

VIOLENCIA ELECTORAL EN MÉXICO

PROCESO
2023 - 2024





01. Impact of violence in elections

The 2024 elections were the most violent on record in the country, as electoral violence was a constant throughout the electoral process. This type of violence can be attributed to various causes, including political disputes, within the same parties or opposing forces, or even due to economic disputes and territorial control by criminal groups engaged in illicit activities of different kinds.

The incidence of violence are mainly concentrated at the municipal level, although in certain areas of the country it can generally be very localized. We have observed that in some regions, electoral violence has become more widespread, with all kinds of violent attacks being reported against candidates and individuals involved in the electoral process.

The stages where attacks are most frequent, whether at the federal or local level, are during the candidate selection process, the final stretch of campaigns, and the first few days after the election day. All political parties recorded victims of some form of aggression during the electoral process.

It is notable that, despite this aggression, political parties have shown little interest in anticipating and addressing situations of violence that affect their candidates. We also have no record that they filed the corresponding complaints with the relevant authorities when any type of aggression was reported against their candidates.

The context summarized in this first section and further explained in the body of the report leads us to three reflections on the impact of electoral violence on the elections.

a. Impact on Citizen Participation:

In the 17 municipalities where the highest number of attacks were recorded, there was an average decrease of 7% in voter turnout compared to the 2018 election. The largest reduction occurred in La Concordia, Chiapas with -38.57%, while the largest increase was in Guanajuato, Guanajuato with 10%.

b. Impact on the Results:

According to rulings issued by electoral authorities, electoral violence does not impact election results, despite the fact that 13 candidates, 17 pre-candidates, and 11 aspirants were murdered during the electoral process, not to mention the threats and attacks recorded. The question we ask is: how many candidates, their family members, or close collaborators must die or suffer attacks before it is considered that violence during elections does indeed influence the final results? We know that most attacks occurred at the municipal level, but minimizing or ignoring this issue now may lead to violence escalating in future electoral processes.



C. Taxing:

Electoral violence is just one symptom of a much larger problem in which political and economic groups, both legal and illegal, seek to influence the outcome of elections through various means. The reality is that there are many areas that will require significant monitoring efforts, not only from electoral authorities but also from political parties and civil society. One of these areas is undoubtedly oversight. It has become a tool used by these influence groups to skew elections in favor of certain candidates, and electoral authorities have been clearly overwhelmed on this front: the failure of candidates to report income and expenditures cannot be simply punished with monetary fines. We believe this must be a key line of investigation if we are to understand how campaigns in our country are being financed and by whom.

02. Electoral violence in Mexico

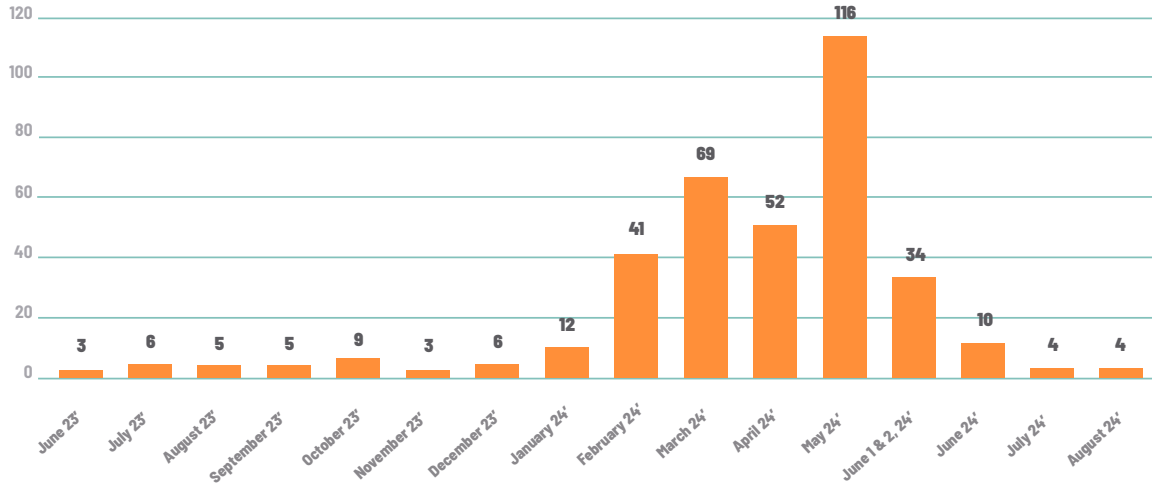
The Electoral Laboratory, as in 2018 and 2021, conducted monitoring of electoral violence during the entire 2023-2024 electoral process in Mexico, which included the renewal of the presidency of the Republic, the federal Congress, 9 local executives, 31 local congresses, and municipal positions in 31 entities of the Republic. Amid what has so far been the largest election in history, we observed a concerning increase in political and electoral violence, raising alarms even within the international community.

Object of Study: At the Laboratory, we focus on the concept of electoral violence, which we have defined as, “Electoral violence is that political violence that aims at the electoral process. It is geared towards winning political competition or power through violence, subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process. ... Election violence takes place not just at election time, but in periods leading to elections, during the elections themselves, and in the period immediately following elections such as during the counting of ballots.” (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2001). This is why our object of study differs from that of other organizations that also monitored electoral violence.

Throughout the entire electoral process, we observed attacks against the various profiles being monitored. However, we noted an escalation after the end of the federal inter-campaign period, coinciding with the start of local pre-campaigns in nearly all states across the country.



Total violent events per month

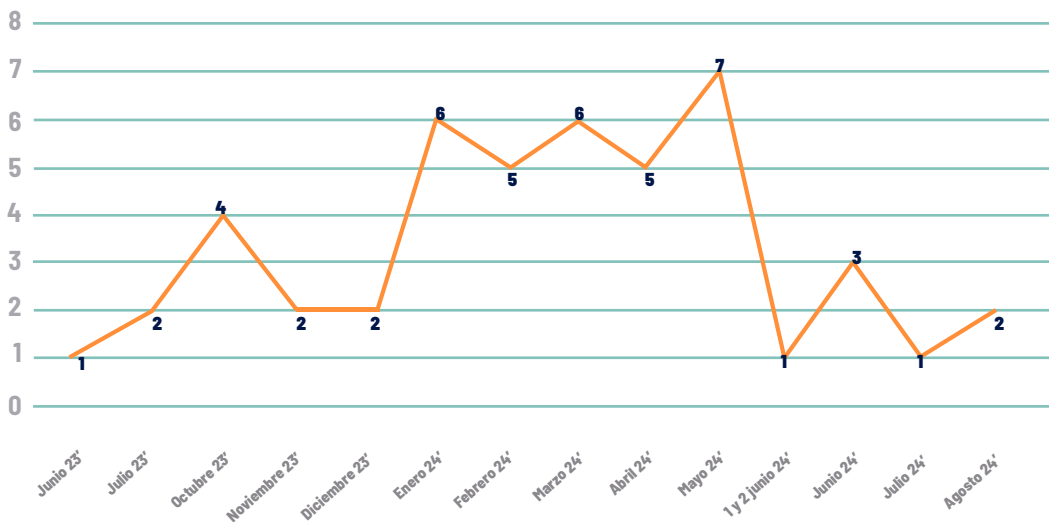


For the analysis of this phenomenon, we differentiated between events that occurred on June 1st and 2nd, before and during the election day, from those that took place after that date and throughout the month of June.

The highest number of threats occurred in March, followed by May, while the greatest number of attacks took place in May, with a peak that far exceeded the figures seen in previous months.

It is evident that the highest number of people killed was recorded in May 2024, followed by a steady trend in February, March, and April. This again aligns with the conclusion of the federal inter-campaign period and the beginning of local pre-campaigns in the vast majority of states:

Aspiring candidates, pre/candidates, elected candidates murders





Victims who were aspiring for a public position and were murdered:

| # | Name | Position |
|----|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Jesús González Ríos | Aspiring candidate |
| 2 | Javier Torres Barrera | Aspiring candidate |
| 3 | Jorge Humberto Guzman Enriquez | Aspiring candidate |
| 4 | Alejandro Lanuza Hernández | Aspiring candidate |
| 5 | Wilman Monje Morales | Aspiring candidate |
| 6 | Miguel Ángel Cruz Robles | Aspiring candidate |
| 7 | Dagoberto García Rivera | Aspiring candidate |
| 8 | Jaime Damaso Solís | Aspiring candidate |
| 9 | Antonio Santiz Gómez | Aspiring candidate |
| 10 | Ricardo Taja Ramírez | Aspiring candidate |
| 11 | David Rey González Moreno | Aspiring candidate |
| 12 | Martín Pale Sántiz | Precandidate |
| 13 | Alfredo Giovanni Lezama Barrera | Precandidate |
| 14 | Sergio Hueso | Precandidate |
| 15 | Miriam Noemi Ríos Ríos | Precandidate |
| 16 | Samantha Carolina Gómez Fonseca | Precandidate |
| 17 | Marcelino Ruiz Esteban | Precandidate |
| 18 | Jaime Vera | Precandidate |
| 19 | Yair Martín Romero | Precandidate |
| 20 | Manuel Hernández | Precandidate |
| 21 | Armando Pérez Luna | Precandidate |
| 22 | Miguel Ángel Reyes Zavala | Precandidate |
| 23 | Alfredo González Díaz | Precandidate |
| 24 | Diego Pérez Méndez | Precandidate |
| 25 | Tomás Morales Patrón | Precandidate |
| 26 | Humberto Amezcua Bautista | Precandidate |
| 27 | Jaime González Pérez | Precandidate |
| 28 | Julián Bautista Gómez | Precandidate |
| 29 | Joaquín Martínez López | Candidate |

| # | Name | Position |
|----|----------------------------|-----------|
| 30 | Gisela Gaytán Gutiérrez | Candidate |
| 31 | Alberto Antonio García | Candidate |
| 32 | Noe Ramos | Candidate |
| 33 | Francisco Sánchez Gaeta | Candidate |
| 34 | Mauro Hernández | Candidate |
| 35 | Lucero López Maza | Candidate |
| 36 | Anibal Zúñiga Cortés | Candidate |
| 37 | Ana Hieli Vázquez Reyes | Candidate |
| 38 | Ricardo Arizmendi | Candidate |
| 39 | Alfredo Cabrera Barrientos | Candidate |
| 40 | Jorge Huerta Cabrera | Candidate |
| 41 | Israel Delgado Vega | Candidate |

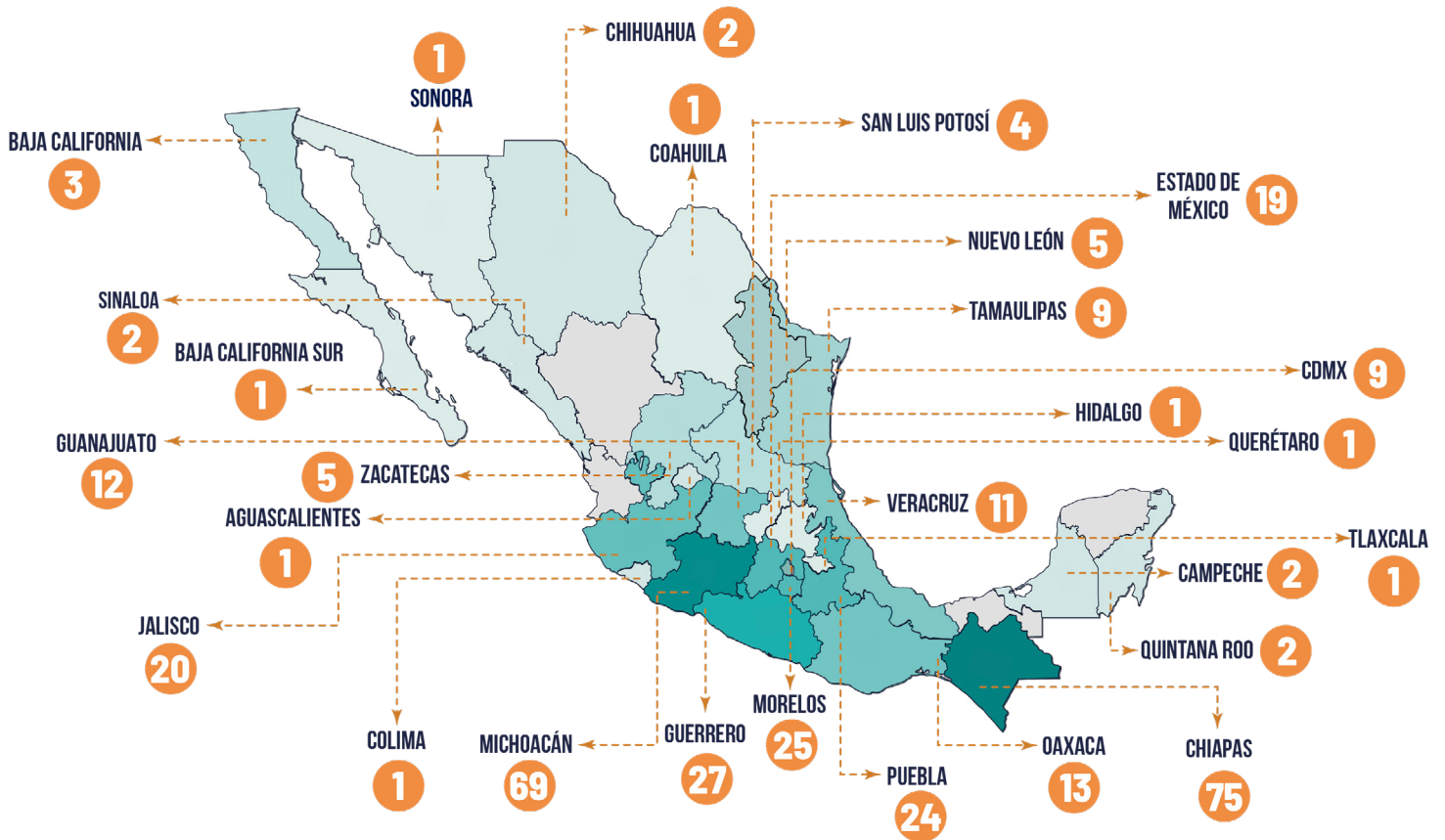




03. III. Risks map during before and during the election day

When reviewing the distribution of violent events throughout the country, we see that states of Michoacán and Chiapas have the highest occurrence of violence, followed by Guerrero and Morelos.

Map of violent events during the electoral process

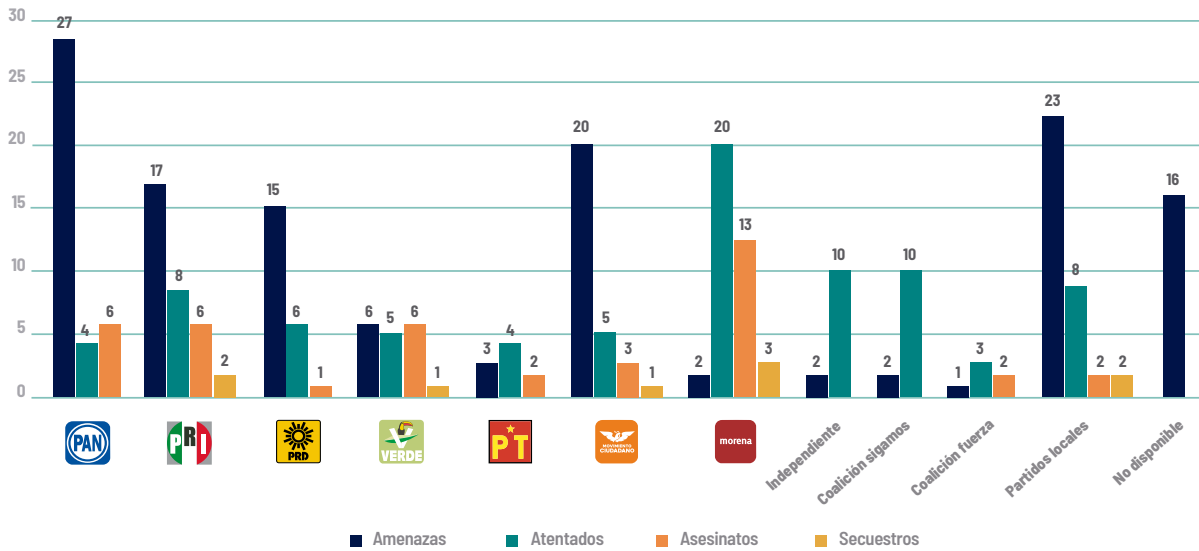




The political parties most affected by violent violence were Morena, followed by PAN, PRI, and Movimiento Ciudadano. Local parties collectively experienced more attacks than PRI and rank third in terms of the number of aggressions.

1. Por fuerza política previo a la jornada electoral

Agresion cases against political party aspiring candidates, pre candidates and candidates



04. IV. Agresions after election day

Despite the fact that the election day had already ended, attacks continued against both elected and non-elected candidates, as well as their families and close teams. This record corresponds to the aggressions that occurred from June 3rd to August 31st, 2024.





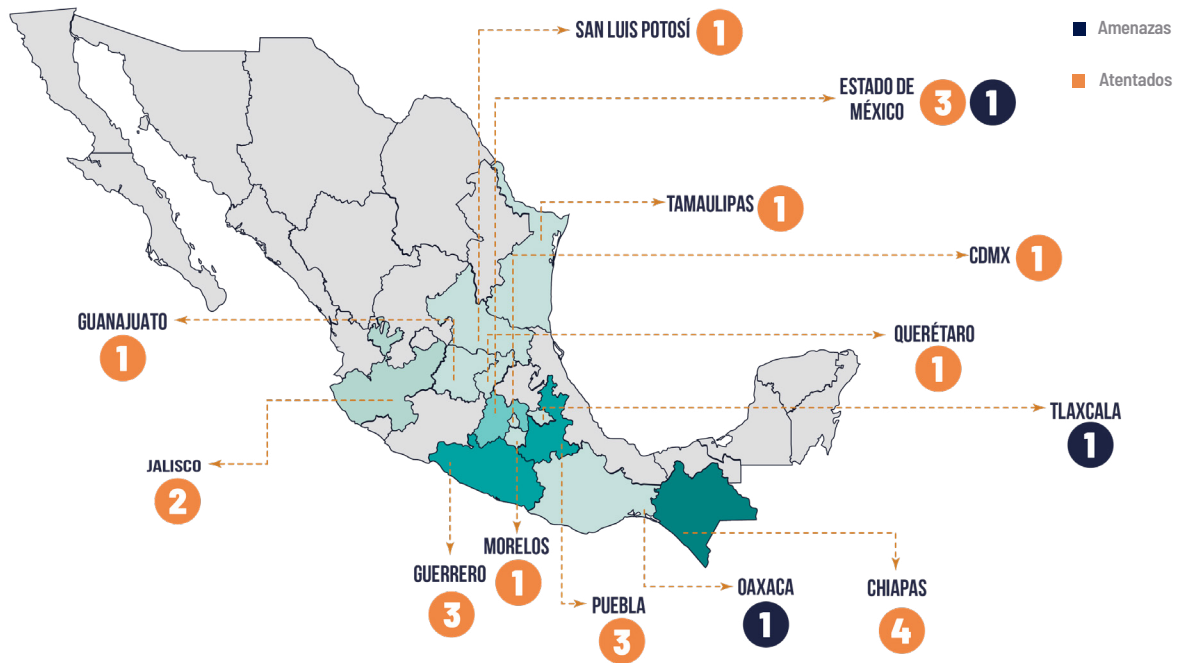
Unfortunately, these attacks have resulted in the deaths of 6 elected candidates*.

| Name | Position |
|--------------------------|--|
| Yonis Atenógenes Baños | Mayor of Santo Domingo Armenta, Oaxaca |
| Mario Lázaro Mendoza | Councilor Jacona, Michoacán |
| Salvador Villalva Flores | Mayor of Copala, Guerrero |
| Héctor Melesio Cuén | Multimember deputy |
| Israel Cruz Carrisoza | Councilor of Tultepec |
| Amado Solís Guzman | Local deputy en Veracruz |

*Corte al 31 de agosto de 2024.

a. Candidates who won the election and suffered non-lethal attacks

Upon reviewing the outcomes for candidates who suffered some form of attack or violent incident, we found that 24 candidates won despite being victims of such aggressions.





b. Murdered candidates who won at the polls

We can also see that, despite being murdered near the election day, four candidates won the elections in which they were competing:

| Name | Political Party | Aspired position | State | Municipalite |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| Francisco Sánchez Gaeta | | Syndicate candidate | Jalisco | Puerto Vallarta |
| Jorge Huerta Cabrera | | Councilor candidate | Puebla | Izúcar de Matamoros |
| Israel Delgado Vega | | Syndic candidate | Michoacán | Cuitzeo |
| Mauro Hernández | | Fifth concilor candidate | Chiapas | Benmérito de las Américas |

c. Virtually elected candidates at risk of being murdered or murdered

Lastly, we cannot ignore all those candidates who have suffered some form of violent incident after the election day, during the resolution of objections and the issuance of certificates of majority.

| Nombre | Tipo | Partido | Cargo | Estado | Localidad |
|------------------------------|-----------|---------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Yonis Atenógenes Baños | Asesinato | | Alcalde electo | Oaxaca | Santo Domingo Armenta |
| Saúl Trejo Rojas | Atentado | | Alcalde electo | Guanajuato | Tarimoro |
| Mario Lázaro Mendoza | Asesinato | | Regidor electo | Michoacán | Jacona |
| Humberto Bolaños del Rosario | Amenaza | | Alcalde electo | Puebla | Tepexi de Rodríguez |
| Salvador Villalva Flores | Asesinato | | Alcalde electo | Guerrero | Copala |
| Héctor Melesio Cuén | Asesinato | | Diputado federal electo | Sinaloa | Culiacán |
| Israel Cruz Carrisoza | Asesinato | | Regidor electo | Estado de México | Tultepec |
| Amado Solís Guzman | Asesinato | | Diputado local electo | Venustiano Carranza | Puebla |

It is also worth mentioning that in the 17 municipalities where we recorded the highest number of attacks, there was an average decrease of 7% in voter turnout compared to the previous similar election in 2018. The largest reductions occurred in La Concordia, Chiapas with -38.57%, Benemérito de las Américas, Chiapas with -24.06%, Maravatio, Michoacán with -11.96%, Villa Purificación, Jalisco with -11.78%, and Mapastepec, Chiapas with -11.72%. From this same category, the only municipalities that showed an increase in participation were Rincón Chamula, Chiapas with 1.41%, Tarimoro, Guanajuato with 3.45%, Puebla, Puebla with 6.87%, and Guanajuato, Guanajuato with 10%.



d. Objections and nullifications

It is worth noting that during the challenge stage, political parties filed various lawsuits challenging the results in states such as Chiapas, Michoacán, the State of Mexico, Oaxaca, among others.

These are some cases worth highlighting because they were elections annulled by local courts, although they could still be referred to Regional Chambers and the Superior Chamber:

- **Mexico City, Cuauhtémoc.** The election for the mayor’s office was annulled due to proven political gender violence committed by the winning candidate.
- **Hidalgo, Cuauhtepac.** The election for the Cuauhtepac de Hinojosa city council was annulled due to conflicts between criminal organizations involved in drug trafficking and fuel theft, known as “huachicol.”
- **Michoacán, Irimbo.** The election for the Irimbo city council was annulled due to political gender violence.

e. Oversight: Fines for taxing of Some of These Candidates:

From the review of the oversight reports, we noted that some candidates and all political parties were fined for failing to report income and expenses.

The sanctions imposed by party were as follows:

| Partido Político | Nacional | Local | Total |
|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | \$11,450,424.40 | \$66,526,488.48 | \$77,976,912.89 |
| | \$15,945,809.33 | \$67,978,547.84 | \$83,924,357.54 |
| | \$5,974,642.37 | \$34,922,980.95 | \$40,897,623.54 |
| | \$22,795,590.37 | \$56,839,422.03 | \$79,635,012.40 |
| | \$33,131,120.98 | \$58,231,299.39 | \$91,362,420.37 |
| | \$49,579,787.48 | \$87,234,264.25 | \$136,814,051.73 |
| | \$65,520,667.02 | \$108,929,700.77 | \$174,450,367.79 |
| Coalición FYCXM | \$92,602,471.93 | N/A | \$92,602,471.93 |
| Coalición SHH | \$184,329,925.43 | N/A | \$184,329,925.43 |
| Total | \$481,330,439.53 | \$480,662,703.72 | \$961,993,142.25 |

| Partido Político | Nacional | Local | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Partidos Políticos Locales | N/A | \$104,917,996.50 | \$104,917,996.50 |
| Candidaturas Independientes | \$293,573.28 | \$886,799.76 | \$1,180,377.04 |
| Total | \$481,624,012.81 | \$586,467,499.98 | \$1,068,091,512.79 |





We highlight that the criteria for sanctions were more lenient than in previous electoral processes. What we did not see in the oversight reports was any investigation or clarification regarding the source of the funds spent on the campaigns, much less whether these came from any illicit sources. Most of the sanctions imposed on candidates were for failing to report income and/or expenses.





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