

Partisans, Antipartisans, and Nonpartisans

Conventional wisdom suggests that partisanship has little impact on voter behavior in Brazil; what matters most is pork-barreling, incumbent performance, and candidates' charisma. This book shows that soon after redemocratization in the 1980s, more than half of Brazilian voters expressed either a strong affinity or antipathy for or against a particular political party, in particular, that the contours of positive and negative partisanship in Brazil have been shaped mainly by how people feel about one party – the Workers' Party (PT). Voter behavior in Brazil has largely been structured around sentiment for or against this one party, and not any of Brazil's many others. We show how the PT managed to successfully cultivate widespread partisanship in a difficult environment, and also explain the emergence of anti-PT attitudes. We then reveal how positive and negative forms of partisanship shape voters' attitudes about politics and policy, and how they shape their choices in the ballot booth.

David J. Samuels received his PhD in political science from the University of California, San Diego in 1998. Since 1998 he has taught at the University of Minnesota. His book *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach* (with Ben Ansell, Cambridge University Press, 2014) won the American Political Science Association's Woodrow Wilson Foundation award as well as the William H. Riker Best Book Award from the American Political Science Association's Political Economy Section. He is also the co-author of *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers* (with Matthew Shugart, Cambridge University Press, 2010), and *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). He has received funding from the National Science Foundation (in 1996 and 1999) and the McKnight Foundation (in 2001), and was awarded Fulbright Fellowships in 2004 and 2013.

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Voting Behavior in Brazil

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The idea for this book has deep roots for both of us. Samuels' first exposure to Brazil came in 1992, when he lived in Brasília, as a guest of and working as a sort of intern for Workers Party (PT) federal deputy Jaques Wagner, who later went on to serve as Minister of Labor and Chief of Staff under Lula, two terms as governor of Bahia, and Chief of Staff and Minister of Defense under Dilma. The year 1992 was a tumultuous one in Brazilian politics, as the PT led the charge to impeach Fernando Collor, Brazil's first democratically elected president since 1960, and Samuels' engagement with the PT during this period became a lasting interest. Nonetheless, a couple of years later, after reading an early draft of what would become his first published paper (Samuels 1999), his graduate school advisor, Gary Cox, suggested that for the sake of his career he should not write his dissertation on the PT – because “one book on a small opposition party with an uncertain future” (Keck 1992) was enough, at the time. Samuels took that advice, but continued to write about the PT (e.g., Samuels 2004) and by the mid-2000s turned to the question of the rise of petismo in voters' minds (Samuels 2006).

Zucco experienced the connection between the PT and civil society a few years before studying the issue and decades before writing about it, while participating in student government in college in the 1990s. Although his roles were always quite minor, he was introduced to the traditions, lingo, symbolism, and factions of party life, as well as to how different civil society organizations come into a party's fold. He vividly recalls, for instance, visiting unions in order to obtain (extremely modest) contributions for student government elections. Also while in college, he became – at least according to official records – a member of a

(different) party, even though he has only a vague idea about how this might have come to be. The surprise in finding out that for legal purposes he was (and still is) officially a party member was more than enough reason to give him pause about the relevance and importance of partisanship in the lives of Brazilian voters. Results presented in this book helped him overcome some of his initial skepticism.

Ideas laid out by Samuels in his 2006 piece provided the foundation stone for this book but it would still take years of collaboration on article-length projects before the book's central idea would take shape. Samuels and Zucco first met at the 2003 Latin American Studies Association meeting in Dallas, when Zucco was still a graduate student. Zucco experienced sticker shock at the price of the Brazilian *churrascaria* (steakhouse) in Dallas, consuming in one meal his family's food budget for an entire week. A few years later, Samuels approached Zucco after watching him present his work on the political impact of *Bolsa Família* in Brazil, and they had a chat about the potential impact of partisanship on voting behavior. Zucco's preliminary analysis of survey data on partisanship performed in 2008 – for what eventually become a chapter in an edited volume on party system institutionalization (Zucco 2015) – served as a starting point for a conversation that turned into an effort to explain the evolution of *petismo* and to test the relative strength of *petismo* as a form of partisanship. Readers will find elements of those two projects in Chapters 2 and 3. Portions of Chapter 4 have also previously appeared, in Samuels and Zucco, "Crafting Mass Partisanship at the Grass Roots," *British Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 755–775 (October, 2015).

We presented our research on numerous occasions, starting with a presentation at Harvard University's David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies in November 2010, and we returned to Harvard to present additional work for the conference on "Party-Building in Latin America" in November of 2012. We presented different parts of this project at a workshop at Oxford University in January of 2012 and again in February of 2016. We also presented our research at the *Fundação Getúlio Vargas* – São Paulo in March, 2013; at the *Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro* and the Graduate Program in Political Science at Brazil's Chamber of Deputies in October 2013; at the Inter-American Development Bank in May 2011; at the 2010, 2011, and 2017 American Political Science Association Meetings; at a seminar on "Partisanship and Electoral Behavior" at the *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina* in May 2015; at MIT in May 2016 and again at the "Political Behavior of Development" conference at MIT in November 2016; and at

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Replication data and code will be deposited at the DataVerse project repository, with the permanent URL <http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TCQ00L>.

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