1.25 in their indicators, standing very close to the low level way.

With 2,612,623 citizens registered in 2010 (IEECH, 2010), the coverage of the electoral roll exceeded by more than 486,647 inhabitants in the state of Chihuahua over 18 registered in the same year, which can be estimated at 2,125,976 ; this difference, which is probably due to migration, and deaths is 22%, so it is assigned low quality, or 1 for this indicator (INEGI, 2010).

The Congress of State elected in 2010 has 7 deputies, which is a female participation of 21.2%, which according to the methodology adopted should the average assessment 2. At the same time, there was in it no indigenous deputy, although the indigenous population in the state of Chihuahua represents 11.8% (DOF, 2014), this indicator therefore receives the lowest rating of 1.



Gráfica 1. LXIII Legislatura 2010-2013 del Estado de Chihuahua 2010-2013 por sexo
 Fuente: Instituto Estatal Electoral de Chihuahua.

Moreover, the same State Congress reached an index of disproportionality of 1715, meaning that the proportions of deputies belonging to different political parties in Congress rather than their respective percentages of voting citizens (over-representing the PRI) away; because of its high value, this disproportion low evaluation warrants 1.

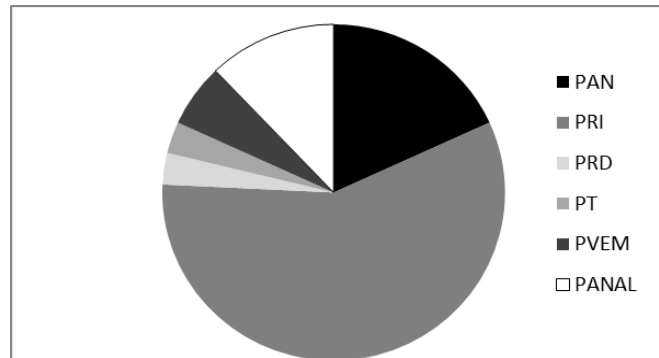


Figure 2. Political parties represented in the State Congress Chihuahua, 2010
 Fuente: Instituto Estatal Electoral de Chihuahua.

Public security

The conditions prevailing insecurity throughout the country break out again in the state context. Chihuahua is one of the most dangerous cities in the world: Ciudad Juarez, which has been ranked as the second most unsafe city in the world (Security, 2012). Data from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) indicate that by the year 2010 recorded 70,265 offenses in preliminary investigations in the ordinary courts.

Public safety variable has big problems that affect the quality of democracy in the state of Chihuahua, especially if it is analyzed in comparison with the rest of the country. Thus, the

general violence, indicated by a rate of 171 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2010 (OSSyCCMJ, 2010) -much higher than national-average, deserves a low evaluation 1.

There was presence of political-electoral violence but fatal events, so the evaluation is of average quality 2. Qualitatively, it can be argued that public safety in the state of Chihuahua, is inadequate in terms of democratic quality. While the electoral process was conducted, there were resignations of some candidates, and intimidation; even though it was expected that the turnout was much higher than normal, it was 58.51%, while in 2004 it was 56.07% and the violent conditions were below the national average (Center of Social Studies and Public Opinion , 2012).

Table 1. Complaints submitted to agencies of the Public Prosecutor of Chihuahua in the year 2010.

Tipo de delito	Cantidad
Robo de ganado	363
Robo en instituciones bancarias	138
Robo en carreteras	120
Total robos	40 352
Homicidios dolosos	3 903
Homicidios con arma de fuego	3 210
Homicidios culposos	465
Total homicidios	4 368
Delitos patrimoniales	9 501
Secuestros	130
Delitos sexuales	673
Otros delitos	11 138

Fuente: Incidencia Delictiva del fuero común emitidos por el Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública, 2010

Evaluation of the electoral dimension

The performance in the local process IFE 2010

The action and performance (IEE) State Electoral Institute as authorized referee for the organization, management and monitoring of elections and other processes requiring public consultation in the State (Leech, 2012, Art. 78, fracc. 1) was momentous for local elections 2010. The overall participation was assessed with an average 2.0 within acceptable quality.

The IEE is guided by the principles of certainty, impartiality, independence, legality and objectivity in performing its functions and is integrated by a General Council, district and municipal bodies and a body of integrated officials in the Professional Electoral Service.

In electoral process, the IEE ran a General Council, a municipal assembly in each county seat, a district assembly and the boards of box for Election Day.

Degree of independence and impartiality of the General Council of IEECH

The General Council (GC) of the IEE is comprised of a Director President, six electoral counselors, an Executive Secretary and a representative of each political party. The CG was composed by Antonio Herrera Fernando Martinez as Director Chairman; Bassanetti Alonso Villalobos (Electoral Adviser owner for 3 years), Mirna Pastrana Alicia Solis (Electoral Councilor substitute for 3 years), Alma Rosa Armendariz Sigala (owner Electoral Advisor for 3 years), Angel Hernandez Vadillo Marino (Electoral Alternate director for 3 years) Luis Carlos Rivera Rodriguez (owner Electoral Advisor for 3 years), Sergio Hernandez Estrada (Electoral Alternate director for 3 years), Cesar Lorenzo Wong Meráz (Electoral Adviser owner for 6 years), Salvador Delgado Ibarra (Electoral Alternate director for 6 years) Ernesto de la Rocha Alejandro Montiel (Electoral Adviser owner for 6 years), Martha Antonieta Rodriguez Carmona (alternate Electoral Councillor for 6 years), Laura Lechuga Silvia Fuentes (Minister Electoral owner for 6 years), Andres Alfredo Perez Howlet (Electoral Alternate director for 6 years); Saul Eduardo Rodriguez Camacho as Executive Secretary and Lemon Jesus Alonso (PAN), Rosa Quezada Sianez Engracia (PRI), Jose Luis Acosta Corral (PRD), Tania Aguilar Matilde Gil (PT), Hever Flores Quezada (PVEM), Miguel Alberto Vallejo Lozano (MC), and Jorge Emilio Hernandez Mata (HONEYCOMB) as representatives of political parties.

The designation of the body of citizens who made up that body was made by consensus and in full compliance with the law, ie, by the vote of at least two thirds of the deputies present at the session of Congress. The voted were selected from among the candidates proposed by the parliamentary groups before the LXII Legislature of the State Congress, who were sworn on 19 November 2009, the year immediately preceding the election, as specified in Article 36 of the Constitution of the State of Chihuahua and in Article 85, paragraph 4 of the Electoral Law of the State of Chihuahua (LEECH).

Any challenge to the elected councilors were submitted. The CG maintained an impartial position and in compliance with the legal precepts in compliance activities, annual calendar and provisions (CPECH, Constitution of the Free and Sovereign State of Chihuahua, 2009).

Also, for the installation of the 67 municipal assemblies, 785 citizens were included, integration was performed by call and were approved on February 27, 2010 by the CG; his formal installation took place in March.

Effectiveness and Efficiency of the State Electoral Institute of Chihuahua (IEECH)

The evaluation of the effectiveness and efficiency of IEECH was 2.33 on average. The context of insecurity and violence which was accentuated in the state of Chihuahua since 2007, defined the collaboration of the electoral institutions and public to take preventive in each of the activities of the electoral process safety. In conjunction with the Ministry of State Security, the Ministry of Federal Public Security Secretariat of the Federal Government, of the Fifth Military Zone, elements of the Center for Investigation and National Security (CISEN) and the Director of State Government General Security Operations Plan for the Electoral Process-oriented humane care of officials of the electoral process was developed. In this regard were proposed Assembly sessions later than 17:00, settled properly identify the Teacher-Assistant Electoral and establish a work schedule field from 9:00 to 18:00 hours only (IEE, 2011).

The electoral training averaged 3. To design the electoral training "Program of Electoral Training for Electoral Process 2009-2010" that included selection activities Instructor-Election Assistants, location and concentration of Training Centers , distribution of materials, notification of appointment of officials and, if necessary, replacement.

A total of 5004 boxes were approved statewide: 2 basic 907, 1973 contiguous 97 extraordinary and 25 special. Training for polling officials were trained by instructors-797 Electoral Assistants to 62,921 citizens, 35,028 of whom acted as an authority on election day.

Some of the difficulties of integrating the polling station were dispersed population (migration processes in some municipalities), rugged terrain and lack of availability of randomly selected citizens. Among the highlights incidents reported the theft of the material of two boxes (517 primary and 517 contiguous 1), District 18 (Correspondents, 2010).

The election required the integration of 5004 poll boards to receive the vote of the citizens, which were installed 5003 (box 141 in the municipality of Guadalupe y Calvo was not installed), with a total of 20 012 officials boxes directives tables. election day 3% of the officials, who were replaced with voters in the row were not presented.

Preliminary results of the election were met 100%, were issued the same night of the general elections of the public and the media, after completing the sums of the vote for governor, municipalities and deputies from the majority principle relative and trustees of the municipal assemblies to CG. The flaws in this system were lower (2); and there was only a suspension or challenge the same.

Performance of the Electoral Court of the State of Chihuahua (TEECH)

The average TEECH performance indicators reached 2.67%, which means that quality is higher than the acceptable level. The TEECH is a body full electoral law and jurisdiction in the state, operates autonomously and independently from the government for decision making.

With regard to the degree of independence and impartiality of TEECH, the procedure for integrating senior organ of the Court, which is composed of three judges, was performed by a designation of the State Congress; the appointment was "by the vote of at least two thirds of the deputies present, among the candidates for each case proposed by the parliamentary groups, after conducting a wide consultation of society" (LEECH, Art. 226) and it was held in October 2009. This was complied with Book Five, Title I, Article 225 et seq. Leech and Title II of the Internal Regulations of the State Electoral Tribunal (IEECH Memory 2010 electoral process Chihuahua, 2011).

In this process was integrated by Jose Miguel Salcido Romero, who belongs to the organ from 2001, and from December 2007 he was appointed Chief Justice; by Lic. Socorro Roxana Garcia Moreno, as a magistrate from 2009, and the Magdo. Jose Rodriguez Anchondo, who from 4 December 1997 to December 2001 was elected magistrate and reelected in 2001, 2005 and 2009 for such office.

In this sense we can say that it has maintained a balance TEECH with election processes and officials from both political parties and the government and lobbyists.

The Court is fully integrated, ie, there was no violation of the regulations, so the evaluation is 3; however, the origin of judges gave the proposal from the governor, political parties and parliamentary groups, so their evaluation is one.

Performance of political parties

In this sub-dimension, the overall evaluation was 2.5, an acceptable and high quality, mainly due to management within regulatory limits and campaign stops bag party financing, the percentage compared to the state budget fails .5 %.

Number and presence of the parties

However, the effective number of parties is 2.17, therefore, the evaluation of this indicator is of average quality, ie 2. The level of competitiveness is of 64.6%, so the level of democratic quality in this category is 2, while surveillance is considered a high quality 3 because 85.57% of the cells had at least representatives of three political parties.

Importantly parties like the Labour Party is considered state-as a family party. Since the founding of this party, Ruben Aguilar has been the only state leader (XHEPL, 2010); This daughter, Lilia Aguilar, has been local and federal deputy for the party by the plurinomial route. Taken together, this variable is evaluated with an average, 2 quality but with elements such as the above can lead to a reduction in the quality of democracy. To this we must add the dominant presence of the PRI, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 2. Percentage of votes cast in the election of governors 1984-2010 en Chihuahua

Partido / Coalición	1974	1980	1986	1992	1998	2004	2010
PRI	96.04	76.86	60.26	45.40	50.32		
PAN		15.72	35.40	52.39	42.21		40.51
PRI-PVEM							0.00
PRD		2.39	0.72	1.42	5.49		2.07
PAN-PRD-CONV						42.29	
PC		1.87	0.31	0.38			
PPS	3.96	2.28	0.33	0.27			
PVEM					0.94		
PRI-PANAL-PVEM-PT							57.42
ACLG*						57.71	
PARMEO		0.05	0.33	0.14			
PDM		0.84	0.08				
PRT			2.57		1.04		
Votos Efectivos	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Fuente: Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo, A. C. Datos electorales, Gobernadores

*ACLG. Alianza con la Gente integrada por (PRI-PVEM-PT).

Resources and costs

The average for this variable is 3, ie, a high quality, as no political party in the State violated campaign stops. Similarly the bag for the financing of political parties did not exceed 0.5% of the state budget which was also evaluated with 3 (three).

Information and plural coverage of the electoral campaign

For the sub-dimension 'Information and plural coverage of the electoral campaign ', he found that democracy in the state of Chihuahua is ' acceptable quality' since it averaged 2.33 on a scale of 3 points. We could consider that in general terms, information on local election campaigns in the state of Chihuahua is extensive and plural.

Access to, and impartiality of media

Local elections for governor, mayors and members of the local congress took place in the state of Chihuahua on July 4, 2010. For this process two previous debates between the candidates for governor were made state (only three of seven games postulated candidates PAN, PRI and PRD). Such dissemination exercises were carried out on 2 and June 8 of that year and were transmitted by four generalist TV channels and 35 radio stations were open signal.

Moreover, in respect of expenditure incurred by the local executive in the field of 'social communication', this had an upward trend between 2005 and 2010 went from 119.2 million pesos in the first year of exercise 320.6 million pesos in the last one (election year)². In total, the increase for this area in the state was 108%, just below six entities: the State of Mexico (1335%), Yucatán (527%), Morelos (302%), Nayarit (289%), the Federal District (155%), Zacatecas (128%) (Ruelas Serna, and Dupuy, 2013).

According to the methodology adopted for the first indicator has been considered an assessment of 3, since two debates between the candidates for governor were carried out and were broadcast by the major local broadcast television channels (4), in addition to 35 broadcasters mentioned. By contrast, under the heading of 'expenditure on social communication of the local executive', this just reaches the value 1 of the scale referred to, as to that item the government went to spend 119.2 million pesos in 2005 to 320,600,000 in pesos in the last year of government exercise.

² Este rubro del gasto en comunicación social y publicidad del gobierno del estado de Chihuahua, mantuvo una tendencia a la alza en los últimos 5 años del ejercicio de la administración anterior (2005-2010). El gasto para esos años fue de 119.2; 160.3; 180.9; 259.3; y, 300.0 millones de pesos (Ruelas Serna, y Dupuy, 2013).

For the election of 2010, according to the local election law,³ 2700 were distributed messages (time 'official')⁴ in the period corresponding to campaigns. The way we were was 30% distributed equally and 70% according to the percentage of valid votes cast state obtained by each political party in the last election. From these lines of distribution, 115 posts were allocated to each political party as equal distribution 30% and 70% 1,188 posts would be distributed according to the percentage of votes.

Thus, the distribution of 70% of the promotional 30 seconds, each was as follows: the incumbent National Action Party 811, the Institutional Revolutionary Party 776, the Party of the Democratic Revolution 87, the Labor Party 38, the Party Green Ecologist of Mexico 44, the Convergence 0 Party and the New Alliance Party 132. Overall, according to both distribution principles, messages were assigned as follows: National Action Party 927; Institutional Revolutionary Party, 892; Party of the Democratic Revolution 203; Labour Party, 154; Ecologist Green Party of Mexico, 160; Convergence Party 116; and New Alliance Party, 248.

As we see in this data remains unequal distribution of this resource (air time) between the contending parties. This is because 70% of the time is allocated according to the percentage of valid votes cast state that each party has been obtained in the above process. Hence the inequality for this race and that comes from the previous results; two elections come together.

Similarly, elements are added inequality in access to electronic media of the opposition parties when attending electoral competition with their own candidates. According to the electoral law entity, public nominations are permitted (Articles 73, 74, 75 and 76), a fact that benefits the ruling party of origin and the smaller parties that support and propose a common candidate. Such was the case of the candidate for the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party in 2010, thanks to the figure of the 'common applications' had the resources available to parties with smaller electoral preferences as a diaper, PVEM and PT.

We conclude this section by saying that the legislation favors the party that won most preferred in the previous election; here the advantages linked with the possibility of common candidates in this area give advantage to the disadvantaged party in the previous election. It is observed

³ De acuerdo con el Artículo 53, de la Ley Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua, será el Instituto Estatal Electoral el responsable de garantizar el acceso de los partidos políticos a la radio y televisión en los términos que establece el artículo 41, Base III, Apartado B, de la Constitución Federal y las leyes aplicables de la materia.

⁴ Por tiempos "oficiales" se comprenderá la disposición de espacio en la radio y televisión a que por ley el Instituto Estatal Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua deberá distribuir entre los partidos políticos.

source inequity in access time assigned by the administrative body, therefore it is assigned this indicator a low assessment 1.

Electoral legitimacy

According to the quantitative evaluation of electoral legitimacy, the state of Chihuahua reaches a high average level of quality in the 'political-electoral' sphere, reaching an average of 2.17. This is because there were no post-electoral conflicts of any kind; the various political and social actors accept the results of the patent without any discomfort. However, there was low voter turnout on election day (41.41% stake) and the low percentage of citizens who show a positive attitude towards this dimension of political participation (10% of the public is "agree" or "believes" that the gubernatorial election was fair, clean or free (or other positive adjective).

Among citizens

In the local electoral process for the election of governor, citizen participation at the state level was 41.41% (IEECH, 2010), which is assigned an average rating of 2. However, one must consider that a problem exists solve (from the point of view of the republican theory of political participation) little attention was awakened by this process among potential voters of the municipality of Juarez, whose participation barely reached 29.5%.

Regarding the null votes, these stood at 3.26% (in absolute numbers, they canceled their vote 35,299 citizens) which is the average for local elections governor. During the pre-campaign and campaign for this election are not citizens or organizations that openly promote the 'no vote' as an expression of rejection of political parties and their candidates were observed. Hence we consider that this indicator maintains an average level of assessment 2.

The authors of this section we consider the legitimacy of the local elections in the state of Chihuahua is high on the enforcement or application of formal rules based on which the processes are performed. However, there remains considerable skepticism about the merits of electoral democracy among the 'anulistas' and 'abstainers' (rational or political), who pointed out as reasons for their actions in this area that the regime remains hegemonic party, which alternation of no use, that political actors do not fulfill their campaign promises and politicians turned into civil servants are inept and corrupt, etc. (Camargo-Gonzalez, 2010).

A second important aspect, and we believe that distorts the electoral process, are patronage and vote coercion strategies carried out by the official party (PRI), through its partisan and bureaucratic structure. In addition to formal benefits you received this game for its access to electronic media and common applications, is also observed a multitude of strategies deployed and let you win elections through exchange. The strategic actions of this type can be seen in the promotion of the vote with its bureaucratic structure, exchanging vows for goods for immediate consumption and exchange of votes for favors, vote for money, and so on. By this combination of positive and negative reasons, this qualitative evaluation is assigned the average score of 2.33.

Among organizations

Regarding the variable 'legitimacy among organizations', we consider that you get a high rating of 3.00. On the one hand, there was no post-election conflicts between contending parties after the election of governor, deputies, mayors and council in 2010. On the other hand, no reports were found by the election observers who participated in a personal capacity, as Article 5.5.ai of LEECH, in this electoral process; the absence of reports allow us to say that the 690 citizen observers detected no major irregularities reporting.

Overall, the legitimacy among citizens and organizations quantitative average is 2.17, slightly above average quality, which seems to us that presents a number of elements that must address to improve the quality of democracy in the legitimacy electoral.

Evaluation of the electoral dimension in the state of Chihuahua

According to assessments in each of the sub-dimensions that make up this dimension: political, 1.36; Performance of the State Electoral Institute, 2.5; performance and effectiveness of the State Electoral Tribunal 2.67; performance of politicians, 2.5 games; information and plural coverage of the electoral campaign and electoral 2.33, 2.17 legitimacy. The electoral dimension in the state of Chihuahua gets an average value of 2.25, which is to say that quality has a democratic medium.

Since its founding, the State of Chihuahua has had a metamorphosis brought to the unification and identity of its vast territory. In this respect, the representativeness of the population and its political consolidation has not been easy.

In 2010 the review process can be noted that the representation of citizens and public safety, the state of Chihuahua ranks well below a standard of acceptable quality.

In general, despite the alternation for a period, the entity dominates a political party, the PRI, which controls 90% of the municipalities.

The mechanisms of direct democracy and citizen participation that exist are: the referendum, the plebiscite, withdrawal of popular mandate, community collaboration, the public hearing.

In the integration of Congress there is a representation of the ruling party and little political inclusion of women.

Public safety variable has big problems that affect the quality of democracy in the state of Chihuahua. The context of insecurity and violence which was accentuated in the state of Chihuahua since 2007, defined the collaboration of the electoral institutions and public to take preventive in each of the activities of the electoral process safety.

The bodies of the electoral organization had a good performance and performance in the State Electoral Institute; in this body, the integration of citizens was conducted by consensus and in full compliance with the law.

The TEECH worked autonomously and independently of the government for decisions and maintained a balance with officials from both political parties and the government and lobbyists. We can say that electoral democracy has been consolidated; however, there are many aspects to be covered with more comprehensive studies, where they rescued the other aspects of a democratic system, beyond the formalism of the regime. In other words, this evaluation rescues formal elements but we have to integrate the respective informal aspects deeply rooted informal practices in political actors, such as the buying of votes, hauling, and so on.

Bibliography

Adrew, Roberts (2010), *The quality of democracy in eastern Europe: public preferences and policy reforms*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aziz Nassif, Alberto (1998), *Referéndum y ciudadanía*, *Perfiles latinoamericanos*, Vol. 7, No. 12, pp. 201-225, México, FLACSO.

Battle, Albert (2007), *Diez textos básicos de Ciencia Política*, Madrid: Ariel.

Camargo-González, Ignacio (2010). “Hacia una tipología de la participación electoral. [book auth.] Isabel y Rigoberto Marín Uribe (Comps.) Guzmán Ibarra. Democracia y participación ciudadana. Estudio sobre el abstencionismo en Chihuahua. Chihuahua: UACH-IEECH.

Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (2012). Abstencionismo y cultura política en México, Carpeta de indicadores y tendencias sociales, número 18, México: Centro de Estudios,

Corresponsales (2010). Roban boletas electorales en Chihuahua. El Universal. junio 30.

CPECH (2009). Constitución Política del Estado Libre y Soberano de Chihuahua. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: H. Congreso del Estado.

CPECH (2013). Constitución Política del Estado Libre y Soberano de Chihuahua. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: H. Congreso del Estado, Enero 05, 2013. Reforma en POE 5 de enero de 2013. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: H. Congreso del Estado.

Dahl, Robert (2002). La poliarquía. Participación y oposición. Madrid: Tecnos.

DOF (2014). Programa Especial de los Pueblos Indígenas 2014-2018. Programa Especial de los Pueblos Indígenas 2014-2018. México: Diario Oficial de la Federación, abril 30.

IEECH (2010). Acta de la Décimo Tercer Sesión Extraordinaria del Consejo General del Instituto Estatal Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: Consejo General del Instituto Estatal Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua, Mayo 03, 2010.

IEECH (2011). Memoria proceso electoral 2010 Chihuahua, Chihuahua: Instituto Estatal Electoral Chihuahua.

IEECH (2010). Resultados electorales; Gobernador, Chihuahua: Instituto Estatal Electoral de Chihuahua.

IFE (2000). Estadística de las elecciones nacionales de 2000, México: Instituto Federal Electoral.

INEGI (2010). Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010, Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

INEGI (2010). Cuéntame de México, México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

INEGI (2010). Información nacional por entidad federativa y municipios, Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

Jiménez Badillo, Margarita (2014). Marco de la investigación. Calidad de democracia en elecciones para gobernador en el Sur-Sureste de México. México: Plaza y Valdés, 2014, pp. 38-40.

LEECH (2012). Instituto Estatal Electoral de Chihuahua. Chihuahua: Instituto Estatal Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua.

Levine, Daniel H. and Molina, José E. (2013). Quality of Democracy in Latin America.

Morlino, Leonardo (2009). Democracias y democratizaciones, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Morlino, Leonardo (1996). Consolidación democrática. Definición, modelos, hipótesis. Revista Italiana di Scienza Política, XVI, Revista Italiana di Scienza Política, Vol. XVI , pp. 7-61.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Vargas Cullell, Jorge and Iazzetta, Osvaldo M. (2004). The Quality of Democracy, Theory and Applications. Indiana: University of Notre Dame.

OEA (2001). Carta Democrática Interamericana, Lima, Perú: Organización de Estados Americanos.

OSSyCCMJ (2010). Observatorio de Seguridad y Convivencia Ciudadanas del Municipio de Juárez. Juárez, Chihuahua, México.

PGR (2010). Incidencia delictiva del fuero común 2010. México: Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública.

Ruelas Serna, Ana Cristina and Dupuy, Justine (2013). El costo de la legitimidad, El uso de la publicidad oficial en las entidades federativas, Fundar, Centro de Análisis e Investigación, A.C., México.

Seguridad, Justicia y Paz (2012). La violencia en los municipios y las entidades federativas de México. Consejo Ciudadano para la Seguridad Pública y Justicia Penal, A.C., México.

The Economist Intelligence Unit (2015). Democracy Index 2014, Democracy and its discontents.

XHEPL (2010). Buscará Rubén Aguilar la Gubernatura de Chihuahua por el PT. XHEPL Noticias. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México, Enero 10, 2010.

CIDAC (2015). Datos electorales, Gobernadores. México, Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo, A. C., México. Disponible en: < http://www.cidac.org/esp/Datos_Electorales.php> [26 de febrero de 2015].

Freedom House (2015). Freedom in the World 2015. Washington: Freedom House. Disponible en: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015#.VOd9pWB0yaM>> [20 de febrero de 2015].

Anexo 1. Matriz para evaluar la calidad de la democracia en elecciones, aplicada al estado de Chihuahua, proceso 2010.

Subdimensión	Variable	Indicador	Descripción de indicador	Dato duro	Evaluación
Condiciones generales de la entidad federativa	Condiciones políticas	Nombre partido que gobierna	Partido Revolucionario Institucional		
		Control Ejecutivo	2009		
		Alternancia	1	1.00	2
		Control Municipal	90	90.00	1
		Control Legislativo	60	60.00	1
		Otros			
		Evaluación cualitativa	Solo en un periodo ha triunfado un partido diferente al PRI (1992-1998, el PAN)		
		Promedio Variable		50.33	1.33
	Representación	Cobertura del Padrón Electoral	1	0.22	1
		Representación Femenina	21.20 %	21.20	2
		Representación Indígena	0	0.00	1
		Índice Desv Proporcional Congreso	17.15 %	17.15	1
		Otros			
		Evaluación cualitativa	La representación de mujeres e indígenas está por debajo de la media nacional		
		Promedio Variable		9.64	1.25
	Seguridad pública	Violencia general	171.40 %	171.00	1
		Violencia político electoral	no fatales	no fatales	2
		Otros	Aumento considerable de secuestros, extorsiones, carjacking.		
		Evaluación cualitativa	Alta violencia general, pero no violencia política electoral		
		Promedio Variable		171.00	1.50
Promedio subdimensión					
Desempeño del IEE	Grado de independencia e	Integración del Consejo General	Sin incidentes	0.00	3

	imparcialidad del consejo general del IEE	Origen de los consejeros	Consenso	gp consenso	2	
		Congruencia legal	76 %	76.00	1	
		Otros				
		Evaluación cualitativa	El Consejo se ha mantenido imparcial y en cumplimiento con los preceptos legales			
		Promedio Variable		38.00	2.00	
	Eficacia y eficiencia del IEE	Capacitación	62 921	75.00	3	
		Organización	16.30 %	16.30	3	
		PREP	100 %	100.00	3	
		Otros				
		% de funcionarios de casilla capacitados, respecto de metas	100 %	100%	3	
		% de funcionarios sustituidos, sobre requeridos		5%	3	
		Evaluación cualitativa del PREP	Sin fallas:3; Fallas menores:2; Suspensión del PREP o impugnaciones: 1	3.00	3	
		Evaluación cualitativa				
	Promedio Variable		63.77	3.00		
	Promedio subdimensión			50.88	2.50	
Desempeño del TEE	Grado de independencia e imparcialidad del TEE	Integración del Tribunal	Cabalidad	cabalidad	3	
		Origen de los Magistrados	Gobierno, partidos políticos, grupos de presión	gob pp gp	1	
		Congruencia legal	12 %	0.12	3	
		Otros				
		Evaluación cualitativa	Sin fallas:3; Fallas menores:2; Suspensión del PREP o impugnaciones: 1	3.00	3	
	Promedio Variable		1.04	2.67		
Promedio subdimensión			1.04	2.67		
Desempeño de partidos políticos	Número y presencia de partidos políticos	Número legal de partidos políticos	7			
		Número efectivo de partidos políticos	2.17	2.17	2	

		Partidos estatales	0	0.00	1
		Competitividad	64.60 %	64.60	2
		Vigilancia de la pluralidad	85.57 %	85.57	3
		Otros			
		Evaluación cualitativa	Existe un predominio de dos partidos políticos PRI y PAN		
		Promedio Variable		38.09	2.00
	Recursos y costos	Topes de gastos de campaña	ninguno	ninguno	3
		Bolsa de partidos políticos	0.005133577	0.00	3
		Otros			
		Evaluación cualitativa	Los partidos políticos se ajustan a los topes de campaña		
		Promedio Variable		0	3.00
Promedio subdimensión			19.04	2.50	
Información Plural y cobertura de la campaña electoral	Debates por televisión			2.00	3
	Monitoreo de medio			2.00	3
	Gasto en comunicación social del Ejecutivo local			1.03	1
	Otros				
	Evaluación cualitativa		Existen aún en la práctica apoyos diferenciados por parte de los medios		
	Promedio Variable			1.68	2.33
	Promedio subdimensión				2.33
Legitimidad electoral	Entre ciudadanos	Participación ciudadana			
		Rechazo ciudadano	32.60 %	32.60	1
		Credibilidad en los comicios		4.30	2
		Otros	10 %	10.00	1
		Evaluación cualitativa			
		Promedio Variable	Hay poca credibilidad y participación ciudadana		
	Entre	Conflictos		15.63	1.33

	organizaciones	postelectorales			
		Evaluación de la observaron electoral	0 %	0.00	3
		Otros	limpieza	limpieza	3
		Evaluación cualitativa			
		Promedio Variable	No existen conflictos post-electorales	0.00	3.00
	Promedio subdimensión		7.82	2.17	
CALIDAD DE LA DEMOCRACIA ELECTORAL	Promedio final		31.16	2.25	

Fuente: elaboración propia.