

## **Abstencionismo y derechos humanos en el estado de Hidalgo, variables con una correlación negativa innegable**

*Abstention and human rights in the state of Hidalgo,  
variables with an undeniable negative correlation*

*Abstencionismo e direitos humanos no estado de Hidalgo, variáveis com uma  
correlação negativa inegável*

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### **Resumen**

El objetivo de esta investigación fue conocer y reflexionar en torno a la participación política electoral de los hidalguenses y entender su implicación en las urnas, así como el abstencionismo. Para ello, hubo que discutir algunos conceptos y conocer el comportamiento histórico reciente en la entidad en estudio, así como algunas características socioeconómicas generales que permitieron entender el objeto de estudio. Las fuentes de datos utilizadas en este trabajo fueron los archivos históricos recientes del Instituto Estatal Electoral de Hidalgo (IEEH) y del Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE), aunque la materia prima más importante de la presente investigación fue una encuesta representativa a nivel estatal titulada “Percepciones políticas en el estado de Hidalgo, 2016”. Esta encuesta es representativa para toda la entidad, al tener un grado de confianza de 95%, con un error de estimación de 5% y una no respuesta de 25%. La muestra de población seleccionada fue representativa estadísticamente para cada submuestra, lo mismo que las tres muestras en conjunto permitieron un resultado global para todo el estado de Hidalgo. Se

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tomaron en cuenta criterios sobre alfabetización, estado civil, derechohabiencia, empleo, sexo, entre otras variables. Un hallazgo importante sugirió que la participación política, en específico la emisión del sufragio en el estado de Hidalgo, tiene una relación estrecha e inversa con el goce de los derechos humanos; además de que es muy acorde a la hipótesis que guió este proyecto y que plantea que los residentes de las zonas urbanas del estado de Hidalgo presentan un alejamiento hacia la esfera política. Por otro lado, los residentes de las zonas rurales, aunque también tienen un rechazo de la esfera política, presentaron una mayor participación y mayor votación en los procesos electorales. Esto demostró que los municipios de mayor actividad electoral, contradictoriamente a lo que se pudiera pensar, se encuentran en las zonas de mayor marginación del estado de Hidalgo. Por ende, presentan los niveles más bajos en educación, en ingresos, en bienestar, además de tener indicadores altos de necesidades alimentarias no cubiertas e, incluso, un índice de desarrollo humano bajo. Por ello, es importante analizar el abstencionismo, así como la participación política, ambos fenómenos complementarios y pertenecientes a lo que algunos estudiosos han referido como la cultura política.

**Palabras clave:** democracia, derechos humanos, participación política, sufragio.

### **Abstract**

The objective of this research was to know and reflect on the electoral political participation of the state of Hidalgo and understand their implication in the polls, as well as abstention. For that, some concepts had to be discussed and the recent historical behavior in the entity under study to be known, as well as some general socioeconomic characteristics that allowed to understand the object of study. The sources of data used in this work were the recent historical archives of both the State of Hidalgo Electoral Institute (IEEH) and the National Electoral Institute (INE), although the most important raw material of the present investigation was a representative survey at the state level entitled "Political perceptions in the State of Hidalgo, 2016". This survey is representative for the entire entity with a confidence level of 95 %, with an estimation error of 5% and a non-response of 25%. The selected population sample was statistically representative for each subsample, as well as the three samples together allowed to a global result for the entire

state of Hidalgo. Criteria on literacy, marital status, right-holders, employment, sex, among other variables, were considered. An important finding suggested that political participation, specifically the issue of suffrage in the state of Hidalgo, had a close and inverse relationship with the enjoyment of human rights. In addition, it was very consistent with the hypothesis that guided this project and that states that the residents of the urban areas of the state of Hidalgo, present a distance to the political sphere. Meanwhile, the residents of rural areas, although they also have a rejection of the political sphere, had a greater participation and greater voting in the electoral processes. This data shows that the municipalities with the highest electoral activity, contradictory to what one might think, are located in the areas of greatest marginalization in the state of Hidalgo. Thus, they presented the lowest levels in education, in income, in well-being, besides having high indicators of unmet food needs, and even a low human development index. Therefore, it is important to analyze abstention as well as political participation, complementary phenomena and both belonging to what some scholars have referred to as the political culture.

**Keywords:** democracy, human rights, political participation, suffrage.

## Resumo

O objetivo desta pesquisa foi conhecer e refletir sobre a participação política eleitoral do Hidalgo e entender seu envolvimento nas pesquisas, bem como a abstenção. Para isso, alguns conceitos tiveram que ser discutidos e o comportamento histórico recente na entidade em estudo para ser conhecido, bem como algumas características socioeconômicas gerais que permitiram entender o objeto de estudo. As fontes de dados utilizadas neste trabalho foram os arquivos históricos recentes do Instituto Eleitoral Estadual de Hidalgo (IEEH) e do Instituto Nacional Eleitoral (INE), embora a matéria-prima mais importante da presente investigação tenha sido uma pesquisa representativa no nível estadual intitulada " Percepções políticas no estado de Hidalgo, 2016 ". Esta pesquisa é representativa para toda a entidade, com um nível de confiança de 95%, com um erro de estimativa de 5% e uma falta de resposta de 25%. A amostra da população selecionada foi estatisticamente representativa para cada subconjunto, assim como as três amostras juntas permitiram um resultado global para todo o estado de Hidalgo. Foram tidos em conta os critérios de alfabetização, estado civil, direito de propriedade, emprego, sexo, entre outras variáveis. Um

achado importante sugeriu que a participação política, especificamente a emissão de sufrágio no estado de Hidalgo, mantém uma relação íntima e inversa com o gozo dos direitos humanos; Além disso, é muito consistente com a hipótese que guiou este projeto e que afirma que os moradores das áreas urbanas do estado de Hidalgo se distanciam da esfera política. Por outro lado, os moradores das áreas rurais, apesar de terem também uma rejeição da esfera política, apresentaram maior participação e maior votação nos processos eleitorais. Isso mostrou que os municípios com maior atividade eleitoral, em contradição com o que se poderia pensar, estão localizados nas áreas de maior marginalização no estado de Hidalgo. Portanto, eles apresentam os níveis mais baixos na educação, na renda, no bem-estar, além de ter altos indicadores de necessidades alimentares não satisfeitas e, mesmo, um baixo índice de desenvolvimento humano. Portanto, é importante analisar a abstenção, bem como a participação política, tanto fenômenos complementares como pertencentes ao que alguns estudiosos se referiram como cultura política.

**Palavras-chave:** democracia, direitos humanos, participação política, sufrágio.

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## Introduction

This work started from the hypothesis that states that the residents of the state of Hidalgo, according to the data of the last 20 years, present a distance not only to the polls, but also to the political sphere and to do and get involved in politics. However, there is an interesting behavior: they pay more in accordance with lower human rights, that is, less access to education, housing, employment and social security, among other items. Following Jiménez's vision, the human rights approach that conceives the generations of rights as a historical process of broadening the legal content of human dignity, requires the overlapping and interdependence of one and the other to guarantee the protected legal right, which It is the subject. In this way, the rights of second and third generation are now conceived as the guarantee that allows the full exercise of first generation rights, because they create the minimum necessary material conditions such as

education, health, work and social security. , among others, so that civil and political rights can be exercised, among which political participation is found (Jiménez, 2007). In other words, how can there be democracy and participation if the population is hungry, has low school levels, has no jobs, and their homes are marginal, among other things? It is impossible to think that first generation political rights will be fulfilled if they are not leveraged by second and third generation human rights.

This proposal by Jiménez is very coherent and is the prelude to what Abramovich has stated, who affirms that civil and political rights have instrumental relevance because they help to avoid social or political processes that can lead to situations of poverty. Thus, freedom of expression and the rights linked to the functioning of representative democracies, with regular and clean elections, limit the possibilities for society to tolerate situations of extreme poverty without demanding responses from the government or activating mechanisms to make social or politics responsibility effective (Abramovich, 2007).

Crespo affirms that abstention is associated to the urban sectors in which the same urbanization, education levels, health and higher incomes, among other variables, allow the citizens to have a greater awareness and criticism of the acts that are they perform at a political level, so the manipulation of the vote, its coercion or purchase is lower than in rural regions, where there is less enjoyment of human rights (Crespo, 2005). While we must not lose sight of the fact that Crespo's proposal can be related to what Bobbio proposes, who affirms that abstentionism is by no means a symptom of a democratic system's crisis, as is usually observed, on the contrary, it can be a sign of perfect health (Bobbio, 2001). In this sense, apathy becomes a way of expressing dissatisfaction with the political system, as long as it is expressed. In addition, one can be dissatisfied and abstain, but without expressing the reasons, that is, a passive abstention occurs, in which the apathy towards political-electoral issues begins to be more than a seasonal problem. It becomes a permanent condition in a large number of voters (Bobbio, 2001) and then becomes a silent protest.

Even Fernandez Poncela points out that a good number of voters abstain from voting motivated by political reasons, rather than by a general political disinterest. In this sense, the aforementioned author argues that, in case of disinterest on the part of the voter, does not indicate

apathy, on the contrary, this should be interpreted as a derivation of the generalized satiety towards the performance of politicians in our society (Fernández Poncela, 2009).

### **State and human rights**

The concept of "State" that is currently used has divergent historical-cultural connotations. For Hauriou, the state exists until a people becomes a nation when the political power of ownership has been separated from private property, when it has come to look like a public authority and factually operated a separation between public life and the private life (Hauriou, 2016). In that sense, the State is the conjunction of a politically organized society in a specific place and time, through an order of coexistence with a sovereign, unique and exclusive power. The State is a historical entity that has evolved to form a political-legal reality, and is the result of a long and uninterrupted process, specifically initiated in the West and copied by other countries known as Western. Therefore, the name of the State conceptualizes a specific situation of the political organization, through a legal categorization in which there are governors and governed, voters and voted, and, above all, it demands an order of participation on the part of its population (Hauriou, 2016).

Jellinek refers that the State, in its most concrete sense, is not a material substantive entity or a natural formation; It exists alongside man, it is a relationship of wills of a group of individuals that is established specifically between individuals in which some command and others obey. It also warns that the human relations that give consistency to the State are of great complexity, level, intensity and duration, hence the need to organize that social warp until having social action units that allow state events (Jellinek, 2012).

The emergence of social, economic and cultural rights, the discussion of political and environmental rights, constitute a milestone in the way to interrelate and recognize basic elements that should be given to the population, translated as human rights. These represent an advance in the form of interaction between the subjects and the structures of the various levels of government, as well as between citizens and foreign entities. Therefore, it is a set of conditions that lead to a better way of life and interrelation of the populations, but they are the product of

historical social struggles, but with a common idea and purpose: the welfare of the population without any distinction<sup>2</sup>, regardless of race, sex, sexual preference, religion or skin color, among many other differentiating aspects.

At the international level, it has been agreed that the emergence of human rights, as they are conceived today, date from the eighteenth century, so two major events that marked the beginning of human rights in the modern era should be considered. : a) The American Independence, with the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 and the Declaration of Independence of the United States of the same year, and b) The French Revolution, which culminated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of the 26th August 1789 (Rodríguez Gaona, 2013).

These two events and their corresponding declarations of rights were a milestone, especially in the French Declaration, in which a new legal and social discourse appeared, as well as words such as "law", "rights", "freedom", "power" emerged "And" citizen ", which have a meaning of rupture with respect to everything represented by the Old Regime. The evolution of human rights has been outlined in different ways. Vasak coined the notion of generations of rights affirming that there exist diverse classes of human rights, originated in successive periods of time, and that each of them has, that differentiate them from the other generations (Vasak, 1997). Civil and political rights, because they were the first to be recognized by declarations and constitutions, would be first generation rights, while economic, social and cultural rights would become second generation rights. To the previous ones, others have been added that would come to constitute a third generation of rights and that would be the so-called rights of solidarity, among which would be: the right to a healthy environment, the right to peace, the right to development , the right to private property and the common heritage of humanity (Vasak, 1997).

About these rights of solidarity there is a proposal from Vasak, who has prepared a blueprint for a third international pact that protects the rights of third generation, codifying those who would have reached a sufficient level of maturity. It even speaks of the rights of a fourth generation in reference to the rights related to technological progress that affect issues related to bioethics, such as abortion, euthanasia and genetic treatments. The first generation included civil

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<sup>2</sup> Sin embargo, en ocasiones hay una diferencia entre la intención del legislador y el constructo cultural que permea las conductas de los gobernados.

and political rights. These rights were the first to be legally recognized at the end of the 18th century, in the Independence of the United States and in the French Revolution. These were rights that sought to guarantee the freedom of the people, and their main function consisted in limiting the intervention of power in the private life of citizens, as well as guaranteeing the participation of all in public affairs. The most important civil rights are: the right to life, to ideological and religious freedom, to free expression and to property. Some fundamental political rights are: the right to vote, to strike and to associate freely to form a political party or a union.

The second generation includes economic, social and cultural rights. These were incorporated little by little into the legislation at the end of the 19th century and during the 20th century. They tried to promote real equality between people, offering everyone the same opportunities for the development of a decent life. Its function was to promote State action to guarantee everyone's access to adequate living conditions. Some rights of second generation are: the right to education, the right to health, the right to work, the right to decent housing.

The third generation has been incorporated into the laws at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century and aims to promote solidarity among peoples and people throughout the world. Its function is to promote peaceful and constructive relations that allow facing the new challenges that humanity faces. The third generation rights include the following: the right to peace, development and a clean environment that everyone can enjoy.

However, the right to suffrage, to freely choose the government in turn, to follow its own actions or to be able to sanction acts, has as its axis the purpose of achieving the common good that, otherwise, is unthinkable to achieve. This vision transcends human rights and becomes a spearhead in favor of society. Therefore, under this logic, participating or not doing so validates the object of this investigation. It is a way of saying what one thinks, but electoral political participation becomes an exercise of doing or not doing.



### **International Law and the strengthening of human rights**

After the end of World War II, one of the great concerns of governments was to universally consecrate rights for all people. The newly created United Nations (UN) was the stage where they discussed which rights should be recognized, as well as what the protection mechanisms would be and the related aspects for their implementation (Cassese, 1993).

In the debate, very harsh among the representatives of the States, the western countries had as their main objective to protect all the legal rights that had been most affected in the war, such as life, physical integrity and freedom of expression: in general, all civil and political rights. This approach was consistent with the legal tradition of European countries such as England and France, as well as the United States (Cassese, 1993).

These transformations of the State and of the law, which took place during the last half of the 20th century and as a result of the two world wars, caused public policies to have a very important intervening function: to provide the population with education, housing, health and employment, among other elements, in order to have a good life and with it, one could comply with exercising the human rights established in the constitutions. Jiménez emphasizes this legal mentality that responds to a deeply statist, rational and formal model (Jiménez, 2007). This approach to human rights towards public policies must be understood as a new perspective to conceive and design human development within the framework of a process of concertation between the State and civil society. It is the core part and constitutes the incorporation into the socio-legal doctrine, and the step to the concatenation and leverage of some rights with others, in such a way that, if there is an injury to one, it affects others; or, if they are violated, one affects to fulfill another right (Jiménez, 2007). This new vision breaks with the traditional way of conceiving human rights, that is, the three generations referred to by Vasak previously. For his part, Jimenez raises human rights in the lowest part of society and the triangle, conforming as the basis of social construction for society itself to work (Jiménez, 2007).

Abramovich says that this new approach to rights in development policies and strategies underpins international law on human rights and is configured as a conceptual framework - accepted by the international community, capable of guiding the process of formulating, implementing and evaluating policies in the field of development and a guide for international

cooperation and assistance - regarding the obligations of donor and recipient governments, the scope of social participation and the mechanisms of control and accountability - that are needed locally and internationally ( Abramovich and Courtis, 2006).

Under that logic, it is impossible to have democracy if there is hunger, if there is no schooling or is meager, if there is no employment, if there is no health or if housing is an ejido redoubt, among many other things. This does not mean that it does not work, but it does show that it is easy for governments to intervene in the handling of the vote because there are basic needs that have not been resolved, and that undoubtedly makes people with those needs manipulated to "sell" or "support" certain ideas or candidates that, in other circumstances, they would not support.

The central idea is that the scope and goals of the public exercise are focused on guaranteeing human dignity and obtaining more effective results regarding the attention of the problems of the public agenda. In addition, the States must comply with the commitments acquired from the acceptance of instruments that, subsequently, constitute international standards in the field of human rights.

Jiménez, returning to Güendel, says that the positivity of human rights has opened institutional spaces that allow social subjects to become subjects of law, giving instruments for their enforceability and consequent validity. For this reason, legal frameworks are recognized as instruments that can be effective in reversing real inequality. Therefore, the law is seen as a mechanism of social integration that encourages the establishment of rules of legal coexistence subject to free argumentation and argumentation, thus contributing to the development and internalization of a democratic culture (Jiménez, 2007). Therefore, Jiménez points out that this process has generated three consequences:

- Assume that the social subject is a self-reflective actor who must submit to permanent criticism the relationship with the other, as well as their participation in all social spaces.
- Recognize that the subject is the result of a permanent process of construction of social and personal identity, conditioned by life cycles.
- The growing institutionalization of social practices implies that social movements, due to their demands, may end up incorporating human rights. At the same time, the traditional

ways of doing politics are rethought, given that these groups must act within the formal institutional framework and deploy viable strategies for reconfiguring the process of social integration. The human rights approach requires an active subject and a new citizenry that understands the cultural, political and social dimensions for the construction of participatory, inclusive and stable democracies (Jiménez, 2007).

This position defeats the classic of how to see human rights, opposed to their demand for application. These ideas of not granting human rights range from one extreme, which are simple descriptive approaches and refer to the good intention of governments, to the other, which are not required because they are linked to the economic power of a State. These positions can be explained in a brief way.

### **Social rights do not protect fundamental interests**

Some of the positions contrary to the presence in the constitutions of social rights manifest openly that these would not be essential for the free development of the personality, and that they would constitute lower value or second category rights. This idea has been defended from various currents belonging to liberalism. Among the neoliberals, the most representative exponent of this idea is Hayek, who has argued that social rights are only aspirations and that invoking them as real rights degrades the content of this concept (Hayek, 1994). On the side of a liberalism that could be defined as "progressive", is Rawls, who has argued that basic freedoms, assimilated to civil and political rights, are essential for human beings while economic, social and cultural rights are not they are essential for democracy. Therefore, social rights should not be included in the constitutional texts, being the place of free political debate (Rawls, 2014). This same idea is what has led some constitutionalists to observe social rights as non-fundamental and that denomination be granted only to civil and political rights (Peces-Barba, 2015a).

### **Social rights affect the pluralist nature of the constitution**

In this part is Rawls, who considers that economic, social and cultural rights demand the need to choose between different political visions in greater measure than what happens with civil and political rights (Rawls, 2014). Rosenkrantz considers that there are different conceptions of the good in terms of distributive justice and none of them has proved to be the correct in an incontrovertible way. For this reason, the consecration of social rights would affect the free democratic game and the pluralist nature of constitutional texts (Rosenkrantz 2003). He adds that the situation with civil and political rights is different, since, with respect to them, there would be a broad consensus that their violations should be avoided and the State must play a role in their protection. In this context, the recognition of constitutional social rights would even seriously affect the integration in society of groups that have a conception of social and economic order completely different from that constitutionally crystallized (Rosenkrantz 2003).

### **Social rights are not absolute and are opposed to civil and political rights**

For some authors, the incorporation of economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) to the notion of human rights has weakened the traditional features of human rights themselves and, in particular, their absolute nature. This affirmation is based on the fact that ESC rights are rights that can be displaced by other moral considerations because they do not have the characteristic of fundamentality. To this is added the one described by Hayek, who affirms that these new rights would imply important limitations and would be opposed, constituting a real danger for individual liberties (Hayek, 1994). Habermas is also in this position, since, in his opinion, the constitutional recognition of social rights would harm the realization of individual liberties and participation rights (Habermas, 2001). Fishes-Barba, with a classical stance, affirms among its various criticisms of the constitutional recognition of social rights, that although these rights are not incompatible with classical civil rights, it is inevitable that the consecration in the constitutional texts of the former will be translated in the relativization of the seconds (Peces-Barba, 2015b).

## **Social rights greatly affect the character of fundamental law and normativity of constitutional texts**

The two previous arguments have led to the most radical criticism of the recognition of constitutional social rights; its incorporation into the constitutional text would harm its quality as a fundamental law and deteriorate its character as a binding and directly applicable legal norm. In fact, it seems to be a logical conclusion that economic, social and cultural rights are not fundamental, since they represent lesser interests and are not absolute because they could be displaced by other factors. Therefore, its inclusion in a constitution is not relevant, an approach that is clearly without logical or legally acceptable arguments. But, on other occasions, it has been said that social rights should not be institutionalized because they are not justiciable. Among his arguments is that of Rosenkrantz, who affirms that these are rights that, if included in the constitutional texts, would remain as unfulfilled promises, since they do not have the quality of being coercible rights (Rosenkrantz, 2003).

Their position defends that they are equally important for the realization of the ideal of political liberalism: the existence of a just society among equals. However, it emphasizes that these are non-enforceable rights. Rosenkrantz ends up concluding that his constitutional consecration undermines the direct applicability of the entire block of fundamental rights, for which the development of relevant assets such as education, health or housing must remain resident in politics and legislation and be incorporated into the texts. constitutional rights (Rosenkrantz, 2003).

This approach concludes that the inclusion of rights that, by their very nature, can not be jurisdictionally enforced would call into question modern constitutionalism, because of what it does to the principle of constitutional supremacy.

It is noteworthy that, for Jiménez, the new development and public policies can be understood in a general way as the full unfolding of the potentialities inherent to the nature of being, where the concretion or material realization of capacities, talents and virtues of the people at the social level, and that implies the improvement of the conditions and quality of life (Jiménez, 2007). Jiménez, taking up Amartya Sen, affirms that development is a process of expansion of the real freedoms that individuals can enjoy. Freedom refers here to individual

capacities to do what a person has reasons to value (Sen, as quoted in Jiménez, 2007). The foregoing leads to the conclusion that for human development to occur, each person is required to be able to fully exercise their freedoms and rights, both constitutive of the development process. Therefore, it proposes a vision of human rights with one of multidimensional integrality: economic, political, social and legal. (Jiménez, 2007).

### **Abstentionism**

Lato sensu participation and electoral participation is, for some thinkers, the essential element of democracy. You can not talk about the existence of democracy if there is no participation; Democracy, under its acceptance of the power of the people, is the form of government that invites citizens to participate in the decisions that are within the common environment. Bobbio says that a democratic system is understood as a set of procedural rules, where the most important is the majority rule (Bobbio, 2001). It is not the only one, since within those procedural rules are also others, such as the equality of the right to participate without distinction of sex or social status that the individual keeps, so, rightly, Bobbio called the current era the It was of democracy, because a considerable number of countries are conducted under democratic systems seeking to follow these principles.

To speak of abstention, it is necessary to refer to its counterpart: participation. However, here there is a confusion according to Nohlen, who affirms that a distinction must be made between electoral participation and political participation. The first constitutes a partial aspect of the many dimensions of political participation; the last one is more comprehensive and complex. It should be noted that it is common to observe that it is used in an inverse manner, causing confusion (Nohlen, 2004).

For Nohlen, one should not underestimate the key role of participation in elections within the democratic system. Political participation has been extended to new forms, to citizen actions whose democratic value is increasing. This includes not only conventional participation derived from that offered by institutional structures, but also non-conventional participation, which is exercised outside established political institutions, and which is a new form of participation but which, on occasion, it is not measured or studied because it is considered outside the schemes

established by the State (Nohlen, 2004). Undoubtedly, the analysis of political participation is very broad; it is necessary to elucidate the home, the work space, the school, the neighborhoods or neighborhoods where it is inhabited, the bar and the places of recreation, even where politics is discussed and politics can be done.

However, electoral participation continues to be very important for several reasons, since it is the act publicly demonstrated by the citizen to express his electoral preferences. Although there are other authors who say that this is not necessarily the case; abstentionism can be a way of expressing disagreements (Nohlen, 2004).

Abstentionism refers to the non-participation in something to which one is entitled (Reniu, 2004). However, within the present investigation it is interesting, in addition to the definition, to seek explanations of the reason for this phenomenon in the state of Hidalgo. It is very important to start with the definition of Sartori, who says that the best way to know what democracy is is to initially define everything that is not democracy (Sartori, 2003). For Sartori, the question etymologically is simple answer: democracy is the power of the people. But Sartori says that, if you try to unravel what is embodied, the issue instantly becomes a considerable difficulty. Therefore, his initial response is that we must know what democracy is. Otherwise, you can not understand, because you have to clarify democracy, what it is, what are its values, pillars and foundations (Sartori, 2003).

Within the present study, abstentionism is of interest in the political arena, where abstention is centered on the absence of participation not only from the political sphere, but also from the polls. Abstentionism, for De las Heras, is the result that appears after an electoral process, and is simply the difference between the total votes cast and the nominal list (De las Heras, 2006).

For Crespo, abstention is associated with urban sectors in which levels of schooling, health and higher incomes, among other factors, allow citizens to have a greater awareness and criticism of the acts that are carried out at the political level, so the manipulation of the vote, its coercion or purchase is lower than in rural regions (Crespo, 2005).

Peschard considers that abstentionism is an indicator of depoliticization, of insufficient political integration, which arises as a consequence of a weak social insertion (Peschard, 2010).

For Alonso Sánchez, there is an identification or series of reasons for which abstentionism can be observed, among which he enumerates: the faults in the elector's credential, distance from the corresponding box, labor impediment, that there is a rejection of the candidates and campaigns, repudiation of marketing, distrust of bad government, disappointment in governments, the futility of voting, voting as active rejection and annulled vote as antisystemic expression. For these reasons, when one speaks of abstention, the author refers that the subject is complex and difficult to answer (Alonso Sánchez, 2005).

In a study carried out by the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), six factors that account for electoral abstention in Mexico are outlined: 1) The high cost of elections; 2) The lack of meaning and effectiveness of the political class; 3) The insurmountable distance between the campaign proposals and the demands of the citizenship; 4) Poor identification of citizens with political parties; 5) The type of authority that is chosen; and 6) The proliferation of campaigns focused on disqualifications (IFE, 2010).<sup>3</sup>

Under this perspective, any regime that claims to be truly democratic should have electoral participation as its main concern (IFE, 2010), since its counterpart - abstention - can ultimately insert the system into a crisis of representativeness that, at its Once, it can lead to a vacuum of legitimacy of democratic institutions and mechanisms.

However, abstentionism has not been seen frequently with the interrelation of human rights that Jimenez refers to, in which strengthening one of those fundamental rights underpins others, as mentioned above.

### **Abstentionism in Mexico**

The studies of abstentionism in Mexico show different positions and criteria. Generally, the consensus is that it is a multicausal or multifactorial phenomenon. There has been an interest, mainly, in sociological studies, accompanied by the interest of taking more voters to the polls as synonymous with democracy. Segovia analyzed the federal elections of 1982 and found a

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<sup>3</sup> Muchos de los indicadores referidos dentro de este trabajo por el IFE, se validan dentro de la publicación realizada por el Centro de Estudios Sociales y de Opinión Pública (Cesop) (2012). *Abstencionismo y cultura política en México*.



considerable social backwardness, affirming that the only way to be able to legitimize the system is that the abstention rate can be eliminated. Although to a certain extent he gave an answer to it saying that, having seven million illiterates, it was a difficult task to carry out (Segovia, 1996).

In the last two local elections to elect governors in Mexico, there has been considerable variability in the percentage of abstention. The average of abstention in the 32 entities decreased between the last one (43.61%) and the previous election (44.72%); the number of entities that decreased their electoral absence in the last elections was greater (18), but almost half (14) increased it. Baja California, Chihuahua, Quintana Roo, Tamaulipas, Durango, State of Mexico and Hidalgo stand out, with the highest levels of abstention, above 50%, very different and opposite compared to Mexico City, Chiapas, Tabasco and Yucatan with levels below 35% (Cárdenas and Carrasco, 2015). By simultaneously electing the president of the Republic, governor, local councils and deputies, the information expenses increase and the campaigns intensify, for which the citizens are more informed and everything seems to indicate that they would be more interested in participating in the elections (Cárdenas and Carrasco, 2015). In the last elections of 2015, Baja California was the state with the highest abstention rate, with a percentage of more than 70% absent from the polls. The national list that shows citizens who can vote was 77 913 406 Mexicans. In the elections of federal deputies, 36 623 125 voters participated, that is 47% of the total according to the Preliminary Electoral Results Program (PREP) of the National Electoral Institute (INE).

This left 53% of abstention in Mexico for 2015, with the states with the highest abstention being Baja California (70.4%), Chihuahua (67.8%), Aguascalientes (63.6%), Chiapas (71.1%), and Tlaxcala (60.9%), among others. Abstentionism is still present in the Mexican capital, where, in the election of constituents, only 28% participated, giving an abstention rate of 72%.

### **The state of Hidalgo: its participation and electoral abstention**

In the state of Hidalgo, in 1999 elections were held to elect municipal presidents. At that time, the nominal list registered was 1 074 439 voters, of which there were 573 395 votes in total. This amount represented 53.37% of participation and, therefore, an abstention of 46.63%. For that year, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) reached 74 municipal presidencies, representing

88.1%, followed by the Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) with seven mayoralties (8.3%). The National Action Party (PAN) obtained only two of them, accounting for 2.4% of the state aggregate, while the Labor Party (PT) won a municipal presidency, computing 1.2% of the entity's total.

In that election, 59.5% of abstentionism was presented in the state, as District XV -with head in Molango (43.5%) -, followed by Local District number XVII -based in Jacala (44.4%) - and District IX -based in San Agustín (47.3%) - those who had less participation.

The state electoral districts with the highest abstention rate in that election were District XIV - with headquarters in Actopan, reaching 72.2% -, followed by District XII - located in Tizayuca, with 70.7% - and District V - located in Tepeji, with 68.4% % of absenteeism to the polls. A fact that is worth mentioning is that 6.3% of the votes cast at the state level, were considered null, for not knowing how to adequately pay. In the elections of local deputies of 1996 all the seats were won by the PRI.

In 1999, local deputies were also elected. On average, abstention was 48.5%, with differences according to the district. The lowest abstention rate was in the district of Molango and that of Huejutla with 38.3% and 38.6% respectively. The highest abstention rate was 55.2%, registered in the district of Tizayuca.

In those elections to local deputies, the PRI obtained 16 of the 18 deputies. Only the PAN managed to keep two, the first in District II, based in Pachuca Oriente, and the second in District III, based in Tulancingo, Hidalgo. The null votes were 6% with respect to the total votes cast.

In the same year there were also elections for governor. Total abstention was 48.5%. The winner was the PRI with 325 781 votes, followed by the PAN-Green Ecologist Party of Mexico (PVEM) that reached 195,054 votes, and finally the PT-PRD coalition, reaching only 1,293 votes. The null votes reached 4.8%, with respect to the votes cast, that is, one in every twenty voters cast a null vote.

For 2002, there was again election of city councils. Abstention was 46.8% in the entire entity, although again there were differences. It is observed again that the lowest abstentionism is in the

municipalities with the greatest marginalization and the highest abstentionism is found in the municipalities with the greatest welfare.

The PRI obtained 44 of the 84 city halls, reaching 52.4% of the state aggregate. The PAN increased the number of municipal presidencies gained to 23, reaching 27.4%. The PRD won 10 mayorships, placing it in third place with 11.9%. The PRI made an alliance with the PVEM, and both, jointly, won five municipal presidencies, representing 6%. Finally, the PT and the PVEM each reached, independently, a city hall, each representing 1.2%. Finally, again, 5.8% of annulled votes were presented.

That same year, elections for local deputies were held. Again, abstention was reached at the state level of 62.1%, District XI with 70.4%, District III with 71.2%, District IV with 71.2%, District XII with 72.0%, District V with 72.2% and District XIV with 74.7%. of abstentionism that had less presence at the polls. The districts with the least abstentionism were District XVII with 45.3% District XV with 46.2% and District IX with 49.9% abstention. In this election, all the local deputies who won belonged to the PRI.

In 2003, the election of federal deputies was held. In that election, the PRI candidates were the winners in the seven federal electoral districts. Hidalgo remained an abstentionist state. Returning to the local area to the Hidalgo entity, in 2005 were elected again municipal presidents and local deputies. For municipal presidents there was an abstention of 47% and an interesting change in the political arena. Given that the PRI stopped governing in the majority of municipalities of the entity, it won 35 municipal presidencies, 21 were in the PAN, 24 were for the PRD and 1 for the PT.

Regarding the local deputies, the PRI again took hold in each and every one of the 18 districts. In 16 of them he won in alliance with the PVEM and in the IX and X Districts corresponding to Metzquitlán and Tenango de Doria, he won competing without any alliance. In this election, the electoral abstention was 45%, while the null votes were 4.72%.

In that same year, at the federal level, senators, federal deputies and president of the Mexican Republic were elected. As for the election of president, in all the federal districts of the state of

Hidalgo he lost the PRI. In the election of federal deputies, he lost three and retained four, and, as far as senators are concerned, he lost in five of the seven federal electoral districts.

For 2008, the elections for municipal presidents were again presented and there was an intentional process for the PRI, which, in the presidential election, had been reduced. This process of municipal presidents had an abstention rate of 49.1%. The PRI, participating without an alliance, won 16 municipalities and in alliance with the New Alliance Party (Panal) won 37; the PRD, also allied with the Honeycomb, reached 15 seats; the PAN obtained nine mayorships; the PVEM managed to reach five; the PT obtained one, the same as Convergence.

In the election of local deputies of 2008, the PRI, in alliance with the PVEM, obtained the victory in 12 of the 18 municipalities; competing alone, without any alliance, he won in the six remaining local districts, which again gave him a complete victory. In this process, abstention reached 37.4%, decreasing significantly compared to previous elections.

In 2009, federal elections were again presented for the respective change of federal deputies. The abstention rate was 49.3%. Again, the PRI won the victory in the seven federal electoral districts.

In 2010, local deputies and governor of the entity were elected again locally. For this last process, there was an abstention rate of 47.4%, with the PRI winning again. In the election of local deputies the PRI obtained 13 of the 18 local districts; the PAN obtained one; the PRD and the Honeycomb, one each.

In 2011, municipal presidents were elected again in the state and there was a surprising 57.3% abstention. It was observed that the municipalities with greater voting were those that presented a greater marginalization, while the municipalities with better welfare presented a much more marked abstentionism.

The PAN won in eight municipalities; the PRI, participating without any coalition or alliance, reached 33 places; the same party, in alliance with the PVEM and the Panal, won in 11 municipalities; the PRD, without any alliance, won a seat and, in alliance with the PAN, achieved eight municipal presidencies; the PT, without an alliance, won four municipal presidencies and in partnership with Convergencia only one. The parties PVEM, Convergencia and Panal, without any coalition, won five, two and five seats respectively.

In 2012, federal elections were again presented. This year was important for the PRI in the entity, as it won the seven federal electoral districts in the election of deputies. For the election of senators, he only lost a federal district; in the election of President of the Republic, the PRI won mainly; the abstention computed reached 49.1%.

For the year 2013, local deputies were again elected in the entity with an abstention of 39.7% and a complete victory of the PRI, winning in the 18 local electoral districts. By simultaneously electing the president of the Republic, governor, local councils and deputies, the information expenses increased and the campaigns intensified, for which the citizens were more informed and everything seemed to indicate that they would be more interested in participating in the elections (Cárdenas and Carrasco, 2015).

For the year 2015, federal deputies were elected in the state of Hidalgo, with an abstention of 45.4% and a complete victory of the PRI in the seven federal electoral districts. Finally, a year later saw an election concurrence in the Hidalgo entity. As regards the election of town halls, the results were as follows: a municipality was won by an independent candidate, the National Regeneration Movement party (MORENA) won a seat, the PT reached four municipal presidencies, Movimiento Ciudadano got five municipalities, same as the PRI-PVEM-Panal alliance. The PVEM, without any alliance, reached 6 seats; the Social Encounter Party (PES) achieved victory in eight municipalities; the PRD won 15 municipal presidencies; the PAN and the PRI, without alliances, each reached 17 seats; and there were five contested municipalities to be resolved in the courts, which were Mineral del Monte, Singuilucan, Tepeji del Río de Ocampo, Tlahuiltepa and Tolcayuca.

In that same year, concerning the election of local deputies in the district elections of Hidalgo, the PRI obtained an advantage in 11 electoral districts out of a total of 18, for the PAN there were 5, for the PRD one and for the PES also one. Finally, the governorship was won by the PRI and, in general, a 33.9% abstention rate was obtained. Globally, and in retrospect, it is possible to see that, although the level of abstention is true, it varies according to the choice that is addressed. Hidalgo has been characterized by a constant abstention in recent elections.

### **Socioeconomic situation of Hidalgo**

By its extension, Hidalgo is one of the smallest entities in the country, since it represents only 1.07% of the national surface and occupies the 26th place in relation to the other states. The percentage of the state population, with respect to that of the country, did not vary significantly between 2000 and 2015, constituting 2.29% and 2.27% of the national population respectively. In the year 2000, it ranked 17th on a national scale from largest to smallest population, dropped to 18th place and, five years later, went down to 19th place with respect to the other states. In 2010 it reached a percentage of 2.37% and in 2015 2.39% in population. The entity has 84 municipalities, which have important differences in sociodemographic aspects.

The population of the state of Hidalgo has increased in a smaller proportion with respect to the national total, which explains why the entity has decreased its participation in percentage terms. The growth rate of the population was increasing until the 1980s, however, it began to decrease in 1990. This decrease in the total growth rate is partially explained by the strong migratory processes that have characterized the entity. It also explains why the entity has decreased its proportional share with respect to the national aggregate.

The development models followed by Mexico throughout the 20th century have caused problems of inequality with respect to opportunities and satisfaction of needs, and this, in turn, is related to poverty, that is, to the dissatisfaction of needs basic and lack of opportunities for a significant part of the population. Several authors have affirmed that poverty depends less on the degree of development of productive factors than on the extreme concentration of economic factors (Vuskovic, 1993).

For this reason, the concept of marginalized population refers to the population groups that have been deprived of the benefits of the wealth generated by development, although not necessarily regardless of their generation. In this sense, it is affirmed that the marginalized population is the one that has unsatisfied basic needs such as housing, income, education, health and employment among others (Camposortega, 1997).

In the case of Hidalgo, its low level of human development is related to a high level of poverty, as well as the highly rural nature of its population. Although in recent decades the proportion of people living in the urban area has increased, the percentage of rural population is still high

compared to the rest of the country. In 2015, for example, half of its population was rural (47%). In the interior of Hidalgo, it can be seen that most of the households in conditions of poverty are in rural areas. This situation is more accentuated in the case of households that are in level 1, which is considered the most serious because it is food or extreme poverty.

An important difference occurs in the municipalities located in the south of the state, some of which have an incidence of medium or high poverty, with low or very low levels of marginalization. While levels of poverty capture the shortcomings by a monetary method, such as the poverty line, the levels of marginalization measure are the unsatisfied basic needs of the population residing in a municipality.

That is why, in the case of southern municipalities, there are households that, although poor from the point of view of income, do not have as many unmet needs as those observed in other parts of the state.

But apart from this situation, the poverty incidence maps -in all three levels- coincide in the sense that the municipalities with the highest levels of food poverty are also those that show deficiencies if poverty is measured with other criteria.

Broadly speaking, there are three zones that present the highest levels of poverty and marginalization. The first is the northern part of the state, where the municipalities belonging to the Huasteca Hidalguense are located. The second one is to the east of the state, where a small area is located, composed mainly of the Otomí-Tepehua region and to the west the Mezquital Valley, mainly in its upper part.

In the third region, to the south, the main industrial and service activities are located, as well as the largest cities, which present the lowest levels of poverty. By contrast, the areas where poverty has a lower incidence are those in which there is a high percentage of the population that works in the industrial sector or services and in which there are more employed people who work as salaried employees in private companies or in institutions governmental.

## **Objective**

The objective of this research was to know and reflect on the electoral political participation of Hidalgo, understand their participation in the polls, as well as the abstention that is observed on each election day in a historical manner. The sources of data used in this work were the recent historical archives of the State Electoral Institute of Hidalgo (IEEH) and the INE, although the most important raw material of the present investigation was a representative survey at the state level entitled "Political perceptions in the State of Hidalgo, 2016 ", which had a confidence of 95%, an error of 5% and a non-response of 15%, as well as being representative for three sub-samples or sub-surveys. The first of these refers to rural localities (less than 2500 inhabitants), a second that is considered urban (towns of 2500 inhabitants to 79 999 inhabitants) and a third that has been called middle cities, including cities of 80 000 inhabitants and plus.

## **Methodology of research and statistical design of the survey "Electoral-political perceptions in the state of Hidalgo, 2016"**

The population studied was composed of people over 18 years of age living in private homes in the state of Hidalgo. People who live in collective housing were not included. In addition, only people who had valid voter's credentials were interviewed to be able to cast their ballots. The field survey of the pilot test was carried out in the Hidalgo entity, both in urban and rural areas. The number of homes that were visited to apply the survey of the pilot test were 120, of which 50% were urban and the rest rural.

We used a multistage probabilistic sampling design by conglomerates, which forced us to correct the sample by 25% due to non-response. The sampling scheme that was followed was stratified with selection of conglomerates in two stages. The sampling unit of the first stage was municipal and was continued according to all the existing localities. A separation was made between rural, semi-urban and urban localities. All had the probability of being chosen. It is important to mention that three subsample exercises were done, distributed in the following way:



- a) Rural: applied to all municipalities that had at least 77% of their localities with 2499 inhabitants and less, according to the classification of the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Inegi). These municipalities amounted to 44, adding 27.9% of the population of age to pay in the state of Hidalgo.
- b) Urban (tending to medium-sized cities): a second application to all the municipalities that condensed to 80,000 inhabitants and more, and which were eight municipalities that, among them, condensed 39% of the population residing in the state of Hidalgo.
- c) Semi-urban: a third sample where the remaining municipalities were, and which condensed 33.1% of the population over 18 years of age to pay, adding 32 municipalities included.

The sample of selected population was representative statistically for each subsample, as well as for the total of the state of Hidalgo. Criteria on literacy, marital status, right-holders, employment and sex among others were taken into account. The survey has a confidence level of 95%, with an estimation error of 5% and a non-response of 25%. The fieldwork for the survey was conducted in the period from February 1 to March 25, 2016; The questionnaire was made up of 63 questions. The survey gathered information on 2880 useful homes selected and the total of the locations visited throughout the entity were 289 located in 150 locations.

The state of Hidalgo is one of the five priority entities nationwide. 47% of the population lives in rural areas, understanding the concept of Inegi where the localities of 2499 and fewer inhabitants are considered rural and those of 2500 inhabitants and more, urban.

The state of Hidalgo has, on average, second-year secondary schooling. Eighty-six percent of its population receives three minimum wages or less and has presented among its welfare levels the lowest at the national level; In addition, there is still an important indigenous population in specific regions. However, Hidalgo, in general terms, is still highly rural: about one in every two inhabitants lives in towns of less than 2499 inhabitants, which locate the state with fewer benefits of infrastructure, basic housing services, potable water, sewerage and electric power.

## **Some results of the poll "Political-electoral perceptions in the state of Hidalgo, 2016"**

As Schumpeter puts it, the scheme of democracy allows political actors to face, regularly, under previously established rules of the game, which, theoretically, must allow to accept defeat under the expectation of being victorious in a following exercise, as long as Stick to the rules. This political struggle implies a system of parties to maintain control of political resources that are fed by the competition for votes in the electoral market; the politician must work right in the latter, since he is the one who provides the raw material, the votes (Schumpeter, 1942).

For this reason, the aforementioned survey obtained information about the electoral processes. He wondered if they were accustomed to talking about political matters; on average, in the Hidalgo entity, 70% do not talk about politics or its actors. To the question "Where do you mainly talk about political issues?", Hidalgo, globally, do so at home, followed by work, the colony, the square, the bar or the bar, with their differences according to sex.

Within this topic, it was asked if it participates in some kind of neighborhood organization, school, union, sports, among others, which also include political type. In the state context, 32.4% said they belonged to some group, that is, two out of every three people over 18 do not belong to any type of group.

If this behavior is reviewed from the sex differences, the participation of men is 34.7%, while that of women is 30%. When comparing the sample regions, it was observed that, within the cities of more than 80,000 inhabitants, 40.1% of the population participates in some type of organization and 32.3% belongs to some type of grouping in the localities between 2500 and 79 999 inhabitants , while 24.7% said they participate in some type of grouping in rural areas.

When inquiring into what type of groups the Hidalgo people are related, the one with the greatest presence is the religious group (35.1%), followed by the groups of parents (19.1%), the agrarian or ejidal committees (10.5%) and the neighborhood committees (9.1%). In the case of political groupings, only 2.9% of those interviewed said they belonged to one. The differences according to sex between each of the sub-samples are not significant, since even rural spaces show less political participation.

Also asked how is participation within that group: 10.3% said they participate as a manager, 37.3% said they are active members, 21.2% say they are inactive members, 28.9% said they were just supporters, while 2.3% said they were a member with little participation.

He wondered how often they used to go to vote: globally, in the entity, 31.5% said they always vote; 14.2% said that many times they vote, this corresponds to the percentage that votes on average in the entity; 26.5% said they vote a few times; and 27.8% said never vote. Looking at the subsample level (see table 1), it is observable that people who live in rural areas said they would vote more. However, although they vote, they do not participate in political groups, nor in social groups; demographically they have lower levels of education and income, and raise the question of why they vote more.

**Tabla 1.** Hidalgo: frecuencia de votación, según tipo de encuesta, 2016.

Ítem	Hidalgo	Ciudades medias (80 000 habs. y más)	Zona urbana (2500-79 999 habs.)	Zona rural (menos 2499 habs.)
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Siempre	31.5%	25.6%	28.3%	40.6%
Muchas veces	14.2%	19.5%	16.4%	6.4%
Pocas veces	26.5%	26.7%	27.1%	25.6%
Nunca	27.8%	28.2%	28.2%	27.4%

Fuente: Cálculos propios con base en la ponderación de resultados de la encuesta estatal “Percepciones políticas en el estado de Hidalgo, 2016”.

At the entity level, 76% say that elections are not clean. When inquiring about the perception of citizens about the response capacity of the federal government to Mexicans, it is possible to notice in Table 2 that one in three considers that such a response does exist. Reviewing the different subsamples analyzed, it is to be noted that in urban areas there is a greater perception that the federal government supports; However, in rural areas this perception diminishes, since 69.7% consider it to be very bad or there is no such response, while in urban areas larger than 80 000 inhabitants, this perception decreases relatively, although it is also high and reaches 65.2. %.

There is a series of high correlations that occur between the municipalities that are having high abstention, that is to say, the profile of the abstainers according to the municipality is: the less marginalization, the more abstentionism (-0.713); to greater urbanity, more abstentionism (0.608); the higher the level of schooling, the greater the abstention rate (0.710); to lower food poverty, greater abstention (-0.436); the high education index generates abstentionism (0.702); the higher the income, the greater the abstention rate (0.751); The higher the level of the human development index, the greater the abstention rate (0.690).

**Tabla 2.** Hidalgo: capacidad de respuesta del gobierno federal a los problemas de los mexicanos, según tipo de encuesta, 2016.

Ítem	Hidalgo	Ciudades medias (80,000 habs y más)	Zona urbana (2500-79,999 habs)	Zona rural (menos 2499 habs)
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Excelente	9.6%	10.2%	9.8%	9.0%
Muy buena	23.0%	24.6%	23.0%	21.3%
Muy mala	41.3%	42.4%	40.6%	40.7%
No existe respuesta	26.1%	22.8%	26.6%	29.0%

Fuente: Cálculos propios con base en la ponderación de resultados de la encuesta estatal “Percepciones políticas en el estado de Hidalgo, 2016”.

On the other hand, the profile of those who vote the most according to the municipality is: the more marginalized, the more electoral participation (0.713); the greater the rurality, the greater the electoral participation (-0.608); the lower the level of schooling, the greater the voter turnout (-0.710); to greater food poverty, greater electoral participation (0.436); the low education index generates electoral participation (-0.702); the lower the income, the greater the voter turnout (-0.751); at a lower level of the human development index, greater electoral participation (-0.690).

Similarly, a regression of variables was performed. The dependent variable was abstentionism and the independent variables were the level of marginalization, the rural or urban residence, the average schooling, the index of food poverty, the education index, the index of income and the index of human development. This regression model demonstrates that the

municipalities that have a high voter turnout are marginalized, rural, have low schooling, greater food poverty, low education index, low income and low human development indexes.

The regression model presents a high R, in the whole model it is 0.770 and, calculating the coefficient of determination, R<sup>2</sup> presents 0.593, which translates as that this set of variables explains electoral participation in 59.3%. In other words, living in a rural area, with low schooling and low level of marginalization, high food poverty, low resources and low development index, explains why people are more likely to vote. One more interpretation: they go to the market of the votes to sell their suffrage, although the other results show a distancing from the political sphere and participation in political groups, but not from the polls.<sup>4</sup>

## Conclusions

The perception of honesty and the degree of trust placed in the various institutions of law enforcement and other social figures and the political sphere is very low; the priest and the professor continue to enjoy greater credibility.

The men and women of Hidalgo learn or understand the political phenomenon linked to corruption, the various institutions and the actions of their officials as not very honest, which translates into a lack of confidence in the political structure and administration of justice. The political sphere is closely linked to corruption and drug trafficking. On the other hand, in the present work some important theses have been demonstrated, for example, Nohlen refers that one of the circumstances by which electoral participation acquires meaning is due to the existing degree of social inequality, given that in situations of high poverty and inequality, a large part of the electorate perceives elections not so much as an act through which a political mandate is transmitted, but as an exchange of votes for products or favors (Nohlen, 2004). This idea seems to be fulfilled in the Hidalgo case; it refers again to the clientelism that conditions the electoral participation in different forms depending on the degree of social inequality that is observed, leading or forcing the voters to go to that market of votes.

Based on the interpretation of this idea, electoral participation in areas where the economic stratification is established from medium-medium to medium-high, the products and favors that

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<sup>4</sup> Es importante mencionar que, dentro del modelo estadístico, las variables independientes no mostraron colinealidad alguna.

can offer a political party are different and more difficult to satisfy than in those regions where low economic strata are seen, because variables such as schooling or income play a decisive role, where the ideal would be that there would be a transition from clientelist ideas to ideas of citizenship, since, thus, the democratic system would be strengthened and would leave aside practices like these (Nohlen, 2004).

For Crespo, abstention is associated with urban sectors where urbanization, schooling levels, health, higher incomes among others, allow citizens to have a greater awareness and criticism of the acts that take place at the political level, so the manipulation of the vote or its coercion or purchase is lower than in rural regions (Crespo, 2005). For the Hidalgo case, this theory is demonstrated.

Crespo also affirms that abstentionism can be caused by a lack of confidence in the electoral cleanup, the bias of the electoral authorities or the use of state resources in favor of the official party, a reason that can occur in countries where the institution in charge of Electoral processes lack the strength to call elections that are within the legal framework (Crespo, 2005). For the Hidalgo entity that position also seems to be corroborated.

As Bobbio has referred to it, abstentionism is by no means a symptom of the crisis of a democratic system, but, as is usually observed, it can be a sign of his perfect health (Bobbio, 2001). In this sense, in Hidalgo, apathy becomes a way of expressing dissatisfaction against the political system, in addition to being dissatisfied and abstaining without expressing reasons, that is, a passive abstention occurs, where apathy towards the issues electoral-political begins to be more than a seasonal problem, a permanent condition in a significant number of voters (Bobbio, 2001) and then becomes a silent protest.

On the other hand, Fernandez Poncela points out that a good number of voters abstain from voting motivated by political reasons, rather than by a general political disinterest. In this sense, the author argues that, in case of disinterest on the part of the voter, this does not indicate apathy, but should be interpreted as a derivation of the generalized satiety towards the actions of politicians in our society (Fernández Poncela, 2009). This seems to be the idea of the Hidalgo voters in the three samples analyzed.

Human rights are a set of conditions that lead to a better way of life and interrelation of populations, but with a common idea and purpose: the welfare of the population without any distinction, regardless of race, sex, sexual preference, religion, skin color, among many other differentiating aspects.

The state of Hidalgo, with the continuous violation of human rights, calls into question democracy and its foundations for the operation of the population. How to build a democracy in hunger and poverty? Is it possible to demand transparency in light of those variables that condition even hunger? This validates and gives rise to the regression model, which shows that the municipalities that are having high voter turnout are marginalized, rural, have low schooling, greater food poverty, low education indexes, low income and low human development indexes.

The  $R^2$  It was 0.593, which translates as that this set of variables explains the electoral participation in 59.3%, besides clarifying that, with incipient human rights, democracy must also go to the market of votes to be able to count on them. Therefore, it is concluded, in other words, that living in a rural area - with low schooling and low level of marginalization, high food poverty, low resources, and low development index - explains why people go to vote more. One more interpretation: they go to the market of votes to sell their votes.

The Jiménez thesis, which refers to the approach of human rights of an overlap and interdependence of each other to ensure the protected legal right that is the subject, where second and third generation rights are now conceived as the guarantee that It allows the full exercise of first generation rights, because they create the minimum necessary material conditions such as education, health, work and social security, so that civil and political rights can be exercised, including participation. policy, seems to be fulfilled in light of these results (Jiménez, 2007).

Therefore, the central idea of Jiménez, which mentions that the scope and goals of the public exercise are focused on guaranteeing human dignity and obtaining more effective results regarding the attention to the problems of the public agenda, and that the States must comply with the commitments acquired from the acceptance of instruments that are subsequently established as international standards in the field of human rights, turns out to be evident and enforceable in our object of study.

Finally, in this investigation, it is validated that abstentionism and human rights in the state of Hidalgo have an undeniable negative correlation.

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