

Supplemental Paper for “Are All Presidents Created Equal?”

Allen Hicken

Heather Stoll

This paper contains supplemental materials for “Are All Presidents Created Equal?”. We initially report the results from estimating Models 1-4 using Golder’s data set and compare these results with the results reported in the main paper, where the models are estimated using our data set. We then provide additional information related to the models that are reported in the main paper (Models 1-6), beginning with the measurement of our regime type and index of presidential powers variables. Finally, we report additional models that explore the sensitivity of our conclusions to various modeling choices; these models were discussed but not reported in the main paper. For the most part, we limit ourselves to exploring the sensitivity of the results obtained from our own data set. Note that the versions of Figure 2 presented here are labeled in terms of the original presidential powers index values. By way of contrast, the main paper’s Figure 2 is labeled in terms of the incremented index values (recall that to distinguish presidential regimes from non-presidential regimes, which received an index value of zero, the values of the former were incremented by one prior to estimating the models).

0.5 Comparison of Results for Models 1-4 Estimated Using Golder’s (2006) Replication Data Set

Table A presents a version of the main paper’s Table 1 that additionally contains the results from estimating Models 1-4 using Golder’s (2006) data set. Similarly, Figure A presents a version of the main paper’s Figure 1 that contains the marginal effects of proximity for Models 1-4 when the models are estimated using Golder’s data set (the first column) as well as our data set (the second column). The cases of the Golder data set consist of all minimally democratic lower house elections in independent countries from 1946-2000 that employed a non-fused electoral system; had identifiable political parties; had fifteen percent or less of the votes going to parties in the residual “other” category in official election statistics; and were fully observed on the variables appearing in his model. Elections in Congo 1963; Colombia between 1958 and 1970 (inclusive); and Papua New Guinea are also eliminated. These case selection criteria result in a total of 603 elections in eighty-four countries. Note that we do not use his data set to estimate Models 5 and 6 because in order to make our presidential powers variable commensurate with his remaining variables, we would have to amend either his or our codings for several cases.

The major difference between the results for Models 1-4 for the two data sets concerns Model 2 and is noted in the main paper: presidential elections in parliamentary regimes are predicted to cast a much weaker shadow using Golder’s data set, as hypothesized by H1, than using our data set. Using Golder’s data set, the deflationary effect is statistically insignificant and substantively small. For example, if the presidential election is a perfect two party contest and is held concurrently with the legislative election, the effective number of electoral parties in the legislative election is predicted to decrease by only approximately 0.5. While we do find a statistically significant and substantively larger (approximately 1.0) deflationary effect using our data set, this is only the case when there are very few (approximately two) presidential candidates. Less importantly, the predicted deflationary effect of presidential elections in true presidential regimes (Model 4) that are a perfect two

party contest is 2.2 parties, as opposed to 1.5 parties using our data set; and the predicted inflationary effect of presidential elections in true presidential regimes when there are six presidential candidates is 1.8 parties. Hence, using Golder's data set, we find a greater substantive effect of true presidential elections, which provides greater support for H1.

1.0 Models Reported in the Main Paper

1.1 Cases and Case Selection Criteria

Table 1a presents the number of elections in each country that were used to estimate Models 1-6. We elaborate on each of our case selection criteria, and hence upon the differences between our data set and Golder's (2006), in turn below.

The explanation for our chosen time period is straightforward. We saw no reason to not broaden the analysis both forwards and backwards in time, provided that the appropriate data were available. This ensured that we had a reasonable number of cases given our need for difficult-to-obtain data at the district level. It also let us include in the analysis some additional, interesting regimes with popularly elected presidents, such as Weimar Germany, as well as more examples of countries switching between non-presidential and presidential regimes by introducing popularly elected presidents, such as pre- and post-1937 Ireland. Because data became difficult to obtain around the turn of the twentieth century, we somewhat arbitrarily chose to draw the lower bound at 1900; data also became difficult to obtain for very recent elections, which led us to the 2005 upper bound.¹ As noted in the main paper and as demonstrated below, confining the analysis to the post-war period does not alter our conclusions.

Also straightforward is our decision to confine the analysis to countries with a population of at least one million. Comparing elections in tiny Nauru (population approximately thirteen thousand) to elections in the United States (population approximately three hundred million) seems akin to comparing apples and oranges—especially when one is concerned, as we are, about the challenges of cooperating across districts. Regardless, data on the effective number of ethnic groups is only usually available for the larger countries. For example, Fearon (2003) compiled data for countries with populations of at least half a million. This means that the small countries would be list-wise deleted from the analysis, as they are in existing studies.² Hence, it makes sense both from a theoretical standpoint and in the interests of comparability with the existing literature to restrict our analysis to elections in larger countries.

Less straightforward and perhaps more controversial is our decision to exclude elections for which there is only a single, nation wide electoral district. Only six countries that otherwise satisfy our criteria for inclusion have held elections under such an electoral system: Israel, Moldova, the Netherlands, Sierra Leone, and the Slovak Republic. This

¹ Less arbitrarily, severe restrictions on franchise existed in many countries prior to the turn of the last century. We could not help but be concerned that participation in pre-1900 democracies was too different from that in post-1900 democracies for valid comparison. In other words, we to some extent break with Alvarez et al. (1996, 1999) by working participation into our definition of democracy, at least to some extent (see the following discussion for more on this point).

² However, note that some of the smallest countries, such as the Pacific Island states of Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, and Palau, are technically eliminated by scholars such as Golder (2006) on the grounds that they lack identifiable political parties.

decision stems from our distinctive goal of exploring how horizontal centralization conditions the effect of presidential elections upon party system aggregation. It is logically impossible to speak of aggregation, i.e. of cross-district coordination, in elections with only a single district, which means that these elections should be excluded from empirical tests of H2 and H3. For the purposes of comparability, we accordingly also exclude these elections from the models designed to test H1 (where the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties), and hence from our data set as a whole.³

Finally, we employ the minimalist, procedural definition and operationalization of democracy developed by Alvarez et al. (1996, 1999). This means that we study only those legislative elections in countries where the chief executive is elected; the legislature is elected; more than one party competes; and incumbents have actually lost elections. The consequence of this minimalist definition is that our analysis puts new and unconsolidated democracies such as Albania on the same footing as old and consolidated democracies such as the United States. Yet as discussed in the main paper, we recognize that there are good reasons for believing that political institutions and hence presidential elections might not have the same effects in both consolidated and unconsolidated democracies (see, for example, Shugart 1999; Moser 1999; Mainwaring and Torcal 2006; Clark and Golder 2006; Golder 2006; Hartlyn, McCoy and Mustillo 2008). However, somewhat to our surprise, we demonstrate below that neither controlling for the advanced industrial status of a country⁴ nor indirectly conditioning on it by estimating the models separately for elections in advanced industrial and non-advanced industrial democracies substantively alters our conclusions, although we find some interesting differences on the margins from the latter. Similarly, our conclusions are not substantively altered by eliminating either elections in African countries, which are generally the least consolidated democracies in the sample, or the countries with only one election in our data set, also relatively unconsolidated democracies.

1.2 Measuring Regime Type

For Models 2-4 estimated using Golder's (2005a, 2006) data and set of cases, we use his classification of regime type. First, legislative elections in regimes without popular presidential elections are those for which his variable "enpres" (the effective number of presidential candidates) is coded zero, and legislative elections in regimes with popular presidential elections are those for which his variable "enpres" is non-zero. Second, we then sub-divide the latter elections by the type of regime using his variable "institution", which classifies democratic regimes as parliamentary, mixed, or presidential. He describes his coding rules for this variable as follows (Golder 2005b, p. 5-6):

"A presidential regime is one in which the government serves at the pleasure of the elected president. The president may be directly elected or indirectly elected; the important feature is that the president selects and determines the survival of the government. A parliamentary system is one in which the government serves so long as it maintains the confidence of the legislature. A system in which the government

³ For the Netherlands, the Slovak Republic and Sierra Leone, we do include those elections held either prior to or subsequent to their use of a single national district, as long as the data are available.

⁴ We consider countries in the post-World War II era that were pre-1990 members of the OECD to be advanced industrial.

must respond both to the legislative assembly and to an elected president is classified as mixed. Mixed systems have also been referred to as ‘semi-presidential’, ‘premier-presidential’, or ‘president-parliamentary’ (Duverger 1980, Shugart 1992). Typically, these mixed systems are characterized by a president who is elected for a fixed term with some executive powers and a government that serves at the discretion of the legislature. This classification scheme follows the recommendations of Przeworski et al. (2000).”

His data is taken from the ACLP data set, which we assume he updated through 2000, given that its coverage ends in 1990.

For Models 2-4 estimated using our data and set of cases, we employ the same scheme for distinguishing between non-presidential and presidential regime elections. However, we employ a different classification of regime type for sub-dividing the latter (presidential regime) elections. Specifically, we employ Shugart and Carey’s (1992) influential typology. This four-fold classificatory schema defines the various regime types as follows:

- True or “pure” presidential regime (Ibid., 19): (1) the chief executive is popularly elected, either directly or indirectly by an electoral college that is elected by the voters for that express purpose; (2) the terms of the chief executive and assembly are fixed and not contingent on mutual confidence; (3) the chief executive names and directs the composition of the government; and (4) the chief executive has some constitutionally granted lawmaking authority. Note that like Shugart and Carey, we refer to this regime types as “true” or “pure” presidential to distinguish it from the broader category of “presidential” regime introduced earlier: countries that possess a popularly elected chief executive-cum-head of state.
- Premier-presidential (or “semi-presidential”) regime (Ibid., 23): (1) the president is elected by popular vote; (2) the president possesses considerable powers; and (3) there also exist a premier and cabinet, subject to assembly confidence, who perform executive functions.
- President-parliamentary regime (Ibid., 24): (1) the president is popularly elected; (2) the president appoints and dismisses cabinet ministers; (3) cabinet ministers are subject to parliamentary confidence; and (4) the president has the power to dissolve parliament or legislative powers, or both.
- Parliamentary regime (Ibid., 26-27): either lacks a popularly elected president or has a popularly elected president who possesses no real powers along the lines described above.

However, following standard practice from Metcalf (2000) to Golder (2005a), we combine the premier-presidential and president-parliamentary regimes in one “mixed” category.

Our actual classification of regimes with popularly elected presidents follows what we believe to be the consensus in the literature. Sources include Shugart and Carey (1992); Metcalf (2000); Elgie (2005); Protsyk (2005); and Elgie (2007), among others. To illustrate, countries classified as parliamentary despite the existence of a popularly elected president are post-1945 Austria; post-1937 Ireland; and Slovenia. Countries classified as mixed include post-1990 Bulgaria; post-1990 Colombia; Croatia; Ecuador; post-1922 Finland; post-1958 France and Russia. Countries classified as true presidential include Argentina; Brazil; Costa Rica; the Philippines; and the United States. There are actually only a few regimes for which our coding disagrees with Golder’s (2005a). Examples are post-1990 Bulgaria, which we code as mixed and Golder codes as parliamentary, and Ecuador, which we code as mixed and Golder codes as true presidential. Most of these are regimes whose classification is

debated in the literature, i.e., regimes that straddle the line between being classified as either parliamentary and mixed or mixed and true presidential, and which we classify in the intermediate mixed category. To test the sensitivity of our results to these coding decisions, we also alternatively code these difficult-to-classify regimes as either parliamentary or true presidential instead of mixed, i.e. as the more extreme regime type. Doing so brings our classifications into alignment with Golder's with the exception of Brazil 1962, which Golder codes as mixed and we code as presidential; and Peru, Russia and Ukraine, which Golder codes as presidential and we continue to code as mixed because we see little debate in the literature about these classifications. The results from estimating Models 2-4 using this alternative classificatory scheme are both presented and discussed below.

1.3 Measuring the Index of Presidential Powers

The rules that we used to code the constitutional powers of popularly elected presidents, and hence to create our index of presidential powers, appear in Table 1b. They were originally created by Shugart and Carey (1992) and later modified by Frye, Hellman and Tucker (2000), who analyzed semi-presidential systems in Eastern and Central Europe in the early to mid-1990s and coded the powers of both the president and the prime minister. We note changes from Shugart and Carey in italics. Table 1d shows how the index of presidential powers varies predictably with the three-fold typology used as the alternate measure of presidential powers (the parliamentary, the mixed and the true presidential regime). This table also presents descriptive statistics for the index.

1.4 Technical Details and Variance-Covariance Matrices

The structures of both data sets are extremely non-rectangular and somewhere between time series cross-sectional (TSCS) and panel. Because the asymptotics are arguably in T , we might view them as time series cross-sectional in structure; however, the fact that T is less than N suggests instead viewing them as panel in structure (Beck and Katz 1995). We lean towards the former. This effectively rules out the use of a random effects model specification since our inferences should be conditional on the observed cross-sectional units, here the set of minimally democratic countries with popularly elected presidents existing from 1900 to 2005 (Beck and Katz 1996). For this reason, we employ country fixed instead of country random effects in the non-fully pooled models.

Estimation of the Newey-West (1987) standard errors is done using Roodman's (2002) extension to STATA 7.0's "newey" command, "newey2", which calculates Newey-West standard errors for time series cross-sectional (as well as panel and time series) data structures. A first order autoregressive (AR1) error structure is assumed. Similar results are obtained using STATA 9.0's "newey" command. In Tables 2-7, we report the relevant portions of the Newey-West (1987) robust variance-covariance matrix of the coefficients, rounded to two significant digits, for Models 1-6. Interested readers may also request the complete matrix in electronic form, which possesses a higher degree of numerical accuracy.

1.5 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics for the independent and dependent variables for the two data sets (ours and Golder's 2006) appear in Tables 1c and 1d.

2.0 Additional Models

2.1 *Alternative Measures*

We first report the results from variants of the original models that employ alternative measures of our independent variables.

First, for the versions of Models 2-4 estimated using our data set, we employ the alternative, more extreme measure of regime type described above (in Section 1.1). Table 8 presents a version of the main paper's Table 1 containing these results, and Figure 1 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 1. From this table and figure, but particularly from the figure, it can be seen that the one difference of note when using the alternate measure is that the inflationary effect is statistically significant for parliamentary regimes; however, this is only the case when there are very many presidential candidates (more than approximately eight), a rare real world occurrence. Accordingly, our conclusions are not substantively altered.

Second, for Models 5 and 6, we employ two alternative measures of the index of presidential powers. First, where either Shugart and Carey's (1992) or Frye, Hellman and Tucker's (2000) coding of the case differs from ours, we use their coding instead of our own. Table 9 presents a version of the main paper's Table 2 containing these results, and Figure 2 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. Second, in addition to substituting these latter scholar's extant codings for ours, we also substitute Metcalf's (2000) coding for theirs in cases where his coding differs. Table 10 presents a version of the main paper's Table 2 containing these results, and Figure 3 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. The only difference of note is that Metcalf's codings yield an insignificant inflationary effect in Model 5 (the effective number of electoral parties); however, it remains significant in Model 6 (the difference between the national level effective number of electoral parties and the average district level number). We also estimated Models 5 and 6 using the original index of presidential powers (i.e., not incremented by one, which lumps Ireland together with regimes lacking popularly elected presidents under a score of zero). However, the results were virtually identical to those obtained using the incremented index so we do not present the resulting tables and figures here.

Third, for Models 5 and 6, we explore two alternative treatments of the four problematic cases in our data set that were formally presidential at the time of the legislative election but which did not have preceding or concurrent presidential elections. These cases consist of the three "founding" legislative elections (the first legislative elections held within two years of the subsequent first popular presidential elections) of Austria 1949, Bulgaria 1991 and Finland 1924), as well as Finland 1948, a legislative election held within two years of a subsequent presidential election after a ten year suspension of popular presidential elections. We chose two years as our cut-off point because we can think of few real world examples of presidential campaigns operating more than two years in advance of a presidential election, making it hard to believe that legislative elections held further in advance of a presidential election than this would be affected by the upcoming presidential race (the 1962 French legislative election, while not included in our data set, is one potential exception). Because the effective number of presidential candidates and proximity are coded zero for these four cases but the index of presidential powers is non-zero, the presidential powers main effect term in Models 5 and 6 estimates the impact of a regime being formally presidential without a preceding or concurrent popular presidential elections having been held. This effect is never statistically significant, but is estimated to be negative in Model 5

(the effective number of electoral parties) and positive in Model 6 (aggregation). The latter finding might be due to these elections being either first elections in unconsolidated democracies or elections following great political turmoil, in which we would expect to observe less coordination.

Our first alternative approach to these problematic elections is to treat them as occurring in non-presidential regimes. Recall that this is how these four elections are treated in Models 1-4. That is, we code the index of presidential powers as taking the value of zero, along with the effective number of presidential candidates and proximity variables. Table 11 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 4 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. This table and figure show that the only substantive difference between these and the original models is that the inflationary effect is never significant in Model 5 (the effective number of electoral parties) when coding these four cases as non-presidential; however, it remains significant in Model 6 (the difference between the national level effective number of electoral parties and the average district level number). The second alternative approach to these problematic elections is to hypothesize that the subsequent presidential election might influence legislative electoral coordination in a similar manner to the preceding and concurrent presidential elections. Hence, we measure the proximity between the legislative election and the subsequent instead of the preceding presidential election, just as we take the effective number of presidential candidates from the subsequent instead of the preceding presidential election. Table 12 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 5 presents this version of the main paper's Figure 2. The latter demonstrates that we obtain similar results to those obtained using the prior alternative approach in that the inflationary effect is again insignificant in this version of Model 5.

Fourth and finally, we employ a simple dummy variable for concurrent (maximally proximate) presidential elections in Models 5 and 6 instead of the interval scale measure introduced in the main text. Table 33 presents a version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 27 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. We see from this table that more coefficients are individually significant using this alternative measure of proximity in both models, including some of the interaction terms involving the index of presidential powers. There are two minor differences. First, the figure shows that the inflationary (Model 5) and de-aggregatory (Model 6) effects are now statistically significant for very weak and moderately powerful presidents when there are many candidates, although this is the case only when the number of candidates is very large in Model 6 (more than approximately seven). Second, turning to extremely powerful presidents, the inflationary effect is now substantively as well as statistically insignificant: that is, there is no longer a substantively significant if statistically insignificant inflationary effect when there are many candidates. On balance, these results strike us as being a wash with respect to our hypotheses relative to the results obtained using the original measure of proximity.

2.2 *Alternative Cases*

We next report the results from variants of the original models that employ alternative sets of cases.

First, we confine the analysis using our data set to the post-World War II era. That is, we omit all pre-1946 elections from our data set. Tables 13 and 14 present versions of the main paper's Tables 1 and 2, respectively, for Models 1-6 estimated using our data set and this alternative set of cases. Figure 6 and 7 present versions of the main paper's Figures 1 and 2, respectively. These tables and figures show that we obtain very similar results and hence draw similar conclusions about the hypotheses.

Second, we eliminate elections in African countries from our data set. These consist of a total of fourteen elections: two elections in Ghana; two elections in Malawi; two elections in Mauritius; two elections in Niger; one election in Sierra Leone; two elections in South Africa; and three elections in Zambia. Tables 15 and 16 present versions of the main paper's Tables 1 and 2, respectively, for Models 1-6 estimated using our data set and this alternative set of cases. Figure 8 and 9 present versions of the main paper's Figures 1 and 2, respectively. Overall, the results are very similar. The only different of note is that the inflationary effect narrowly falls short of attaining conventional levels of statistical significance in Model 5 (the effective number of electoral parties). However, the fact that it remains significant in Models 4 and 6 leaves the conclusions reported in the main paper substantively unaltered.

Third, we eliminate countries that have only a single election in our data set. There are four such elections: one each in Indonesia, Mexico, Peru and Sierra Leone. Tables 17 and 18 present versions of the main paper's Tables 1 and 2, respectively, for Models 1-6 estimated using our data set and this alternative set of cases. Figure 10 and 11 present versions of the main paper's Figures 1 and 2, respectively. Like eliminating African elections, the only difference of note between these results and the original results is that the inflationary effect narrowly falls short of statistical significance in the fully pooled version of Model 5 (the effective number of electoral parties), although it remains significant in both Models 4 and 6.

Fourth, for Models 5 and 6, we eliminate the six cases for which we extrapolated our coding of the index of presidential powers either forwards or backwards in time. Following Hicken and Stoll (2008), we extrapolated in this manner when (i) we ourselves were unable to code the appropriate constitution and (ii) there were no extant codings from other scholars to use instead. Table 19 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 12 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. From this table and figure, we see that similar results are obtained, leaving the conclusions reported in the main paper standing.

Fifth, for Models 5 and 6, we eliminate the thirty-one cases for which we ourselves did not code the *de jure* presidential powers. These are the elections for which we either relied upon extant codings of presidential powers or extrapolated our own codings forwards or backwards in time (eliminated above). Table 20 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 13 presents this version of the main paper's Figure 2. The deflationary effect is significant for a smaller range of presidential candidates for powerful presidents in both Models 5 and 6, and the inflationary effect is now significant for extremely powerful presidents in Model 5. Otherwise, similar findings are obtained, which means that our substantive conclusions are not altered.

Sixth, to check if our somewhat surprising results regarding the non-deflationary effects of presidential elections for very powerful presidencies were driven by one particular country's experiences, we eliminated elections in regimes with very powerful presidencies. That is, for Models 5 and 6, we separately eliminated elections in all regimes with an index of presidential powers score of at least eighteen. These are elections in post-1993 Argentina (scoring twenty-one on the index of presidential powers); all Brazilian elections (scoring between eighteen and nineteen on the index); all Chilean elections (scoring twenty); elections in pre-1991 Colombia (scoring twenty); and elections in post-1986 Philippines (scoring eighteen). While some African political regimes also fall into this category, we have already reported the results from eliminating them en masse (see the above discussion). Tables 21-25 display these versions of the main paper's Table 2, and Figures 14-18 these versions of

the main paper's Figure 2. Eliminating the Brazilian, Chilean and Colombian elections yields very similar results to those originally obtained. While eliminating the Argentinian elections results in a more significant inflationary effect when the president is very powerful (it is now significant in both Models 5 and 6 for even the most powerful president), eliminating the recent elections in the Philippines keeps the inflationary effect from ever attaining conventional levels of significance. Because the deflationary and aggregatory effects remain insignificant for very powerful presidencies with the latter elections eliminated, however, our conclusions about the surprisingly non-deflationary effects of these elections nevertheless remain unaltered.

Seventh and finally, for Models 5 and 6, we eliminated all midterm elections from the analyses. These were elections coded as having occurred in a presidential regime, but where proximity took the value of zero. There were twenty-six such elections in the data set. This includes the four "founding" elections discussed above: it seemed problematic to eliminate legislative elections in a presidential regime being "falsely" equated with legislative elections in a parliamentary regime because they were held at the presidential midterm, and to not also eliminate those legislative elections in a presidential regime that were being "falsely" equated with legislative elections in a parliamentary regime simply because the first presidential election had not yet been held. In other words, we now contrast legislative elections in pure parliamentary regimes with legislative elections in presidential regimes where presidential elections have actually occurred and the legislative elections are not held at the presidential midterm. Table 34 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 28 presents this version of the main paper's Figure 2. We see from this table and figure that there are only three differences of note. First, more in keeping with H1, the aggregatory effect is no longer statistically significant for very weak presidential regime elections. Second, neither supporting nor contradicting the hypotheses, the inflationary effect is no longer statistically significant for moderately powerful presidential elections. Third, more consistent with H2, the de-aggregatory effect is no longer statistically significant when the effective number of presidential candidates is very large and the president is only moderately powerful.

Alternative Specifications

Last but not least, we report the results for different model specifications that build upon the original models.

First, we employ country clustered instead of Newey-West robust standard errors in the analyses involving both our and Golder's (2006) data sets. Note that as is conventional when employing this estimator, we use $C-1$ degrees of freedom in t-tests, where C is the number of countries (clusters). Tables 26 and 27 present versions of the main paper's Tables 1 and 2, respectively, for Models 1-6, while Figures 19 and 20 present versions of the main paper's Figures 1 and 2, respectively. From these tables and figures, it can be seen that we arrive at the same substantive conclusions. Minor differences are that the inflationary effect is significant for only a very high number of presidential candidates in true presidential regimes using Golder's data set (Model 4), although the important point is that it remains significant; the deflationary effect is significant for a smaller range of presidential candidates for powerful presidents in particular, although it too remains significant; and the inflationary effect is more significant (i.e., significant even for very powerful presidencies) in Model 5 (the effective number of electoral parties). Hence, our conclusions are upheld by the use of this alternative robust estimator.

Second, we control for the advanced industrial status of a country in the analyses involving our data set. Countries that were members of the OECD prior to 1990 are

considered advanced industrial, a proxy for factors such as economic development, democratic consolidation and the rule of law. However, we only consider these countries advanced industrial in the post-World War II era (i.e., post-1945) because many were still undergoing the process of democratic consolidation in the early 1900s, such as by significantly expanding their franchises. Tables 28 and 29 present versions of the main paper's Tables 1 and 2, respectively, for Models 1-6, while Figures 21 and 22 present versions of the main paper's Figures 1 and 2, respectively. We can see from these tables and figures that the results are very similar to those obtained without controlling for advanced industrial status, leaving the conclusions reported in the main paper unchanged. As an aside, we note that the coefficient on the advanced industrial dummy variable is negative throughout and often significant, signaling that more consolidated and developed democracies have fewer electoral parties and more aggregated party systems, as expected.

Third, for Models 5 and 6 only, we estimate the fully pooled versions of these models separately for elections in advanced industrial democracies and non-advanced industrial democracies, where we define advanced industrial in the same way as before. This implicitly conditions upon the advanced industrial status of a country. Table 30 presents the corresponding version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figures 23 and 24 present versions of the main paper's Figure 2 for Models 5 and 6, respectively. The figures in particular show us that we obtain similar results for the non-advanced industrial elections as we obtained originally in the main paper using the full sample. Minor differences are that we see in both Models 5 and 6 an even more statistically and substantively significant inflationary effect for powerful to very powerful presidential elections, as well as a statistically significant deflationary effect for very powerful presidential elections, although only if there are no more than two presidential candidates. While the results for the advanced industrial elections are also reasonably similar to those obtained originally, there are more important differences. On the minor front, the deflationary effect of presidential elections with few presidential candidates in Model 5 is more significant for very weak presidents, as is the aggregatory effect in Model 6. More consequentially and puzzlingly, presidential elections for very powerful presidents with few presidential candidates are now predicted to have a statistically significant inflationary effect in both Models 5 and 6. This is puzzling because it should be presidential elections with many candidates that have a significant inflationary effect, not presidential elections with few candidates. However, these are extremely out-of-sample predictions for the advanced industrial democracies: the highest score on the incremented index of presidential powers that they attain is fourteen. The results regarding very powerful presidencies for this set of countries should accordingly be taken with a large grain of salt. Regardless, these inflationary effects; our continuing to find effectively no significant deflationary effect for very powerful presidencies; and the mixed findings regarding the deflationary effect of elections for very weak presidents means that combined, the sub-sample analyses (but particularly that of the non-advanced industrial countries) yield results consistent with the conclusions reported in the main paper.

Fourth, for Model 6, we additionally control for the logged average lower tier district magnitude; legislative bicameralism; and the effective number of ethnic groups. Note that our dummy variable for bicameralism is based upon (i.e., is an extended and corrected version of) data from Beck, Clarke, Groff, Keefer, and Walsh (2001). Table 31 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 25 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2 for Model 6. From this table and figure, we can see that we obtain virtually identical results after including these additional control variables, leaving the main paper's conclusions unaltered. Finally, in the same table, we additionally control for the percentage

of seats distributed in an upper tier. However, because we only have data on it through 2000 from Golder (2005), we also estimate the model on the same reduced set of cases without including it, which will enable us to disentangle any differences in results due to the change in sample from any differences in results due to the additional control variable. A comparison of these results reveals that they are effectively identical, so we do not provide graphs of the estimated marginal effects from the two versions of the model. Accordingly, in sum, the conclusions reported in the main paper are not sensitive to controlling for these four variables. Regarding the control variables themselves, both the effective number of ethnic groups and bicameralism always have the expected positive sign, indicating that cross-district coordination decreases when there is greater ethnic heterogeneity, as well as when there are two legislative chambers; moreover, the former is always significant and the latter is usually significant (its significance is reduced by confining the analysis to the twentieth century). The logged average district magnitude has the hypothesized negative sign except when controlling for the percentage of seats distributed in an upper tier, but it is never significant. The percentage of upper tier seats itself is both incorrectly signed and insignificant. These results are largely commensurate with those reported in Hicken and Stoll (2009); see this study for a more in-depth comparison of these results to those obtained by other scholars.

Fifth and finally, we include country fixed effects in Models 5 and 6. Because the effective number of ethnic groups is time invariant, we must drop it and its interaction with the logged average district magnitude from Model 5. Table 32 presents this version of the main paper's Table 2 and Figure 26 presents a version of the main paper's Figure 2. We see from this table that one of the interaction terms between presidential powers and proximity is now significant in each model for the first time. From the figure, we see that the deflationary (Model 5) and aggregatory (Model 6) effect of presidential elections when there are few presidential candidates is no longer significant for very weak presidents, a finding more consistent with H1 and H2. However, what is less consistent with H1 and H2 is that the deflationary and aggregatory effects fall just shy of significance for powerful presidents. Further, elections for extremely powerful presidents are now found to both have no significant deflationary or aggregatory effect when there are few candidates and a significant inflationary or de-aggregatory effect when there are many candidates, findings more consistent with H3. Hence, overall, we generally find less significance when employing fixed effects, but on balance the findings are a wash with respect to the conclusions reported in the main paper.

References

- Alvarez, Mike, Jose Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31 (2): 3—36.
- . 1999. "ACLP Political and Economic Database" [database online]. Available from www.ssc.upenn.edu/%7Echeibub/data/Default.htm.
- Beck, Nathaniel & Jonathan Katz. 1995. "What To Do (and Not To Do) with Time-Series Cross-Section Data." *American Political Science Review* 89 (3): 634—47.
- . 1996. "Nuisance vs. Substance: Specifying and Estimating Time Series Cross-Section Models." *Political Analysis* 6 (1): 1—36.
- Beck, Thorsten, George Clarke, Alberto Groff, Philip Keefer, and Patrick Walsh. (2001). New Tools in Comparative Political Economy: The Database of Political Institutions [database online]. *World Bank Economic Review* 15 (1): 165—76. Updated 8-24-2005. Retrieved August 2007 from <http://econ.worldbank.org>.
- Clark, William Rogers and Matt Golder. 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory: Testing the Mechanical and Strategic Modifying Effect of Electoral Laws." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (6): 679—708.
- Elgie, Robert. 2005. "A Fresh Look at Semipresidentialism: Variations on a Theme." *Journal of Democracy* 16 (3): 98-112.
- . 2007. "Varieties of Semi-Presidentialism and Their Impact on Nascent Democracies." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 3 (2): 53-71.
- Fearon, James D. 2003. "Ethnic Structure and Cultural Diversity by Country." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2): 195-222.
- Frye, Tim, Joel Hellman and Joshua Tucker. 2000. "Data Base on Political Institutions in the Post-Communist World." Unpublished data set, Ohio State University.
- Golder, Matt. 2005a. "Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946-2000" *Electoral Studies* 24 (1): 103—21.
- . 2005b. "Codebook for 'Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946-2000'".
- . 2006. "Presidential Coattails and Legislative Fragmentation." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 34-48.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan, Jennifer McCoy and Thomas M. Mustillo. 2008. "Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (1): 73—98.
- Hicken, Allen and Heather Stoll. 2009. "Legislative Policy-making Authority, the Number of Parties, and Party System Aggregation." Paper presented at the 2009 National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2-5.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Mariano Torcal, 2006. "Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratisation", in R. S. Katz and W. Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Political Parties*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 204-27.
- Metcalf, Lee Kendall. 2000. "Measuring Presidential Power." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (5): 660-685.
- Moser, Robert D. "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States." *World Politics* 51: 359-384.
- Newey, Whitney K. and Kenneth D. West. 1987. "A Simple, Positive-Definite, Heteroskedasticity and Autocorrelation Consistent Covariance Matrix." *Econometrica* 55 (3): 703-08.

- Protsyk, Oleh. 2005. "Prime Ministers' Identity in Semi-Presidential Regimes: Constitutional Norms and Cabinet Formation." *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 721-748.
- Roodman, David. 2002. "[NEWKEY2: Stata module to extend newey \(HAC covariance estimation\)](#)," [Statistical Software Components](#) S428901, Boston College Department of Economics, revised 07 Feb 2004.
- Shugart, Matthew. 1999. "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less-Developed Countries." *Constitutional Political Economy* 10 (1): 53-88.
- Shugart, Matthew & John Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

	All Elections in Non-Presidential Regimes, and Elections in Presidential Regimes Classified as:							
	All Elections		Parliamentary		Mixed		True Presidential	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.19)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.7*** (0.22)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.8*** (0.21)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.7*** (0.20)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.3*** (0.44)	-1.6** (0.62)	-2.1*** (0.47)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.7** (0.70)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-4.2*** (0.62)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.16 (0.10)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.14)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.35*** (0.13)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.048 (0.17)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.88*** (0.21)	0.56 (0.37)	0.50 (0.35)	0.17 (0.27)	0.31 (0.27)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.4*** (0.30)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.55*** (0.15)	0.45*** (0.15)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.14)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.69*** (0.15)
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	0.13 (0.091)	0.34*** (0.095)	0.11 (0.11)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.50*** (0.11)	0.15 (0.098)	0.37*** (0.095)
Log Magnitude * Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	0.0022 (0.072)	-0.076 (0.089)	0.0051 (0.088)	-0.15* (0.083)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.15* (0.085)	-0.034 (0.068)	-0.10 (0.086)
N	603	590	395	415	413	463	507	470
R²	0.25	0.21	0.16	0.14	0.19	0.17	0.27	0.20
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4

Table A. Coefficients and robust (Newey-West) standard errors for Models 1-4. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties in legislative elections (ENEP); ENPRES is the effective number of presidential candidates. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 2). In Model 1, the model is estimated using *all* legislative elections; in Models 2-4, it is estimated using all legislative elections in non-presidential (pure parliamentary) regimes and legislative elections in presidential regimes classified as parliamentary, mixed, or true presidential, respectively. Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

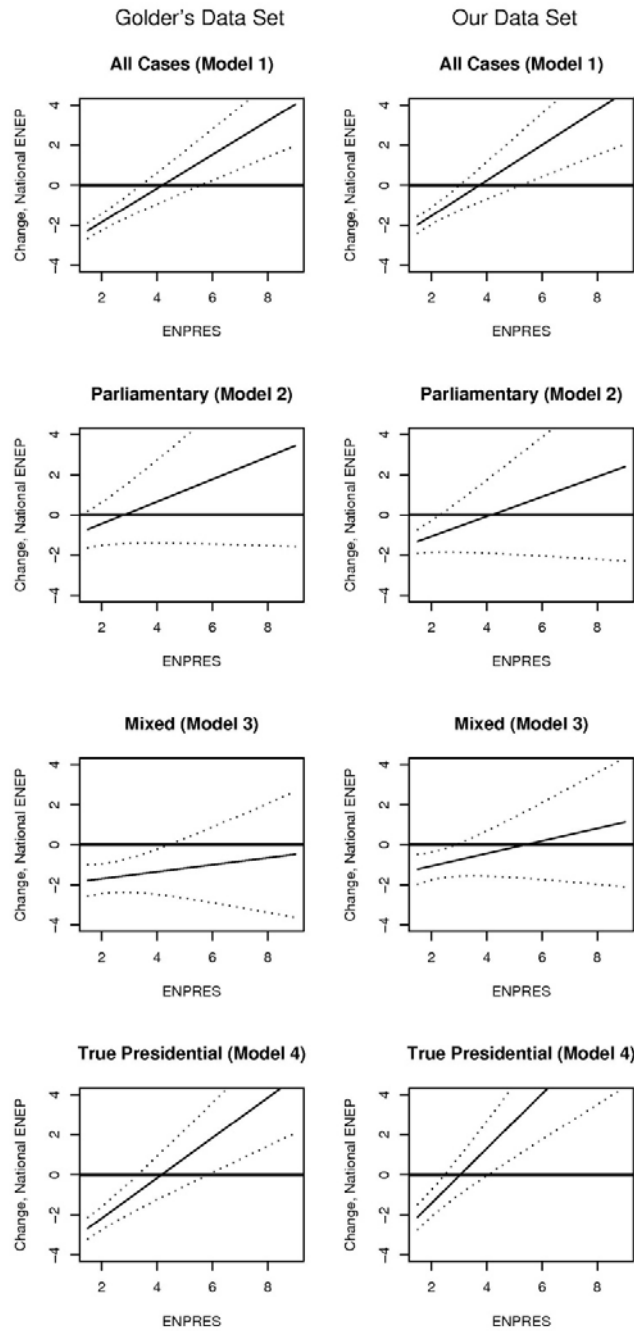


Figure A. The estimated marginal effect of proximate (concurrent) presidential elections on the number of electoral parties for all presidential elections as well as for presidential elections classified as occurring in parliamentary, mixed or true presidential regimes (Models 1-4). The left column contains the versions of Models 1-4 estimated using Golder's data set, and the right column contains the versions estimated using our data set. Marginal effects are shown over the observed range of the effective number of presidential candidates (ENPRES) in presidential elections. Dotted lines are ninety percent two-sided (or ninety-five percent one-sided) confidence intervals.

Country	OUR DATA				GOLDER'S DATA			
	Models 1, 5, 6	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Albania	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Argentina	10	0	0	10	17	0	0	17
Armenia	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Australia	14	14	14	14	22	22	22	22
Austria	21	21	7	7	16	16	1	1
Bangladesh	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Belgium	27	27	27	27	18	18	18	18
Benin	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Brazil	11	2	2	11	10	2	3	9
Bulgaria	5	1	5	1	4	4	2	2
Canada	10	10	10	10	17	17	17	17
Central African Republic	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Chile	4	0	0	4	9	0	0	9
Colombia	7	0	2	5	7	0	0	7
Costa Rica	13	0	0	13	12	0	0	12
Croatia	2	0	2	0	3	0	3	0
Cyprus	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Czech Republic	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Czechoslovakia	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
Denmark	40	40	40	40	21	21	21	21
Dominica	0	0	0	0	5	5	5	5
Dominican Republic	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Ecuador	3	0	3	0	9	0	0	9
El Salvador	2	0	0	2	6	0	0	6
Estonia	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Finland	34	13	34	13	15	0	15	0
France	10	2	10	2	14	5	14	5
Germany	26	21	26	21	3	3	3	3
Ghana	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Greece	22	22	22	22	19	19	19	19
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
Guyana	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Honduras	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Hungary	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
India	10	10	10	10	9	9	9	9
Indonesia	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Ireland	27	27	7	7	16	16	0	0
Israel	0	0	0	0	15	15	15	15
Italy	17	17	17	17	13	13	13	13
Jamaica	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	9

Table 1a. The number of elections per country used to estimate Models 1 through 6 for each of the two data sets: Golder's (2006) and our own. (Continued on next page.)

Country	OUR DATA				GOLDER'S DATA			
	Models 1, 5, 6	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Japan	13	13	13	13	20	20	20	20
Latvia	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Lithuania	4	1	4	1	3	1	3	1
Macedonia	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
Malawi	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	2
Mali	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Mauritius	2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
Mexico	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Moldova	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Mongolia	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	1
Myanmar	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Namibia	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Nepal	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3
Netherlands	5	5	5	5	16	16	16	16
New Zealand	3	3	3	3	19	19	19	19
Nicaragua	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Niger	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
Nigeria	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	2
Norway	27	27	27	27	13	13	13	13
Pakistan	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3
Panama	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Peru	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	5
Philippines	8	0	0	8	9	0	0	9
Poland	4	0	4	0	3	0	3	0
Portugal	8	0	8	0	9	0	9	0
Romania	5	0	5	0	4	0	4	0
Russia	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Sierra Leone	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Slovak Republic	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
Slovenia	2	2	0	0	3	3	0	0
Somalia	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
South Africa	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
South Korea	4	0	4	0	4	0	0	4
Spain	9	9	9	9	8	8	8	8
Sri Lanka	3	0	3	0	10	7	10	7
Sweden	30	30	30	30	17	17	17	17
Switzerland	22	22	22	22	14	14	14	14

Table 1a (cont.). The number of elections per country used to estimate Models 1 through 6 for each of the two data sets: Golder's (2006) and our own. (Continued on next page.)

Country	OUR DATA				GOLDER'S DATA			
	Models 1, 5, 6	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Taiwan	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	0
Thailand	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Trinidad and Tobago	4	4	4	4	8	8	8	8
Turkey	11	11	11	11	10	10	10	10
Uganda	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Ukraine	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
United Kingdom	26	26	26	26	14	14	14	14
United States	18	0	0	18	28	0	0	28
Venezuela	4	0	0	4	10	0	0	10
Zambia	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	2
Total	590	415	463	470	603	395	413	507

Table 1a (cont.). The number of elections per country used to estimate Models 1 through 6 for each of the two data sets: Golder's (2006) and our own.

Legislative Powers

Package Veto/Override

- 4 Veto with no override
- 3 Veto with override requiring majority greater than 2/3 (of quorum)
- 2 Veto with override requiring 2/3
- 1 Veto with override requiring absolute majority of assembly or extraordinary majority less than 2/3
- 0 No veto; or veto requires only simple majority to override

Partial Veto/Override

- 4 No override
- 3 Override by extraordinary majority
- 2 Override by absolute majority of whole membership
- 1 Override by simple majority of quorum
- 0 No partial veto

Decree

- 4 *Unlimited (to defend the Constitution and its laws)*
- 3 *Decree making powers for limited time*
- 2 *Decrees subject to ex-post approval*
- 1 *Only negative decree making power (i.e. can make decrees to overrule illegal local government action)*
- 0 *No decree making power, or only to do what is already an executive power (i.e. to set an election date, the actual mechanism of doing so is often an executive decree)*

Exclusive Introduction of Legislation (Reserved Policy Areas)

- 4 No amendment by assembly
- 2 Restricted amendment by assembly
- 1 Unrestricted amendment by assembly
- 0 No exclusive powers

Budgetary Powers

- 4 President prepares budget; no amendment permitted
- 3 Assembly may reduce but not increase amount of budgetary items
- 2 President sets upper limit on total spending, within which assembly may amend
- 1 Assembly may increase expenditures only if it designates new revenues
- 0 Unrestricted authority of assembly to prepare or amend budget

Table 1b (cont. on following page). Rules for coding the constitutional powers of presidents.

Proposal of Referenda

- 4 *Unrestricted and only President has right to call referenda*
- 2 *Restricted or someone else can call referenda as well (most likely parliament)*
- 1 *President can call referenda, but needs Parliamentary approval as well*
- 0 *No authority to propose referenda*

Non-Legislative Powers

Cabinet Formation

- 4 *President names cabinet without need for confirmation or investiture*
- 3 *President names cabinet ministers subject to confirmation or investiture by assembly*
- 2 *President Appoints Prime Minister, and then both appoint ministers together*
- 1 *President names premier, subject to investiture, who then names other ministers*
- 0 *President cannot name ministers except upon recommendation of assembly*

Cabinet Dismissal

- 4 *President dismisses cabinet ministers at will*
- 3 *President can dismiss ministers at will, but not Prime Minister*
- 2 *President can dismiss ministers, but it is in some way restricted either by the assembly or, in the case of a president, by the prime minister.*
- 1 *EITHER President can dismiss government (or individual minister) but must have a replacement approved by the assembly first*
OR President does not have the right to initiate the dismissal of a minister or government, but does have to approve the action once initiated by someone else (usually the assembly)
- 0 *President plays no role in dismissing government or ministers*

Censure

- 4 *Assembly may not censure and remove cabinet or ministers*
- 2 *Assembly may censure, but President may respond by dissolving assembly*
- 1 *“Constructive” vote of no confidence (assembly majority must present alternative cabinet)*
- 0 *Unrestricted censure*

Dissolution of Assembly

- 4 *Unrestricted*
- 3 *Negative Restrictions (President / Prime Minister is free to dissolve assembly unless certain conditions apply, i.e. within last six months)*
- 2 *President can dissolve assembly, but it may lead to new Presidential elections as well. (Does not apply for Prime Ministers)*
- 1 *Positive Restrictions (President / Prime Minister can only dissolve assembly if certain conditions apply, i.e. the assembly has failed to pass a budget within a certain time period)*
- 0 *No Provisions*

Table 1b (cont. from following page). Rules for coding the constitutional powers of presidents.

Our Data Set					
	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum	Standard Deviation
Effective Number of Electoral Parties (ENP_nat)	1.6	4.0	3.6	13.8	1.7
D (ENP_nat – ENP_avg)	-0.62	0.87	0.47	8.4	1.1
Proximity	0.0	0.24	0.0	1.0	0.38
Effective Number of Presidential Candidates (ENPRES)	0.0	1.1	0.0	8.7	1.6
Presidential Powers Index	0.0	4.3	0.0	22	6.7
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	1.0	1.6	1.2	8.3	0.91
Log Magnitude	0.0	1.4	1.7	3.4	1.0

Golder's (2006) Data Set					
	Minimum	Mean	Median	Maximum	Standard Deviation
Effective Number of Electoral Parties (ENP_nat)	1.2	4.1	3.5	14	1.9
Proximity	0.0	0.27	0.0	1.0	0.41
Effective Number of Presidential Candidates (ENPRES)	0.0	1.2	0.0	6.6	1.6
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	1.0	1.8	1.4	14	1.1
Log Magnitude	0.0	1.5	1.6	5.0	1.3

Table 1c. Descriptive statistics for the quantitative dependent and independent variables for our and Golder's (2006) data sets, all rounded to two significant digits.

Presidential Powers (Index)	
Mean Powers by Regime Type	
Parliamentary	4.1
Mixed	11
True Presidential	16
Descriptive Statistics	
Median	14
Mean	12
1 st Quartile	8
3 rd Quartile	16
Standard Deviation	5.7

Table 1d. For the legislative elections in presidential regimes that are used to estimate Models 5 and 6, mean presidential powers by political regime type and descriptive statistics for the index of presidential powers. All statistics are rounded to two significant digits. (Note that legislative elections in pure parliamentary regimes are also used to estimate these models. However, these cases are excluded when calculating these statistics because the goal is to show how the two operationalizations of the size of the presidential prize compare, i.e., how the index of presidential powers varies with the regime type *for presidential regimes*.)

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.12	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.042	0.027

Table 2a. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 1, Golder's (2006) data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.19	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.077	0.046

Table 2b. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 1, our data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.38	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.13	0.14

Table 3a. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 2, Golder's (2006) data set*.

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.23	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.13	0.13

Table 3b. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 2, our data set*.

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.51	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.15	0.071

Table 4a. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 3, Golder's (2006) data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.49	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.15	0.075

Table 4b. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 3, our data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.12	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.042	0.027

Table 5a. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 4, Golder's (2006) data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES
Proximity	0.39	
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.15	0.092

Table 5b. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 4, our data set.*

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES	Proximity * Presidential Powers	Proximity * ENPRES * Presidential Powers
Proximity	0.47			
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.17	0.20		
Proximity * Presidential Powers	-0.030	0.0074	0.0069	
Proximity * ENPRES * Presidential Powers	0.0098	-0.013	-0.0019	0.0014

Table 6. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 5*.

	Proximity	Proximity * ENPRES	Proximity * Presidential Powers	Proximity * ENPRES * Presidential Powers
Proximity	0.16			
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.057	0.076		
Proximity * Presidential Powers	-0.013	0.00054	0.0036	
Proximity * ENPRES * Presidential Powers	0.0042	-0.0050	-0.00077	0.00059

Table 7. Excerpts of the variance-covariance matrix for *Model 6*.

	Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:							
	All Cases		Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.19)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.7*** (0.22)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.22)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.7*** (0.19)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.3*** (0.44)	-1.6** (0.62)	-2.3*** (0.47)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.4** (0.61)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-4.3*** (0.53)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.16 (0.10)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.11)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.42*** (0.13)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.035 (0.16)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.88*** (0.21)	0.56 (0.37)	0.63** (0.25)	0.17 (0.27)	0.084 (0.25)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.4*** (0.26)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.55*** (0.15)	0.45*** (0.15)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.54*** (0.14)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.67*** (0.15)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.091)	0.34*** (0.095)	0.11 (0.11)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.47*** (0.12)	0.15 (0.098)	0.36*** (0.095)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.072)	-0.076 (0.089)	0.0051 (0.088)	-0.15* (0.083)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.14* (0.081)	-0.034 (0.068)	-0.098 (0.088)
N	603	590	395	419	413	450	507	479
R²	0.25	0.21	0.16	0.14	0.19	0.16	0.27	0.22
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4

Table 8. A version of the main paper's Table 1 with *Models 2-4 estimated using our data set and the alternative (more extreme) measure of regime type*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

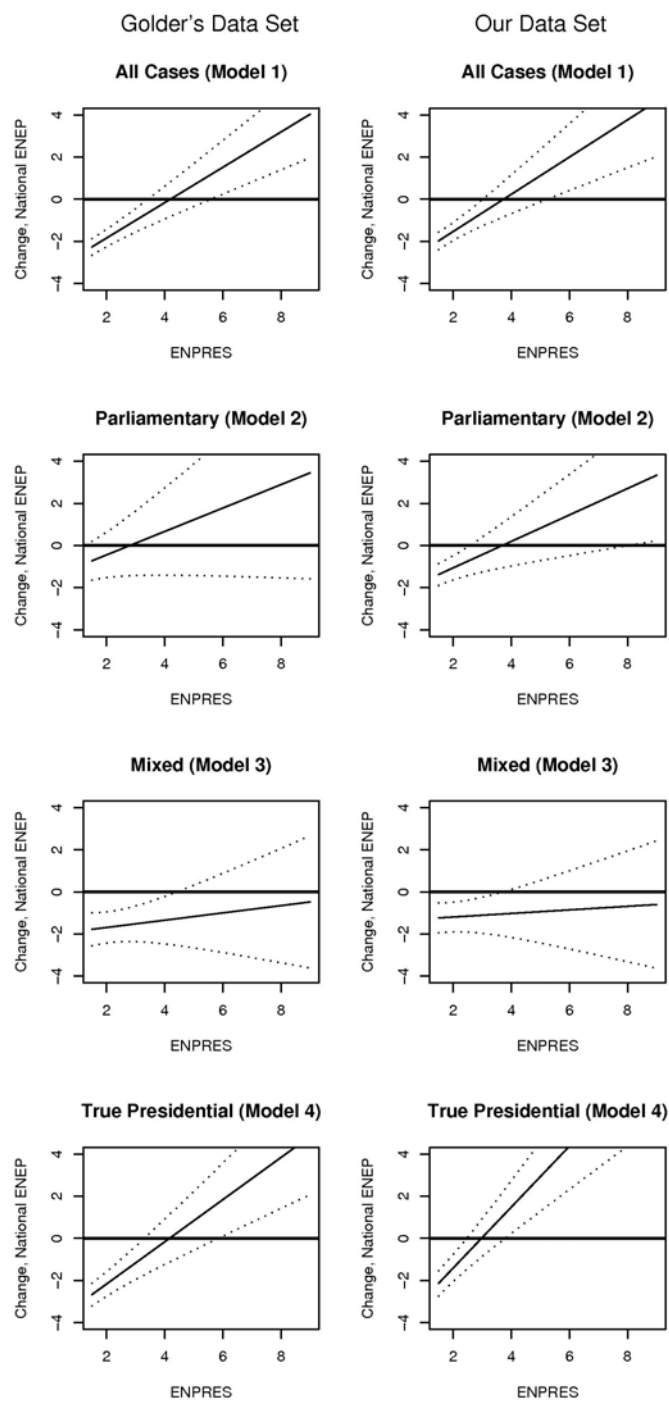


Figure 1. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 with the *alternative (more extreme) measure of regime type* used for Models 2-4 and our data set. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.88*** (0.056)
Proximity	-2.4*** (0.65)	-1.3*** (0.37)
ENPRES	0.23 (0.25)	-0.11 (0.16)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.37 (0.40)	0.28 (0.24)
Presidential Powers	-0.057 (0.062)	0.0099 (0.040)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.034 (0.085)	-0.066 (0.061)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.012 (0.027)	0.012 (0.014)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.029 (0.036)	0.026 (0.023)
Log Magnitude	0.55*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.33*** (0.097)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.080 (0.087)	
N	590	590
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 9. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 with *an alternate measure of the index of presidential powers (substituting Shugart and Carey’s and Hellman, Frye and Tucker’s codings for ours)* used in *Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

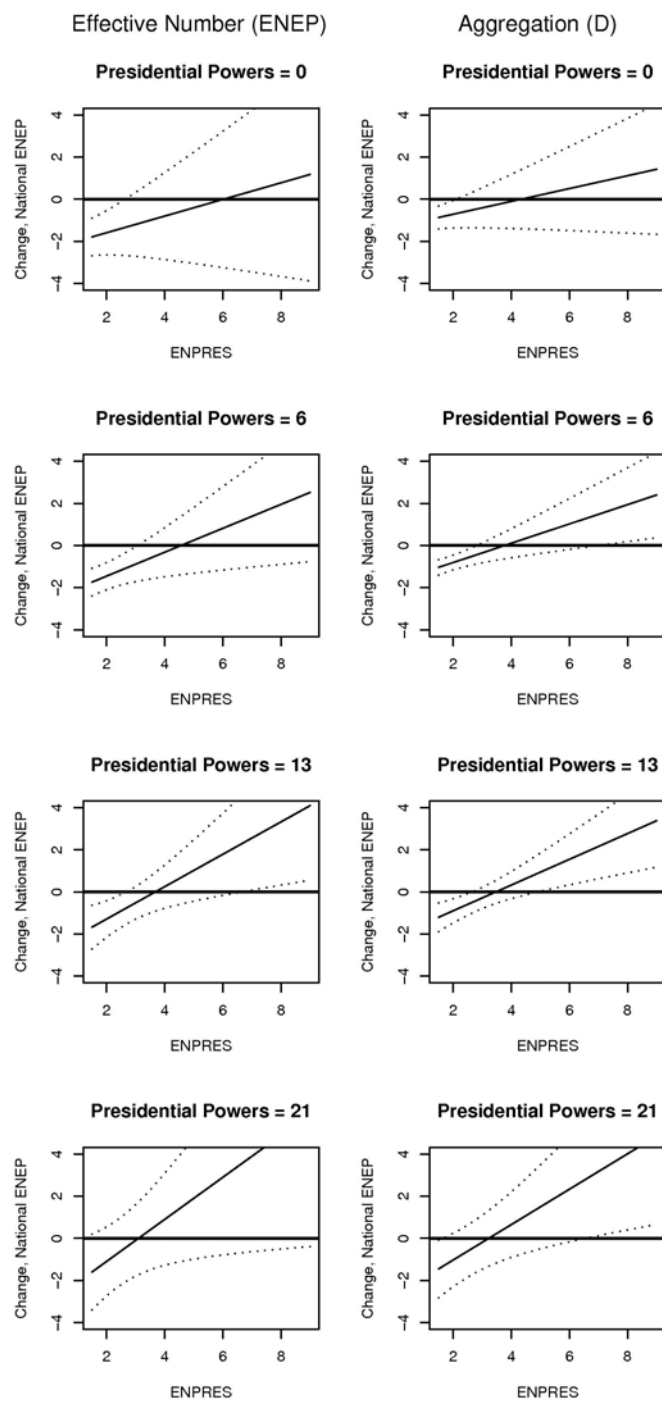


Figure 2. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *an alternate measure of the index of presidential powers (substituting Shugart and Carey's and Hellman, Frye and Tucker's codings for ours)* used in Models 5 and 6. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.20)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.4*** (0.70)	-1.2*** (0.41)
ENPRES	0.19 (0.30)	-0.16 (0.19)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.38 (0.49)	0.26 (0.31)
Presidential Powers	-0.066 (0.064)	0.0016 (0.041)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.013 (0.083)	-0.054 (0.059)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.018 (0.030)	0.018 (0.016)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.020 (0.040)	0.019 (0.026)
Log Magnitude	0.56*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.33*** (0.098)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.082 (0.087)	
N	590	590
R²	0.21	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 10. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with *an alternate measure of the index of presidential powers (substituting Metcalf's codings for ours)* used in *Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

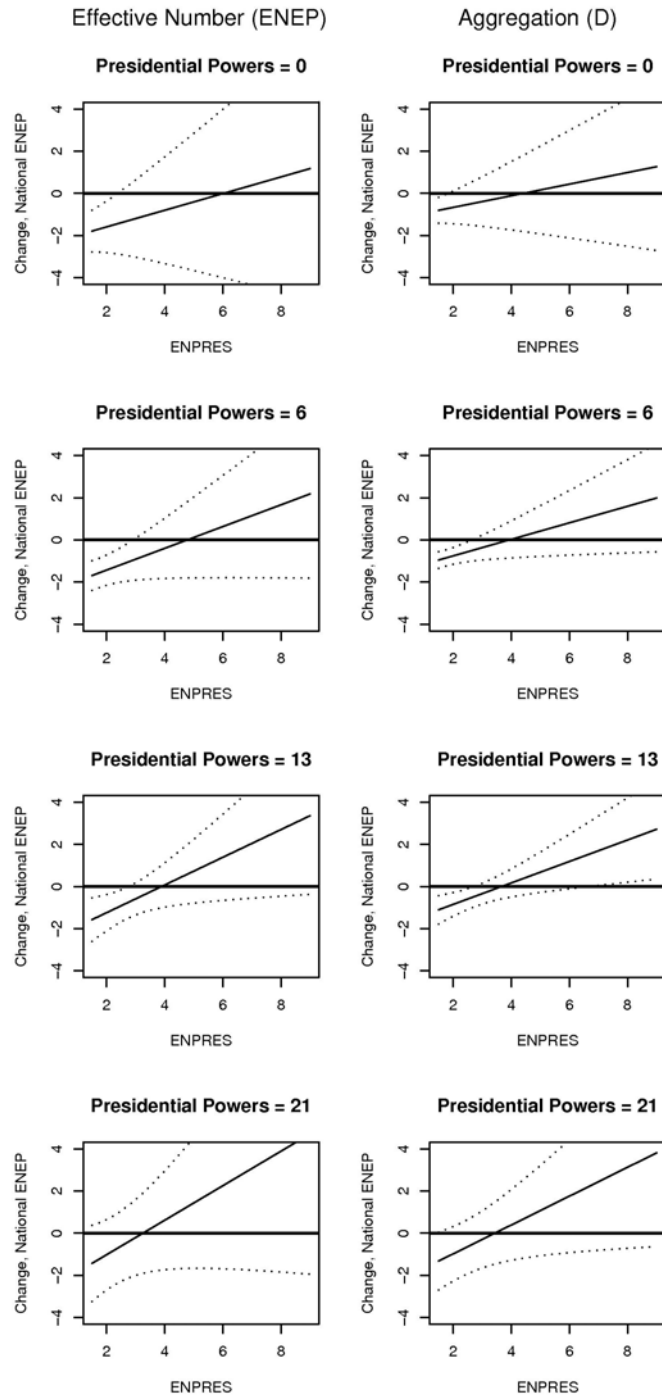


Figure 3. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *an alternate measure of the index of presidential powers (substituting Metcalf's codings for ours)* used in Models 5 and 6. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.056)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.68)	-1.2*** (0.41)
ENPRES	0.24 (0.29)	-0.14 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.33 (0.44)	0.30 (0.27)
Presidential Powers	-0.080 (0.078)	0.0021 (0.048)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.018 (0.097)	-0.058 (0.067)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.017 (0.033)	0.015 (0.017)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.023 (0.041)	0.021 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.55*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.34*** (0.097)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.078 (0.089)	
N	590	590
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 11. A version of the main paper's Table 2 for *Models 5 and 6* with the *four presidential regime elections without preceding presidential elections coded as non-presidential (i.e., with presidential powers set equal to zero)*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

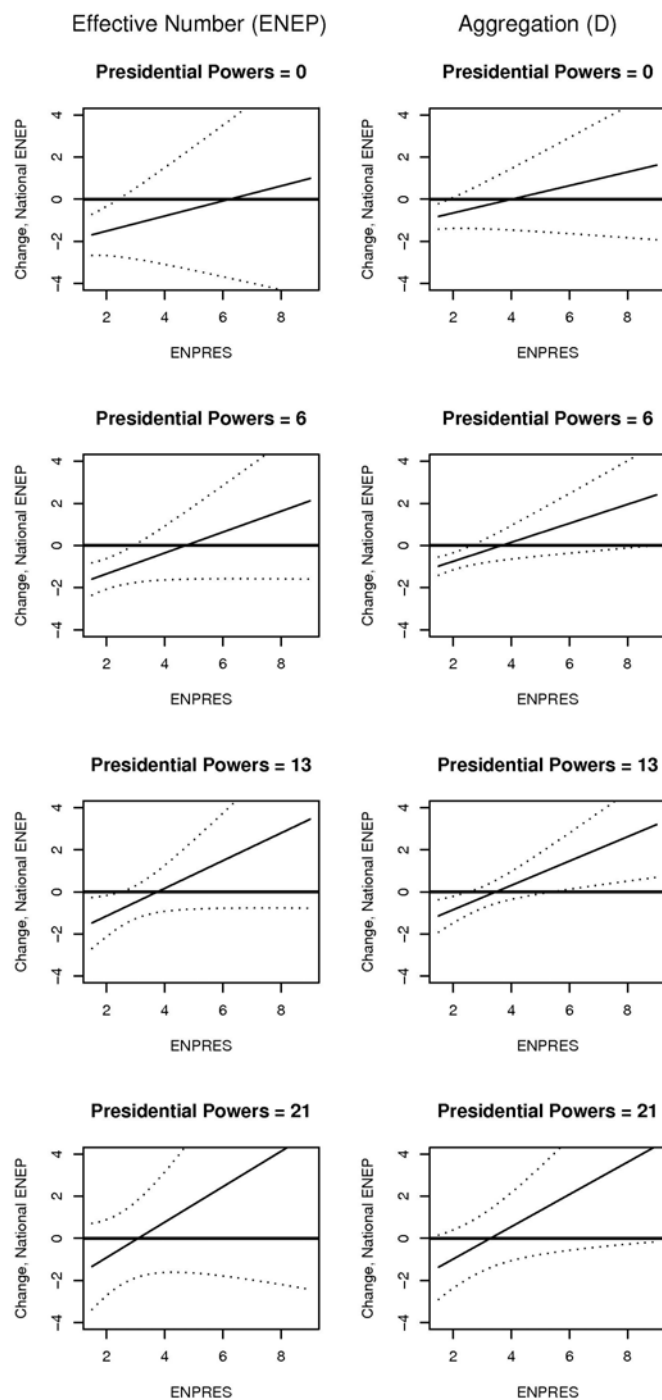


Figure 4. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *the four presidential regime elections without preceding presidential elections coded as non-presidential (i.e., with presidential powers set equal to zero)* when estimating *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.68)	-1.3*** (0.41)
ENPRES	0.22 (0.28)	-0.14 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.35 (0.44)	0.31 (0.28)
Presidential Powers	-0.079 (0.077)	0.0015 (0.047)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.020 (0.096)	-0.057 (0.067)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.018 (0.032)	0.016 (0.017)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.023 (0.041)	0.020 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.54*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.34*** (0.097)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.077 (0.089)	
N	590	590
R²	0.21	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 12. A version of the main paper's Table 2 for *Models 5 and 6 with the four presidential regime elections without preceding presidential elections coded using the subsequent presidential election*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

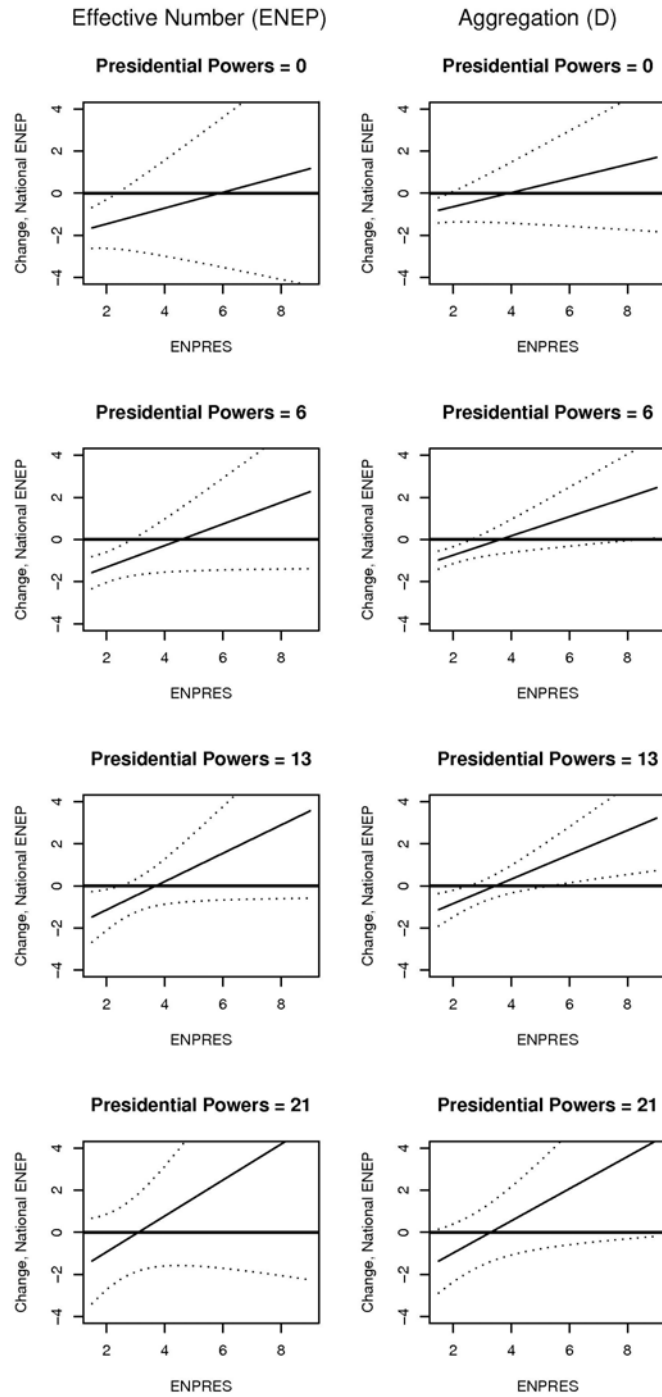


Figure 5. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *the four presidential regime elections without preceding presidential elections coded using the subsequent presidential election* when estimating Models 5 and 6. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:							
	All Cases		Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	2.7*** (0.21)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.4*** (0.23)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.6*** (0.23)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.4*** (0.20)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.5*** (0.47)	-1.6** (0.62)	-2.6*** (0.64)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.7** (0.75)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-4.2*** (0.59)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.16 (0.11)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.15)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.37*** (0.15)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.034 (0.17)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.93*** (0.23)	0.56 (0.37)	0.69* (0.39)	0.17 (0.27)	0.31 (0.29)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.4*** (0.29)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.68*** (0.16)	0.45*** (0.15)	0.82*** (0.15)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.68*** (0.15)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.89*** (0.16)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.091)	0.40*** (0.096)	0.11 (0.11)	0.58*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.58*** (0.12)	0.15 (0.098)	0.45*** (0.096)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.072)	-0.10 (0.092)	0.0051 (0.088)	-0.19** (0.085)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.18* (0.087)	-0.034 (0.068)	-0.15* (0.087)
N	603	462	395	298	413	338	507	356
R²	0.25	0.23	0.16	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.27	0.25
Root MSE	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5

Table 13. A version of the main paper's Table 1 for *Models 1-4* estimated using *our data set and only post-World War II (post-1945) elections*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.7*** (0.21)	0.81*** (0.070)
Proximity	-2.5*** (0.86)	-1.3** (0.50)
ENPRES	0.29 (0.30)	-0.12 (0.19)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.39 (0.48)	0.31 (0.29)
Presidential Powers	-0.073 (0.063)	0.0026 (0.041)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.0092 (0.090)	-0.051 (0.065)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.011 (0.029)	0.016 (0.017)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.024 (0.039)	0.019 (0.026)
Log Magnitude	0.67*** (0.16)	
ENETHNIC	0.40*** (0.098)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.11 (0.093)	
N	462	462
R²	0.24	0.12
Root MSE	1.6	1.1

Table 14. A version of the main paper's Table 2 for *Models 5-6* estimated using *only post-World War II (post-1945) elections*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

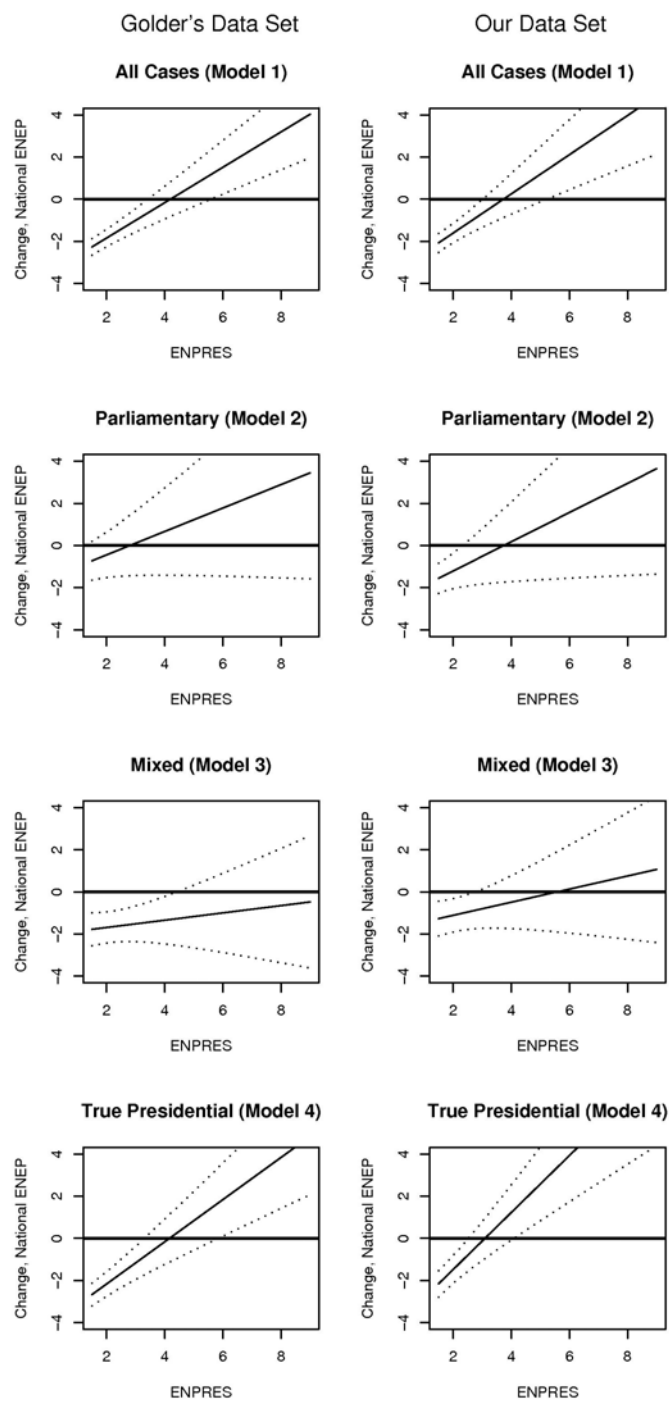


Figure 6. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 with *only post-World War II (post-1945) elections* used to estimate *Models 1-4 with our data set*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

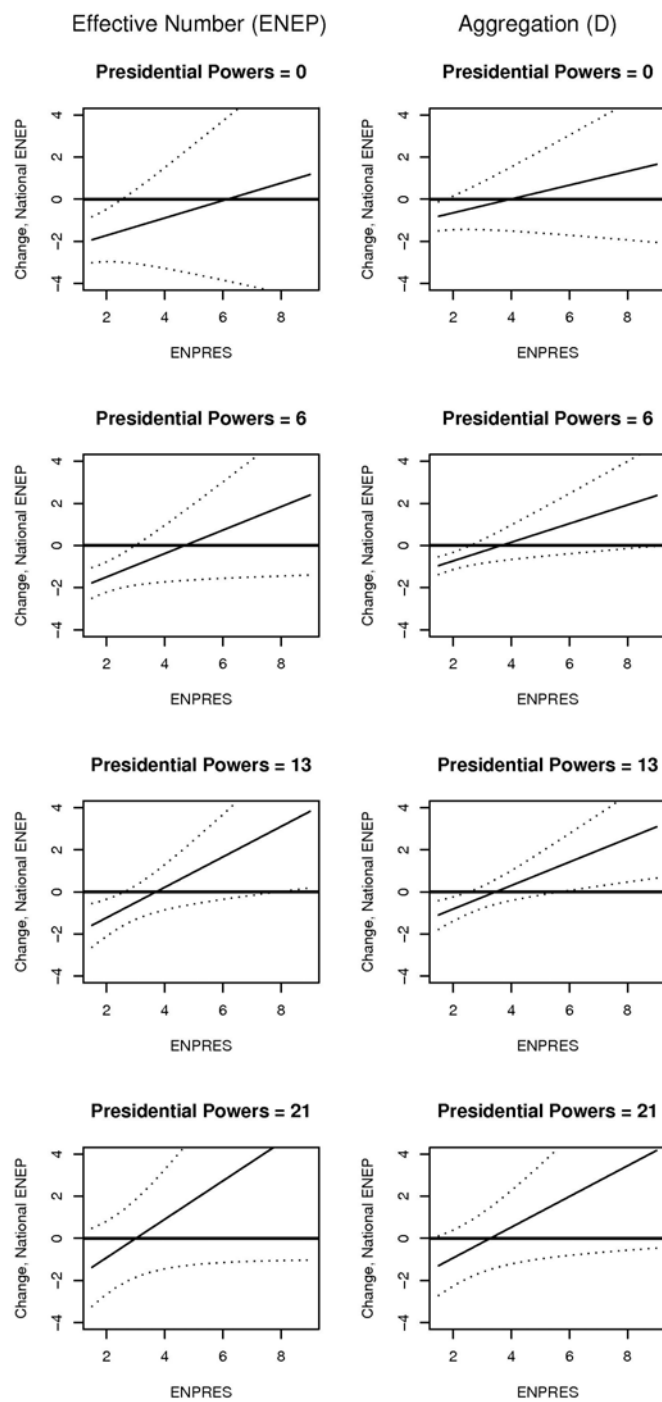


Figure 7. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *only post-World War II (post-1945) elections* used to estimate *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	All Cases		Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:					
			Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.22)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.9*** (0.22)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.22)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.8*** (0.23)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.2*** (0.43)	-1.6** (0.62)	-1.9*** (0.43)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.6** (0.66)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-3.9*** (0.63)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.20** (0.10)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.092 (0.13)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.42*** (0.12)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.10 (0.17)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.78*** (0.21)	0.56 (0.37)	0.45 (0.32)	0.17 (0.27)	0.21 (0.26)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.3*** (0.30)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.029 (0.16)	0.45*** (0.15)	-0.081 (0.17)	0.40*** (0.14)	-0.12 (0.17)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.073 (0.16)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.091)	0.34*** (0.12)	0.11 (0.11)	0.39*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.39*** (0.12)	0.15 (0.098)	0.37*** (0.13)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.072)	0.29 (0.10)	0.0051 (0.088)	0.35*** (0.12)	0.017 (0.087)	0.34*** (0.11)	-0.034 (0.068)	0.30*** (0.11)
N	603	576	395	411	413	457	507	458
R²	0.25	0.25	0.16	0.22	0.19	0.23	0.27	0.26
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.4

Table 15. A version of the main paper's Table 1 for *Models 1-4* estimated using *our data set* and *non-African elections*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.22)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-1.9*** (0.67)	-1.1** (0.45)
ENPRES	0.38 (0.28)	-0.13 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.16 (0.44)	0.22 (0.29)
Presidential Powers	-0.066 (0.059)	0.0033 (0.038)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.051 (0.087)	-0.084 (0.071)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0036 (0.027)	0.014 (0.015)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.037 (0.039)	0.033 (0.029)
Log Magnitude	0.0046 (0.16)	
ENETHNIC	0.35*** (0.12)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.30*** (0.10)	
N	576	576
R²	0.26	0.10
Root MSE	1.5	1.1

Table 16. A version of the main paper's Table 2 for *Models 5-6* estimated using *non-African elections*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

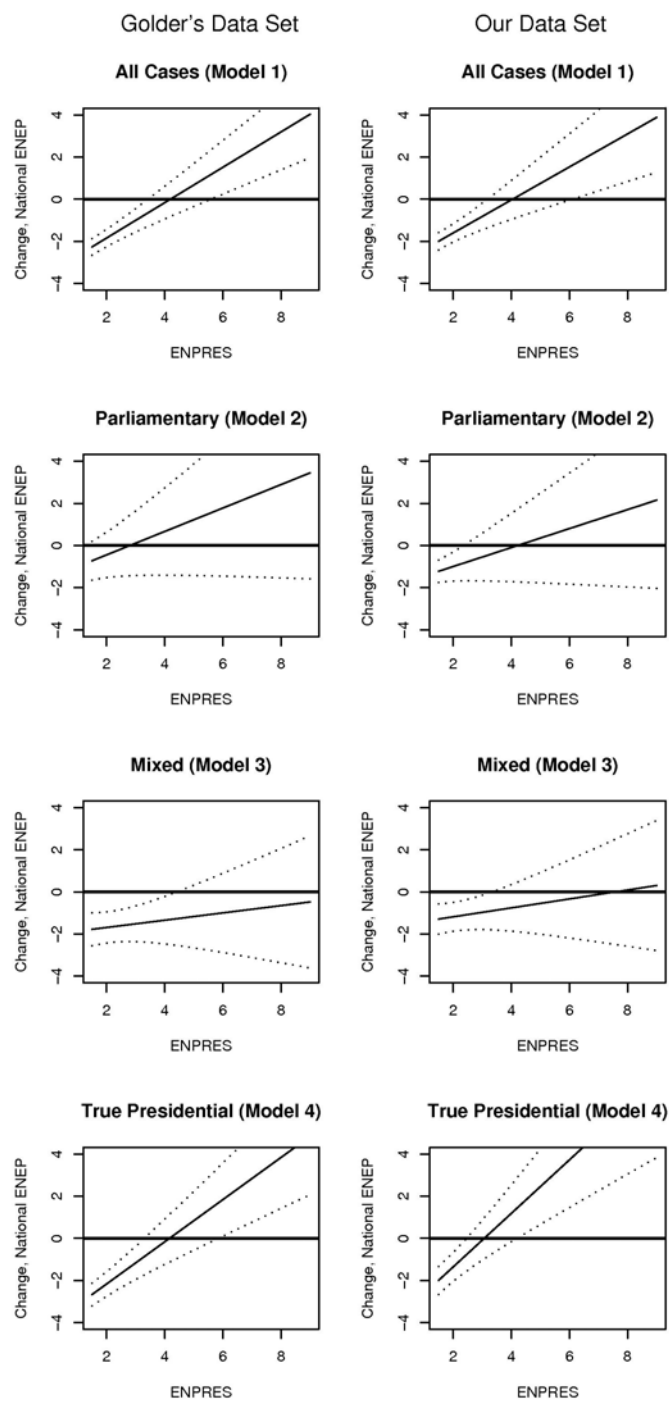


Figure 8. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 with *only non-African elections* used to estimate *Models 1-4* with *our data set*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

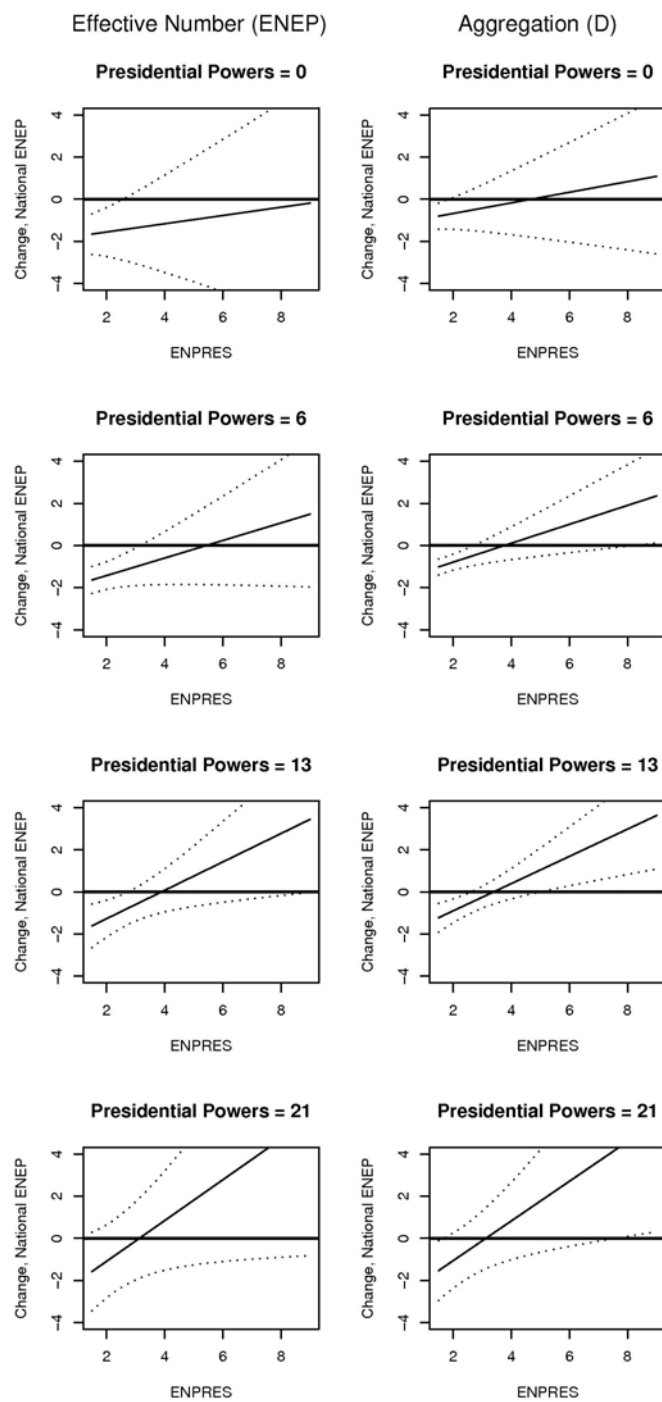


Figure 9. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *only non-African elections* used to estimate *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:							
	All Cases		Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.19)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.7*** (0.22)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.8*** (0.21)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.7*** (0.19)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.2*** (0.43)	-1.6** (0.62)	-2.1*** (0.47)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.7** (0.70)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-3.9*** (0.58)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.16 (0.10)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.14)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.35*** (0.13)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.043 (0.17)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.84*** (0.21)	0.56 (0.37)	0.50 (0.35)	0.17 (0.27)	0.31 (0.27)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.2*** (0.28)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.56*** (0.14)	0.45*** (0.15)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.14)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.69*** (0.15)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.091)	0.33*** (0.095)	0.11 (0.11)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.50*** (0.11)	0.15 (0.098)	0.36*** (0.095)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.072)	-0.082 (0.087)	0.0051 (0.088)	-0.15* (0.083)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.15* (0.084)	-0.034 (0.068)	-0.11 (0.085)
N	603	586	395	415	413	462	507	458
R²	0.25	0.20	0.16	0.14	0.19	0.17	0.27	0.19
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4

Table 17. A version of the main paper's Table 1 for *Models 1-4* estimated using *our data set* and *non-single country elections*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.3*** (0.66)	-1.2*** (0.42)
ENPRES	0.25 (0.28)	-0.13 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.35 (0.43)	0.30 (0.28)
Presidential Powers	-0.066 (0.060)	0.0016 (0.038)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.020 (0.082)	-0.057 (0.061)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.012 (0.029)	0.015 (0.016)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.024 (0.037)	0.021 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.56*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.33*** (0.097)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.085 (0.087)	
N	586	586
R²	0.21	0.10
Root MSE	1.5	1.1

Table 18. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 for *Models 5-6* estimated using *non-single country elections*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

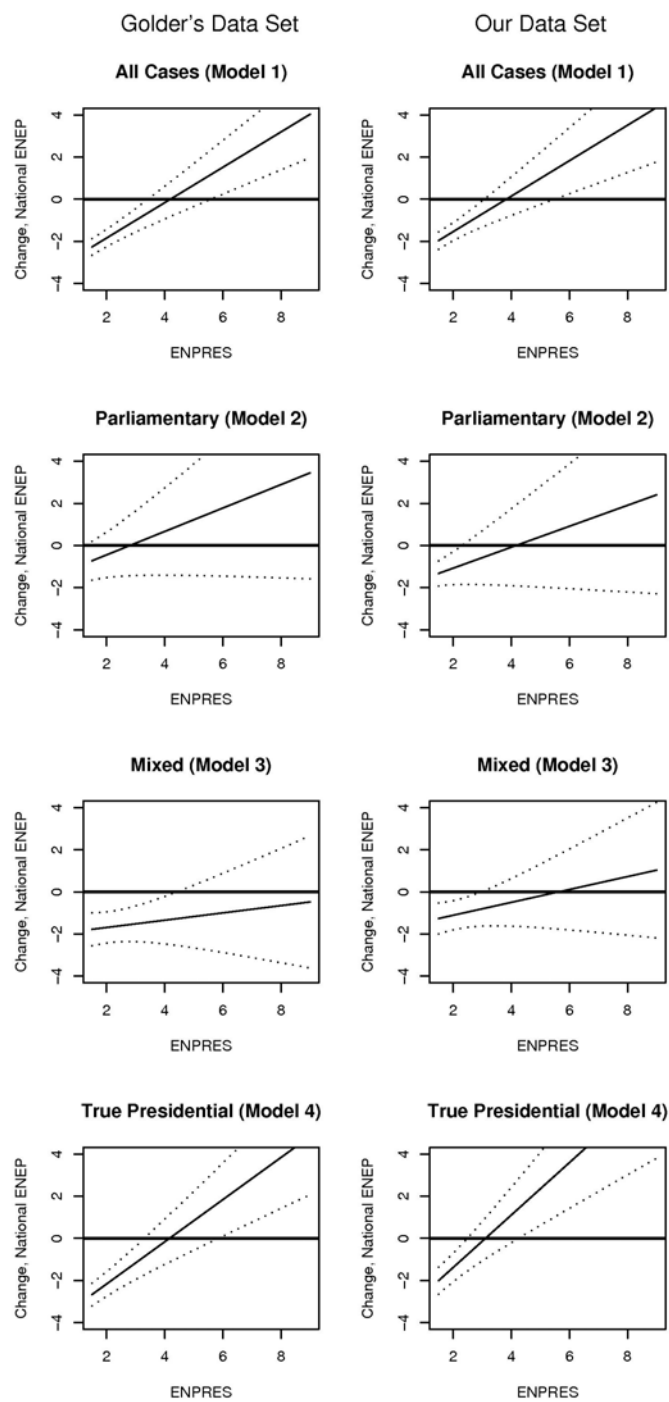


Figure 10. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 with *only non-single country elections* used to estimate *Models 1-4* with *our data set*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

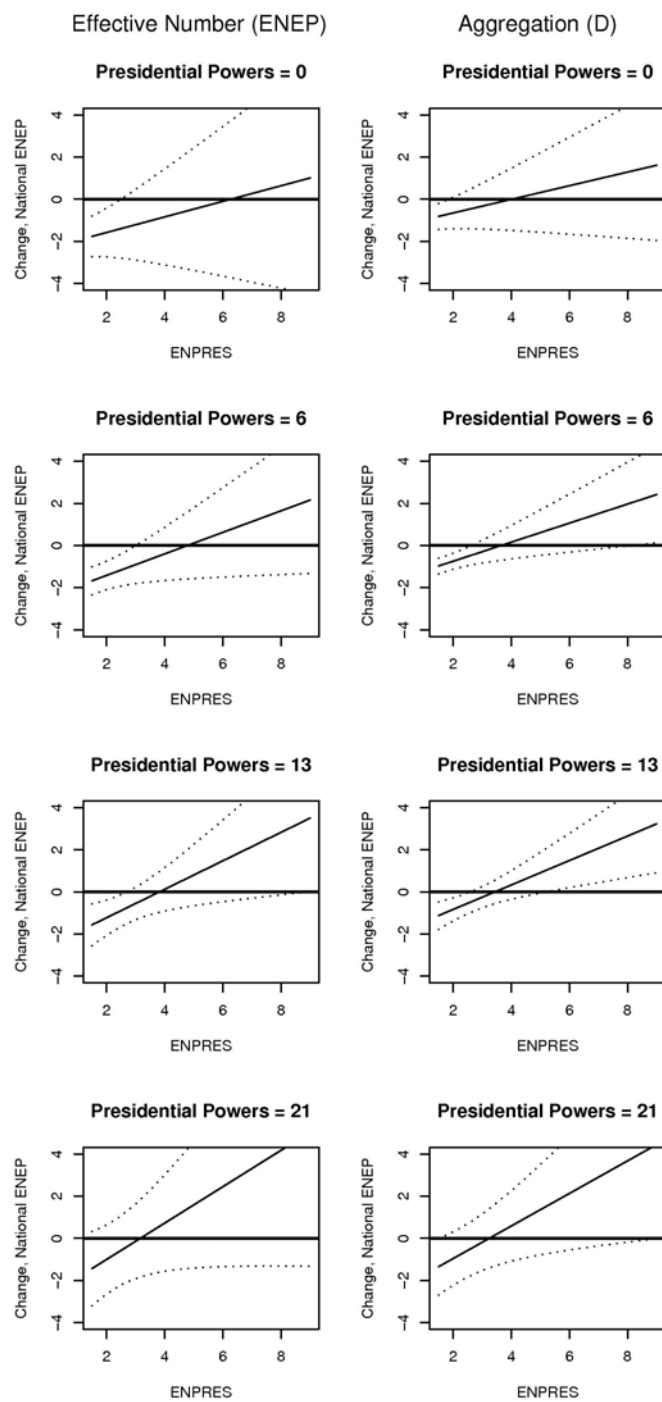


Figure 11. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *only non-single country elections* used to estimate *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	3.0*** (0.21)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.3*** (0.69)	-1.4*** (0.43)
ENPRES	0.19 (0.30)	-0.13 (0.21)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.35 (0.46)	0.28 (0.30)
Presidential Powers	-0.058 (0.058)	-0.0036 (0.040)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.035 (0.089)	-0.041 (0.067)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0083 (0.027)	0.015 (0.017)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.036 (0.038)	0.023 (0.026)
Log Magnitude	0.51*** (0.16)	
ENETHNIC	0.32*** (0.10)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.059 (0.098)	
N	584	584
R²	0.21	0.11
Root MSE	1.4	1.0

Table 19. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 for *Models 5-6 with elections for which we extrapolated our coding of the index of presidential powers eliminated*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

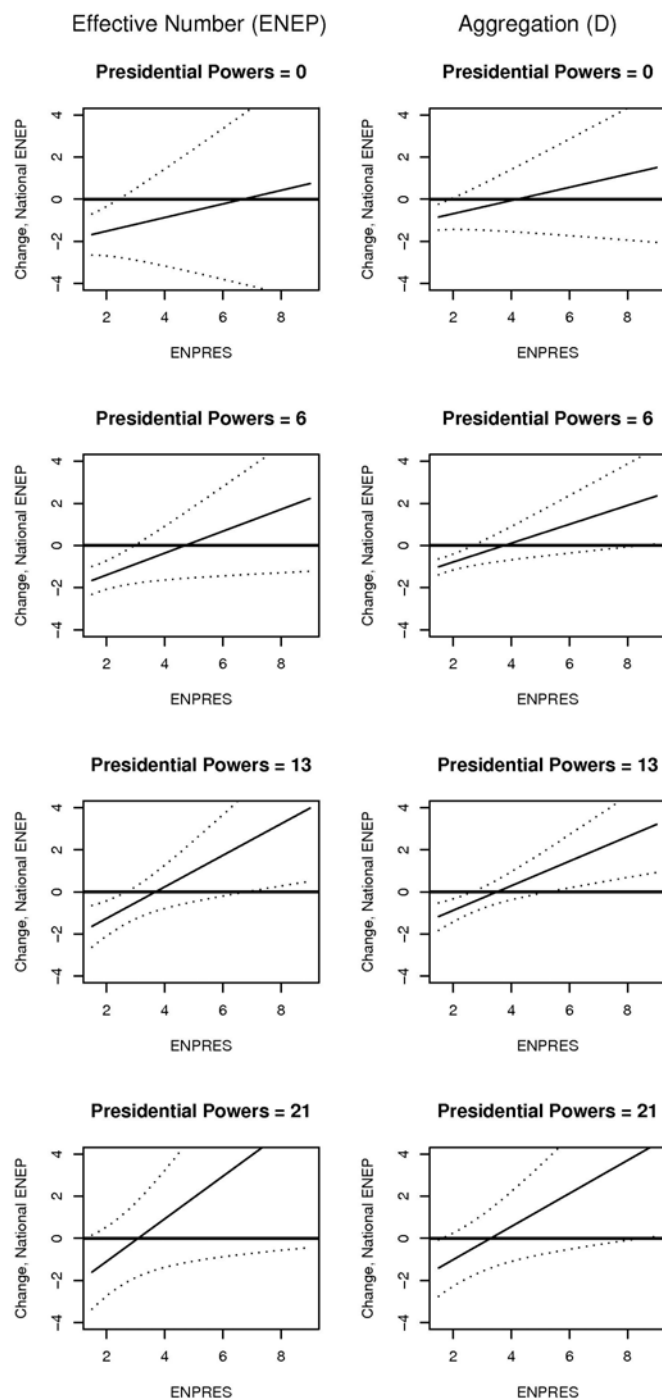


Figure 12. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *elections for which we extrapolated our coding of the index of presidential powers eliminated when estimating Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.1*** (0.65)	-1.3*** (0.41)
ENPRES	0.22 (0.28)	-0.13 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.29 (0.43)	0.29 (0.28)
Presidential Powers	-0.069 (0.059)	-0.00015 (0.038)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.046 (0.083)	-0.061 (0.060)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.014 (0.028)	0.016 (0.016)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.033 (0.038)	0.023 (0.024)
Log Magnitude	0.55*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.34*** (0.096)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.079 (0.088)	
N	559	559
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 20. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 for *Models 5-6* estimated using *only elections for which we ourselves coded the index of presidential powers*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

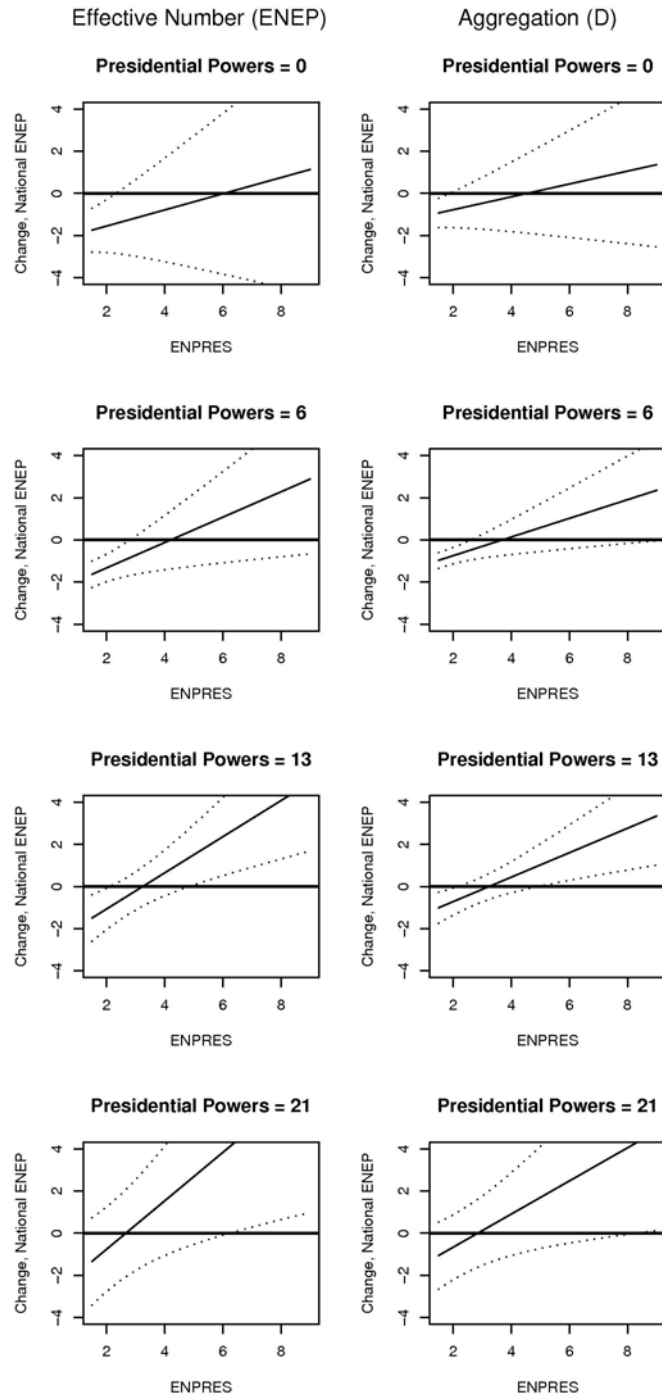


Figure 13. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *only elections for which we coded the index of presidential powers* used to estimate *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.056)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.68)	-1.3*** (0.40)
ENPRES	0.44* (0.24)	0.018 (0.13)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.12 (0.41)	0.13 (0.23)
Presidential Powers	-0.10** (0.042)	-0.030 (0.022)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	0.0031 (0.070)	-0.025 (0.049)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0016 (0.024)	0.0076 (0.012)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.041 (0.034)	0.031 (0.022)
Log Magnitude	0.54*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.34*** (0.098)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.076 (0.090)	
N	586	586
R²	0.23	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 21. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with *elections for post-1993 Argentina eliminated for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

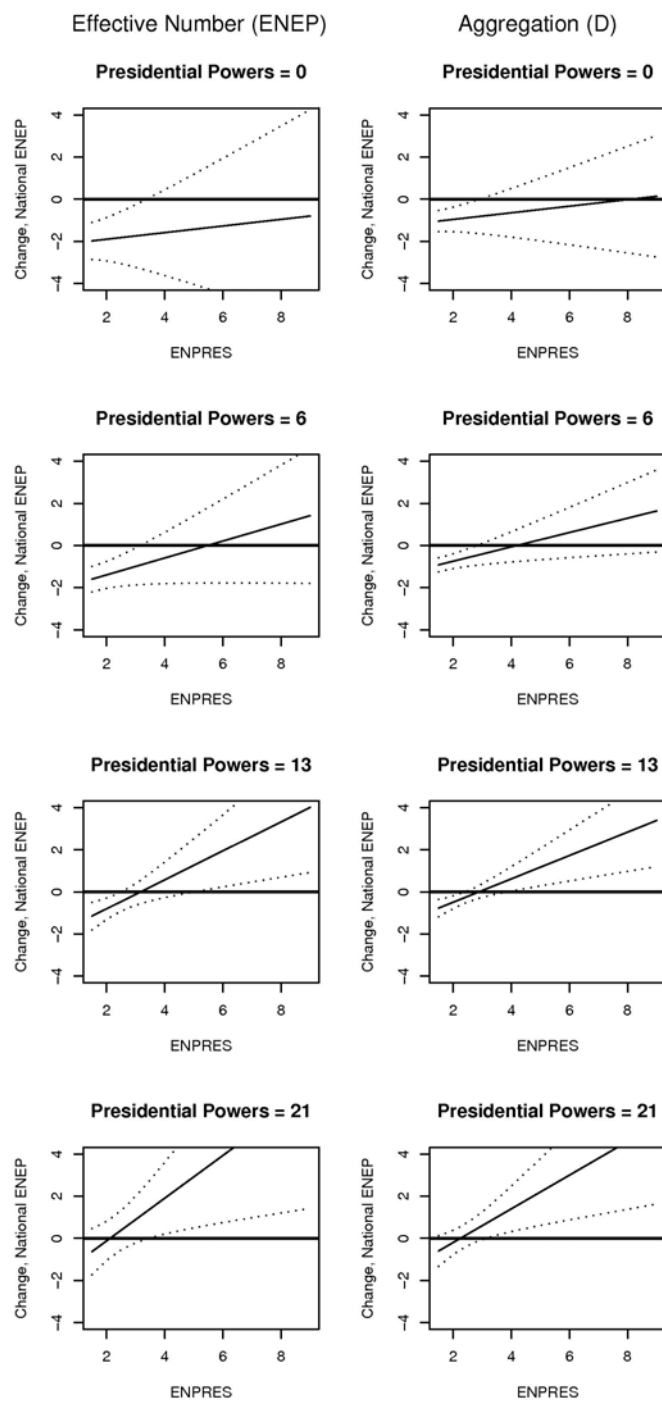


Figure 14. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *post-1993 Argentinian elections eliminated* in estimating Models 5 and 6. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.70)	-1.3*** (0.42)
ENPRES	0.26 (0.30)	-0.11 (0.20)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.43 (0.46)	0.33 (0.29)
Presidential Powers	-0.046 (0.060)	0.0069 (0.039)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.054 (0.080)	-0.063 (0.061)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0048 (0.028)	0.011 (0.015)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.025 (0.035)	0.021 (0.024)
Log Magnitude	0.55*** (0.14)	
ENETHNIC	0.36*** (0.093)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.098 (0.082)	
N	579	579
R²	0.21	0.094
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 22. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 with *Brazilian elections eliminated for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

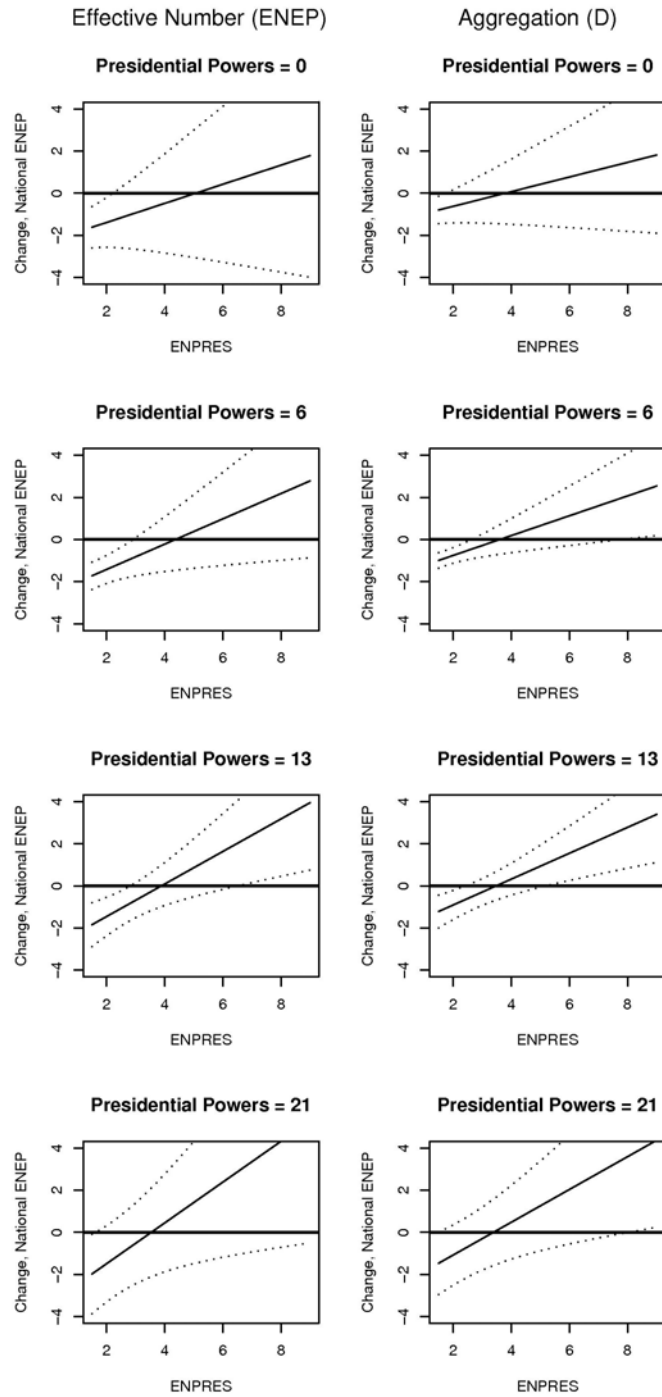


Figure 15. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *Brazilian elections eliminated* in estimating *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.0*** (0.67)	-1.1*** (0.39)
ENPRES	0.23 (0.29)	-0.16 (0.19)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.33 (0.45)	0.31 (0.28)
Presidential Powers	-0.064 (0.061)	0.0057 (0.040)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.058 (0.082)	-0.080 (0.058)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.013 (0.028)	0.017 (0.016)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.031 (0.038)	0.022 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.56*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.35*** (0.095)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.081 (0.089)	
N	586	586
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 23. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with *Chilean elections eliminated for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

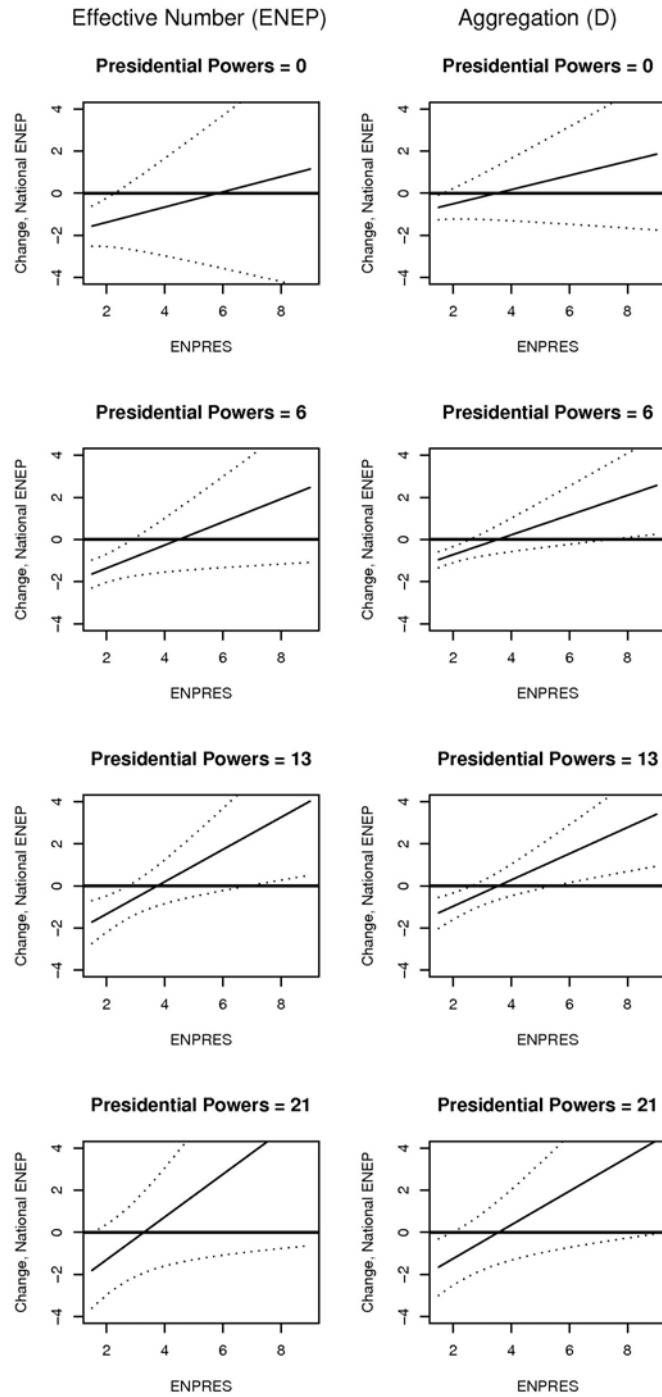


Figure 16. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *Chilean elections eliminated* in estimating *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-2.5*** (0.68)	-1.3*** (0.42)
ENPRES	0.28 (0.28)	-0.12 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.32 (0.44)	0.29 (0.28)
Presidential Powers	-0.065 (0.059)	0.00080 (0.038)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.0054 (0.085)	-0.047 (0.062)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0094 (0.027)	0.015 (0.016)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.028 (0.037)	0.021 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.54*** (0.16)	
ENETHNIC	0.33*** (0.10)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.066 (0.096)	
N	585	585
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 24. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with elections for *pre-1991 Colombia eliminated for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

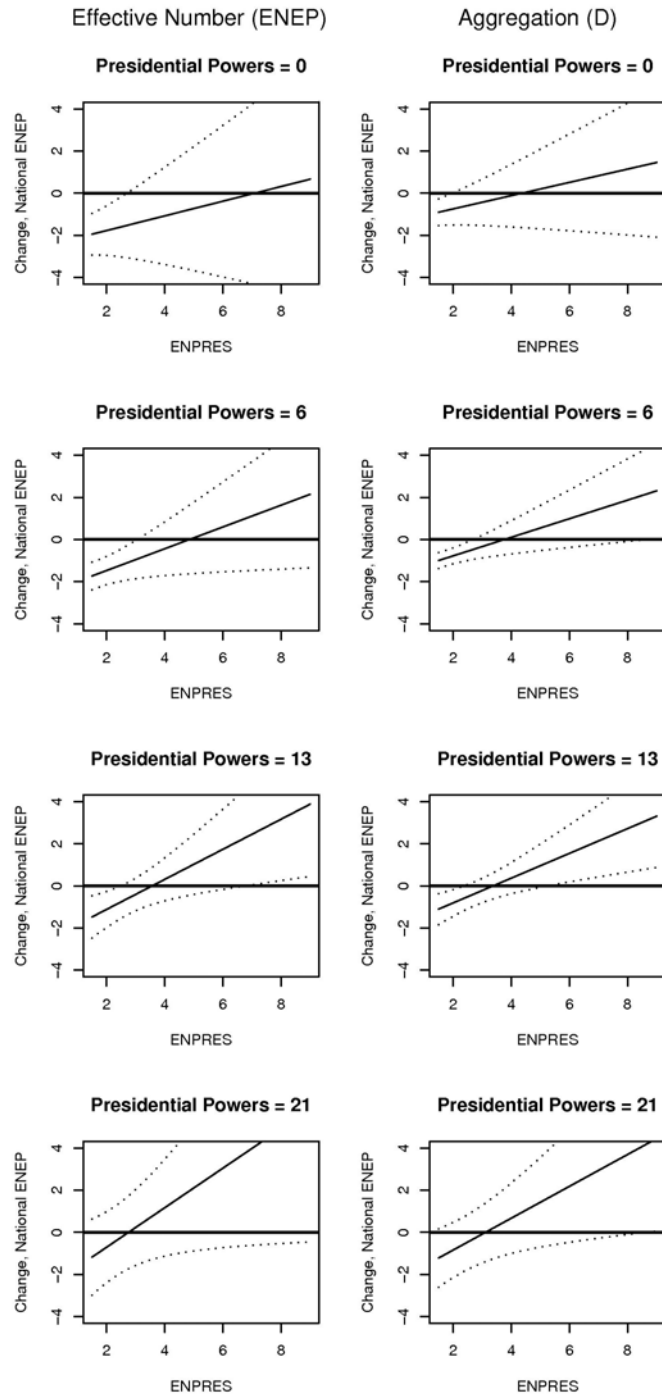


Figure 17. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *pre-1991 Colombian elections eliminated* in estimating *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.89*** (0.057)
Proximity	-1.8*** (0.66)	-0.98** (0.41)
ENPRES	0.13 (0.30)	-0.20 (0.21)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.28 (0.46)	0.25 (0.30)
Presidential Powers	-0.12** (0.053)	-0.026 (0.030)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.030 (0.082)	-0.064 (0.063)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.042 (0.031)	0.031 (0.020)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.019 (0.045)	0.020 (0.033)
Log Magnitude	0.53*** (0.14)	
ENETHNIC	0.32*** (0.097)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.077 (0.086)	
N	587	587
R²	0.22	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 25. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with *elections for post-1986 Philippines eliminated for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

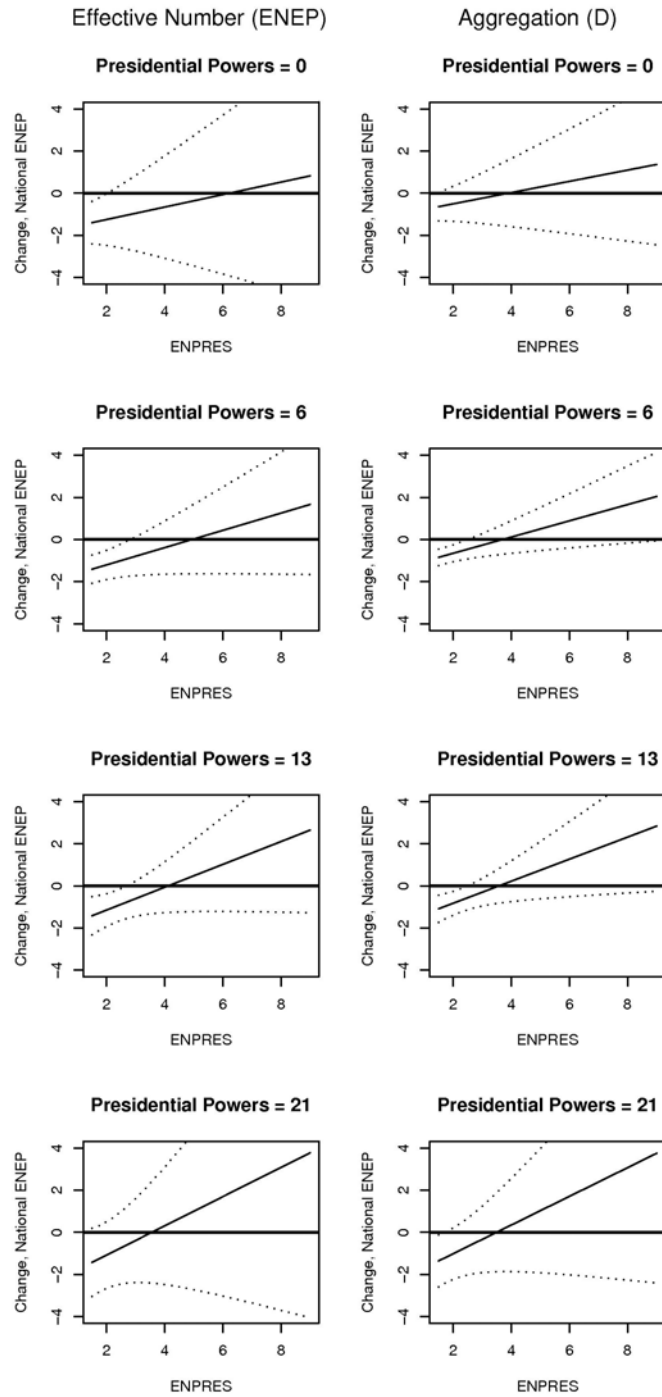


Figure 18. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *post-1986 elections in the Philippines eliminated in estimating Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:							
	All Cases		Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.33)	2.9*** (0.34)	3.2*** (0.36)	2.7*** (0.36)	3.3*** (0.36)	2.8*** (0.36)	3.0*** (0.34)	2.7*** (0.35)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.54)	-3.3*** (0.54)	-1.6* (0.84)	-2.1*** (0.27)	-2.0* (1.1)	-1.7* (0.90)	-4.2*** (0.59)	-4.2*** (0.84)
ENPRES	0.33* (0.17)	0.16 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.090)	-0.16 (0.13)	0.46** (0.20)	0.35* (0.18)	0.41 (0.29)	-0.048 (0.25)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.23)	0.88*** (0.28)	0.56 (0.43)	0.50*** (0.17)	0.17 (0.34)	0.31 (0.35)	1.0*** (0.32)	1.4*** (0.43)
Log Magnitude	0.44** (0.19)	0.55** (0.23)	0.45* (0.22)	0.63*** (0.23)	0.40* (0.22)	0.55** (0.22)	0.56*** (0.20)	0.69*** (0.24)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.12)	0.34** (0.14)	0.11 (0.15)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.14)	0.50*** (0.12)	0.15 (0.13)	0.37** (0.14)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.10)	-0.076 (0.13)	0.0051 (0.13)	-0.15* (0.11)	0.017 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.034 (0.099)	-0.10 (0.13)
N	603	590	395	415	413	463	507	470
R²	0.25	0.21	0.16	0.14	0.19	0.17	0.27	0.20
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4

Table 26. A version of the main paper's Table 1 with *robust country-clustered standard errors for Models 1-4*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.34)	0.89*** (0.15)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.79)	-1.2*** (0.45)
ENPRES	0.25 (0.33)	-0.13 (0.21)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.34 (0.47)	0.30 (0.29)
Presidential Powers	-0.063 (0.091)	0.0016 (0.052)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.035 (0.11)	-0.057 (0.071)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.011 (0.034)	0.016 (0.018)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.029 (0.036)	0.021 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	0.55** (0.23)	
ENETHNIC	0.34** (0.14)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.080 (0.13)	
N	590	590
R²	0.21	0.11
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 27. A version of the main paper's Table 2 with *robust country-clustered standard errors for Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

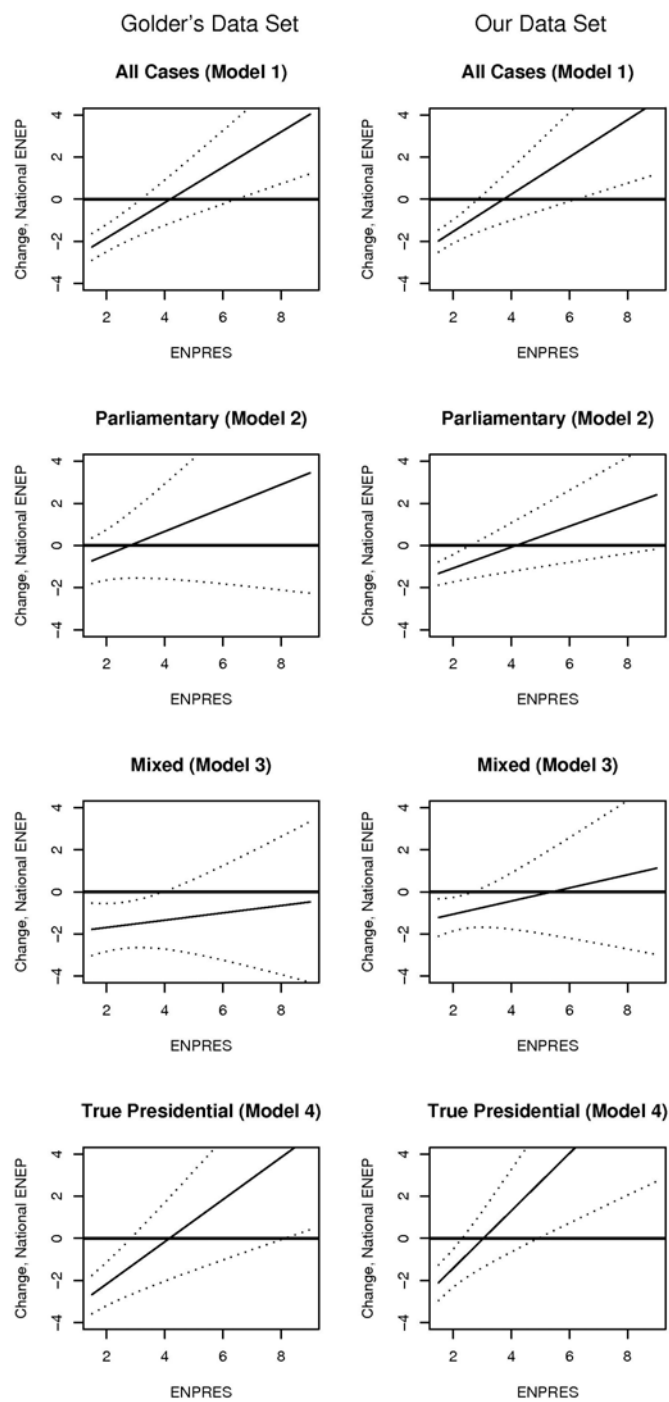


Figure 19. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 with *country clustered robust standard errors* for *Models 1-4*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

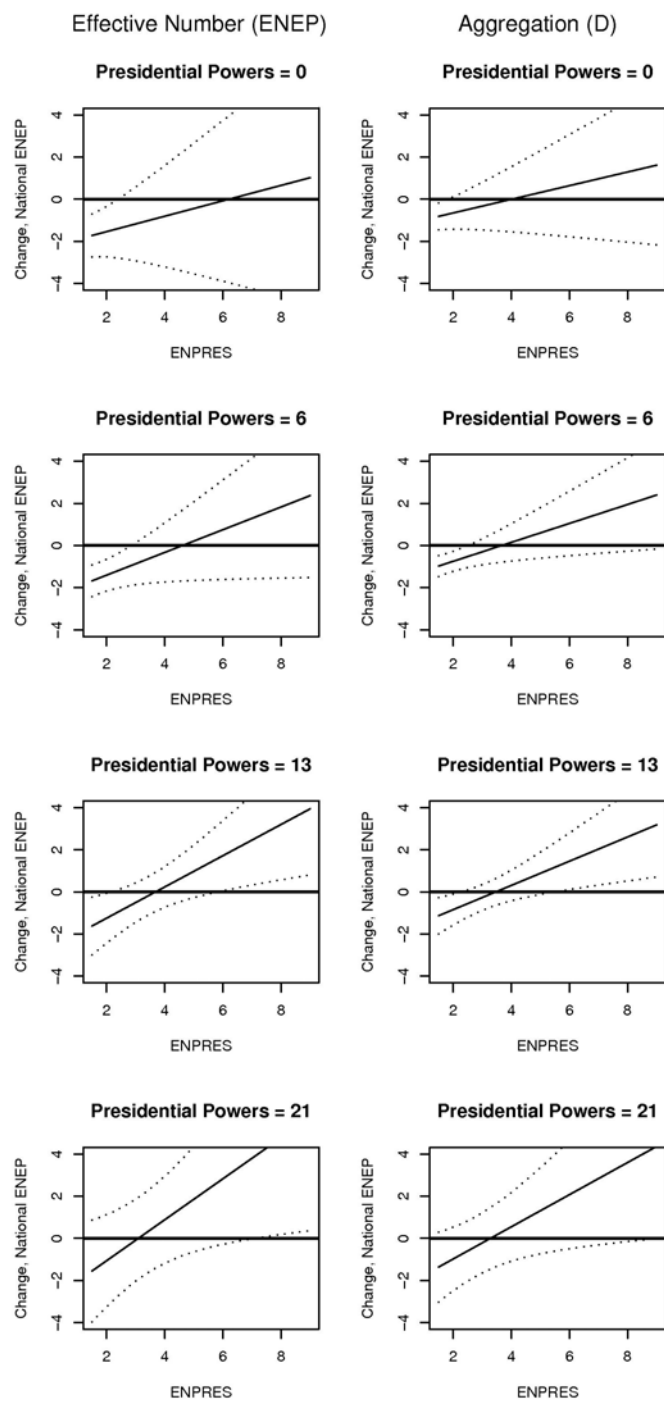


Figure 20. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *country clustered robust standard errors* for *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	All Cases		Subset of Cases: All Non-Presidential Regime Elections, and of Presidential Regime Elections:					
			Elections in Parliamentary Regimes Only		Elections in Mixed Regimes Only		Elections in True Presidential Regimes Only	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set	Golder's Data Set	Our Data Set
Intercept	3.1*** (0.20)	3.1*** (0.22)	3.2*** (0.22)	2.8*** (0.26)	3.3*** (0.20)	2.9*** (0.25)	3.0*** (0.21)	2.9*** (0.23)
Proximity	-3.5*** (0.34)	-3.4*** (0.41)	-1.6** (0.62)	-2.1*** (0.45)	-2.0*** (0.71)	-1.8** (0.69)	-4.2*** (0.44)	-4.2*** (0.62)
ENPRES	0.33*** (0.097)	0.16 (0.099)	-0.20 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.14)	0.46*** (0.13)	0.35*** (0.13)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.060 (0.17)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.84*** (0.16)	0.88*** (0.21)	0.56 (0.37)	0.51 (0.35)	0.17 (0.27)	0.34 (0.27)	1.0*** (0.22)	1.4*** (0.30)
Log Magnitude	0.44*** (0.12)	0.57*** (0.14)	0.45*** (0.15)	0.64*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.14)	0.56*** (0.12)	0.69*** (0.15)
ENETHNIC	0.13 (0.091)	0.31*** (0.094)	0.11 (0.11)	0.47*** (0.12)	0.084 (0.094)	0.48*** (0.12)	0.15 (0.098)	0.35*** (0.095)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.0022 (0.072)	-0.083 (0.086)	0.0051 (0.088)	-0.15* (0.083)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.15* (0.084)	-0.034 (0.068)	-0.10 (0.086)
Advanced Industrial		-0.39*** (0.13)		-0.18 (0.15)		-0.20 (0.14)		-0.24* (0.14)
N	603	590	395	415	413	463	507	470
R²	0.25	0.22	0.16	0.14	0.19	0.18	0.27	0.20
Root MSE	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.4

Table 28. A version of the main paper's Table 1 after *controlling for advanced industrial status* in the versions of *Models 1-4* estimated using *our data set*. The dependent variable is the effective number of electoral parties. The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. The model is Golder's (2006) replication model (Equation 3) estimated using *all* elections (Model 1) as well as different sub-sets of elections in presidential regimes (those in parliamentary, mixed, and true presidential regimes, respectively) along with all non-presidential regime elections (Models 2-4). Two data sets are used: Golder's (his cases and his data) and our own (our cases and our data). Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	3.2*** (0.22)	1.1*** (0.080)
Proximity	-2.2*** (0.65)	-1.2*** (0.39)
ENPRES	0.32 (0.28)	-0.063 (0.18)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.29 (0.43)	0.25 (0.26)
Presidential Powers	-0.060 (0.057)	0.0044 (0.037)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.047 (0.080)	-0.070 (0.058)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0040 (0.027)	0.0086 (0.015)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.034 (0.036)	0.026 (0.023)
Log Magnitude	0.56*** (0.15)	
ENETHNIC	0.32*** (0.095)	
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	-0.084 (0.087)	
Advanced Industrial	-0.41*** (0.14)	
N	590	590
R²	0.23	0.13
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 29. A version of the main paper's Table 2 after *controlling for advanced industrial status in Models 5-6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

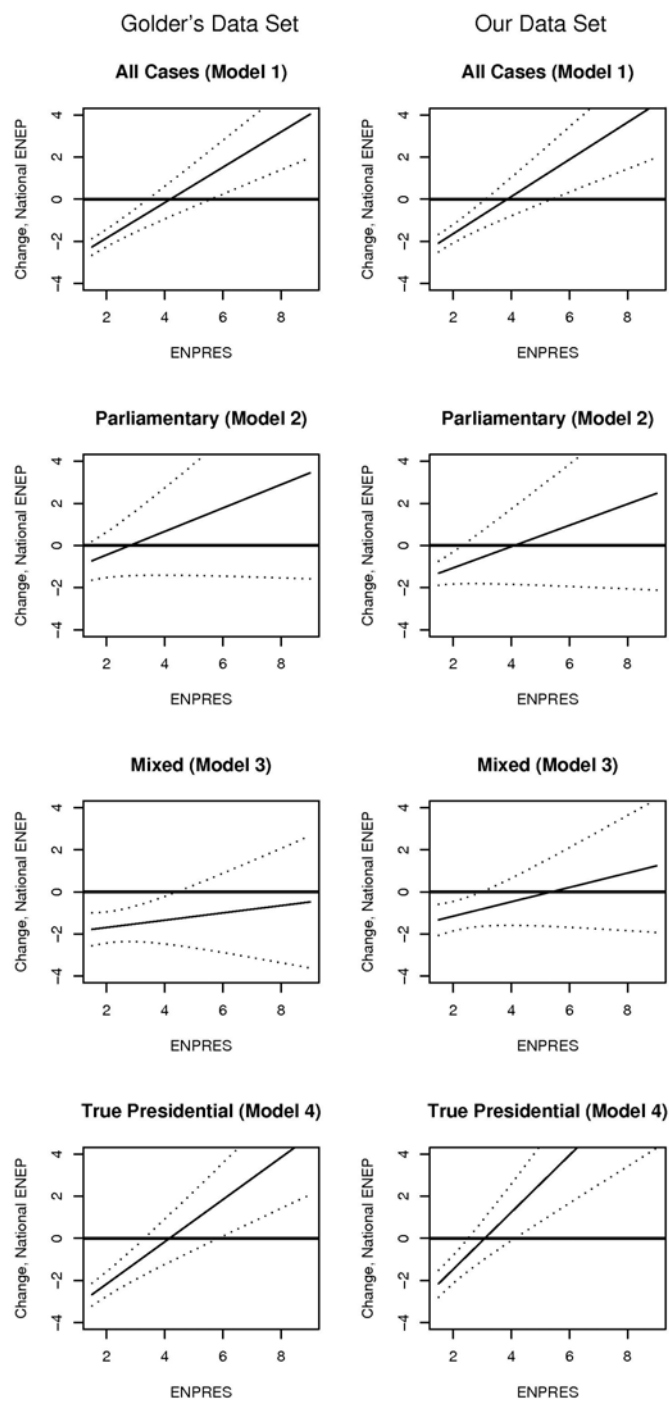


Figure 21. A version of the main paper's Figure 1 *controlling for advanced industrial status* in the versions of *Models 1-4* estimated using *our data set*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

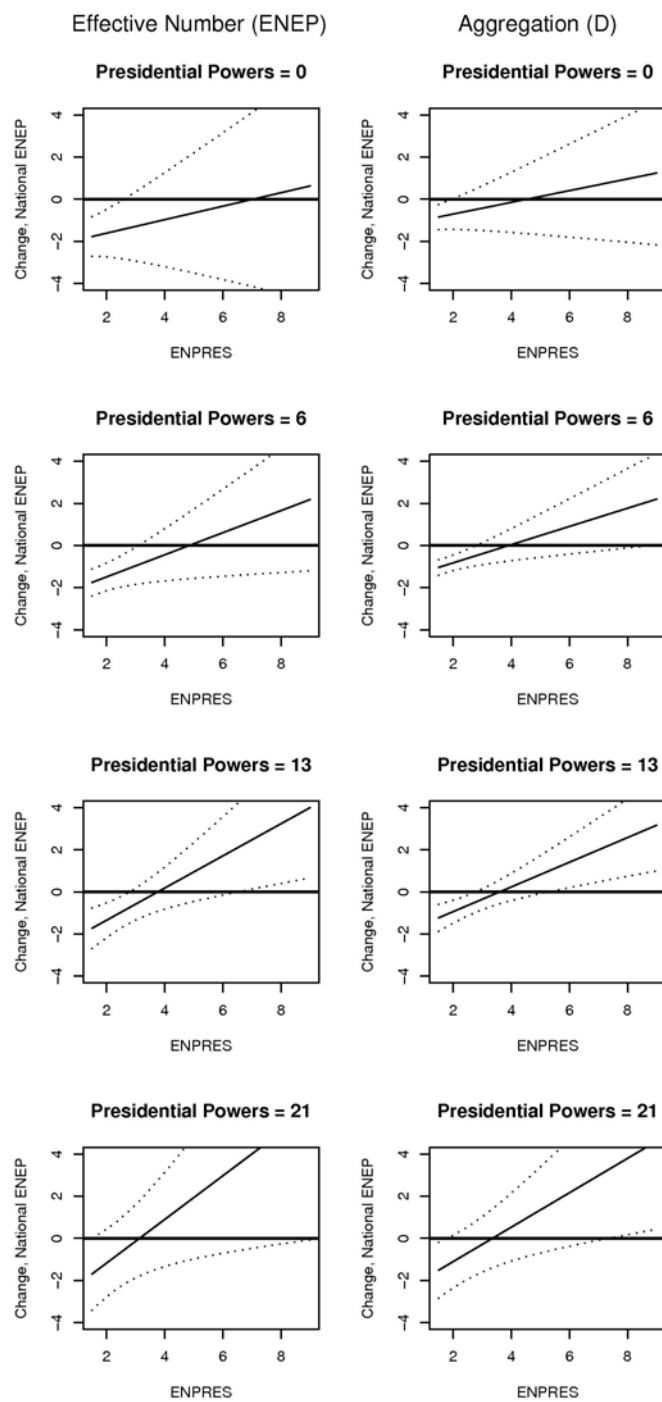


Figure 22. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 *controlling for advanced industrial status* in *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP		D	
	Model 5		Model 6	
	Advanced Industrial	Non-Advanced Industrial	Advanced Industrial	Non-Advanced Industrial
Intercept	3.1*** (0.26)	3.3*** (0.28)	0.71*** (0.070)	1.1*** (0.90)
Proximity	-2.4*** (0.51)	-3.2*** (1.0)	-1.5*** (0.28)	-2.4*** (0.80)
ENPRES	0.54*** (0.20)	0.58 (0.55)	0.10 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.34)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.087 (0.34)	0.56 (0.70)	0.26 (0.16)	0.74 (0.49)
Presidential Powers	-0.15** (0.058)	0.074 (0.093)	-0.061 (0.025)	0.067 (0.068)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	0.13 (0.10)	-0.12 (0.12)	0.11** (0.047)	-0.079 (0.092)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.00090 (0.033)	-0.042 (0.037)	0.010 (0.015)	-0.0017 (0.020)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.0095 (0.056)	0.052 (0.047)	-0.021 (0.024)	0.018 (0.029)
Log Magnitude	-0.47** (0.22)	0.53*** (0.16)		
ENETHNIC	0.0089 (0.16)	0.26** (0.10)		
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC	0.74*** (0.16)	-0.14 (0.055)		
N	281	309	281	309
R²	0.47	0.21	0.065	0.14
Root MSE	1.1	1.7	0.85	1.2

Table 30. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 with *Models 5-6 separately estimated on advanced industrial and non-advanced industrial elections*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

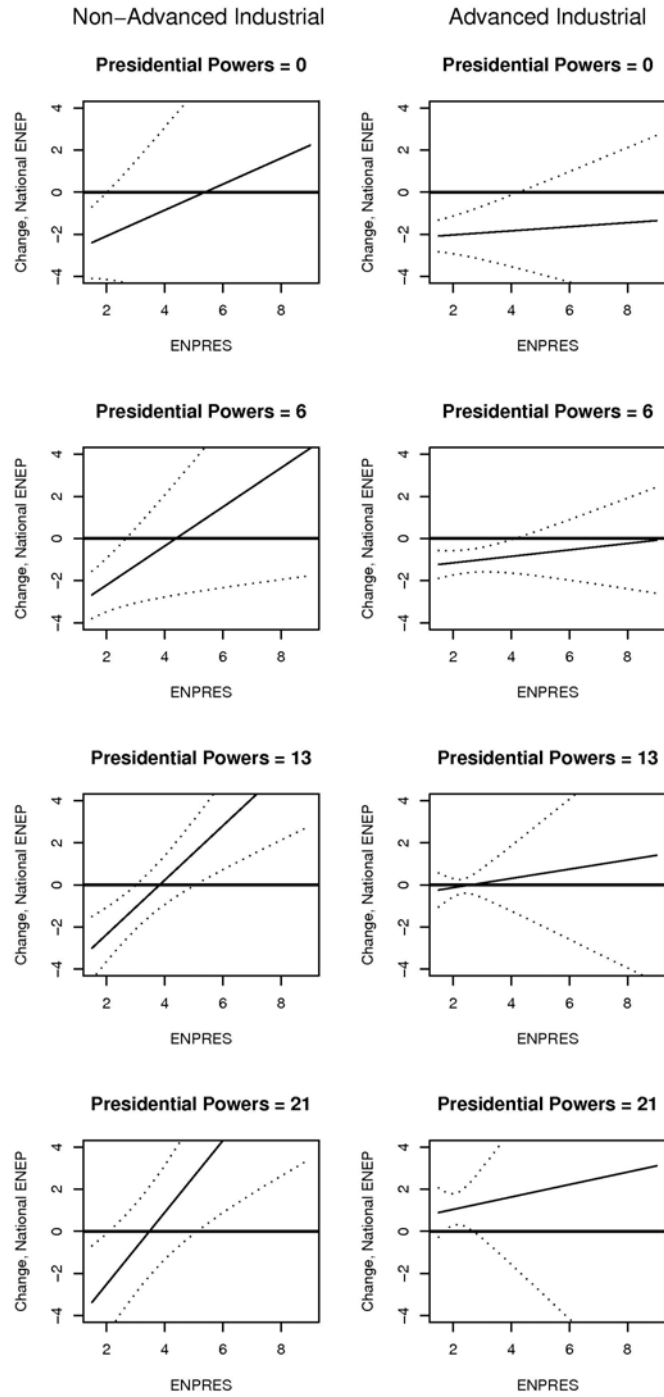


Figure 23. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 with *Model 5* estimated *separately for advanced industrial and non-advanced industrial elections*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

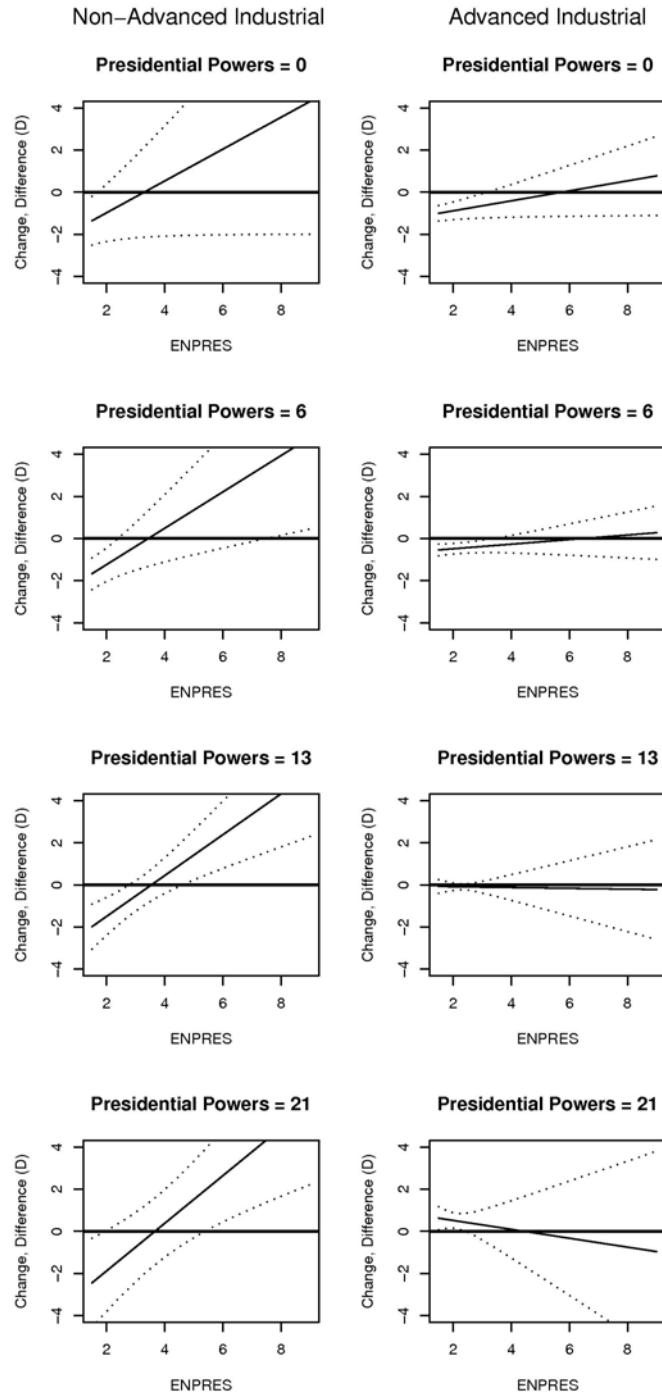


Figure 24. A version of the main paper's Figure 3 with *Model 6* estimated *separately for advanced industrial and non-advanced industrial elections*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	D		
	Model 6		
Intercept	0.27 (0.16)	-0.82 (0.27)	0.027 (0.20)
Proximity	-1.1** (0.46)	-1.3*** (0.43)	-1.4*** (0.43)
ENPRES	-0.046 (0.19)	0.10 (0.16)	0.11 (0.16)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.25 (0.30)	0.26 (0.28)	0.24 (0.30)
Presidential Powers	-0.0039 (0.040)	-0.017 (0.023)	-0.016 (0.023)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.066 (0.063)	-0.039 (0.055)	-0.042 (0.057)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.013 (0.017)	0.0029 (0.013)	0.0023 (0.013)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.021 (0.025)	0.026 (0.023)	0.029 (0.025)
Log Magnitude	-0.030 (0.048)	0.0092 (0.061)	-0.0079 (0.057)
ENETHNIC	0.29*** (0.082)	0.37*** (0.12)	0.36*** (0.10)
Log Magnitude * ENETHNIC			
Bicameral	0.28*** (0.078)	0.20* (0.10)	0.17 (0.11)
Percent Upper Tier		0.0050 (0.0048)	
N	590	362	362
R²	0.18	0.30	0.30
Root MSE	1.0	0.85	0.85

Table 31. A version of the main paper's Table 2 where *additional control variables are included in Model 6*. For Model 6, the dependent variable is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups; bicameral, a dummy variable for legislative bicameralism; and percent upper tier, the percentage of seats distributed in an upper tier. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

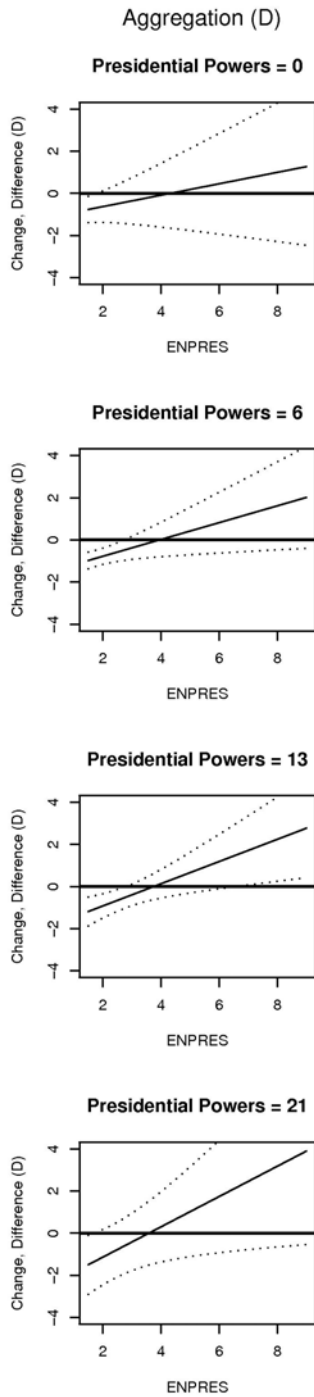


Figure 25. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 when *additionally controlling for three additional variables in Model 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.7*** (0.080)	0.26*** (0.075)
Proximity	-0.58 (0.73)	0.20 (0.39)
ENPRES	0.19 (0.24)	-0.064 (0.16)
Proximity * ENPRES	-0.19 (0.35)	-0.15 (0.22)
Presidential Powers	0.0073 (0.059)	0.0015 (0.041)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	-0.053 (0.071)	-0.082* (0.049)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.0043 (0.018)	0.012 (0.010)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.041* (0.022)	0.029** (0.013)
Log Magnitude	0.42*** (0.11)	
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups		
Log Magnitude * Effective Number of Ethnic Groups		
N	590	590
R²	0.59	0.56
Root MSE	1.2	0.77

Table 32. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 where *country fixed effects are included in Models 5 and 6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

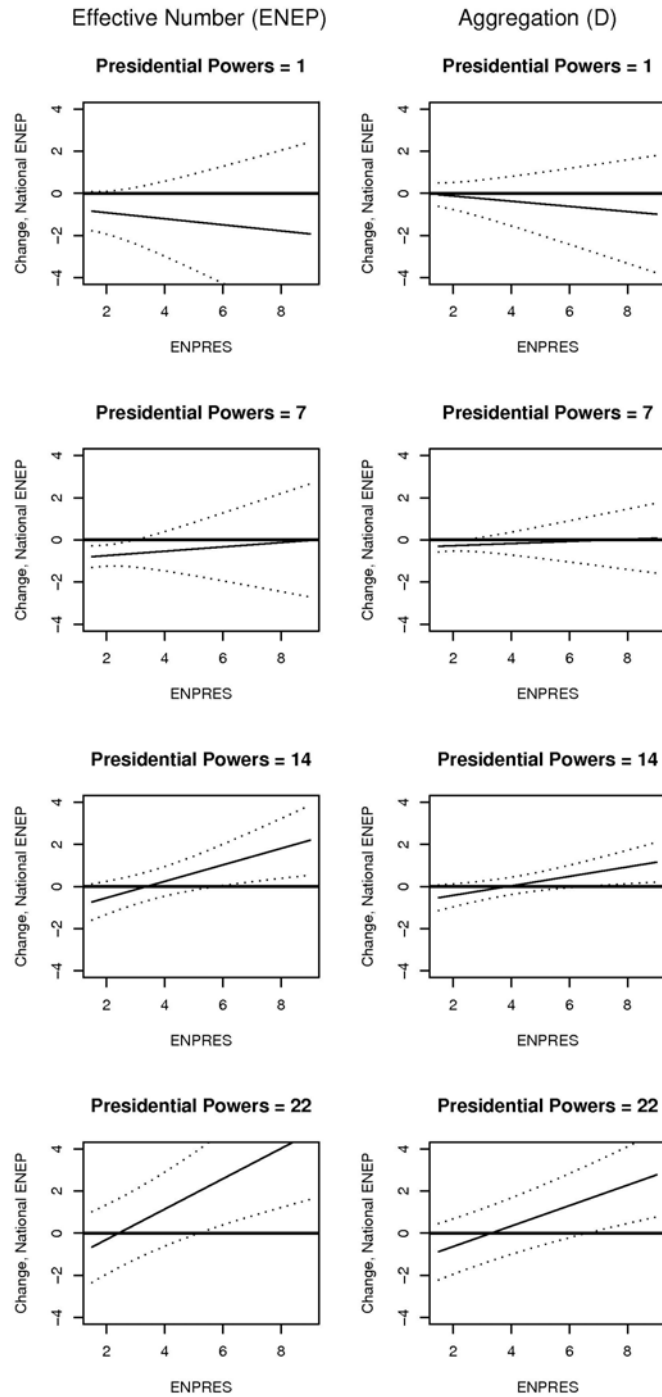


Figure 26. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 *including country fixed effects* in *Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.20)	0.87*** (0.056)
Proximity	-4.9*** (1.8)	-2.9** (1.4)
ENPRES	0.087 (0.13)	-0.14* (0.071)
Proximity * ENPRES	1.5*** (0.57)	0.94* (0.49)
Presidential Powers	-0.16*** (0.044)	-0.065** (0.026)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	0.23* (0.13)	0.11 (0.099)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.051** (0.020)	0.034*** (0.011)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	-0.075* (0.043)	-0.033 (0.033)
Log Magnitude	0.53*** (0.15)	
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	0.33*** (0.10)	
Log Magnitude * Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	-0.078 (0.088)	
N	590	590
R²	0.20	0.097
Root MSE	1.5	1.0

Table 33. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 where *a simple dummy variable for concurrent presidential elections is included in Models 5 and 6 instead of the interval scale measure of proximity*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

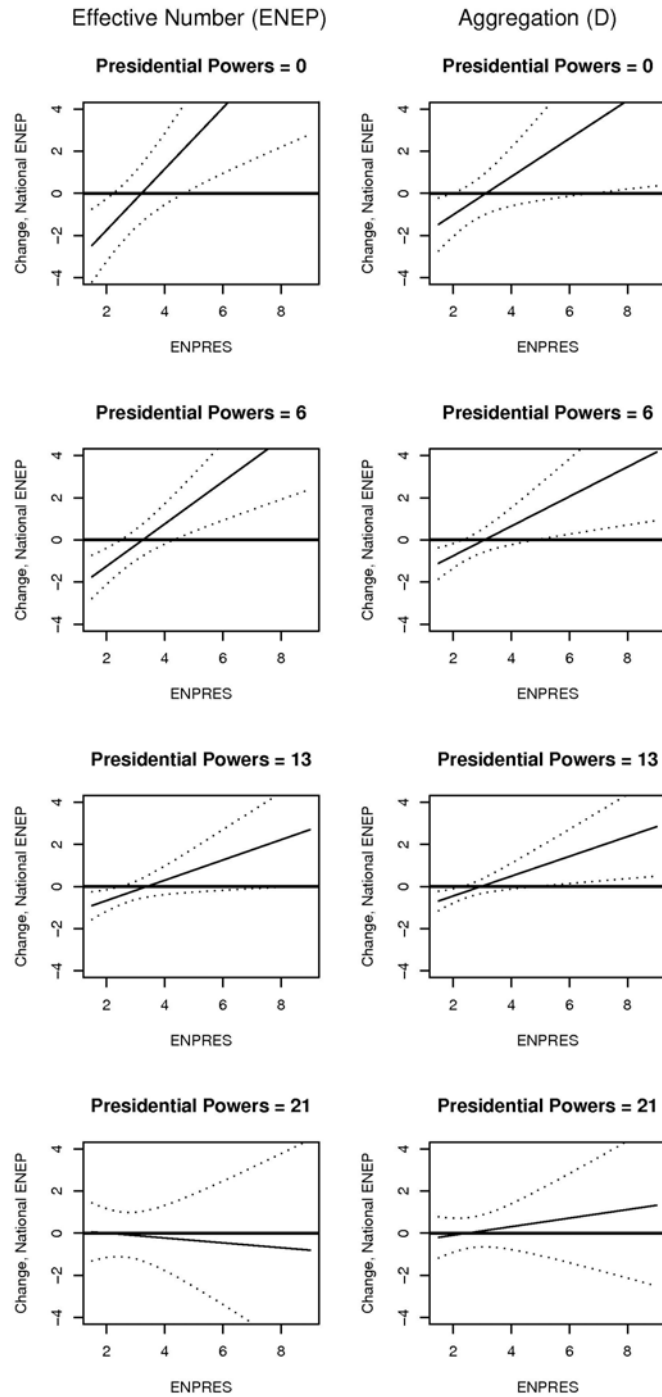


Figure 27. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 including a simple dummy variable for concurrent presidential elections in Models 5 and 6. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.

	ENEP Model 5	D Model 6
Intercept	2.9*** (0.19)	0.88*** (0.056)
Proximity	-2.1*** (0.67)	-2.9** (1.4)
ENPRES	0.16 (0.23)	-0.18*** (0.048)
Proximity * ENPRES	0.39 (0.38)	0.98** (0.49)
Presidential Powers	-0.10 (0.086)	-0.11*** (0.019)
Presidential Powers * Proximity	0.00086 (0.099)	0.15 (0.098)
Presidential Powers * ENPRES	0.037 (0.038)	0.049*** (0.0071)
Presidential Powers * Proximity * ENPRES	0.0028 (0.045)	-0.048 (0.032)
Log Magnitude	0.53*** (0.15)	
Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	0.36*** (0.096)	
Log Magnitude * Effective Number of Ethnic Groups	-0.082 (0.089)	
N	564	564
R²	0.24	0.12
Root MSE	1.4	1.0

Table 35. A version of the main paper’s Table 2 where *midterm and founding elections are eliminated from Models 5 and 6*. For Model 5, the dependent variable is the number of electoral parties (ENEP), and for Model 6, it is party system aggregation (D). The independent variables are proximity, the temporal proximity between the legislative and presidential elections; ENPRES, the effective number of presidential candidates; Log Magnitude, the logged average lower tier district magnitude; and ENETHNIC, the effective number of ethnic groups. Our own data set was used to estimate these models. Significance codes are for two-sided tests, all calculated prior to rounding: 0.01, ***; 0.05, **; 0.10, *.

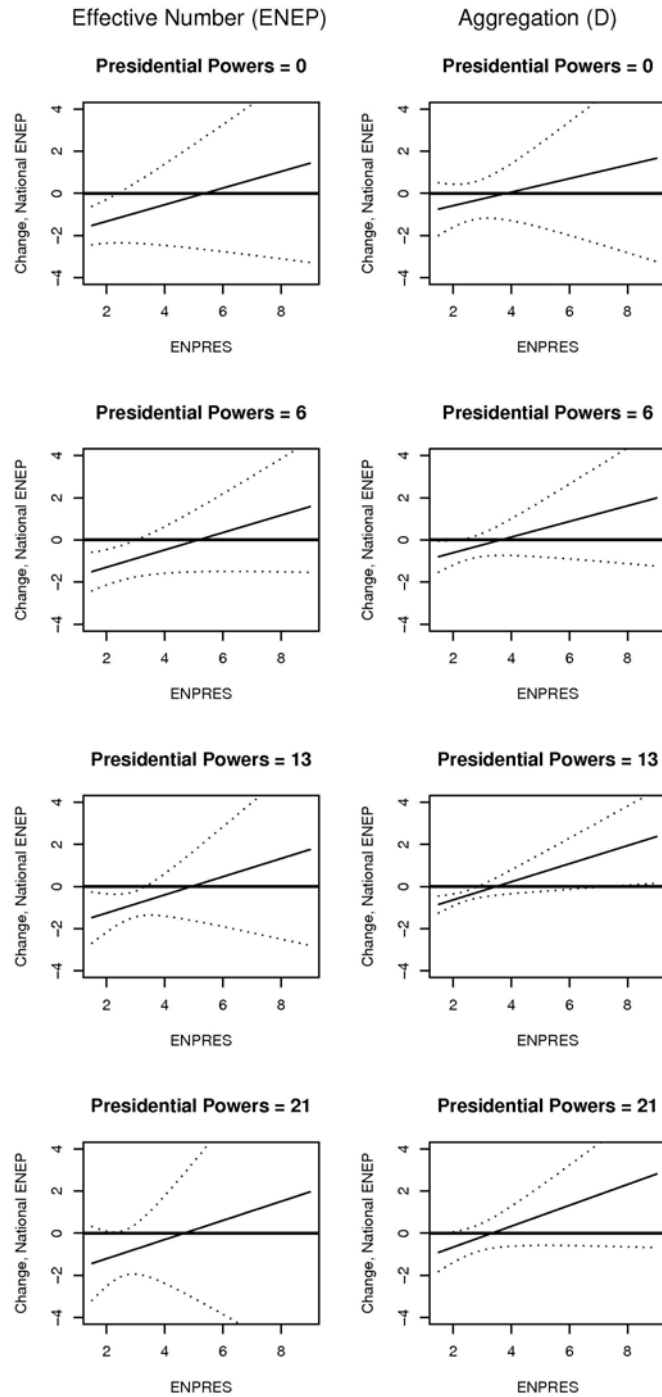


Figure 28. A version of the main paper's Figure 2 *eliminating midterm and founding elections in Models 5 and 6*. Dotted lines are 90% two-sided confidence intervals.