

Data in memory of Francisco Cantú

Eric Magar
ITAM

March 28th, 2025
Univ. of Houston

Outline

- 1 The colleague
- 2 Senate roll call votes
- 3 Public repository

The colleague



Team player

- Susan Achury
- Leonardo Antenangeli
- Natalia Aruguete
- Ernesto Calvo
- Scott Clifford
- Scott Desposato (x2)
- Cengiz Erisen
- Jorge Fernandes
- Omar García Ponce
- Agustina Haime
- Victor Hernández Huerta
- Verónica Hoyo (x2)
- Paul Johnson
- Sandra Ley (x2)
- Eric Magar
- Marco Morales
- Javier Márquez
- Margarita Ramírez
- Pedro Riera (x3)
- Sebastián Saiegh
- Carlos Scartascini
- Leslie Schwindt-Bayer
- Robert Stein et al. (x2)
- Michelle Torres
- Agustín Vallejo
- Tiago Ventura
- Dane Wendell
- ...

Three strands

Fraud, election integrity

- Identifying Electoral Irregularities in Mexican Local Elections /AJPS/ 2014
- The Fingerprints of Fraud: Evidence from Mexico's 1988 Presidential Election /APSR/ 2019
- Fraudulent Democracy? Analysis of Argentina's Infamous Decade w Superv. Machine Learning /PA/ 2011
- Public Distrust in Challenged Elections: Evidence from Latin America /BJPS/ 2022
- Partisan Losers' Effects: Perceptions of Electoral Integrity in Mexico /ES/ 2015
- Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study /PRQ/ 2020
- Right On Time: An Electoral Audit for the Publication of Vote Results /SPR/ 2019
- Pedagogical Value of Polling Place Observation By Students /PS/ 2018
- Poll Worker Recruitment: Evidence from the Mexican Case /ELJ/ 2017

Voting, vote trading

- Groceries for Votes: The Electoral Returns of Vote-Buying /JoP/ 2019
- Electoral Systems and Ideological Voting /EPSR/ 2022
- The Effects of Election Polls in Mexico's 2018 Presidential Campaign /ES/ 2021
- Negative Partisanship in Latin America /LAPS/ 2022
- Partisan Cues and Perceived Risks /JoEPOP/ 2021
- Mexico: The Decline of Institutional Trust /RCP/ 2017
- The Utility of Unpacking Survey Bias in Multiparty Elections /IJPOR/ 2016
- The Nationalization of the Mexican Party System /PyG/ 2020
- Disgust Sensitivity and Support for Immigration Policy across Five Nations /PLS/ 2025
- El impacto electoral de Progres-Opportunidades ITAM 2006

Legislative studies, roll call votes

- The Rise of Federal Politics in Mexico's Legislative Branch /JPLA/ 2012
- Selection Bias in Mexican Roll-Call Publications /PyG/ 2014
- Determinants of Legislative Committee Membership in Proportional Representation Systems /PP/ 2018
- The Politics of Committee Chairs Assignment in Ireland and Spain /PAff/ 2018
- Gender and Family Ties in Latin American Legislatures /P&G/ 2022

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Legislative studies, roll call votes

- The Rise of Federal Politics in Mexico's Legislative Branch /JPLA/ 2012
- ***Selection Bias in Mexican Roll-Call Publications (w Desposato & Magar) /PyG/ 2014***
- Determinants of Legislative Committee Membership in Proportional Representation Systems /PP/ 2018
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In the back burner since 2014

- Asymmetric approach to Mexican Congress
→ Francisco sought to remedy
- But: Senate doesn't publish pre-digested roll call votes
- Sent me a collection scraped from Senate web page

Labor intensive

- Messy web concières
- Agreed we'd deal with this later

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Problems

Unsystematic

- In period covered, roll call vote appear in 3 diff ways
- Member names often scrambled
- Many repeats

What I've done (just a start)

- ① *Beautiful soup* to de-HTMLize
- ② Full senator names, with substitutes
- ③ Coded regular expressions in search of patterns
- ④ Trial-and-error

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What surfaced

- Francisco sent 637 digital issues of *Diario de sesiones*
- Each records debate, floor proceedings, and 1+ roll call vote
- Produced 724 votes in the dataset

Session	N
Spr. '05	101
Fall '05	118
Spr. '06	154
Fall '06	47
Spr. '07	104
Fall '07	17
Fall '10	73
Spr. '11	110

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Against bill universe

Session	Cantú	Weldon	dif
59th Leg.			
Fall'03		109	
Spr.'04		64	
Fall'04		98	
Spr.'05	101	108	-7
Fall'05	118	130	-12
Spr.'06	154	157	-3
60th Leg.			
Fall'06	47	63	-16
Spr.'07	104	108	-4
Fall'07	17	177	-160
Spr.'08		109	
Fall'08		132	
Spr.'09		129	

Rice cohesion scores

$$C_{pv} = \frac{|\text{ayes}_{pv} - \text{nays}_{pv}|}{\text{ayes}_{pv} + \text{nays}_{pv}}$$

Party	\bar{C}	
	2005–06	2006–11
PAN	.96	.98
PRI	.98	.99
Left	.96	.92

Rice dissimilarity

$$D_{pqv} = \left| \frac{\text{nays}_{pv}}{\text{ayes}_{pv} + \text{nays}_{pv}} - \frac{\text{nays}_{qv}}{\text{ayes}_{qv} + \text{nays}_{qv}} \right|$$

	\bar{D}	
	2005–06	2006–11
PAN–PRI	.07	.06
PAN–Left	.10	.21
PRI–Left	.07	.18

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Public repository

<https://github.com/emagar/senmex>

Files:

- votdat58.59.csv (V)
- sendat58.59.csv (S)
- rc58.59.csv ($V \times S$)
- votdat60.61.csv
- sendat60.61.csv
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More work needed... crowdsourcing?

- Missing votes in period
- Extend coverage 1997–2025
- Scale senator's ideal points

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Thank you **Francisco!**
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