

Country: Mexico

Years: 1945

Head of Government: Manuel Ávila Camacho

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Ávila Camacho's party as Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM). Lentz (1994: 549) writes, "Ávila Camacho moved the government away from the leftist positions of his predecessor to a more moderate level." Dion (2005: 69) writes, "Indeed, the threat posed by an organized opposition behind the candidacy of Almazán and the loss of support of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie forced the PRM to abandon some of its progressive causes and nominate a more conservative candidate to regain the support of capital and moderate interests (Garrido 1982: 271). Ultimately, the supporters of Ávila Camacho's candidacy within the PRM, principally the CTM and the Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC), were able to impose him as the PRM's candidate, bypassing any internal formal procedures for candidate selection (Garrido 1982)." In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRM's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.611) in 1970.

Years: 1946-1951

Head of Government: Miguel Alemán Valdés

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Alemán Valdés' party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, "A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of 'social justice'), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology." Alexander (2011: 14) writes, "In matters of economic policy, Alemán vigorously pursued a multi-pronged strategy of capitalist development that

balanced state protection and foreign investment... Personally inspired by the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Alemán simultaneously sought to make his country more economically self-sufficient by expanding the role of the government in economic affairs at the same time that he used his personal influence to entice foreign businesses to pour money into a country that had finally moved past its reputation for being hostile to investment from abroad.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRM’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.611) in 1970.

Years: 1952-1957

Head of Government: Adolfo Ruiz Cortines

Ideology: centrist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as centrist. CHISOLS identifies Ruiz Cortines’ party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, “A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRM’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.611) in 1970.

Years: 1958-1963

Head of Government: Adolfo López Mateos

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies López Mateos’ party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). However, Manzano (2017) codes Mateos as leftist. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRI as center-right from 1961 to 1967. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, “A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would

expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” Alisky and Briggs (1981: 132) write, “Ideologically, [Lopez Mateos] steered a middle course, neither veering too far to the right nor to the left.” Pettinà (2015: 743) writes, “... through his support of the Cuban Revolution, López Mateos tried to strengthen the liberal-leftist image of his government by co-opting the domestic Left in order to increase its leverage with Mexican private business sectors. Simultaneously, López Mateos’s friendliness towards the Revolution was a manoeuvre made to avoid the notion that the extreme Left was ‘monopolising’ support for Cuba. From this perspective, López Mateos, the President of a political regime borne out of a popular revolution, feared that the attacks coming from the left flank of the political spectrum and energized by the Cuban experience would delegitimise the political system built by the PRI.” Pettinà (745) also writes, “A US Embassy report issued when he was still a presidential candidate described López Mateos as ‘a national leader of marked political skill and foresight’, an individual standing out ‘as moderate, progressive and intelligent... whose domestic program [would] continue [to] emphasize [the] social and economic goals [of the] Mexican Revolution’.” Keller (2012: 101) writes, “Mexican leaders decided to defend Castro primarily because they were worried about leftist groups and individuals in their own country and believed that they could use their policy toward Cuba to minimize the domestic leftist threat.” Furthermore, “... President López Mateos didn’t put much store in unsolicited information from conservative ideologues.” Story (1985: 148) identifies López Mateos as a “leftist” multiple times and writes, “The pendulum did not swing back to the left until 1958 and the administration of Adolfo López Mateos, whose populist ideology was especially evident in his nationalistic foreign policy... Essentially, López Mateos was the first president to take seriously the policy of ‘Mexicanization’ (requiring majority Mexican ownership).” Purcell (1973: 40) writes, “The selection of a man identified with the labor movement as president was an attempt to recapture the goodwill of the workers by signaling that the authoritarian elite finally was prepared to bestow some benefits upon the labor movement.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.611) in 1970.

Years: 1964-1969

Head of Government: Gustavo Díaz Ordaz Bolaños

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Díaz Ordaz's party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). However, Manzano (2017) codes Díaz Ordaz as leftist. *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 550) writes, "[Díaz Ordaz] was a hard-line anti-Communist and ordered the arrest of labor leaders and pro-Castro demonstrators he considered a threat to the country." Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRI as center-right from 1961 to 1967. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, "A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of 'social justice'), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology." In *V-Party* (2020), 11 experts identify PRI's ideology as "Center-left" (-0.611) in 1970.

Years: 1970-1975

Head of Government: Luis Echeverría Álvarez

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies Echeverría Álvarez's party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Manzano (2017) identifies Echeverría Álvarez as leftist. *Political Handbook of the World* (2005-2006) states that Echeverría's program of reform, "which sought to overcome maldistribution of income, widespread alienation and unrest, scattered urban and rural violence, and a visible erosion in the prestige, if not the power, of the PRI," was "opposed both by the Right, because of a feeling that the traditional favoritism to business interests was waning, and by the Left, because of a conviction that the reform was a sham." *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Lentz (1994:

551) writes, “Echevarría promoted liberal reforms in Mexico’s universities and released nearly all political prisoners arrested during the riots of 1968.” Huber and Stephens (2016: 16) identify PRI as center-left from 1970 to 1973. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, “A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.611) in 1970 and “Center-left” (-0.665) in 1973. Funke et al. (2020: 124) identify Echeverria as a “left-wing populist.”

Years: 1976-1981

Head of Government: José López Portillo y Pacheco

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as leftist. CHISOLS identifies López Portillo’s party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Manzano (2017) identifies Portillo as leftist. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 16-17) identify PRI as centrist from 1976 to 1979, and center-right from 1980 to 2003. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, “A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back

again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” Story (1985: 157) identifies López Portillo as a “rightist.” Story (148-150) also writes, “Most recently, Presidents Echeverría and López Portillo can be seen as having pursued decidedly different policies, their sexenios being the two that have probably provoked much of the interest in the pendulum theory... the policies of José López Portillo can also be viewed as the result of his having perceived the need to restore a political balance by appealing to the groups alienated by Echeverría... The contrasts between the populist Echeverría and the conservative López Portillo appear especially vivid.” Echeverría is coded as leftist. Richmond (1988: 165) writes, “Lopez Portillo’s presidency was essentially pro-business administration.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.603) in 1976 and “Center-left” (-0.526) in 1979.

Years: 1982-1987

Head of Government: Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies De la Madrid’s party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). However, Manzano (2017) codes de la Madrid as leftist. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRI as center-right from 1980 to 2003. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, “A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Center” (0.521) in 1982 and “Center-right” (0.913) in 1985. In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in PRI in 1982 and “negligible visible disagreement” in PRI in 1985.

Years: 1988-1993

Head of Government: Carlos Salinas de Gortari

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Salinas de Gortari's party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). However, Manzano (2017) codes Salinas de Gortari as leftist. *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Lentz (1994: 552) writes, "Salinas was instrumental in developing President de la Madrid's economic austerity program after taking office." Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRI as center-right from 1980 to 2003. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, "A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of 'social justice'), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology." In *V-Party* (2020), 11 experts identify PRI's ideology as "Center-right" (1.017) in 1988 and "Center-right" (0.923) in 1991.

Years: 1994-1999

Head of Government: Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Zedillo's party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). However, Manzano (2017) codes Zedillo as leftist. *Political Handbook of the World* (2005-2006) describes Zedillo as "another Salinas loyalist but regarded as more conservative than Colosio," referring to Luis Donaldo Colosio Murrieta. *Perspective monde* (2019) and *World Statesmen* (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PRI as center-right from 1980 to 2003. Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, "A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the

postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of ‘social justice’), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology.” In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.829) in 1994 and 1997.

Years: 2000-2005

Head of Government: Vicente Fox Quesada

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Fox’s party as Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Political Handbook of the World (2005-2006) describes Fox as “of the right-wing Alliance for Change (PAN in coalition with a number of smaller parties.” Political Handbook also refers to PAN as rightist. Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PAN and identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) also corroborates party affiliation as PAN and identifies the party as rightist, “conservative”. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PAN as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI’s ideology as “Right” (2.213) in 2000 and 2003.

Years: 2006-2011

Head of Government: Felipe de Jesús Calderón Hinojosa

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies Calderón’s party as Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Political Handbook of the World (2015) corroborates party affiliation and describes the PAN as rightist. Political Handbook further identifies Calderón as “a member of the party’s conservative wing.” Perspective monde (2019) corroborates party affiliation as PAN and identifies the party as center-right. World Statesmen (2019) also corroborates party affiliation as PAN and identifies the party as rightist, “conservative”. Huber and Stephens (2016: 17) identify PAN as center-right. In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PAN’s ideology as “Right” (1.996) in 2006 and “Right” (1.853) in 2009.

Years: 2012-2017

Head of Government: Enrique Peña Nieto

Ideology: rightist

Description: HoG identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2015) identifies Peña Nieto's party as Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) (2015: 950). DPI identifies PRI's ideology as centrist. Huber and Stephens (2016) do not identify party ideology. Perspective monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) corroborate party affiliation as PRI and identify the party as centrist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 28 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Coalición PRI-PVEM as 6.5. PRI is a member of the Socialist International. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2000: 109) identifies PRI as "centrist/corporatist." Rodriguez and Ward (1994: 171) write, "A third characteristic of the PRI which distinguishes it from the government is in the realm of ideology formation. Ordinarily one would expect this to be an important attribute of a political party, but in Mexico, for the PRI at least, this is not the case. The party does not have a clearly defined ideology beyond the broadest of brush strokes representing various elements of the postrevolutionary constitution (e.g., the revolutionary ideal of 'social justice'), which allows different thrusts (even reversals) of macroeconomic and social policy to be pursued at different times—sometimes back-to-back from one presidential administration to the next... In fact one of the reasons why the Mexican political system has proven so stable is precisely because of the flexibility and pragmatism that each new administration has been accorded. Many analysts have commented how successive governments shift from right to center to left and back again (a swing of the pendulum), which would be difficult, nay impossible, given a firm party ideology." Lansford (2015) describes a centrist agenda for Peña Nieto, writing that he "announced an ambitious reform agenda consisting of five broad "pillars": reducing violence, combating poverty, boosting economic growth, reforming education, and fostering social responsibility", and adding that "In October 2010 the PRI put forth its own labor reform proposal in direct counterpoint to the measures proposed by the [PAN] labor secretary, which were viewed as hostile to workers". The BBC writes, "His opponents accuse Mr Pena Nieto of being a man without ideology, who jumps on whatever bandwagon suits him and his party at the time." Reuters writes, "Beyond pledging his allegiance to the amorphous ideology of the PRI, Pena Nieto has dropped few hints about who inspired his vision of government. One man he has named is Adolfo Lopez Mateos, the last president to hail from the State of Mexico," then describing Lopez Mateos as "a charismatic, left-leaning politician who redistributed land to peasants." Encyclopedia Britannica describes the succeeding presidential election leading to "a dramatic turn leftward" in Mexican political life, "as López Obrador swept to a landslide victory, winning 31 of 32 states to form the first left-leaning government in the history of Mexican democracy." In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify PRI's ideology as "Center-right" (1.023) in 2012 and

2015. In V-Party (2020), 11 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in PRI in 2012 and 2015.

Years: 2018-2020

Head of Government: Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador

Ideology: leftist

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Political Handbook of the World (2015) identifies López Obrador’s party as Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) in 2012; however, “On September 9, 2012, López Obrador announced that he was leaving the PRD to form a new political movement.” Political Handbook also identifies López Obrador as leftist, writing, “Ultimately, López Obrador, 59, won the bid as the candidate of the left” in 2010. Political Handbook and Huber and Stephens (2016: 16) identify PRD as leftist. Perspective Monde (2021) and World Statesmen (2021) identify López Obrador’s party as Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (MORENA) and identify the party as leftist. Encyclopedia Britannica describes his election as “a dramatic turn leftward” in Mexican political life, “as López Obrador swept to a landslide victory, winning 31 of 32 states to form the first left-leaning government in the history of Mexican democracy.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 28 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of MORENA as 2.7. In V-Party (2020), 12 experts identify MORENA’s ideology as “Left” (-1.699) in 2018. Funke et al. (2020: 126) identify Lopez Obrador as a “left-wing populist.” DPI identifies MORENA’s ideology as leftist.

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