Data in memory of Francisco Cantú

Eric Magar

28-3-2025 Univ. of Houston

Outline

1 The colleague

2 Senate roll call votes

Public repository

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 /PRO/ 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-Buving /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 /PvG/ 2020
- Disgust Sensitivity and Support for Immigration Policy across Five Nations /PLS/ 2025
- El impacto electoral de Progresa-Oportunidades 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 /PvG/ 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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- *Selection Bias in Mexican Roll-Call Publications (w Desposato & Magar) /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
 - The Politics of Committee Chairs Assignment in Ireland and Spain /PAJJ/ 2018 - Gender and Family Ties in Latin American Legislatures /P&G/ 2022

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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 concièrges
- Agreed we'd deal with this later

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Problems

Unsystematic

- In period covered, roll call vote appear in 3 dift 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 |
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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

$$C_{pv} = rac{\left| \mathsf{ayes}_{pv} - \mathsf{nays}_{pv}
ight|}{\mathsf{ayes}_{pv} + \mathsf{nays}_{pv}}$$

| | C | |
|-------|---------|---------|
| Party | 2005-06 | 2006-11 |
| PAN | .96 | .98 |
| PRI | .98 | .99 |
| Left | .96 | .92 |

Rice dissimilarity

$$D_{pqv} = \left| rac{\mathsf{nays}_{pv}}{\mathsf{ayes}_{pv} + \mathsf{nays}_{pv}} - rac{\mathsf{nays}_{qv}}{\mathsf{ayes}_{qv} + \mathsf{nays}_{qv}}
ight|$$

| | D | |
|----------|---------|---------|
| | 2005-06 | 2006-11 |
| PAN-PRI | .07 | .06 |
| PAN-Left | .10 | .21 |
| PRI-Left | .07 | .18 |

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
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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!