INVESTIGACIÓN/RESEARCH

ELECTORAL POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN THE DIGITAL AGE. THE 2015 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO CITY

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ABSTRACT

With the arrival of the era of information society, there is an academic debate on the impact of ICTs in politics. This work explores a discussion of the conceptual and analytical framework for digital political communication in democracy, which is a starting point and then analyzes the use and presence of different political parties and coalitions on digital social networks during the campaign of 2015 in Mexico City and compares the electoral results of the main political groups, to reach conclusions on the results obtained in the framework of the theoretical discussion. Basic elements for the analysis of the digital context in election campaigns and the role of Information Technology and Communication, Internet, specifically digital media and online social networks are provided.

KEY WORDS

Communication - Politics - Elections – Election Campaign - Information and Communication Technology - Internet – Digital Social Networks

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COMUNICACIÓN POLÍTICA ELECTORAL EN LA ERA DIGITAL. LA CAMPAÑA ELECTORAL DE 2015 EN LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO

RESUMEN

Con el arribo de la era de la sociedad de la información, se ha planteado un debate académico sobre los efectos de las TIC en la política. El presente trabajo explora una discusión sobre los elementos conceptuales y el marco analítico de la Comunicación política electoral digital en democracia, que sirve como punto de partida para después analizar el uso y la presencia en las redes sociales digitales que tuvieron los diferentes partidos políticos y coaliciones durante la campaña electoral de 2015 en la Ciudad de México y compara los resultados electorales de las principales formaciones políticas, para arribar a conclusiones sobre los resultados obtenidos en el marco de la discusión teórica planteada. Se aportan elementos básicos para el análisis sobre el contexto digital en campañas electorales y el papel de las Tecnologías de la Información y de la Comunicación, Internet, los medios digitales y específicamente las redes sociales digitales.

PALABRAS CLAVE
Comunicación - Política – Elecciones - Campañas electorales – Tecnologías de la Información y de la Comunicación - Internet – Redes sociales digitales.

1. INTRODUCTION

On June 7, 2015, an election day was held in Mexico[2] to renew more than two thousand elected positions for members of the two chambers of the Federal Congress, and in 17 of its 32 states to renew governors, mayors of city councils and state deputies in Congress. One of the three election days with highest participation in the country's history, in which 47% of more than 83 million citizens registered in the Federal Register of Electors came to vote.

In Mexico City, which is officially called the Federal District because it has a special legal status as capital and seat of the powers of the Union, delegation heads were elected -the figure homologous to mayors in the rest of the country- and MPs were also elected to the Legislative Assembly of the Federal District.

Mexico City, one of the most populated cities in the world, is currently governed by the Party of the Democratic Revolution, so far the largest political leftist party in the country. It is territorially divided into 16 Political Delegations in which a Delegation Head is elected and there are 40 single-member constituencies where they vote to a

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[2] Mexico, the most populated Spanish-speaking country in the world, is a republic with a system of representative, democratic and federal government, with a competitive election system in which all positions of popular representation in the executive and legislative powers are elected via universal, secret and direct ballot, in the three levels of government: federal, state and municipal. There are eight nationally registered political parties in addition to local parties with a state presence.

candidate for alternate deputy from all parties or coalitions that apply in that constituency, on the principle of relative majority, ie the majority of the votes cast.

A novelty in this electoral process was the inclusion in the electoral regulations of the figure of the independent candidates who, for the first time in history at the federal level and in many cases locally, contested in the elections without the nomination of a political party or party coalition.

No doubt another novelty was the use of the operating platforms of Internet and particularly digital social networks. While there had been an incipient use, during the presidential election campaign in 2012, the growing presence of citizens in the digital social media and their increasing use to learn about public affairs and policy has generated our interest to address this phenomenon locally in the country's capital, as it is the federal entity with the largest number of Internet users in Mexico.

Here, we will present a discussion on the conceptual and analytical framework of the digital electoral political communication in modern democracies, which will be a starting point, and then we will analyze the use and presence of the different parties in digital social networks during the 2015 election campaign in Mexico City and compare the election results of the major political formations. We will finally try to reach conclusions on the results obtained in the framework of the theoretical discussion.

This paper will provide some basic elements for the analysis of the digital environment and contribute to studies on Information and Communication Technologies, especially the Internet, particularly digital media and specifically digital social networks.

2. OBJECTIVES

I. Explore, analyze and discuss the theoretical contributions of electoral processes of political communication in virtual space and their potential influences on contemporary democratic electoral systems.

II. Analyze the processes that shape the political-electoral cyberspace and the role and influence of ICTs in democratic processes, primarily those related to citizen empowerment, linking the main formulations around cyberspace and politics.

III. Know the relationship between the use of digital social networks in election campaigns and the election results in Mexico, through the study of an election campaign in the Federal District to know how the mechanisms and virtual processes of electoral political communication are built and operated in digital social networks during election campaigns.

3. METHODOLOGY

It will be a piece of research of a mixed type, and methods of qualitative and quantitative inquiry will be used. It will have a descriptive scope, with analytical depth and sequential and deductive development.

In the qualitative part, we will use the instruments of the method of documentary research, based on secondary sources: printed and digital books, scientific articles in indexed academic journals and academic papers obtained from searches on major scientific repositories at international level and that are accessed through the

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bibliographic network of National Autonomous University of Mexico and Pompeu Fabra University, such as the web of Science of Thomson Reuters and Scopus from Elsevier as well as global databases of bibliographic references and quotations from periodicals.

The typology of documentation obtained was: documents in English and Spanish of public ownership; numerical and non-numerical in terms of content; secondary, according to the research purpose. Selectivity in terms of documentation was conducted with criteria of objectivity, depth, historicity, originality in the use of sources, interdisciplinarity, methodological approach, thoroughness, thematic homogeneity, avoiding an ideological bias and polysemy.

Through analysis and objective assessment of literature and information sources relating to electoral and political communication and its practical applications in the digital world, the study will be based on a thorough examination of the state of the art on the matter. In the section on reference sources, the references used are detailed. The use of digital social networks during the local election campaign for Delegation Head in Mexico City in 2015 will be discussed. Using the deductive analytical method, the possible cause-effect patterns in the results will be studied.

The official election results published on the website of the Electoral Institute of the Federal District, as well as statistics for monitoring the use of digital social networks by candidates and political parties for the election of Delegation Heads in 2015 conducted by the Electoral Observatory 2.0 of the Institute of Legal Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (IIJ-UNAM) will be taken as a database.

The results of computing the electoral results of the parties and coalitions that won the victory in the delegations will be analyzed and compared with the results of monitoring the use of digital social networks: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Google+ and Flickr.

The monitoring data during the thirty days before the end of the legal electoral campaign: from August 3, 2015 and until 03 June of the same year will be counted. For the following categories of analysis: total number of followers / subscribers of each political party in all social networks, number of followers / subscribers per social network, number of video views in the case of YouTube, number of profiles that follow the official party accounts in digital social networks.

Performing a comprehensive analytical reading of the information and data obtained, we will seek to detect important findings to establish relationships, determine inferences and arrange patterns among the categories of analysis to weight the data, pursue the objectives and reach conclusions.

4. RESULTS

4.1. An analytical examination of the state of art

The study of the media in relation to political democracy is not new, but since the advent of television, there had not been such an intense debate as with the emergence

of Internet, probably due to the speed and pervasiveness of the information and knowledge society.

From the second half of the twentieth century, when there was talk of the computer revolution, there has been reflection and discussion about the ways in which information and communication technologies, first television and then the Internet, can affect political participation and therefore democratic institutions. Pippa Norris states that "like the previous periods that witnessed the advent of radio and then television, the birth of the Internet age has generated widespread speculation on the possible consequences of this development for the major media, for political campaigns, and the civil society" (Norris, 2000: 120).

Both in the academic and the politically debate, there has been much speculation in every possible way on the effects of ICTs on democracy. As Andrew Shapiro states, "even with a vivid imagination, it is not very easy to understand to what extent the way the Web allows individuals to take tight control over politics" (Shapiro, 1999).

Since the mid-nineties, there has been a new debate about whether the Internet and its application tools, rather than assessing the medium itself, promote or discourage citizen political participation, and whether their use increases or restricts governance of a state.

Especially in the late nineties, this has generated huge optimism, together with much publicity about its potential to reinvigorate and even revolutionize politics and consequently electoral participation. All of which, it was claimed, could alter the current relationship around political power in all democracies, not simply by making all citizens be in full communication.

Although ICTs have changed the ways of doing politics, the actual extent of the effect of interactions on the Internet to voters has not yet been determined, so the discussion should not be confined to a Manichean view about whether uses of the Web are more positive or mostly negative, as it happened in the past in the case of television.

Internet itself does not guarantee democracy, as the interrelated processes of political, digital or offline communication necessarily involve both political and social behaviors in a highly technological concentrated and controlled medium.

Therefore, theoretical understanding of the concepts of online political communication in the digital social media in contemporary democracies is necessary.

In this regard, it is pertinent to note that political communication is eminently an interactive process of political participation, concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the media and the public (Norris, 2004b: 1). Therefore, a fundamental part of political communication takes place invariably in election campaigns (Pont and Berrio, 2015: XX).

Political communication in Western democracies has gone through three eras or stages, according to the typology of Pippa Norris of the evolution of communication in election campaigns, each with specific characteristics according to eight categories: campaign organization, preparation, central coordination, feedback, media, campaign events, costs and electorate, to wit.

• premodern: From the mid-nineteenth century to 1950, where there is decentralized campaign organization with party volunteers, short-term preparations and for that purpose, central coordination by party leaders, feedback of local search for votes and party meetings, partisan press, posters and local leaflets, radio broadcasts, local

public meetings, short tours of leadership in small towns, low budget, stable social and partisan alignments.

• Modern: From early 1950 to late 1980, in which campaign organization is coordinated nationally with more professionalism, long campaign, central coordination from the party headquarters with more specialized consultants, occasional opinion surveys as feedback, television broadcasts through the main evening news and targeted direct mail, moderate costs, social and partisan misalignment.

• Postmodern: 1990 onwards, with a nationally coordinated campaign organization but with decentralized operations, permanent campaign, special units of campaign of parties and more professional consultants, in terms of feedback the use of regular surveys of opinion stands out, more focus groups and interactive websites; television narrowcasting, direct and mid websites, e-mail, online discussion groups, intranets, extension of news management to the routine of politics and government, high campaign costs for professional consultants and an electorate in social and partisan misalignment (2004a: p. 15).

In addition to this development, a system of segmentation and highly personalized micro segmentation was developed, ºamong other advertising techniques, in order that the messages were directed differentially to different audiences from specific-demand-collecting mechanisms by splintered groups, more based on marketing and less supported by ideological or thematic issues. Thus, electoral politics was no longer an issue of party cadres or amateur communicators; much less a matter of shrinking budgets.

With the advent of digital technologies, and centrally Internet, media convergence and the use of Web 2.0 platforms such as digital social networks Blogs, campaigns have changed substantially. This technological evolution has not exceeded the even predominant role of traditional media, especially television, on election days.

Much of digital-network-based technologies and strategies of political communication, especially tactical marketing and publicity around micro segmentation, for example, based on electoral behavior or group targeting, which largely define the current hypermediated policy, emerged from commercial campaigns. It is a circumstance that has led to many analysts questioning whether the Network is a matter of citizens or just consumers.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say or even suggest that, once the Interred has permeated the political cyberspace, its impact is inevitable, direct and without limitations. Due to the large number of questions around the role of the Web in political events, today it is possible only to say that different types of party organizations in various electoral environments have different capacities, either to catalyze or retard the development of digital campaigns.

Digital political communication is defined as the use of information and communication technologies in political communication. This concept is also called policy 2.0 or e-policy. It emerged in the mid-nineties from the American electoral communication specialized consulting firms. Its main clientele was made up of political parties, Democratic and Republican, of various pre-candidates to partisan nominations in internal strife, of candidates nominated to various positions of public choice and of the many lobbyists operating in the US political scene. Another user portfolio of these companies is composed of political activists and members of

government.

A first precedent of online political communication dates back to 1994 when the candidate to the US Senate, Ted Kennedy, hired a designer and published what would be the first Web page of a politician in history (Howard, 2006: 38).

The emergence of politics on the Internet as a critical component of strategies of electoral campaigns dates back to electoral processes ranging from 1988 to 2004 (Howard, 2006: 5). Other analysts point out that the formal start of Internet use in political campaigns is in 2004 during the election campaign of the former Governor of Vermont, Howard Dean, with a view to achieve the Democratic nomination for president of the United States in the primaries.

The remarkable success of Dean by using digital communication was reflected in the processes of fundraising and mobilizing volunteers to support his campaign, although his primary objective failed. However, his name is associated with the concept of online politics. That is why if you want to understand the premature and unexpected rise of Dean as the favorite of his party, you should consider an obvious difference between the 2004 campaign and the preceding traditional primaries (Hindman, 2009: 20-21).

While other candidates like John McCain and Jesse Ventura had previously used Internet in their campaigns, it was Dean who actually developed an interactive campaign network. Hence, many observers argue that online policy is basically liberal. It is often said that campaigns from the fifties to the eighties corresponded to the era of pre-digital mass media, in contrast with what could be called the Age of hyperdigital communication.

Various technologies that have appeared over several decades since the seventies are often presented as background of digital politics: computers and databases, faxes, e-mail, satellite networks, web 1.0 sites, mobile telephone networks, web 2.0 networks, blogs, among others.

However, a real limitation in the use of Internet is, paradoxically, that the amount of information available to voters in the current hypermedia environment is practically inexhaustible and therefore impossible to consume as a whole, so it is necessary to question whether this cascade of potential information "confuses users or, conversely, helps them make sense of the various and contrasting policy proposals" (Hardy, 2009: 131).

Though in a limited way, George H. Bush and William Clinton, by using the phone and small computer networks in the early nineties, were the first presidential candidates to use the Internet during their campaigns. Since then, a conversion process of Web 1 to Web 2.0 started. This substantially changed the way of carrying out campaigns, reshaping the electoral landscape in the world. By using it, for example, it was possible to change the way of organizing and recruiting supporters, the ways to publicize candidates, the mechanisms for fundraising, the defense strategies against opponents and even to attack them and, above all, communication with the public.

Throughout the election period in 1996 in the United States, the coordinators of the campaigns used the Internet as a publicizing tool. During the Election Day in 2004, the super media permanently integrated in the communication system in the country -and in other nations of Europe (Howard 2006: 171).

According to some analysts, "in 2000 the first Internet election was carried out" (Foot and Schneider, 2006: 9). This period was also the year when campaigns through the Internet became mandatory, opening a new way in the candidate-voter interaction. Likewise, it was also the first campaign in which more than half of American adults were Internet users (Bimber and Davis 2003: 3).

In 2004, the websites of the various political campaigns were already of common use in the United States. In January 2007, the New York Senator Hillary Clinton formally notified via the Internet her intention to win the nomination of her party, the Democrats, for the presidency of the United States. Days before, Illinois Sen. Barack Obama had declared via the Internet his intention in the same direction. To many political analysts, this meant "proof that the converging technologies had transformed the landscape of modern political campaigns" (Panagopoulos, 2009: 1).

During the presidential elections in 2010, a report of Pew Internet & American Life Project commented by Aaron Smith was read, around 22% of American internet users used social networks, specifically Facebook or MySpace, to connect to the campaign (2011, 22% of online of online Americans used social networking or Twitter for politics in the 2010 campaign). Likewise, 73% of all adult Web users standing for 54% of all American adults went online to get news or information about the intermediate election or to engage, one way or another, in the campaign (Pew Research Center, 2011).

A study conducted by Pew Research Center in 2010 allows us to see that the Web continued to grow and it was a source of news about the presidential campaign of the United States in 2012. In its Web page, we can read that almost half of voters (47%) report that the Internet was the main media they resorted to follow the course of the above said elections. A figure that exceeds the 36% reported for the precedent election in 2008. In the same report, it is announced that the Internet already overcomes periodicals (27%) as the main source of news about the campaign, though television continued being the most used means for two thirds of the surveyed sample, ie 67% (Pew Research Center, 2012).

These figures reached in a very short time reveals that digital-network-based technologies have played and will continue playing a very relevant, though not determining, role in the course of politics, parties and electoral processes around the world, through hypermedia procedures and campaigns, due to which, the global hypermedia environment has made parties, political agents and campaign administrators reconduct their electoral tactics at all levels and arenas of political competitions.

During the phase of maturing of the use of the Web in political campaigns, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Richard Davis et al announce four basic functions: a) operations within campaigns, b) communication and propaganda, c) mobilization and d) fundraising. These functions were later complemented with two other communication tools: one to have control over the media by way of using controlled Web sites to disseminate messages on a larger scale (for instance, ABCnews or Foxnews), and another to control users by using digital social networks (2009: 15).

It is this way that the combination of the emergence of the Internet, its growing use as regards information on political news as well as the new needs for communication of various political agents in dynamic and changing scenarios, basically in the United

States, among other less relevant factors, gave rise to what are known as e-campaigns or hypermedia campaigns.

A digital campaign is understood to be "those activities that are carried out to reach political objectives that are manifested, inscribed and realized through the World Wide Web (Foot and Schneider, 2006:4)" This conception involves several political agents and they are conditioned to the social-political and cultural environments in which they are carried out. Likewise, within these areas, a series of crucial activities is deployed, they comprise the relationships between producers and consumers of the materials available on the Web through infinite Web sites or pages such as hypertexts and links, focused on the electoral issue and operating through diverse platforms such as the media and the digital social networks.

Likewise, a hypermedia campaign can be understood as "an agile political organization defined for its capacity to innovatively adopt digital technologies for political purposes and for its ability to creatively adapt its organizational structure to configure new communicative practices" (Howard, 2006:2) This type of campaign is characterized by its structural insertion in higher levels of traditional media campaigns, where the key worlds are: high technological capacity, speed of transmission of millions of data and interactivity with voters.

In order to collaborate with those responsible for the digital campaigns so that they can have a way leading them through the opportunities, threats and risks of using the digital social media and networks, Wollan, Smith and Zhou have made a list of the crucial factors for the large-scale development of the capacities of political communication of the digital social media. These elements, which are presented below, are, according to their authors, "the core of the reference framework to manage said media" that operate in any application scenario.

- Context. It includes the competitive regulations and dynamics as well as the information that a political organization gathers via its digital social media;
- Culture. I comprises customs, behaviors, ways to work and the subcultures inherent to any formation;
- Political processes. It refers both to the internal processes to manage the digital media and to the campaigns to be developed;
- Measurement. It makes reference to the way of measuring the impact intended to be obtained by using the digital social media;
- People. It makes reference to the capacities of operators of digital social networks, Likewise, it comprises the definition of the platforms to be used;
- Political. This factor forces the definition of the behaviors among the internal and external audiences of the organization as well as all the elements that take part in the political processes (2011: 23-25).

It has been demonstrated that the crucial aspect of an election campaign is communication. It is due to this condition that Foot and Schneider identify four central activities in a digital campaign:
- Information, when providing voters with data on the candidates that exceed the simple messages usually transmitted by traditional media;
- Involvement, as they facilitate the association for purposes of affiliation between those responsible for the sites and the content producers with those

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who visit their pages;

- Connection, the online structure of the campaign makes it possible to lay bridges between the user and a third stakeholder involved in the electoral processes;
- Mobilization, as it facilitates recruitment of users (2006: 22).

Finally, the potential impact of the Internet in the electoral political life is summarized by Chadwick with three essential aspects: a) increase in partisan competition, b) increase in control of databases on candidates and partisan leaders, and c) emergence of processes of institutional adaptation to the new medium (2006; 148-149). The example of the campaign of Howard Dean showed that it is feasible to transform the online political participation into specific political resources: money, volunteers and positive press releases. Summing up, electoral political power.

As a result of their empirical enquiries on diverse hypermedia campaigns, Foot and Schneider have established three measuring units to evaluate the degree of commitment of campaigns in relation to the production of network contents:
- Number of members of the team assigned to the development and maintenance of the Web site;
- Number of hours per week dedicated to updating and maintaining the site;
- Percentage of the fund allocated to it (2006: 167).

As Trottier and Fuchs point out, the global communication process on the Internet and particularly in digital social media is a network of many combinations of processes of interrelation among social stakeholders in the digital environment in relation to the different areas of society such as those related to the State, the economy, the civil sphere of culture.
"The integration of the different forms of sociability and social roles in the social media means that there are many possible social functions for which any single platform can be used. Individual citizens can use it to communicate with other citizens in the context of any number of social roles, as well as for the purposes that can transcend the roles themselves. They can also communicate with the organizations and institutions for the same purposes. They can also just supervise the communication in which any of these social stakeholders are engaged. Institutions, including State powers, can do the aforementioned too." (2015: 16).
The following figure describes and summarizes the communication process in a system of social individual communication media in a social network such as Twitter or Facebook.
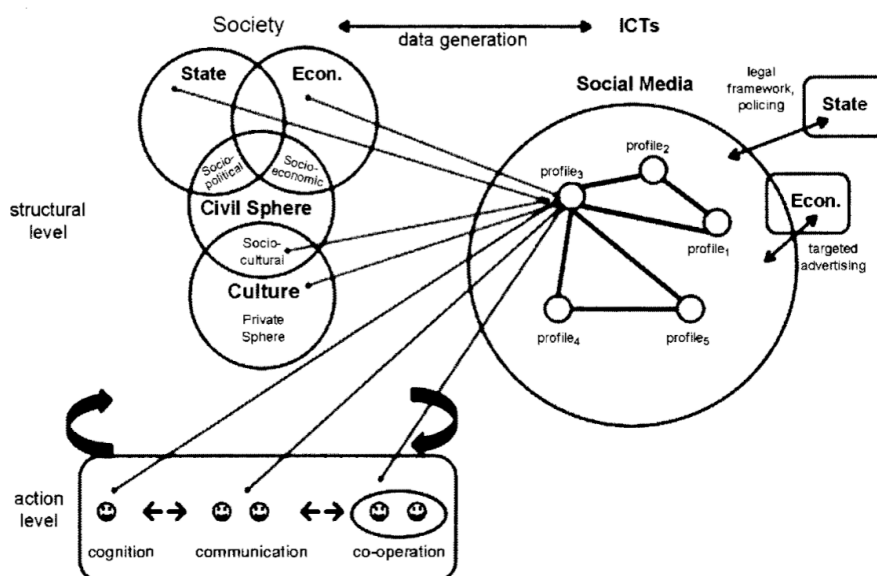
Figure 1: **The communication process in social media.**
Source: Trottier and Fuchs, 2015: 16.

However, in a report by the Pew Research Center about politics and citizen participation in online social networks in the US in 2015, we read that two-thirds (66%) of users of digital social media (39% American adults) have participated in one of the following eight civic or political activities with digital social media:

• Four out of ten (38%) respondents who use social networking sites digital (SNS) or Twitter, click "like" or promote material related to politics or social issues that others have posted.

• A third (35%) have used online social networks to encourage people to vote.

• Three out of seven (34%) respondents have used the tools to post their own thoughts or comments on political and social issues.

• One third (33%) have used the tools to repost contents related to political or social issues originally posted by other internet users.

• One third (31%) has used other tools to encourage users to perform activities on a political or social issue.

• One quarter (28%) has used digital tools to post links to the effect that other people read political stories or related articles.

• One fifth (21%) belongs to a group on a digital social networking site involved in political or social issues.

• Two out of ten (20%) have used virtual tools to track the activities of elected officials and candidates for election (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Despite these not inconsiderable figures, what the report does not report is the effect of these participations, alone, on politicians in general and election results in particular.

Finally, despite the great efforts and huge resources allocated for hypermedia campaigns, true full convergence between operating platforms of Internet and political practice has not yet been achieved, because as Howard says "although

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dreams were immense, yet there is some distance between what is expected in terms of digital democracy, what is technically possible and what is actually happening today "(2006: 39).

4.2. Analysis of the case

In the election for 2015 Delegation Heads, the ten political parties participated, with local presence in the Federal District at the time of the election: a) the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), the ruling leftist party with most seats in the local legislative assembly; b) the National Action Party (PAN) of a conservative ideology, before the elections it was the second party with more presence in the capital; c) the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), a center of pro-government federal government the and third political force locally.

Also, four minority parties participated: a) the far-leftist Labor Party (PT), which was an ally of the PRD and partially coalesced for this election; b) the central rightist Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM), a political ally of the PRI; c) New Alliance (NA), a rightist Liberal Party nationally aligned with the PRI, but in this election it partially coalesced with the PRD d) the moderately leftist Citizen Movement (MC), a former ally of the PRD, which participated alone on this occasion.

In addition, three newly established parties contended for the first time in constitutional elections: a) the progressively leftist National Regeneration Movement (Morena), which emerged from a schism in the PRD; b) the Humanist Party (PH) composed of motley rightist and central groups; and c) the Social Encounter Party (PES), a conservative party nurtured by several evangelical Christian groups.

According to the official results of the District Councils of the Federal District Electoral Institute (IEDF), the institution responsible for organizing elections in the DF for the choice of the 16 Delegation Heads, the results of the parties that won a victory were:

1. The PRD individually added to the partial coalitions, with the PT on one side, and on the other side with NA, won six delegation leaderships, ie 37.50% of these offices and it also won most of the votes with a percentage of 18.57% of the total emitted voting. It ranked first in this race.

2. Morena. The party supporting the leftist leader and former candidate to the presidency of the Republic, Andrés M. López Obrador; ranked second as it got 5 delegation leaderships, which means 31.25%, 17.70% by computing the cast votes.

3. The PRI coalesced with the PVEM ranked third as it got 3 delegation heads, representing 18.75% of offices and it managed to record 11.32% of the total voting.

4. The PAN won 2 Delegations, which means 12.50%, with 9.84% of the voting.

As for the other parties, on the one hand PES, MC and PH, and on the other hand NA and PT participating individually, none won any delegation leadership.

Based on the data from the monitoring of the presence and activity of political parties in digital social networks during the electoral process to renew the Delegation leaderships in Mexico City, conducted by the Electoral 2.0 Observatory of the Institute for Legal Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, we conducted a comparative analysis of the results of the official records published by the IEDF and the activity of the main political forces in digital social networks more

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used in Mexico, in this particular election.

First we note that the digital social media most commonly used by parties during the campaign were the social network Facebook, the microblogging network Twitter and the video platform YouTube. Well above the contact circle network Google+ and Instagram and Flickr, image sharing networks, primarily.

Of the parties that either individually or leading a coalition obtained a Delegation Leadership, we can see that until June 3, the last day of the legal campaign, three days before election day, ie before the period of closure or electoral silence, the political party that had the highest number of subscribers to digital social networks was the PAN, which totaled 162.588 digital followers on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram.

With only 17.097 counted followers, the PRD was the second party by number of subscribers to digital social networks. While the PRI ranked third in the overall ranking of social networking by having 15.515 followers. It is noteworthy that the latter did not have an account on Instagram and no data from Google+ or Flickr are provided for any of the parties.

The party with the lowest number of subscribers was the PT, which only had 26 followers on Twitter, 0 on Facebook and did not have any account on YouTube or Instagram.

Twitter. Out of the total percentage of followers on Twitter, the PAN was the party that had the highest percentage with 39.15%, the PRD ranked second with 24.64% and the PRI ranked third with 17.20%. As for the other parties, each one did not reach even five percent.

As for the total number of tweets made by all parties together, the PAN held on 33.74%, while the PRD ranked second as it performed 17.84% of tweets and the PRI, with 15.08%, was the one who ranked third by number of sent tweets.

With regard to the number of profiles that the official accounts of the parties followed, the PH is the one that obtained the highest percentage of accounts with 29.43%, followed by PVEM with 21.40% and thirdly the PAN the 10.85%.

Facebook. The PAN was the party with the largest number of subscribers on Facebook, reaching 76.24%, all other parties did not exceed seven percent. While the only official account that was mentioned on Facebook was that of the NA with only 25 mentions.

Youtube. Again, the PAN is the party with the largest number of subscribers in the social video network with 53.28%, followed by the PRD with 19.69%, and the PVEM ranked third with 12.93%. As for the total number of video views, PAN accounted for 89.90%, followed far behind by the PRI with 3.27% and PVEM with 2.94%. Morena, PT and NA were parties that did not have any account in this digital social network.

Google+ the PES was the only party that had only 24 people in its circle and the account of a party that had most profiles in its circles was that of the PVEM with only 12 circles or following profiles. While Morena, PT and NA did not record any accounts in this social network.

Instagram. For this network, only the PAN and PH had an official account, the former recording only 73 followers, which accounted for 69.59%.

The social network that had more followers of all parties together was Facebook with 184.166 subscribers of all parties, followed by Twitter with 51.938 and thirdly YouTube with just 518 total followers.

Parties	Delegations Won	Total of Votes	% Votes	Followers in Social Networks	% Followers	Social Network with More Followers	Followers per Social Network
1° PRD	6	*831,991	18.57	17,097	7.22	Twitter	12,799
2° MORENA	5	792,816	17.70	4,385	1.85	Facebook	3,030
3° PRI-PVEM	3	507,154	11.32	20,004	8.45	Twitter	11,407
4° PAN	2	440,854	9.84	162,588	68.68	Facebook	141,906

* Corresponds to the votes of the PRD and its partial coalitions with the PT and NA.

Table 1: The winning parties and their followers in social networks.
Source: Made by the authors with data from IEDF and the 2.0 Electoral Observatory of IIJ-UNAM.

The above shows that the political party that won most Delegation Leaderships and led the coalition that won most votes was not the party that had the largest number of followers in digital social networks. The PRD as the first delegation electoral force was the third party in terms of total number of digital followers.

The PAN, who ranked fourth in terms of electoral force, was the party that had the largest number of digital followers. While MORENA, the second electoral force which stood very close to the first position, was the party that recorded the lowest percentage of followers in social networks among the parties that won at least one delegation and all of the 10 parties that participated, was the third with the lowest percentage of digital subscribers with less than two percent.

While the PRI-PVEM coalition, which represented the third political force, was the second force by number of digital followers but not much higher than the PRD, the third party with more followers online.

This radiograph of the electoral process shows, at least preliminarily, that the presence and the activity of parties in digital social media in Mexico City is not directly proportional to the election results, or what is the same, more digital followers does not correspond with a greater number of votes or offices won upon popular voting.

5. DISCUSSION

To understand the political impact of the Internet, it is convenient to start from a macroscopic view of traffic through cyberspace and routes followed by typical users

to access. That is, to answer the question of what the direction is and where people circulate within the Internet to channel their political concerns.

Increasingly, various political stakeholders have found the Internet to be a formidable means of electoral marketing. Interactive political publicity, for example, expresses the use of means capable of interaction among voters in order to promote and influence the decision of citizens to vote.

As a route of transmission, this type of promotion uses, among others, Internet, its media and social networks, applications, mobile phones and adapted terminals, to mention only a few. It works with the purpose that citizens do not restrain themselves to be mere passive recipients of images, text and video issued by political parties and agents but rather play a more active role through a virtual dialogue with issuers.

A large number of studies in the field of digital communication aim to study the activities of the Web in election campaigns, particularly in its use to raise funds, get volunteers and communicate candidates with voters. Some analyzes focus on knowledge of the capacity of the Interred to promote political participation of citizens beyond the electoral vote.

Research of the potential of the Web to coordinate political actions during an election campaign has been developed through three interconnected aspects: how the Internet can be used to a) inform, b) mobilize c) direct the electives actions (Lilleker and Vedel, 2013: 401). Each of these threads works, of course, depending on the political systems, the civic culture and the electoral conditions at both national and local levels. Similarly, with regard to the different styles of directing political communication.

Booming accelerated not-subject-to-censorship information flows and increasing communicative interactivity have led to new challenges that political elites have had to assume in the field of information and management of election campaigns. Challenges that, for a long time, during the dominance of traditional media, had been faced with relatively good success. In contrast, in the digital media environment "nothing is secret for long, and there is no such a thing as *off the record*" (McNair, 2009).

As mentioned above, the use of computer-mediated information and communication technologies in political campaigns long precedes the digital age. The media scenario in which political stakeholders perform their various roles has always been evolving since the invention of the written press until the emergence of the Internet.

Consequently, the media has always played a crucial role in political discussion and articulation of the so-called public opinion. This is the case, for example, of the radio to US President Franklin D. Roosevelt through his program *Fireside chats*. Similarly, television was the main instrument used by John F. Kennedy to address his fellow citizens. Social media, in the 21st century, were the most important vehicles to support Barack Obama both in his electoral strategies and in his governmental exercises.

Largely, the history of political communication and specifically the election campaigns can be understood as the application of technology in the stage of political action, ie the link between the development in technology and advances in practices of political communication.

Digital election campaigns (e-campaigns) have changed the practice of politics, the

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interrelationships within the structures of the campaigns and their agents and their correlation with the electoral scenarios and the citizenry. Consequently, digital technologies have reshaped the electoral democratic practices.

Karpf provides two important aspects arising from their research of the role of Internet in American political campaigns, ensuring that the academic community on the subject has reached a general agreement on these key points: a) As for electoral mass behavior, the Internet has not changed the fundamental participatory inequalities b) the tools for electoral mobilization in the real world are those with the greatest political impact (2013: 413-428).

A first conclusion about the relationship between the Interred and the elective processes suggests that, despite campaigns have integrated digital platforms in their traditional routines of electoral political communication, what they basically accomplish is to reinforce the messages conveyed through off-line traditional channels. In fact, the Internet "has become a new and very important tool for the development of campaigns such as the mobilization of electoral activists (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 166).

On the other hand, due to increased traffic in the cyberinfinite, the Web has diminished the power of traditional media and complicated their agenda-setting effects, as stated by Delli Carpini and Williams, (2001: 160-181), according to Brundidge and Rice. That is, its ability to establish the topics of the day as well as the approach given in the media. Among other reasons, this is due to the Web, through its various platforms; for instance, its blogs and online newspapers "have allowed new opportunities for people different from traditional political stakeholders to set agenda items and frame their own points of view "(Brundidge and Rice, 2009: 148).

Finally, a question still to be worked out is to know how much it is possible for digital technologies to provide useful information allowing citizens who use the Interred to contend with the rhetoric accompanying traditional election campaigns. Most evidence seems to indicate that, as with pre-digital media, the latter is not the normal case. There is no doubt, however, that to the extent in which there is more access to online information, "it is easier to distinguish between real facts and disappointment involved in reading the usual media" (Hardy, Hall and Winneg, 2009: 142).

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