

Appendix D

*Cooperation and Defection
among Deputies*

D1. Cooperation and Defection among PFL Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	.7123***	.1530	.0955	2.039
Contested party recommendation	.3374*	.1424	.0518	1.401
Uncontested party recommendation	.3792***	.1148	.0658	1.461
Share of pork disbursements	.1134	.0908	.2231	1.120
Rank in postelection list	1.0978***	.3265	.0974	2.998
Share of total party vote	-1.7189	2.0150	-0.0188	.179
Dominance of key municipalities	2.4470***	.7104	.1087	11.554
Concentration of vote	-0.0209	.0293	-0.0480	.979
Concentration × Rank in list	-0.0074	.0301	-0.0091	.993
Concentration × Terms served	.0090	.0062	.0568	1.009
Concentration × Dominance	-0.1494	.0826	-0.1080	.861
Ideology	.2195*	.0994	.048983	1.245
Terms served	.0217	.0585	.0113	1.022
Local political career	-0.3829**	.1287	-0.0610	.682
Governor from same party	-0.7149***	.1499	-0.1313	.489
Incumbent seeking reelection	1.17019***	.1458	.1688	3.222

-2 log likelihood = 2864.1

Model chi-squared = 4990.6 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 65.3%

$N = 10,626$

$R^2 = .3748$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .7173$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

D2. Cooperation and Defection among PMDB Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	–0.4333*	.1926	–0.0578	.648
Contested party recommendation	.1420	.1462	.0223	1.153
Uncontested party recommendation	.1427	.1263	.0247	1.153
Share of pork disbursements	.5427***	.0867	.1234	1.721
Rank in postelection list	.3045	.3757	.0309	1.356
Share of total party vote	–4.2542***	1.0142	–0.0960	.014
Dominance of key municipalities	2.1994*	.9468	.0860	9.019
Concentration of vote	.1714***	.0322	.4191	1.187
Concentration × Rank in list	–0.0486	.0368	–0.0768	.953
Concentration × Terms served	.004293	.0112	.025358	1.004
Concentration × Dominance	–0.5651***	.0864	–0.4318	.568
Ideology	–0.0979	.1075	–0.0220	.907
Terms served	–0.0208	.1010	–0.0074	.979
Local political career	.0709	.1316	.0131	1.073
Governor from same party	.5212***	.1405	.0910	1.684
Incumbent seeking reelection	.6612***	.1220	.1138	1.937

–2 log likelihood = 2217.0

Model chi-squared = 1419.8 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 65.7%

$N = 11,471$

$R^2 = .1164$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .4285$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

D3. Cooperation and Defection among PSDB Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	−0.0455	.2397	−0.0043	.956
Contested party recommendation	.1154	.1732	.0163	1.122
Uncontested party recommendation	.3779**	.1368	.0631	1.459
Share of pork disbursements	.2492*	.1090	.0526	1.283
Rank in postelection list	3.0055***	.3256	.3599	20.197
Share of total party vote	4.9735*	2.1542	.0711	144.5
Dominance of key municipalities	−0.7839	.9498	−0.0334	.457
Concentration of vote	.1909***	.0319	.5603	1.210
Concentration × Rank in list	−0.3665***	.0461	−0.8723	.693
Concentration × Terms served	.0037	.0109	.0219	1.004
Concentration × Dominance	.02427**	.1507	.0609	1.311
Ideology	.2704	.1507	.0609	1.311
Terms served	−0.1422	.0776	−0.0537	.867
Local political career	−0.1405	.1627	−0.0259	.869
Governor from same party	.5043**	.1712	.0962	1.656
Incumbent seeking reelection	.3941**	.1464	.0675	1.483

−2 log likelihood = 2016.9

Model chi-squared = 3780.6 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 63.0%

$N = 8,757$

$R^2 = .3506$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .7241$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

D4. Cooperation and Defection among PPB Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	.2225	.1874	.0238	1.249
Contested party recommendation	−0.0500	.1250	−0.0093	.951
Uncontested party recommendation	.3612	.2422	.0380	1.435
Share of pork disbursements	.2222*	.1008	.0509	1.249
Rank in postelection list	2.2678***	.4241	.2353	9.658
Share of total party vote	−4.5867*	2.3663	−0.0576	.010
Dominance of key municipalities	−0.6940	1.0217	−0.0306	.500
Concentration of vote	.0987***	.0259	.2430	1.104
Concentration × Rank in list	−0.3313***	.0461	−0.4970	.718
Concentration × Terms served	.0129	.0099	.0732	1.013
Concentration × Dominance	.1765	.1219	.0838	1.193
Ideology	.4595***	.0960	.1574	1.583
Terms served	−0.2526**	.0889	−0.1099	.777
Local political career	−0.1056	.1392	−0.0194	.900
Governor from same party	1.4454	.9917	.0627	4.243
Incumbent seeking reelection	.6431***	.1357	.1080	1.902

−2 log likelihood = 1721.9

Model chi-squared = 9089.7 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 67.2%

$N = 7,504$

$R^2 = .1140$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .3857$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

D5. Cooperation and Defection among PDT Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	.3901	.4414	.0442	1.477
Contested party recommendation	.4134*	.2114	.0776	1.512
Uncontested party recommendation	–0.1339	.2687	–0.0196	.875
Share of pork disbursements	.2321	.1903	.0498	1.261
Rank in postelection list	.5614	.6423	.0689	1.753
Share of total party vote	–10.8177*	5.4370	–0.0959	0.000
Dominance of key municipalities	5.4832	3.1742	.2444	240.6
Concentration of vote	.2643**	.1007	.4547	1.303
Concentration × Rank in list	–0.1142	.0861	–0.1566	.892
Concentration × Terms served	–0.0222	.0392	–0.0731	.978
Concentration × Dominance	–0.5895	.3280	–0.3511	.555
Ideology	–0.4357*	.2229	–0.1147	.647
Terms served	.3889	.2068	.1659	1.475
Local political career	–0.3144	.3408	–0.0585	.730
Governor from same party	.1723	.5442	.0187	1.188
Incumbent seeking reelection	–0.4927	.3389	–0.0841	.611

–2 log likelihood = 671.6

Model chi-squared = 1137.0 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 64.3%

$N = 2,995$

$R^2 = .3159$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .6969$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

D6. Cooperation and Defection among PTB Deputies, 1991–98

Dependent Variable: Cooperation with Party Majority (absentees excluded)

Variable	Unstandardized Parameter Estimate and Probability Level	Standard Error	Standardized Estimate	Odds Ratio
Cardoso administration (1995–98)	.5750*	.2840	.0637	1.777
Contested party recommendation	-0.1489	.1723	-0.0285	.862
Uncontested party recommendation	-0.0257	.2387	-0.0034	.975
Share of pork disbursements	.0252	.1646	.0060	1.026
Rank in postelection list	-0.1765	.7465	-0.0160	.838
Share of total party vote	7.1588*	3.6206	.0882	999.0
Dominance of key municipalities	-0.0495	1.8588	-0.0019	.952
Concentration of vote	.1029*	.0420	.2035	1.108
Concentration × Rank in list	.1162	.0830	.1725	1.123
Concentration × Terms served	-0.0115	.0162	-0.0670	.989
Concentration × Dominance	-0.1819	.2030	-0.1093	.834
Ideology	.0992	.1988	.0272	1.104
Terms served	.1131	.1638	.0550	1.120
Local political career	-0.6169*	.2723	-0.0815	.540
Governor from same party	-0.7486*	.3371	-0.0741	.473
Incumbent seeking reelection	.4837	.2645	.088455	1.622

-2 log likelihood = 1072.4

Model chi-squared = 1225.1 $p < .0001$

Correctly predicted = 63.6%

$N = 2,917$

$R^2 = .3430$ Max-rescaled $R^2 = .6292$

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$