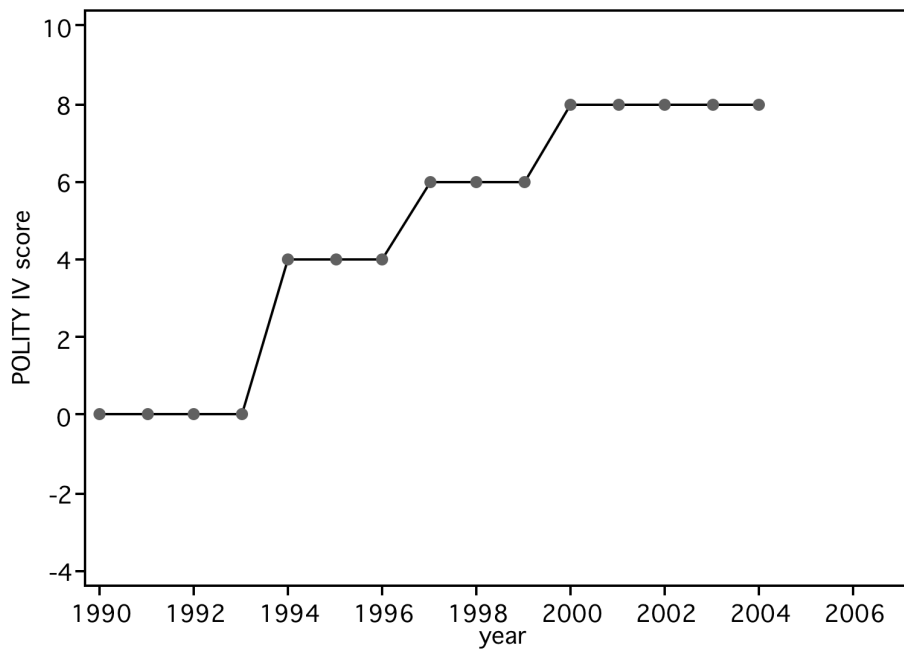


negotiations between the PRI and opposition parties.²⁷ The gradual increase in democratic openness that occurred during the 1990s as a result of these reforms is illustrated in Figure 3.8, which displays the progression of Mexico's score on the Polity IV democracy measure.

Figure 3.8: Mexico's Score on the Polity IV Democracy Measure



Note: Data have been obtained from the Polity IV dataset (Marshall & Jagers 2005), with higher scores indicating more democracy.

Democratization has eroded centralized control over governors. Until recently, “direct intervention by the president was an ever-present possibility that served to preemptively discipline potential ‘troublemakers’ . . . There was a credible threat that any breach of discipline would be severely and summarily punished,

²⁷While control over elections has become more pluralist, electoral processes are still not immune to partisan interference. Instead, the IFE provides a mechanism of power-sharing between major political parties seeking to maintain influence over issues that directly affect them (Estévez et al. 2008).

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