The Runner-up Effect: Online Appendix

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A.1 Derivation of Equation (3)

The object of interest is:

$$\mathrm{E}[W_1 - W_0 | x = 0, R_1 = 1] = \mathrm{E}[W_1 | x = 0, R_1 = 1] - \mathrm{E}[W_0 | x = 0, R_1 = 1]$$

The first term on the right side can be expressed as:

$$\frac{\mathrm{Prob}[(W_1 = 1) \cap (R_1 = 1) | x = 0]}{\mathrm{Prob}[R_1 = 1 | x = 0]} = \frac{E[W_1 R_1 | x = 0]}{\mathrm{E}[R_1 | x = 0]}$$

The second term can be expressed similarly and further rearranged:

$$\frac{\mathrm{Prob}[(W_0 = 1) \cap (R_1 = 1) | x = 0]}{\mathrm{Prob}[R_1 = 1 | x = 0]} =$$

$$= \frac{\mathrm{Prob}[(W_0 = 1) \cap (R_0 = 1; R_1 = 1) | x = 0] + \mathrm{Prob}[(W_0 = 1) \cap (R_0 = 0; R_1 = 1) | x = 0]}{\mathrm{Prob}[R_1 = 1 | x = 0]} =$$

$$\frac{\mathrm{E}[W_0 R_0 | x = 0] + \mathrm{Prob}[(W_0 = 1) \cap (R_0 = 0; R_1 = 1) | x = 0]}{\mathrm{E}[R_1 | x = 0]}$$

where the last step uses the assumption of no defiers. Finally, note that:

$$\begin{aligned} &\mathrm{Prob}[(W_0 = 1) \cap (R_0 = 0; R_1 = 1) | x = 0] = \\ &\qquad \mathrm{Prob}[W_0 = 1 | R_0 = 0; R_1 = 1 | x = 0] \cdot \mathrm{Prob}[R_0 = 0; R_1 = 1 | x = 0] = \\ &\qquad\qquad \mathrm{E}[W_0 | R_1 > R_0, x = 0] \cdot \mathrm{Prob}[R_1 > R_0 | x = 0] \end{aligned}$$

Combining these we obtain equation (3):

$$\frac{\mathrm{E}(W_1 R_1 - W_0 R_0 | x = 0) - \mathrm{Prob}(R_1 > R_0 | x = 0) \cdot \mathrm{E}(W_0 | x = 0, R_1 > R_0)]}{\mathrm{E}(R_1 | x = 0)}$$

A.2 Party Level Outcomes

Figure A.14 presents a graphical analysis of whether a party that comes in close second-place is more likely to run in, and win, a subsequent in election. The figures for Brazil, India State, and India Federal show reasonably clear discontinuities at the transition from third to second-place, suggesting that a party that barely comes in second versus third-place is more likely to field a candidate in the next election, and that candidate is more likely to win the next election. For Canada, however, the figure shows little evidence of a difference between close second and third parties on future outcomes.

Table A.3 presents our regression discontinuity estimates of these effects. For Brazil, the runner-up effect on a party running in the next election is 4.8 p.p., which is approximately half the size of the runner-up effect on a candidate running in the next election (9.4 p.p. - Table 1). Similarly, the runner-up effect on a party winning the next election (5.6 p.p.) is approximately 67 percent the size of the runner-up effect on a candidate winning the next election (8.3 p.p.). The likely reason for the smaller magnitudes when we use party versus candidate outcomes in Brazil is the amount of party switching. Approximately 37% of close second- and third-place (within 2% vote share difference) candidates that run again do so switching parties.[73]

In the Indian state sample, we find the effect sizes using party outcomes are similar to those when we use candidate outcomes. Using party outcomes, the runner-up effects on running again and winning the next election are 3.6 p.p. and 3.8 p.p.; these are quite close the corresponding effect sizes using candidate outcomes (Table 1).

In the Indian federal sample, the point estimates using party outcomes are smaller than those using candidate outcomes, but still positive. The statistical significance of these estimates varies more with the specific bandwidth chosen for estimation. Close second parties are 1.8 p.p. (1.3 p.p.) more likely to run (win) than close third parties, whereas close second candidates are 4.9 p.p. (2.7 p.p.) more likely to run (win). Consistent with Figure A.14, in Table A.3 we find no evidence that Canadian parties that barely come in second-place are more likely to run in or win future elections.

Table A.4 presents regression discontinuity tests of balance on pre-existing party characteristics. For the Brazilian and Indian state elections we find no significant differences in past candidacy, winning, major party, or vote share. For the India Federal election, the quadratic specification suggests that close second-place parties were more likely to have won the previous election. However, visual inspection of Figure A.15c suggests that this significant effect is being driven by the quadratic functional form fitting the curve better away from the cutoff. In particular,

[73] We do not find evidence of a large runner-up effect on party-switching. The estimated effect on a dummy indicating that a candidate runs in a different party (from t) at $t+1$ is -3.56 p.p., compared to a third-place mean of 39.1 p.p.. This is based on a local linear specification using the optimal bandwidth, and only candidates that run again at $t+1$ (i.e., it is conditional on running).

the quadratic functional form takes a linear shape to fit the pattern away from the cutoff, but this causes it to miss the non-linearity close to the right hand side of the cutoff. In Canada, we find a 10% significant difference in the optimal bandwidth specification on candidacy in the past election. However, inspection of Figure A.15d does not suggest an imbalance. Lastly, we find close second-place parties have lower vote share both in the optimal bandwidth and quadratic specifications in the Canadian sample. Figure A.13 provides the relevant plot for this outcome. An imbalance is not clearly visible, and the discontinuity seems to be driven by observations in the bin immediately to the right of the cutoff; there are other variations across individual bins of similar magnitude. When conducting a large number of balance tests over multiple outcomes and samples some spurious significant results are expected, and so we do not conclude that electoral manipulation and/or imbalance is an issue.

A.3 Effects on *t+1* Vote Shares

Figure A.3 plots candidates' vote share in the next election against our main running variable. These figures, however, must be interpreted with caution since the outcome is not observed for candidates that do not run at *t+1*, and there are jumps in the probability of running at the cutoffs. In other words, selection issues confound the analysis of the graph.

To address these issues, we apply the same approach and assumptions used to deal with selection issues in the effect on winning at *t+1* in Section 3.5. In particular, we bound the analysis using a linear specification and the optimal bandwidth. The upper bound assumes all third-place candidates discouraged from running receive zero votes, the lower bound assumes they receive the same number of votes as close second-place candidates. For Brazil, the lower and upper bounds on the estimate of the runner-up effect on vote-share conditional on running are 3.2 p.p. (s.e.=1.2 p.p) and 12.5 p.p. (s.e.=2.5 p.p). For our Indian state sample the corresponding lower and upper bound estimates are 1.2 p.p. (s.e.= 0.61 p.p.) and 4.3 p.p. (s.e.=1.0 p.p.). Hence in both contexts our lower bound estimates are positive and significantly different from zero at the five percent level, suggesting a causal runner-up effect on vote-shares conditional on running. In the Indian Federal sample our lower and upper bound estimates are 0.56 p.p. (s.e.=1.7 p.p.) and 5.1 p.p. (s.e.=2.8 p.p), and for Canada our lower and upper bound estimates are 1.5 p.p. (s.e.= 0.84 p.p.) and 6.8 p.p. (s.e.=1.9 p.p.). In these contexts we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the lower bound estimate is equal to zero.

A.4 Tests of Mean Reversion and Vote Share Dynamics

In this Section we describe formal tests of whether the increase in top two vote shares for close second- versus third-place elections is larger than the decline in the top two vote shares for

elections with large vote share gaps between second- and third-place. Let v_i^t be the top two vote share in constituency i in the election at time t. We wish to test whether $v_i^{t+1} - v_i^t$ in elections that are close between second- and third-place is significantly larger than $v_i^t - v_i^{t+1}$ for elections that are far (where we take far to mean elections where second-place beat third-place by a large margin). Let c_i equal one if constituency i was close between second- and third-place at time t, and zero if it was far at time t. Define d_i as follows:

$$d_i = \begin{cases} v_i^t - v_i^{t+1} & \text{if } c_i = 0 \\ v_i^{t+1} - v_i^t & \text{if } c_i = 1 \end{cases}$$

We run the following regression model in a sample of close and far elections:

$$d_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 c_i + \epsilon_i$$

The coefficients β_1 give us how much bigger, on average, the increase in top two vote shares in close elections is relative to the decrease in top two vote shares in far elections.

Appendix Table A.8 presents the results of these regressions for our four contexts. Column (1) defines close elections as those where the second-place candidate beat the third-place candidate by less than 2 p.p., and far elections as those where second beat third by greater than 48 p.p.. Column (2) defines close elections as those with a second/third vote share difference of 4 percentage points or less, and far as those with a vote share difference of 46 p.p. or greater. Columns (3) - (5) respectively expand the close definition to 0-6 p.p., 0-8 p.p. and 0-10 p.p., and the far definition to 44-50 p.p., 42-50 p.p, and 40-50 p.p..

In Brazil the gain in top two vote shares in close elections is approximately 13 p.p. larger than the decline in top two vote shares in far elections, and these differences are significant at the 1 percent level in all specifications. In the India state sample the corresponding difference is approximately 1.7 - 4.0 p.p. larger and statistically significant in all specifications. In the Indian Federal case, the difference is small and insignificant in Column (1) however the sample of far elections here is very small; in Columns (2)-(5) we see a similar pattern as in the Indian State case. In Canada, however, the evidence suggests that far elections actually have a larger decline in top two vote share than the gain observed in the close elections. The fact that the Canadian results are different from those in the other contexts may not be surprising given we find no evidence for a runner-up effect on winning in Canada.

A.5 Effects on Coalition Size (Brazilian Mayoral Elections)

Brazilian mayoral candidates may run under either a single party or a coalition (*coligação*) of multiple parties. A party can only be a member of one mayoral coalition within a municipality,

although the same party can form alternative coalitions in different municipalities. While party coalitions play an important role in legislative elections under proportional representation (as it defines the lists and assignment of seats), their only direct relation to mayoral elections are related to advertisement time.[74] Coalitions do not play any binding role once the candidate is elected (e.g., a mayor does not need to assign cabinet positions to members of the party in her coalition), although they usually signal political alliances.

The implications of our theory of strategic coordination on an effect on coalition size is ambiguous. While it would be possible that coordination occurs without parties changing their alliances, it perhaps would also be expected that candidates expected to be more successful (perhaps for being the focus of coordination) would also build larger coalitions.

For every election in our sample, we observe the coalition (at *t+1*) of candidates that decided to run again. Of course, there is no information for candidates that do not run. Hence results must be interpreted with caution given the possible selection issues.

We code the number of parties in each coalition (the "coalition size"). We provide the usual graphical representation of the runner-up effect on this variable on Figure A.13a. A local linear estimate indicates that, while the close third-place candidate has a coalition of size 4.20 when she runs at *t+1*, that number increases by 0.260 (s.e.=0.249) for the runner-up.[75] While this effect is small and not significant, it may be due to selection issues (e.g., third-place candidates that run again are better able to build coalitions). Applying the same approach and assumptions used to deal with selection issues in the effect on winning and vote shares at *t+1*, we can bound the effect on coalition size. The lower bound is 0.198 (s.e.=0.190), while the upper bound is 1.018 (s.e.=0.285). In conclusion, there is no conclusive evidence of an effect on coalition size, and very large effects (increases of 25% or more) seem unlikely.[76]

A.6 Effects on Campaign Spending (Brazilian Mayoral Elections)

In this section we test whether runner-ups have higher reported campaign spending than close third-place candidates in the case of Brazilian mayors. While this may be of interest in itself, its relation to our theory of strategic coordination is ambiguous (as in the case of coalition sizes). While it is not necessary that coordination increases funding for runner-ups, it would be

[74]Television and radio stations are mandated by law to broadcast campaign advertisements in the months preceding a campaign. Each coalition's advertisement time is an increasing function of its representation in the federal lower chamber. Hence, larger coalitions receive more advertisement time. However, this issue is moot in smaller municipalities that do not host a TV and radio station, which likely constitute most of our sample.

[75]This is based on an IK bandwidth of 10.31 p.p., which leads to 1619 observations (recall that coalition size is missing for candidates that do not run again).

[76]The lower bound assumes all third-place candidates that would have run if they finished third would have an average coalition size of 4.46 (equal to the close runner-ups). The upper bound assumes this number would be one (the smallest possible coalition).

perhaps expected that campaign donors engage in a coordination game that is similar to voters. Moreover, if donors prefer to support candidates with larger chances of winning, the existence of the runner-up effect on winning should lead to an effect on campaign funding, making it difficult to distinguish cause and consequence.

There are multiple obstacles in estimating the runner-up effect on campaign spending. First, we can only observe campaign spending for candidates that choose to run. Second, data on the campaign expenditures of Brazilian candidates are only available for 2004 and 2012, and there are also missing values in those years. Data on campaign spending at $t+1$ is only available for 40% of the candidates that ran again. Third, anecdotal evidence suggests that misreporting of campaign expenditures is widespread in Brazil, with candidates preferring not to report some types of expenditures (and therefore avoiding having to explain the source of their funds). This might be especially common in the smaller municipalities that constitute most of our sample.

A graphical representation of the runner-up effect on campaign spending is provided in Figure A.13b. The data is in thousands of *reais* (approximately 2.5 *reais* to the U.S. dollar in this time period). A local linear estimate indicates that a close third place candidate that runs again reports spending 214.77 thousand *reais* in her campaign, while being the runner-up increases that value by 54.49 thousand *reais* (s.e.=52.51).[77] While this point estimate is sizable, it is not precisely estimated and is likely affected by the selection issues. Using the same approach adopted in the case of winning, vote shares, and coalition sizes, we can bound the estimates to account for selection issues. The lower bound is estimated to be 41.58 (s.e.=39.78), and the upper bound 105.37 (s.e.=50.28).[78]

Hence, there is no conclusive evidence on the effects on campaign spending. The effects are not precise enough to rule out either zero or fairly large effects. This is perhaps expected, given the smaller sample, missing data, and inherent noisiness of the outcome (due to misreporting).

A.7 Incumbency Effects by Platform Distance

As discussed on Section 4.1, our model suggests the possibility that strategic considerations also play a role in incumbency effects. Moreover, it suggests that it should be larger in cases where the winner and the close runner-up belong to the same party platform category (discussed in Section 4.2 and Appendix A.10). Table A.10 provides these results for the Brazilian and Indian state contexts. Note that, as in Table 8, the outcome is whether a party (not a candidate) ran in or won the next election, given that we can only attach policy platforms to parties.

[77] This is based on an IK bandwidth of 13.77 p.p., which leads to 1455 observations (since spending data is missing in some years and for candidates that do not run again).

[78] The lower bound assumes all third-place candidates that would have run if they finished third would have an average spending level of 269.26 thousand *reais* (equal to the close runner-ups). The upper bound assumes they would spend zero *reais*.

The differences in point estimates are consistent with the prediction in both contexts and outcomes: the effect is larger (or "less negative", in the case of winning) when the parties are in the same category, compared to when they are not. For Brazil the differences are not significant at standard levels. For India, the incumbency effect on winning is significantly different across both samples. When we pool the data to increase power (Panel C), the incumbency effect on running and winning are significant at the 10 and 5 percent levels respectively.

A.8 UK House of Commons Results

Elections to the UK House of Commons are scheduled every five years, but can happen more frequently in the case of failure to form a government. Our UK Parliament data covers the universe of elections, including bye-elections, for the period 1931 - 2010.[79] We again match candidates over time using their names, and define a candidate as running again if we find a match for them in the next election.[80] We also match constituencies by name, considering constituencies with the same name over years as the same constituency. We have a total of 40,206 candidates in the UK data contesting in 11,609 elections across 1,345 constituencies. 8,384 elections had three or more candidates and at least one subsequent election.

Figure A.16a presents a graphical analysis of the probability that U.K. parliamentary candidates will run in, and win, the next election in their constituency. The triangle figures and fitted curves show there is a small increase in the probability that a runner-up candidate runs in the next election. The estimated effect is 3.2 p.p. under a linear specification with the optimal bandwidth and close to significant at the 10 percent level (p-value = 10.2%).

The circle figures and fitted curve suggest that close second-place candidates in the UK are not more likely to win future elections, and this result is also confirmed when we estimate the effect size in a regression-discontinuity model. It is perhaps unsurprising that we do not find an effect, given that close second- and third-candidates have such a low probability of winning (less than 2 percent).

[79] We do not use the CLEA data for U.K. elections because it is missing candidate names for a large fraction of elections. For election years 2005 and 2010 our data come from the UK electoral commission (`http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/our-work/our-research/electoral-data`). For election years 1931-2001 our data come from the Politics Resources website (`http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/`). Our U.K. by-elections data come from (`http://web.archive.org/web/20131014014802/http://by-elections.co.uk/links.html`).

[80] Our manual check procedure finds that our algorithm correctly identified whether a candidate ran again or not in the next election for 100 percent of sampled UK candidates.

A.9 U.S. House of Representative Primary Results

Elections to the US House of Representatives occur every two years. Prior to this, the Republican and Democratic parties each select a candidate for the general election in a primary election, where only candidates from each respective party run. Our data, collected by James Snyder from multiple original sources, covers most primaries for both parties in the 1952-2012 period. We eliminate from our sample elections from state-years that used a runoff system (where the second place candidate would have the advantage of having appeared in two races instead of one). This includes Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Alabama, Arkansas, and South Dakota, for the entire period and Florida before 2002. We also exclude Washington for 2010 and 2012 and the Californian races for 2012, since the primary allowed candidates from both parties to run, and the top two candidates in the primary were selected for the general election. Again, in this case coming in second place in the primary provides a clear advantage.

We again match candidates over time using their names, and define a candidate as running again if we find a match for them in the next election. Constituencies (districts) can be easily matched given American naming conventions. Our final sample has a total of 34,610 candidates contesting 19,824 elections across 421 constituencies. 3,314 elections had three or more candidates and at least one subsequent election.

Figure A.17a presents a graphical analysis of the probability that primary candidates will run in, and win, the next election in the same district. There does not appear to be any evidence that close runner-ups are more likely to run in, or win, their party's next primary election. The estimated effects under a linear specification and the optimal bandwidth for running and winning are, respectively, 0.68 p.p. (s.e.=2.18) and 0.11 p.p. (s.e.=1.20). Note also that close third- (or second-) place candidates run relatively less often than other contexts (12.7%) and win the next election with a probability below 2.5%.

Hence, we find no evidence of runner-up effects in this context. These results are most similar to the British (and to a lesser extent Canadian) parliamentary results. It is perhaps also unsurprising, given that close second- and third-place candidates have low probabilities of winning.

A.10 Categorization of Party Platforms

We categorized all Brazilian parties that fielded a candidate in a mayoral election in our samples into three categories, which can be labeled as "left", "center", "right". We follow Power and Zucco (2009), supplemented with web searches for (small) parties missing in their analyses.

We also categorized parties in Indian state elections into three categories. The first group includes parties with communist/socialist orientation, the second group includes the Congress party, its

off-shoots, and associates, and the last one includes the BJP, its off-shoots and associates, as well as other Hindu-nationalist parties. This definition, and the coding of several large parties is from Singh and Saxena (2011). We also coded many remaining parties using a protocol that sequentially i) assigned parties with mentions to communism and socialism in their name to the first group, ii) checked if the party's entry on Wikipedia mentioned an orientation, parties with socialist/communist/left-wing orientation were assigned to the first group, parties with center/center-left/center-right/populist/social democracy as orientation to the second group, and those with right-wing orientation to the last group, and finally iii) if the party's Wikipedia page mentioned associations with another categorized party, they were assigned to that group. Associations are mergers, splits from, or common coalition formation.

A.11 Discussion of Media Mention Regression Results

In this section we discuss regression tests of the difference in media coverage over time for close second- and third-place Canadian federal candidates. Tables A.11, A.12, and A.13 report on regressions where the unit of observation is an election-month interaction, and the dependent variable is the difference between the second and third place candidates' article outcome. The independent variables are fixed effects of months relative to the time of the election. All specifications include election fixed effects and standard errors are clustered at the election level. Table A.11 focuses on months around the time t election, Table A.12 on the months around the time $t+1$ election, and Table A.13 on the subsample of time $t+1$ elections where both candidates ran. Columns (1),(2), (3) and (4) measure the "intensity" of newspaper coverage respectively as the number of articles including the candidates' name, the number of times the candidate name was mentioned, the number of Section A articles mentioning the candidate name, and the number of non-results list articles including the candidate's name.[81]

In Table A.11 we do not find any statistically significant differences in amount or intensity of media coverage for second and third place candidates. The point estimates are largest in the month prior to the election and in the month of the election, but these differences are not significant at conventional levels. Also, these point estimates are small relative to the level of the outcome variable in the third place sample, suggesting that the second place distinction is not quantitatively important either.[82] We would not expect the differences to be significant in the month prior to the election as these are candidates that received very similar votes.

Table A.12 suggests no difference in the intensity of articles between eleven and two months prior to the next election, or one to four months after the next election. In the month prior to the

[81] We define "Section A" articles as those whose section of the newspaper was given as A, or those that appeared on page one of the newspaper.

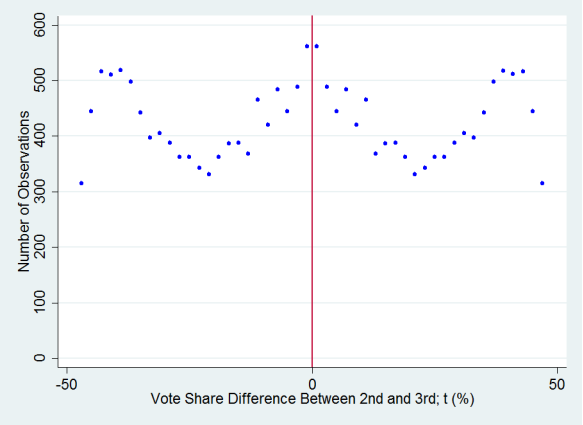
[82] The mean number of articles in month $t-1$ is 1.6, and the mean number of mentions, section A articles, and non-results list articles are 1.9, 1.1, and 1.4. In month t the corresponding means are 9.1, 9.6, 4.8, and 2.9.

next there are between 0.24 to 0.37 more articles, mentions, and non-results lists articles, and 0.18 more section A articles. In the month of the next election, we find differences between 0.41 and 0.53 articles, mentions, and non-results list articles, and 0.18 more section A articles. These differences are not statistically different, but the economic magnitudes are meaningful given the mean values of the outcome variables, and consistent with close runners-up being more likely to run in the next election. In Table A.13 (where we condition on both candidates running) the effects are different in the month before and of the *t+1* election, and not significant at standard levels. There is some hint that second place candidates may get more attention in terms of non-results list articles in the month prior to and the month of the next election, but these are not significant at standard levels, and non-results list articles are in general rare (only 2.2 per candidate on average in the month of the next election conditional on the candidate running). Overall, we find little evidence to suggest important differences in media coverage of second and third place candidates.

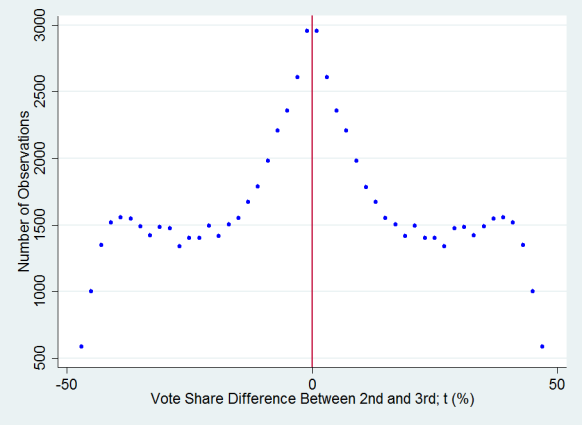
Figure A.1 Density of Running Variable

Circles represent the number of candidates within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference between 2nd and 3rd placed candidate (the running variable in the RDD).

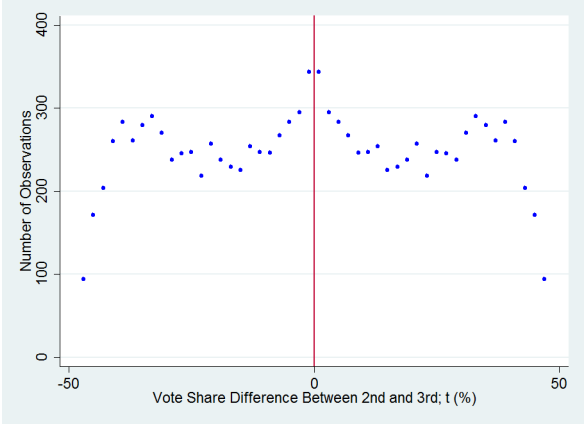
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

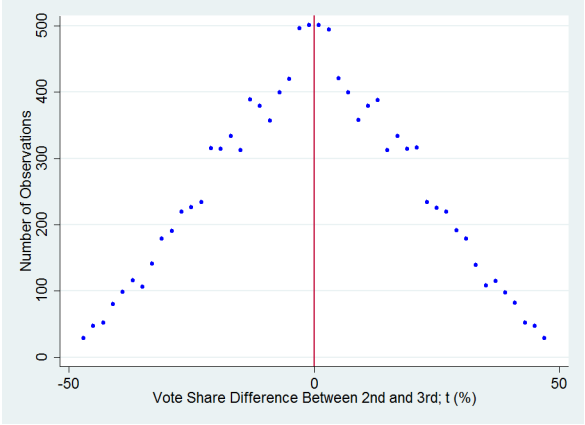
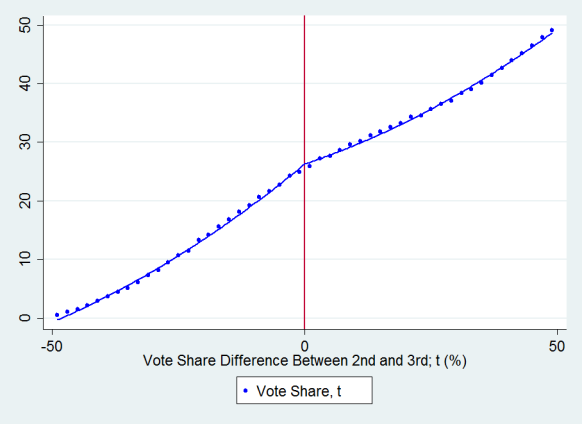


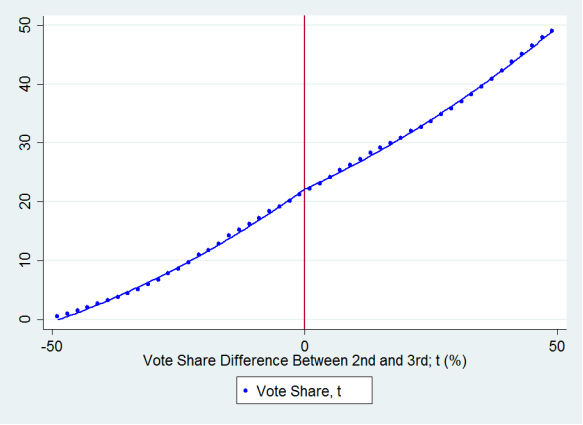
Figure A.2 Vote Shares of 2nd and 3rd Candidate

Circles represent the local averages of candidate vote shares at the t election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Vote shares are measured as percentages. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data.

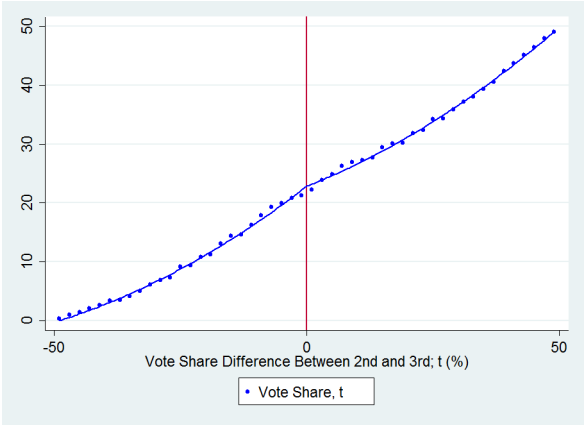
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

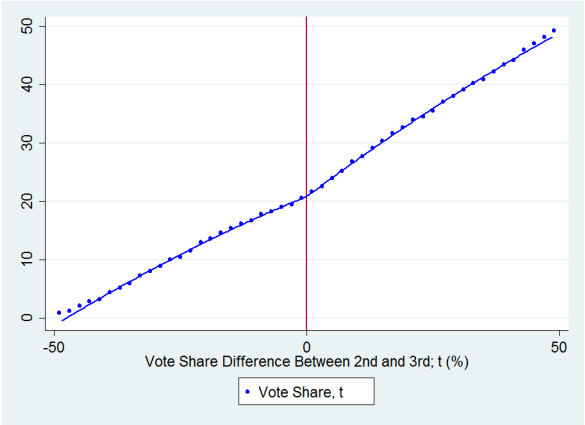
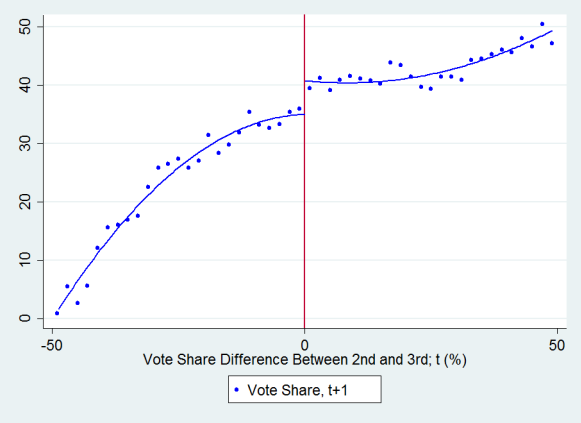


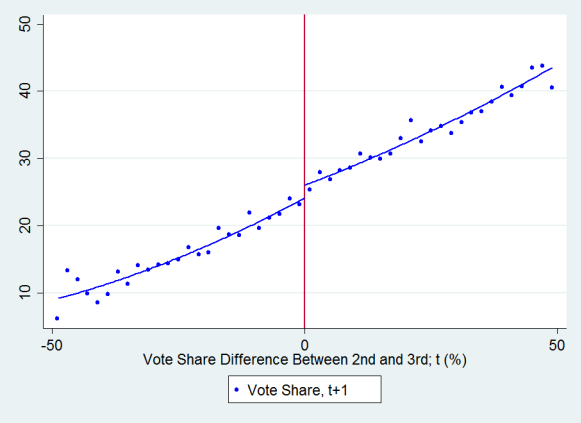
Figure A.3 Vote Share of 2nd and 3rd Candidate, t+1

Circles represent the local averages of candidate vote shares at the next (*t+1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Votes shares are measured as percentages. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates that run at *t+1* (see text for details).

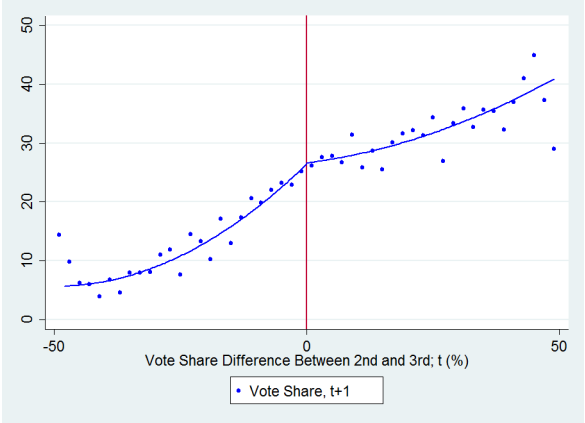
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

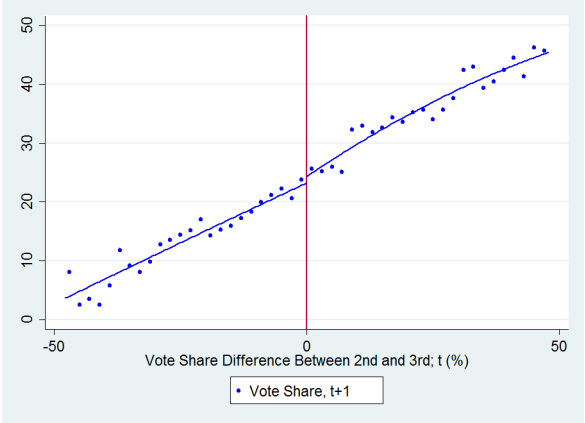
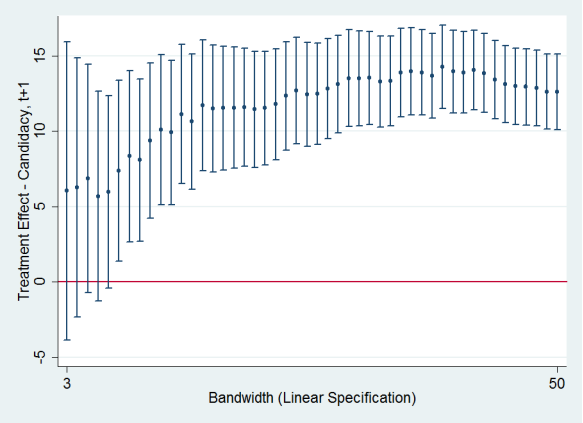


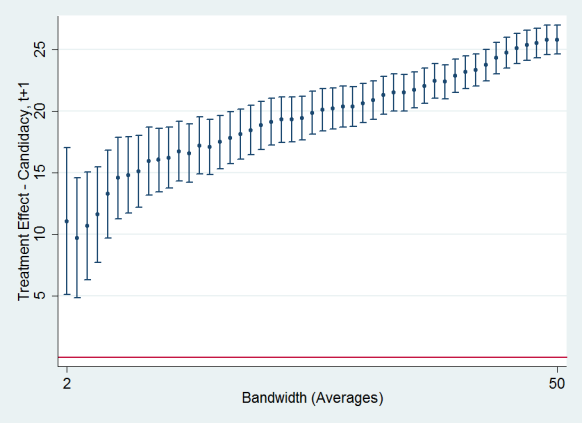
Figure A.4 Robustness to Bandwidth Choice - Brazil

Circles represent the estimated treatment effect of being 2nd place using different bandwidth choices (x-axis). Lines represent the 95% confidence interval (standard errors clustered at the constituency level). We report all possible cases for in integer bandwidth values (1,2,...50), except those with small sample sizes (below 300 for the zero order polynomial, below 600 for the first order polynomial).

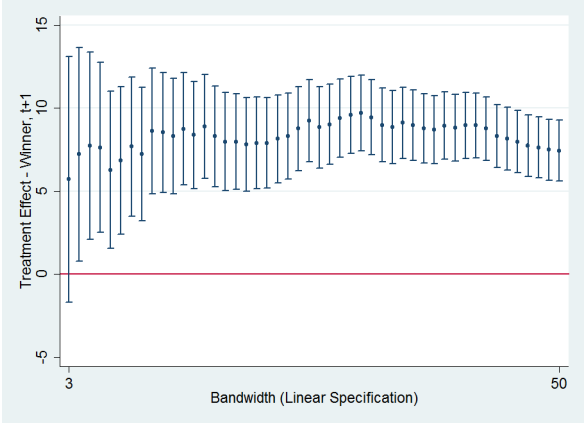
(a) Outcome: Candidacy, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 1



(b) Outcome: Candidacy, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 0



(c) Outcome: Winner, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 1



(d) Outcome: Winner, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 0

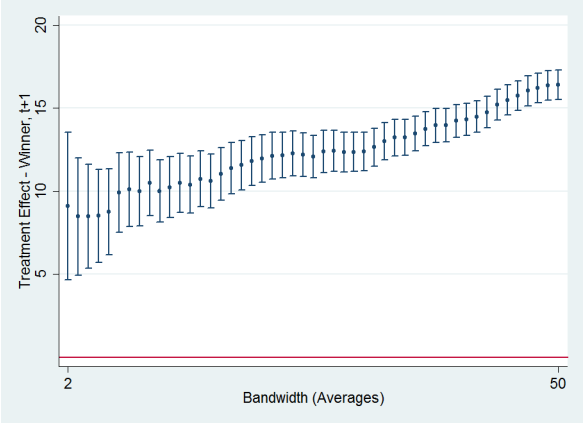
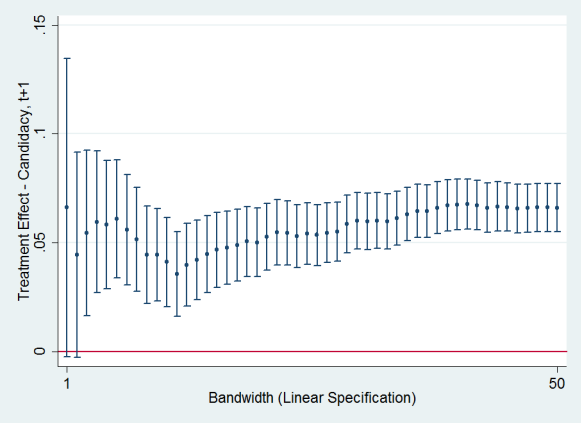


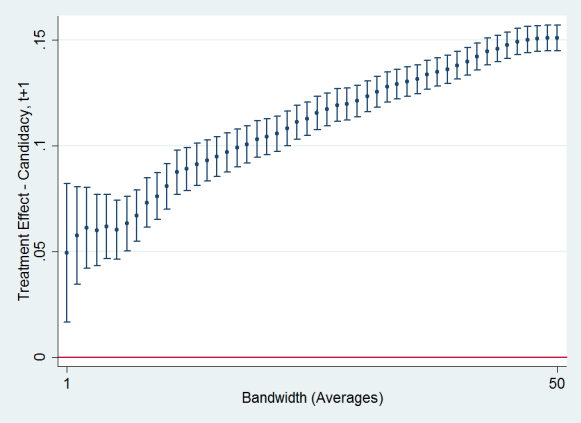
Figure A.5 Robustness to Bandwidth Choice - India State

Circles represent the estimated treatment effect of being 2nd place using a different bandwidth choice (x-axis). Lines represent the 95% confidence interval (standard errors clustered at the constituency level). We report all possible cases for in integer bandwidth values (1,2,...50), except those with small sample sizes (below 300 for the zero order polynomial, below 600 for the first order polynomial).

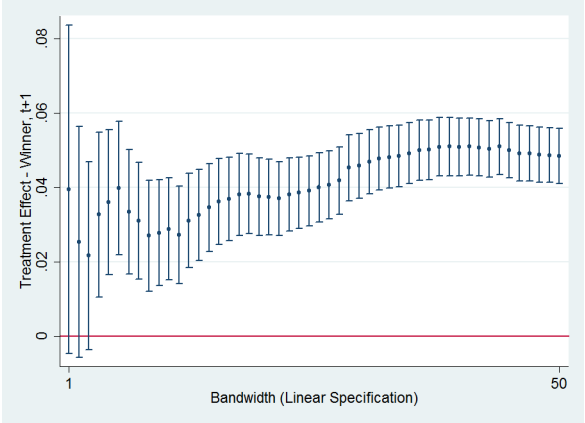
(a) Outcome: Candidacy, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 1



(b) Outcome: Candidacy, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 0



(c) Outcome: Winner, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 1



(d) Outcome: Winner, *t+1*; Poly. Order: 0

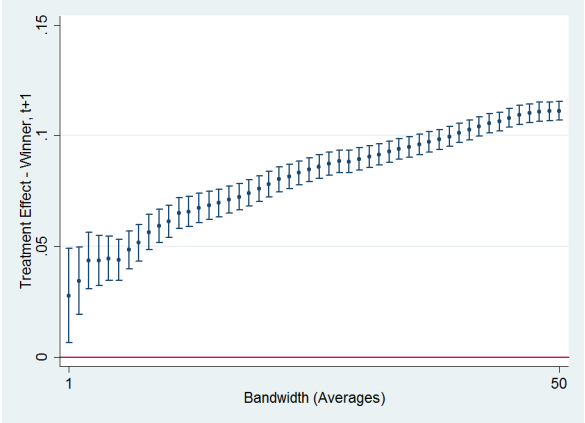
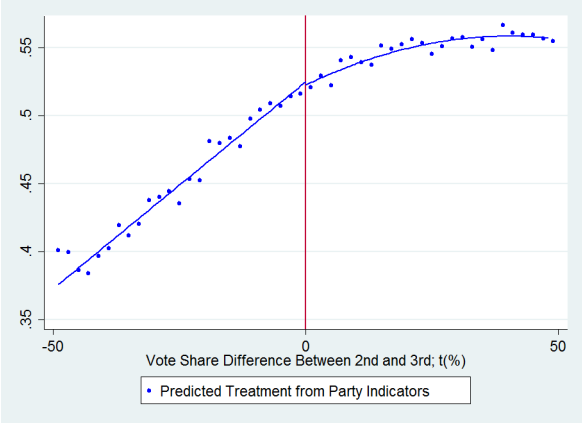


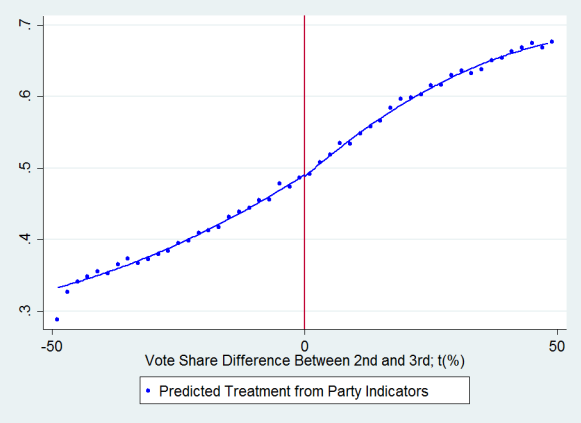
Figure A.6 Party Composition Balance, 2nd vs 3rd

Circles represent the local averages of the predicted value from a regression of a dummy indicator for the candidate being the runner-up against indicators for every party in the sample. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed second and third at election t. See Section 3.3 for further details.

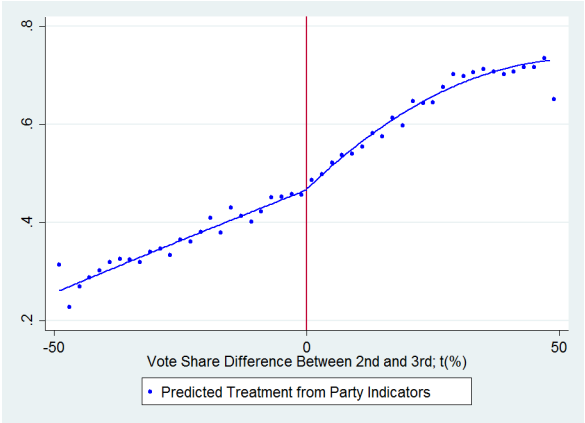
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

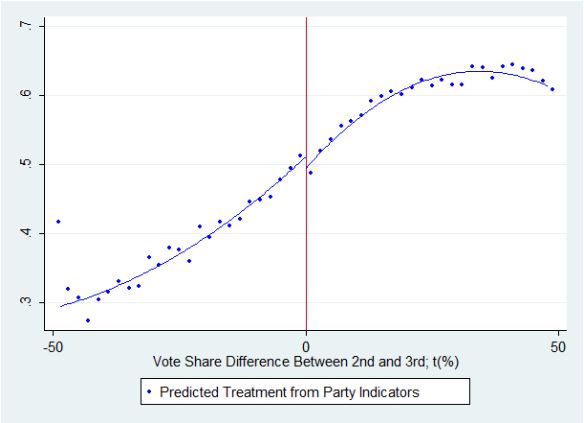
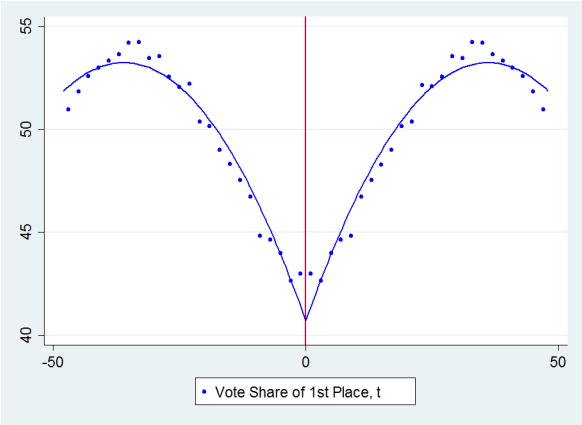


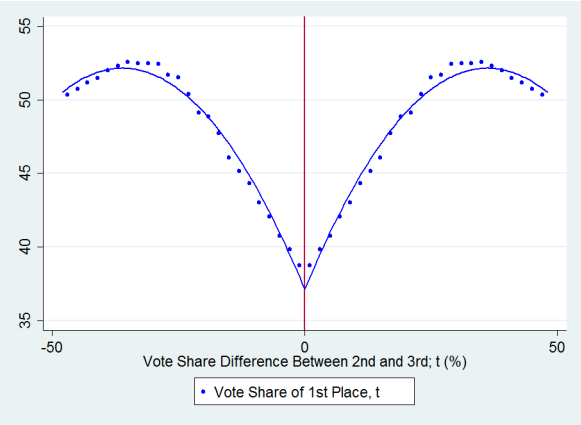
Figure A.7 Vote Share of 1st Place Against 2nd vs 3rd Running Variable

Circles represent the local averages of the winning candidate's vote share at t election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Vote shares are measured as percentages. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed second and third at election t.

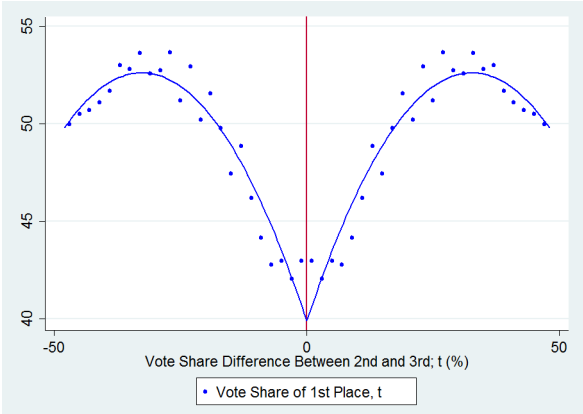
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

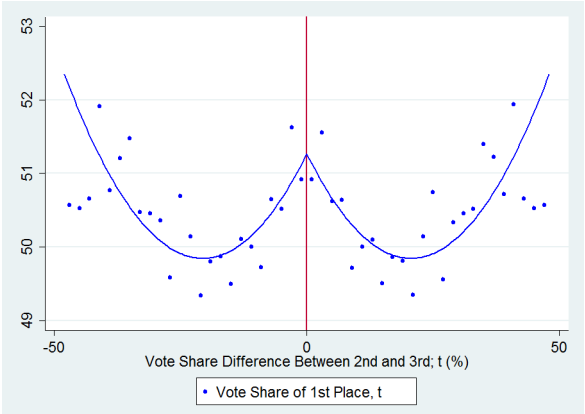
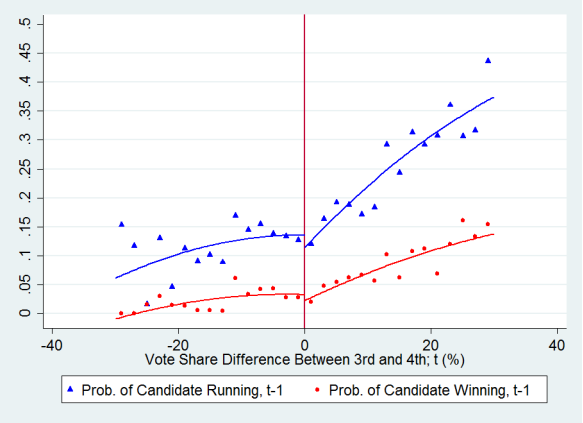


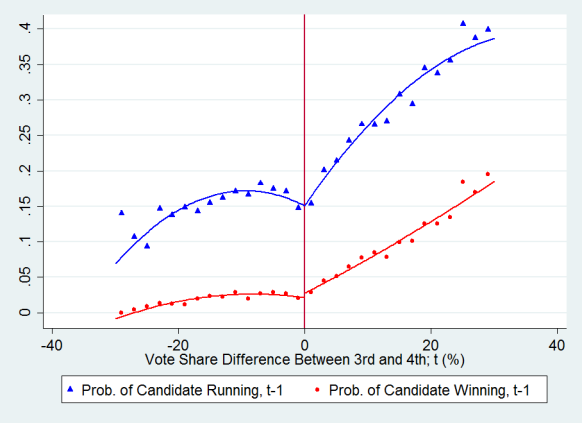
Figure A.8 Covariate Smoothness (3rd vs. 4th Place)

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the next ($t+1$) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed third and fourth at election t.

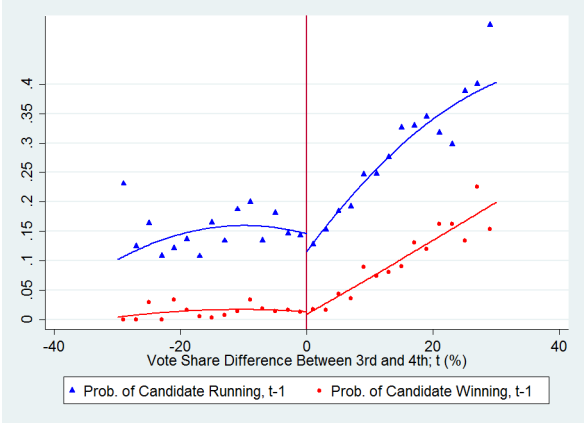
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

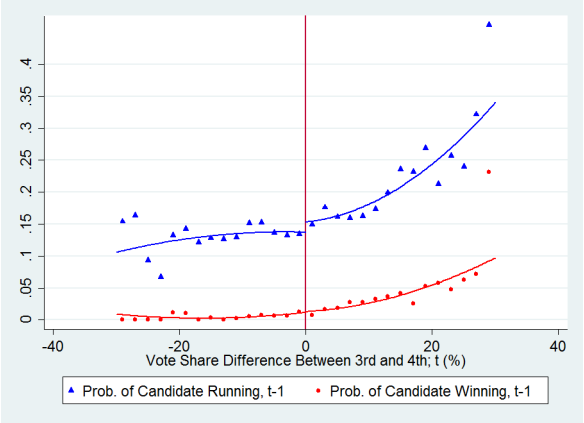
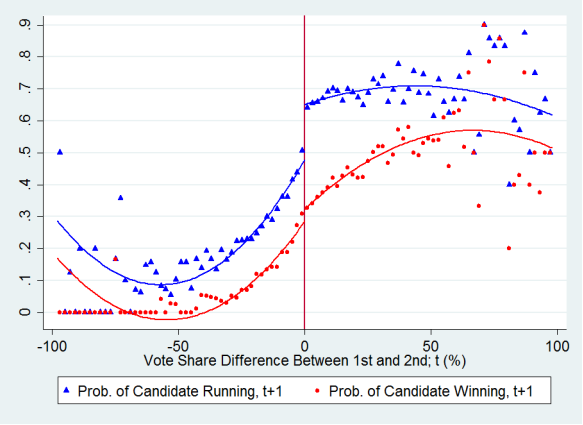


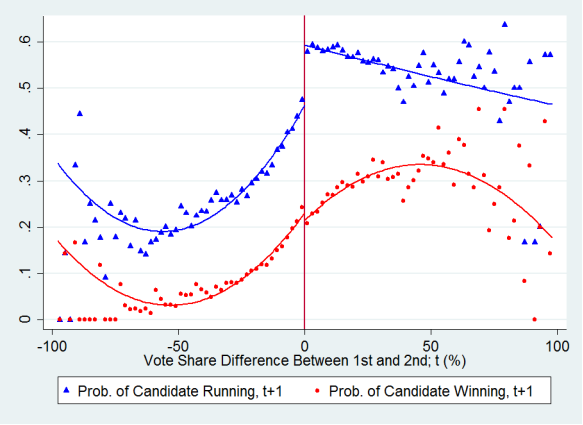
Figure A.9 Effect of 1st vs 2nd

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the next (*t+1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed first and second at election *t*.

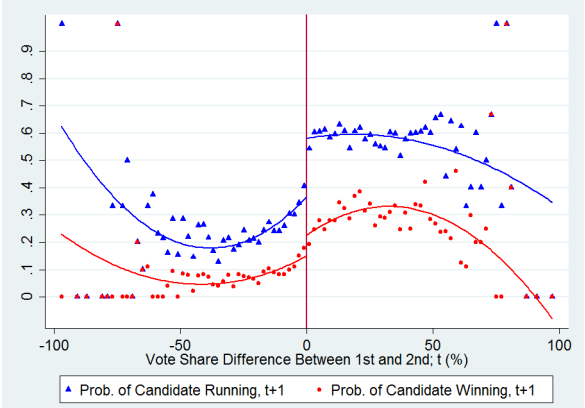
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

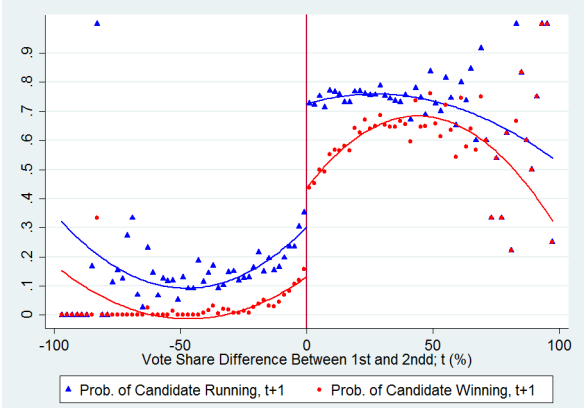
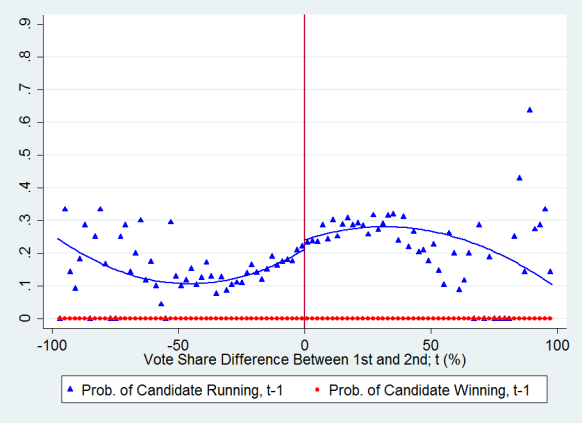


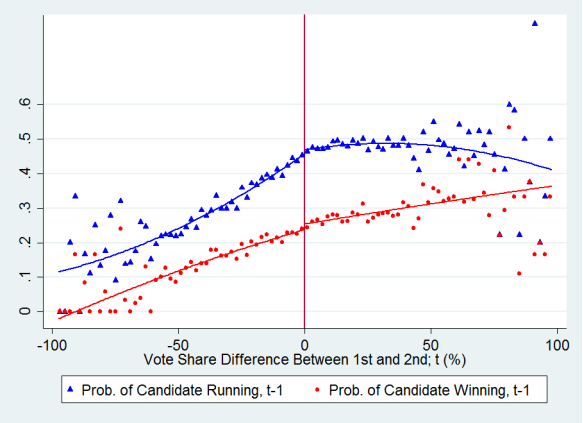
Figure A.10 Covariate Smoothness (1st vs. 2nd Place)

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the previous (*t-1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed first and second at election *t*.

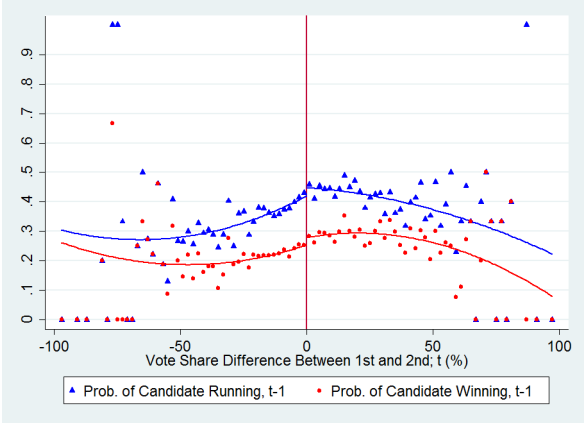
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

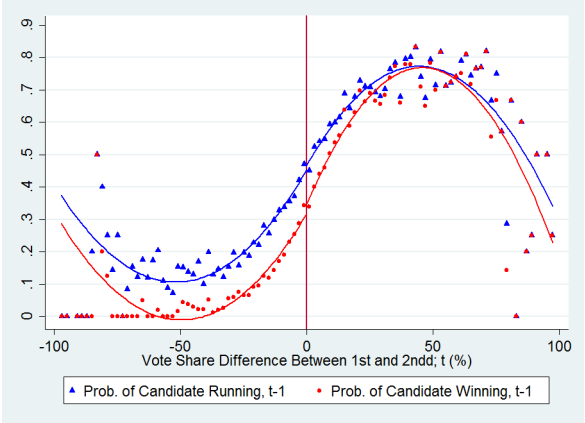
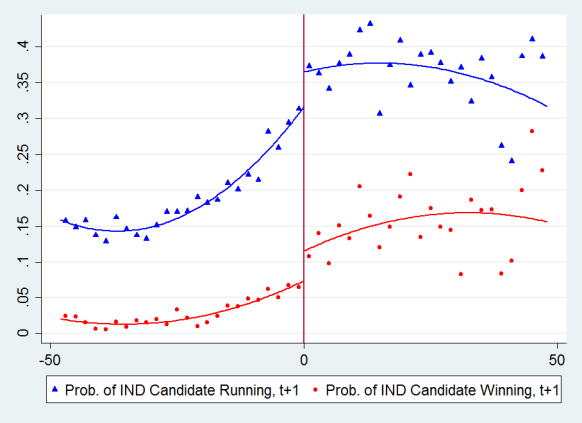


Figure A.11 Runner-Up Effect for Independent Candidates, India State

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the next (*t+1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only *independent* candidates placed second and third at election *t*.

(a) Runner-up Effect (*t+1*)



(b) Placebo Test (*t-1*)

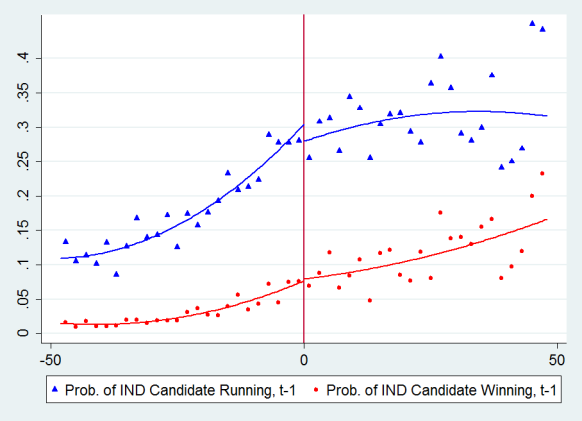
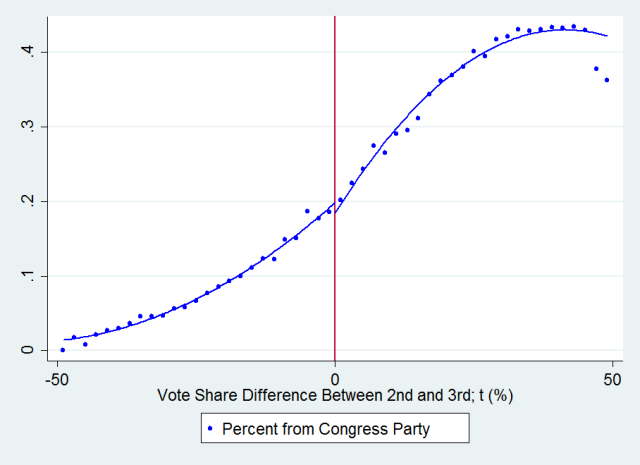


Figure A.12 Additional Covariate Smoothness Figures

In Panel (a) circles represent the local averages of a dummy for whether the candidate was from the Congress Party in the t India state election. In Panel (b) circles represent the local averages of vote share of candidates in the past Canadian election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data.

(a) India State: Fraction of Congress Candidates



(b) Canada: Party's Voteshare In Last Election

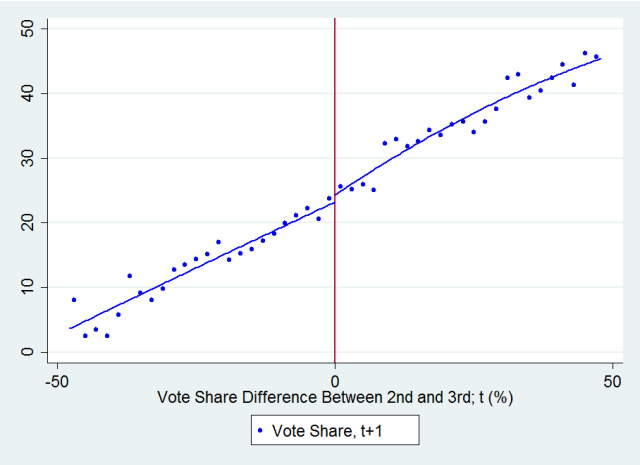
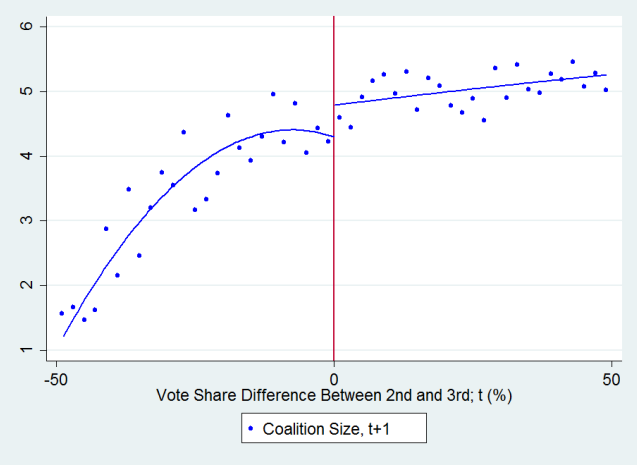


Figure A.13 Additional Outcomes - Brazil

In Panel (a) circles represent the local averages of the coalition size at *t+1*. In Panel (b) circles represent the local averages of campaign spending (in thousand *reais*) at *t+1*. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p. bins of vote share difference (x-axis), using only candidates that ran at *t+1*. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates that run again at *t+1*.

(a) Brazil: Coalition Size in Next Election



(b) Brazil: Campaign Spending in Next Election

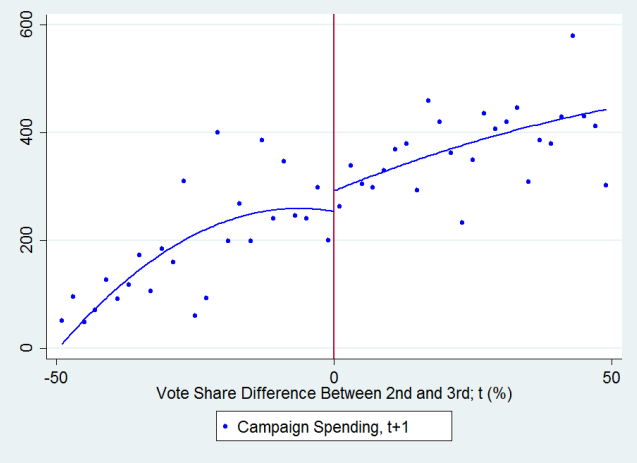
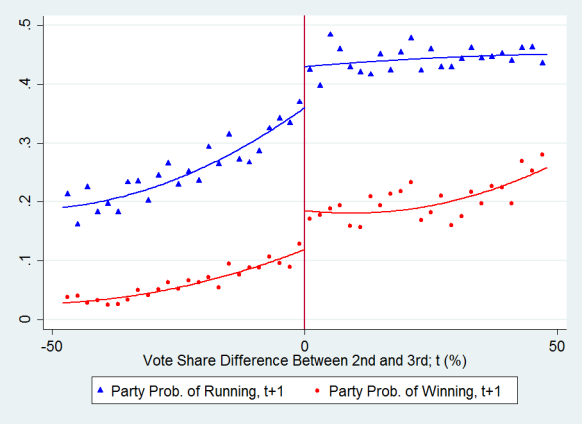


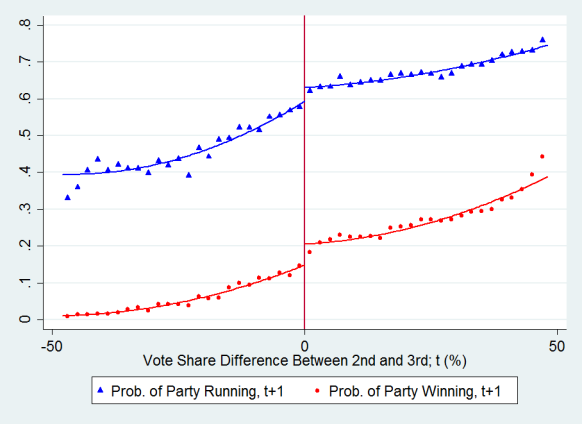
Figure A.14 Effect of 2nd vs 3rd, Party Outcomes

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the *party* ran in (won) the next (*t+1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only *parties* placed second and third at election *t*.

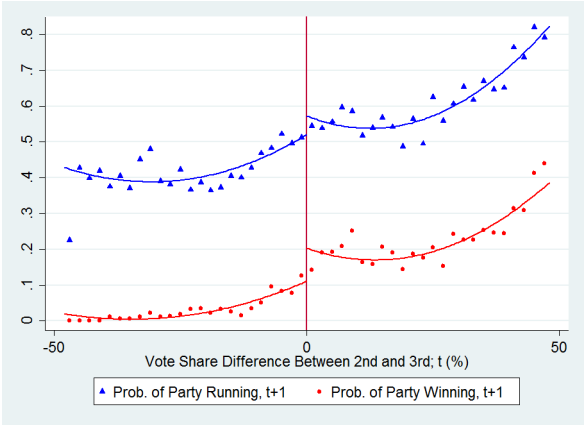
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

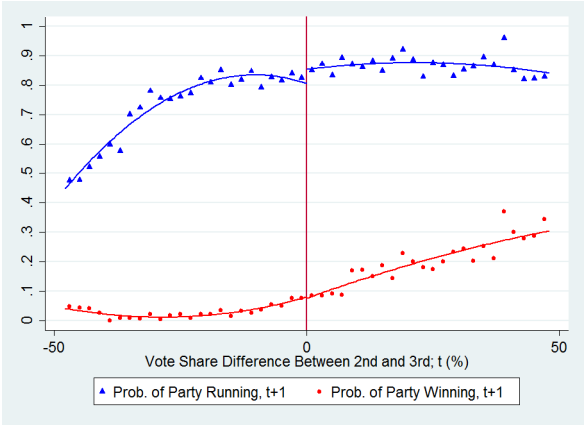
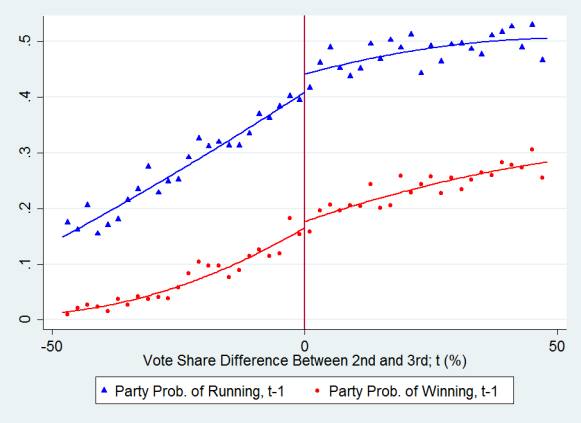


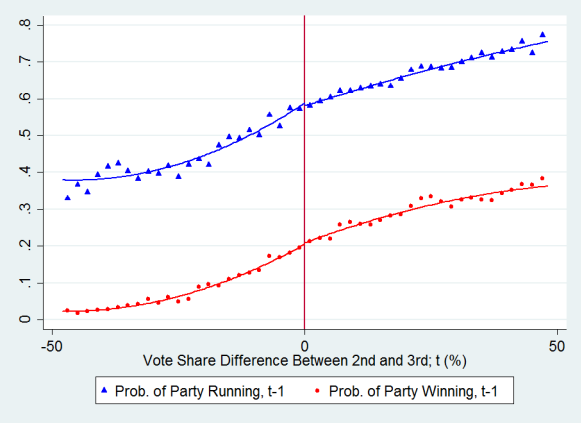
Figure A.15 Covariate Smoothness, 2nd vs 3rd, Party Outcomes

Triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the *party* ran in (won) the past (*t-1*) election. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only *parties* placed second and third at election t.

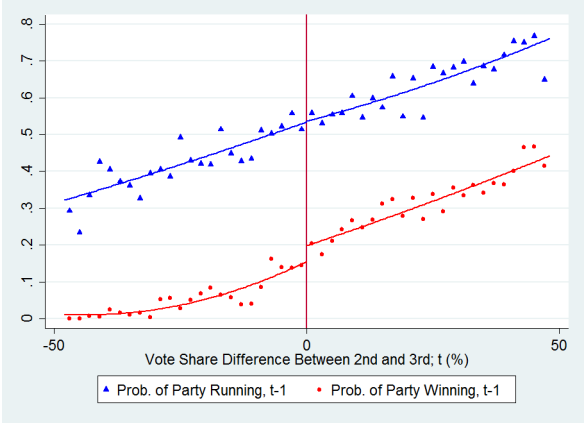
(a) Brazil



(b) India State



(c) India Federal



(d) Canada

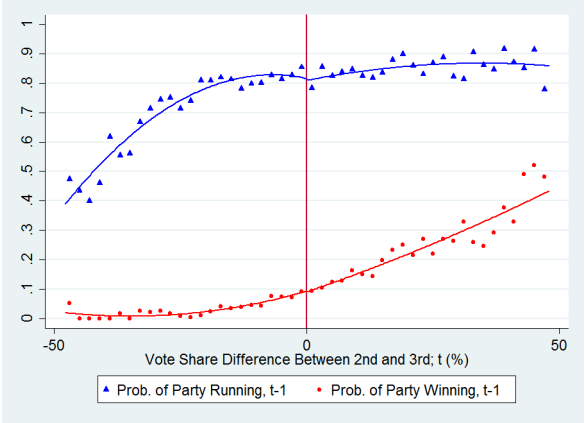
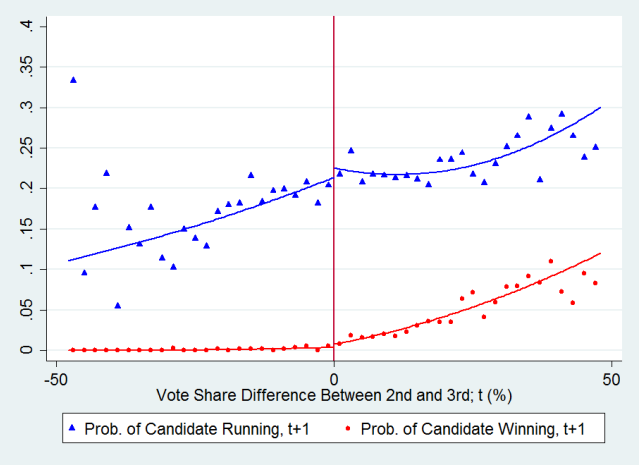


Figure A.16 United Kingdom: Effect of 2nd vs 3rd

In Panel (a), triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the next (*t+1*) election. Panel (b) repeats the exercise for *past (t-1)* elections. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed second and third at election t.

(a) Effect on Running/Winning Next Election



(b) Placebo Check

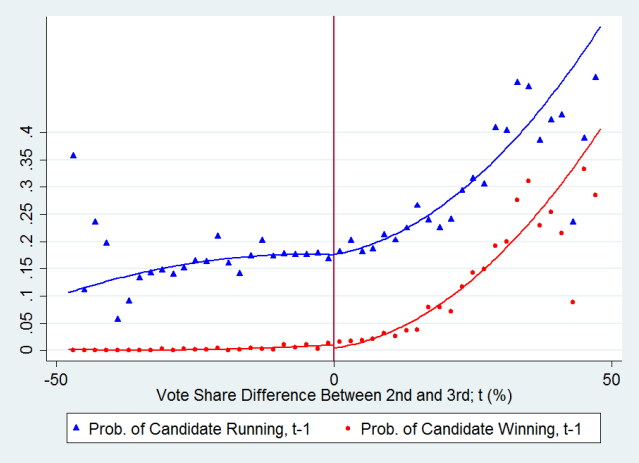
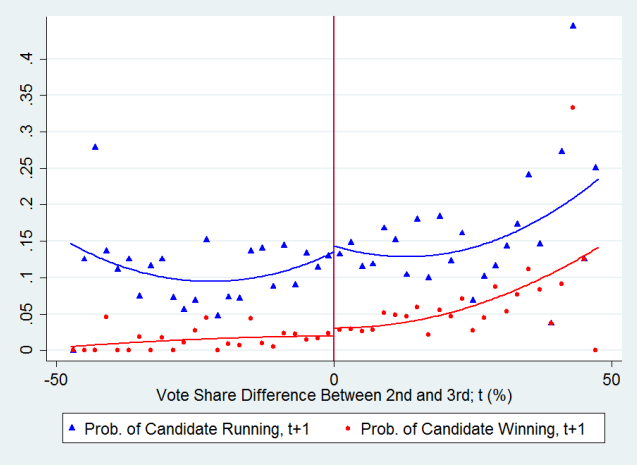


Figure A.17 U.S. House Primary Elections: Effect of 2nd vs 3rd

In Panel (a), triangles (circles) represent the local averages of a dummy indicating whether the candidate ran in (won) the next (*t+1*) election. Panel (b) repeats the exercise for *past (t-1)* elections. Averages are calculated within 2 p.p.-wide bins of vote share difference (x-axis). Continuous lines are a quadratic fit over the original (unbinned) data. Sample includes only candidates placed second and third at election t.

(a) Effect on Running/Winning Next Election



(b) Placebo Check

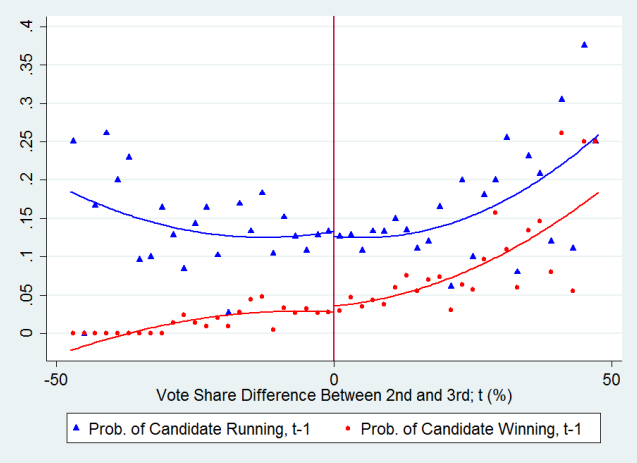


Table A.1: Effect of 3rd vs. 4th Place

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	4th-pl. Mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	One $\frac{1}{2}\times$Optimal BW (2)	One 2×Optimal BW (3)	Zero 2 percent (4)	Two Full Sample (5)
Panel A: Brazil							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	8.736	10.64	0.0116	0.740	-0.403	1.513	-0.473
		[N=4768]	(1.358)	(1.697)	(1.141)	(1.383)	(1.375)
Winner, t+1 (%)	1.473	5.561	-0.340	0.137	-0.140	0.126	-0.0617
		[N=3138]	(0.749)	(0.910)	(0.595)	(0.605)	(0.670)
Panel B: India State							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	15.46	3.066	1.106	2.675***	0.610	0.809*	-0.0375
		[N=27282]	(0.723)	(0.937)	(0.574)	(0.485)	(0.497)
Winner, t+1 (%)	1.481	3.743	0.148	0.215	0.128	0.385**	0.0843
		[N=30674]	(0.244)	(0.313)	(0.200)	(0.176)	(0.196)
Panel C: India Federal							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	17.38	3.122	-0.506	-1.518	-0.419	0.0582	-0.0196
		[N=4286]	(1.905)	(2.285)	(1.465)	(1.279)	(1.284)
Winner, t+1 (%)	0.691	3.523	0.537	1.146*	0.255	0.291	0.488
		[N=4598]	(0.466)	(0.620)	(0.391)	(0.314)	(0.394)
Panel D: Canada							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	13.65	10.44	2.148	3.790	1.021	3.327	2.369
		[N=4766]	(1.837)	(2.557)	(1.420)	(2.079)	(1.751)
Winner, t+1 (%)	0.489	11.74	-0.0458	0.104	-0.197	0.175	0.649
		[N=5240]	(0.308)	(0.350)	(0.268)	(0.304)	(0.420)

Standard errors clustered at the constituency level in parentheses. The unit of observation is a candidate. Outcomes measured as percentages. Each figure in columns (1)-(5) reports a separate local polynomial regression estimate with the specified bandwidth and polynomial order. Separate polynomials are fitted on each side of the threshold. "4th-pl. Mean" is the estimated value of the dependent variable for a 4th-placed candidate that "ties" with the 3rd-placed candidate, based on the specification in column (1). The optimal bandwidth (BW) is based on Imbens and Kalyanaraman's (2012) procedure, with the associated number of observations reported in brackets.

Table A.2: Effect of 1st vs. 2nd Place

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	2nd-pl. Mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	One $\frac{1}{2}\times$Optimal BW (2)	One 2×Optimal BW (3)	Zero 2 percent (4)	Two Full Sample (5)
Panel A: Brazil							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	53.73	4.512	8.685***	4.964	12.41***	13.51***	17.19***
		[N=6196]	(2.665)	(3.826)	(1.841)	(1.968)	(1.144)
Winner, t+1 (%)	32.94	6.136	-1.208	-4.070	0.0598	1.826	3.696***
		[N=8278]	(2.441)	(3.486)	(1.738)	(2.155)	(1.212)
Panel B: India State							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	48.81	4.802	9.565***	7.317***	10.53***	10.30***	13.04***
		[N=19324]	(1.368)	(1.880)	(0.984)	(1.051)	(0.640)
Winner, t+1 (%)	24.84	6.760	-4.554***	-5.763***	-3.944***	-3.456***	-1.571**
		[N=26406]	(1.147)	(1.596)	(0.836)	(1.037)	(0.628)
Panel C: India Federal							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	43.43	4.969	10.05***	8.897*	15.21***	13.79***	21.41***
		[N=2774]	(3.449)	(5.096)	(2.449)	(2.685)	(1.699)
Winner, t+1 (%)	19.51	6.083	-1.712	-2.516	3.404	1.396	7.647***
		[N=3278]	(2.887)	(4.002)	(2.096)	(2.444)	(1.606)
Panel D: Canada							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	37.37	6.903	36.21***	34.02***	36.75***	37.30***	42.41***
		[N=5378]	(2.421)	(3.568)	(1.666)	(2.205)	(1.217)
Winner, t+1 (%)	16.43	7.871	26.54***	26.19***	27.20***	27.71***	30.73***
		[N=6028]	(2.398)	(3.445)	(1.704)	(2.335)	(1.329)

Standard errors clustered at the constituency level in parentheses. The unit of observation is a candidate. Outcomes measured as percentages. Each figure in columns (1)-(5) reports a separate local polynomial regression estimate with the specified bandwidth and polynomial order. Separate polynomials are fitted on each side of the threshold. "2nd-pl. Mean" is the estimated value of the dependent variable for a 2nd-placed candidate that "ties" with the 1st-placed candidate, based on the specification on column (1). The optimal bandwidth (BW) is based on Imbens and Kalyanaraman's (2012) procedure, with the associated number of observations reported in brackets.

Table A.3: Effect of 2nd vs. 3rd Place with Party Outcomes

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	3rd-pl. Mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	One $\frac{1}{2}\times$Optimal BW (2)	One 2×Optimal BW (3)	Zero 2 percent (4)	Two Full Sample (5)
Panel A: Brazil							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	37.91	13.60	4.777**	1.322	7.769***	5.526*	7.262***
		[N=6298]	(2.412)	(3.310)	(1.738)	(3.041)	(1.934)
Winner, t+1 (%)	11.68	13.02	5.605***	3.788	5.913***	4.278*	6.660***
		[N=6096]	(1.831)	(2.561)	(1.300)	(2.274)	(1.428)
Panel B: India State							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	58.60	11.92	3.586***	3.485**	3.465***	4.321***	3.822***
		[N=21872]	(1.170)	(1.603)	(0.883)	(1.360)	(0.954)
Winner, t+1 (%)	14.53	9.190	3.780***	2.342	5.011***	3.601***	5.810***
		[N=17903]	(1.121)	(1.550)	(0.832)	(1.175)	(0.795)
Panel C: India Federal							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	53.04	16.06	1.784	0.858	3.902**	3.269	5.368**
		[N=3827]	(2.486)	(3.375)	(1.862)	(3.299)	(2.306)
Winner, t+1 (%)	12.08	9.494	1.416	-2.292	6.262***	1.649	9.151***
		[N=2463]	(2.602)	(3.745)	(1.916)	(2.827)	(1.887)
Panel D: Canada							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	82.37	16.66	2.884**	2.038	2.357**	2.610	4.744***
		[N=6659]	(1.416)	(1.990)	(1.137)	(1.946)	(1.403)
Winner, t+1 (%)	8.369	13.10	-1.975	-0.496	0.944	1.004	-0.330
		[N=5469]	(1.469)	(2.068)	(1.062)	(1.740)	(1.291)

Standard errors clustered at the constituency level in parentheses. The unit of observation is a party. Outcomes measured as percentages. Each figure in columns (1)-(5) reports a separate local polynomial regression estimate with the specified bandwidth and polynomial order. Separate polynomials are fitted on each side of the threshold. "3rd-pl. Mean" is the estimated value of the dependent variable for a 3rd-placed party that "ties" with the 2nd-placed party, based on the specification in column (1). The optimal bandwidth (BW) is based on Imbens and Kalyanaraman's (2012) procedure, with the associated number of observations reported in brackets.

Table A.4: Covariate Smoothness with Party Outcomes (2nd vs. 3rd Place)

Specification Bandwidth(%)	3rd-pl. mean (1)	Optimal BW Value (2)	Linear Optimal BW (3)	Quadratic Full Sample (4)
Panel A: Brazil				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	40.99	17.11 [N=7264]	2.705 (2.153)	2.877 (1.926)
Winner, t-1 (%)	16.97	16.65 [N=7116]	0.476 (1.806)	1.052 (1.602)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	34.98	16.78 [N=2936]	1.834 (1.230)	1.798 (1.131)
PMDB Party, t (%)	16.24	26.53 [N=13400]	-0.475 (1.283)	-1.008 (1.395)
Panel B: India State				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	57.98	16.59 [N=28130]	0.374 (1.067)	-0.707 (0.977)
Winner, t-1 (%)	20.51	12.62 [N=23108]	0.0598 (1.069)	0.338 (0.867)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	28.83	11.95 [N=12865]	0.0155 (0.493)	0.598 (0.400)
Congress Party, t (%)	19.87	12.39 [N=32238]	0.0587 (0.913)	-1.391* (0.732)
Panel C: India Federal				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	54.04	21.50 [N=4997]	-0.369 (2.461)	0.313 (2.427)
Winner, t-1 (%)	16.52	10.86 [N=2772]	1.383 (2.887)	4.265* (2.272)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	28.64	30.99 [N=3760]	1.867 (1.164)	1.448 (1.164)
Congress Party, t (%)	10.74	18.43 [N=5850]	1.328 (1.695)	0.582 (1.648)
Panel D: Canada				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	83.95	16.71 [N=6965]	-2.693* (1.483)	-0.562 (1.526)
Winner, t-1 (%)	9.385	13.95 [N=6005]	0.0931 (1.512)	-0.00543 (1.394)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	23.77	11.21 [N=4084]	-1.043 (0.684)	-1.348** (0.548)
Liberal Party, t (%)	26.55	11.39 [N=5656]	-1.477 (2.617)	0.629 (2.095)

See Table A.3 notes for further description. Outcomes measured as percentages.

Table A.5: The Runner-up Effect Using CCT Standard Errors For Larger Bandwidths (2nd vs. 3rd Place)

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	3rd-pl. Mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	One $\frac{1}{2}\times$Optimal BW (2)	One 2×Optimal BW (3)	Zero 2 percent (4)	Two Full Sample (5)
Panel A: Brazil							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	30.27	11.56	9.397***	6.295*	11.90***	11.05***	14.05***
		[N=5556]	(3.565)	(3.596)	(2.576)	(3.040)	(2.361)
Winner, t+1 (%)	9.448	12.57	8.310***	7.010***	8.844***	9.091***	10.46***
		[N=5946]	(2.506)	(2.541)	(1.764)	(2.265)	(1.697)
Panel B: India State							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	31.92	9.139	4.391**	5.743***	5.037***	5.755***	5.490***
		[N=22518]	(1.760)	(1.567)	(1.274)	(1.175)	(1.076)
Winner, t+1 (%)	7.781	7.807	3.351***	3.297***	3.502***	3.453***	4.412***
		[N=19868]	(1.174)	(1.149)	(0.849)	(0.775)	(0.668)
Panel C: India Federal							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	23.57	16.29	4.847	2.374	5.748**	5.539*	5.817**
		[N=4394]	(3.530)	(3.262)	(2.584)	(3.243)	(2.831)
Winner, t+1 (%)	6.155	15.93	2.676	2.811	3.211**	2.915	3.247*
		[N=4294]	(2.123)	(1.903)	(1.533)	(1.881)	(1.676)
Panel D: Canada							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	16.79	12.22	4.617	4.452*	4.591**	4.990**	5.986***
		[N=5190]	(3.123)	(2.548)	(2.231)	(2.250)	(2.217)
Winner, t+1 (%)	2.373	10.64	-0.195	-0.163	0.424	0.599	0.414
		[N=4612]	(1.311)	(1.220)	(0.936)	(0.999)	(0.886)

Standard errors for the larger bandwidths (i.e. Columns (1), (3), and (5)) calculated according to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014). The unit of observation is a candidate. Outcomes measured as percentages. Each figure in columns (1)-(5) reports a separate local polynomial regression estimate with the specified bandwidth and polynomial order. Separate polynomials are fitted on each side of the threshold. "3rd-pl. Mean" is the estimated value of the dependent variable for a 3rd-placed candidate that "ties" with the 2nd-placed candidate, based on the specification in column (1). The optimal bandwidth (BW) is based on Imbens and Kalyanaraman's (2012) procedure, with the associated number of observations reported in brackets.

Table A.6: Placebo Tests and Covariate Smoothness Using CCT Standard Errors (2nd vs. 3rd Place)

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	3rd-pl. mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	Two Full Sample (2)
Panel A: Brazil				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	31.19	21.80 [N=8820]	0.902 (2.721)	0.0556 (2.430)
Winner, t-1 (%)	13.65	21.89 [N=8840]	-0.243 (1.980)	-0.750 (1.768)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	23.53	24.69 [N=5151]	0.161 (1.549)	0.241 (1.480)
PMDB Party, t (%)	16.24	26.52 [N=13398]	-0.450 (1.686)	-0.998 (1.654)
Panel B: India State				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	34.93	18.17 [N=36722]	0.965 (1.300)	0.285 (1.093)
Winner, t-1 (%)	13.48	13.80 [N=30262]	1.100 (1.087)	0.654 (0.802)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	27.55	11.69 [N=9158]	0.697 (0.936)	0.294 (0.668)
Congress Party, t (%)	19.87	12.39 [N=32238]	0.0587 (1.190)	-1.391 (0.849)
Panel C: India Federal				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	33.85	23.66 [N=6036]	-0.940 (3.329)	-0.748 (3.131)
Winner, t-1 (%)	15.70	15.33 [N=4120]	-2.032 (3.086)	0.117 (2.368)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	32.00	14.02 [N=1203]	-0.464 (2.818)	-2.692 (2.137)
Congress Party, t (%)	10.74	18.43 [N=5850]	1.328 (2.343)	0.582 (2.003)
Panel D: Canada				
Candidacy, t-1 (%)	23.65	12.03 [N=5322]	-0.464 (3.356)	-0.811 (2.369)
Winner, t-1 (%)	6.702	13.77 [N=6000]	0.821 (1.966)	0.196 (1.501)
Vote Share, t-1 (%)	30.15	13.94 [N=1371]	-1.555 (2.293)	-1.478 (1.744)
Congress Party, t (%)	26.55	11.39 [N=5656]	-1.477 (3.334)	0.629 (2.294)

See Table A.5 notes for further description. Outcomes measured as percentages.

Table A.7: Effect of 3rd vs. 4th Place with CCT Standard Errors

Polynomial Order Bandwidth	4th-pl. Mean	Optimal BW Value	One Optimal BW (1)	One $\frac{1}{2}\times$Optimal BW (2)	One 2×Optimal BW (3)	Zero 2 percent (4)	Two Full Sample (5)
Panel A: Brazil							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	8.736	10.64	0.0116	0.740	-0.403	1.513	-0.473
		[N=4768]	(1.805)	(1.697)	(1.489)	(1.383)	(1.628)
Winner, t+1 (%)	1.473	5.561	-0.340	0.137	-0.140	0.126	-0.0617
		[N=3138]	(1.013)	(0.910)	(0.801)	(0.605)	(0.800)
Panel B: India State							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	15.46	3.066	1.106	2.675***	0.610	0.809*	-0.0375
		[N=27282]	(1.057)	(0.937)	(0.820)	(0.485)	(0.619)
Winner, t+1 (%)	1.481	3.743	0.148	0.215	0.128	0.385**	0.0843
		[N=30674]	(0.338)	(0.313)	(0.271)	(0.176)	(0.231)
Panel C: India Federal							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	17.38	3.122	-0.506	-1.518	-0.419	0.0582	-0.0196
		[N=4286]	(2.460)	(2.285)	(1.949)	(1.279)	(1.521)
Winner, t+1 (%)	0.691	3.523	0.537	1.146*	0.255	0.291	0.488
		[N=4598]	(0.712)	(0.620)	(0.546)	(0.314)	(0.453)
Panel D: Canada							
Candidacy, t+1 (%)	13.65	10.44	2.148	3.790	1.021	3.327	2.369
		[N=4766]	(2.772)	(2.557)	(2.088)	(2.079)	(2.379)
Winner, t+1 (%)	0.489	11.74	-0.0458	0.104	-0.197	0.175	0.649
		[N=5240]	(0.380)	(0.350)	(0.329)	(0.304)	(0.501)

Standard errors for the larger bandwidths (i.e. Columns (1), (3), and (5)) calculated according to Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik (2014). The unit of observation is a candidate. Outcomes measured as percentages. Each figure in columns (1)-(5) reports a separate local polynomial regression estimate with the specified bandwidth and polynomial order. Separate polynomials are fitted on each side of the threshold. "4th-pl. Mean" is the estimated value of the dependent variable for a 4th-placed candidate that "ties" with the 3rd-placed candidate, based on the specification in column (1). The optimal bandwidth (BW) is based on Imbens and Kalyanaraman's (2012) procedure, with the associated number of observations reported in brackets.

Table A.8: Test of Changes in Top Two Vote Shares Over Time, Close vs. Far 2nd/3rd Elections

Close vs. Far Comparison:	0-2% vs. 48-50%	0-4% vs. 46-50%	0-6% vs. 44-50%	0-8% vs. 42-50%	0-10% vs. 40-50%
Panel A: Brazil					
Close - Far Difference	12.80***	13.88***	13.60***	13.37***	12.83***
	(1.206)	(0.647)	(0.511)	(0.421)	(0.388)
# Close Constituencies	562	1051	1496	1980	2400
# Far Constituencies	103	418	862	1378	1890
Panel B: India State					
Close - Far Difference	3.989***	3.858***	3.024***	2.205***	1.724***
	(0.986)	(0.436)	(0.308)	(0.258)	(0.225)
# Close Constituencies	2960	5569	7928	10135	12114
# Far Constituencies	115	701	1703	3052	4568
Panel C: India Federal					
Close - Far Difference	0.655	3.741***	4.188***	3.439***	3.438***
	(2.773)	(0.991)	(0.680)	(0.564)	(0.478)
# Close Constituencies	343	638	921	1188	1434
# Far Constituencies	15	109	280	484	744
Panel D: Canada					
Close - Far Difference	-28.02	-11.26*	-6.097**	-3.310*	-3.129**
	(27.28)	(5.803)	(2.812)	(1.795)	(1.338)
# Close Constituencies	501	995	1415	1814	2172
# Far Constituencies	3	32	79	131	213

This table presents tests of the difference in the change in the top two candidate vote-shares between constituencies that had small differences in second- and third-place vote shares ("Close Constituencies") and constituencies that had large differences in second- and third-place vote shares ("Far Constituencies"). See Appendix Section A.4 for details.

Table A.9: The Runner-up Effect by Whether 2nd/3rd in Same Gubernatorial Coalition

	Candidacy, t+1	Winner, t+1	Candidacy, t+1	Winner, t+1
Panel A: Brazil (Party Outcomes)	$I^{2nd} = I^{3rd}$		$I^{2nd} \neq I^{3rd}$	
Runner-Up Effect	5.804	8.618**	4.878*	5.441**
	(5.679)	(4.147)	(2.882)	(2.218)
Close 3rd-Place Mean	35.79	10.57	39.23	11.64
P-value relative to $I^{2nd} = I^{3rd}$			0.884	0.499
IK Bandwidth(%)	13.75	13.24	13.75	13.24
Observations	1162	1114	4460	4336

Standard errors clustered at the constituency level in parentheses. Outcomes measured as percentages. Estimates are based on local linear regression estimates. See Table 1 notes and main text for further description. $I^{2nd} = I^{3rd}$ ($I^{2nd} \neq I^{3rd}$) indicates the sub-sample where second and third placed candidates' parties are in the same (different) gubernatorial coalition in the most recent gubernatorial election. Gubernatorial coalition data is missing for 11 states in the first year of the sample, leading to smaller sample sizes compared to Table 8.

Table A.10: The Incumbency Effect by 1st vs. 2nd Party Platform Distance

	Candidacy, t+1	Winner, t+1	Candidacy, t+1	Winner, t+1
Panel A: Brazil (Party Outcomes)	$I^{1st} = I^{2nd}$		$I^{1st} \neq I^{2nd}$	
Incumbency Effect	7.548**	-2.575	2.852	-3.462
	(3.470)	(3.672)	(2.814)	(2.637)
Close 3rd-Place Mean	59.97	33.16	55.78	29.72
P-value relative to $I^{2nd} = I^{3rd}$			0.292	0.845
IK Bandwidth(%)	6.176	7.443	6.176	7.443
Observations	3076	3634	5236	6160
Panel B: India State (Party Outcomes)	$I^{1st} = I^{2nd}$		$I^{1st} \neq I^{2nd}$	
Incumbency Effect	4.638***	-6.973***	2.922**	-16.26***
	(1.778)	(2.372)	(1.303)	(2.281)
Close 2nd-Place Mean	59.68	28.72	80.45	43.53
P-value relative to $I^{1st} = I^{2nd}$			0.441	0.00458
IK Bandwidth	7.772	5.504	7.772	5.504
Observations	9350	6806	13772	10168
Panel C: Pooled Brazil and India State	$I^{1st} = I^{2nd}$		$I^{1st} \neq I^{2nd}$	
Runner-Up Effect	6.773***	-6.641***	2.837**	-12.57***
	(1.694)	(2.096)	(1.317)	(1.849)
Close 3rd-Place Mean	59.02	31.03	73.32	39.42
P-value relative to $I^{2nd} = I^{3rd}$			0.0682	0.0338
IK Bandwidth(%)	6.332	5.404	6.332	5.404
Observations	10906	9388	16830	14644

Standard errors clustered at the constituency level in parentheses. Outcomes measured as percentages. Estimates are based on local linear regression estimates. See Table 1 notes and main text for further description. $I^{1st} = I^{2nd}$ ($I^{1st} \neq I^{2nd}$) indicates the sub-sample where first and second placed candidates are in the same (separate) party platform category.

Table A.11: Media Coverage 2nd and 3rd Place Candidates (Time t)

Dependent Variable:	# Articles	# Mentions	# Section A Articles	# Non-Results List Articles
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2 Months Before Election (t)	-0.12	-0.14	-0.02	-0.09
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.12)
1 Month Before Election (t)	0.23	0.32	0.27	0.24
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.20)
Month of Election (t)	0.44	0.57	0.17	0.40
	(0.30)	(0.44)	(0.21)	(0.28)
1 Month After Election (t)	-0.04	-0.05	0.00	-0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.06)
2 Months After Election (t)	-0.08	-0.08	-0.03	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)
3 Months After Election (t)	-0.07	-0.08	-0.02	-0.07
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.07)
4 Months After Election (t)	-0.07	-0.08	-0.01	-0.07
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.06)
5 Months After Election (t)	-0.09	-0.11	-0.03	-0.09
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.06)
6 Months After Election (t)	-0.09	-0.11	-0.02	-0.09
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.06)
7 Months After Election (t)	0.10	0.10	0.07	-0.02
	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.08)	(0.07)
8 Months After Election (t)	-0.07	-0.11	-0.02	-0.07
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.06)
9 Months After Election (t)	-0.08	-0.10	-0.03	-0.08
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.06)
10 Months After Election (t)	-0.10	-0.11	-0.03	-0.10
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.07)
11 Months After Election (t)	-0.08	-0.10	-0.01	-0.08
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.07)
12 Months After Election (t)	-0.06	-0.10	-0.03	-0.07
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Constant	0.08	0.09	0.02	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.06)
N	2091	2091	2091	2091

Standard errors clustered at the election level in parentheses. The unit of observation is an election*month. Each column provides the estimate from a separate regression, with the dependent variable in the header and explanatory variables in rows.

Table A.12: Media Coverage 2nd and 3rd Place Candidates (Time $t+1$ Election)

Dependent Variable:	# Articles	# Mentions	# Section A Articles	# Non-Results List Articles
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
11 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.04*	0.05*	0.01	0.04*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
10 Month Before Election (t+1)	0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)
9 Month Before Election (t+1)	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)
8 Month Before Election (t+1)	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
7 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.03
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
6 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.04*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
5 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
4 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.06	0.10	0.02	0.07*
	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.02)	(0.04)
3 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.00	-0.02	-0.02	0.00
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)
2 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)
1 Month Before Election (t+1)	0.37	0.24	0.18	0.37
	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.28)
Month of Election (t+1)	0.53	0.45	0.19	0.41
	(0.68)	(0.70)	(0.39)	(0.29)
1 Months After Election (t+1)	0.01	-0.01	-0.03	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
2 Months After Election (t+1)	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
3 Months After Election (t+1)	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.09
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)
4 Months After Election (t+1)	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Constant	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	-0.02
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
N	1761	1761	1761	1761

Standard errors clustered at the election level in parentheses. The unit of observation is a election*month. Each column provides the estimate from a separate regression, with the dependent variable in the header and explanatory variables in rows.

Table A.13: Media Coverage 2nd and 3rd Place Candidates (Time $t+1$ Election) - Conditional on Running

Dependent Variable:	# Articles	# Mentions	# Section A Articles	# Non-Results List Articles
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
10 Month Before Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.05	-0.04
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.04)
9 Month Before Election (t+1)	-0.13	-0.14	-0.10	-0.09
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.06)
8 Month Before Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.04
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.08)
7 Months Before Election (t+1)	0.07	0.01	0.35	0.11
	(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.43)	(0.40)
6 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.03	-0.04	-0.05	0.01
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.07)
5 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.14	0.00	-0.04
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)
4 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.03	-0.04	-0.05	0.01
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.08)
3 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10	-0.04
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.09)
2 Months Before Election (t+1)	-0.03	-0.09	-0.05	0.01
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.08)
1 Month Before Election (t+1)	1.27	0.41	0.80	1.26
	(1.42)	(0.58)	(1.15)	(1.41)
Month of Election (t+1)	-0.68	-1.64	-0.50	0.71
	(2.89)	(2.79)	(1.58)	(1.32)
1 Month After Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.19	-0.15	-0.09
	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.19)
2 Months After Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.05	-0.04
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.04)
3 Months After Election (t+1)	0.22	0.21	0.20	0.26
	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.28)
4 Months After Election (t+1)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.05	-0.04
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Constant	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.03
	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.19)
N	338	338	338	338

This table presents estimates of the interaction between the second place dummy with different months prior to the next election in the sample elections where both second and third ran in the next election. Standard errors clustered at the election level in parentheses. The unit of observation is an election*month. Each column provides the estimate from a separate regression, with the dependent variable in the header and explanatory variables in rows. The omitted category is "12 Months Before Election" and the "11 Months Before Election" category is not reported because all second and third candidates had exactly zero articles about them 11 months before the next election.