Arnaldo Mauerberg, Junior and Carlos Pereira, How Valuable Is a Presidential Cabinet? Measuring Ministries’ Political Attractiveness in Brazil. *Latin American Politics and Society* 62, 1 (Spring 2020)

**Online Appendix**

Appendix One – Survey Validation

This appendix brings an analysis of coalescence by considering only the variables of political attractiveness in the calculations.

We did so to validate the elite survey, proving that the results obtained by considering it are different from the results obtained by not considering it.

Therefore, the terminology used in this appendix is:

Standard Coalescence: Proportionality measured considering that all ministries are equal.

Semi-refined coalescence: Proportionality measured considering only ministries’ levels of budget, patronage, networking, and normative capacities.

Refined coalescence: Proportionality measured considering ministries’ levels of budget, patronage, networking, and normative capacities and the weights each one of those variables obtained through the elite survey conducted among legislators.

As the reader will see in tables A1 and A2, the scores obtained by not considering legislators’ opinion lie between the standard coalescence and the refined coalescence. Since the coefficients of the semi-refined index are statistically different from those of the refined indexes calculated, we believe that the elite survey is an important step for more precise analysis.

See tables A1 and A2 below.

In addition, we believe it is important to disclose readers the questions asked to the legislators in the elite survey. They are:

Question 1

*Who are* the main person(s) responsible for executive coalition building?

1. The President;
2. The leaders of the party that holds the presidency;
3. The leaders of all the parties that join the coalition;
4. All the above.

Question 2

Currently, the main person(s) responsible for executive coalition building in Brazil is(are):

1. The President;
2. The leaders of the party that holds the presidency;
3. The leadership of all the parties that join the coalition;
4. All the above.

Question 3

The current layout of the cabinet in Brazil regarding the distribution of cabinet positions among allied parties is fair.

1. Totally agree;
2. Partially agree;
3. Do not agree or disagree;
4. Partially disagree;
5. Totally disagree.

Why?

Question 4

The president who best knew how to build and manage his or her coalition was:

1. Fernando Henrique Cardoso in his first term;
2. Fernando Henrique Cardoso in his second term;
3. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in his first term;
4. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in his second term;
5. Dilma Rousseff in her first term;
6. Dilma Rousseff in her second term.

Question 5

Brazilian congress members believe it is easier to influence the public policy processes being a member of an executive body than being a member of the legislative body.

1. Totally agree;
2. Partially agree;
3. Do not agree or disagree;
4. Partially disagree;
5. Totally disagree.

Question 6

Brazilian ministers have more power to influence society than Brazilian lawmakers.

1. Totally agree;
2. Partially agree;
3. Do not agree or disagree;
4. Partially disagree;
5. Totally disagree.

Question 7

Sort according to your preferences the characteristics a ministry can have, where 1 the *MOST IMPORTANT*, 2 the second most important, and so on until number 6, the *LEAST IMPORTANT*:

( ) Size of the total budget and ability to spend it according the minister’s will;

( ) Term as a minister;

( ) The total number of employees and the possibility to hire new ones;

( ) The normative power over several sectors and economic activities;

( ) The network power to influence public agencies and companies directly attached to the ministry;

( ) The status a minister has of acting as a link, or bridge, between his/her party and the executive branch.

Besides the options above, would you like to mention another one?

Question 8

Assuming that a coalition party can make a choice and pick the ministry it wants, among all 38 Brazilian ministries, what are the three *MOST IMPORTANT*, and consequently the three most chosen? In other words: What are the three *MOST IMPORTANT MINISTRIES* in Brazil?

\*The official names in Portuguese are in brackets.

|  |
| --- |
| ( ) Office of the Solicitor General (Advocacia-Geral da União) |
| ( ) Central Bank (Banco Central do Brasil) |
| ( ) Office of the Presidential Chief of Staff (Casa Civil) |
| ( ) Ministry of Finance (Ministério da Fazenda) |
| ( ) Office of the Federal Comptroller (Controladoria-Geral da União) |
| ( ) General Secretariat of the Presidency (Secretaria-Geral da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Supply  (Ministério da Agricultura, Pecuária e Abastecimento) |
| ( ) Ministry of Communications (Ministério das Comunicações) |
| ( ) Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura) |
| ( ) Ministry of Defense (Ministério da Defesa) |
| ( ) Ministry of Economic Development, Industry and Foreign Trade (Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria e Comércio Exterior) |
| ( ) Ministry of Economic Planning, Budget and Management (Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão) |
| ( ) Ministry of Education (Ministério da Educação) |
| ( ) Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture (Ministério da Pesca e Aquicultura) |
| ( ) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) |
| ( ) Ministry of Health (Ministério da Saúde)  ( ) Ministry of Labor and Employment (Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego) |
| ( ) Ministry of Mining and Energy (Ministério de Minas e Energia) |
| ( ) Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (Ministério da Ciência, Tecnologia e Inovação) |
| ( ) Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome) |
| ( ) Ministry of Sports (Ministério do Esporte) |
| ( ) Ministry of Agrarian Development (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário) |
| ( ) Ministry of Cities (Ministério das Cidades) |
| ( ) Ministry of the Environment (Ministério do Meio Ambiente) |
| ( ) Ministry of Justice (Ministério da Justiça) |
| ( ) Ministry of National Integration (Ministério da Integração Nacional) |
| ( ) Ministry of Social Security (Ministério da Previdência Social) |
| ( ) Ministry of Tourism (Ministério do Turismo) |
| ( ) Ministry of Transportation (Ministério dos Transportes) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic (Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Harbor Maintenance (Secretaria de Portos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Human Rights (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat for Promotion of Racial Equality (Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial) |
| ( ) Secretariat for Development of Micro and Small Enterprises (Secretaria da Micro e Pequena Empresa) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Civil Aviation (Secretaria de Aviação Civil da Presidência da República) |
|  |
| ( ) Secretariat of Presidential Communication (Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Women’s Rights (Secretaria de Políticas para as Mulheres)  ( ) Office of Institutional Security (Gabinete de Segurança Institucional) |

Why?

Question 9

Assuming that a coalitional party can choose the ministry it wants, among all 38 Brazilian ministries, what are three *LEAST IMPORTANT*, and consequently the three least chosen? In other words: What are the three *LEAST IMPORTANT MINISTRIES* in Brazil?

\*The official names in Portuguese are in brackets.

|  |
| --- |
| ( ) Office of the Solicitor General (Advocacia-Geral da União) |
| ( ) Central Bank (Banco Central do Brasil) |
| ( ) Office of the Presidential Chief of Staff (Casa Civil) |
| ( ) Ministry of Finance (Ministério da Fazenda) |
| ( ) Office of the Federal Comptroller (Controladoria-Geral da União) |
| ( ) General Secretariat of the Presidency (Secretaria-Geral da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Supply  (Ministério da Agricultura, Pecuária e Abastecimento) |
| ( ) Ministry of Communications (Ministério das Comunicações) |
| ( ) Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura) |
| ( ) Ministry of Defense (Ministério da Defesa) |
| ( ) Ministry of Economic Development, Industry and Foreign Trade (Ministério do Desenvolvimento, Indústria e Comércio Exterior) |
| ( ) Ministry of Economic Planning, Budget and Management (Ministério do Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão) |
| ( ) Ministry of Education (Ministério da Educação) |
| ( ) Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture (Ministério da Pesca e Aquicultura) |
| ( ) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) |
| ( ) Ministry of Health (Ministério da Saúde)  ( ) Ministry of Labor and Employment (Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego) |
| ( ) Ministry of Mining and Energy (Ministério de Minas e Energia) |
| ( ) Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (Ministério da Ciência, Tecnologia e Inovação) |
| ( ) Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome) |
| ( ) Ministry of Sports (Ministério do Esporte) |
| ( ) Ministry of Agrarian Development (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário) |
| ( ) Ministry of Cities (Ministério das Cidades) |
| ( ) Ministry of the Environment (Ministério do Meio Ambiente) |
| ( ) Ministry of Justice (Ministério da Justiça) |
| ( ) Ministry of National Integration (Ministério da Integração Nacional) |
| ( ) Ministry of Social Security (Ministério da Previdência Social) |
| ( ) Ministry of Tourism (Ministério do Turismo) |
| ( ) Ministry of Transportation (Ministério dos Transportes) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic (Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Harbor Maintenance (Secretaria de Portos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Human Rights (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat for Promotion of Racial Equality (Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial) |
| ( ) Secretariat for Development of Micro and Small Enterprises (Secretaria da Micro e Pequena Empresa) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Civil Aviation (Secretaria de Aviação Civil da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Presidential Communication (Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência da República) |
| ( ) Secretariat of Women’s Rights (Secretaria de Políticas para as Mulheres)  ( ) Office of Institutional Security (Gabinete de Segurança Institucional) |

Why?

Question 10

The amount of discretionary spending in a ministry is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 11

A minister’s term length is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 12

The total number of employees in a ministry is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 13

The normative power of a ministry is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 14

The total budget of a ministry is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 15

The number of employees hired directly by the minister as patronage strategy is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 16

A ministry’s influence over other agencies and public companies is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

Question 17

The chance of being the link between party colleagues and the executive branch of a minister is:

( ) Extremely important;

(   ) Very important;

(   ) Moderately important;

(   ) Relatively unimportant;

(   ) Not important.

**Appendix Two – Ranking of ministries’ political attractiveness**

This appendix ranks the political attractiveness obtained through equation 10.

See table A3 below.

**Table A1 - Coalescence with the standard criteria, refined criteria and semi-refined criteria – 1995-2014**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Standard Coalescence** | **Refined Coalescence** | **Semi-refined**  **Coalescence** |
| Cardoso I | 1995 | 0.652 | 0.599 | 0.610 |
| 1996 | 0.752 | 0.739 | 0.743 |
| 1997 | 0.755 | 0.754 | 0.746 |
| 1998 | 0.733 | 0.766 | 0.761 |
| avg. | 0.723 | 0.715 | 0.715 |
| Cardoso II | 1999 | 0.782 | 0.729 | 0.719 |
| 2000 | 0.763 | 0.639 | 0.640 |
| 2001 | 0.763 | 0.640 | 0.606 |
| 2002 | 0.728 | 0.676 | 0.685 |
| avg. | 0.759 | 0.671 | 0.663 |
| Lula I | 2003 | 0.810 | 0.773 | 0.722 |
| 2004 | 0.689 | 0.730 | 0.723 |
| 2005 | 0.733 | 0.837 | 0.819 |
| 2006 | 0.678 | 0.777 | 0.767 |
| avg. | 0.727 | 0.779 | 0.758 |
| Lula II | 2007 | 0.739 | 0.786 | 0.772 |
| 2008 | 0.741 | 0.806 | 0.797 |
| 2009 | 0.728 | 0.794 | 0.785 |
| 2010 | 0.742 | 0.850 | 0.866 |
| avg. | 0.737 | 0.809 | 0.805 |
| Rousseff I | 2011 | 0.715 | 0.700 | 0.690 |
| 2012 | 0.733 | 0.675 | 0.666 |
| 2013 | 0.696 | 0.628 | 0.618 |
| 2014 | 0.680 | 0.646 | 0.636 |
| avg. | 0.706 | 0.662 | 0.653 |

Source: The authors.

**Table A2 - Legislative success of the president (fixed effects), 1995 - 2014**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Legislative Success of the President | | |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Intercept | 588.769\*\*\* | -585.214\*\*\* | -686.032\*\*\* |
|  | (127.908) | (150.424) | (168.850) |
| Standard Coalescence | 0.887\*\* |  |  |
|  | (0.276) |  |  |
| Refined Coalescence |  | 1.293\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.232) |  |
| Semi-refined Coalescence |  |  | 1.097\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.228) |
| Coalition Size | -6.041\*\*\* | 10.244\*\*\* | 11.657\*\*\* |
|  | (1.732) | (2.717) | (2.929) |
| Coalition Ideology Heterogeneity | 2.762\*\* | -4.973\*\*\* | -5.763\*\*\* |
|  | (0.869) | (1.294) | (1.396) |
| Technocrats’ Share | -8.667\*\*\* | 7.018\*\*\* | 8.295\*\*\* |
|  | (2.182) | (1.584) | (1.808) |
| Observations | 133 | 133 | 133 |
| R² | 0.313 | 0.412 | 0.378 |
| Adjusted R² | 0.191 | 0.307 | 0.267 |
| Residual Std. Error | 17.1 (df = 112) | 15.81 (df = 112) | 16.27 (df = 112) |
| F Statistic | 2.555\*\*\* (df = 20; 112) | 3.933\*\*\* (df = 20; 112) | 3.407\*\*\* (df = 20; 112) |

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

**Table A3 – Ranking of ministries’ political attractiveness – 1995 - 2014**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Ministry** | **1995** | **1996** | **1997** | **1998** | **1999** | **2000** | **2001** | **2002** | **2003** | **2004** | **2005** | **2006** | **2007** | **2008** | **2009** | **2010** | **2011** | **2012** | **2013** | **2014** |
| Air Force | 0.231 | 0.229 | 0.230 | 0.228 | 0.228 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Army | 0.028 | 0.017 | 0.019 | 0.017 | 0.018 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Office of the Solicitor General |  |  |  |  | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 |
| Central Bank |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.220 |
| Office of the Presidential Chief of Staff | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Ministry of Finance | 0.287 | 0.348 | 0.252 | 0.331 | 0.254 | 0.336 | 0.256 | 0.300 | 0.242 | 0.244 | 0.241 | 0.244 | 0.241 | 0.242 | 0.241 | 0.241 | 0.240 | 0.238 | 0.238 | 0.237 |
| Office of the Federal Comptroller |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 | 0.219 |
| General Secretariat of the Presidency |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Supply |  | 0.014 | 0.024 | 0.021 | 0.016 | 0.016 | 0.013 | 0.017 | 0.016 | 0.013 | 0.012 | 0.013 | 0.011 | 0.014 | 0.012 | 0.018 | 0.013 | 0.016 | 0.015 | 0.019 |
| Ministry of Communications | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.225 | 0.220 | 0.220 | 0.224 | 0.226 | 0.222 | 0.224 | 0.225 | 0.224 | 0.223 | 0.223 | 0.223 | 0.224 | 0.222 | 0.222 | 0.222 | 0.223 |
| Ministry of Culture | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.008 | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.226 | 0.223 | 0.225 | 0.229 | 0.226 | 0.227 | 0.227 | 0.234 | 0.225 | 0.227 |
| Ministry of Defense |  |  |  |  |  | 0.267 | 0.265 | 0.264 | 0.263 | 0.260 | 0.261 | 0.260 | 0.040 | 0.257 | 0.258 | 0.257 | 0.257 | 0.036 | 0.036 | 0.032 |
| Ministry of Economic Development, Industry and Foreign Trade |  |  |  |  | 0.224 | 0.225 | 0.232 | 0.226 | 0.226 | 0.224 | 0.239 | 0.224 | 0.224 | 0.223 | 0.223 | 0.234 | 0.223 | 0.222 | 0.232 | 0.223 |
| Ministry of Economic Planning, Budget and Management |  | 0.015 | 0.024 | 0.018 | 0.015 | 0.010 | 0.009 | 0.011 | 0.011 | 0.011 | 0.010 | 0.013 | 0.011 | 0.011 | 0.011 | 0.012 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.009 | 0.010 |
| Ministry of Education | 0.518 | 0.441 | 0.487 | 0.432 | 0.420 | 0.419 | 0.433 | 0.417 | 0.439 | 0.418 | 0.429 | 0.417 | 0.415 | 0.416 | 0.438 | 0.449 | 0.427 | 0.438 | 0.441 | 0.448 |
| Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs |  | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.005 | 0.001 |
| Ministry of Health | 0.122 | 0.099 | 0.128 | 0.129 | 0.113 | 0.323 | 0.353 | 0.337 | 0.323 | 0.390 | 0.339 | 0.321 | 0.294 | 0.307 | 0.322 | 0.304 | 0.323 | 0.337 | 0.335 | 0.365 |
| Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism |  | 0.225 | 0.230 | 0.225 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ministry of Labor and Employment | 0.027 | 0.045 | 0.023 | 0.021 | 0.044 | 0.021 | 0.025 | 0.035 | 0.029 | 0.028 | 0.027 | 0.036 | 0.023 | 0.024 | 0.026 | 0.022 | 0.035 | 0.023 | 0.022 | 0.021 |
| Ministry of Mining and Energy |  | 0.007 | 0.004 | 0.224 | 0.223 | 0.226 | 0.227 | 0.224 | 0.225 | 0.226 | 0.227 | 0.225 | 0.224 | 0.226 | 0.225 | 0.224 | 0.225 | 0.224 | 0.225 | 0.224 |
| Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation |  | 0.230 | 0.234 | 0.228 | 0.240 | 0.234 | 0.247 | 0.236 | 0.250 | 0.242 | 0.249 | 0.244 | 0.238 | 0.243 | 0.238 | 0.241 | 0.232 | 0.238 | 0.234 | 0.235 |
| Ministry of Social Development and Hunger Alleviation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.016 | 0.023 | 0.017 | 0.020 | 0.016 | 0.027 | 0.023 | 0.020 | 0.022 | 0.030 | 0.034 |
| Ministry of Sports |  | 0.002 | 0.003 | 0.002 |  |  |  |  |  | 0.004 | 0.004 | 0.007 | 0.005 | 0.007 | 0.004 | 0.008 | 0.223 | 0.225 | 0.234 | 0.228 |
| Ministry of Sports and Tourism |  |  |  |  |  | 0.005 | 0.003 | 0.002 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ministry of Agrarian Development |  |  | 0.010 | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.010 | 0.012 | 0.013 | 0.014 | 0.011 | 0.013 | 0.012 | 0.010 | 0.011 | 0.012 | 0.012 | 0.008 | 0.010 | 0.011 | 0.012 |
| Ministry of Cities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.014 | 0.019 | 0.045 | 0.098 | 0.055 | 0.024 | 0.031 | 0.065 | 0.023 | 0.023 | 0.024 |
| Ministry of the Environment | 0.005 | 0.011 | 0.015 | 0.012 | 0.012 | 0.008 | 0.236 | 0.228 | 0.227 | 0.226 | 0.226 | 0.226 | 0.226 | 0.227 | 0.226 | 0.226 | 0.228 | 0.228 | 0.226 | 0.225 |
| Ministry of Justice |  | 0.239 | 0.242 | 0.241 | 0.239 | 0.246 | 0.255 | 0.245 | 0.256 | 0.239 | 0.240 | 0.242 | 0.240 | 0.246 | 0.241 | 0.241 | 0.242 | 0.245 | 0.242 | 0.239 |
| Ministry of National Integration |  |  |  |  |  | 0.034 | 0.031 | 0.039 | 0.026 | 0.016 | 0.018 | 0.024 | 0.017 | 0.030 | 0.042 | 0.032 | 0.040 | 0.044 | 0.037 | 0.018 |
| Ministry of the Regional Integration |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ministry of Social Security |  | 0.105 | 0.106 | 0.106 | 0.107 | 0.108 | 0.110 | 0.101 | 0.110 | 0.111 | 0.112 | 0.110 | 0.109 | 0.107 | 0.104 | 0.101 | 0.097 | 0.102 | 0.102 | 0.103 |
| Ministry of Tourism |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.005 | 0.007 | 0.016 | 0.010 | 0.016 | 0.014 | 0.020 | 0.006 | 0.008 | 0.005 | 0.003 |
| Ministry of the Union Administration and State Reform |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ministry of Welfare |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ministry of Transportation | 0.022 | 0.035 | 0.028 | 0.033 | 0.090 | 0.021 | 0.018 | 0.246 | 0.253 | 0.239 | 0.237 | 0.241 | 0.258 | 0.255 | 0.244 | 0.234 | 0.234 | 0.237 | 0.232 | 0.229 |
| Navy |  | 0.230 | 0.232 | 0.231 | 0.231 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Secretariat of Harbor Maintenance |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.001 | 0.002 |
| Secretariat of Human Rights |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
| Secretariat of Institutional Relations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Secretariat for Promotion of Racial Equality |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Secretariat for Development of Micro and Small Enterprises |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Secretariat of Strategic Affairs |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| Secretariat of Civil Aviation |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.220 | 0.218 | 0.221 | 0.220 |
| Secretariat of Presidential Communication |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Secretariat of Women’s Rights |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| Office of Institutional Security |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Blank spaces indicate not applicable because of missing data or because the ministry did not exist in that year.

For the values of unrestricted expenses for 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999 of the Army, Navy and Air Force, we used the values reported for the Ministry of Defense at *Portal dos Convênios*, divided equally (the separate ministries of the three armed forces were combined into the Ministry of Defense in 1999).

The values for 1999 of the Ministry of Sports, Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of National Integration; for 2003 of the Office of the Comptroller General, General Secretariat of the Presidency, Ministry of Sports, Ministry of Cities, Ministry of Tourism, Secretariat of Human Rights, Secretariat for Promotion of Racial Equality, and Office of Institutional Security; and for 2011 of the Secretariat of Civil Aviation were not available for the networking variable. To fill in this gap we used values for the subsequent year in each case as a proxy.

The values for 1996 were used as a proxy for the data pertaining to 1995.

Values from the following year were used as proxies for the Office of the Presidential Chief of Staff in 1996 and 1998, for the Ministry of Public Administration and Reform of the State in 1999, and for the Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture in 2009 regarding patronage.

The values for 1996 of the Ministry of Sports; for 1995 of the Ministry of Planning; for 1999 for the Ministry of National Integration; for 2007 of the Secretariat of Ports; and for 2013 of the Secretariat for Development of Micro and Small Enterprises were not available for the regulatory variable. To fill in this gap we used values for the subsequent year in each case as a proxy.

Source: The authors.