

# El debate en la cámara de diputados

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# Los oradores en el pleno

- Junta: coordinadores, voto ponderado
  - incentivos selectivos: remplazos en comisión, gasto discrecional (20%!)
  - Disciplina: ~3% dipus votan contra may. de su partido
  - La jerarquía es fundamental para evitar cuellos de botella plenarios (Cox)

# Los oradores en el pleno

- Auto-selección de oradores, hablan cuando presidente los “reconoce”
  - 1a ronda: coordinadores mandan a sus oradores
  - Libertad para anotarte en lista de oradores subsecuentes

# Reglas formales

| Debate type (in Spanish)                                      | Goal          | Durat.    | Selector   | Veto       |
|---|---------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1. Introduce legislation (iniciativa)                         | Author        |           |            |            |
| - a new law   | presents      | - 10'     | - member   | - no       |
| - amend a law   | the bill      | - 5'      | - member   | - no       |
| 2. Committee report (dictamen)                                | Move          |           |            |            |
| - Debate en lo general vs SQ, chair                           | for floor     | - 10'     | - comm.maj | - pres.^1  |
| - " " " others  | consideration | - 5'      | - member   | - floor    |
| - negative report   |               | - 3'      | - comm.maj | - pres.^1  |
| 3. Recognition-granting motions                               | Contend with  |           |            |            |
| - Amendment (reserva), introducer                             | speaker or    | - 5'      | - member   | - no       |
| - " " , others  | project       | - 5'      | - member   | - floor    |
| - Question to speaker (cuestionamiento)                       |               | - 3'      | - member   | - speaker  |
| - Right of reply (alusiones personales)                       |               | - pres.^2 | - member   | - no       |
| - Fact correction (rectificación)                             |               | - pres.^2 | - member   | - no       |
| 4. Resolutions (puntos de acuerdo)                            | Position      |           |            |            |
| - standard, author  | taking        | - 10'     | - member   | - comm.maj |
| - urgent, author (obvia resolución)                           |               | - 5'      | - Junta    | - floor    |
| - other speakers  |               | - 3'      | - party    | - no       |
| 5. Current events (agenda política)                           | Position      | < 2hrs    |            |            |
| - Junta proponent   | taking        | - 10'     | - Junta    | - no       |
| - other speakers  |               | - 5'      | - member   | - no       |
| ^1 = President can delay/prevent speech by granting recommit. |               |           |            |            |
| ^2 = President sets time limit.                               |               |           |            |            |

# Permeabilidad e informalidad

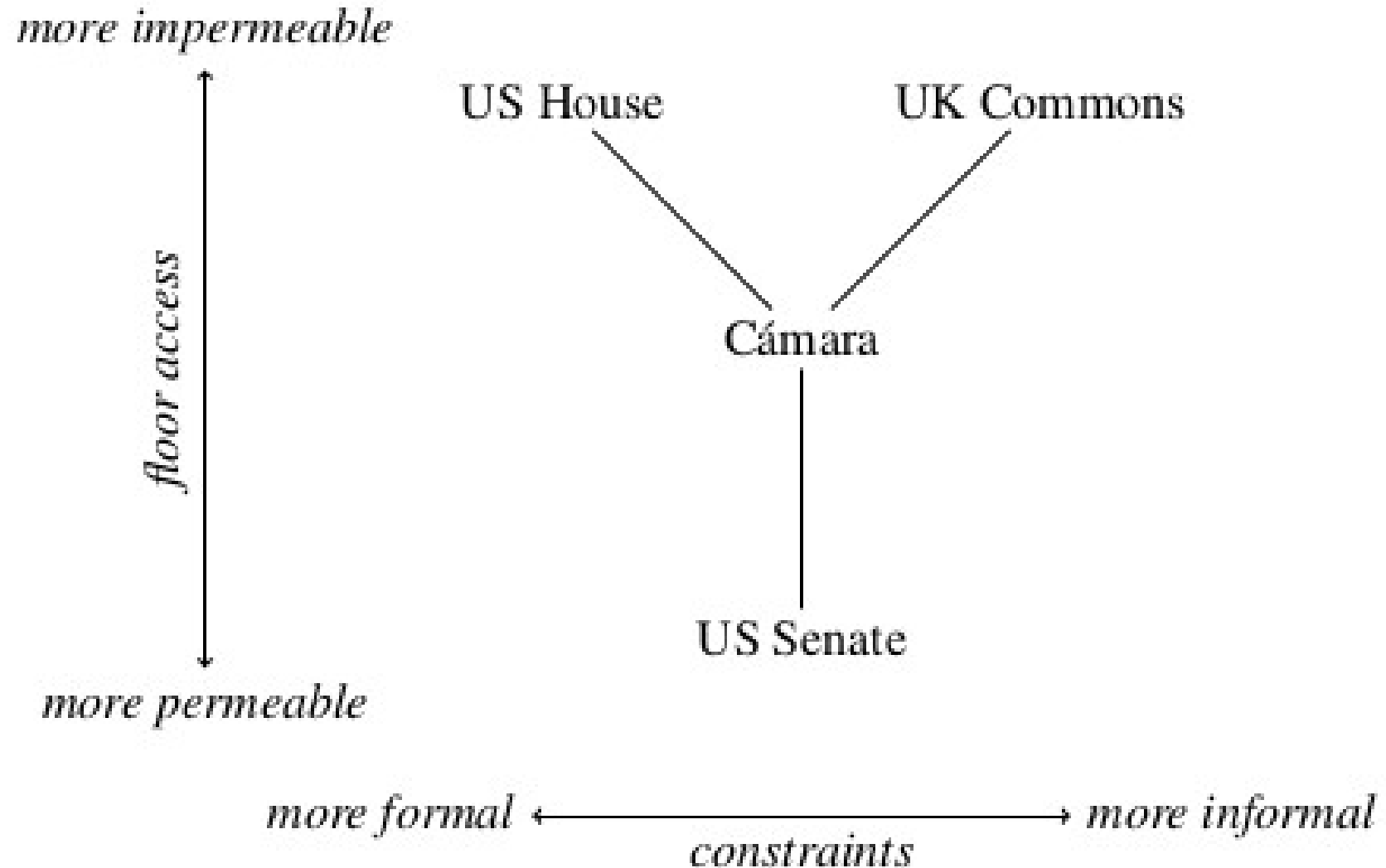


Figure 4: Formal and informal restrictions to members' legislative rights

### Part A: Continuous variables

|                            | min | median | mean | sd     | max   | N    |
|----------------------------|-----|--------|------|--------|-------|------|
| N speeches (DV1)           | 0   | 1      | 2    | 3.1    | 37    | 9978 |
| N words / exposure (DV2)   | 0   | 556    | 1326 | 2665.7 | 50291 | 9978 |
| N words                    | 0   | 544    | 1301 | 2632.2 | 50291 | 9978 |
| Days in office (exposure)  | 1   | 29     | 25.4 | 12.2   | 40    | 9978 |
| Party share                | 0.4 | 25     | 29.3 | 16.2   | 51    | 9978 |
| Years since frosh          | 0   | 1      | 1.7  | 2.2    | 17    | 9978 |
| Seniority (previous terms) | 0   | 0      | 0.3  | 0.6    | 4     | 9978 |
| Age                        | 21  | 46     | 45.9 | 10.1   | 78    | 7453 |

### Part B: Dichotomous variables

|          | 0    | 1    | tot | N    |
|----------|------|------|-----|------|
| Spoke    | 40.3 | 59.7 | 100 | 9978 |
| Majority | 84.7 | 15.3 | 100 | 9978 |
| Leader   | 98.4 | 1.6  | 100 | 9978 |
| Chair    | 88.4 | 11.6 | 100 | 9978 |
| SMD      | 39.3 | 60.7 | 100 | 9978 |
| PAN      | 73.4 | 26.6 | 100 | 9978 |
| PRI      | 73.7 | 26.3 | 100 | 9978 |
| Left     | 68.9 | 31.1 | 100 | 9978 |
| Suplente | 94.1 | 5.9  | 100 | 9978 |
| Extraord | 80.4 | 19.6 | 100 | 9978 |
| Female   | 63.7 | 36.3 | 100 | 9978 |
| 60th     | 69.8 | 30.2 | 100 | 9978 |
| 62nd     | 59.7 | 40.3 | 100 | 9978 |
| 64th     | 70.6 | 29.4 | 100 | 9978 |

- Unidad de análisis
- DV1 es limitada
- Spoke = 1
- Words? Exposure?

# Modelo de eventos (DV1)

- $N_{i,p}$  es el número de discursos de la legisladora  $i$  en el periodo de sesiones  $p$
- $E(N_{i,p}) = r_i \cdot \text{días}_{i,p}$
- $r_i = \exp(a + b_1.x_1 + b_2.x_2 + \dots) \cdot \text{días}_{i,p} + \text{error}_{i,p}$   
 $= \exp(\ln(\text{días}_{i,p}) + a + b_1.x_1 + \dots) + \text{error}_{i,p}$
- Regresiones Poisson y binomial negativa

| Past terms | Mean number<br>of speeches<br>women | Mean number<br>of speeches<br>men | Member-periods<br>women | Member-periods<br>men |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 0          | 1.94                                | 1.69                              | 3015                    | 4944                  |
| >0         | 2.95                                | 2.57                              | 610                     | 1409                  |
| 1          | 3.02                                | 2.36                              | 483                     | 1102                  |
| 2          | 2.74                                | 3.66                              | 115                     | 229                   |
| 3+         | 1.92                                | 2.36                              | 12                      | 78                    |

Table 3: Seniority and floor access, member-periods



## Regression results

|                   | DV = Speeches in period |                      |                          | DV = Words/exposure in period |                         |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|                   | (1)                     | (2)                  | (3)                      | (4)                           | (5)                     | (6)                     |
| Exposure (logged) | 0.99***<br>(0.02)       | 1.32***<br>(0.04)    | 1.07***<br>(0.04)        |                               |                         |                         |
| Majority          | 1.20***<br>(0.05)       | 0.98***<br>(0.06)    | 1.11***<br>(0.04)        | 826.87***<br>(84.75)          | 1,738.55***<br>(128.10) | 1,102.46***<br>(219.25) |
| Party leader      | 0.35***<br>(0.08)       | 0.31***<br>(0.08)    | 0.22***<br>(0.04)        | 2,241.56***<br>(202.81)       | 1,911.89***<br>(199.88) | 1,260.70***<br>(302.50) |
| Comm. chair       | 0.28***<br>(0.04)       | 0.26***<br>(0.03)    | 0.12***<br>(0.02)        | 289.72***<br>(78.23)          | 225.24***<br>(76.64)    | 184.63<br>(127.37)      |
| Seniority         | 0.11***<br>(0.02)       | 0.12***<br>(0.02)    | 0.10***<br>(0.01)        | 210.68***<br>(46.37)          | 245.54***<br>(45.33)    | 253.18***<br>(83.10)    |
| Woman             | 0.13***<br>(0.02)       | 0.09***<br>(0.02)    | 0.04**<br>(0.02)         | 136.54***<br>(52.64)          | 125.68**<br>(52.14)     | 16.18<br>(96.83)        |
| Party size        | -0.05***<br>(0.001)     | -0.04***<br>(0.001)  | -0.04***<br>(0.001)      | -61.52***<br>(1.92)           | -71.85***<br>(2.20)     | -63.13***<br>(3.76)     |
| SMD               | 0.03<br>(0.03)          | -0.06*<br>(0.03)     | -0.01<br>(0.02)          | -48.69<br>(53.48)             | -90.05<br>(63.34)       | -113.31<br>(112.33)     |
| SMD x reelect     |                         | 0.26***<br>(0.05)    | 0.10***<br>(0.03)        |                               | 232.39**<br>(111.13)    | -8.32<br>(182.94)       |
| Suplente          | -0.17***<br>(0.06)      | -0.09<br>(0.06)      | -0.23***<br>(0.05)       | -271.52**<br>(106.35)         | -346.94***<br>(103.79)  | -330.99**<br>(137.19)   |
| 62nd Leg.         |                         | 0.25***<br>(0.03)    | 0.24***<br>(0.02)        |                               | 726.90***<br>(60.94)    | 843.14***<br>(94.39)    |
| 64th Leg.         |                         | 0.17***<br>(0.05)    | 0.16***<br>(0.03)        |                               | -279.10***<br>(107.10)  | 316.26**<br>(158.53)    |
| Extraordinary     |                         | 0.67***<br>(0.08)    | 0.69***<br>(0.07)        |                               | -1,234.16***<br>(64.62) | -1,240.27***<br>(43.42) |
| Constant          | -1.66***<br>(0.08)      | -2.97***<br>(0.15)   | -1.95***<br>(0.13)       | 2,874.07***<br>(68.55)        | 3,064.88***<br>(84.01)  | 2,805.63***<br>(140.25) |
| Fixed effects     | no                      | term                 | term                     | no                            | term                    | term                    |
| Random effects    | no                      | no                   | no                       | no                            | no                      | member                  |
| Estimation method | negative<br>binomial    | negative<br>binomial | zero-inflated<br>poisson | OLS                           | OLS                     | linear<br>mixed-effects |
| theta             | 1.55*** (0.05)          | 1.65*** (0.05)       |                          |                               |                         |                         |
| Observations      | 9,978                   | 9,978                | 9,978                    | 9,978                         | 9,978                   | 9,978                   |
| R2                |                         |                      |                          | 0.14                          | 0.18                    |                         |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 32,689.90               | 32,478.98            | 34,832.82                |                               |                         | 178,880.70              |

Note:

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

|                   | DV = Speeches in period |                   |                       | DV = Words/exposure in period |             |                      |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
|                   | (1)                     | (2)               | (3)                   | (4)                           | (5)         | (6)                  |
| Exposure (logged) | 0.99***                 | 1.32***           | 1.07***               |                               |             |                      |
|                   | (0.02)                  | (0.04)            | (0.04)                |                               |             |                      |
| Majority          | 1.20***                 | 0.98***           | 1.11***               | 826.87***                     | 1738.55***  | 1102.46***           |
|                   | (0.05)                  | (0.06)            | (0.04)                | (84.75)                       | (128.10)    | (219.25)             |
| Party leader      | 0.35***                 | 0.31***           | 0.22***               | 2241.56***                    | 1911.89***  | 1260.70***           |
|                   | (0.08)                  | (0.08)            | (0.04)                | (202.81)                      | (199.88)    | (302.50)             |
| Comm. chair       | 0.28***                 | 0.26***           | 0.12***               | 289.72***                     | 225.24***   | 184.63               |
|                   | (0.04)                  | (0.03)            | (0.02)                | (78.23)                       | (76.64)     | (127.37)             |
| Previous terms    | 0.11***                 | 0.12***           | 0.10***               | 210.68***                     | 245.54***   | 253.18***            |
|                   | (0.02)                  | (0.02)            | (0.01)                | (46.37)                       | (45.33)     | (83.10)              |
| Women             | 0.13***                 | 0.09***           | 0.04**                | 136.54***                     | 125.68**    | 16.18                |
|                   | (0.02)                  | (0.02)            | (0.02)                | (52.64)                       | (52.14)     | (96.83)              |
| Party size        | -0.05***                | -0.04***          | -0.04***              | -61.52***                     | -71.85***   | -63.13***            |
|                   | (0.001)                 | (0.001)           | (0.001)               | (1.92)                        | (2.20)      | (3.76)               |
| SMD               | 0.03                    | -0.06*            | -0.01                 | -48.69                        | -90.05      | -113.31              |
|                   | (0.03)                  | (0.03)            | (0.02)                | (53.48)                       | (63.34)     | (112.33)             |
| SMD x re-elect    |                         | 0.26***           | 0.10***               |                               | 232.39**    | -8.32                |
|                   |                         | (0.05)            | (0.03)                |                               | (111.13)    | (182.94)             |
| Suplente          | -0.17***                | -0.09             | -0.23***              | -271.52**                     | -346.94***  | -330.99**            |
|                   | (0.06)                  | (0.06)            | (0.05)                | (106.35)                      | (103.79)    | (137.19)             |
| 62nd Leg.         |                         | 0.25***           | 0.24***               |                               | 726.90***   | 843.14***            |
|                   |                         | (0.03)            | (0.02)                |                               | (60.94)     | (94.39)              |
| 64th Leg.         |                         | 0.17***           | 0.16***               |                               | -279.10***  | 316.26**             |
|                   |                         | (0.05)            | (0.03)                |                               | (107.10)    | (158.53)             |
| Extraordinary     |                         | 0.67***           | 0.69***               |                               | -           | -                    |
|                   |                         |                   |                       |                               | -1234.16*** | -1240.27***          |
|                   |                         | (0.08)            | (0.07)                |                               | (64.62)     | (43.42)              |
| Constant          | -1.66***                | -2.97***          | -1.95***              | 2874.07***                    | 3064.88***  | 2805.63***           |
|                   | (0.08)                  | (0.15)            | (0.13)                | (68.55)                       | (84.01)     | (140.25)             |
| Fixed effects     | no                      | term              | term                  | no                            | term        | term                 |
| Random effects    | no                      | no                | no                    | no                            | no          | member               |
| Estimation method | negative binomial       | Negative binomial | Zero-inflated Poisson | OLS                           | OLS         | Linear mixed-effects |
| Overdispersion    | 1.55***                 | 1.65***           |                       |                               |             |                      |
|                   | (0.05)                  | (0.05)            |                       |                               |             |                      |
| Observations      | 9978                    | 9978              | 9978                  | 9978                          | 9978        | 9978                 |
| R2                |                         |                   |                       | 0.14                          | 0.18        |                      |
| AIC               | 32689.90                | 32478.98          | 34832.82              |                               |             | 178880.70            |

Note: \*p < 0.1; \*\*p < 0.05; \*\*\*p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses.

# Interpretación vía simulaciones

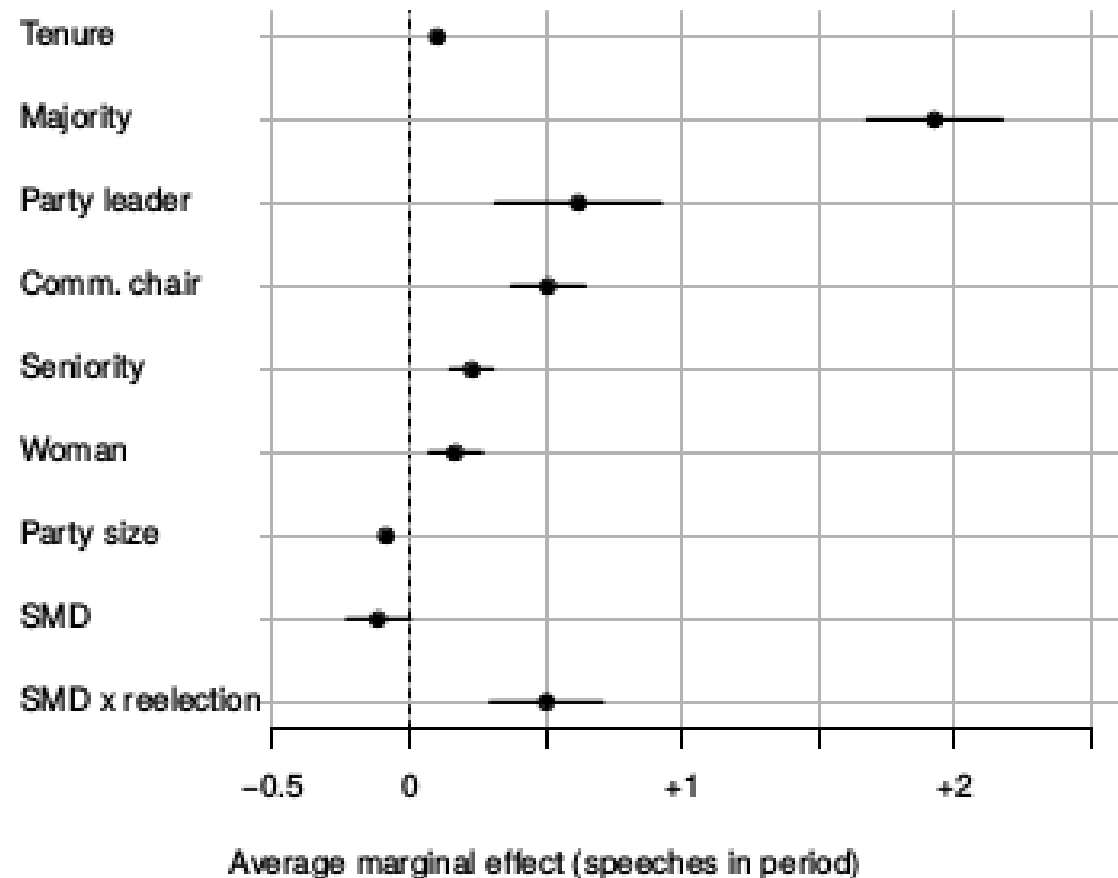


Figure 2: Average marginal effects from model 2. Circles report the effect in the expected number of speeches per period of a unit change in each independent variable, all else at mean values; bars are 95-percent confidence intervals.

# Más simulaciones

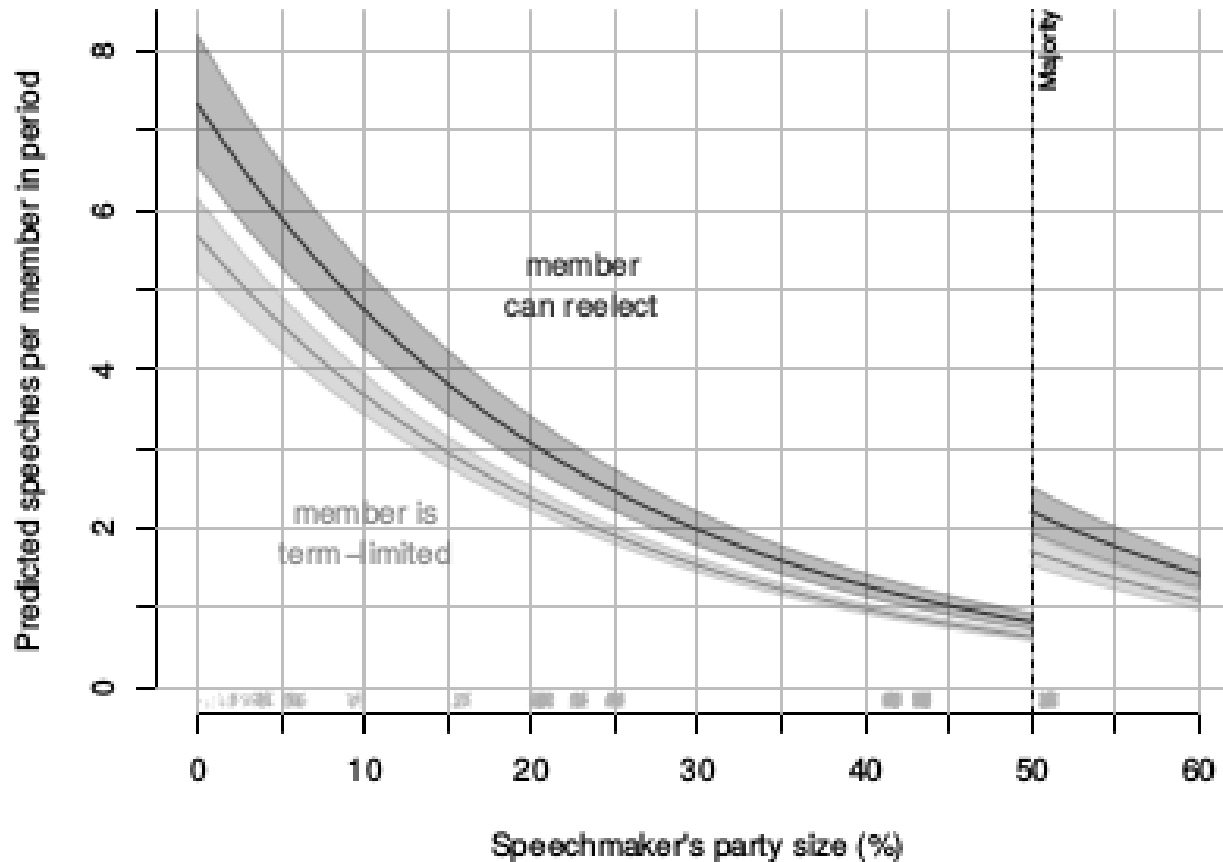


Figure 3: Predicted number of speeches by party size. Lines report point predictions using model 2, bands are 95-percent confidence intervals. Miniature points above the x-axis are observed members' party sizes (x- and y-jittered for visibility).

# En resumen

- Estructura informal ha contenido los tapones plenarios en México – centralidad de los partidos
- La reelección consecutiva debería introducir mucho ruido
- *So what?* Discurso es simbólico, la sustancia está en los resultados legislativos