

## Appendix A

This appendix (a) provides a formal justification for the claim that if  $\lambda_1 - \lambda_0 > 0$  and the magnitude of this difference is large enough,  $P$  will maximize her expected utility by running in a midterm; and (b) shows that introducing a discount term does not change the gist of the results.

To simplify the exposition, let  $\phi_0 = [\lambda_0 \pi_E(\theta_{q+1}, S_2) + (1 - \lambda_0) \pi_E(\theta_q, S_2)]$  be the probability that  $P$  wins the executive election conditional on being elected for the legislature at  $t=0$ , and  $\phi_1 = [\lambda_1 \pi_E(\theta_{q+1}, S_1) + (1 - \lambda_1) \pi_E(\theta_q, S_1)]$  be defined in the same way conditional on running for the legislature at  $t=1$ . With no discount term,  $P$  prefers to run in a midterm if

$$\begin{aligned} E[U_P | \textit{concurrent}] &< E[U_P | \textit{midterm}] \\ \pi_L(\theta_q) [R_L + \phi_0 R_E] &< \pi_L(\theta_q) [\frac{1}{2}R_L + \phi_1 (R_E - \frac{1}{2}R_L)] \\ 0 &< (\phi_1 - \phi_0) R_E - \frac{1}{2} R_L (1 + \phi_1). \end{aligned}$$

Thus, running a midterm will only be  $P$ 's preferred choice if  $\phi_1 - \phi_0$  is large enough, which in turn requires  $\lambda_1 - \lambda_0$  to be sufficiently large.

Now let introduce a discount term  $\delta \in (0, 1)$  such that  $P$  discounts her future utility by a factor of  $\delta^t$ : that is, she discounts the payoffs received at  $t=0$ ,  $t=1$ ,  $t=2$  and  $t=3$  by  $\delta^0 = 1$ ,  $\delta^1$ ,  $\delta^2$  and  $\delta^3$ , respectively. Therefore,  $P$ 's discounted payoffs from winning office in a concurrent or midterm election will be

|       | (concurrent)              | (midterm)                          |
|-------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| $t=0$ | $\frac{1}{2}R_L$          | 0                                  |
| $t=1$ | $\delta \frac{1}{2}R_L$   | $\delta \frac{1}{2}R_L$            |
| $t=2$ | $\delta^2 \frac{1}{2}R_E$ | $\delta^2 \frac{1}{2} (R_E - R_L)$ |
| $t=3$ | $\delta^3 \frac{1}{2}R_E$ | $\delta^3 \frac{1}{2}R_E$          |

Then,  $P$  will prefer to run in a midterm election if

$$\begin{aligned} E [U_P | \textit{concurrent}] &< E [U_P | \textit{midterm}] \\ \frac{1}{2} \pi_L(\theta_q) [R_L + \delta R_L + \phi_0 \delta^2 R_E + \phi_0 \delta^3 R_E] &< \frac{1}{2} \pi_L(\theta_q) [\delta R_L + \phi_1 \delta^2 (R_E - R_L) + \phi_1 \delta^3 R_E] \\ 0 &< (\phi_1 - \phi_0) R_E (1 + \delta) \delta^2 - (1 + \phi_1 \delta^2) R_L. \end{aligned}$$

Although the math is considerably more complicated, the basic insight from the previous result remains: for  $P$  to prefer to run in a midterm election,  $\phi_1 - \phi_0$  must be positive and sufficiently large in magnitude to offset the other advantages of running in a concurrent election. Certainly, an extremely low value of  $\delta$  (e.g.,  $\delta=0$ ) will make  $P$  prefer to run in a concurrent election, but the point is that introducing a discount factor does not change the basic insight of the model. The reason is pretty simple: since  $P$  can only run for an executive office at  $t=2$ , a discount factor makes holding a *legislative* position at  $t=0$  more valuable, but it cannot affect the value of winning an *executive* position at  $t=2$ . To the extent that an executive office is sufficiently valuable, introducing a discount term does not change the model's main insight.

## Appendix B

Table B1: Descriptive statistics.

| Main explanatory variables                           | (a) Main sample (n=842) |           |      |        | (b) 1983 sample (n=203) |           |      |        |
|--|-------------------------|-----------|------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|------|--------|
|  | mean                    | std. dev. | min. | max.   | mean                    | std. dev. | min. | max.   |
| <i>Midterm</i>                                       | 0.49                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.50                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Lost election</i>                                 | 0.14                    | 0.35      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <b>Dependent variables (1): Executive experience</b> |                         |           |      |        |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former executive</i>                              | 0.18                    | 0.38      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former governor</i>                               | 0.03                    | 0.18      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former governor or vice-governor</i>              | 0.06                    | 0.23      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former mayor</i>                                  | 0.13                    | 0.34      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former executive (W)</i>                          | 0.06                    | 0.20      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Former executive (W<sup>2</sup>)</i>              | 0.04                    | 0.18      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |
| <b>Dependent variables (2): Bill submission</b>      |                         |           |      |        |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Bills submitted</i>                               | 76.43                   | 83.87     | 1.00 | 570.00 | 23.83                   | 32.95     | 1.00 | 190.00 |
| <i>Bills submitted (first 2 years)</i>               | 36.25                   | 40.39     | 1.00 | 336.00 | 12.57                   | 13.69     | 1.00 | 100.00 |
| <i>Bills, prov. target</i>                           | 14.19                   | 19.50     | 0.00 | 173.00 | 6.18                    | 11.39     | 0.00 | 79.00  |
| <i>Bills, prov. target (first 2 years)</i>           | 7.57                    | 10.18     | 0.00 | 78.00  | 3.44                    | 5.14      | 0.00 | 35.00  |
| <i>Bills, muni. target</i>                           | 2.30                    | 4.17      | 0.00 | 39.00  | 1.32                    | 3.67      | 0.00 | 41.00  |
| <i>Bills, muni. target (first 2 years)</i>           | 1.32                    | 2.52      | 0.00 | 22.00  | 0.71                    | 1.53      | 0.00 | 10.00  |
| <b>Dependent variables (3): Reelection</b>           |                         |           |      |        |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Reelection</i>                                    | 0.25                    | 0.43      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.33                    | 0.47      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Reelected</i>                                     | 0.18                    | 0.39      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.25                    | 0.44      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <b>Control variables</b>                             |                         |           |      |        |                         |           |      |        |
| <i>Female</i>  | 0.20                    | 0.40      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.04                    | 0.20      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Magnitude</i>                                     | 12.88                   | 13.70     | 2.00 | 35.00  | 27.92                   | 28.33     | 2.00 | 70.00  |
| <i>Delegation size</i>                               | 25.66                   | 27.46     | 2.00 | 70.00  | 27.92                   | 28.33     | 2.00 | 70.00  |
| <i>Committee chair</i>                               | 0.14                    | 0.28      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.10                    | 0.30      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Copartisan president</i>                          | 0.50                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.50                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Copartisan governor</i>                           | 0.48                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.52                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>PJ bloc</i>                                       | 0.49                    | 0.49      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.46                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>UCR bloc</i>                                      | 0.30                    | 0.46      | 0.00 | 1.00   | 0.50                    | 0.50      | 0.00 | 1.00   |
| <i>Ran for executive</i>                             | 0.18                    | 0.39      | 0.00 | 1.00   |                         |           |      |        |