



THE INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF BRAZIL AND URUGUAY AND ITS REFLECTIONS IN THE COMPOSITION OF PLENARY DISCUSSIONS ON ABORTION (1985-2016)

A ORGANIZAÇÃO INSTITUCIONAL DA CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS DO BRASIL

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Abstract: The objective of this text is to demonstrate how the institutional organization of the plenary sessions of the House of Representatives of Brazil and Uruguay, defined by their respective internal regulations, structured the pronouncements on the voluntary termination of pregnancy, between 1985 and 2016. Thus, the article presents the systematization of some rules of legislative activity related to speech.

Keywords: Legislative Branch; Abortion; Brazil; Uruguay.

1 Introduction

The investigations on the analysis of the contents of the speeches, opinions and communications expressed by the political representatives, governmental institutions and communication vehicles, have a certain tradition in different fields of knowledge of the humanities, which under multiple theoretical approaches produced a relevant collection of results on the Brazilian reality in different historical periods.

Despite this, only recently studies on the content expressed in the speeches of the representatives began to be carried out in a more systematic way, it is registered here the initiatives carried out by the Democracy and Inequalities Group of the University of Brasília (Demodê-UnB), and also by the Ideology and Discourse Analysis Group at the Federal University of Pelotas (IdAD-UFPel). It is possible to verify, to a large extent, that this current attention is related to three factors: 1) the availability of online access to the Diaries of the House of Representatives and / or Federal Senate of Brazil and other countries; 2) systematization of information on legislative activity; and 3) the tracking filters on these institutional sites. In previous contexts, a search in these documents would involve considerable obstacles, due to the volume of resources, time and logistics to be in loco in the sector of archiving of the Diaries, as well as the full accomplishment of their reading for selection and clipping of the theme addressed, finally, storing the information obtained. Therefore, in the contemporary panorama there are notable operational

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stimuli for carrying out studies on the pronouncements made within the scope of the Legislative Branch.

The analysis of the statements of the representatives provides important subsidies for diagnoses in the legislative scope about the deliberation, processing and construction of the agenda in relevant public policies, for example, in the areas of: economy, environment, sustainability and structural reforms of the State. Particularly in relation to studies related to human rights, investigations of this nature present indicators to understand the advance, retreat and reactions to some bills of law, which, depending on the case, such as women's reproductive rights, pass for long periods in legislative houses, without be taken to decision-making spheres in the Legislative Branch, therefore, without materializing in the form of public policy. Analyses of parliamentary manifestations, and their referrals, make it possible to diagnose tensions between parliamentary groups with respect to certain agendas and their ways of conducting, in specific legislatures or in a more extensive time series. The composition of a database with materials of this nature can serve as a main, combined and / or complementary approach to other sources.

Unlike content analysis in other spheres and documents, investigations into parliamentary pronouncements should pay attention to the institutional rules that organize the debate in the legislative environment. Because they are crucial in understanding the construction of the discourse, the centrality it will give to a given theme and to whom it is addressed There are already specific studies on the plenary sessions, such as Davi Moreira's (2016) thesis on the pronouncements made during the Small Expedient session¹.

In this same sense, the objective of the text is to present a part of the design of my research, entitled *On bodies, crucifixes and freedoms: the secularity of the State analyzed from the legislative debate on abortion in Brazil and Uruguay* (1985-2016), conducted under the guidance of Prof^a Flávia Biroli. Specifically, the purpose is to examine how the institutional organization of the plenary sessions of the House of Representatives of Brazil and Uruguay, defined by their respective internal regulations, structured the composition of discursive interventions on the voluntary termination of pregnancy, between the years of 1985 and 2016. The text presents the systematization of some rules of legislative activity, as well as aspects that allow explaining or elucidating the research results. In the first section we present a brief exposition of the methodological procedures adopted for its realization, in the second section we examine the institutional norms for the exercise of speech in plenary and their effects on the conformation of the pronouncements.

¹ This thesis, entitled “*With the word the noble deputies: frequency and thematic emphasis of the speeches of Brazilian representatives*” received the Capes Award in 2017, in the Political Science / International Relations area.

2 Methodological aspects

A The research methodology was based on the analysis of the pronouncements on abortion, given by the representatives that make up the House of Representatives of Brazil and Uruguay, between 1985 and 2016, therefore, all the speech manifestations made in plenary from the beginning of the civil government to the present day. In this sense, the proposal was to map the positions in dispute regarding women's reproductive rights, using parliamentary speeches as the main source of research.

The comparison between these countries is relevant because they are in opposite cases, regarding the treatment of women's reproductive rights. Uruguay has recently become the only country in the region to pass legislation to decriminalize voluntary termination of pregnancy. In Brazil, on the other hand, there is the rise of ultra-conservative political, social and religious forces, which are, to a large extent, responsible for conducting regressively the discussion on abortion in the Legislative Branch.

The comparison between Brazil and Uruguay was based on some parameters. Firstly, it was carried out based on a specific spatial approach, that is, the analysis of the pronouncements made in a sphere of the Legislative Branch, the House of Representatives of Brazil and the House of Representatives of Uruguay². Second, a thematic approach was also applied, that is, among the various subjects that make up the parliamentary agenda; we selected the speeches on abortion. Finally, the time frame was equivalent for both countries. Therefore, despite the huge differences between Brazil and Uruguay, such cuts make the comparative analysis viable because we focus on the material produced by the political representatives of a circumscribed State institution, who have a similar function in the democratic regime³.

This research project started in 2013 and focused on the analysis of the pronouncements made in the House of representatives of Brazil, which were initially collected and analyzed within the scope of the project: "Right to abortion and the meanings of motherhood: actors and positions in dispute in contemporary Brazil ", coordinated by Prof^a Flávia Biroli and Prof. Luis Felipe Miguel, developed at the University of Brasília (UnB), with results already published (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2016; MIGUEL; BIROLI; SANTOS, 2017; SANTOS; SILVA, 2016; SILVA, 2016; 2018).

The first step was the selection of pronouncements that would form the basis of analysis. For this, we developed a set of keywords that would allow us to collect the different forms of speech construction about abortion. After tests to try them out on the search engine

² This investigation could also be based on the pronouncements made in the Senate of each country, another sphere of the Legislative Branch. However, we focus on the House of Representatives due to the volume of data obtained, therefore, the scope of the evidence regarding positions and disputes around abortion, given that the number of senators in each legislature in Brazil is 81 and in Uruguay 30, while the number of representatives is 513 and 99, respectively.

³ The systematization of legislative activity is a factor that stimulates research focusing on this material. This investigation is analyzing other countries, such as Argentina, but the absence of this mechanism in countries (for example, Colombia and Paraguay) is a factor that prevents progress.

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on the website of the House of Representatives of Brazil, the conclusion was that the most appropriate terms (in Portuguese) would be as follows: “abortion”, “voluntary termination of pregnancy”, “termination of pregnancy”, “voluntary termination of gestation” and “termination of gestation”.

The investigation in the House of Representatives of Uruguay was carried out after the end of the investigation carried out in the House of Representatives of Brazil. To establish a comparative analysis, the same parameters and procedures were adopted, as far as possible, except for minor adjustments made, mainly idiomatic.

After the selection process, all statements were read and analyzed. For each speech, a form in the Sphinx Lexica⁴ statistical software was filled out, with 32 speech classification variables. Annex I contains the model used in both countries. The use of this instrument was extremely important for the systematization of information, carried out in three steps. The first step consisted of the documentation of parliamentary speech, with the registration of *Page, Expedient (BR) / Plenary Session (UY)* in which the speech was delivered and *Date of the speech* in the Diaries of the House of Representatives. In the second step, the identification information of the representative speaker was recorded, such as *Name, Gender, Party Affiliation, Federative Unit (BR) / Department (UY)* for which he was elected, and the number of *Mandates* he was exercising. The last step consisted of classifying the content expressed in each speech, such as: the *Keywords* mentioned in the speech, the *Centrality* with which the abortion theme was addressed in the statement, *General Position* on the subject, *Specific position* (type of extension or restriction on abortion); *Arguments* used to support his position; the *Main argument* of speech; the *Argument (s)* that the representative sought to contest and / or refute; *Self identification* used as an authority argument to punctuate a place of speech (for example: mother, woman, doctor, priest and jurist); the specification of some *Fact* of the moment on which the statement was based, internal and / or external to the legislative activity, finally, the *filing of the Speech* and *Observations* on it. The resource made the systematization and crossing of the obtained data feasible, as well as the construction of qualitative and quantitative panoramas of a material composed essentially of texts (In a research note, Silva (2017a), explained the way of use and the role of each variable classification of speeches).

⁴ The Sphinx Léxica software, version 5.1, allows: the definition of closed, open and numerical questions; grouping of questions; crossing and preparing variables (combining, transforming and merging); simple descriptive analysis tables, averages, correlations, variance and regression; lexical table; regrouping of lexicons; verbatim (text extraction); elaboration of descriptive reports and elaboration of distinct graphics.

3 The institutional organization for the exercise of speech in the parliamentary environment

Based on these procedures, the research in the House of Representatives of Brazil collected 1102 speeches and analyzed 1078 speeches⁵, delivered between January 1985 and December 2016. The data correspond to the period that covers the 47th legislature until the 55th legislature. At the House of Representatives of Uruguay, we collected 352 speeches and analyzed 337, given between January 1985 and December 2016, between the 42nd legislature and the 48th legislature.

Initially, we need to point out that in Brazil 513 federal representatives are elected, to exercise their mandate in the legislature lasting 4 years. In Uruguay, 99 representatives are elected to the House of Representatives for a 5-year term legislature. This composition in national legislatures was relatively constant between 1985 and 2016, partly explaining the differences in the proportion of speeches made.

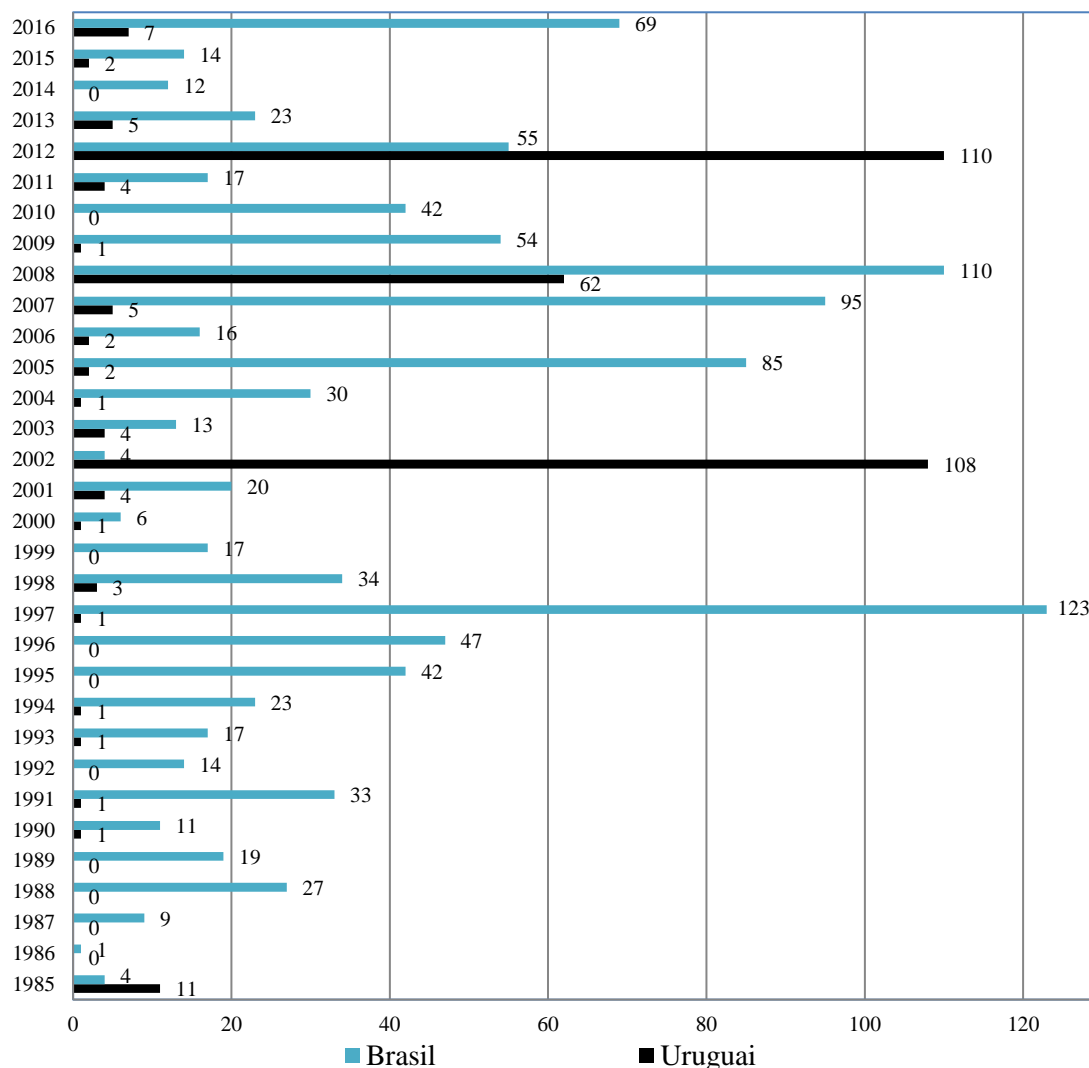
It is also important to note that the speeches were delivered on a separate legal basis. In Brazil, the Criminal Code of 1940, promulgated by Decree-Law No. 2,848, established the legal provisions on abortion, in large part, still in force today. In this legislation the act is framed between the crimes against the person and the life, with punishments to the abortion caused by the pregnant woman and by third parties, the mitigating factors of this law are: Art. 128 - the absence of punishment when provoked by a doctor in the circumstance in which there is no other way to save the mother's life and when pregnancy is the result of rape (BRASIL, 1940). In 2012, the Ministers of the Supreme Federal Court incorporated another mitigating factor, the decriminalization of abortion in fetuses diagnosed with anencephaly.

In turn, in Uruguay, abortion became an offense and criminalized through Law No. 9,763 of 1938. This legislation covered a wide number of exceptions on which no penalty was applied, provided that the abortion was performed by a doctor, ample number of exceptions for which no penalty was applied, provided that the abortion was performed by a doctor, among the mitigating factors are: pregnancy with risk to the woman's health or life; pregnancy resulting from rape; economic hardship and honor (Art. 328, items 1-5) (URUGUAI, 1938). This legislation was in force until 2012, when the voluntary termination of pregnancy was decriminalized.

This total amount of pronouncements is unevenly distributed throughout the historical series. As you can see in the chart below, in some years there are very few records, while others reach peak speeches.

⁵ This difference between the number of speeches collected and analyzed is related to the fact that some statements were classified in their centrality as Irrelevant, as they used some of the keywords, but with another connotation, for example: "The government aborted the plan of measures economic". These pronouncements were excluded from the analysis.

Graph 1 - Number of speeches on abortion, between 1985-2016.



Source: Own elaboration.

The results presented in the graph allow us to diagnose that pronouncements in Brazil on abortion have a relative frequency in each year of the investigation period, although significant increases and decreases have been observed in some years. In Uruguay, 83% of the speeches (280 out of 337) were delivered in just three years: 2002, 2008 and 2012. This finding already sets out some unique characteristics, but which will be dealt with below.

It is necessary to demonstrate that these pronouncements were classified and distinguished according to the centrality with which the voluntary termination of pregnancy was treated in each one. The classification of the degree of centrality is essential in research of this nature, as it identifies the format of each speech and the fact that they do not have the same characteristics, due to the focus given by each representative in his speech. Thus, in the variable “15 - Abortion is a theme”, it was possible to mark one of five categories of filling in about centrality, they are: *1st focused*, when the subject was the central point of speech; *2nd one among*

several, pointed out in situations where the issue of abortion was one of the other topics addressed in the statement; *3rd secondary of another focus*, when the theme was just a complement to another main subject; *4th side reference*, on occasions when there was merely a brief citation or allusion to abortion; *5° irrelevant*, when there was no relation between the topic treated and the issue of abortion⁶. The results of this classification can be analyzed in the table below.

Table 1 - Distribution of speeches (number of citations and percentage) according to the importance of abortion in the House of representatives of Brazil and Uruguay, between 1985-2016.

Centrality ↓	Country →	Uruguay		Brazil	
		Q.	%	Q.	%
Focused		276	78,3%	664	60,3%
One among several		2	0,6%	225	20,4%
Secondary of another focus		21	6%	119	10,8%
Side reference		38	10,8%	71	6,4%
Irrelevant		15	4,3%	23	2,1%
TOTAL OBS.		352	100%	1102	100%

Source: Own elaboration.

Again, it is possible to notice that there is a profound difference in the speeches made when comparing each country, this time as to the way they were enunciated in the legislative houses. On the one hand, the number / percentage of pronouncements that were devoted entirely to the subject, in Uruguay it represents almost the totality of speeches given, whereas in Brazil more than half. On the other hand, in Uruguay there is a very low rate of pronouncements that dealt with the issue of abortion in conjunction with other matters, in a secondary way and even as a side reference, in Brazil these forms of mobilization appear more prominently in parliamentary speeches.

The organization of legislative activity and plenary sessions is, to a large extent, the main explanation for the different results regarding the dispersion of speeches throughout the historical series in Brazil and their concentration in specific periods in Uruguay, likewise explains the results obtained in the centrality to the abortion theme in the pronouncements.

The spaces for the exercise of speech in the House of Representatives of Brazil are composed of five plenary sessions. In the great expedient session, representatives have 25 minutes to speak. Each representative may speak only three times per semester (BRASIL, 1989; 2012). In this space, parliamentary discussions occur more frequently. The Small Expedient lasts sixty (60) minutes, the representatives have five (5) minutes to speak. This environment is known as “drip

⁶ As already mentioned, these statements used the terms with another connotation. When it was marked irrelevant, no other response was recorded.

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fire”, as this is one of the main moments in which the parliamentarian can express divergences to measures adopted by the government or talk about facts that have occurred in society. It is possible to speak every day in this session, as long as there is availability, and that the representative asks the Board of Directors (BRASIL, 2012; FOSCHETE, 2007).

Parliamentary and Leadership Communications take place only when time is available, that is, when the time for Small and Great Expedients and the Agenda is not exhausted. The time available is proportional to the number of members of the respective benches, with a minimum of three (03) and a maximum of ten (10) minutes, without discussions and extension. In turn, the Agenda is organized by the President of the House of Representatives based on the monthly agenda, although it has a previous agenda, this does not prevent representatives from establishing relations with other topics that they consider important to explain in relation to the matter under discussion in the Agenda (BRASIL, 1989; 2012; FOSCHETE, 2007).

The first three ordinary sessions, Small Expedient, Great Expedient and Parliamentary Communications, are free and without specific theme, while the last two, Leadership Communications and Agenda, require preconditions, such as being party leader⁷ and speaking about a focused theme, respectively.

There are plenary sessions that take place on exceptional occasions. This is the case of the General Committee, a session held to debate relevant matters, with the possibility of the presence of authorities, specialists, members of civil society, and other people with experience and knowledge in the matter. As we can see in the General Committee⁸ there is a focus on the topic under discussion, which underlies its convocation and its own realization. Another case is the solemn session and / or tribute, which occurs due to special celebrations or due to the reception of personalities, also admitting guests to the Plenary Table (BRASIL, 2012; FOSCHETE, 2007)⁹. In the table below, we cross check the data referring to the centrality of the speech and the plenary session in which it was delivered.

⁷ The party leader can give up his speech space to another representative from the same party.

⁸ Proposed jointly by party leaders or at the request of one third of all members of the House of representatives (Brasil, 2012).

⁹ In both sessions, mostly the leaders or representatives of the parties (or bloc) make the speeches for a period of five minutes; however, in the General Committee there is the possibility for the other representatives to speak for up to three minutes.

Table 2 - Distribution of speeches (number of citations and percentage) by plenary session of the House of Representatives of Brazil and centrality of the theme, between 1985-2016.

Centrality→ Expedient↓	Focused		One among several		Secondary of another focus		Side reference		TOTAL	
Great expedient	74	11,2%	60	26,7%	27	22,7%	16	22,5%	177	16,4%
Small expedient	264	39,8%	87	38,7%	44	37%	25	35,6%	420	39%
Agenda	108	16,3%	20	9%	13	11%	7	9,9%	148	13,8%
Communications	133	20%	51	22,7%	21	17,6%	13	18,3%	218	20,2%
Tribute	4	0,6%	2	0,9%	6	5%	5	7%	17	1,6%
General committee	10	1,5%	1	0,4%	1	0,8%	2	2,8%	14	1,3%
Discussion	50	7,5%	4	1,8%	5	4,2%	1	1,4%	60	5,6%
Voting	21	3,2%	0	0,0%	2	1,7%	1	1,4%	24	2,3%
TOTAL	664	100%	225	100%	119	100%	70	100%	1078	100%

Source: Own elaboration.

For the purpose of comparison, we consider it interesting to note in the table that most speeches were made in sessions with time available ranging from three to five minutes. This data corroborates a tendency also verified by other researches, whose diagnosis demonstrates that the speeches in the House of Representatives are characterized by interventions of an informative nature, celebrations, a message to the electoral bases on the agenda of the parliamentarian and brief positions on any subject. All of this was accomplished in a short period, often bringing together more than one theme in the speech¹⁰ (MOREIRA, 2017).

Conversely, another relevant aspect in the table is the relatively low rate of pronouncements made during the Great Expedient. Since in this session the parliamentarian has more time to talk about topics of his choice, besides being able to use the word only three times during the semester in this space, which means that he will have to choose agendas that he considers to be priorities to be discussed in his talk. When we analyze the number of speeches “focused” on the Great Expedient, this number, which in its entirety can already be considered low, drops to less than half, representing only 74 speeches.

The way in which ordinary plenary sessions are organized in the House of Representatives of Brazil allows the almost immediate repercussion of agendas and facts external and internal to its activity¹¹. The impact of some episodes, internal or external, can be observed by the increase

¹⁰ It is worth mentioning that some sessions, such as Small Expedient, are broadcast live on national television.

¹¹ Internal facts are, for example, speeches, political / legal initiatives and bills from the constituted powers. The external ones, on the other hand, refer, for example, to political or religious manifestations and the facts that happen in society and become subjects for discussion by representatives.

in the number of speeches in the circumstances and specific years in which they occurred. Due to this characteristic of the pronouncements, we added another variable to the survey in Brazil, entitled “Is there a case of the moment that the speech mentions?”¹², which allowed to accurately classify when and how these agendas and facts affected the pronouncements. The table below shows the filling categories contained in this variable and the results obtained.

Table 3 - It presents in absolute numbers and percentages the cases mentioned in the speeches, given in the House of Representatives of Brazil, between 1985-2016.

Case cited in the speech	Number of citations	%	Period of greatest resonance
Drafting process of the Constitution of 1988	35	3,3%	1987 to 1989
Bill 20/91	84	7,8%	1993 to 1998
Constitutional Amendment Proposal 25/95	40	3,7%	1995 and 1996
John Paul II's visit to Brazil	11	1%	1997
Injunction on anencephalic abortion	28	2,6%	2004
Tripartite Committee	15	1,4%	2005
Technical standards of the Ministry of Health	61	5,6%	1998 / 2005 to 2007
Bill 1135/91	80	7,4%	2005 to 2013
Parliamentary fronts against abortion	103	9,6%	2005 to 2009
Marching in defense of life	31	2,9%	2005 to 2012
Brazil Without Abortion Movement	13	1,2%	2006 to 2008
Status of the unborn child	39	3,5%	2005 to 2015
Positioning of Minister José Gomes Temporão	10	0,9%	2007
Meetings of Legislators and Governors for Life	17	1,6%	2007 to 2009
CNBB fraternity campaign	10	0,9%	2008
CPI of abortion	45	4,2%	2009 to 2009
Abortion of 9-year-old girl and doctors' excommunication	24	2,3%	2009
Abortion in the 2010 Presidential dispute	15	1,4%	2010
Criminal Reform - PL 236/2012	17	1,6%	2012
Trial of anencephalic in the FCJ (Federal Court of Justice)	23	2,2%	2008/2012
FCJ decision on anencephalic	19	1,8%	2012
FCJ and abortion in case of microcephaly (Zika)	47	4,3%	2016
Zika Virus Epidemic - Microcephaly Cases	20	1,85%	2016
Other	140 ¹³	13%	-----
No	346	32,1%	-----
TOTAL	1273	-----	-----

Source: Own elaboration.

It is plausible to note that the main cases, external or internal to the legislative activity, mentioned in the speeches of the representatives are related to movements against abortion and religious groups in the House of Representatives, as well as their action to prevent extensions and / or regulations in the right to abortion, as in the case of Anencephaly and the Technical Norms of the Ministry of Health. In fact, the prominence of religious mobilization on this agenda is one of the main singularities of the debate in the Brazilian legislature, especially since the 2000s (SANTOS; SILVA, 2017a; SILVA, 2017b).

¹² This was the only situation in which we had to create a specific variable.

¹³ This high number is the result of our decision to address cases with an impact on speeches. Of these 140 records, 62 cases are cited only once and none of the other cases reaches the number of ten citations.

In turn, in the House of Representatives of Uruguay there are three plenary sessions, which are: ordinary, extraordinary and special. They discuss only the previously established agenda of the Agenda, what differs from them is the attention they will give to each subject, the ordinary sessions are composed of ten subjects, the extraordinary sessions are composed of five subjects and the special sessions are composed of only one subject (URUGUAI, 2014). The statements analyzed in the Uruguayan legislature are distributed, according to the plenary session, as follows: 144 (43.7% of the 337) given in ordinary sessions; 192 (57%) in extraordinary sessions; and only one (0.3%) in special sessions.

To comment on a topic that is not on the Agenda, representatives have two spaces, namely: Exposiciones Verbales (Verbal Expositions) and Exposiciones Escritas (Written Expositions). The Verbal Expositions take place half an hour before (*media hora previa*) the beginning of the ordinary sessions, and are composed of six pronouncements lasting up to five minutes each, these manifestations basically serve to carry out referrals and requests for inclusion of materials in the Agenda (URUGUAI, 2014). If the representative wishes to speak for a period equivalent to that available for the speeches made during the Agenda¹⁴, he must present a request (with precision on the topic) for Verbal Exposition to the House's president, this request must be voted on by representatives. In the event of approval (by a majority of votes), the President includes a statement on the Agenda at a later date after the request, since to speak on the same day, an urgent request must also be attached, which will also be submitted to the vote (URUGUAI, 2014). The Written Expositions follow the same rite of appreciation and voting by the President and representatives.

From these points, we can see that in the House of Representatives of Uruguay, spaces for making speeches unrelated to the Agenda are reduced (both in time and in environments) and restricted by regulations. This helps to clarify many questions that may have arisen, as they explain the high percentage of pronouncements classified as "focused" on the subject. Since the representatives spoke, most of the time, when bills (PL) for decriminalizing abortion were under consideration in the Agenda¹⁵. That was the case in 2002, when representatives of the House of Representatives in different sessions approved PL 3107 / 1993, but that was vetoed in the Senate that same year. In 2008, PL 536/2006 was approved in a single session in the House of Representatives and in the House of Senators, however President Tabaré Vazquez (Frente Ampla) vetoed the proposal. In 2012, in different sessions, PL 567/2011 was approved in the two houses of the Legislative Branch and sanctioned by the Executive Branch, headed by José Mujica (Frente Ampla), modifying the legislation and establishing in its first article that: "*Toda mujer mayor de edad tiene derecho a decidir la interrupción voluntaria de su embarazo durante las primeras*

¹⁴ For fifteen minutes, extendable up to ten minutes, with the possibility of discussions (URUGUAI, 2014).

¹⁵ The only exception occurred in 1985, when the topic was included in the Agenda without a bill being in the process of decision-making. After a few speeches, the session was interrupted due to turmoil among representatives due to disagreement on the matter.

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*doce semanas del proceso gestacional (Every woman of legal age has the right to decide the voluntary termination of her pregnancy during the first twelve weeks of the gestational process)*¹⁶.

In no way does this information allow us to conclude that the Uruguayan legislature obstructs deliberations or conducts them inappropriately. It just indicates that there is a specific rite for plenary sessions. This is because, the focused deliberations occur predominantly in the thematic committees. In fact, based on the discussion held in them, its members will decide on the feasibility of bringing the subject to the consideration of the Agenda (considering, for example, strategic issues)¹⁶. Thus, when it comes to deliberation in plenary sessions, the matter is already in the form of a bill. In fact, Argentina's Legislative Branch is governed by very similar rules, which is why the legislative debate on abortion in 2018 was historic, until then there had never been any deliberation on the topic¹⁷.

The exercise and the information presented make it possible to make an inference about the magnitude of the research data. In this sense, using merely a numerical criterion, it is clear that the number of pronouncements given in Brazil (1078) and Uruguay (337) is asymmetric. This difference can be easily explained by the proportional difference in the number of elected representatives in Brazil and Uruguay, 513 and 99, respectively, as well as by the free spaces available for the use of speech. Nevertheless, using the substance of the pronouncements as a comparison parameter, that is, the way they were delivered, we can assess another perception about the magnitude of the data. That said, considering that most of the speeches made in the Uruguayan House of Representatives have as a characteristic the fact that they were spoken in a focused manner on the matter, for a period of 15 to 25 minutes. In Brazil, speeches with these characteristics are given in the Great Expedient session, whose index in the survey reached 74 pronouncements (6.9% of the total of 1078), this is equivalent to only 31.6% of the 250 speeches (74 , 3% of 337) measured with this standard in the research in Uruguay¹⁸.

Therefore, the difference between countries in absolute numbers is inversely proportional to the difference in terms of the substance of the statements in the treatment of the subject. On the one hand, this diagnosis only reveals that each legislative house has its own rite for organizing the way in which debates develop in the course of legislatures¹⁹. On the other hand, this process of weighting the magnitude of the data promotes a certain balance between realities, because depending on the angle of observation it is possible to establish unevenness in both cases.

¹⁶ It would have been possible to have analyzed the statements in the committees, but the absence of a specific committee in Brazil on abortion would make comparison difficult, since this is another environment of parliamentary activity, with rules of operation and restrictions on the participation of all representatives.

¹⁷ This year, at the Federal University of Pelotas, we analyzed all the pronouncements given in Argentina, with the participation of Amanda Albuquerque, André Vidazinha and Jordana Ramalho.

¹⁸ In this case, excluding statements made at the *media hora previa* (previous average hour) and requests for clarification (requested to the House's President when the representative is quoted in another speech), both lasting five minutes, otherwise the number would be 276 focused.

¹⁹ None of this authorizes definitive conclusions on the (un) willingness of each political system and parliamentarians to discuss the issue of abortion, for which a comparative parameter would be needed on the focus given to other issues in the same period.

4 Final considerations

In this text, I aimed to elucidate the importance of analyzing parliamentary pronouncements to understand the dynamics in force within the scope of national politics, focusing on the data of my research in the discourses on abortion in Brazil and Uruguay. From this, I tried to point out the need to examine and recognize the importance of the institutional organization of the Legislative Branch over the speech space in parliamentary activity, whose main effect is to produce speeches with different characteristics. The report of this experience aims to present a relevant part of the investigation, especially due to the challenges in the comparison, to collaborate in research in this field, and, above all, to receive contributions from the academic community for mistakes, realignment in the course and improvement in the process of understanding the analysis of parliamentary pronouncements.

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APPENDIX I
Filling form for speeches on abortion in Brazil and Uruguay

DOCUMENTATION			
1- N° of speech / Performer <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	2 – Page <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	3 – Year (example) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> 1985 <input type="radio"/> 1986 <input type="radio"/> 1987 <input type="radio"/> 1988 <input type="radio"/> 1989 <input type="radio"/> 1990 <input type="radio"/> ... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> 2001 <input type="radio"/> 2002 <input type="radio"/> 2003 <input type="radio"/> 2004 <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> 2015 <input type="radio"/> 2016
4 – Month <p><i>The answer must be between 1 and 12.</i></p> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	5 – Pronouncement Day <p><i>The answer must be between 1 and 31.</i></p> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	<p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	
6 – Expedient (Brazil) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Great Expedient <input type="radio"/> Small Expedient 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Agenda <input type="radio"/> Parliamentary Communications <input type="radio"/> Leadership Communications 	6 – Legislative Session (Uruguay) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Ordinary Session <input type="radio"/> Extraordinary Session <input type="radio"/> Special Session 	
IDENTIFICAÇÃO			
7 – representative’s name <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	8 – Gender <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Female <input type="radio"/> Male <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	9 – In case of discussion, the discussed speaker was: <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div>	
10 - Party Brazil (example) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> PCdoB <input type="radio"/> PMDB <input type="radio"/> PDT <input type="radio"/> PFL/DEM Uruguay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> PT <input type="radio"/> PSB <input type="radio"/> PSDB <input type="radio"/> Other 		13 – States (BR - examples): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Rio Grande do Sul <input type="radio"/> São Paulo <input type="radio"/> Bahia <input type="radio"/> Distrito Federal 	
11 – If another Party, which one ? <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-top: 5px;"></div> <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	12 – Mandate <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> First <input type="radio"/> Second <input type="radio"/> Third <input type="radio"/> Fourth or more <p><i>The answer is mandatory</i></p>	13 – Department (UY - examples): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Montevideo <input type="radio"/> Canelones <input type="radio"/> Rivera <p><i>The answer is mandatory.</i></p>	
CONTENT OF THE SPEECH			
14 –Keyword <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> 1. Abortion <input type="radio"/> 2. Abortion process <input type="radio"/> 3. Voluntary termination of pregnancy <input type="radio"/> 4. Termination of pregnancy <input type="radio"/> 5. Termination of gestation <input type="radio"/> 6. Voluntary termination of gestation <input type="radio"/> 7. None (indicate reason in comments) <p><i>You can check 6 alternatives.</i></p>		15 - Abortion is a subject: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Focused <input type="radio"/> One among several <input type="radio"/> Secondary of another focus <input type="radio"/> Side reference <input type="radio"/> Irrelevant <p><i>You can check 1 alternative. The answer is mandatory</i></p>	

<p>16 – The speech arises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1. In favor of expanding legal abortion ○ 2. In favor of maintaining legal abortion ○ 3. In favor of restricting legal abortion ○ 4. Against abortion (generic) ○ 5. By new punitive and / or control measures ○ 6. For sex education and / or family planning ○ 7. Does not position itself <p><i>You can check 2 alternatives – The answer is mandatory.</i></p>					
<p>17 – If it is in favor of expanding abortion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1. Total decriminalization ○ 2. Permission in case of unviability of the fetus ○ 3. Expansion of the hospital assistance network ○ 4. Does not indicate what type of expansion ○ 5. Other expansion <p><i>V You can check 4 alternatives</i></p>	<p>19 – If it is in favor of restricting legal abortion and / or new punitive measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1. Total ban ○ 2. Rape ○ 3. Risk of life of the pregnant woman ○ 4. Unviability of the fetus ○ 5. Abortion repression policies ○ 6. Does not indicate what type of restriction ○ 7. Other restriction <p><i>You can check 6 alternatives –</i></p>				
<p>18. If another extension, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	<p>20. If another restriction, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>				
<p>21 – Types of arguments assumed by the Representative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1. Religious arguments ○ 2. Scientific arguments ○ 3. Abortion is a public health issue ○ 4. Individual freedom ○ 5. Control of women over their own bodies ○ 6. Legal arguments ○ 7. Economic arguments ○ 8. Inviolability of the right to life 	<p>23 – What is the main argument of the speech?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 9. Social injustice ○ 10. Moral arguments (not explicitly religious)) ○ 11. Arguments linked to public opinion ○ 12. Birth control as an imperialist strategy ○ 13. Secularity of the State ○ 14. Other ○ 15. None 	<p>25 – Is the speech against any kind of argument?</p>			
<p><i>Variables 21, 23 and 25 are answered with the same arguments; the difference is their function in the classification.</i></p>					
<p>22 – Another argument, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	<p>24 – Another main, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	<p>26 - Another counter-argument, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>			
<p>27 – Self-identification as an authority argument:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1. Mother ○ 2. Woman ○ 3. Doctor ○ 4. Priest ○ 5. Jurist ○ 6. Scientist ○ 7. Other ○ 8. None 	<p>28 – Another identification, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>				
<p>29 - Is the speech based on any fact of the moment?</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; border: none;"> <p>Brazil (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PEC 25/95 ○ Technical standards of the Ministry of Health ○ CPI of Abortion ○ Marching in defense of life </td> <td style="width: 33%; border: none;"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ FCJ and Anencephaly ○ PL 20/91 ○ Microcephaly ○ Other ○ None </td> <td style="width: 33%; border: none;"> <p>Uruguay (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PL3107/1993 ○ Mons. Cotugno ○ Other ○ None </td> </tr> </table>	<p>Brazil (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PEC 25/95 ○ Technical standards of the Ministry of Health ○ CPI of Abortion ○ Marching in defense of life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ FCJ and Anencephaly ○ PL 20/91 ○ Microcephaly ○ Other ○ None 	<p>Uruguay (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PL3107/1993 ○ Mons. Cotugno ○ Other ○ None 	<p>30 – Another Fact, which one?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	
<p>Brazil (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PEC 25/95 ○ Technical standards of the Ministry of Health ○ CPI of Abortion ○ Marching in defense of life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ FCJ and Anencephaly ○ PL 20/91 ○ Microcephaly ○ Other ○ None 	<p>Uruguay (examples)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ PL3107/1993 ○ Mons. Cotugno ○ Other ○ None 			

31 – Speech <div data-bbox="236 241 794 297" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"><i>Insert the text of the statement in full.</i></div>	32 – Observations <div data-bbox="850 230 1375 297" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"><i>Expose some observation about the speech.</i></div>
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