Crafting Mass Partisanship at the Grass Roots, from the Top Down

(Replication Instructions)

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Replication materials will be permanently available at http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/23575, and consist of the following files:

- `_replic_instructions.pdf`: File containing replication details (i.e. this file)
- `_replic_electoral.R`: R code to replicate the analysis in section "Party Organization and Electoral Performance", in which the dependent variable is electoral performance
- `_replic_idl.R`: R code to replicate the analysis in sections "Party Organization and Partisanship" and "Civil Society Connection", in which the dependent variable is party ID
- `data_electoral.RData`: Data set used in the analysis in section "Party Organization and Electoral Performance", in which the dependent variable is electoral performance
- `data_id.RData`: Data set used in the the analysis in sections "Party Organization and Partisanship" and "Civil Society Connection", in which the dependent variable is party ID

The original `.RData` files were uploaded to the Dataverse Project site as subsettable files. These files can be analyzed directly on the Dataverse, but for replication it is recommended that the files be downloaded in the original `.RData` format and placed in the same folder as the R code files.

Both files with code contain comments that explain each step of the analysis. In principle, it is only necessary to change the `setwd()` line in the code, which should reflect the local path. Results (tables and figures), as reported in the paper, were generated by the code and provided here, in November 2013. System information at the time was as follows:

- `R.Version()$platform`: x86_64-apple-darwin10.8.0
- `R.Version()$version.string` : R version 3.0.2 (2013-09-25)

Additional details on sources and data assembly can be provided by the authors, upon request. The data files contain the following variables:

data_electoral.RData: This data set is presented in "wide format", where each observation is a municipality. The replication code transforms these data into a long DiD format for analysis of three different "cycles", as defined in the paper. The data set contains 5562 observations of the following 73 variables:

- codetse: Code used by the TSE to identify each municipality
- codeibge: Code used by the IBGE to identify each municipality
- mun: Municipality name
- state: State acronym

- alkmin.vs.2006: Vote share obtained by Alckmin (PSDB) in the 2006 presidential eleciion
- dilma.vs.2010: Vote share obtained by Dilma (PT) in the 201-0 presidential election
- distcap: Ditance to the capital city of the state, in 10K.
- fhc.vs.1994: Vote share obtained by Cardoso (PSDB) in the 1994 presidential election
- fhc.vs.1998: Vote share obtained by Cardoso (PSDB) in the 1998 presidential election
- hdi.1991: Human development index (source IPEA)
- hdi.2000: Human development index (source IPEA)
- lula.vs.1994: Vote share obtained by Lula (PT) in the 1994 presidential election
- lula.vs.1998: Vote share obtained by Lula (PT) in the 1998 presidential election
- lula.vs.2002: Vote share obtained by Lula (PT) in the 2002 presidential election
- lula.vs.2006: Vote share obtained by Lula (PT) in the 2006 presidential election
- ngodensity.1996: NGO density in 1996 (see supplemental information, source IBGE).
- ngodensity.2002: NGO density in 2002 (see supplemental information, source IBGE).
- ngodensity.2006: NGO density in 2006 (see supplemental information, source IBGE).
- pmdb.vs.1994: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pmdb.vs.1998: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pmdb.vs.2002: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pmdb.vs.2006: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pmdb.vs.2010: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pmdb1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2008: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdbgov.1994: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- pmdbgov.1998: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- pmdbgov.2002: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- pmdbgov.2006: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- pop.1994: population
- pop.1995: population
- pop.1996: population
- pop.1998: population
- pop.2000: population
- pop.2001: population
- pop.2002: population
- pop.2004: population
- pop.2005: population
- pop.2006: population
- psdb.vs.1994: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- psdb.vs.1998: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- psdb.vs.2002: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- psdb.vs.2006: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- psdb.vs.2010: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).

- psdb1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2008: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdbgov.1994: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- psdbgov.1998: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- psdbgov.2002: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- psdbgov.2006: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- pt.vs.1994: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pt.vs.1998: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pt.vs.2002: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pt.vs.2006: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pt.vs.2010: Party vote share in legislative elections for lower chamber (source TSE).
- pt1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pt2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pt2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pt2008: Dummy indicating whether the party was present at the local level (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- ptgov.1994: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- ptgov.1998: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- ptgov.2002: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- ptgov.2006: Dummy indicating whether governor belonged to the party
- region: Region (N, NE, S, SE, CO)
- serra.vs.2002: Vote share obtained by Serra (PSDB) in the 2002 presidential election
- serra.vs.2010: Vote share obtained by Serra (PSDB) in the 2010 presidential election
- unidades.1996: Number of civil society entities in the municipality (source IBGE)
- unidades.2002: Number of civil society entities in the municipality (source IBGE)
- unidades.2006: Number of civil society entities in the municipality (source IBGE)

data_id.RData: Each observation in this data set is a survey respondent. Observations were obtained from a series of Datafolha surveys, which were pooled together for analysis. Differently than the electoral data, the ID data cover only a single period of DiD analysis, with earlier surveys used to establish "pre-treatment" observations (t_0) and others to establish "post-treatment" observations (t_1). The list of surveys used is presented in the paper and in the Supplemental Information document, available in this same Dataverse. The dataset contains 81830 observations of the following 40 variables:

- codeibge: Code used by the IBGE to identify each municipality
- income: Income bracket, measured in "Salários Mínimos" of the time of each survey

- partyID: Response to the party ID question
- educ: Education bracket.
- sex: f=Female; h=Male
- age: Age bracket
- mun.size: Small, medium, or large, as coded by Datafolha
- mun.type: Capital, metropolitan, or interior, as coded by Datafolha
- pres.eval: Evaluation of the president
- pres.nota: Rating of the president (1–10)
- region: Region (N-CO, N, S, SE)
- surv: Survey identifier (usually code used by CESOP, see Supplemental Information)
- we: Survey weights
- west: Survey weights
- id: Dummy=1 if respondent identifies with some party
- state: State acronym
- tt: Time in DiD analysis: $0 = t_0$; $1 = t_1$. See paper and supplemental information for definitions of periods.
- codetse: Code used by the TSE to identify each municipality
- mun: Same as codeibge, used to establish groups in random effects models
- mun.name: Municipality Name
- codedatafolha: Code used by DATAFOLHA to identify each municipality
- pt1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pt2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pt2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- psdb2008: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb1996: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2000: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2004: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- pmdb2008: Dummy indicating whether the party was present in the respondent's municipality (source TSE and author's calculations, see paper)
- ngodensity.2002: Number of civil society entities per capita in the respondent's municipality (see paper for definition)
- ptid: Dummy for partisanship (1=respondent identifies with the party; 0=does not identify)

- psdbid: Dummy for partisanship (1=respondent identifies with the party; 0=does not identify)
- pmdbid: Dummy for partisanship (1=respondent identifies with the party; 0=does not identify)
- open13: Dummy for whether the party established itself in the respondents municipality, in the period being studied. See paper for definition of period.
- open15: Dummy for whether the party established itself in the respondents municipality, in the period being studied. See paper for definition of period.
- open45: Dummy for whether the party established itself in the respondents municipality, in the period being studied. See paper for definition of period.