Codebook

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Our analyses of Brazil and Mexico are based on information from different sources that is contained in a number of different files. The contents of these files are detailed below.

Brazil

Each of the following files has 12 items (columns). The coding scheme for each of the items is described in Table 1 of the paper:

PT_pressure_analysis.txt
PMDB_pressure_analysis.txt
PSDB_pressure_analysis.txt
DEM_pressure_analysis.txt
PP_pressure_analysis.txt
PR_pressure_analysis.txt

For the following files, we provide content descriptions under each header:

brazil_original_rollcall.txt

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- *Id_Votacao*: vote ID
- *ID*: Legislator's ID
- *Nome_Deputado*: Legislator's name
- *Sigla_Partido*: Legislator's party affiliation
- *Data*: Date of a given vote
- *Procedim*: Different codes employed by the Brazilian Congress, presumably
to track the origin of a bill
- *Assunto*: Brief description of the bill
- *PROJ_ANO*: Code corresponding to _Assunto_
- *Projeto*: Different codes employed by the Brazilian Congress, presumably
to track the origin of a bill
- *Voto*: Sense of the legislator's vote: N=No, F=Absent, S=Yes, A=Abstention
- *Valida*: Indicator for whether vote is valid (S=Yes, N=No)
- *Unanime*: Indicator for unanimous vote (S=Yes)
```

brazil_vote_information_leg54.txt

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- *Id_Votacao*: vote ID
- *Data*: Date of a given vote
- *Session*: the sequential number of a meeting within a given date
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brazil_deputy_information_leg54.txt

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- *RollcallName*: Deputy name
- *Deputy ID*: Five digits Starting with 54
- *District*: Legislator's district of origin, with districts codified as
follows:
    - Acre (AC) - 1
    - Alagoas (AL) - 2
    - Amapá (AP) - 3
    - Amazonas (AM) - 4
    - Bahia (BA) - 5
    - Ceará (CE) - 6
    - Distrito Federal (DF) - 7
    - Espírito Santo (ES) - 8
    - Goiás (GO) - 9
    - Maranhão (MA) - 10
    - Mato Grosso (MT) - 11
    - Mato Grosso do Sul (MS) - 12
    - Minas Gerais (MG) - 13
    - Pará (PA) - 14
    - Paraíba (PB) - 15
    - Paraná (PR) - 16
    - Pernambuco (PE) - 17
    - Piauí (PI) - 18
    - Rio de Janeiro (RJ) - 19
    - Rio Grande do Norte (RN) - 20
    - Rio Grande do Sul (RS) - 21
    - Rondônia (RO) - 22
    - Roraima (RR) - 23
    - Santa Catarina (SC) - 24
    - São Paulo (SP) - 25
    - Sergipe (SE) - 26
    - Tocantins (TO) - 27
- *district.magnitude*: The number of seats in a given district
- *district.rank*: the vote share ranking of a deputy in the previous
legislative election
- *Seniority*: How many terms have a legislor served consecutively before
this term?
- *Length of Committee chair*: The number of days that an individual served
as committee chair in the term; coded 0 if legislator did not serve as
committee chair.
- *Ministers in federal government*: How many years did this legislator serve
as ministers before/during this term?
- *District_income*: The average income in the legislator's district (unit:
thousand reais in 2017)
- *Party*: Representative's party affiliation as follows:
    - 1 PT
    - 2 PSDB
    - 3 PP
    - 4 PDT
    - 5 PTB
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    - 6 PFL/DEM
    - 7 PR
    - 8 PSB
    - 9 PPS
    - 10 PSC
    - 11 PCdoB
    - 12 PRB
    - 13 PV
    - 14 PSD
    - 15 PRP
    - 16 PSL
    - 17 PMN
    - 18 PHS
    - 19 PTC
    - 20 SD/SDD
    - 21 DC
    - 22 PTdoB/AVANTE
    - 23 PTN/PODE
    - 24 PSOL
    - 25 PRTB
    - 26 PROS
    - 27 PEN/PATRI
    - 28 PPL
    - 29 PMB
    - 30 REDE
    - 31 PMDB/MDB
    - 32 PSTU
    - 33 PCB
    - 34 NOVO
    - 35 PCO
    - 36 PSDC
    - 37 "Temporarily without party" or "not mentioned"
    - 38 PAN
```

brazil_vote_codification.txt

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- *vote.number*: Vote ID
- *Year*: the year of a vote
- *pcb.request*: The Leadership College can request the Directive Board to
consider the discussion of a Bill within the Agenda. Code as 1 if that is the
case for this vote. Code as 0 if the vote is concerned with something that
was already contemplated by the Directive Board beforehand. Code 2 if the
vote is related to an amendment. Code 3 if it is a procedural vote.
- *president.position*: Code 1 if the President took a position on behalf of
the party regarding the bill vote and was covered by the media and 0
otherwise. (Data source: Newspapers)
- *Procedural.Vote*: Code 1 if it is a procedural vote (nothing to do with
the content of a policy but deals with procedures) and 0 otherwise

- *PT.leader.request.procedure*, *PSDB.leader.request.procedure*,
*PMDB.leader.request.procedure*, *DEM.leader.request.procedure*,
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PR.leader.request.procedure, *PP.leader.request.procedure*: Code 1 if the procedural vote is requested by the party leader (only party official leader) and 0 otherwise (Data source: Congressional speeches)

- *PTLeaderDecision*, *PMDBLeaderDecision*, *PSDBLeaderDecision*, *DEMLeaderDecision*, *PRLeaderDecision*, *PPLeaderDecision*: We track the voting behavior of party leaders, categorizing it as either 'Yea' or 'Nay'. A 'Yea' vote is assigned a value of +1, while a 'Nay' vote is assigned a value of -1. In instances where the party leader abstains from voting, we then consider the vote of the deputy leader(s). As explained in footnote 7 of the main text and detailed in Appendix C, we can identify legislators that consistently played some leadership role as deputy leaders for the PT and PMDB. For the other major parties, it is difficult to identify such deputy leaders who served in Congress and we view deputies that speak on the floor on behalf of their leaders during leadership time before the vote is cast as ad-hoc vote-specific delegated deputy leaders. We code 0 if party leaders and their deputy leaders voted differently, if all party leaders and their deputy leaders did not vote, or if party leaders liberated a vote.

- *PT.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PSDB.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *DEM.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PMDB.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PR.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PP.hi.std.LeaderDecision*: We track the voting behavior of party leaders, categorizing it as either 'Yea' or 'Nay'. A 'Yea' vote is assigned a value of +1, while a 'Nay' vote is assigned a value of -1. Since deputy leaders usually did not exist or were not officially designated in Brazil, we consider only the voting decisions of party leaders in coding these variables. When party leaders voted obstruction or liberated or when party leaders did not register a clear vote choice, we code 0. (PT and PSDB had two party leaders; for the purpose of coding this variable, and for consistency with the rest of the parties that only had one leader in Congress, we consider that a clear vote choice exists if at least one of the party leaders casts a vote.)

Mexico

Each of the following files has 10 items (columns). The coding scheme for each of the items is described in Table 2 of the paper.

PRI_pressure_analysis.txt
PAN_pressure_analysis.txt
PRD_pressure_analysis.txt

For the following files, we provide content descriptions under each header:

mexico_original_rollcall.txt

- *legislator.no*: Consecutive legislator number (1 to 653). Though Congress comprises 500 legislators, an additional 153 representatives participated in at least one vote as substitutes
- *VX.Y.Z*: Vote identifiers, where X is a consecutive within-session number,

Y corresponds to the year (1, 2, 3), and Z corresponds to the session within each year (1 or 2). Vote outcomes are 3=voted in favor; 6=voted against; 9=abstained; 11=present without voting; -999=absent

mexico_rollcall_with_names.txt

- *uniqueID*: Identification number corresponding to a legislator-party (an individual that switches parties has different IDs)
- *names*: Full name of the representative
- *party*: Political party name
- *VX.Y.Z*: Vote identifiers, where X is a consecutive within-session number, Y corresponds to the year (1, 2, 3), and Z corresponds to the session within each year (1 or 2). Vote outcomes are 3=voted in favor; 6=voted against; 9=abstained; 11=present without voting; -999=absent

mexico_id_information_1.txt

- *nameCorrect*: Full name of legislators, no capital letters
- *uniqueID*: Identification number corresponding to a legislator-party (an individual that switches parties has different IDs)
- *names*: Full name of the representative
- *party*: Political party name
- *name.lowercase*: full name of legislators, no capital letters
- *missing.name*: Indicator for names that had to be completed independently
- *districtType*: Indicator of whether representative ran in SMD or PR
- *district*: Number of district where representative ran (numbers with decimal point: whole number corresponds to state, fractional number corresponds to district)
- *gender*: Indicator 1 male, 2 female
- *state*: State (or region) to which district belongs
- *district.no*: District number

mexico_id_information_2.txt

- *uniqueID*: Identification number corresponding to a legislator-party (an individual that switches parties has different IDs)
- *names*: Full name of the representative
- *party*: Political party name

mexico_party_votes.txt

- *VoteNumber*: Vote identifiers, where X is a consecutive within-session number, Y corresponds to the year (1, 2, 3), and Z corresponds to the session within each year (1 or 2)
- *PCB.request*:The PCB can request the Directive Board to consider the discussion of a Bill within the Agenda. Code as 1 if that is the case for this vote. Code as 0 if the vote is concerned with something that was already contemplated by the Directive Board beforehand. Code 2 if the vote is related to an amendment. Code 3 if it is a procedural vote.
- *President.position*:Code 1 if the President took a position on behalf of the party regarding the bill vote and was covered by the media, indicating the source, date and title; otherwise, code 0.
- *Cabinet.position*:Code 1 if a member of the Executive Cabinet or the President took position in the bill, naming the source; otherwise, code 0.

- *Procedural.vote*:Code as 1 if it is a procedural vote (nothing to do with he content of a policy but deals with procedures); otherwise, code 0.

- *PRILeaderDecision*, *PANLeaderDecision*, *PRDLeaderDecision*: We track the voting behavior of party leaders, categorizing it as either 'Yea' or 'Nay'. A 'Yea' vote is assigned a value of +1, while a 'Nay' vote is assigned a value of -1. In instances where the party leader abstains from voting, we then consider the vote of the deputy leader(s). In Mexico, major parties are represented by one or two deputy leaders. If there is a single deputy leader who votes 'Yea' or 'Nay', we assign a value of +1 or -1 respectively, and a 0 for non-votes, which include absences or abstentions. For parties with two deputy leaders, we assign a +1 or -1 if both vote 'Yea' or 'Nay' respectively, or if one votes 'Yea' or 'Nay' and the other abstains. However, if the deputy leaders' votes conflict, or if both register a nonvote, we assign a value of 0.

- *PRI.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PAN.hi.std.LeaderDecision*, *PRD.hi.std.LeaderDecision*: We assign a value of +1 if both the party leader and deputy leaders unanimously vote 'Yea', and -1 if they all vote 'Nay'. In any other scenario, the value is set to 0.

mexico_party_membership.txt

- *uniqueID*: Identification number corresponding to a legislator-party (an individual that switches parties has different IDs)
- *names*: Full name of the representative
- *partyVX.Y.Z*: Party-vote identifiers, where X is a consecutive within-session number, Y corresponds to the year (1, 2, 3), and Z corresponds to the session within each year (1 or 2). List of parties includes NA (representative not yet/already left congress) and SP ("sin partido": no party affiliation)

mexico_district_information.txt

- *district*: State code plus district number
- *pFirst*: Party that won largest vote share
- *pSecond*: Party that won second largest vote share
- *pThird*: Party that won third largest vote share
- *shFirst*: Vote share of first vote-getter
- *shSecond*: Vote share of second vote-getter
- *shThird*: Vote share of third vote-getter
- *shPAN* : PAN vote share
- *shPRI* : PRI vote share
- *shPRD* : PRD vote share
- *mgFirstSecond*: Margin of difference between winner and first loser
- *mgPAN*: Margin of difference between PAN and winner
- *mgPRI*: Margin of difference between PRI and winner
- *mgPRD*: Margin of difference between PRD and winner
- *shPAN.lag*: PAN vote share (lagged one election)
- *shPRI.lag*: PRI vote share (lagged one election)
- *incGober*: Party affiliation of incumbent governor

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- *population*: district population
- *poverty*: INEGI's  "marginalización" index (first principal component of a number of poverty-related variables)
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