This archive contains replication materials for the paper “Building Parties from City Hall: Party Membership and Municipal Government in Brazil”

01_Main_Analysis.R replicates all results in the main text of the article, and it relies on the following datasets: PartyData.rds, MembersDD.rds, MembersRD.rds, DailyAffiliations.rds

02_Appendix.R replicates the results shown in the online appendix, and it relies on the following datasets: MembersRD.rds, PartyData.rds, MembersRDextended.rds, DailyAffiliations.rds, PSDBcandidates.rds

A description of these datasets can be found in the following pages of this file.

MembersRD.rds

Description
This is a municipality-party level dataset that contains data on the municipality's characteristics and the parties that came in first-place and second-place in the municipality's 2004 mayoral election. This dataset excludes parties that were not coded in the DALP expert survey, and it also excludes large-population municipalities whose mayoral elections were eligible to go to a runoff election.

Purpose
This dataset is used for all regression discontinuity analyses shown in the main text of the article, and for most of the regression discontinuity robustness checks and diagnostics shown in the Online Appendix

Variable Name	Description	Source
MunCode	IGBE municipality code (7-digits)	
Party	Party acronym used in 2005 by the TSE	
Type	Type of party (centralized-programmatic, centralized-clientelistic, decentralized); see appendix for additional coding details	DALP
Margin	The margin of victory in the 2004 municipal election. This is the running variable for the RD analysis	TSE
NewMembers05	The percentage of the municipality's electorate that joined the party during the municipal term that began January 1, 2005 and ended December 31, 2008. This is the main dependent variable.	TSE
Office	Whether the party operated an office in the municipality by the year 2000; coded only fro centralized-programmatic parties	TSE
DiscretionaryPositions04	The share of the positions in the municipal government whose appointments were at the discretion of the mayor	MTE
AttritionRate	The proportion of members who joined the party during the 2005-2008 term but left the party by 2013; coded only for the PT and PSDB and only in municipalities where at least one member joined the party during the 2005-2008 term	TSE
SwitchShare	The proportion of members who joined the party during the 2005-2008 term but switched to a different party by 2013; coded only for the PT and PSDB and only in municipalities where at least one member joined the party during the 2005-2008 term	TSE
LeaveShare	The proportion of members who joined the party during the 2005-2008 term but canceled their affiliation (without joining a different party) by 2013; coded only for the PT and PSDB and only in municipalities where at least one member joined the party during the 2005-2008 term	TSE

Stayed	The proportion of the electorate that joined the party during the 2005-2008 term and was still affiliated with the party by 2013	TSE
ProspectiveCandidates	Estimate of the proportion of the municipality's electorate that sought to join the party in order to run under its label in the 2008 municipal election; coded only for the PT and the PSDB; see the text and the appendix for additional coding details	TSE
InternalElections	Estimate of the proportion of the municipality's electorate that sought to join the party in order to vote in the PT's 2009 internal election; coded only for the PT; see the text and the appendix for additional coding details	TSE
NewMembers01	The percentage of the municipality's electorate that joined the party during the municipal term that began January 1, 2001 and ended December 31, 2004. This is the lag of the main dependent variable.	TSE
VereadorVoteshare00	The proportion of the city council voteshare won by all of the party's candidates in the 2000 Municipal Election	TSE
LegendaVotes00	The proportion of the 2000 city council voteshare cast for the party's legenda (rather than for a particular candidate)	TSE
VereadoresElected00	The number of city council seats that the party won in the municipality in the 2000 election	TSE
LulaVoteshare02	The proportion of the municipality's vote won by the PT candidate, Lula, in the 2002 presidential election	TSE
DeputiesVoteshare02	The percentage of the Chamber of Deputies voteshare in the municipality won by the party in the 2002 General Election	TSE
LegendaVotes02	The proportion of the 2002 Chamber of Deputies voteshare cast for the party's legenda (rather than for a particular candidate)	TSE
CopartisanGovernor02	1 if the party governed the municipality's state during the 2003-2006 gubernatorial term; 0 otherwise	TSE
CopartisanGovernor98	1 if the party governed the municipality's state during the 1999-2002 gubernatorial term; 0 otherwise	TSE
IsIncumbentParty	1 if the party held the municipality's mayorship during the 2001-2004 mayoral term; 0 otherwise	TSE
OpponentSameType	TRUE if the party is of the same party type as its leading opponent in the 2004 municipal election	
Electorate04	The number of registered voters in the municipality at the time of the 2004 municipal election	TSE
ElectoratePercentChange	The percentage change in the municipality's electorate between 2000 and 2004	TSE
PublicEmployment04	Municipal Employees in 2004 as a percentage of the municipality's population	MTE

GDP.PerCapita	The per capita GDP in the municipality	IPEA
BolsaSpending.PerCapita	Per capita share of Bolsa Família funds received by the municipality's residents in 2004	IPEA
BolsaReceipients	Proportion of the municipality’s residents who were Bolsa Família beneficiaries in 2004	IPEA
CapitalSpending.PerCapita	Per capita capital expenditures in the municipality in 2003	IPEA
NE	1 if the municipality is located in Brazil’s Northeastern region	
SE	1 if the municipality is located in Brazil’s Southeastern region	
S	1 if the municipality is located in Brazil’s Southern region	
N	1 if the municipality is located in Brazil’s Northern region	
DistanceFromCapital	The distance between the municipality and the state capital	IPEA
LaborForceParticipationRate	The municipality's labor force participation rate in 2000	IPEA
HumanDevelopmentIndex	The municipality's human development index in 2000	IPEA
EducationIndex	The municipality's education development index in 2000	IPEA
HealthIndex	The municipality's health development index in 2000	IPEA
LiteracyRate	The municipality's literacy rate in 2000	IPEA
RuralPopulationShare	The proportion of the municipality's population that lived in a rural area in 2000	IPEA
Population	The municipality's population in 2000	IPEA

MembersDD.rds

Description
This is a municipality-party-election level dataset that contains data on mayoral electoral outcomes and party affiliations between 2001 and 2013

Purpose
This dataset is used for the difference-in-differences analyses shown in Figure 2

Variable Name	Description	Source
Mun	TSE municipality code	
Election	Election number	
Party	Party acronym used in 2005 by the TSE	
Margin	The margin of victory in the municipal election. This is the running variable for the RD analysis	TSE
Y	The percentage of the municipality's population that joined the party during that term. This is the dependent variable in the RD analysis	TSE

MembersRDextended.rds

Description
This is a municipality-party-election dataset that contains data on mayoral electoral outcomes and party affiliations between 2001 and 2013

Purpose
This dataset is used in Figures K1, K2, and K3 in the Online Appendix to assess the degree to which the main findings apply to other mayoral terms

Variable Name	Description	Source
MunCode	IGBE municipality code (7-digits)	
ElectionYear	The election year for the mayoral term	
Party	Party acronym used in 2005 by the TSE	
Type	Type of party (centralized-programmatic, centralized-clientelistic, decentralized); see appendix for additional coding details	DALP
Margin	The margin of victory in the election. This is the running variable for the RD analysis	TSE
Y	The percentage of the municipality's population that joined the party during that term	TSE

DailyAffiliations.rds

Description
This is a time-series dataset that contains data on the number of voters nation-wide who joined the PT and the PSDB during the 2005-2008 mayoral term

Purpose
This dataset is used to demonstrate the daily pattern of membership affiliations during the 2005-2008 term; it is used to make Figures N1 and Q1 in the Online Appendix

Variable Name	Description	Source
t	The day of the mayoral term, scaled to range from 0 to 4	
pt.affiliations	The number of affiliations with the PT that occurred on that day	TSE
psdb.affiliations	The number of affiliations with the PSDB that occurred on that day	TSE
affiliations.treatment	The cumulative proportion of PSDB 2008 municipal election candidates who had joined the PSDB by this day, in municipalities that the PSDB narrowly won in the 2004 municipal election by a margin of 10 percentage points or less	TSE
affiliations.control	The cumulative proportion of PSDB 2008 municipal election candidates who had joined the PSDB by this day, in municipalities that the PSDB narrowly lost in the 2004 municipal election by a margin of 10 percentage points or less	TSE

PartyData.rds

Description
This is a party-level dataset that contains data on the characteristics of the Brazilian parties that are included in the article's analysis in the mid-2000s.

Purpose
This dataset is used to classify parties by "type," and it is used in the Online Appendix to validate these classifications.

Variable Name	Description	Source
Party	Party acronym used in 2005 by the TSE	
Type	Type of party (centralized-programmatic, centralized-clientelistic, decentralized); see appendix for additional coding details	DALP
ConsumerGoods	Expert respondents' average rating of the effort the party spends on providing consumer goods to voters	DALP
SocialServices	Expert respondents' average rating of the effort the party spends on providing preferential public benefits to voters	DALP
Patronage	Expert respondents' average rating of the effort the party spends on providing public sector jobs to voters	DALP
Contracts	Expert respondents' average rating of the effort the party spends on preferential access to government contracts to voters	DALP
Clientelism	Mean of the ConsumerGoods, SocialServices, and Contracts ratings	DALP
CandidateSelection	Expert respondents' average rating of the extent to which national party leaders dominate candidate-selection in the party	DALP
Strategy	Expert respondents' average rating of the extent to which national party leaders determine the party's electoral strategy	DALP
Centralization	Mean of the CandidateSelection and Strategy ratings	DALP
Switch.Rate	The proportion of the party's 2004 municipal election candidates who switched to a different party by the time of the 2008 municipal election	TSE
Partisans.to.Voters	The ratio of the share of the national population that identified with the party in 2006 (measured through public opinion surveys) to the share of the electorate that voted for the party in the 2006 Chamber of Deputies election	Datafolha, TSE
Cohesion	Party's national legislative cohesion score during the 1995-1998 congress, based on the Rice Index	Desposato (2004)

VoteWithParty	The proportion of the party’s legislators who reported that they believed that members of Congress should vote with their party rather than according to their personal beliefs	Power and Zucco's Brazilian Legislative Surveys (1990-2013)
PartyInterest	The proportion of the party’s legislators who reported that they generally voted with their party when there was a conflict between the party’s interests and their region’s interests	Power and Zucco's Brazilian Legislative Surveys (1990-2013)

PSDBcandidates.rds

Description
This is a candidate-level dataset that contains information on the affiliation dates of the subset of PSDB 2008 municipal candidates who were not already affiliated with the party by the beginning of 2005.

Purpose
This dataset is used to make Figure P1 of the Online Appendix to assess the procrastination pattern of PSDB municipal candidates during the run-up to the 2007 affiliation deadline

Variable Name	Description	Source
ID	Candidate ID number	
Mun	TSE municipality code	
DESCRICAO_CARGO	The office for which the candidate was running	TSE
YearMonth	The month in the 2005-2008 term in which the candidate joined the PSDB, standardized to range between 0 and 4	TSE