Hinge parties in Mexico and the Use of Social Networks and Media Technologies:
A comparison between Partido Verde Ecologista, Partido Nueva Alianza and Partido Movimiento Ciudadano

José Manuel Luque, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa Jesús Tovar. Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México

IPSA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, 4-6 December 2017, Hannover, Germany POLITICA SCIENCE IN THE DIGITAL AGE: MAPPING OPPORTUNITIES, PERILS AND UNCERTAINTIES

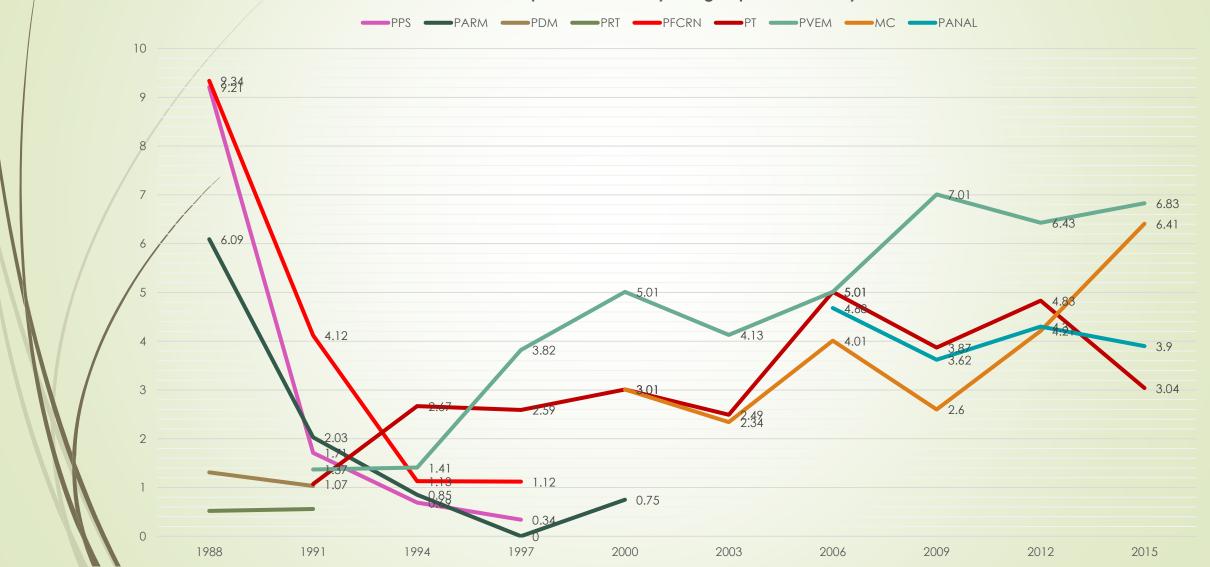
Two kinds of accompanying political parties in Mexico: satellites and hinges

Satellites Parties: Without the possibility of competing, they really have the function of participating in the electoral game with the purpose of legitimating the hegemonic political party. **PARM and PPS. XX Century**

Hinge Parties: They are part of the political system in a democratic and competitive democracy, but they don't present themselves as an alternative to the traditional parties, instead they use to participate with principal parties in alliances. MC, PVEM, PANAL and PT. XXI Century

Electoral Participation of Satellites and Hinge Political Parties in México

Gráfico 1:Tendencia de los partidos satelite y bisagra: permanencia y extinción 1988-2015



The logic and dynamics of hinge political parties (one)

- Alliances: Allows a certain large party (PAN, PRI, PRD) to win executive positions, mainly governorships and the presidency of the republic, in exchange these parties hinge receive quotas of votes that in normal conditions would not have in the electoral processes:
- □ 2000 Presidential Election: PAN with PVEM
- □ 2006 Presidential Election: PAN with PANAL
- □ 2012 Presidential Election: PRI with PVEM
- □ 2018 Leading Presidential Polls: MORENA with PT

The logic and dynamics of hinge political parties (two)

Survival: These four parties (PVEM, MC, PANAL and PT) have managed to remain in the system since the early nineties (1994 until nowadays), unlike the other "small parties" that intermittently appear and disappear in each intermediate election in the last 25 years and finally had disappeared.

Social networks and the internet in the strategies of the hinge political parties

- A recent electoral reform try to prevents the distribution of percentages in electoral coalitions, the hinge political small parties have complemented their alliance strategy, through strengthening their ties with groups of voters mainly postmodern (Millán, 2013) through the intensive use of messages on television and the use of social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube
- The PVEM and MC have innovated their electoral marketing campaigns in recent years and their percentages of electoral support reflect this

Tabla 2: Posicionamiento en redes sociales de los partidos mexicanos 2015-2017

| PARTIDO | FACEBOOK | | | TWITTER | | | INSTAGRAM | | | YOUTUBE | | |
|---------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------|--------|--------------------|--------|--------|
| | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 |
| PRI | 280.503 | 427.026 | 542.272 | 185.235 | <mark>284.514</mark> | <mark>460.194</mark> | 8.324 | 14.722 | 22.042 | 4.562 | 13.071 | 13.186 |
| PAN | 170.474 | 269.982 | 333.530 | 139.287 | 154.485 | 240.706 | 3.882 | 5.298 | 7.949 | 6.597 | 8.777 | 7.063 |
| PRD | 69.569 | 77.764 | 85.645 | 78.711 | 86.470 | 111.923 | - | - | 11.426 | 1.009 | 1.074 | 1.191 |
| MORENA | - | - | 30.704 | 1.730 | 8.767 | 16.846 | - | - | - | - | - | |
| AMLO | 1.216.14 5 | 1.648.38 2 | 2.174.19 4 | 1.773.38 2 | 2.235.19 | 3.281.77 6 | 13.107 | 32.760 | 59.762 | S/D | S/D | 49.575 |
| PVEM | 39.716 | 87.996 | 106.667 | 2.351 | 27.800 | 55.734 | 93 | 520 | 3.702 | 3.193 | 4.175 | S/I |
| PANAL | 34.895 | 43.935 | 46.992 | 12.834 | 14.453 | 31.450 | 376 | 412 | 195 | 792 | 1.296 | 1.417 |
| MC | 869.893 | 922.922 | 927.928 | 123.572 | 123.837 | 133.764 | - | - | 413 | <mark>6.302</mark> | 7.375 | 8.384 |
| PT | 4.308 | 4.490 | 9.048 | 561 | 588 | 825 | - | - | 131 | 1.086 | 1.079 | 1.066 |
| PES | 62.603 | 76.739 | 81.305 | 27.480 | 27.315 | 28.004 | 162 | 182 | 182 | 1.321 | 1.426 | 1.580 |
| PH | 18.225 | 18.146 | 17.784 | 2.910 | 2.857 | 2.953 | - | - | 56 | 406 | 408 | 398 |

Movimiento Ciudadano (MC)

- MC is the political party with the greatest presence in social networks, for example, in Facebook it exceeds in 3.10 times the PRI that ranks second according to 2015 data, in 2.16 times in 2016 and 1.7 times this 2017.
- Traditional Parties (PRI and PAN), In the social network Twitter leads the PRI, followed by PAN and MC very close to it, with an excellent position considering the relative size of this with respect to the PRI and the PAN. In Instagram it leads the PRI followed by the PAN, in this network both MC, PANAL and PVEM have a marginal presence.

Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)

- The PVEM is much less active and effective in social networks in relation to the MC and the PRI and PAN. However, its positioning in many ways surpasses the PRD and MORENA the other two "big parties" of the system, for example, the PVEM has surpassed the PRD and MORENA in 2016 and 2017 in the social network Facebook, and in the three periods in Youtube; and to MORENA in all cases and periods.
- PVEM has focused its strategy, more than on social networks and the web, in traditional media, radio, television and in cinemas. The PVEM has been efficiently instrumented by large television broadcasters and owners of powerful business groups in the field of communications (such as Televisa and TV Azteca) that have allowed it to illegally "hire" radio and television spots. Due to this illegal use, the National Electoral Institute (INE) and the Electoral Tribunal of the Judicial Power of the Federation (TEPJF) have applied repeated sanctions to this party, 10 until 2015, for an amount of 185.1 million pesos

Partido Nueva Alianza (PANAL)

PANAL is a union party, with territorial support bases throughout the country, in the teaching sector of Mexico, its electoral positioning strategy as a hinge political party has developed in its alliances with the PRI preferentially in legislative and local elections. In social networks, the PANAL has an acceptable performance compared to other parties of its kind, for example it surpasses MORENA in the 4 social networks.

CONCLUSIONS

- Since Mexico has a democratic regime, we have three "big parties" with greater electoral presence: PRI, PRD, PAN, and four minor parties: PVEM, MC, PANAL and PT, these political parties fulfill a strategic role that we have called "hinge", and have the ability to unbalance the game for or against the major competitive games of the system.
- Of these four hinge parties, the relative importance of the PVEM and MC has increased exponentially due among other things to the type of anchoring developed in the type of political communication they use, and the instruments used.