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COORDINATION AND BANDWAGON EFFECTS OF CANDIDATE RANKINGS:
EVIDENCE FROM RUNOFF ELECTIONS

Riako Granzier
Vincent Pons
Clémence Tricaud

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The Large Effects of a Small Win: How Past Rankings Shape the Behavior of Voters and Candidates

Riako Granzier, Vincent Pons, and Clémence Tricaud

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ABSTRACT

Candidates' placements in polls or past elections can be powerful coordination devices for both parties and voters. Using a regression discontinuity design in French elections, we show that candidates who place first by only a small margin in the first round are more likely to stay in the race, win, and win conditionally on staying in than those who place second. The impacts are even larger for ranking second instead of third, and also present for third instead of fourth. Rankings' effects are largest when candidates have the same political orientation (making coordination more important), but remain strong when only two candidates qualify for the second round (and coordination is not needed). They stem from allied parties agreeing on which candidate should drop out, voters coordinating their choice, and the "bandwagon effect" of desiring to vote for the winner. We find similar results in two-round elections across 19 other countries.

Riako Granzier
Harvard University
rgranziernakajima@g.harvard.edu

Vincent Pons
Harvard Business School
Morgan Hall 289
Soldiers Field
Boston, MA 02163
and NBER
vpons@hbs.edu

Clémence Tricaud
110 Westwood Plaza, Entrepreneurs Hall
UCLA Anderson School of Management
Global Economics and Management Area
Los Angeles, CA 90005-1481
clemence.tricaud@anderson.ucla.edu

1 Introduction

Elections are massive coordination games. While some voters make their choice based only on their own preferences (e.g., Spenkuch, 2018; Pons and Tricaud, 2018), others will strategically shift their support away from their preferred candidate toward one they like less but expect to have a better chance of winning (e.g., Duverger, 1954; Myerson and Weber, 1993; Cox, 1997). Similarly, candidates can decide whether or not to enter the race based on the fraction of the electorate they expect to vote for them versus their competitors. They might choose to stay out of the race if they foresee that they will receive few votes or that their presence could divide their camp and undermine their cause.

Predicting the behavior of the entire electorate and adjusting one's own decisions accordingly is challenging both for voters and candidates. Opinion polls and previous electoral results may be useful sources of information. However, despite a large body of evidence that the overall informedness of political actors matters (e.g., Hall and Snyder, 2015; Le Pennec and Pons, 2020), little is known about which specific pieces of information they use to make their decisions, and how coordination actually happens.

In this paper, we focus on one specific type of information: the ranking of candidates by performance in polls, previous elections, or a previous round of the same election. While past and predicted vote shares provide detailed information on the distribution of preferences, rough-hewn candidate rankings can serve as a coordination device in and of themselves. When more than two candidates are in the running, their past rankings can be used by strategic voters as a focal point to coordinate on the same subset of candidates. Past rankings can also be used by sister parties to determine which of their candidates should drop out in order to increase their collective chance of victory. These mechanisms, which we henceforth refer to as “strategic coordination,” can be reinforced by behavioral forces such as a “bandwagon effect”: voters who gain satisfaction by being on the winning side might decide to “jump on the bandwagon” and rally behind candidates who won or had a higher rank in the past.

Elections using a two-round plurality voting rule serve as an ideal setting to estimate the impact of rankings and identify the underlying mechanisms. Our main sample includes a total of 22,557 individual races in 26 French local and parliamentary elections from 1958 to 2017. In these elections, up to three or four candidates can qualify for the second round. This enables us to measure the effect on second-round outcomes of placing first in the first round (instead of second), second (instead of third), and third (instead of fourth). In addition, all candidates who qualify for the

second round can decide to drop out of the race. We can thus estimate the impact of first-round rankings both on voter choice and on candidate decision to run in the second round. To separate the effect of rankings from the effect of differences in vote shares (e.g., Knight and Schiff, 2010), we use a regression discontinuity design (RDD) and compare the likelihood of running, the likelihood of winning, and the second round vote share obtained by candidates who received close-to-identical numbers of votes in the first round but ranked just below or just above one another.

Our empirical design draws on studies measuring the impact of candidate placements *across separate elections*. Following Lee (2008), many papers have examined the impact of ranking first (instead of second) on future elections and shown that winners of close contests generally benefit from an incumbency advantage when they run again (e.g., Ferreira and Gyourko, 2009; Eggers et al., 2015; Erikson and Titiunik, 2015; Fiva and Smith, 2018).¹ Anagol and Fujiwara (2016) focus on a second discontinuity. They show that ranking second (instead of third) in past elections also increases a candidate's likelihood to run in the next one and win it – effects they attribute to strategic coordination by voters.²

By contrast, we estimate the effects of candidate rankings *across electoral rounds separated by only one week*, which offers several key advantages. First, studying two rounds of the same election helps us isolate the direct effect of rankings from reinforcing effects that are more likely to matter when considering elections separated by several years, such as increased notoriety of the higher-ranked candidates, their lower likelihood of being replaced by another candidate of their party, and the effect of being in office (for candidates who won the previous election). We show that rankings substantially affect the outcome of elections, independently of any such reinforcing mechanism. Placing first instead of second increases candidates' likelihood to win the race by 5.8 percentage points. This result suggests that the advantage enjoyed by incumbents in future elections, which is generally attributed to the effect of holding office, may also be driven by the pure effect of ranking first. Placing second instead of third has an even larger effect, of 9.9 percentage points, and coming in third instead of fourth has an effect of 2.2 percentage points, from a baseline of only 0.5 percent.

A second key advantage of our setting is that it enables us to pin down the mechanisms responsible for the effects of rankings. While candidates' ability to run in future elections is generally not constrained by the results of previous ones, qualification for the second round of two-round

¹Many papers studied the incumbency advantage before Lee (2008), but using methods different from regression discontinuity designs (e.g., Erikson, 1971; Gelman and King, 1990; Cox and Katz, 1996; Ansolabehere et al., 2000).

²Laboratory experiments have also found that voters tend to coordinate on candidates placed higher in polls or in previous rounds of an election game (Forsythe et al., 1993; Bouton et al., 2016).

elections is, by contrast, entirely determined by first-round results. Therefore, we observe the full set of possible competitors in the second round, which helps us interpret each qualified candidate's decision to stay in the race or drop out and decipher parties' strategies and coordination, on which there is little causal evidence to date. Furthermore, the number of candidates who obtain the qualification varies from two to four in the elections we study. Comparing races with different sets of qualified candidates allows us to cleanly separate the contribution of strategic coordination and behavioral mechanisms to rankings' effects.

Specifically, our exploration of mechanisms begins by assessing the extent to which the overall effects on winning are driven by candidate or voter choice. We find that placing first instead of second, second instead of third, and third instead of fourth increases candidates' likelihood to stay in the race by 5.6, 23.5, and 14.6 percentage points, respectively. These effects are larger for candidates affiliated to a political party, suggesting that candidates' decisions to run in the second round are constrained by their parties. Yet, a candidate's decision to stay in the race does not account for the full effects on winning. We estimate the effects of rankings on voter choice conditional on candidates' presence in the second round using a bounding strategy, in order to deal with the fact that lower- and higher-ranked candidates who decide to stay in the race may have different characteristics. We find that placing first instead of second increases a candidate's vote share by more than 1.3 percentage points and likelihood of winning conditional on staying in the race by more than 2.9 percentage points. The lower bounds on the effects of ranking second instead of third (resp. third instead of fourth) are 4.0 and 6.9 percentage points (resp. 2.5 and 3.0). Variations in effect size across different precincts of the same district provide suggestive evidence that effects on voter behavior are driven by active voters rallying behind higher-ranked candidates more than by the differential mobilization of nonvoters.

To uncover the mechanisms responsible for the effects of rankings on candidate and voter choice, we go one step further and check how effect size varies with the number and type of candidates who qualify for the second round.

First, we show that the effects are much larger when the higher- and lower-ranked candidates have the same political orientation. This can arise from the fact that shared orientation makes it more appealing for voters and candidates to coordinate against ideologically distant candidates who also qualified, but also from the fact that it makes rallying behind the higher-ranked candidate less costly, whatever the underlying motive may be.

Second, to investigate the extent to which coordination explains our results, we focus on elec-

tions in which three or more candidates qualify for the second round (and rankings can be used to coordinate on a subset of them) and compare the effects of placing first instead of second depending on the challenge posed by the third candidate. We find that the effects on running and winning decrease with the gap between the second and third candidates' vote shares. This suggests that coordination between the first and second candidates (which is more critical when the gap with the third is narrower) explains part of the effects. In addition, the effects of placing first instead of second are larger when the ideological distance between the top-two candidates is smaller than their distance with the third candidate (making coordination between the top two more desirable).

Third, to test whether strategic coordination suffices to explain our results, we turn to elections in which the third candidate does *not* qualify. In these elections, there is no need or even possibility for coordination against a lower-ranked candidate. All voters should vote for their preferred candidate among the top two, and candidates do not risk contributing to the victory of a disliked competitor by running. Nonetheless, the effects of ranking first instead of second on running and on winning, conditional on running, remain large. In contrast to previous studies, we infer that strategic coordination cannot fully account for the impact of rankings. Instead, our results first indicate that candidate dropouts are not only driven by the desire to avoid the victory of a third candidate: they often stem from agreements between left-wing parties, which consider that the first-round choice of their supporters should determine the winner when the only two candidates qualifying for the second round are on the left. In addition, effects conditional on staying in the race reveal that the desire to be on the winning side is an important driver of voter behavior and that it generates a bandwagon effect swaying many elections. A complementary interpretation for the effects on vote choice is that voters update their beliefs about the quality of candidates who qualify for the second round based on their placements in the first, even when candidates obtain nearly identical vote shares. While social learning may contribute to the effects of rankings, we provide evidence that its role is likely to be limited.

Finally, we consider the possibility that factors other than voter choice drive the effects of rankings on a candidate's likelihood of winning and on their vote share conditional on staying in. We show that the effects are unlikely to be explained by differences in the campaign expenditures of the higher- and lower-ranked candidates or by the decisions of other qualified candidates to stay in the race or drop out. Neither does media coverage drive our results. We collected a total of 76,679 election-related newspaper articles which were released between the two rounds of all local and parliamentary elections since 1997. We do not find any effect on the amount of newspaper

coverage of higher- versus lower-ranked candidates. After reading and annotating a random subset of articles, we also find that the media do not cover higher-ranked candidates more favorably, either.

The effects of past rankings are present both for left-wing and right-wing candidates, sizable in both local and parliamentary elections, and as large today as in previous decades. Moreover, we check the external validity of our results in a separate sample of 72 parliamentary elections in 19 countries since 1850. This sample includes all elections worldwide for upper or lower houses of parliament that use a two-round plurality rule and for which we were able to find results at the constituency level, using a large number of sources. While this sample totals far fewer races than the French sample (4,075 against 22,557) and the corresponding data are less rich, they enable us to verify that our results are not specific to the French context. Similarly as in French elections, we find that ranking first instead of second, and second instead of third, have large effects on candidates' likelihood of winning, of 7.6 and 15.8 percentage points respectively; that the effect of placing first is larger when the third candidate poses more of a challenge for the top two, again pointing to the role of strategic coordination; and that placing first has an effect even when the third candidate does not qualify for the second round, indicating that mechanisms other than coordination, such as the bandwagon effect, contribute to rankings' effects in other countries as well.

Beyond two-round elections, our estimates carry implications for any election in which pre-electoral information on candidate rankings is available from previous rounds or opinion polls. Overall, our analysis reveals that rankings are a public signal of paramount importance, influencing the choices of many voters and candidates. We further shed light on the motivations underlying the decisions of political actors. While rankings facilitate strategic coordination among parties and voters, which can in turn enhance the representativeness of elected leaders, they also unleash behavioral effects, which may have the opposite consequence. The effects of rankings should enter into consideration when debating voting rules and regulating the polling industry, as they are likely to be magnified in voting systems with two rounds or other forms of sequential voting, and when poll results are released just before the election. Furthermore, our results have important implications for campaign strategies: The importance of ranking high early gives candidates strong incentives to front-load some of their voter outreach efforts even if the effects of persuasive communication may decay over time.

1.1 Contribution to the literature

Our paper contributes to a large political economy literature investigating how voters choose elected officials, and to a smaller but equally important literature studying how parties' strategies can constrain the set of candidates among whom voters choose.

Many empirical studies focus on the tension between expressive and strategic motives of voting (e.g., Fujiwara, 2011; Eggers, 2015; Spenkuch, 2015), and seek to estimate the fractions of citizens voting based on likely outcomes of the election versus their preference among candidates alone (e.g., Alvarez and Nagler, 2000; Kawai and Watanabe, 2013; Spenkuch, 2018; Eggers and Vivyan, 2020). In Pons and Tricaud (2018), we use a subset of French two-round elections used in the present paper, and exploit variation in the presence of a third candidate in the runoff to assess the extent to which voters behave expressively or strategically. Importantly, voters who want to be strategic still need to decide which equilibrium to focus on. Indeed, models of strategic voting show that voter coordination tends to lead to equilibria in which two candidates receive most of the votes, but that multiple equilibria of this type generally exist (Palfrey, 1989; Myerson and Weber, 1993; Cox, 1997). In the presence of multiple equilibria, public signals may facilitate convergence to a unique one. Fey (1997) establishes that a sequence of opinion polls providing information about the distribution of preferences and strategies in the electorate can bring voters to focus on the same pair of candidates. Myatt (2007) finds that a single poll observed by everyone may suffice to generate full coordination (where only two candidates obtain votes) if it is sufficiently precise.

Building on this theoretical work on equilibrium selection, we study how voter coordination works in practice, and document the importance of a specific signal: candidate rankings. We show that rankings enable the decentralized coordination of strategic voters by serving as focal points: voters are more likely to coordinate on higher-ranked candidates even in the extreme case where these candidates obtained exactly the same vote share as lower-ranked ones.

Beyond the trade-off between expressive and strategic voting, voter choice can also be influenced by the desire to be on the winning side (Simon, 1954; Fleitas, 1971; Bartels, 1988). Several laboratory experiments have shown that voters rallying behind the predicted winner will generate a "bandwagon effect" further increasing her lead (e.g., Morton and Williams, 1999; Hung and Plott, 2001; Morton and Ou, 2015; Agranov et al., 2018). Outside the lab, Bartels (1985) and McAllister and Studlar (1991) show that many voters report favoring candidates they deem most likely to win, but the authors note that people's assessment of candidate chances may be affected by their voting intention. This concern of reverse causality is absent from studies documenting systematic over-

reporting of voting for the winner in post-electoral surveys (e.g., Wright, 1993; Atkeson, 1999), a pattern nonetheless consistent with interpretations other than the desire to side with the winning candidate, such as respondent selection effects (Gelman et al., 2016) and social desirability bias. Morton et al. (2015) compare electoral results in French territories overseas between elections in which these territories voted before or after the overall election outcome had been made public through exit polls. While this natural experiment is one of the best pieces of evidence of bandwagon voting, the fact that the change took place simultaneously in all overseas territories makes it difficult to disentangle its effect from concomitant factors.

We build on this body of work and provide causal evidence on the bandwagon effect using electoral results of a large number of individual races.³ Our results showing a preference to vote for the winner bring empirical support for models assuming that voters gain utility from this choice (Hinich, 1981; Callander, 2007, 2008).⁴ Social learning represents a complementary interpretation for voters' tendency to rally behind leading candidates, including in races in which there is no need for strategic coordination. Voters may use (discrete) rankings as a heuristic about the (continuous) distribution of the choice of others, in line with abundant evidence on bounded rationality (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981; Kahneman, 2003). In turn, they may interpret others' vote choice as a signal about candidate valence and update their own preferences accordingly (e.g., Banerjee, 1992; Feddersen and Pesendorfer, 1997). We discuss the extent to which social learning may contribute to explaining our results in Section 4.3.

In addition to our results on voter behavior, our paper gives groundbreaking evidence on the strategies of candidates and parties. Most models of elections assume an exogenous pool of candidates. Models with endogenous candidate entry (Osborne and Slivinski, 1996; Besley and Coate, 1997; Solow, 2016; Dal Bo and Finan, 2018) and exit (Indridason, 2008) focus on individual candidates' choice of whether to run. In the real world, however, agreements between parties can also lead a candidate to drop out, thus restricting voters' options. This form of coordination may be expected to be more effective than voter coordination, since it requires the cooperation of a smaller

³Similarly to our setting, Kiss and Simonovits (2014) study the bandwagon effect in two-round elections in Hungary. Differently from our strategy, they compare the size of the difference between the first and second candidates' vote shares in the first and second rounds. They interpret the increase in the winning margin as evidence that first-round results had a bandwagon effect on second-round vote choices. However, differences between the first and second rounds other than the availability of first-round results could drive this pattern.

⁴The bandwagon effect of candidate rankings is akin to the effects measured in other contexts beyond elections, such as asset rankings on trading behavior (Hartzmark, 2015), hospitals' rankings on their number of patients and revenues (Pope, 2009), employees' rankings on their sales (Barankay, 2018), and students' rankings on their academic performance (Murphy and Weinhardt, 2020).

number of actors with greater stakes in electoral outcomes. This essential aspect of electoral politics tends to be difficult to study, because one usually only observes candidates who are actually competing, not those who considered it but chose not to.⁵ By contrast, since we observe the full set of candidates eligible to compete in the runoff, whether or not they actually stay in the race, we can cleanly estimate and characterize the contribution of candidate and party coordination to the effects of rankings. We find evidence that dropout agreements between parties of similar orientation are motivated by the desire to avoid the victory of a candidate of a different orientation as well as other motives, such as following the first-round choice of their supporters.

Finally, our results on the effects of rankings on party decisions between rounds contribute to a rich literature exploring the properties of two-round voting systems (e.g., Osborne and Slivinski, 1996; Piketty, 2000; Bouton, 2013; Bordignon et al., 2016; Bouton et al., 2019; Cipullo, 2019), and they echo recent work showing that parties tend to promote candidates ranked higher by voters in open-list elections (Folke et al., 2016; Meriläinen and Tukiainen, 2016; Cirone et al., 2020), that their likelihood to appoint a government increases when they receive more seats or votes (Fujiwara and Sanz, 2020), and that incumbents elected with a higher rank in multi-member districts are more likely to win higher office in future elections (Dulay and Go, 2021).

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. We provide more details on our setting and empirical strategy in Section 2. Section 3 presents our main results and Section 4 discusses the underlying mechanisms. Section 5 documents the external validity of the results and Section 6 concludes.

2 Empirical strategy

2.1 Setting

Our main sample includes 14 parliamentary elections and 12 local elections: all parliamentary elections of the Fifth Republic from 1958 to 2017 except for the 1986 election (which used proportionality rule), and all local elections from 1979 to 2015.⁶ Each of these 26 elections took place

⁵A small number of empirical studies emphasize the importance of electoral alliances between parties and examine factors conducive to coordination, but the evidence they present is only correlational (e.g., Golder, 2005, 2006; Blais and Indridason, 2007; Blais and Loewen, 2009).

⁶We do not include local elections held before 1979 as the electoral rule allowed any candidate to run in the second round, irrespective of their vote share in the first and even if they were absent from the first.

at a different date.⁷

Every five years, parliamentary elections elect the National Assembly, the lower house of the French Parliament. In these elections, each of 577 constituencies elects a Member of Parliament. Local elections determine the members of the departmental councils, which have authority over transportation, education, and social assistance, among other areas. France is divided into 101 départements, each of which is further divided into cantons. Until a 2013 reform, local elections took place every three years. In each département, half of the cantons elected their council member in any given election, for a length of six years, and the other half of cantons participated in the next election. After the reform, all cantons participated in elections held every six years and each canton elected a ticket composed of a man and a woman.⁸ This new rule applied to the 2015 local elections. In our analysis, we consider each ticket as a single candidate, since the two candidates on the ticket organize a common electoral campaign and get elected or defeated together. Henceforth, we define both assembly constituencies and local cantons as “districts.”

Parliamentary and local elections both use a two-round plurality voting rule. A candidate can only win directly in the first round if they obtain more than 50 percent of the candidate votes and if their number of votes is also greater than 25 percent of the registered citizens. In most races, no candidate wins in the first round, the first-round results are publicized, and the second round takes place one week later. In that case, the candidate who receives the largest vote share in the second round wins the election. This type of voting rule is not uncommon: next to plurality voting, uninominal elections with two rounds are among the most common electoral systems in the world (Farrell, 2011; Bormann and Golder, 2013). The specific conditions required to qualify for the second round of French local and parliamentary elections are more unusual.

The set of candidates who qualify for the second round includes the two candidates with the highest vote share in the first round, independently of their exact vote share, as well as any other candidate with a vote share higher than a certain threshold. This rule is essential for our study design, as it enables us to estimate the impact of placing first instead of second, second instead of third, and third instead of fourth. The qualification threshold changed over time: the required vote share was 10 percent of the registered citizens in local elections, until 2011, when it was increased

⁷In 1988, both parliamentary and local elections were held, but in different months. The 2001 and 2008 local elections took place at the same date as mayoral elections, and the 1992, 1998, and 2004 local elections at the same date as regional elections. Our results remain very similar and, if anything, only increase in magnitude and statistical significance, when we exclude these elections (see Appendix Tables F6 and F7).

⁸The 2013 reform further reduced the number of cantons from 4035 to 2054, to leave the total number of council members roughly unchanged.

to 12.5 percent.⁹ In parliamentary elections, the required vote share was 5 percent of the voters in 1958 and 1962, it was changed to 10 percent of the registered citizens in 1966, and to 12.5 percent of the registered citizens in 1976.

Importantly, all qualifying candidates can decide to drop out of the race between rounds. This allows us to estimate the impact of first-round rankings both on voters' choice of candidate in the second round and on candidates' decision to stay in the second round. Candidates who choose to stay in the race do not have to pay any extra administrative fee. In the second round, voters can only cast a ballot for a candidate who stayed in. In polling booths, paper ballots bearing the names of these candidates are ordered by alphabetical order (in municipalities below 1,000 inhabitants) or by random order (in municipalities above 1,000 inhabitants), independently of first-round rankings.

2.2 Data

After excluding races with a unique candidate in the first round and those with no second round, our sample comprises 16,222 races from local elections and 6,335 races from parliamentary elections, for a total of 22,557. We obtained official electoral results from the French Ministry of the Interior for the 1993 to 2017 parliamentary elections and the 1992 to 2015 local elections, and digitized results from printed booklets for the 1958 to 1988 parliamentary elections and the 1979 to 1988 local elections.¹⁰ Appendix Table A1 gives the breakdown of the number of races by election type and year.

To measure the impact of ranking first instead of second (henceforth “1vs2”), we further exclude races in which two of the top three candidates obtain an identical number of votes in the first round (sample 1).¹¹ Indeed, we do not have any way to choose which candidate to treat as first, when the top two obtained the same number of votes, and which candidate to compare to the first, when the two candidates ranked below her obtained the same number of votes. To measure the impact of ranking second instead of third (henceforth “2vs3”), we restrict our sample to races where at least three candidates compete in the first round and the third qualifies for the second

⁹In the 2011 local elections, the threshold remained at 10 percent in the 9 cantons belonging to Mayotte département.

¹⁰We had to digitize electoral results prior to 1988 because these results were only available from the website of the CDSP (Centre de Données Socio-Politiques, <https://cdsp.sciences-po.fr/en/>), in a format aggregating the vote shares of all candidates sharing the same political label and without candidates' names. Instead, our identification strategy requires knowing the exact vote share and rank of each candidate. In addition, we use the names of candidates to infer their gender and to identify candidates who were already present in previous elections.

¹¹By “two of the top three candidates”, we mean the top two if only two candidates competed in the first round, and two of the top three candidates if three or more candidates competed in the first round. The same applies to the next restrictions.

round, and we exclude races in which two of the top four candidates receive an identical number of votes in the first round (sample 2). To measure the impact of ranking third instead of fourth (henceforth “3vs4”), we restrict our sample to races where at least four candidates compete in the first round and the third and fourth qualify for the second round, and we exclude races in which two candidates among the second, third, fourth, and fifth obtain an identical number of votes in the first round (sample 3).

Thanks to the large set of local and parliamentary elections we consider, and to the large number of races in each election, our sample includes many close races: the vote share difference between the candidates ranked first and second (resp. second and third, and third and fourth) is under 2 percentage points in 2,581 races in sample 1, in 1,874 races in sample 2, and in 758 races in sample 3.

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics on the full sample. In the average race, 6.5 candidates competed in the first round, 63.6 percent of registered citizens voted in it, and 61.3 percent cast a valid vote for one of the candidates (henceforth “candidate votes”), as opposed to casting a blank or null vote. In the second round, the number of competing candidates ranged from 1 to 6, with an average of 2.1. Turnout was slightly higher than in the first round (62.8 percent on average) but the fraction of candidate votes was slightly lower (59.5 percent). Overall, the descriptive statistics reported in Appendix Tables A2, A3, and A4 indicate that close races in samples 1, 2, and 3 are very similar to other races in these samples, including in terms of voter turnout. Similarly, Appendix Figure A1 shows that second-round participation is not substantially higher in races which were close in the first round than in the rest of the sample, on average.

The statistics shown in Table 1 are at the race level. By contrast, the analysis below is conducted at the candidate level and uses exactly two observations per race, for the higher- and lower-ranked candidates. We allocate candidates to six political orientations (far-left, left, center, right, far-right, and other) based on labels attributed to them by the Ministry of the Interior.¹²

¹²To attribute political labels to candidates, the French Ministry of the Interior takes into account their self-reported political affiliation, party endorsement, past candidacies, and public declarations, among other indicators. Appendix H shows our mapping between these political labels and the six orientations, for each election.

Table 1: Summary statistics

	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Obs.
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>					
Registered voters	28,294	28,157	258	200,205	22,557
Turnout	0.636	0.125	0.094	0.921	22,557
Candidate votes	0.613	0.122	0.093	0.914	22,557
Number of candidates	6.5	3.1	2	48	22,557
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>					
Turnout	0.628	0.134	0.117	0.968	22,557
Candidate votes	0.595	0.138	0.103	0.963	22,557
Number of candidates	2.1	0.4	1	6	22,557

2.3 Evaluation framework

We exploit close races to estimate the impact of candidates' first-round rankings on their second-round outcomes. To measure the impact of ranking 1vs2, we use two observations per race, corresponding to the candidates placed first and second in the first round, and define the running variable X_1 as the difference between each candidate's vote share and the vote share of the other top-two candidate. For the candidate ranked first, the running variable is equal to her vote share minus the vote share of the candidate ranked second. For the candidate ranked second, it is equal to her vote share minus the vote share of the candidate ranked first:

$$X_1 = \begin{cases} \text{voteshare}_1 - \text{voteshare}_2 & \text{if ranked 1st} \\ \text{voteshare}_2 - \text{voteshare}_1 & \text{if ranked 2nd} \end{cases}$$

Similarly, for 2vs3 and 3vs4, we define the running variables X_2 and X_3 as:

$$X_2 = \begin{cases} \text{voteshare}_2 - \text{voteshare}_3 & \text{if ranked 2nd} \\ \text{voteshare}_3 - \text{voteshare}_2 & \text{if ranked 3rd} \end{cases}$$

$$X_3 = \begin{cases} \text{voteshare}_3 - \text{voteshare}_4 & \text{if ranked 3rd} \\ \text{voteshare}_4 - \text{voteshare}_3 & \text{if ranked 4th} \end{cases}$$

We define the treatment variable T as a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate had a higher rank in the first round ($X > 0$) and 0 otherwise, and we evaluate the impact of placing higher with the following specification:

$$Y_i = \alpha_1 + \tau T_i + \beta_1 X_i + \beta_2 X_i T_i + \mu_i, \quad (1)$$

where Y_i is the outcome of interest for candidate i . We run this specification separately for 1vs2, 2vs3, and 3vs4. It estimates the impact of rankings at the limit, when both candidates have an identical vote share. Therefore, it enables us to isolate the impact of ranking from the difference in vote shares.

The specification in equation [1] uses a non-parametric approach, following Imbens and Lemieux (2008) and Calonico et al. (2014). It amounts to fitting two linear regressions on, respectively, candidates close to the left of the threshold, and close to the right. In Appendix C, we show the robustness of the results to a quadratic specification, which includes X_i^2 and its interaction with T_i as regressors. In all regressions, we cluster our standard errors at the district level.¹³

Our main specification uses Calonico et al. (2014)’s estimation procedure, which provides robust confidence interval estimators, and the MSERD bandwidths developed by Calonico et al. (2019), which reduce potential bias the most. We test the robustness of our results to using a wide range of other bandwidths, including the optimal bandwidths computed according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012) and tighter bandwidths corresponding to half of the MSERD bandwidths. All these bandwidths are data-driven and, therefore, vary with the samples and outcomes used in the regressions.

2.4 Identification assumption

Our identification assumption is that all candidate characteristics change continuously around the threshold and, therefore, that the only discrete change occurring at this threshold is the shift in candidate rankings. Sorting of candidates across the discontinuity only threatens the validity of this assumption if it occurs exactly at the cutoff, with candidates of a particular type pushed just above or just below it (de la Cuesta and Imai, 2016). This would require some candidates to be able to predict election outcomes and deploy campaign resources with extreme accuracy, which

¹³Calonico et al. (2014)’s “rdrobust” command only allows us to cluster separately on each side of the discontinuity, implying that the higher- and lower-ranked candidates competing in the same race fall in separate clusters. We check that our main results are robust to using the conventional estimation procedure (with the command “ivreg2”) and clustering the standard errors at the district level, with clusters encompassing observations located on both sides of the threshold (see Appendix Table C5).

is unlikely for at least two reasons. First, unpredictable factors including weather conditions on Election Day make the outcome of the election uncertain (Eggers et al., 2015). Second, very limited information is available about voters' intentions in the first round of French parliamentary or local races. Polls specific to a given district are very rare during parliamentary elections, and nonexistent during local ones.

To bring empirical support for the identification assumption, it is customary for RDDs to check if there is a jump in the density of the running variable at the threshold, using a test designed by McCrary (2008). In our setting, this test is satisfied by construction since we consider the same set of races on both sides of the threshold and, in each race, the higher- and lower-ranked candidates are equally distant to the cutoff (see Appendix Figure A2).

Similarly, first-round variables such as district size, the total number of candidates, voter turnout, or the candidate's vote share are smooth by construction at the threshold.¹⁴

To provide additional support for the identification assumption, we consider variables whose distribution at the threshold is not mechanically symmetric: the candidate's gender; whether she ran in the previous election, in the same département and then in the exact same district; whether she won a race in the previous election, in the same département and then in the exact same district; whether she runs with or without the label of a political party;¹⁵ a set of six dummies indicating her political orientation; whether this orientation is the same as the incumbent's; the number of candidates of her orientation who were present in the first round; the number of candidates of her orientation who did not qualify for the second round; her strength in the first round, defined as the sum of first-round vote shares of all candidates of the same orientation; the total vote share of same-orientation candidates who did not qualify for the second round; and the average strength of her orientation at the national level in the first round. We conduct the following general test for imbalance. We regress the treatment variable T on these variables, use the coefficients from this regression to predict treatment status for each candidate, and test whether the predicted value jumps at the threshold. To avoid dropping observations, for each regressor, we include a dummy equal to one when the variable is missing and replace missing values by 0s.

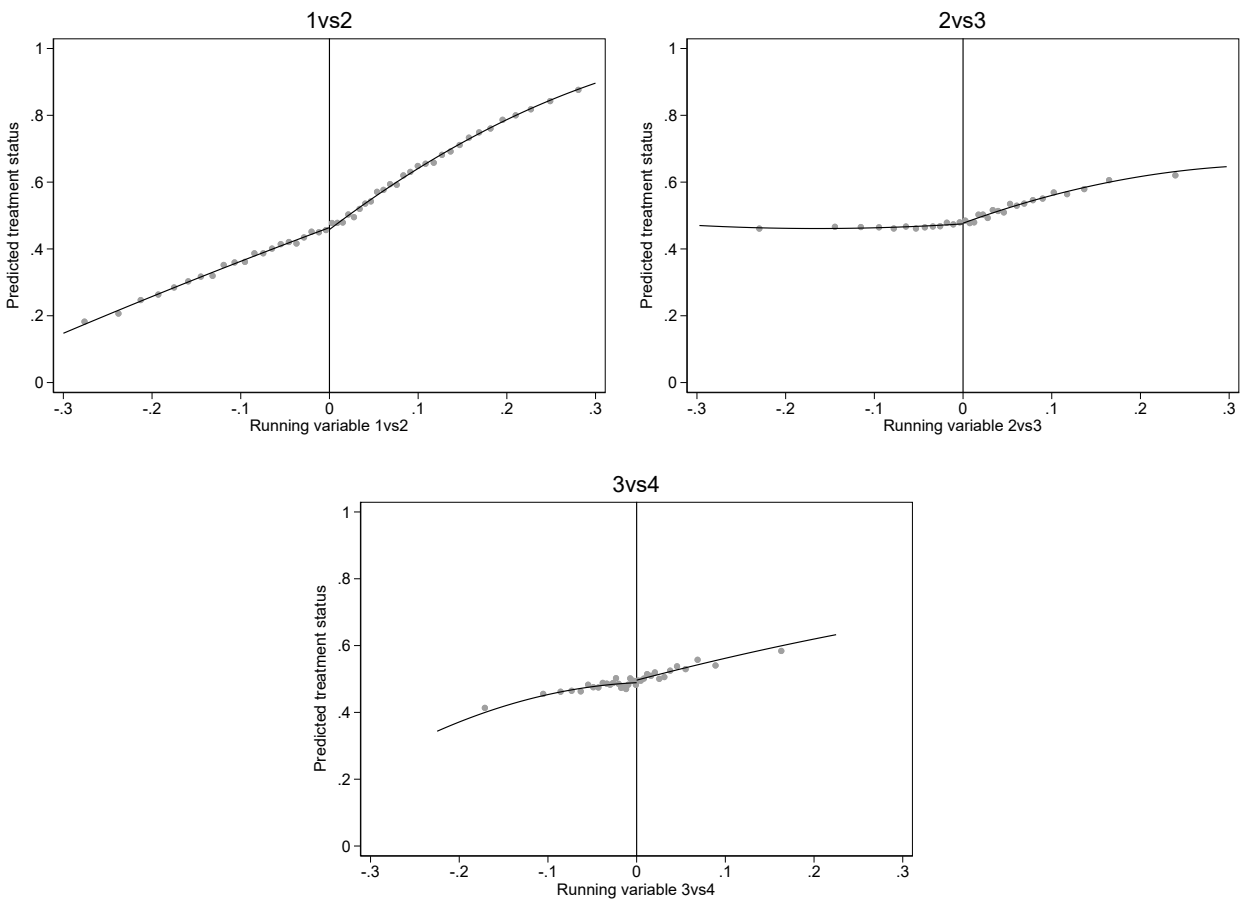
Figure 1 shows the lack of any jump at the cutoff for predicted assignment to first rank (instead

¹⁴Appendix Figure A3 plots the candidate's vote share in the first round against the running variable. We observe that in sample 1, the candidates ranked marginally first and second in the first round received around 30 percent of candidate votes at the threshold, on average. In sample 2 (resp. 3), the first-round vote share of candidates ranked marginally second and third (resp. third and fourth) was 20 percent (resp. 18 percent) at the threshold.

¹⁵We constructed this dummy variable based on the political labels attributed by the Ministry of the Interior (see Appendix H).

of second), second rank (instead of third), and third rank (instead of fourth). In this graph as well as all the graphs showing the effects of rankings, each dot indicates the average value of the outcome within a certain bin of the running variable. Observations corresponding to higher-ranked candidates are on the right of the threshold, and those corresponding to lower-ranked ones are on the left. We fit a quadratic polynomial on each side of the threshold, to facilitate visualization. As shown in Table 2, the coefficients are close to 0 and nonsignificant.

Figure 1: General balance test



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the predicted treatment status (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

We also examine whether there is a discontinuity in any of the variables used to predict treat-

ment, taken individually. The corresponding graphs and tables are included in Appendix B, along with a more detailed description of the placebo variables. Overall, one coefficient out of 54 is significant at the 1 percent level, 3 are significant at the 5 percent level, and 4 at the 10 percent level. Since the general balance test shows no discontinuity, we are confident that there is no systematic sorting of candidates at the threshold. In addition, the results shown in the rest of the paper are robust in sign, magnitude, and statistical significance to controlling for all the baseline variables (see Appendix Table C4).

Table 2: General balance test

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Predicted treatment		
	1vs2	2vs3	3vs4
	(sample 1)	(sample 2)	(sample 3)
Treatment	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.008 (0.007)
Robust p-value	0.618	0.406	0.320
Observations left	12,484	4,996	1,288
Observations right	12,484	4,996	1,288
Polyn. order	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.112	0.062	0.042
Mean, left of threshold	0.462	0.480	0.489

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcome is the value of the treatment predicted by the baseline variables listed in the text. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

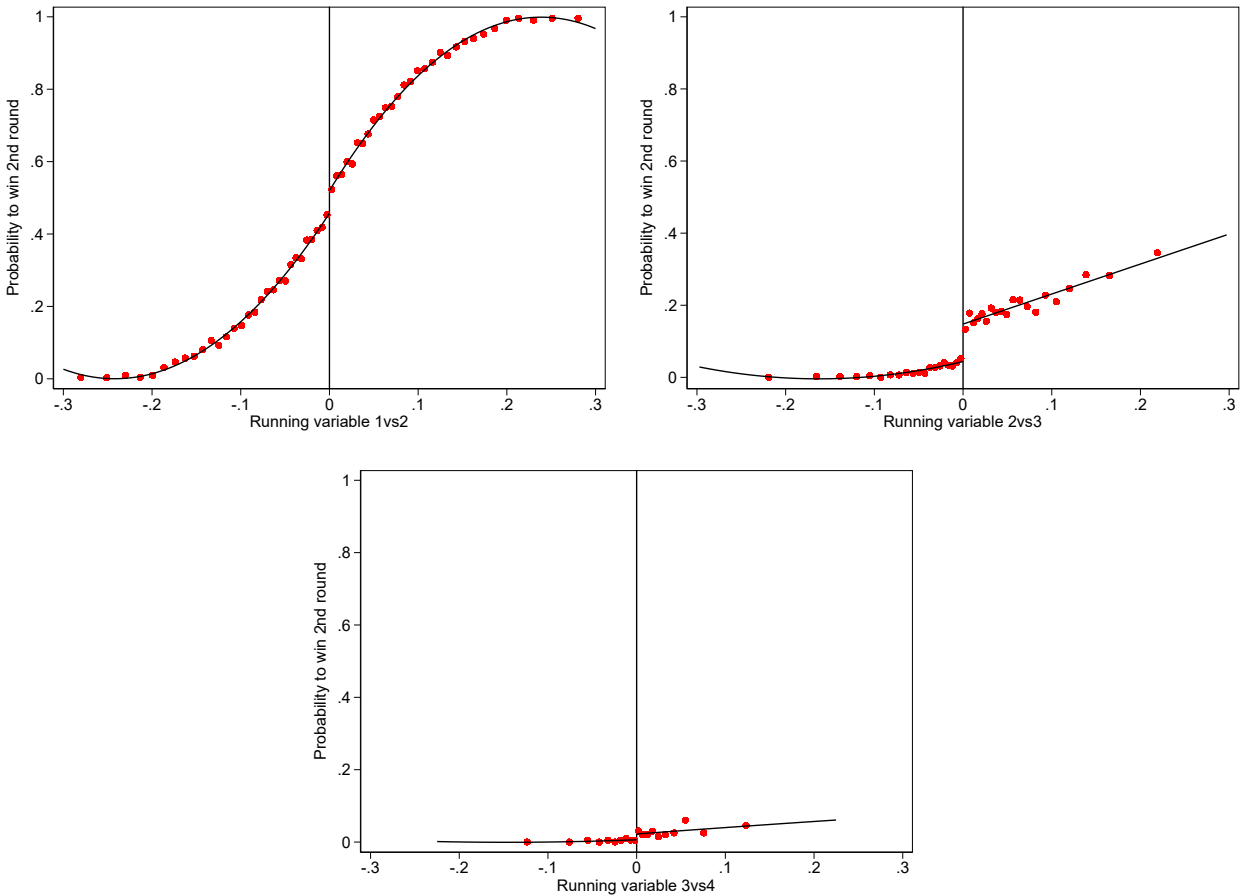
3 Main results

3.1 Impact on winning

We first measure the impact of candidates' first-round rankings on their unconditional likelihood to win the race: an outcome defined whether the candidate participates in the second round or not,

and equal to 1 if the candidate wins, and 0 if she stays in the second round and loses or if she drops out between rounds.

Figure 2: Impact on winning



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the probability that the candidate wins the second round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Figure 2 plots the likelihood that the higher- and lower-ranked candidates win the election against the running variable, for each of the three discontinuities. We observe a clear jump at the cutoff in the first plot: ranking 1vs2 in the first round has a large and positive impact on winning the second. The jump is even larger for the impact of ranking 2vs3 and it remains visible for the impact of ranking 3vs4, but it is smaller: very few candidates ranked third and fourth in the first

round are in a position to win the second round, limiting the scope for impact.

Table 3 presents the formal estimates. On average, ranking 1vs2 in the first round increases the likelihood to win the election by 5.8 percentage points (column 1), which represents a 12.7 percent increase compared to the average chance of victory of close second candidates at the threshold. Ranking 2vs3 has an even larger effect, of 9.9 percentage points (column 2): it more than triples the likelihood of victory of close third candidates. The effect of ranking 3vs4 is smaller in magnitude (2.2 percentage points, column 3), but it amounts to a fifth-fold increase compared to the very small fraction of races won by close fourth candidates. The effects of ranking 1vs2 and 2vs3 are significant at the 1 percent level and the effect of ranking 3vs4 is significant at the 10 percent level.

Table 3: Impact on winning

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Probability to win 2 nd round		
	1vs2 (sample 1)	2vs3 (sample 2)	3vs4 (sample 3)
Treatment	0.058*** (0.017)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.022* (0.011)
Robust p-value	0.004	0.000	0.052
Observations left	8,027	4,398	1,116
Observations right	8,027	4,398	1,116
Polyn. order	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.066	0.052	0.033
Mean, left of threshold	0.458	0.048	0.005

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate wins the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

To check the robustness of the results to alternative specifications and bandwidth choices, we estimate the treatment impacts using a quadratic specification (Appendix Table C1), the optimal bandwidths computed according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012) (Appendix Table C2), tighter bandwidths obtained by dividing the MSERD bandwidths by 2 (Appendix Table C3), and con-

trolling for baseline variables (Appendix Table C4).¹⁶ All these regressions use Calonico et al. (2014)'s estimation procedure. The corresponding estimates are very close in magnitude and they remain statistically significant. Finally, the effects of ranking 2vs3 are robust to excluding races in which the second candidate is less than 2 percentage points behind the first in the first round, and the effects of ranking 3vs4 to excluding races in which the third candidate is less than 2 percentage points behind the second. This indicates that our estimates are not driven by cases in which several vote share discontinuities overlap (Appendix Tables C6 and C7).

The effects of rankings on winning the race can result both from an increased likelihood to stay in the second round, as any qualifying candidate can decide to drop out, and from an increased likelihood to win the election conditional on staying in, if voters rally behind higher-ranked candidates. We now use our RDD framework to estimate the effects of rankings on both outcomes and disentangle these two channels. We also estimate the impact on vote shares conditional on staying in the race, to determine which fraction of the electorate drives the conditional impact on winning conditional on staying.

3.2 Impact on staying in the race

Figure 3 plots both the likelihood of staying in the second round (in blue) and the likelihood of winning (in red, replicating Figure 2) against the running variable, for each discontinuity. The quadratic polynomial fit for staying in the second round indicates a large upward jump at the cutoff for ranking first instead of second (1vs2). The jump is even more dramatic for ranking 2vs3 and 3vs4, and in both cases it is larger than the discontinuity observed for winning.

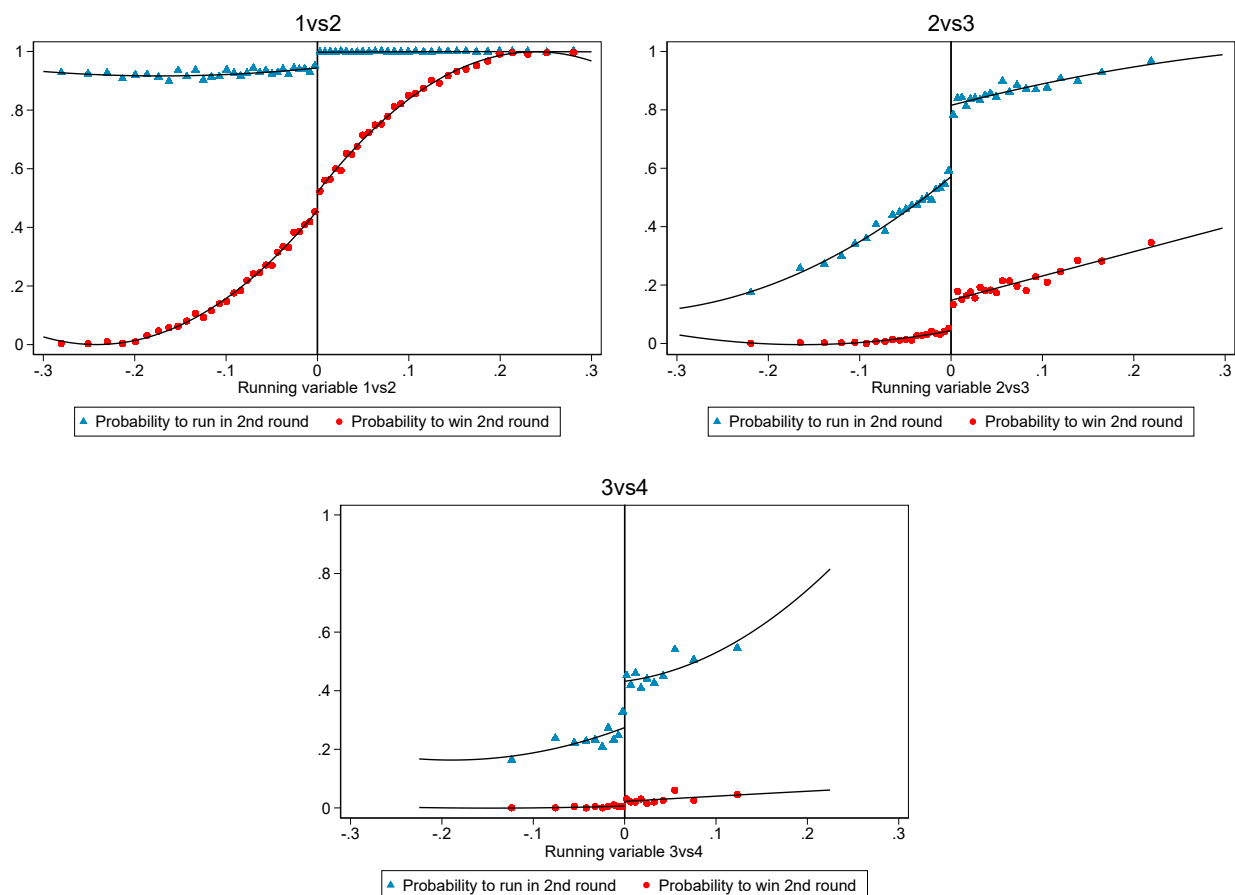
Consistent with the graphical analysis, the estimates reported in Table 4 indicate that ranking 1vs2 increases qualifying candidates' likelihood to run in the second round by 5.6 percentage points (6.0 percent of the mean at the threshold on the left): while 5.9 percent of close second candidates decide not to enter the second round, almost all first place candidates do (column 1). Ranking 2vs3 and 3vs4 have larger effects: they increase running in the second round by 23.5 percentage points (41.1 percent) and 14.6 percentage points (48.7 percent), respectively (columns 3 and 5). All three effects are significant at the 1 percent level.

Once again, these effects have a similar magnitude and remain statistically significant when using alternative specifications, bandwidths, or estimation procedures, and when excluding races

¹⁶Appendix Figure C1 shows the robustness of the effects to a large set of bandwidth choices, using both a polynomial of order 1 and 2.

with overlapping discontinuities (see Appendix C).

Figure 3: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning



Notes: Triangles (resp. circles) represent the local averages of the probability that the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round (vertical axis). Other notes as in Figure 2.

The decision to stay in the race or drop out may come from candidates themselves. Staying in the second round requires time and effort, and suffering a defeat can be psychologically costly, so lower-ranked candidates may drop out more often simply because they expect to be more likely to lose. In addition, policy-motivated candidates may be willing to coordinate with each other to prevent the victory of a disliked opponent. However, there is also ample anecdotal evidence that political parties endorsing candidates often have a say in the decision whether or not to stay in the race, including in French elections (Pons and Tricaud, 2018).

Table 4: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	(sample 1)		(sample 2)		(sample 3)	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.058*** (0.017)	0.235*** (0.018)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.146*** (0.040)	0.022* (0.011)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.052
Observations left	12,272	8,027	5,347	4,398	1,169	1,116
Observations right	12,272	8,027	5,347	4,398	1,169	1,116
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.109	0.066	0.068	0.052	0.036	0.033
Mean, left of threshold	0.941	0.458	0.572	0.048	0.300	0.005

Notes: In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. Other notes as in Table 3.

The effects of rankings on running in the second round could therefore reflect in part choices that were made by parties. We find some support for this view by comparing the effects on this outcome for candidates with and without party labels. As shown in Appendix Table A5, effects of ranking 2vs3 on these two types of candidates are of similar magnitude, but ranking 1vs2 increases the likelihood of staying in by twice as much for party candidates as for non-affiliated candidates, and ranking 3vs4 by three times as much. Interestingly, Appendix Table A6 shows that incumbents are less likely to drop out of the race as a result of having a lower rank in the first round, suggesting that they are more able to withstand outside pressure to do so, including from their party.¹⁷ We discuss the role of parties and the motivations underlying their choices at greater length in Sections 4.2 through 4.4.

¹⁷In Appendix Tables A5 and A6, the samples are restricted to candidates with a specific characteristic (running under a party label or not, and being an incumbent or not). The number of candidates satisfying these criteria varies across races. Therefore, the regressions shown in these tables include different numbers of observations on the two sides of the threshold, unlike our main regressions using exactly two observations per race. In Table A6, we define as incumbent any candidate who won a race in the same département in the last election. The results are robust to restricting the definition to candidates who won the last race in the exact same district (Table A7). We do not show the effects of ranking 3vs4 separately for incumbents and non-incumbents because the number of incumbents among close third and fourth candidates is very low.

3.3 Impact on winning and vote shares conditional on staying in the race

We now turn to the second channel which might underlie the impacts of rankings on winning: an increased vote share and likelihood of winning *conditional on staying* in the second round, either because active voters rally behind higher-ranked candidates or because these candidates manage to mobilize a larger fraction of their supporters.

Bounds on the conditional effects of rankings

To estimate these effects, we cannot simply run an RDD on elections in which both the lower- and higher-ranked candidates decide to remain in the second round. Indeed, the fact that close candidates qualifying for the second round are similar at the threshold does not imply that close candidates who decide to stay in the second round are similar as well.

To address this selection issue, we follow Anagol and Fujiwara (2016), who adapt Lee (2009)’s bounds method to RDDs. To estimate the impact of ranking 1 vs 2 on the likelihood of winning conditional on staying in the race, we first decompose it mathematically into observed and unobserved components.

Using the potential outcomes framework, we define R_0 and R_1 as binary variables indicating if the candidate runs in the second round when $T = 0$ (the candidate ranked second in the first round) and $T = 1$ (the candidate ranked first), respectively. In the data, we only observe $R = TR_1 + (1 - T)R_0$: we know whether the candidate placed first decides to stay in the second round but not whether she would have stayed if placed second, and conversely. Next, we define W_0 and W_1 as binary variables indicating if the candidate wins in the second round conditional on staying in when $T = 0$ and $T = 1$, respectively. We only observe $W = R[TW_1 + (1 - T)W_0]$: when the candidate does not stay in the second round ($R = 0$), she does not win ($W = 0$) and we do not observe whether she would have won if she had stayed in. When she runs in the second round ($R = 1$), we observe whether the candidate ranked first in the first round wins the election but not whether she would have won if ranked second, and conversely.

We further define four types of candidates: “always takers,” who always run in the second round, whether they ranked first or second in the first round; “never takers,” who never run in the second round; “compliers,” who run in the second round if ranked first but not second; and “defiers,” who run in the second round if ranked second but not first. To derive bounds, we assume that there are no defiers: all candidates who ranked second and stay in the second round would also have stayed if ranked first. Under this assumption, we have that $R_1 \geq$

R_0 and we can write the impact on the unconditional likelihood of winning (estimated in Section 3.1) as the sum of the impact on running in the second round (estimated in Section 3.2), multiplied by the likelihood that close second-place compliers would win if they entered the race; and the impact on the likelihood of winning conditional on staying (for compliers and always takers), multiplied by the probability of staying of first-place candidates at the threshold:

$$\underbrace{E(W_1R_1 - W_0R_0|x = 0)}_{\text{RD effect on } W} = \underbrace{\text{Prob}(R_1 > R_0|x = 0)}_{\text{RD effect on } R} \cdot \underbrace{E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0)}_{\text{Unobservable}}$$

$$+ \underbrace{E[W_1 - W_0|x = 0, R_1 = 1]}_{\text{Effect on win cond on being always-taker or complier}} \cdot \underbrace{E(R_1|x = 0)}_{\lim_{x \downarrow 0} E[R|x]}$$

From this expression, we get:

$$\underbrace{E[W_1 - W_0|x = 0, R_1 = 1]}_{\text{Effect on win cond on being always-taker or complier}} = \frac{1}{\lim_{x \downarrow 0} E[R|x]} \left[\underbrace{E(W_1R_1 - W_0R_0|x = 0)}_{\text{RD effect on } W} - \underbrace{\text{Prob}(R_1 > R_0|x = 0)}_{\text{RD effect on } R} \cdot \underbrace{E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0)}_{\text{Unobservable}} \right] \quad (2)$$

$E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0)$ is the likelihood that close compliers would win if they remained in the race, absent treatment (i.e., when they rank second). By definition, compliers do not stay in when they rank second (but only when they rank first). This term is thus unobservable. Since all the other terms on the right-hand side of equation [2] are observed, we can derive bounds on the effect on winning conditional on staying in by making assumptions about this term.

To obtain an upper bound, we set $E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0) = 0$, as the largest possible effect of ranking 1vs2 on winning conditional on running occurs if we assume that close second-ranked compliers would never win the second round if they decided to run. To obtain a lower bound, we replace the unobservable term by the probability that close first-ranked candidates who do choose to stay in the race win the election: 51.8 percent. The choice of this high probability (which is higher than the probability of victory of close second-ranked candidates who actually stay in, 48.6 percent) makes our lower bound conservative.

We use the same method to derive bounds on the impact of ranking 2vs3 (resp. 3vs4) on the likelihood of winning conditional on staying in. The probability that close higher-ranked compliers

win the election, which we use to replace the unobservable term when computing the lower bounds, is 18.3 percent (resp. 6.1 percent), which is much higher than the probability of victory of close lower-ranked candidates who do stay in the second round: 8.5 percent (resp. 1.8 percent).

To derive bounds on the effects on second-round vote shares conditional on staying in, we replace the effect on the unconditional likelihood of winning by the effect on unconditional vote shares (an outcome equal to 0 if the candidate drops out between rounds), in equation [2]. This effect corresponds to the jumps observed on Appendix Figure A4, which plots unconditional vote shares of the lower- and higher-ranked candidates against the running variable. In addition, to derive the lower bound 1vs2, we replace the unobservable term by the vote share obtained in the second round by close first-ranked compliers: 48.6 percent. Again, we use the same method for 2vs3 and 3vs4. The second-round vote share of close higher-ranked compliers, which we use to compute their lower bounds, are 36.9 and 23.1 percent respectively.

Finally, we use a bootstrapping procedure to estimate the standard errors of the bounds: we draw a sample from our districts with replacement, compute the lower and upper bounds as indicated above, repeat these two steps 10,000 times, and estimate the empirical standard deviation of both bounds.

Table 5 provides the resulting bounds and bootstrapped standard errors of the effects of ranking 1vs2, 2vs3, and 3vs4 on conditional vote shares and likelihood of winning.

Table 5: Bounds on the impact on winning and vote shares, conditional on staying in

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	(sample 1)		(sample 2)		(sample 3)	
	Win	Vote share	Win	Vote share	Win	Vote share
Upper bound	0.059	0.040	0.122	0.147	0.050	0.100
Boot. std error	(0.024)**	(0.004)***	(0.018)***	(0.013)***	(0.026)*	(0.023)***
Lower bound	0.029	0.013	0.069	0.040	0.030	0.025
Boot. std error	(0.023)	(0.003)***	(0.015)***	(0.005)***	(0.020)	(0.012)**
Mean	0.486	0.473	0.085	0.311	0.018	0.196

Notes: We indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold, conditional on running in the second round.

As shown in column 1, conditional on running in the second round, ranking 1vs2 in the first

round increases the likelihood of winning by 2.9 to 5.9 percentage points (6.0 to 12.1 percent of the mean for candidates ranked second who run in the second round at the threshold). The upper bound is significant at the 5 percent level, but the lower bound is not. The effect on vote share conditional on running is 1.3 to 4.0 percentage points, where both the upper and lower bounds are significant at the 1 percent level (column 2).

Ranking 2vs3 has larger effects, conditional on staying in the race. First, it increases the likelihood of winning by 6.9 to 12.2 percentage points, which roughly corresponds to a doubling of this outcome, compared to the mean at the threshold on the left (column 3). Second, it increases the conditional second-round vote share by 4.0 to 14.7 percentage points (column 4). The upper and lower bounds of both effects are significant at the 1 percent level.

Finally, ranking 3vs4 increases the conditional likelihood of winning by 3.0 to 5.0 percentage points, which corresponds to a three-fold or four-fold increase (column 5). The upper bound is significant at the 10 percent level, but not the lower bound. Ranking 3vs4 also increases the second-round vote share by 2.5 to 10.0 percentage points (12.8 to 51.0 percent), conditional on running, with the upper and lower bounds significant at the 1 and 5 percent level, respectively (column 6).

These results indicate that effects of rankings on winning and on vote shares are very unlikely to be fully explained by their impact on staying in the race. To corroborate this conclusion, we check which value of $E(W_0|x=0, R_1 > R_0)$, the unobserved likelihood that close lower-ranked compliers would win if they stayed in, would make the effects of rankings conditional on running null or statistically nonsignificant. Setting conditional effects to 0, in equation [2], gives us the equality $E(W_0|x=0, R_1 > R_0) = \frac{E(W_1R_1 - W_0R_0|x=0)}{Prob(R_1 > R_0|x=0)}$, where the right-hand side is the ratio of rankings' effects on winning and on running. We report the corresponding point estimates in Appendix Table A8, Panel A.¹⁸ They are well above the probability of winning and the vote share of close *lower*-ranked as well as close *higher*-ranked candidates who actually stay in the race.¹⁹

We then ask which assumptions we would need to make on $E(W_0|x=0, R_1 > R_0)$ for the

¹⁸The standard errors shown in Table A8, Panel A are estimated using the same bootstrapping procedure as the one used to estimate the standard errors of the bounds, in Table 5. Column 1 shows that the likelihood that close compliers would win if they remained in the race would need to be larger than 1 for the effect of ranking 1vs2 on winning conditional on staying in to be null, which is of course impossible. This comes from the fact that ranking 1vs2 has a smaller impact on running (5.6pp) than on winning (5.8pp). The former effect could therefore not explain the latter even if all close compliers always won if they stayed in the race.

¹⁹The actual probability of winning and vote share of close lower-ranked candidates who stay in the race are 48.6 and 47.3 percent (for ranking 1vs2); 8.5 and 31.1 percent (for ranking 2vs3); and 1.8 and 19.6 percent (for ranking 3vs4). The winning probability and vote share of close higher-ranked candidates who stay in are 51.8 and 48.6 percent; 18.3 and 36.9; and 6.1 and 23.1.

conditional effects of rankings to be nonsignificant. Let us define λ as a variable equal to $E(W_0|x=0, R_1 > R_0)$, so that the numerator on the right-hand side of equation [2] is equal to the impact of rankings on $W - R\lambda$. Then, the conditional effect of rankings, which is on the left-hand side of that equation, is nonsignificant if and only if the impact on $W - R\lambda$ is nonsignificant. Table A8 Panel B reports the lowest values of λ for which this is the case. For most outcomes and discontinuities, these values are again higher than the probability of winning and the vote share of lower- and higher-ranked candidates who stay in the race, close to the threshold.

In sum, one would need to assume that compliers would win with an implausibly high likelihood if they remained in the race and that they would obtain an implausibly high vote share for the conditional effects of rankings to be null or nonsignificant.

Effects on election outcomes outside the threshold

Since our effects are measured at the threshold, for elections in which the higher- and lower-ranked candidates obtained nearly identical vote shares in the first round, one may wonder whether voters also tend to rally behind higher-ranked candidates in races further away from the discontinuity. The RDD does not allow us to test this, by construction, but we do not see any clear reason to expect the contrary, especially since close races are descriptively similar to other races, as shown in Appendix Tables A2 to A4.

Another possible concern is that the conditional effects we measure on *winning* may be artificially large because they are estimated in close races. To see this, imagine an election in which the top-two candidates in the first round would obtain very close vote shares and finish first and second in the second round, absent effects of rankings. Then, even a modest effect of ranking 1vs2 on vote shares would translate into a large effect on winning. In a less close election, a vote share effect of the same magnitude would be much less likely to affect the outcome of the race.

However, it is important to note that the level of closeness in the first round is not a perfect predictor of second-round closeness. Indeed, the set of candidates present on the ballot and the pool of voters participating in each round are different. In addition, the same voter may cast different ballots in the two rounds. It follows that elections which are close in the first round may be less close in the second round, and vice versa. In the full sample, the correlation between closeness in the first and second rounds is far from perfect: the coefficient of correlation, computed using all races with more than one candidate in the second round, is equal to 0.55.

Furthermore, we provide direct evidence that our estimation strategy does not generate artifi-

cially large conditional effects on winning. We identify all races in which the distance between the second-round vote shares of the candidates who were first and second in the first round is smaller than the average effect of ranking 1vs2, examine how far from the threshold these races are located, and estimate their total fraction. We restrict our attention to races in which both top-two candidates competed in the second round. Appendix Table A9 presents results obtained when considering either the upper or lower bound of the effects of ranking 1vs2 on vote shares. Conservatively, we only discuss the results obtained with the lower bound, equal to 1.3 percentage points (Table 5). In the second round, the vote share of the first candidate was higher than the vote share of the second but by a margin smaller than this lower bound in 3.1 percent of the races. As one would expect, this fraction is larger in elections that were close in the first round, but it remains important even for elections located more than 5 percentage points away from the threshold.

We repeat the same exercise for ranking 2vs3 and 3vs4 and find that the higher-ranked candidate finishes the race ahead of the lower-ranked one but with a lead narrower than the lower bound of rankings' effects in 8.5 percent and 10.6 percent of the races, respectively. Once again, these fractions are smaller but remain substantial in races that were not close in the first round.

These results suggest that first-round placements affect the ordering of candidates in the second round and the identity of the winner in many races, including outside of the discontinuity. We do not compute the exact fraction of elections whose outcome changed as a result, since this would require disregarding possible variations in rankings' effects on voter behavior across different types of races. However, we reject the possibility that effects on vote shares measured at the threshold translated into artificially large effects on winning due to the focus on close first-round races.

Types of voters driving rankings' conditional effects

The effects of rankings on winning and on vote shares, conditional on candidates staying in the race, might be driven by different types of voters. Focusing on the impact of ranking 1vs2, we distinguish voters who cast a ballot for one of the top-two candidates in the first round (type 1); those who voted for a candidate other than the top two (type 2); and non-voters and people who voted blank or null (type 3). We exploit the fact that rankings are assigned at the district level and that the split of voters between these three groups varies within districts. If the first candidate gains an edge by stealing voters away from the second, then the effects of rankings should be relatively larger in parts of the district in which these two candidates received more votes in the first round. In contrast, if the first candidate attracts a disproportionate number of supporters of candidates other

than the top two (including candidates eliminated after the first round), effects should increase with the fraction of such voters. Finally, ranking first instead of second may be consequential because it facilitates the mobilization of non-voters. In that case, the effects of rankings should be larger in areas with a larger fraction of non-voters.

We test these rival predictions using electoral results at the municipality or precinct level, depending on data availability. The average precinct (or municipality) counts 669 citizens, allowing us to study the behavior of relatively small groups of voters. We collected results for a total of 475,501 precincts. We first split all precincts within each district and race into terciles defined based on the fraction of type 1 voters, and compare effects on vote share across terciles. By construction, each race is equally represented in each tercile, facilitating the interpretation of the results: differences between terciles cannot result from differences across races. We then repeat the exercise by defining terciles based on the fraction of type 2 and type 3 voters. Appendix D includes additional details on these tests, and Appendix Table D1 presents the results. The effects of rankings on vote share decrease with the fraction of non-voters (columns 8 to 10) and increase with the fraction of people who voted for the top-two candidates in the first round (columns 2 to 4). In both cases, the effects in the first and third tercile are significantly different from each other. The pattern is less clear for terciles defined based on the fraction of votes received by candidates other than the top two (columns 5 to 7). Overall, the results suggest that the effects of rankings on voter behavior do not solely or even primarily come from the differential mobilization of non-voters, but that candidate rankings mainly influence the choice of active voters hesitating between the top two.

4 Mechanisms

Our main results indicate that the effects of first-round rankings on candidates' likelihood to win the second round are driven both by higher-ranked candidates' higher likelihood to stay in the race and by voters rallying behind them. These two effects may be linked: lower-ranked candidates' more frequent dropouts may reflect in part the (accurate) anticipation of being disadvantaged by their rank in the second round. To the extent that candidates adjust their decisions to their expectations about voter behavior, any mechanism affecting voters' response to rankings may help explain candidates' own response. Therefore, in this section, we discuss the mechanisms underlying the behavior of candidates and voters jointly.

4.1 Impact depending on the difference between candidates' political orientations

We first compare rankings' effect size when the higher- and lower-ranked candidates have the same political orientation versus distinct orientations.

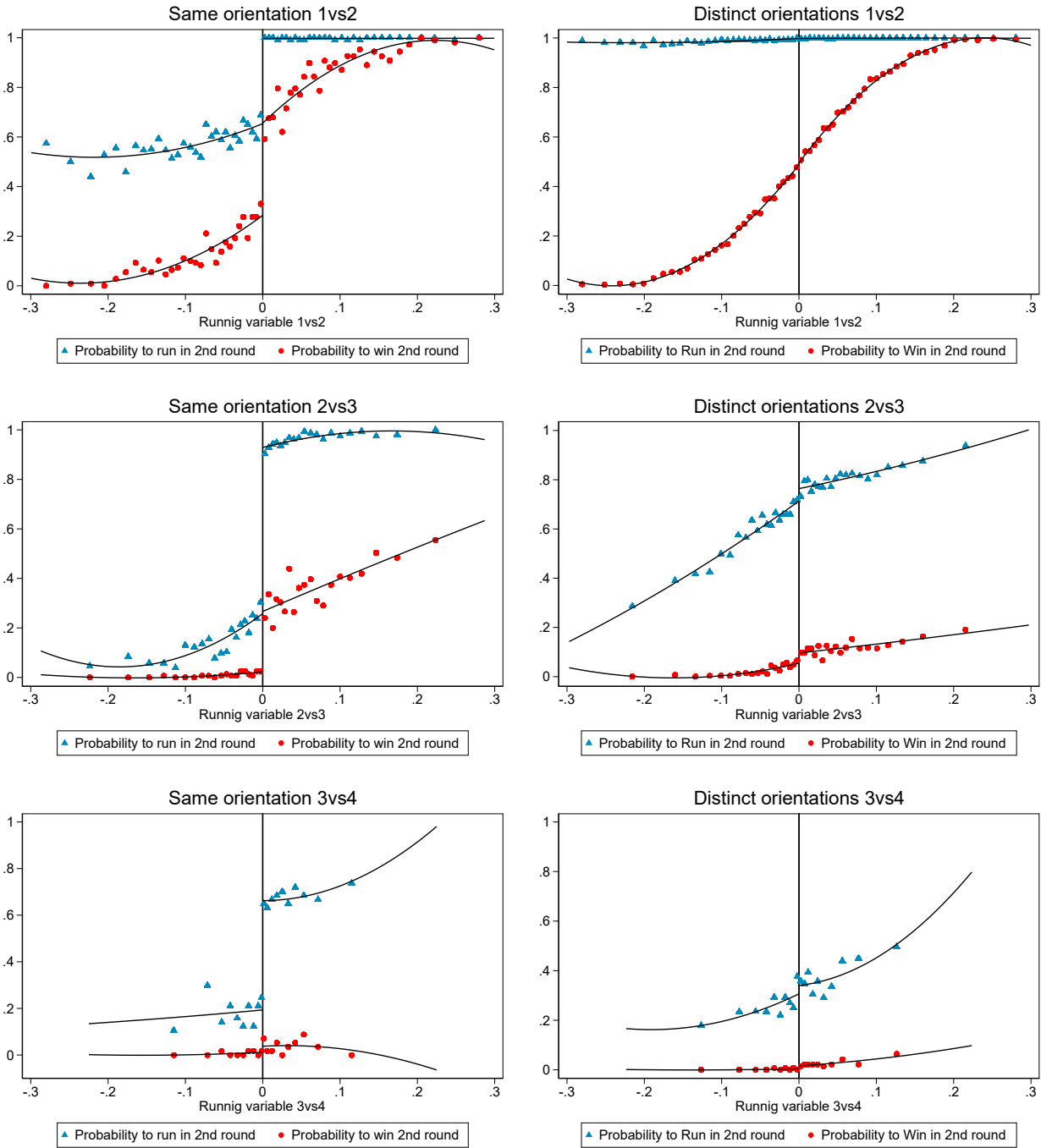
As shown on Figure 4, the effects of rankings on staying in the second round and winning are much larger in races where candidates have the same orientation. When the first and second candidates have the same orientation, ranking 1vs2 increases the likelihood of staying in and winning by 35.2 and 30.5 percentage points. Both estimates are significant at the 1 percent level. By contrast, the effects are close to zero and nonsignificant when they have distinct orientations (Appendix Table A10). We find a similar difference for ranking 2vs3: its effects on staying in the race and winning are 62.7 and 22.3 percentage points, significant at the 1 percent level, when the second and third candidates have the same orientation. When they have distinct orientations, the effects remain significant at the 5 percent level but decrease to 5.2 and 4.1 percentage points (Appendix Table A11). Finally, when the third and fourth candidates have the same orientation, the effect of ranking 3vs4 on staying in is 40.1 percentage points and significant at the 1 percent level, and the effect on winning 4.0 percentage points and nonsignificant. Both point estimates are lower and nonsignificant when they have distinct orientations (Appendix Table A12).

A possible interpretation is that the effects of rankings are driven by strategic coordination. Shared political orientation makes coordination more desirable: it increases the value that the two candidates, their parties, and their supporters place on defeating ideologically distant candidates. When two candidates have the same orientation, rankings may be used as a coordination device both by strategic voters, to coordinate on the same candidate, and by parties, to decide which candidate should drop out of the race.

However, other interpretations are possible. Shared orientation also makes it less costly for voters to rally behind the higher-ranked candidate, whatever their underlying motive is. Similarly, ideological proximity and the habit to govern together make it easier for sister parties to reach dropout agreements (Pons and Tricaud, 2018). In doing so, their objective may not necessarily be to prevent the victory of a third candidate.

In the next two sections, we focus on the impact of ranking 1vs2 and consider separately races in which a third candidate qualifies or fails to qualify, to disentangle the role of coordination from other possible mechanisms.

Figure 4: Impact of rankings depending on the difference between candidates' political orientations



Notes: The three graphs on the left-hand side (resp. right-hand side) consider only races where the two candidates have the same orientation (resp. distinct orientations). Other notes as in Figure 3.

4.2 The role of coordination

To investigate the extent to which coordination explains the effects of ranking 1vs2, we focus on elections in which three or more candidates qualify for the second round. In these elections, the top-two candidates and their supporters might want to coordinate against lower-ranked candidates and use rankings to do so. We conduct two distinct tests.

First, the top-two candidates and their supporters should be more willing to coordinate when the candidate who came in third is stronger and more likely to challenge the victory of one of the top two. If coordination against the third candidate drives our results, we should thus expect the second candidate to be more likely to drop out of the race and voters to be more likely to rally behind the first when the third candidate's vote share is closer to the second's. Consistent with this prediction, Table 6 shows that the effects of ranking 1vs2 on entering the second round and winning are larger when the gap in first-round vote shares between the second and third candidates is below 5 percentage points than in the full sample (columns 1 to 4). Effect size further increases when the gap is narrower than 2.5 percentage points (columns 5 and 6). We observe the same patterns when we restrict the sample to races in which the top-two candidates have the same orientation, making incentives to coordinate against the third candidate particularly strong (see Appendix Table A13).

Second, the top-two candidates and their supporters should be more likely to coordinate together (as opposed to coordinating with other candidates and groups of voters) when their ideological distance is relatively smaller than their distance with the third candidate. To the extent that our results are driven by coordination, we should expect the effects to be larger when the third candidate has a different orientation than both top two than when she has the same orientation, in races where the top-two candidates have the same political orientation. The results shown in Appendix Table A14 are consistent with this prediction: ranking 1vs2 increases the likelihood of staying in the race by three times as much when the third candidate has a different orientation than when she has the same orientation (columns 3 and 5), and its effects on the likelihood of winning are only present in the former case (columns 4 and 6). When the top-two candidates have distinct orientations, we should expect larger effects on staying in and winning when the third candidate is on the right or on the left of both of them, on the left-right axis, than when she has the same orientation as one of them or is located in between. Support for this prediction is weaker as none of these effects is statistically significant (Appendix Table A15).

Table 6: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the strength of the 3rd

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3) 1vs2 - 3 rd qualifies		(5)	(6)
	Full		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <5%		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <2.5%	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.096*** (0.010)	0.053 (0.025)	0.130*** (0.017)	0.099* (0.040)	0.185*** (0.030)	0.150** (0.046)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.119	0.000	0.062	0.000	0.011
Observations left	4,464	3,550	1,951	1,497	808	1,074
Observations right	4,464	3,550	1,951	1,497	808	1,074
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.086	0.065	0.090	0.066	0.064	0.089
Mean, left of threshold	0.899	0.446	0.864	0.393	0.808	0.352

Notes: The sample only includes the races where the third candidate qualifies for the second round. In columns 3 and 4 (resp. 5 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the candidates ranked second and third in the first round is under 5 (resp. 2.5) percentage points. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. Other notes as in Table 3.

Overall, the heterogeneity of effect size in races where three or more candidates qualify for the second round supports the interpretation that strategic coordination by candidates and voters explains at least part of the effects of ranking 1vs2. To test whether it can explain them entirely, we now turn to races in which the third candidate does *not* qualify for the second round (races of sample 1 where the third candidate received a vote share below the qualification threshold in the first round).

4.3 Party norms and the bandwagon effect

When the third candidate does not qualify for the second round, there is not the need – or even the possibility – for the top-two candidates and their voters to coordinate against a lower-ranked candidate. Nonetheless, as shown in Table 7, ranking 1vs2 increases a candidate’s likelihood of winning by 5.9 percentage points overall (column 4), which is significant at the 5 percent level and almost exactly the same size as the point estimate in the full sample (Table 3). This effect is present but slightly smaller and at the limit of statistical significance when the first and second

candidates have distinct orientations (p-value 0.103), and it is much larger (16.4 percentage points) and significant at the 5 percent level when their orientation is the same (columns 5 and 6).

Table 7: Impact of ranking 1vs2 in races where the 3rd does not qualify

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2 - 3 rd does not qualify					
	Probability to run 1vs2			Probability to win 1vs2		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Treatment	0.018*** (0.004)	0.186*** (0.031)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.059** (0.021)	0.164** (0.055)	0.049 (0.022)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.270	0.031	0.022	0.103
Observations left	7,554	767	3,133	5,130	652	4,791
Observations right	7,554	767	3,133	5,130	652	4,791
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.122	0.127	0.051	0.078	0.106	0.081
Mean, left of threshold	0.982	0.814	1.000	0.471	0.418	0.476

Notes: The sample only includes the races where the third candidate does not qualify for the second round. In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6) the sample is further restricted to elections where the two candidates have the same orientation (resp. distinct orientations). In columns 1, 2, and 3 (resp. 4, 5, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. Other notes as in Table 3.

Party norms

In this configuration too – when the third candidate does not qualify for the second round – effects on winning are partly driven by effects on running in the second round. When the top-two candidates have distinct orientations, none of them drops out between rounds, at the threshold, and the effect on running is null (column 3). In contrast, when the top-two candidates have the same orientation, the first candidate almost always stays in the second round but the second drops out in 18.6 percent of the races at the threshold, a difference significant at the 1 percent level (column 2).

This result is puzzling: absent a third candidate, a dropout by one of the top-two candidates means the race will be uncontested and won with certainty by the only remaining candidate. In this case, the benefit of dropping out is far from obvious, and the cost seems high. As shown in Appendix Table A16, the second candidate drops out only rarely when the top-two candidates are on the right, but very frequently when they are on the left. In that case, the choice to drop out often

stems from agreements between left-wing parties, which contend that they want to follow the first-round choice of their supporters instead of allowing the supporters of candidates eliminated after the first round to decide the outcome of the race between the two remaining candidates. Complementary explanations for dropouts when the top-two candidates have the same orientation and the third is absent include avoiding a campaign where negative arguments could hurt the reputation of both competitors, and enforcing regional or national agreements which allocate a certain number of seats to each of the allied parties. Indeed, in areas where they are enforced, dropout agreements ensure that roughly half of the races are won by the candidates of either of the competing parties, at the threshold.

Bandwagon effect

To test whether voters respond to the first-round rankings of the top-two candidates as well, in races where the third candidate does not qualify for the second round, Table 8 derives bounds for the effects on winning and on vote share conditional on staying in. We find that ranking 1vs2 increases candidates' conditional likelihood of winning by 4.9 to 5.9 percentage points overall (column 1). The lower and upper bounds are significant at the 10 and 5 percent levels, respectively. In these races, the behavior of voters moved by rankings cannot be explained by the desire to coordinate against lower-ranked candidates (who, again, are not present).

The most likely interpretation is that these voters get on the bandwagon because they derive intrinsic value from siding with the winner of the first round, or that they desire to vote for the winner of the race (Callander, 2007, 2008) and anticipate that the candidate ranked first in the first round has increased chances of also winning the second. To see where this belief might originate, note that any voter who rallies behind the first candidate based on the expectation that she is more likely to win the race contributes to fulfilling this expectation. Therefore, this expectation may be part of an equilibrium in which voters desiring to be on the winning side use first-round rankings as a device to rally behind the same candidate. Voters may also arrive at that expectation in another way, for instance by drawing inferences from the outcomes of previous races. Whatever their exact reasoning is, voters who rally behind the candidate ranked first in the first round because they desire to vote for the winner of the election are behaving rationally, even if that candidate's vote share margin in the first round was close to null and they know it. Indeed, as our paper shows, that candidate is more likely to win even such races.

Table 8: Bounds on the impact of ranking 1vs2, conditional on running, in races where the 3rd does not qualify

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2 - 3 rd does not qualify					
	Win			Vote share		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Upper bound	0.059	0.164	0.049	0.019	0.186	0.002
Boot. std error	(0.029)**	(0.091)*	(0.029)*	(0.004)***	(0.035)***	(0.003)
Lower bound	0.049	0.056	0.049	0.010	0.075	0.002
Boot. std error	(0.028)*	(0.076)	(0.029)*	(0.003)***	(0.015)***	(0.003)
Mean	0.480	0.526	0.476	0.500	0.500	0.499

Notes: We indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold, conditional on running in the second round. In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the sample is restricted to elections where the two candidates have the same orientation (resp. distinct orientations).

The fraction of voters whose choice of candidate is based on this desire to be on the winning side is relatively small on average: the effect on vote share is between 1.0 and 1.9 percentage points (column 4), where both the lower and upper bounds are significant at the 1 percent level. Yet, this fraction is sufficient to sway a large share of close elections.

We observe an effect on winning conditional on staying in the race not only when the top-two candidates have the same orientation (column 2), but also when they have distinct orientations (column 3). This result indicates that the bandwagon effect impacts electoral outcomes in a substantial number of races, even when the ideological distance between candidates is important. However, the lower and upper bounds on the effects on vote share are small and nonsignificant in that case (column 6). In contrast, the conditional effect on vote share is very large when both candidates have the same orientation, with lower and upper bounds of 7.5 and 18.6 percentage points, both significant at the 1 percent level (column 5).

Social learning

A complementary interpretation for the effect of ranking first on voter behavior is that preferences include a common value component and voters update their beliefs on candidate quality based on the choices of others. Knight and Schiff (2010) and Deltas et al. (2016) have shown in the

context of U.S. presidential primaries that voters learn from past vote shares and adjust their choice accordingly. So, it may seem natural to assume that voters also learn from past candidate rankings.

We find this interpretation less plausible, for two reasons. First, while the bandwagon mechanism can be at play even with perfectly informed and rational voters, as discussed above, the social learning interpretation requires myopic voters. Indeed, our effects are estimated at the threshold, where the first and second candidates received nearly identical vote shares in the first round and their placements do not contain any additional information on the private signals of other voters. For social learning to explain our effects, we would thus need to assume that voters lack information on vote shares, leading them to use rankings as a heuristic and to wrongly believe that the first candidate received substantially more votes. However, information on vote shares is readily available in the week separating the two rounds: as shown in Section 4.4 below, the media tend not to stop at simply reporting candidate rankings, but also provide detailed information on race closeness. It is of course possible that voters fail to pay attention to this information but, if anything, one could expect it to be less likely to go unnoticed when the race is very close.

Second, to assess the actual explanatory power of the social learning interpretation, we test the following prediction. If voters use candidates' placements to learn about their quality, obtaining a higher rank should have lower effects for candidates whom voters already know and on whom their priors should therefore be more precise, including incumbents and candidates who competed in the previous election. In Appendix Table A17, we compare the effects of ranking 1vs2 for candidates present versus absent in the last election. The magnitude of the effect on winning and of its bounds, conditional on staying in, is similar for both types of candidates and, if anything, slightly larger for those who were present. As shown in Appendix Table A19, effects on winning and their bounds are also very similar for incumbent and non-incumbent candidates. We obtain qualitatively identical results for the heterogeneous effect of ranking 2vs3 (columns 4 to 6 in Tables A17 and A19) and 3vs4 (columns 7 to 9 in Table A19).²⁰ Because these tests are indirect, they do not suffice to rule out the possibility that social learning contributes to the effects of rankings, but they do suggest

²⁰The number of candidates of a certain type varies across races. Therefore, the regressions shown in Tables A17 and A19 include different numbers of observations on the two sides of the threshold. In Table A17, we consider that the candidate competed in the previous election if she competed in any race in the département. In Table A19, we define as incumbent any candidate who won a race in the same département in the last election. The results are robust to restricting these definitions to candidates who competed in the last race in the exact same district or candidates who won in the same exact same district (Tables A18 and A20). We do not show the effects of ranking 3vs4 separately for incumbents and non-incumbents (in Tables A19 and A20), because the number of incumbents among close third and fourth candidates is very low. We do not show the effects of ranking 3vs4 separately for candidates who competed in the last race in the exact same district versus others (in Table A18) because the number of non-missing observations is too low and the standard errors of the bounds cannot be computed.

that its explanatory power is limited.

4.4 Alternative mechanisms

So far, we have attributed the effects of rankings on a candidate's likelihood of winning and on their vote shares conditional on running to choices made solely by voters. We now discuss three alternative factors which could also explain these effects.

Campaign expenditures and contributions

First, we examine whether these effects might be driven by campaign choices made by the higher- and lower-ranked candidates between the first and second rounds.²¹

We collected systematic data on candidates' campaign expenditures for all elections since 1992, the date in which the French National Commission on Campaign Accounts and Political Financing (CNCCFP) started recording them systematically.²² We do not know the amount of money spent by candidates between rounds separately, only the total amounts of money they received and spent over the entire course of the campaign. We measure the impact of rankings on these two outcomes divided by the number of registered citizens in the district. The effects, shown in Table 9, are small overall and nonsignificant, even though higher-ranked candidates are more likely to run in the second round. The lack of systematic impact of rankings on total campaign expenditures and contributions is perhaps not very surprising, since the first and second rounds are separated by only one week. We conclude that candidates' rankings do not affect their campaign efforts.

²¹Denter and Sisak (2015) show that campaign spending may strategically respond to past results, for instance from polls, and there is comprehensive evidence that higher expenditures and advertising can increase vote shares (e.g., da Silveira and de Mello, 2011; Spenkuch and Toniatti, 2018; Bekkouche and Cage, 2019).

²²All data come from the CNCCFP. Data on campaign expenditures for recent years are available in a digital format on the Commission's website (<http://www.cnccfp.fr/index.php?art=584>). We collected and digitized the data for the 1992, 1994, 1998, 2001, and 2004 local elections. Data on campaign expenditures for the 1993, 1997, and 2002 parliamentary elections were collected and digitized by Fauvelle-Aymar and François (2005) and Foucault and François (2005), and shared with us by these authors. Data are only available for cantons above the 9,000 inhabitants threshold, in local elections. In the 2012 and 2017 parliamentary elections and in the 2015 local elections, data are missing for candidates who received less than 1 percent of the candidate votes in the first round and did not receive any donation (as they were not required to submit their campaign accounts), but they are always available for all candidates qualifying for the second round.

Table 9: Impact on campaign expenditures and contributions

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Expend.	Contrib.	Expend.	Contrib.	Expend.	Contrib.
Treatment	-0.009	-0.015	0.033	0.033	0.017	0.007
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.079)	(0.082)
Robust p-value	0.367	0.210	0.128	0.149	0.782	0.935
Observations left	5,163	4,928	1,546	1,573	92	92
Observations right	5,163	4,928	1,546	1,573	92	92
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.085	0.081	0.053	0.055	0.018	0.018
Mean, left of threshold	0.583	0.611	0.432	0.446	0.353	0.364

Notes: The sample only includes the elections for which campaign expenditure data are available. In columns 1 and 2 (resp. 3 and 4, and 5 and 6), we further restrict the analysis to races where campaign expenditures and contributions are available both for the candidate ranked first and the candidate ranked second (resp. second and third, and third and fourth). In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is the candidate's total expenditures (resp. contributions) spent (resp. received) during the electoral campaign, divided by the number of registered citizens in the district. Other notes as in Table 3.

Press analysis

Second, voters may rally behind higher-ranked candidates as a result of larger or more positive coverage of these candidates by the media. Journalists may cover higher-ranked candidates more of their own volition, or in response to these candidates putting more effort to gain visibility. To test for differential media coverage, we used Factiva's research tool and collected all newspaper articles released between the two rounds of all local and parliamentary elections since 1997 and covering the elections. These elections account for 51.2 percent of our sample.²³ We obtain a total of 76,679 articles (more information on the selection of articles and the methods used to derive the results in Appendix E).

We first measure the impact of ranking 1vs2, 2vs3, or 3vs4 on three different outcomes: the total number of articles mentioning the candidate's first and last names at least once; the total number of mentions (counting twice the articles in which the candidate is mentioned twice, thrice the articles in which they are mentioned thrice, etc.); and the total number of articles mentioning

²³Press articles are only available on Factiva from the end of the 1990s onward. The number of newspapers covered and the total number of articles are much lower in the earlier years. Since a disproportionate fraction of races of sample 3, used to measure the impact of ranking 3vs4, come from these earlier elections, the average number of citations for these candidates is very low.

the candidate in the title. As shown in Table 10, ranking 1vs2, 2vs3, or 3vs4 does not have any significant effect on any of these outcomes. Appendix Figure E1 corroborates this conclusion. As one would expect, the number of articles mentioning a candidate increases with the running variable, meaning that candidates with higher vote shares are cited more often. However, this outcome does not jump at any of the three discontinuities.

Table 10: Impact on press coverage

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Articles	1vs2 Mentions	Titles	Articles	2vs3 Mentions	Titles	Articles	3vs4 Mentions	Titles
Treatment	-0.155	-0.013	0.035	0.055	0.184	0.048	0.085	0.111	-0.009
	(0.558)	(0.995)	(0.048)	(0.593)	(1.009)	(0.035)	(0.138)	(0.263)	(0.008)
R. p-value	0.793	0.981	0.472	0.925	0.921	0.280	0.620	0.669	0.266
Obs left	5,136	5,182	6,398	1,371	1,453	1,462	131	126	280
Obs right	5,136	5,182	6,398	1,371	1,453	1,462	131	126	280
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.085	0.086	0.113	0.043	0.046	0.046	0.019	0.019	0.130
Mean	4.449	7.296	0.234	2.037	3.143	0.041	0.108	0.186	0.009

Notes: The sample only includes the elections for which newspaper articles are available. In columns 1, 4, and 7, the outcome is the total number of articles mentioning the candidate at least once. In columns 2, 5, and 8, the outcome is the total number of mentions. In columns 3, 6, and 9, the outcome is the total number of articles mentioning the candidate in the title. Other notes as in Table 3.

We complement this quantitative analysis with a more qualitative approach, to check if there is any difference between the actual content of newspaper articles on higher- and lower-ranked candidates. We read and annotated manually the full text of a random selection of 517 articles covering races with a vote share difference of less than 2 percentage points between the two candidates of the discontinuity, and citing at least one of them. The results of this analysis are presented in Appendix Table E2, column 1. We find that newspaper articles are equally likely to be centered on the higher- and lower-ranked candidates and to include quotes or report the vote share of either candidate. Furthermore, the fraction of articles mentioning support of a public figure for the candidates, positive expectations by the candidates about their likelihood to win the election, or positive expectations by someone else are very similar for both candidates. We obtain similar results when focusing on articles covering even closer races (with a first-round vote share difference of less than one percentage point) and those covering the top-two candidates (columns 2 and 3).

In addition to giving equal coverage to the higher- and lower-ranked candidates, we find that

newspaper articles citing first-round results generally report candidates' vote shares, not just their ranking. Less than 10 percent of articles indicate rankings alone. Out of all articles reporting electoral results, 80 percent also (or only) mention the vote shares of candidates, the gap between them, or the closeness of the election. This proportion is even higher in particularly close races (83 percent) and when focusing on the top-two candidates (82 percent).

In sum, newspaper articles do not cover higher-ranked candidates more often, or more favorably, and they rarely draw readers' attention to their placement, making media coverage unlikely to explain the effects of rankings on vote shares and winning, conditional on staying in the race.

Dropout decisions of lower-ranked candidates

Third, we check whether the effects might be driven by choices made by a third political actor, different from voters and the higher- and lower-ranked candidates: other candidates qualifying for the second round. The decision of these candidates to stay in the race or drop out between rounds might depend on the rankings of top candidates and it might in turn affect the higher- and lower-ranked candidates' vote shares and likelihood of winning. For instance, if third candidates are more likely to drop out of the race when the candidate ideologically closest to them among the top two is ranked first than when she is ranked second, then that candidate should receive more votes by the third candidate's supporters when ranked first.

To examine this mechanism in a systematic way, we define two outcomes at the candidate level: a dummy equal to 1 if a lower-ranked candidate of the same orientation is present in the second round, and the number of such candidates. Both outcomes directly reflect dropout decisions of lower-ranked candidates. For ranking 1vs2 (resp. 2vs3 and 3vs4), we consider candidates ranked third and below (resp. fourth and below, and fifth and below).

The effects are shown in Appendix Tables A21, A22, and A23: ranking 1vs2, 2vs3, or 3vs4 does not have any significant effect on the presence of lower-ranked candidates of the same orientation in the second round (columns 1 and 3). We test the robustness of this result in the subsample of races in which such effects are most likely to occur: races where the two candidates of interest have distinct political orientations and where at least one lower-ranked candidate qualifies (columns 2 and 4 of each table). Again, we do not find any significant impact.

We conclude that rankings' effects on electoral outcomes are driven neither by differential campaign expenditures, nor by differential press coverage, nor by dropout decisions of other candidates.

5 External validity

5.1 Within France

To assess the external validity of our findings, we first check whether the effects of ranking 1vs2, 2vs3, and 3vs4 are specific to certain contexts within French elections. We do not find any evidence that this might be the case: rankings matter in both local and parliamentary elections, their effects are as large in recent elections as in previous decades, and they affect the likelihood to stay in the second round and win it for candidates both on the left and on the right. All tables and figures presenting these results are in Appendix F.

Local and parliamentary elections differ on many dimensions. Parliamentary elections are much more salient: their average district size is more than five times as large, they feature more candidates (9.1 against 5.5, on average, in the first round), and they are characterized by higher turnout, as shown in Appendix Table F1. The latter difference implies that voters participating in local elections are likely to be more interested in and informed about politics on average. Yet, as shown in Appendix Tables F2 and F3, the effects of rankings on staying in the race are of very similar size in both types of elections. Effects on winning are larger in parliamentary elections, for ranking 1vs2, and in local elections, for ranking 3vs4, but they are similar in both types of elections for ranking 2vs3.

Our sample spans nearly 60 years, starting with the 1958 parliamentary elections. Changes in the French party system have been many since then, including the slow demise of the Communist Party, the creation of the far-right Front National and of the Green Party in the 1970s and 1980s, and the consolidation of these two parties in the last decades. The overwhelming victory of candidates affiliated with Emmanuel Macron's new centrist party En Marche at the 2017 parliamentary elections is the latest significant change in this political landscape. Appendix Figure F1 shows the impact of ranking 1vs2 and 2vs3 on winning in four distinct time periods, each including approximately 25 percent of the elections in the sample.²⁴ Despite all the aforementioned changes, rankings' effects have been remarkably stable over time.

Finally, we check whether the effects vary across political orientations. We measure effects on running and winning separately for candidates on the left and right, which collectively account for 81.6, 76.8, and 62.6 percent of the observations used to measure the effects of ranking 1vs2,

²⁴We cannot show the same split by time period for the impact of ranking 3vs4 because the sample size is too small for this discontinuity, and most races in which four candidates qualify for the second round occurred in the early elections in the sample, when the qualification threshold was relatively lower.

2vs3, and 3vs4. As shown in Appendix Tables F4 and F5, effects in these subsamples lose a bit of statistical significance, but, overall, they are substantial for both orientations. Effects on winning are larger for left-wing candidates, when ranking 1vs2, for right-wing candidates, when ranking 3vs4, and of similar magnitude for candidates of both orientations, when ranking 2vs3.

5.2 Beyond France

We now assess the validity of our results beyond France, by turning to the analysis of two-round elections in other countries.

Data

We systematically collected data for all parliamentary elections around the world using a two-round plurality rule, in which the set of eligible voters is identical in both rounds, and the set of candidates present in the second round is a subset of those present in the first. We identified these elections using the National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) database, the Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA), and the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network.

We then collected all available election results at the constituency level, using the following sources: CLEA; Psephos, Adam Carr's Election Archive; the Election Passport dataset by David Lublin; and electoral commissions websites (see Appendix G1 for a detailed list of all the sources used to identify and collect two-round electoral results). We recorded district identifiers, candidates' names and parties, and, for both rounds, the number of registered citizens, voters, null and blank votes, total candidate votes, and votes obtained by each candidate.

Of all countries that have ever used a two-round plurality voting rule to elect their upper or lower branch of parliament, we found results for 72 elections in 19 countries, corresponding to a total of 4,075 races with two rounds (see Appendix Table G1.1 for the breakdown by country, election type, and year). Our sample covers elections from 1850 to 2018 in nearly all regions of the world: the Caribbean (Haiti), Western Africa (Mali, Mauritania), Eastern Africa (Comoros), Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland), Northern Europe (Norway, Lithuania), Southern Europe (Albania, Croatia), Western Europe (Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland), Western Asia (Bahrain, Georgia), and Oceania (Kiribati, New Zealand). The median time span between rounds is 14 days.

More than two candidates qualified for the second round in 19.9 percent of the races, enabling us to measure both the impact of ranking 1vs2 and 2vs3. In contrast, the number of races in which

more than three candidates qualified is too small to estimate the impact of ranking 3vs4 in this sample. We outline the specific electoral rule used in each country in Appendix Table G1.2 and report descriptive statistics in Appendix Tables G2.1, G2.2, and G2.3 as well as placebo tests, general balance tests, and McCrary tests in Appendix Tables G3.1, G3.2; Figure G3.1 and Table G3.3; and Figure G3.2, respectively.

For all its merits, this sample has two main limitations, explaining why we do not use it for our main analysis but only to assess the external validity of our results. First, it has about five times fewer observations than our sample of French elections (4,075 against 22,557), which decreases statistical precision and limits our ability to conduct heterogeneity analysis.²⁵ Second, candidates' political party is either unknown or impossible to locate on the left-right axis for 32.1 percent of candidates, resulting in 64.6 percent of races in which the political orientation of one or more candidates cannot be pinpointed. This further prevents us from exploring the mechanisms underlying rankings' effects as conclusively as in the French data. We only use political party information for the placebo checks reported in Appendix G3, for the subset of candidates for which this information is available.

Results

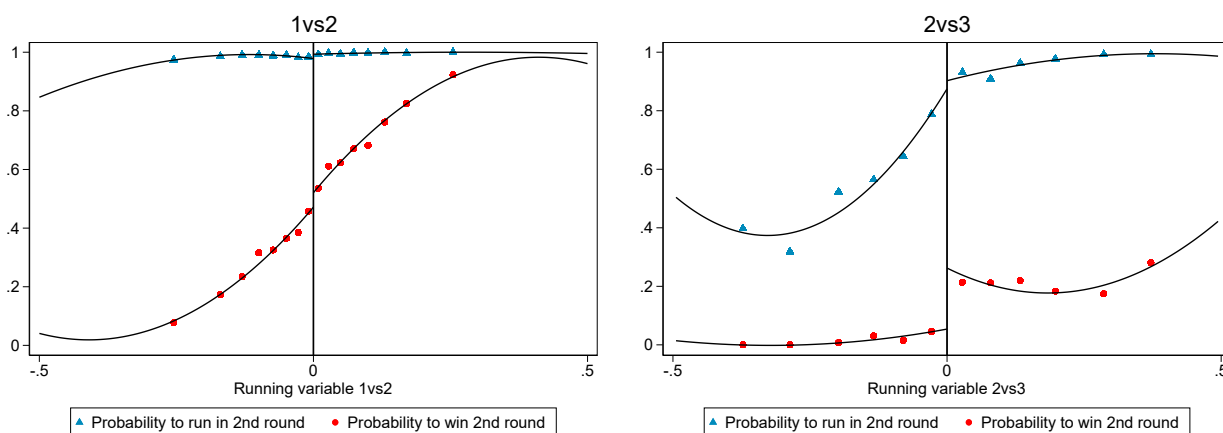
Figure 5 replicates Figure 3: we plot second-round outcomes against the running variable for ranking 1vs2 and 2vs3. We observe large upward jumps in the likelihood of winning at both thresholds, and smaller jumps in the likelihood of staying in the race. Consistent with the graphical analysis, the estimates reported in Table 11 indicate that ranking 1vs2 and 2v3 have positive but not statistically significant effects on candidates' likelihood to run in the second round (1.0 and 8.2 percentage points, respectively). The effects on winning are larger and significant at the 5 or 10 percent level: 7.6 percentage points for ranking 1vs2 and 15.8 for ranking 2vs3. These results are robust to using alternative specifications, bandwidths, and estimation procedures, as well as excluding races with inconsistent results (see Appendix G6).

Out of the seven countries for which sufficiently large samples make independent analysis possible, effects on winning are large and positive in five countries, and statistically significant in three of them, despite limited statistical power: the Czech Republic, Norway, and Poland (Appendix Figure G7.1 and Table G7.1). Interestingly, the overall effects on running are smaller than in French

²⁵The difference in sample size comes from the fact that parliamentary elections in other countries include much fewer constituencies (and races) on average than in France; for some of these elections, we were only able to obtain results for a subset of the races; and we did not collect results of local elections outside of France.

elections but the effects on winning larger, suggesting that voter choice contributes relatively more to rankings' effects in other countries and candidate choice relatively less.

Figure 5: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France



Notes: Triangles (resp. circles) represent the local averages of the probability that the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round (vertical axis). The graph is truncated at 50 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Other notes as in Figure 2.

Table 11: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1v2		2v3	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.010	0.076**	0.082	0.158*
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.064)	(0.069)
Robust p-value	0.176	0.029	0.281	0.069
Observations left	2,589	3,200	295	307
Observations right	2,589	3,200	295	307
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.118	0.162	0.119	0.122
Mean, left of threshold	0.983	0.459	0.837	0.075

Notes: In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. Other notes as in Table 3.

Furthermore, we replicate some of the tests shown in Section 4 to investigate the underlying

mechanisms. To study strategic coordination, we focus again on races in which three or more candidates qualify for the second round. As in Table 6, we observe that the effects of ranking 1vs2 on entering the second round and winning are larger when the gap in first-round vote shares between the second and third candidates is below 5 or 2.5 percentage points (Appendix Table G4.1).

We then turn to races in which the third candidate does not qualify for the second round. As shown in Appendix Table G4.2, ranking 1vs2 increases candidates' likelihood of winning by 7.3 percentage points in these races, which is significant at the 5 percent level and close to the point estimate in the full sample. Similarly as in French elections (Table 7), these results indicate that strategic coordination explains part, but not all, of the effects of rankings and that mechanisms other than coordination, such as the bandwagon effect, contribute in other countries as well.

6 Conclusion

This paper shows that candidate rankings in past contests have large effects on future electoral outcomes. Using a regression discontinuity design in French two-round parliamentary and local elections since 1958, we find that placing first rather than second in the first round increases a candidate's likelihood to stay in the second round by 5.6 percentage points, and coming in second rather than third and third rather than fourth increases such likelihood even more. Higher-ranked candidates also obtain a larger vote share and they are more likely to win, conditional on staying in. These conditional effects only reflect choices made by voters: they do not result from differences in campaign expenditures, press coverage, or dropout decisions by other qualifying candidates.

Overall, the combined response of candidates and voters to rankings generates large effects on a candidate's likelihood to win (of 5.8, 9.9, and 2.2 percentage points, respectively). Remarkably, we observe effects of similar magnitude in local and parliamentary elections, which vary in salience, and from 1958 to today, despite the many changes in the French party system since the beginning of the Fifth Republic. These results also hold beyond the French context: placing first and second have even larger effects on average in our sample of elections in 19 other countries.

The effects of ranking first are larger when the third candidate is more likely to challenge the top-two candidates and when the top-two candidates have the same political orientation, suggesting that coordination by parties and voters against other candidates who qualify for the second round drives part of the effects. These results first indicate that rankings help strategic voters focus on

the same subset of candidates – and do so in a decentralized way that requires no organizing or communicating. This is an important result, given that multiple strategic equilibria usually exist when there are three or more candidates (Myerson and Weber, 1993). Second, rankings also facilitate coordination among parties, leading to a decrease in the number of candidates. This result bridges a gap in the literature on the selection of elected officials, which to date has offered little rigorous evidence on the strategies of political parties and candidates and has mostly focused on voter choice. The effects of rankings on parties are at least as important as on strategic voters, given the propensity of many people to vote expressively when choosing between more than two candidates, raising the risk of suboptimal electoral outcomes such as a defeat of the Condorcet winner (Pons and Tricaud, 2018). Dropout agreements based on rankings can help address this issue and increase the representativeness of elected leaders by reducing the number of alternatives. They offer a partial solution to Arrow (1951)’s impossibility theorem.

But the effects of ranking first instead of second remain large in elections where the third candidate does *not* qualify, showing that strategic coordination cannot explain it all. In this case, party-level agreements lead the second candidate to drop out in one fifth of the races, when she has the same orientation as the first, a result driven mainly by left-wing parties and candidates opting to go with voters’ preferences in the first round. In addition, voters rallying behind the first increase her likelihood of winning by 4.9 to 5.9 percentage points on average, conditional on staying in the second round. This effect is most likely driven by a behavioral motive: the desire to vote for the winner.

This last result is perhaps more unsettling. Mainstream political economy models predict that election outcomes and policies implemented by elected leaders correspond to voter preferences. In citizen-candidate models, the candidate proposing the platform preferred by the largest group of voters gets elected (Osborne and Slivinski, 1996; Besley and Coate, 1997); and in the median voter theorem, competing parties align their platforms with the policy preference of the voter most representative of the electorate by virtue of being located in the median (Downs, 1957). By contrast, we find that many elections are swayed by a relatively small fraction of voters following their preference to be on the winning side, rather than substantive differences between candidates.

This result also has implications for the choice of an optimal voting rule. A large literature compares voter incentives to misrepresent their true preferences and strategically adjust their choices to the expected behavior of others under different voting rules (e.g., Laslier, 2009; Balinski and Laraki, 2011; Dasgupta and Maskin, 2019). Our findings indicate that voters’ actual preferences

may themselves depend on others' behavior. This phenomenon affects the outcome of many races and adds a new layer of complexity to the problem of preference aggregation. It should be taken into account when debating voting rules and regulating the provision of electoral information.

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Appendix (for Online Publication only)

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Appendix A. Additional tables and figures

Table A1: Number of races by election type and year

Election type	Year	Nb of races	Election type	Year	Nb of races
Parliamentary elections	1958	433	Local elections	1979	1,086
	1962	374		1982	1,062
	1967	405		1985	1,230
	1968	319		1988	1,177
	1973	430		1992	1,425
	1978	423		1994	1,369
	1981	334		1998	1,513
	1988	455		2001	1,301
	1993	497		2004	1,516
	1997	565		2008	1,074
	2002	519		2011	1,564
	2007	467		2015	1,905
	2012	541			
	2017	573			
	Total	6,335		Total	16,222
	Total				22,557

Notes: Parliamentary elections take place every five years. Until a 2013 reform, local elections were held every three years. In a given election, in each département, only half of the cantons were electing their representative, for a length of six years. Since 2013, local elections are held every six years and all cantons participate in each election. Our sample excludes races with a unique candidate in the first round and those with no second round, explaining the important variations in the number of races across election years shown in the table.

Table A2: Summary statistics - Sample 1

	Sample 1 (N=22,532)		Close races (N=2,581)	
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>				
Registered voters	28,313	28,161	28,768	28,268
Turnout	0.636	0.125	0.638	0.124
Candidate votes	0.613	0.122	0.616	0.122
Number of candidates	6.5	3.1	6.5	3.0
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>				
Turnout	0.628	0.134	0.647	0.132
Candidate votes	0.595	0.138	0.616	0.137
Number of candidates	2.1	0.4	2.2	0.5

Notes: Sample 1 is used to measure the impact of ranking first instead of second. Compared to the full sample (see Table 2), sample 1 excludes races in which two of the top three candidates obtained an identical number of votes in the first round (25 races out of 22,557). Close races are defined as races in which the vote share difference between the first and second candidates is under 2 percentage points.

Table A3: Summary statistics - Sample 2

	Sample 2 (N=8,865)		Close races (N=1,874)	
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>				
Registered voters	26,349	27,339	27,798	27,978
Turnout	0.711	0.092	0.690	0.099
Candidate votes	0.688	0.092	0.667	0.099
Number of candidates	5.6	2.1	6.3	2.3
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>				
Turnout	0.709	0.100	0.685	0.106
Candidate votes	0.679	0.103	0.656	0.107
Number of candidates	2.4	0.5	2.5	0.6

Notes: Sample 2 is used to measure the impact of ranking second instead of third. Sample 2 is restricted to races where at least three candidates compete in the first round and the third candidate qualifies for the second round, and excludes races in which two of the top four candidates obtain an identical number of votes in the first round. Close races are defined as races in which the vote share difference between the second and third candidates is under 2 percentage points.

Table A4: Summary statistics - Sample 3

	Sample 3 (N=1,978)		Close races (N=758)	
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>				
Registered voters	40,727	29,148	36,951	29,852
Turnout	0.749	0.073	0.742	0.076
Candidate votes	0.728	0.074	0.721	0.077
Number of candidates	5.9	1.8	6.1	1.8
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>				
Turnout	0.752	0.073	0.743	0.078
Candidate votes	0.726	0.075	0.716	0.079
Number of candidates	2.6	0.7	2.6	0.7

Notes: Sample 3 is used to measure the impact of ranking third instead of fourth. Sample 3 is restricted to races where at least four candidates compete in the first round and the third and fourth candidates qualify for the second round, and excludes races in which two candidates among the second, third, fourth, and fifth obtain an identical number of votes in the first round. Close races are defined as races in which the vote share difference between the third and fourth candidates is under 2 percentage points.

Table A5: Impact on running in the 2nd round depending on whether the candidate has a party label

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	1vs2			2vs3			3vs4		
	Full	Party	W/out	Full	Party	W/out	Full	Party	W/out
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.061*** (0.006)	0.034*** (0.009)	0.235*** (0.018)	0.235*** (0.020)	0.233*** (0.039)	0.146*** (0.040)	0.169*** (0.042)	0.051 (0.100)
R. p-value	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.809
Obs. left	12,272	8,974	2,090	5,347	4,305	1,063	1,169	987	200
Obs. right	12,272	9,054	1,970	5,347	4,267	1,092	1,169	1,003	183
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.109	0.094	0.105	0.068	0.069	0.067	0.036	0.039	0.029
Mean	0.941	0.937	0.961	0.572	0.571	0.575	0.300	0.275	0.406

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 2, 5, and 8 (resp. 3, 6, and 9) the analysis is restricted to candidates running under the label of a political party (resp. without party label). The outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table A6: Impact on running in the 2nd round depending on whether the candidate is an incumbent

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2			2vs3		
	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.045*** (0.010)	0.056*** (0.006)	0.235*** (0.018)	0.154* (0.072)	0.239*** (0.020)
R. p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.080	0.000
Obs. left	12,272	1,822	8,427	5,347	268	4,080
Obs. right	12,272	2,833	6,208	5,347	364	3,899
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.109	0.071	0.111	0.068	0.048	0.072
Mean	0.941	0.953	0.943	0.572	0.642	0.582

Notes: In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the analysis is restricted to incumbent candidates, who won an election in the same département in the last election (resp. non-incumbent candidates). Other notes as in Table A5.

Table A7: Impact on running in the 2nd round depending on whether the candidate is the district incumbent

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2			2vs3		
	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.048*** (0.013)	0.062*** (0.007)	0.235*** (0.018)	0.019 (0.103)	0.273*** (0.021)
R. p-value	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.869	0.000
Obs. left	12,272	1,306	5,598	5,347	163	3,600
Obs. right	12,272	2,124	4,223	5,347	245	3,391
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.109	0.073	0.098	0.068	0.045	0.086
Mean	0.941	0.948	0.936	0.572	0.682	0.548

Notes: In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the analysis is restricted to incumbent candidates, who won an election in the same district in the last election (resp. non-incumbent candidates). Other notes as in Table A5.

Table A8: Additional tests on the impact on winning and vote shares conditional on staying in

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Win	Vote share	Win	Vote share	Win	Vote share
<i>Panel A. Value of $E(W_0 x = 0, R_1 > R_0)$ that would bring $E[W_1 - W_0 x = 0, R_1 = 1]$ to 0</i>						
Point estimate	1.038	0.708	0.420	0.507	0.152	0.306
Boot. std error	(0.434)	(0.047)	(0.073)	(0.025)	(0.155)	(0.111)
<i>Panel B. Lowest value of $E(W_0 x = 0, R_1 > R_0)$ for which $E[W_1 - W_0 x = 0, R_1 = 1]$ is nonsignificant</i>						
Value	0.31	0.61	0.30	0.47	0.00	0.23

Notes: Panel A reports the value of $E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0)$ for which there would be no effect on winning (columns 1, 3, and 5) or on vote shares (columns 2, 4, and 6), conditional on staying in the race. We report the point estimate and its bootstrapped standard error. Panel B reports the lowest value of $E(W_0|x = 0, R_1 > R_0)$ for which the impact on winning or on vote shares conditional on staying in is not statistically significant at the 5% level. See Section 3.3 for more information.

Table A9: Effects on election outcomes outside the threshold

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	% races, 2 nd round vote share gap < conditional effect					
	Lower bound			Upper Bound		
	1vs2	2vs3	3vs4	1vs2	2vs3	3vs4
Full sample	0.031	0.085	0.106	0.108	0.385	0.386
Margin ≤ 2 pp	0.049	0.118	0.121	0.169	0.411	0.355
2pp < Margin ≤ 5 pp	0.051	0.101	0.118	0.158	0.450	0.513
Margin > 5pp	0.024	0.054	0.063	0.087	0.323	0.286

Notes: We estimate the fraction of races in which the higher-ranked candidate finishes the second round ahead of the lower-ranked one and in which the distance between the second-round vote shares of the higher- and lower-ranked candidates is smaller than the average effect of ranking on vote share, conditional on staying in. We restrict our attention to races in which the two candidates at the threshold remained in the second round. Columns 1 to 3 (resp. 4 to 6) consider the lower bound (resp. upper bound) of rankings' effects. The second line of the results (resp. third and fourth line) only considers races in which the vote share difference between the two candidates was under 2 percentage points in the first round (resp. between 2 and 5 percentage points, and strictly higher than 5 percentage points).

Table A10: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the difference between candidates' political orientations

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Probability to run 1vs2			Probability to win 1vs2		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.352*** (0.023)	0.002 (0.002)	0.058*** (0.017)	0.305*** (0.039)	0.017 (0.018)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.686	0.004	0.000	0.624
Observations left	12,272	2,059	7,283	8,027	1,399	7,242
Observations right	12,272	2,059	7,283	8,027	1,399	7,242
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.109	0.122	0.072	0.066	0.076	0.072
Mean, left of threshold	0.941	0.647	0.996	0.458	0.317	0.482

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1 to 3 (resp. 4 to 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the two candidates have the same orientation (resp. distinct orientations). The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table A11: Impact of ranking 2vs3 depending on the difference between candidates' political orientations

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Probability to run 2vs3			Probability to win 2vs3		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Treatment	0.235*** (0.018)	0.627*** (0.029)	0.052** (0.021)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.223*** (0.027)	0.041** (0.013)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.045	0.000	0.000	0.012
Observations left	5,347	1,493	3,720	4,398	1,343	3,497
Observations right	5,347	1,493	3,720	4,398	1,343	3,497
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.068	0.055	0.073	0.052	0.048	0.066
Mean, left of threshold	0.572	0.286	0.704	0.048	0.023	0.060

Notes as in Table A10.

Table A12: Impact of ranking 3vs4 depending on the difference between candidates' political orientations

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Probability to run 3vs4			Probability to win 3vs4		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Treatment	0.146*** (0.040)	0.401*** (0.065)	0.029 (0.050)	0.022* (0.011)	0.040 (0.027)	0.014 (0.009)
Robust p-value	0.003	0.000	0.726	0.052	0.127	0.155
Observations left	1,169	349	824	1,116	325	847
Observations right	1,169	349	824	1,116	325	847
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.036	0.038	0.036	0.033	0.034	0.037
Mean, left of threshold	0.300	0.231	0.332	0.005	0.011	0.002

Notes as in Table A10.

Table A13: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the strength of the 3rd - Same orientation

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2 - Same orientation and 3 rd qualifies					
	Full		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <5%		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <2.5%	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.421*** (0.036)	0.369*** (0.046)	0.481*** (0.045)	0.487*** (0.049)	0.587*** (0.055)	0.492*** (0.066)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observations left	880	840	452	495	277	283
Observations right	880	840	452	495	277	283
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.072	0.067	0.085	0.093	0.098	0.102
Mean, left of threshold	0.579	0.270	0.522	0.177	0.413	0.167

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The sample only includes the races where the third candidate qualifies for the second round and where the top-two candidates have the same orientation. In columns 3 and 4 (resp. 5 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the candidates ranked second and third in the first round is under 5 (resp. 2.5) percentage points. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table A14: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the political orientation of the 3rd - Same orientation

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2 - Same orientation and 3 rd qualifies					
	Full		3 rd same		3 rd different	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.420***	0.369***	0.128**	-0.033	0.480***	0.451***
	(0.036)	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.122)	(0.042)	(0.045)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.023	0.514	0.000	0.000
Observations left	874	841	177	136	708	799
Observations right	874	841	177	136	708	799
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.072	0.067	0.088	0.063	0.070	0.081
Mean, left of threshold	0.580	0.270	0.872	0.506	0.521	0.220

Notes: The sample only includes the races where the third candidate qualifies for the second round and did not obtain an identical number of votes as the fourth candidate in the first round, and where the top-two candidates have the same political orientation. In columns 3 and 4 (resp. 5 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the third candidate has the same political orientation as the top two (resp. has a different political orientation). Other notes as in Table A13.

Table A15: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the political orientation of the 3rd - Distinct orientations

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2 - Distinct orientations and 3 rd qualifies					
	Full		3 rd same or middle		3 rd on the left or right	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.003	-0.020	-0.006	-0.003	0.028	-0.021
	(0.005)	(0.026)	(0.004)	(0.027)	(0.015)	(0.057)
Robust p-value	0.743	0.283	0.140	0.780	0.120	0.466
Observations left	2,866	3,171	1,659	2,957	794	647
Observations right	2,866	3,171	1,659	2,957	794	647
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.069	0.078	0.050	0.101	0.096	0.075
Mean, left of threshold	0.991	0.488	1.002	0.489	0.962	0.457

Notes: The sample only includes the races where the third candidate qualifies for the second round and did not obtain an identical number of votes as the fourth candidate in the first round, and where the top-two candidates have distinct political orientations. In columns 3 and 4 (resp. 5 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the third candidate has the same political orientation as one of the top two or has a different orientation and is located in the middle of the top two on the left-right axis (resp. has a different political orientation and is located either on the right or on the left of both top two). Other notes as in Table A13.

Table A16: Impact of ranking 1vs2 on running in races where the 3rd does not qualify - Left-versus right-wing candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Running 1vs2 - 3 rd does not qualify					
	Left candidates			Right candidates		
	Full	Same	Distinct	Full	Same	Distinct
Treatment	0.039*** (0.008)	0.381*** (0.056)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.003)	0.012 (0.021)	0.000 (0.001)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.264	0.656	0.650	0.784
Observations left	3,227	342	1,124	1,785	248	1,889
Observations right	3,049	342	1,111	1,980	248	2,119
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.114	0.124	0.041	0.062	0.071	0.076
Mean, left of threshold	0.961	0.619	1.001	0.998	0.988	0.999

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The sample only includes the races where the third candidate does not qualify for the second round. Columns 1 to 3 (resp. 4 to 6) include only left-wing candidates (resp. right-wing candidates). In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the two candidates have the same orientation (resp. distinct orientations). The outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table A17: Impact on winning depending on whether the candidate ran in the last election in the same département

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Winning 1vs2			Winning 2vs3			Winning 3vs4		
	Full	Present	Absent	Full	Present	Absent	Full	Present	Absent
<i>Panel A. Impact on winning</i>									
Treatment	0.058*** (0.017)	0.063** (0.024)	0.047 (0.024)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.098*** (0.021)	0.087*** (0.019)	0.022* (0.011)	0.015 (0.016)	0.013 (0.015)
R. p-value	0.004	0.048	0.170	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.052	0.310	0.395
Obs. left	8,027	3,410	4,285	4,398	1,301	2,171	1,116	233	618
Obs. right	8,027	4,192	3,498	4,398	1,460	2,052	1,116	218	626
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.066	0.074	0.075	0.052	0.063	0.045	0.033	0.031	0.042
Mean	0.458	0.442	0.482	0.048	0.041	0.049	0.005	-0.001	0.013
<i>Panel B. Bounds on the impact on winning conditional on staying in</i>									
Upper bound	0.059	0.063	0.047	0.122	0.123	0.105	0.050	0.037	0.029
Boot. std error	(0.024)**	(0.030)**	(0.031)	(0.004)***	(0.030)***	(0.026)***	(0.026)*	(0.043)	(0.036)
Lower bound	0.029	0.036	0.021	0.069	0.070	0.059	0.030	0.022	0.014
Boot. std error	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.015)***	(0.024)***	(0.021)***	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.031)

Notes: The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 2, 5, and 8 (resp. 3, 6, and 9), the analysis is restricted to candidates who ran in the same département in the last election (resp. candidates who did not run in the same département in the last election). The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. Panel A reports the estimate obtained by taking as outcome a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate wins the second round. Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level, and we compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold. Panel B reports the lower and upper bounds of the impact on winning conditional on staying in the second round, obtained using the method described in Section 3.3. We use a bootstrapping procedure to estimate the standard errors. In both panels we indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively.

Table A18: Impact on winning depending on whether the candidate ran in the last election in the same district

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Winning 1vs2			Winning 2vs3		
	Full	Present	Absent	Full	Present	Absent
<i>Panel A. Impact on winning</i>						
Treatment	0.058*** (0.017)	0.078** (0.025)	0.068** (0.026)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.099*** (0.024)	0.085*** (0.020)
R. p-value	0.004	0.018	0.049	0.000	0.001	0.001
Obs. left	8,027	2,929	3,676	4,398	896	1,765
Obs. right	8,027	3,866	2,909	4,398	1,043	1,670
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.066	0.094	0.087	0.052	0.059	0.046
Mean	0.458	0.423	0.480	0.048	0.024	0.045
<i>Panel B. Bounds on the impact on winning conditional on staying in</i>						
Upper bound	0.059	0.078	0.069	0.122	0.128	0.102
Boot. std error	(0.024)**	(0.033)**	(0.035)**	(0.004)***	(0.033)***	(0.028)***
Lower bound	0.029	0.050	0.037	0.069	0.079	0.052
Boot. std error	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.015)***	(0.026)***	(0.022)**

Notes: In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the analysis is restricted to candidates who ran in the same district in the last election (resp. candidates who did not run in the same district in the last election). Other notes as in Table 17.

Table A19: Impact on winning depending on whether the candidate is an incumbent

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Winning 1vs2			Winning 2vs3		
	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.
<i>Panel A. Impact on winning</i>						
Treatment	0.058*** (0.017)	0.054 (0.031)	0.049* (0.021)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.126* (0.052)	0.088*** (0.015)
R. p-value	0.004	0.229	0.088	0.000	0.065	0.000
Obs. left	8,027	1,864	5,476	4,398	292	3,086
Obs. right	8,027	2,972	4,494	4,398	422	2,985
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.066	0.073	0.070	0.052	0.056	0.049
Mean	0.458	0.472	0.460	0.048	0.073	0.043
<i>Panel B. Bounds on the impact on winning conditional on staying in</i>						
Upper bound	0.059	0.054	0.049	0.122	0.159	0.107
Boot. std error	(0.024)**	(0.033)*	(0.029)*	(0.018)***	(0.079)**	(0.021)***
Lower bound	0.029	0.031	0.021	0.069	0.110	0.061
Boot. std error	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.015)***	(0.069)	(0.017)***

Notes: In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the analysis is restricted to incumbent candidates, who won an election in the same département in the last election (resp. non-incumbent candidates). Other notes as in Table A17.

Table A20: Impact on winning depending on whether the candidate is the district incumbent

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Winning 1vs2			Winning 2vs3		
	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.	Full	Inc.	Non Inc.
<i>Panel A. Impact on winning</i>						
Treatment	0.058*** (0.017)	0.069 (0.034)	0.071** (0.023)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.108 (0.054)	0.088*** (0.017)
R. p-value	0.004	0.135	0.017	0.000	0.126	0.000
Obs. left	8,027	1,525	4,735	4,398	171	2,444
Obs. right	8,027	2,777	3,739	4,398	251	2,353
Polyn.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bdw	0.066	0.093	0.082	0.052	0.048	0.049
Mean	0.458	0.422	0.467	0.048	0.010	0.040
<i>Panel B. Bounds on the impact on winning conditional on staying in</i>						
Upper bound	0.059	0.070	0.071	0.122	0.154	0.107
Boot. std error	(0.024)**	(0.036)*	(0.032)*	(0.018)***	(0.084)*	(0.023)***
Lower bound	0.029	0.046	0.038	0.069	0.149	0.055
Boot. std error	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.015)***	(0.087)*	(0.018)***

Notes: In columns 2 and 5 (resp. 3 and 6), the analysis is restricted to incumbent candidates, who won an election in the same district in the last election (resp. non-incumbent candidates). Other notes as in Table A17.

Table A21: Impact of ranking 1vs2 on the presence of same-orientation lower-ranked candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Dummy lower-ranked		Number of lower-ranked	
	Full	Subsample	Full	Subsample
Treatment	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.017 (0.014)
Robust p-value	0.506	0.396	0.388	0.222
Observations left	11,432	2,787	11,161	2,662
Observations right	11,433	2,787	11,161	2,662
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.100	0.067	0.097	0.064
Mean, left of threshold	0.034	0.067	0.037	0.072

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 2 and 4, we only include races where the third candidate qualifies and the top-two candidates have distinct political orientations. In columns 1 and 2, the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if a lower-ranked candidate who has the same orientation as the candidate is running in the second round. In columns 3 and 4, the outcome is the number of lower-ranked candidates who have the same orientation as the candidate and are running in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table A22: Impact of ranking 2vs3 on the presence of same-orientation lower-ranked candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Dummy lower-ranked		Number of lower-ranked	
	Full	Subsample	Full	Subsample
Treatment	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.022 (0.028)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.024 (0.030)
Robust p-value	0.476	0.433	0.453	0.421
Observations left	5,097	700	4,876	694
Observations right	5,097	700	4,876	694
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.064	0.048	0.060	0.047
Mean, left of threshold	0.022	0.075	0.023	0.078

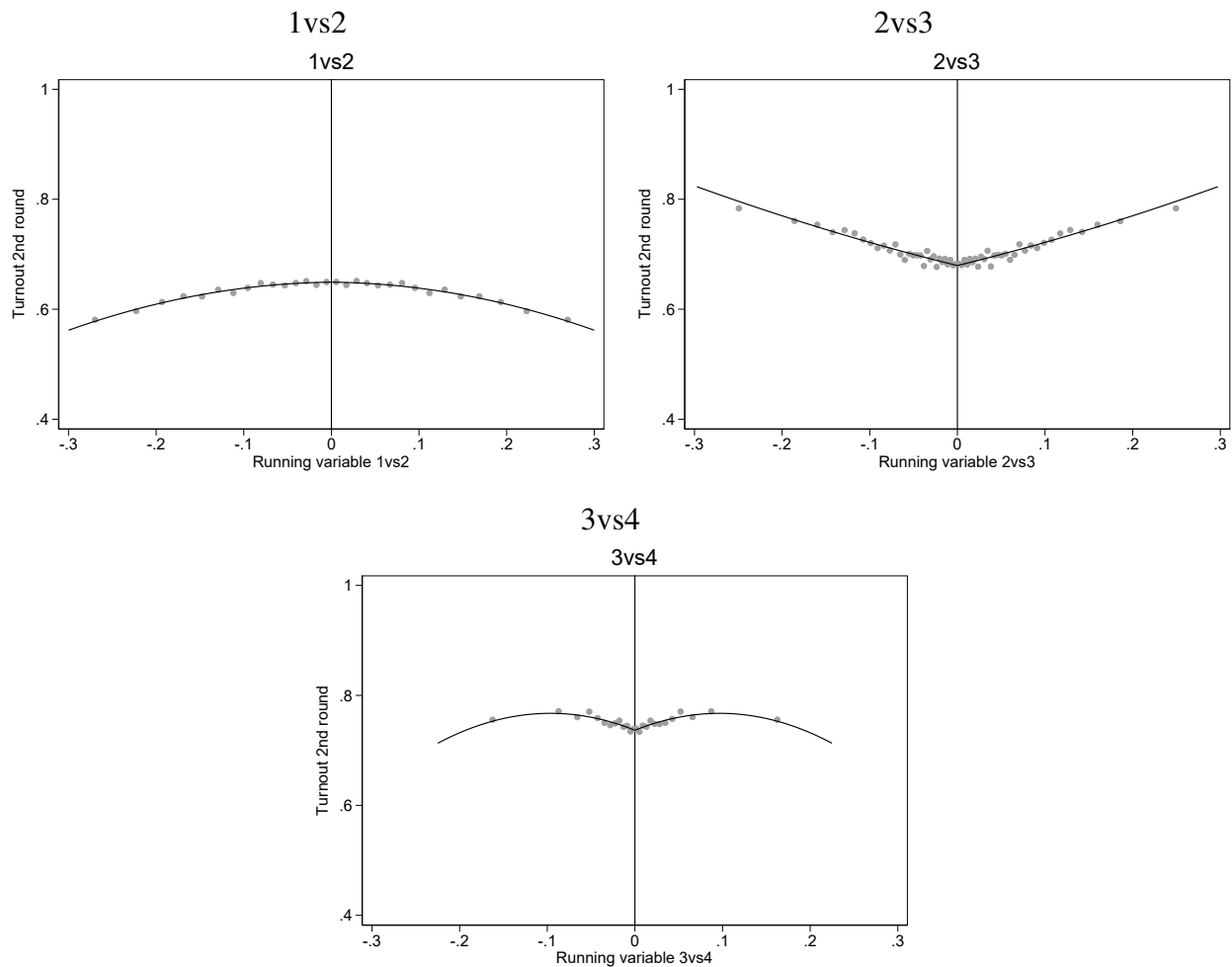
Notes: In columns 2 and 4, we only include races where the fourth candidate qualifies and the candidates ranked second and third have distinct political orientations. Other notes as in Table A21.

Table A23: Impact of ranking 3vs4 on the presence of same-orientation lower-ranked candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Dummy lower-ranked		Number of lower-ranked	
	Full	Subsample	Full	Subsample
Treatment	0.013 (0.009)	0.073 (0.047)	0.011 (0.008)	0.067 (0.045)
Robust p-value	0.112	0.101	0.162	0.138
Observations left	1,204	219	1,319	241
Observations right	1,204	219	1,319	241
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.037	0.047	0.044	0.054
Mean, left of threshold	0.009	0.031	0.009	0.029

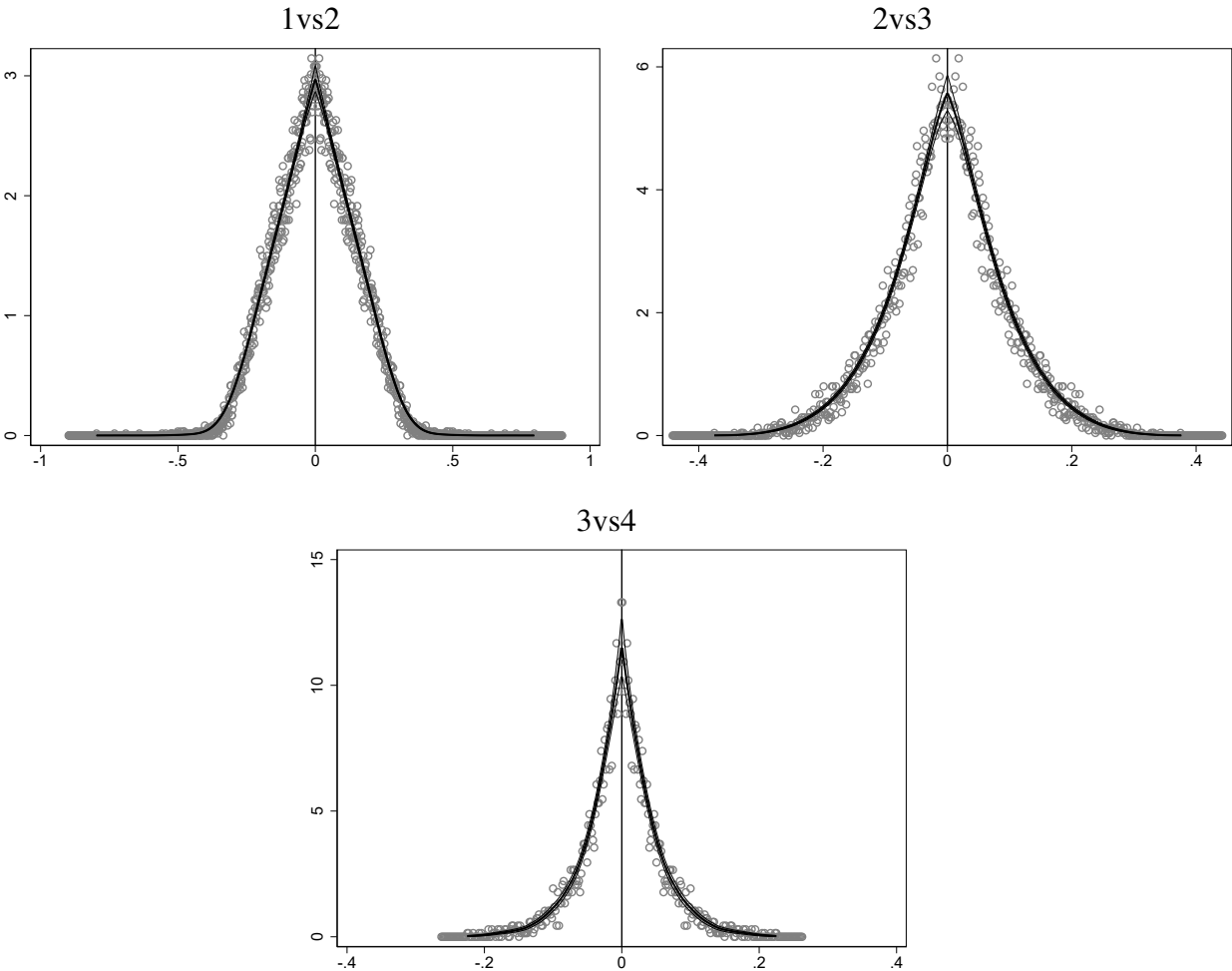
Notes: In columns 2 and 4, we only include races where the fifth candidate qualifies and the candidates ranked third and fourth have distinct political orientations. Other notes as in Table A21.

Figure A1: Turnout in the 2nd round



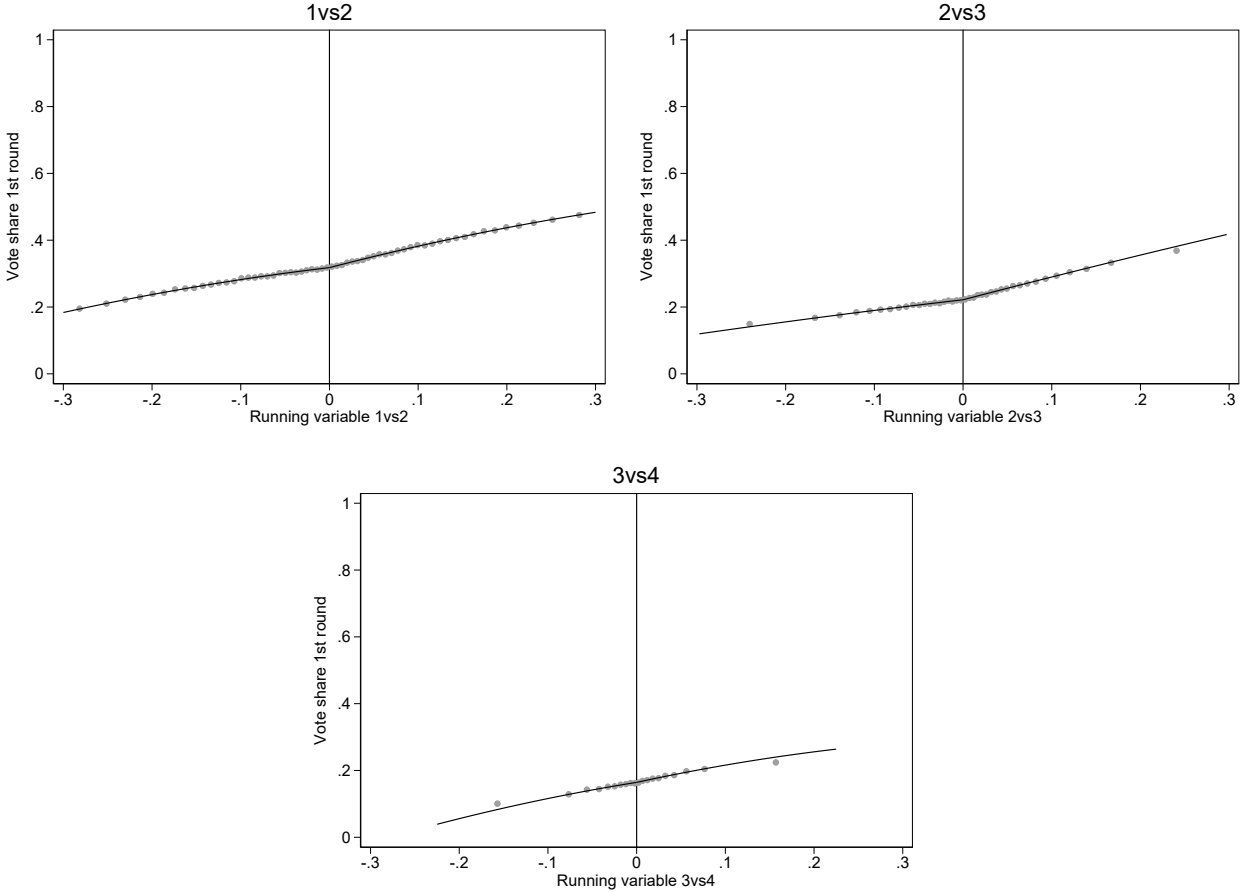
Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the turnout rate in the second round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit. Since we consider the same set of races on each side of the threshold, the graphs are symmetric by construction.

Figure A2: Density of the running variable - McCrary test



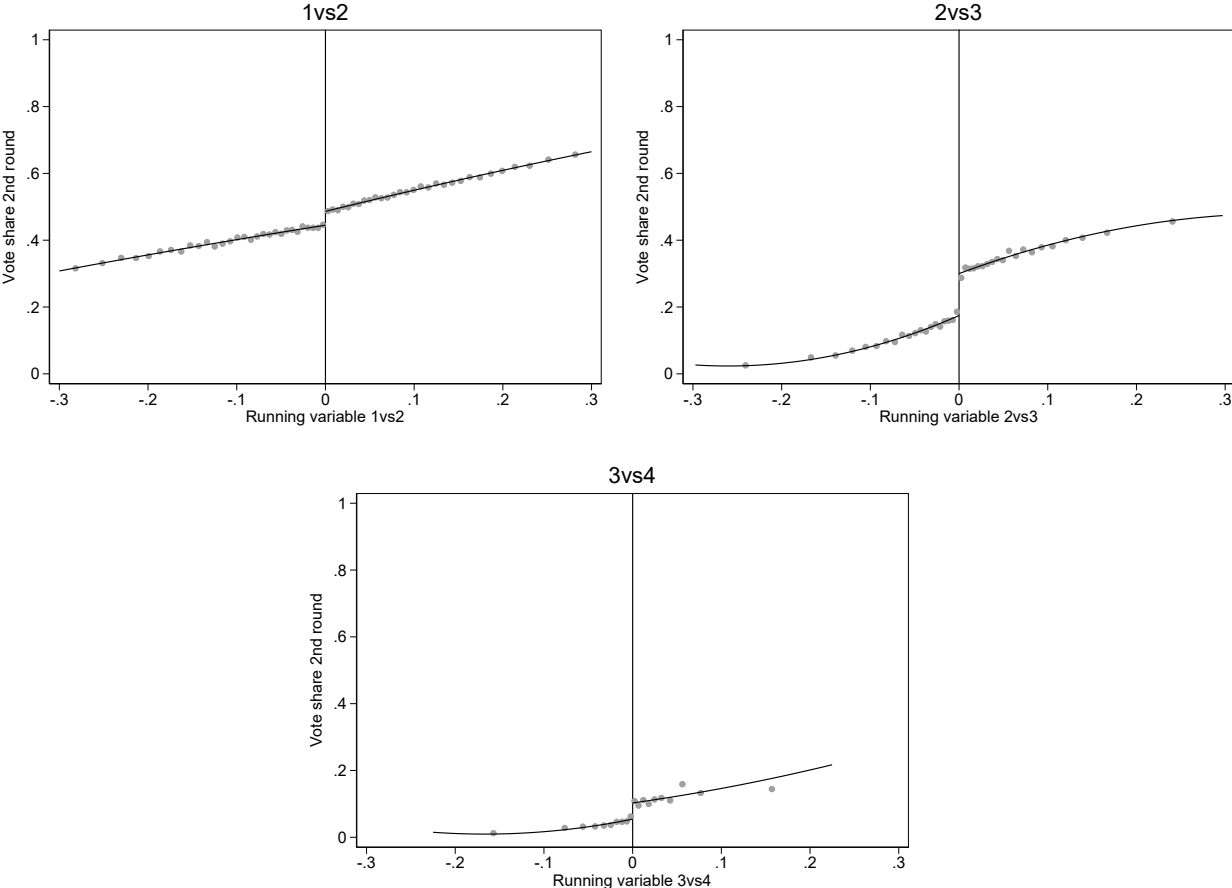
Notes: This figure tests if there is a jump at the threshold in the density of the running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round), represented by the solid line. The confidence intervals are represented by thin lines. In our setting, this test is satisfied by construction since we consider the same set of races on both sides of the threshold and, in each race, the higher- and lower-ranked candidates are equally distant to the cutoff.

Figure A3: Vote shares in the first round



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the candidate’s vote share in the first round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Figure A4: Impact on 2nd round vote shares



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the candidate’s vote share in the second round (vertical axis). The vote share is set to 0 if the candidate does not run in the second round. Other notes as in Figure A2.

Appendix B. Placebo tests on individual outcomes

We conduct placebo tests to examine whether there is a discontinuity at the threshold for any of the variables used to predict treatment. We first provide information about the construction of each variable. We then show the results in Tables B1 through B3, and visually for four of the variables in Figures B1 through B4.

Candidate’s gender: dummy equal to 1 if the candidate is a woman, and 0 otherwise.

- This variable was available in the raw data for most elections. We input it manually based on candidates’ first name in elections for which it was missing.
- The variable is set to 0.5 for the 2015 local elections, since each competing ticket was composed of a man and a woman.

Dummies indicating whether the candidate ran and won the previous election, in the same département.

- Constructing these variables required matching candidate names across election years. In parliamentary elections, candidates were matched with candidates in t-1. In local elections until 2015, candidates were matched with candidates in t-2, since cantons elected their council members only every other election. In the 2015 local election, candidates were matched with candidates in both t-1 and t-2, since all cantons participated in that year’s election.
- We did the matching with the Stata command “relink”, after normalizing first and last names (for instance we dropped accents, special characters, and aristocratic particles). We matched candidates on their first names, last names, and political orientations. We checked all uncertain matches manually.
- The variables are mechanically set to missing for the first elections in the sample: the 1958 parliamentary elections, and the 1979 and 1982 local elections.
- The variables are averaged over the two candidates in the ticket, for the 2015 local elections.

Dummies indicating whether the candidate ran and won the previous election, in the same district.

- These variables were constructed in a similar way as the département-level variables above.
- These variables are set to missing for districts which were created or whose boundaries changed since the last election, including all districts in the 2015 local elections (all districts changed boundaries before that election).

Dummy indicating whether the candidate runs with or without the label of a political party.

- We constructed this variable based on the political labels attributed by the Ministry of the Interior (see Appendix H).

Set of six dummies indicating the candidate’s political orientation.

- These variables were constructed by mapping political labels attributed to candidates by the Ministry of the Interior to six political orientations: far-left, left, center, right, far-right, and other. Appendix H shows the mapping between labels and political orientations for each election.

Dummy indicating whether the candidate’s orientation is the same as the incumbent’s.

- This variable is set to missing for the first elections in the sample and for districts which were created or whose boundaries changed since the last election.
- This variable is set to 0 if the candidate’s orientation or the incumbent’s orientation is “other”.

Number of candidates of the candidate’s orientation in the first round.

- This variable includes the candidate in the count.
- This variable is set to 1 if the candidate’s orientation is “other”: in that case, we consider that no other candidate has the same orientation.

Number of candidates of the candidate’s orientation who did not qualify for the second round.

- This variable is set to 0 if the candidate’s orientation is “other”.

Strength of the candidate in the first round: sum of the first-round vote shares of all candidates of the same orientation.

- This variable includes the candidate’s vote share in the sum.
- This variable is equal to the candidate’s vote share if her orientation is “other”.

Total vote share of non-qualified candidates of the same orientation as the candidate: sum of the first-round vote shares of candidates of the same orientation who did not qualify for the second round.

- This variable is equal to 0 if the candidate’s orientation is “other”.

Average strength of the candidate’s orientation at the national level in the first round.

- This variable is computed using all districts in which at least one first-round candidate had this orientation.
- This variable is set to missing if the candidate’s orientation is “other”.

Table B1: Placebo tests - 1vs2

Outcome	(1) Gender	(2) Ran t-1 dpt	(3) Ran t-1 dis.	(4) Won t-1 dpt	(5) Won t-1 dis.	(6) Party	(7) Right	(8) Left	(9) Far- right
Treatment	0.006 (0.008)	0.013 (0.015)	0.003 (0.017)	0.012 (0.013)	0.016 (0.016)	0.008 (0.010)	0.006 (0.013)	0.008 (0.013)	-0.002 (0.007)
Robust p-value	0.462	0.372	0.985	0.481	0.468	0.428	0.689	0.645	0.996
Observations left	13,351	9,563	7,549	9,798	7,522	13,334	13,112	12,854	11,083
Observations right	13,351	9,563	7,549	9,798	7,522	13,335	13,113	12,855	11,083
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.122	0.096	0.104	0.099	0.104	0.122	0.120	0.117	0.097
Mean, left of threshold	0.159	0.458	0.485	0.277	0.292	0.823	0.455	0.440	0.061

Table B1: Placebo tests - 1vs2 (continued)

Outcome	(10) Far-left	(11) Center	(12) Other	(13) Same Inc.	(14) # Same	(15) Strength	(16) # Same n.qualif.	(17) % votes n.qualif	(18) Nat. strength
Treatment	0.000 (0.001)	-0.015*** (0.005)	0.003 (0.003)	0.005 (0.018)	0.021 (0.029)	0.000 (0.004)	0.022 (0.028)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Robust p-value	0.777	0.003	0.299	0.936	0.547	0.994	0.451	0.380	0.892
Obs. left	12,265	10,042	12,801	6,821	12,461	12,071	12,325	12,327	11,242
Obs. right	12,266	10,042	12,802	6,821	12,462	12,072	12,326	12,328	11,260
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.109	0.086	0.116	0.092	0.112	0.107	0.110	0.110	0.099
Mean, left	0.002	0.036	0.008	0.524	2.196	0.456	0.865	0.057	0.416

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcomes are described in the text and presented in the same order in the table. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table B2: Placebo tests - 2vs3

Outcome	(1) Gender	(2) Ran t-1 dpt	(3) Ran t-1 dis.	(4) Won t-1 dpt	(5) Won t-1 dis.	(6) Party	(7) Right	(8) Left	(9) Far-right
Treatment	-0.022 (0.013)	0.004 (0.021)	-0.008 (0.025)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.018)	0.023 (0.021)	-0.047** (0.023)	0.014 (0.013)
Robust p-value	0.102	0.888	0.720	0.380	0.376	0.734	0.332	0.040	0.194
Observations left	4,496	4,150	3,162	4,289	3,448	4,564	4,842	4,391	4,453
Observations right	4,496	4,150	3,162	4,289	3,448	4,564	4,842	4,391	4,453
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.054	0.065	0.064	0.069	0.072	0.055	0.060	0.052	0.053
Mean, left of threshold	0.129	0.311	0.299	0.097	0.091	0.792	0.381	0.486	0.082

Table B2: Placebo tests - 2vs3 (continued)

Outcome	(10) Far-left	(11) Center	(12) Other	(13) Same Inc.	(14) # Same	(15) Strength	(16) # Same n.qualif.	(17) % votes n.qualif.	(18) Nat. strength
Treatment	0.001 (0.002)	0.007 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.017 (0.024)	-0.030 (0.039)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.054 (0.037)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.005)
Robust p-value	0.389	0.454	0.865	0.479	0.390	0.623	0.147	0.473	0.105
Observations left	4,809	4,868	4,888	3,534	5,360	4,812	4,917	5,080	4,338
Observations right	4,809	4,868	4,888	3,534	5,360	4,812	4,917	5,080	4,338
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.059	0.060	0.061	0.075	0.069	0.059	0.061	0.064	0.052
Mean, left	0.001	0.036	0.014	0.398	2.307	0.423	0.659	0.041	0.411

Notes as in Table B1.

Table B3: Placebo tests - 3vs4

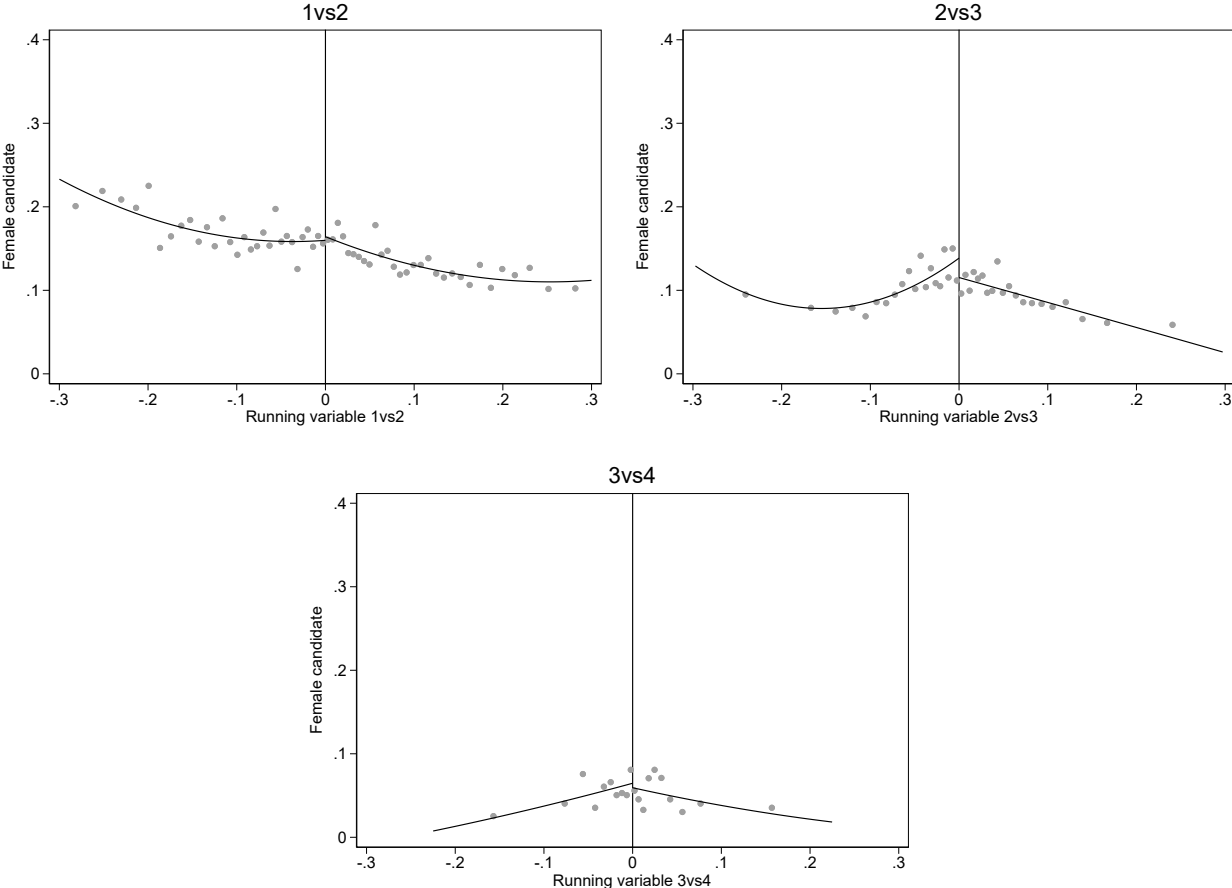
Outcome	(1) Gender	(2) Ran t-1 dpt	(3) Ran t-1 dis.	(4) Won t-1 dpt	(5) Won t-1 dis.	(6) Party	(7) Right	(8) Left	(9) Far-right
Treatment	-0.026 (0.020)	-0.052 (0.039)	-0.048 (0.043)	0.027* (0.016)	0.020 (0.015)	0.042 (0.033)	-0.052 (0.039)	0.087** (0.042)	-0.013 (0.018)
Robust p-value	0.158	0.260	0.355	0.098	0.215	0.165	0.208	0.050	0.420
Observations left	1,108	978	801	845	768	1,197	1,198	1,153	1,279
Observations right	1,108	978	801	845	768	1,197	1,198	1,153	1,279
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.033	0.049	0.045	0.037	0.042	0.037	0.037	0.035	0.042
Mean, left of threshold	0.069	0.327	0.312	0.020	0.020	0.780	0.357	0.426	0.070

Table B3: Placebo tests - 3vs4 (continued)

Outcome	(10) Far-left	(11) Center	(12) Other	(13) Same Inc.	(14) # Same	(15) Strength	(16) # Same n.qualif.	(17) % votes n.qualif	(18) Nat. strength
Treatment	0.001 (0.006)	-0.019 (0.022)	-0.010 (0.014)	0.038 (0.048)	0.057 (0.079)	0.010 (0.014)	-0.002 (0.050)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.005 (0.009)
Robust p-value	0.966	0.418	0.419	0.512	0.421	0.569	0.927	0.574	0.589
Observations left	956	1,411	1,187	756	1,254	1,271	1,187	1,280	1,256
Observations right	956	1,411	1,187	756	1,254	1,271	1,187	1,280	1,264
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.027	0.050	0.037	0.039	0.040	0.041	0.037	0.042	0.043
Mean, left	0.005	0.110	0.036	0.287	2.264	0.392	0.312	0.017	0.391

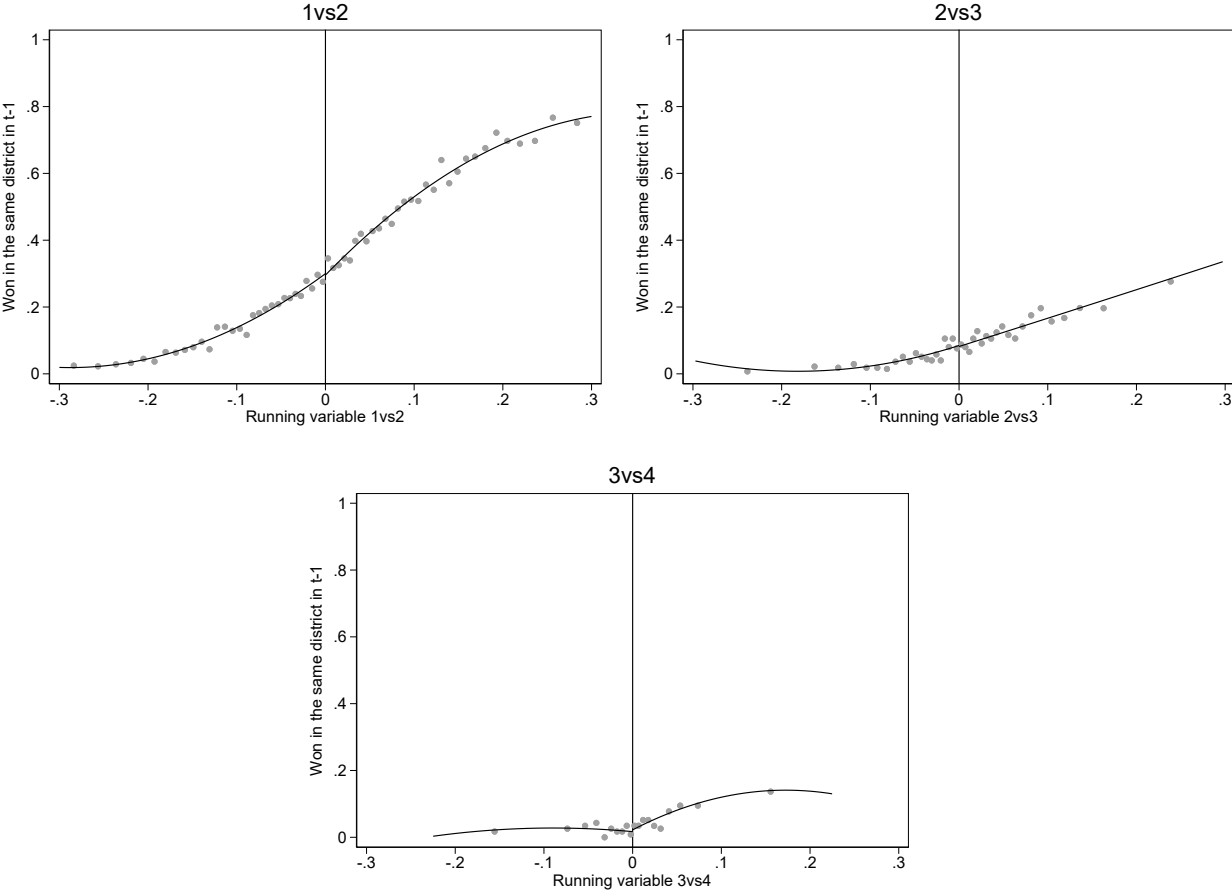
Notes as in Table B1.

Figure B1: Placebo tests - Candidate's gender



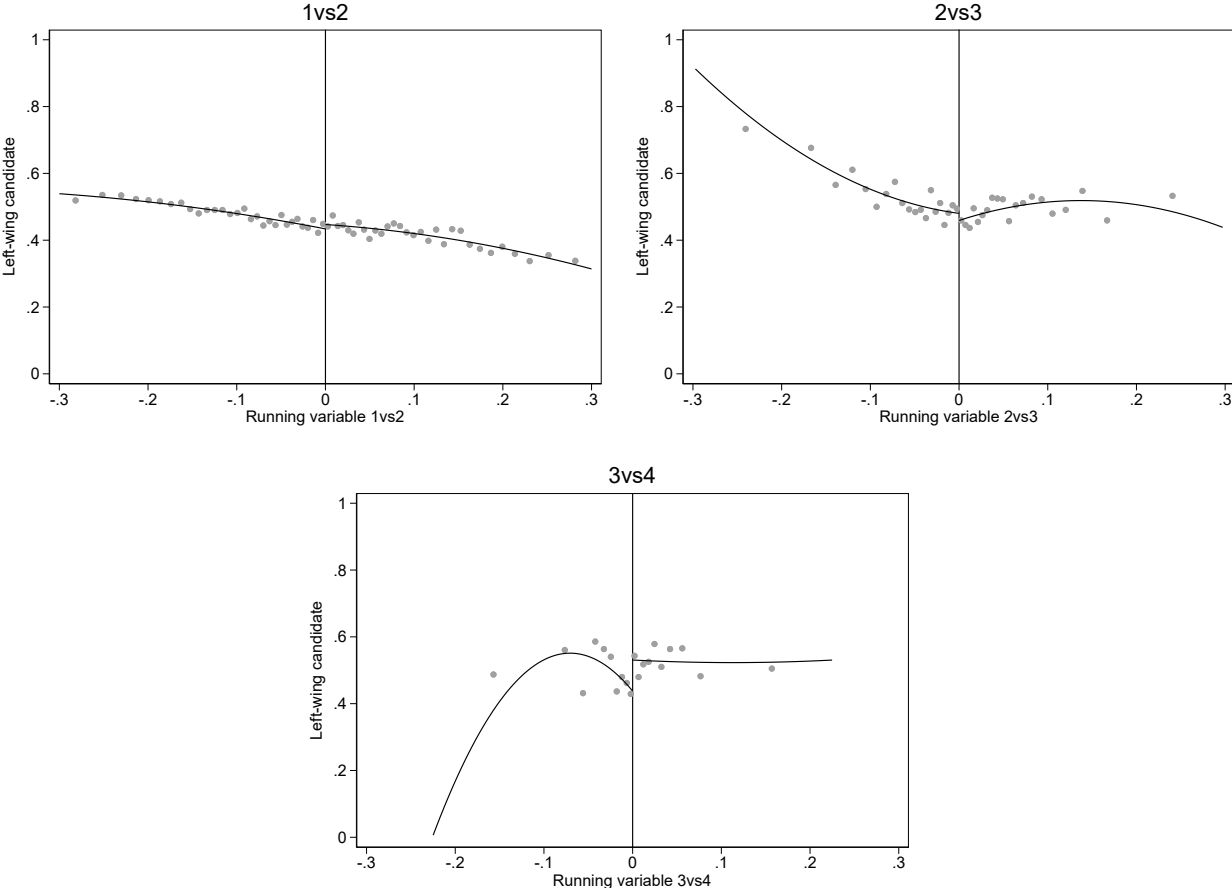
Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the candidate's characteristic (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Figure B2: Placebo tests - The candidate won the last election in the same district



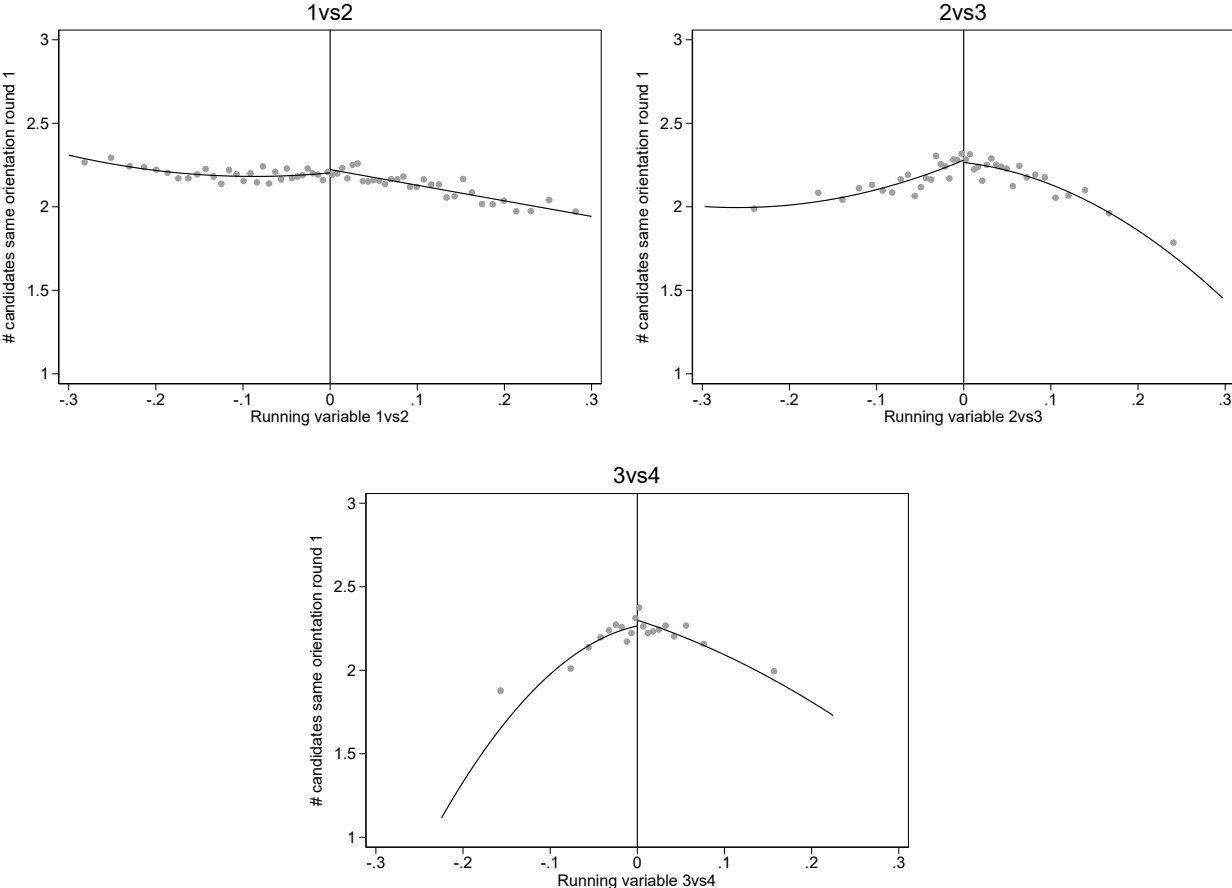
Notes as in Figure B1.

Figure B3: Placebo tests - Left-wing candidate



Notes as in Figure B1.

Figure B4: Placebo tests - Number of candidates of the same orientation in the first round



Notes as in Figure B1.

Appendix C. Robustness tests

Table C1: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Quadratic specification

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1 vs2		2 vs3		3 vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.055*** (0.006)	0.050*** (0.016)	0.220*** (0.023)	0.095*** (0.015)	0.144*** (0.047)	0.026** (0.013)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.000	0.008	0.041
Observations left	15,067	16,700	6,229	6,277	1,531	1,510
Observations right	15,067	16,700	6,229	6,277	1,531	1,510
Polyn. order	2	2	2	2	2	2
Bandwidth	0.144	0.166	0.088	0.089	0.058	0.057
Mean, left of threshold	0.942	0.461	0.582	0.050	0.312	0.005

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use a quadratic specification: we fit separate polynomials of order 2 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table C2: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - IK bandwidths

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.056*** (0.004)	0.059*** (0.016)	0.240*** (0.016)	0.100*** (0.012)	0.153*** (0.034)	0.022** (0.010)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.037
Observations left	13,520	8,282	6,310	5,487	1,491	1,282
Observations right	13,520	8,282	6,310	5,487	1,491	1,282
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.124	0.069	0.090	0.071	0.055	0.042
Mean, left of threshold	0.941	0.458	0.568	0.048	0.288	0.006

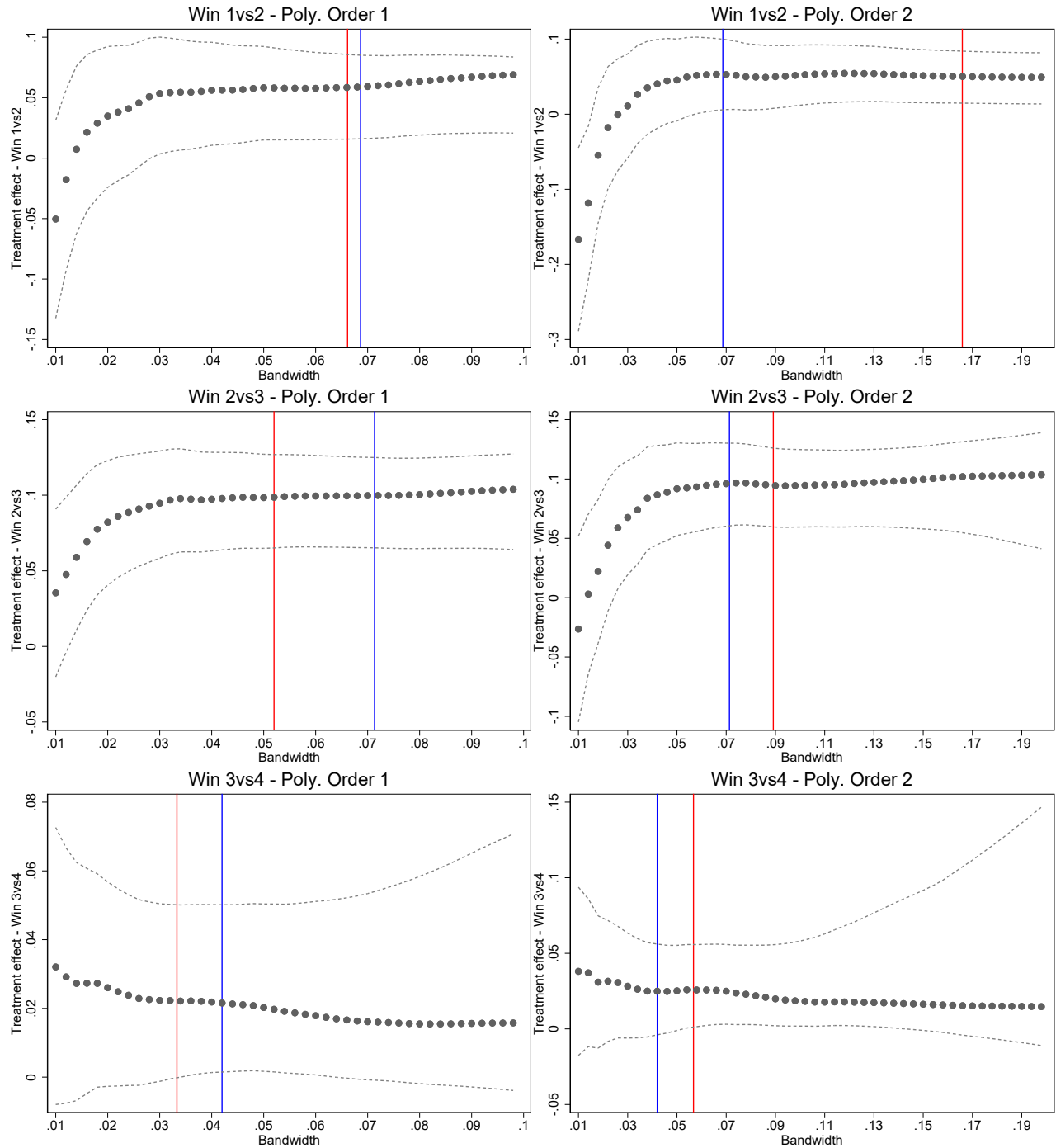
Notes: We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold. We compute the bandwidths according to the IK procedure. Other notes as in Table C1.

Table C3: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - MSERD bandwidths divided by 2

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.053*** (0.006)	0.055** (0.023)	0.214*** (0.025)	0.091*** (0.018)	0.130** (0.056)	0.027* (0.016)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.026	0.000	0.000	0.026	0.087
Observations left	6,775	4,205	3,065	2,421	693	656
Observations right	6,775	4,205	3,065	2,421	693	656
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.055	0.033	0.034	0.026	0.018	0.017
Mean, left of threshold	0.945	0.460	0.588	0.051	0.325	0.005

Notes: We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold. We compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure, and then divide them by 2. Other notes as in Table C1.

Figure C1: Impact on winning depending on bandwidth choices



Notes: We show the sensitivity of the impact on winning to bandwidth choice, using a linear (left-hand side graphs) or quadratic specification (right-hand side graphs). Dots represent the estimated treatment effect using different bandwidths (horizontal axis). Dotted lines represent the 95% robust confidence interval. When using a polynomial order 1 (resp. 2), we report all estimates for values of the bandwidth from 1 to 10 percentage points (resp. 20pp), in steps of 0.2 percentage points (resp. 0.4pp). The vertical red (resp. blue) line gives the value of the MSERD (resp. IK) optimal bandwidth.

Table C4: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Including controls

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.055*** (0.004)	0.053*** (0.016)	0.235*** (0.017)	0.101*** (0.013)	0.154*** (0.036)	0.022** (0.011)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.049
Observations left	12,584	8,000	4,709	4,431	1,178	1,104
Observations right	12,584	8,000	4,709	4,431	1,178	1,104
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.113	0.066	0.057	0.052	0.036	0.033
Mean, left of threshold	0.941	0.330	0.576	0.048	0.299	0.005

Notes: We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. We added in the regressions the same baseline variables used to perform the placebo tests (see Appendix B): the candidate's gender; whether she ran in the previous election, in the same département and then in the same district; whether she won a race in the previous election, in the same département and then in the same district; whether she runs with or without the label of a political party; a set of six dummies indicating her political orientation; whether this orientation is the same as the incumbent's; the number of candidates of her orientation who were present in the first round; the number of candidates of her orientation who did not qualify for the second round; her strength in the first round, defined as the sum of first-round vote shares of all candidates of the same orientation; the total vote share of same-orientation candidates who did not qualify for the second round; and the average strength of her orientation at the national level in the first round. To avoid dropping observations, for each control variable, we include a dummy equal to one when the variable is missing and replace missings by 0s. Other notes as in Table C1.

Table C5: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Using the “ivreg2” command and clustering on both sides of the threshold

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.058*** (0.004)	0.061*** (0.021)	0.242*** (0.019)	0.103*** (0.013)	0.162*** (0.033)	0.022** (0.010)
Observations left	12,272	8,027	5,347	4,398	1,169	1,116
Observations right	12,272	8,027	5,347	4,398	1,169	1,116
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.109	0.066	0.068	0.052	0.036	0.033
Mean, left of threshold	0.941	0.458	0.572	0.048	0.300	0.005

Notes: We run the regressions using the “ivreg2” command, instead of “rdrobust”. Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level, with each cluster encompassing observations on both sides of the threshold. We indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table C6: Impact of ranking 2vs3 - Excluding races in which the 2nd is close to the 1st

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Full sample 2vs3		Gap 1 st -2 nd > 2pp	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.235*** (0.018)	0.099*** (0.013)	0.254*** (0.019)	0.086*** (0.013)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observations left	5,347	4,398	4,825	3,894
Observations right	5,347	4,398	4,825	3,894
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.068	0.052	0.071	0.052
Mean, left of threshold	0.572	0.048	0.555	0.039

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 3 and 4, the sample is restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the first and the second candidates in the first round is strictly higher than 2 percentage points. In columns 1 and 3 (resp. 2 and 4), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table C7: Impact of ranking 3vs4 - Excluding races in which the 3rd is close to the 2nd

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Full sample 3vs4		Gap 2 nd -3 rd > 2pp	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.146*** (0.040)	0.022* (0.011)	0.142** (0.046)	0.020** (0.009)
Robust p-value	0.003	0.052	0.012	0.049
Observations left	1,169	1,116	852	929
Observations right	1,169	1,116	852	929
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.036	0.033	0.035	0.040
Mean, left of threshold	0.300	0.005	0.266	-0.001

Notes: In columns 3 and 4, the sample is restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the second and the third candidates in the first round is strictly higher than 2 percentage points. Other notes as in Table C6.

Appendix D. Analysis at the subdistrict level

As discussed in Section 3.3 of the paper, we use within-district variation to identify which types of voters drive the conditional effects of rankings. The finest level of aggregation of electoral results is the precinct (or polling station). Results at the precinct level are available for all local elections beginning in 2001, and all parliamentary elections beginning in 2002. An intermediate level of aggregation between the precinct and the district is the municipality. We collected results at the municipality level for the 1993 and 1997 parliamentary elections, for the 1992, 1994, and 1998 local elections, and for a few districts for which precinct-level results could not be used in the 2001, 2008, and 2011 local elections. All disaggregate results were obtained from the French Ministry of the Interior. Disaggregate results at the level of the precinct or the municipality are unavailable before 1992.

We ran quality checks on the precinct- and municipality-level data, to verify their internal consistency as well as their consistency with district-level results. We dropped 2 percent of the observations which failed these checks and could not be corrected.

Overall, we have disaggregate results for 14,511 races, accounting for 64.4 percent of all races used to measure the effects of ranking 1vs2. There are 33 precinct- or municipality-level results for the average race, totaling up to 475,501 subdistrict-level results.

In each district and race, we split precincts or municipalities into terciles. Terciles are defined based on the first-round total vote share of candidates placed first and second in the district; on the total vote share of lower-ranked candidates; and on the share of non-candidate votes (encompassing non-voters and blank and null votes), respectively. These three fractions are computed using the number of registered citizens in the first round as denominator, and their sum is equal to 1. On average, the vote share of the top-two candidates is equal to 31.3 percent, 38.3 percent, and 45.9 percent in the first, second, and third terciles, in the first set of terciles. In the second set of terciles, the average vote share of lower-ranked candidates per tercile is equal to 15.9 percent, 20.8 percent, and 27.1 percent, respectively. In the last set of terciles, the average share of non-voters and blank and null votes per tercile is equal to 34.1 percent, 40.6 percent, and 47.1 percent, respectively.

All regressions use candidates' unconditional vote shares in the precinct or in the municipality as outcome. The running variable is defined at the district race level.

Table D1: Impact of ranking 1vs2 on vote share - Subdistrict level analysis

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Outcome	Vote share in the second round 1vs2 - subdistrict level analysis									
	Full Sample	Vote share top2			Vote share other candidates			Share non-candidate votes		
		T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
Treatment	0.022*** (0.000)	0.016*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.001)	0.026*** (0.001)	0.014*** (0.001)	0.024*** (0.001)	0.025*** (0.001)	0.023*** (0.001)	0.018*** (0.001)
Robust p-val.	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
P-val. $T_1 = T_3$				0.000			0.213			0.000
Obs. left	40,966	22,121	20,926	46,031	24,412	32,916	24,771	24,542	22,062	20,692
Obs. right	40,966	22,121	20,926	46,031	24,412	32,916	24,771	24,542	22,062	20,692
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.015	0.025	0.024	0.056	0.027	0.038	0.029	0.027	0.025	0.025
Mean	0.468	0.462	0.465	0.469	0.468	0.468	0.457	0.463	0.464	0.467

Notes: The outcome is defined at the subdistrict race level (precinct or municipality) and the analysis run at this level. The running variable is defined at the district race level, and standard errors are clustered at that level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcome is the vote share of the candidate in the second round, equal to 0 if the candidate does not stay in the second round. In each district and race, we allocate precincts to terciles. In column 2 (resp. 3 and 4), the sample is restricted to precincts for which the share of non-candidate votes in the first round falls in the first tercile (resp. second and third terciles). In column 5 (resp. 6 and 7), the sample is restricted to precincts where the vote share of the top-two candidates in the first round falls in the first tercile (resp. second and third terciles). In column 8 (resp. 9 and 10), the sample is restricted to precincts where the vote share of candidates other than the top two in the first round falls in the first tercile (resp. second and third terciles). All heterogeneity variables are expressed in terms of the number of registered citizens. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold. Below the robust p-value, we provide the result of a test of the hypothesis that the coefficients computed in the first and third terciles are equal to each other.

Appendix E. Newspaper articles analysis

We used Factiva’s research tool (<https://www.dowjones.com/products/factiva>) to collect all newspaper articles released between the two rounds of all parliamentary elections since 1997 and containing the entities *élection**, *électoral**, *législative**, *candidat**, or *circonscription**, as well as all articles released between the two rounds of all local elections since 1998 and containing the entities *élection**, *électoral**, *cantonale**, or *candidat**, or the word “canton” or “cantons”.²⁶ For the 2015 local elections, we also collected articles containing the entity *départementale** since these elections were called “départementales” instead of “cantonales” as the previous ones. Articles ranked by Factiva under the “sport” category were discarded. Table E1 displays the number of articles collected for each election.

Table E1: Number of newspaper articles by election type and year

Election type	Year	Nb of articles	Election type	Year	Nb of articles
Parliamentary elections	1997	378	Local elections	1998	370
	2002	766		2001	511
	2007	6,396		2004	3,832
	2012	11,789		2008	10,313
	2017	14,434		2011	9,561
			2015	18,329	
	Total	33,763	Total	42,916	
	Total			76,679	

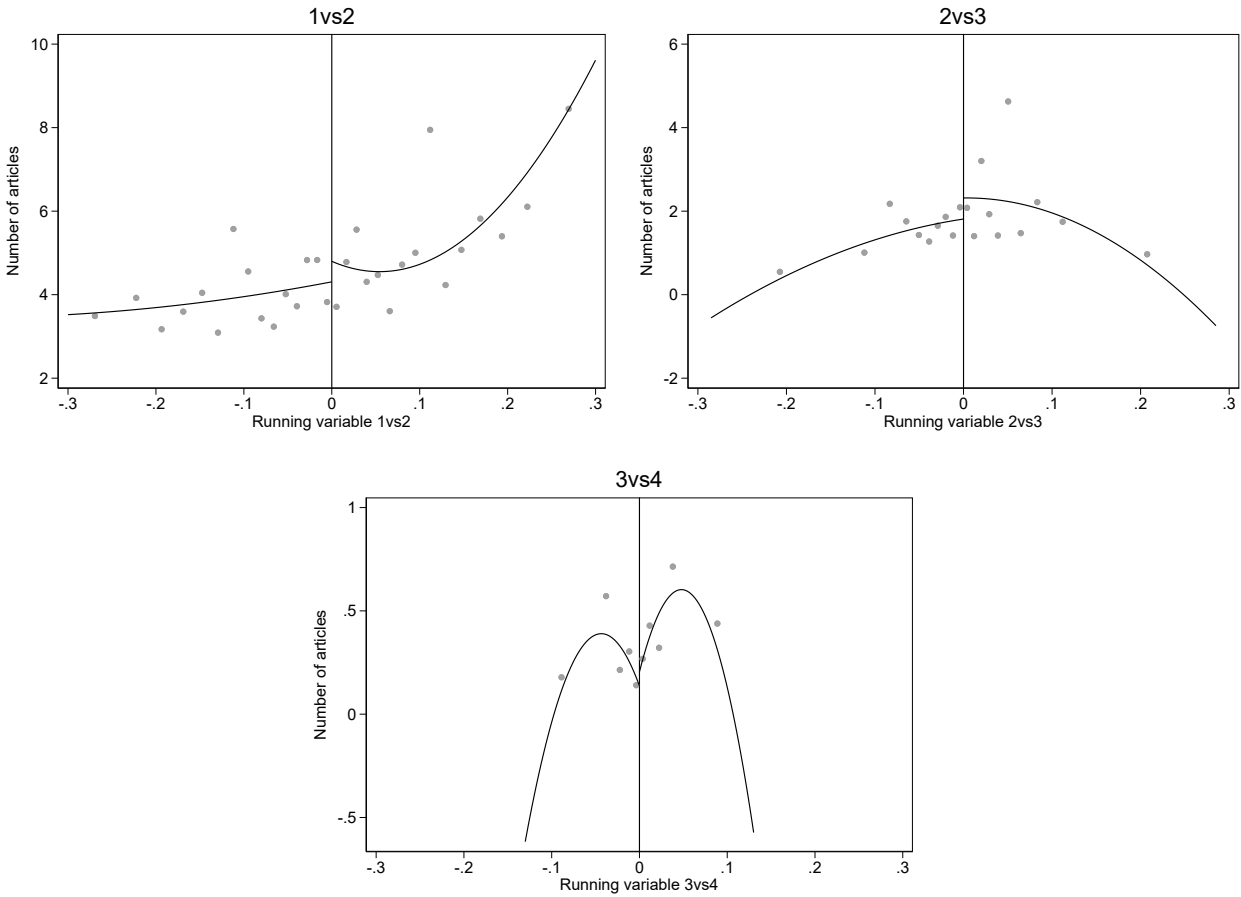
Quantitative analysis

To identify articles mentioning candidates’ names and to count the number of mentions, we proceeded in two steps. First, we normalized the first and last names of all candidates ranked first to fourth in the first round of each race, in the election results. For instance, we dropped accents, special characters, and aristocratic particles, and we completed compound first names to the extent possible when one of the components was only indicated by its first letter. In the 2015 local

²⁶Looking for the entity *canton** instead of the specific words “canton” or “cantons” would have generated false positives since several French words unrelated to cantonal elections begin with this entity, including “cantonade” and “cantonner”.

elections, where the names of both candidates in each ticket were concatenated in a single field, we separated the two names and, for each candidate, the first and last name. Second, we harmonized the text of all newspaper articles in Python. For instance, we separated words wrongly tied together and removed accents, aristocratic particles, and extra blank spaces. We then counted the total number of articles mentioning the candidate's first and last names at least once; the total number of mentions (counting twice the articles in which the candidate is mentioned twice, thrice the articles in which they are mentioned thrice, etc.); and the total number of articles mentioning the candidate in the title. For the 2015 local elections, we computed the average number of mentions of the two candidates of each ticket. The results are reported in Table 10 (Section 4.4 of the main text) and shown graphically for the number of articles mentioning the candidate in Figure E1.

Figure E1: Impact on the number of articles mentioning the candidate



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the number of articles mentioning the candidate at least once (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 30 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Qualitative analysis

Articles read and annotated manually were chosen as follows. We identified all races with a vote share difference between the top-two candidates smaller than 2 percentage points and in which the first or second candidate was cited in at least one article collected through Factiva. We selected a random subset of 201 of these races and, out of all articles covering these races, up to two articles. Before selecting articles, we removed outliers: articles citing candidates who were cited in a total of 50 articles or more. Using the same process, we selected a random subset of 104

aces for the 2vs3 discontinuity and 20 races for the 3vs4 discontinuity and again, for each of these races, up to two articles. The proportion of close races selected from each discontinuity (201, 104, and 20 races) corresponds to their proportion in the full sample of races starting with the 1997 parliamentary election (1,347, 697, and 134). Races and articles were drawn independently for each discontinuity, meaning that the same race or the same article could be drawn multiple times. The final dataset includes 613 entries (race*discontinuity*article). We dropped 66 entries after reading the corresponding article and realizing that it did not cover the race or did not cover the candidate but an homonym, leaving us with 547 entries, 517 unique articles, and 296 unique races.

For most of the race*discontinuities, our sample includes two articles. For 55 race*discontinuities, only one article was available. To give equal weight to each race*discontinuity, this article receives a weight of two in all statistics reported in Table E2. This table reports the fractions of articles which:

- mostly cover the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate,
- report speech from the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate,
- report the vote share of the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate,
- mention that a public figure supports the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate for the second round,
- express positive expectations from the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate about their likelihood to win the second round,
- express positive expectations from someone else (e.g., the journalist, a public figure, or another candidate) about the likelihood that the higher-ranked (resp. lower-ranked) candidate wins the second round,
- and mention only candidate rankings (either the ranking of one of the two candidates or both); only the vote shares of both candidates, the gap between them, or the closeness of the race; or both.

Table E2: Newspaper articles analysis

Variables	Full Sample (N=547)	Running variable $\leq 1pp$ (N=271)	Sample 1vs2 (N=348)
<i>Panel A. Coverage of the higher- and lower-ranked candidates</i>			
Coverage centered			
On the higher-ranked	16.0	15.4	15.3
On the lower-ranked	16.1	14.1	17.5
Reported speech			
Of the higher-ranked	14.6	15.4	12.2
Of the lower-ranked	14.5	14.1	11.9
Vote share mentioned			
Of the higher-ranked	27.6	27.5	25.9
Of the lower-ranked	27.4	27.2	24.9
Support from a public figure			
In favor of the higher-ranked	5.0	5.4	5.3
In favor of the lower-ranked	5.0	4.4	6.6
Positive expectations			
From the higher-ranked	0.7	0.7	0.8
From the lower-ranked	1.8	0.7	1.6
Positive expectations from s.o else			
In favor of the higher-ranked	5.2	5.0	7.4
In favor of the lower-ranked	5.0	3.7	6.9
<i>Panel B. Reporting of first-round results</i>			
Only ranking	9.5	8.7	9.0
Only vote shares, gap, or closeness	17.8	18.8	17.5
Both	20.6	22.8	24.1

Notes: The numbers reported in the table are percentages. The level of analysis is the race*discontinuity*article. For race*discontinuities for which only one article was available, this article receives a weight of two in all statistics. The first column reports the statistics on the full sample, the second column focuses on races where the vote share difference between the two candidates is smaller than 1 percentage point, and the third column focuses on races of sample1 where we compare close first and close second candidates. Information on the sampling procedure and on the statistics reported in the table is provided in the text above.

Appendix F. External validity within France

Table F1: Summary statistics on parliamentary versus local elections

	Parliamentary (N=6,335)		Local (N=16,222)	
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>				
Registered voters	69,560	16,843	12,178	8,181
Turnout	0.682	0.116	0.617	0.123
Candidate votes	0.664	0.114	0.593	0.119
Number of candidates	9.1	4.3	5.5	1.6
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>				
Turnout	0.680	0.131	0.608	0.130
Candidate votes	0.650	0.138	0.573	0.132
Number of candidates	2.2	0.5	2.1	0.4

Notes: This table presents some descriptive statistics on races with two rounds and at least two candidates in the first round, separately for parliamentary and local elections.

Table F2: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Parliamentary elections

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.064*** (0.009)	0.094*** (0.025)	0.240*** (0.035)	0.113*** (0.023)	0.185*** (0.052)	0.006 (0.012)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.676
Observations left	3,598	3,434	1,487	1,696	633	682
Observations right	3,598	3,434	1,487	1,696	633	682
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.114	0.107	0.064	0.078	0.038	0.042
Mean, left of threshold	0.934	0.438	0.542	0.057	0.241	0.010

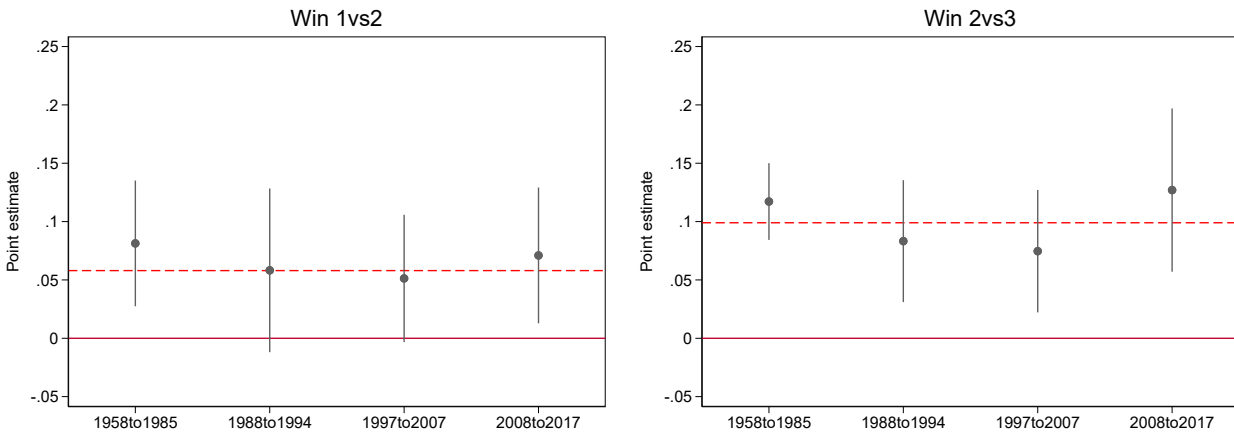
Notes: The sample is restricted to parliamentary elections. Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table F3: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Local elections

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.053***	0.044	0.231***	0.094***	0.105	0.047**
	(0.005)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.059)	(0.021)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.111	0.000	0.000	0.181	0.033
Observations left	9,042	5,473	3,798	2,903	542	423
Observations right	9,042	5,473	3,798	2,903	542	423
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.114	0.063	0.069	0.048	0.034	0.024
Mean, left of threshold	0.944	0.467	0.586	0.043	0.360	-0.003

Notes: The sample is restricted to local elections. Other notes as in Table F2.

Figure F1: Impact on winning across time



Notes: We divided the sample into four time periods (horizontal axis). Dots represent the estimated impact on winning using only elections from the given period (vertical axis). Vertical lines represent the 95% robust confidence interval. The red dotted horizontal line represents the value of the estimate on the full sample.

Table F4: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Left-wing candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.091*** (0.008)	0.084*** (0.024)	0.298*** (0.025)	0.134*** (0.020)	0.203*** (0.053)	-0.001 (0.014)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.976
Observations left	5,945	3,822	2,950	2,507	587	549
Observations right	5,624	3,711	2,864	2,453	634	589
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.118	0.071	0.080	0.064	0.037	0.034
Mean, left of threshold	0.908	0.588	0.495	0.058	0.230	0.013

Notes: The sample is restricted to left-wing candidates. Other notes as in Table F2.

Table F5: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Right-wing candidates

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.030*** (0.006)	0.034 (0.023)	0.202*** (0.035)	0.091*** (0.021)	0.116 (0.073)	0.068*** (0.025)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.355	0.000	0.000	0.248	0.008
Observations left	4,296	3,726	1,462	1,592	315	364
Observations right	4,729	4,047	1,620	1,783	307	376
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.083	0.070	0.047	0.053	0.030	0.038
Mean, left of threshold	0.967	0.396	0.601	0.045	0.331	0.000

Notes: The sample is restricted to right-wing candidates. Other notes as in Table F2.

Table F6: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Excluding local elections which took place on the same date as regional or municipal elections

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.056*** (0.005)	0.073*** (0.019)	0.274*** (0.022)	0.121*** (0.015)	0.161*** (0.045)	0.024* (0.012)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.002	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.095
Observations left	8,652	6,048	3,574	3,756	912	926
Observations right	8,652	6,048	3,574	3,756	912	926
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.108	0.070	0.070	0.075	0.036	0.037
Mean, left of threshold	0.943	0.452	0.525	0.049	0.240	0.007

Notes: We exclude from the sample the 1992, 1998, 2001, 2004, and 2008 local elections, which took place on the same date as regional or municipal elections. Other notes as in Table F2.

Table F7: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning - Local elections, excluding those which took place on the same date as regional or municipal elections

Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	1vs2		2vs3		3vs4	
	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.051*** (0.007)	0.058* (0.025)	0.300*** (0.031)	0.128*** (0.021)	0.057 (0.083)	0.061** (0.027)
Robust p-value	0.000	0.081	0.000	0.000	0.763	0.042
Observations left	5,231	3,457	1,916	1,756	208	301
Observations right	5,231	3,457	1,916	1,756	208	301
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.110	0.066	0.066	0.059	0.022	0.037
Mean, left of threshold	0.948	0.462	0.513	0.042	0.277	0.000

Notes: The sample is restricted to local elections and excludes the 1992, 1998, 2001, 2004, and 2008 local elections, which took place on the same date as regional or municipal elections. Other notes as in Table F2.

Appendix G. External validity beyond France

Appendix G1: Sampling frame

We systematically collected data for worldwide parliamentary elections using a two-round plurality rule and in which the set of eligible voters is identical in both rounds. In all cases, the set of candidates present in the second round are a subset of those present in the first round, with one exception. In Norway's parliamentary elections, candidates can decide to run in the second round even if they did not compete in the first round. This happened in only 24 races, accounting for 8.8 percent of Norway's races and 0.6 percent of the entire sample. We kept both single-member and multi-member constituencies in which voting was conducted at the ticket level so that candidates on the same ticket were either all elected or all defeated.

We first identified elections satisfying these criteria with the following three databases:

- The National Elections across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) database: This database provides information on all elections for a national executive figure or national legislative body in which voters directly elect the persons appearing on the ballot and mass voting takes place, from 1945 to 2010. Using this source, the following countries were identified as having held two-round parliamentary elections at some point in their history: Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Benin, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Cote d'Ivoire, Croatia, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, France, Gabon, Georgia, Haiti, Hungary, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Lebanon, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Peru, Poland, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Switzerland, Syria, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe.
- The Constituency-Level Elections Archive (CLEA) (2018): This database provides constituency-level results for lower house legislative elections around the world. This source enabled us to identify the following additional countries: Belgium, Bhutan, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, and San Marino.
- The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network: This online repository includes an Encyclopedia of Elections. Using this source, four additional countries were identified: Cuba, Kiribati, Montserrat, and Tokelau.

We then used the following additional sources for two checks, to make sure that all elections identified in the first step did take place under a two-round system and to record information on the specific electoral system used to elect each parliamentary body: Nohlen's Elections Data hand-

books, the inter-parliamentary union's PARLINE database on national parliaments, the countries' election Wikipedia pages, and Adam Carr's Election database. We discovered that the following countries did not, in fact, hold two-round parliamentary elections satisfying our criteria:

- The two-round election did not occur for the upper or lower house of Parliament but for a different body of government in Bulgaria (elections for a Grand National Assembly, convened to draft a new constitution).
- The two rounds were not conducted with the same type of candidates in Bhutan and San Marino.
- The two rounds were not conducted with the same voters in Zimbabwe.
- A rerun took place due to fraud, not as part of a two-round election in Benin, Burkina Faso, Morocco, Peru, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and Thailand.
- Our three initial sources incorrectly identified the electoral system, and/or a second round never occurred in Cuba, Monserrat, and Togo.
- Certain districts had multi-member constituencies in which voting did not exclusively occur at the ticket level (for example, voters could place multiple votes for multiple candidates) in Belgium, Kiribati, Cuba, Monserrat, and Togo. In these countries, we kept the single-member constituencies but removed the multi-member constituencies.

In total we identified 44 countries which held two-round parliamentary elections at some point in their history, and a total of 201 distinct elections.

We searched for election results at the constituency level using the following sources: CLEA, Adam Carr's Election Archive, David Lublin's Election Passport dataset, and electoral commissions websites.

- Electoral commissions websites: We first checked whether governments make constituency-level electoral results available through the websites of their electoral commission. This was the case for Bahrain's 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014 elections; the Czech Republic's 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2017, and 2018 elections; Georgia's 2016 election; Lithuania's 2016 election; Mauritania's 2013 election; New Zealand's 1908 and 1911 elections; Poland's 1989 election; and Switzerland's 1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, and 2015 elections.
 - Bahrain – Citation: Directorate of Elections and Referendum; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: Webpage (in Arabic) manually input and translated; Links: <http://www.vote.bh/ar/>
<http://www.vote.bh/En/index>.

- Czech Republic – Citation: Czech Statistical Office, 2018; Date of access: December 2018; Data format: Excel; Link: <https://www.volby.cz/>.
- Lithuania – Citation: The Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Lithuania, 2018. Data are collected and stored in the Register of Legal Entities. Legal entity code 188607150; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: Excel; Link: <https://www.vrk.lt/en/atviriduomenys>.
- Mauritania – Citation: Islamic Republic of Mauritania Independent National Electoral Commission; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: pdfs of each constituency’s votes; Links: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140211222525>; http://www.ceni.mr:80/spip.php?page=article&id_article=79.
- New Zealand – Citation: National Library of New Zealand Date of Access: January 2019; Data format: pdf; Link: <https://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs?a=d&d=AJHR1912-II.2.4.2.20>.
- Poland – Citation: The official website of the President of the Republic of Poland. Prezydent.pl; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: pdf; Link: <http://www.prezydent.pl/kancelaria/archiwa-przelomu/zasob-archiwum-prezydenta-rp/kancelaria-rady-panstwa-krp/panstwowa-komisja-wyborcza-pkw----wybory-do-sejmu-prl-i-senatu-prl-z-8-i-19-czerwca/obwieszczenie-pkw-o-wynikach-glosowania-i-wynikach-wyborow-do-sejmu-prl-przeprowadzonych-dnia-4-czerwca-1989-103330-t1/>.
- Switzerland – Citation: Swiss Federal Statistics Office; Date of Access: January 2019; Data format: Excel; Link: <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/politique/elections/conseil-etats.assetdetail.239523.html>.
- CLEA database: We supplemented the electoral commissions websites with the CLEA dataset, which provides constituency-level voter information for Albania’s 2001 election; Belgium’s 28 elections between 1847 and 1898; Croatia’s 1990 election; Germany’s 11 elections between 1877 and 1912; Hungary’s 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2010 elections; Lithuania’s 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections; the Netherland’s eight elections between 1888 and 1913; and Norway’s 1906, 1909, 1912, and 1915 elections.
 - Citation: Kollman, K., Hicken, A., Caramani, D., Backer, D., & Lublin, D. (2018). Constituency-level elections archive [data file and codebook]. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan [producer and distributor]; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: Excel and Stata;

- Link: <http://www.electiondataarchive.org/clea-lower-chamber-elections-archive.php>.
- Psephos: Adam Carr’s Electoral Archive: This online archive of election statistics is maintained by Adam Carr and includes detailed statistics for presidential and legislative elections from 182 countries. This source supplied information for Comoros’ 2004 and 2009 elections, Kiribati’s 2002, 2007, and 2016 elections, and Mali’s 2013 elections.
 - Citation: Adam Carr Psephos: Electoral Archive; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: text; Link: <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>.
 - Election Passport: This dataset, compiled by David Lublin of American University, comprises constituency election results in 110 countries and territories. It provided detailed information for Haiti’s 2015 lower house election and 2016 upper house election.
 - Citation: David Lublin. “Election Passport.” American University; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: Excel; Link: <http://www.electionpassport.com/>.
 - National Democratic Institute (NDI) website: Georgia’s data for the 2016 election were gathered from a website created by the National Democratic Institute, a nonprofit organization that supports democratic institutions.
 - Citation: Georgia Election Data, Election Portal, NDI; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: Excel; Link: <https://data.electionsportal.ge/en>.
 - For countries in which some variables were missing, we supplemented our data with additional sources.
 - Georgia: We retrieved blank and null vote count information from a government data file. Citation: Election Administration of Georgia; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: pdf; Link: <http://cesko.ge/eng/static/2473/batili-biuletenebis-statistika-2002-tslidan-dghemde-saqartveloshi-chatarebuli-archevnebis-mikhedvit>.
 - Kiribati: We used an additional source to retrieve blank and null vote count information. Citation: Stories from Kiribati; Date of access: June 2018; Data format: text; Link: <https://www.storiesfromkiribati.com/apps/blog/show/43739689-results-of-the-second-round-of-elections>.

Overall, we found election results for 72 elections in 19 countries, listed in Table G1.1, and corresponding to a total of 4,075 races with two rounds.²⁷ In some elections, our sample only includes

²⁷When counting the number of elections in our sample, we disregard elections where all races had only one round, due to the first candidate winning directly in the first round. By-elections, which occur out of schedule due for instance to the death of an elected official, are not counted as separate elections.

a subset of the races because we removed multi-member constituencies, as indicated above, and results for some races were not available.²⁸ In Table G1.2, we indicate the specific electoral rules used in each country, namely the vote share cutoff required for a candidate to win in the first round and the qualification rule for the second round if the election was not won in the first round.

After gathering these data, we conducted the seven following checks to verify the quality of the data (we focused our tests on elections where a second round took place, as they are the ones included in our analysis):

- Check that the sum of all candidates' votes is within 5 percent of the number of valid votes in the first round. This check was performed on 4,039 elections with two rounds (99.1 percent of the sample), due to data availability.
- Check that the sum of all candidates' votes is within 5 percent the number of valid votes in the second round. This check was performed on 4,039 elections with two rounds(99.1 percent of the sample).
- Check that only qualified candidates participate in the second round. This check was performed on all elections with two rounds.
- Check that a second round did not occur when an absolute majority was won in the first round. This check was performed on the entire sample.
- Check that a second round did occur when the electoral law dictates it. This check was performed on the entire sample.
- Check that the first round results are consistent, i.e. turnout > registered voters, valid votes > registered voters, and valid votes > turnout. This check was performed on 3,557 elections with two rounds(87.3 percent of the sample).
- Check that the second round results are consistent, i.e. turnout > registered voters, valid votes > registered voters, and valid votes > turnout. This check was performed on 3,254 elections with two rounds (79.9 percent of the sample).

When inconsistencies were found, we cross-checked the results with other sources if multiple sources had been identified. For example, the original data for Lithuania's elections were collected from CLEA and were double-checked with Adam Carr's election dataset. Table G6.4 tests the robustness of the results to excluding the 4.5 percent of races failing any of these tests and whose inconsistencies could not be corrected using alternative sources.

²⁸For instance, there were 146 seats up for election in Mauritania in 2013 but the government's website only includes the results of 39 races. Similarly, there were 147 seats up for election in Mali in 2013 but Adam Carr was only able to find results for 54 of them, based on media websites.

Table G1.1: Number of races by country, election type, and year

Country	Election Type	Year	Nb of Races	Nb of Races with a 2nd Round
Albania	Lower	2001	100	45
Bahrain	Lower	2002	38	21
Bahrain	Lower	2006	39	11
Bahrain	Lower	2010	35	9
Bahrain	Lower	2014	39	34
Bahrain	Lower	2016	40	31
Belgium	Lower	1850	4	1
Comoros	Lower	2004	12	4
Comoros	Lower	2009	23	21
Comoros	Lower	2015	23	21
Croatia	Lower	1990	80	51
Czech Republic	Upper	1996	81	77
Czech Republic	Upper	1998	27	27
Czech Republic	Upper	2000	27	26
Czech Republic	Upper	2002	29	28
Czech Republic	Upper	2004	29	28
Czech Republic	Upper	2006	29	29
Czech Republic	Upper	2008	27	26
Czech Republic	Upper	2010	28	28
Czech Republic	Upper	2012	27	27
Czech Republic	Upper	2014	29	29
Czech Republic	Upper	2016	27	27
Czech Republic	Upper	2018	29	27
Georgia	Lower	2016	73	50
Germany	Lower	1877	70	70
Germany	Lower	1878	67	67
Germany	Lower	1881	104	104
Germany	Lower	1884	99	99
Germany	Lower	1887	62	62
Germany	Lower	1890	151	151
Germany	Lower	1893	181	181
Germany	Lower	1898	187	187
Germany	Lower	1903	180	180
Germany	Lower	1907	159	159
Germany	Lower	1912	191	191
Haiti	Upper	2016	10	8
Haiti	Lower	2015	94	86
Haiti	Lower	2015	25	23

Table G1.1: Number of races by country, election type, and year (continued)

Country	Election Type	Year	Nb of Races	Nb of Races with a 2nd Round
Hungary	Lower	1998	176	175
Hungary	Lower	2002	176	129
Hungary	Lower	2006	176	110
Hungary	Lower	2010	176	57
Kiribati	Lower	2002	9	6
Kiribati	Lower	2007	7	1
Kiribati	Lower	2016	7	1
Lithuania	Lower	1992	71	61
Lithuania	Lower	1996	71	65
Lithuania	Lower	2004	71	66
Lithuania	Lower	2008	71	68
Lithuania	Lower	2012	71	67
Lithuania	Lower	2016	71	68
Mali	Lower	2013	54	45
Mauritania	Lower	2013	39	15
Mauritania	Lower	2018	49	12
Netherlands	Lower	1888	83	25
Netherlands	Lower	1891	80	24
Netherlands	Lower	1894	67	27
Netherlands	Lower	1897	92	50
Netherlands	Lower	1901	89	42
Netherlands	Lower	1905	94	40
Netherlands	Lower	1909	89	36
Netherlands	Lower	1913	95	47
New Zealand	Lower	1908	76	23
New Zealand	Lower	1911	75	30
Norway	Lower	1906	122	70
Norway	Lower	1909	123	75
Norway	Lower	1912	123	63
Norway	Lower	1915	123	66
Poland	Lower	1989	425	262
Switzerland	Upper	1991	3	1
Switzerland	Upper	1999	4	1
Switzerland	Upper	2015	5	1
Total			5,538	4,075

Table G1.2: Electoral rules by country

Country	First round vote share victory cutoff	Candidates qualified for the second round
Albania	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Bahrain	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Belgium	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Comoros	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Croatia	50% of at least 33.3% of registered voters	All candidates with more than 7% of the votes in the first round
Czech Republic (Upper and lower house)	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Georgia	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Germany	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Haiti	50% or a lead equal to or greater than 35%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Hungary	50%	Top three vote earners and any candidate who received more than 15% of the votes in the first round. If voter turnout is less than 50%, all candidates qualify for the second round
Kiribati	50%	Top three vote earners in the first round
Lithuania	50% or the highest vote getter if turnout is under 40% and that candidate gets more than 20% of the votes cast by registered voters.	Top two vote earners in the first round
Mali	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Mauritania	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
The Netherlands	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
New Zealand	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Norway	50%	Any candidate, even those not present in the first round
Poland	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round
Switzerland	50%	Top two vote earners in the first round

Appendix G2: Descriptive statistics

Table G2.1 shows descriptive statistics for the full sample of races with two rounds in countries other than France. In the average race, 6.2 candidates competed in the first round, 65.0 percent of registered citizens voted in it, and 63.9 percent cast a valid vote for one of the candidates, as opposed to casting a blank or null vote. In the second round, the number of competing candidates ranged from 1 to 9, with an average of 2.2. Turnout and the fraction of candidate votes were both slightly lower in the second round compared to the first (63.6 and 62.7 percent, on average).

Tables G2.2 and G2.3 show descriptive statistics for the subsets of races used to measure the impact of ranking 1vs2 (sample 1) and 2vs3 (sample 2), defined similarly as in the French sample. Sample 1 includes all races in which at least two candidates participated in the first round of the election, there was a second round, and the top three candidates all obtained different numbers of votes in the first round. Sample 2 is further restricted to races in which at least three candidates participated in the first round and all top four candidates obtained different numbers of votes in the first round.

Table G2.1: Summary statistics beyond France - Full sample

	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Obs.
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>					
Registered voters	37,699	30,961	426	387,626	3,557
Turnout	0.650	0.169	0.109	0.966	3,535
Candidate votes	0.639	0.174	0.108	0.959	3,557
Number of candidates	6.2	3.3	2	50	4,075
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>					
Turnout	0.636	0.214	0.087	0.983	3,250
Candidate votes	0.627	0.214	0.086	0.981	3,254
Number of candidates	2.2	0.5	1	9	4,075

Notes: Not all data sources provide registration, turnout, and counts of blank and null votes. Each variable is available for at least 80 percent of the races.

Table G2.2: Summary statistics beyond France - Sample 1

	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Obs.
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>					
Registered voters	37,716	30,966	426	387,626	3,554
Turnout	0.650	0.170	0.109	0.966	3,532
Candidate votes	0.639	0.174	0.108	0.959	3,554
Number of candidates	6.2	3.3	2	50	4,069
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>					
Turnout	0.636	0.214	0.087	0.983	3,247
Candidate votes	0.627	0.214	0.086	0.981	3,251
Number of candidates	2.2	0.5	1	9	4,069

Notes: Sample 1 is used to measure the impact of ranking first instead of second. Compared to the full sample, sample 1 excludes races in which two of the top three candidates obtained an identical number of votes in the first round. Other notes as in Table G2.1.

Table G2.3: Summary statistics beyond France - Sample 2

	Mean	Sd	Min	Max	Obs.
<i>Panel A. 1st round</i>					
Registered voters	32,284	19,660	426	74,365	783
Turnout	0.638	0.117	0.300	0.925	783
Candidate votes	0.628	0.114	0.265	0.9000	783
Number of candidates	5.9	2.5	3	13	790
<i>Panel B. 2nd round</i>					
Turnout	0.645	0.115	0.339	0.903	737
Candidate votes	0.635	0.115	0.271	0.898	738
Number of candidates	2.8	1.0	1	9	790

Notes: Sample 2 is used to measure the impact of ranking second instead of third. Sample 2 is restricted to races where at least three candidates competed in the first round and the third candidate qualified for the second round, and excludes races in which two of the top four candidates obtained an identical number of votes in the first round. Other notes as in Table G2.1.

Appendix G3: Validity tests

Construction of political orientation variables

We build a measure of candidates' political orientation on the left-right axis when information on their political party is available. For 32.1 percent of candidates, party information is either unknown or impossible to locate on the left-right axis, resulting in 64.6 percent of races in which the political orientation of one or more candidates cannot be assessed.

In order to locate political parties on the left-right axis, we used the following process. First, we collected data from the Manifesto Project, ParlGov, and Wikipedia.

- **Manifesto Project:** The Manifesto Project covers over 1,000 parties from 1945 until today in over 50 countries. From this source, we use party names and abbreviations, party families, and right-left party positions. Political parties are grouped into the following party families: ecological, socialist or other left parties; social democratic; liberal; Christian democracy; conservative; nationalist; agrarian; ethnic and regional; and special issue. This variable is discrete and constant over time. By contrast, the right-left position of parties is continuous and time-variant. It is based on party manifestos. Specifically, the Manifesto Project attributes a value to each of the components listed below, corresponding to the share of manifestos' quasi-sentences falling in the corresponding category. The left-right variable sums the value of the following components: military positiveness, freedom and human rights, constitutionalism positiveness, political authority, free market economy, incentives positiveness, protectionism negativeness, economic orthodoxy, welfare state limitation, national way of life positiveness, traditional morality, law and order positiveness, and civic mindedness positiveness; and subtracts anti-imperialism, military negativeness, peace, internationalism positiveness, market regulation, economic planning, protectionism positiveness, controlled economy, nationalism, welfare state expansion, education expansion, labour groups positiveness, and democracy.
- **ParlGov:** ParlGov is a dataset containing parliamentary and government information for all EU and most OECD democracies. It includes approximately 1,700 parties, 980 elections, and 1,500 cabinets. From this source, we use party names, party families, and party positions. Party positions on economic and cultural left-right dimensions are time-invariant unweighted mean values of expert responses. Eight party families are defined based on these positions: communist/socialist, green/ecologist, social democracy, liberal, Christian democracy, agrarian, conservative, and right-wing.

- Wikipedia (collected between February – June 2019): We supplement data from the Manifesto Project and ParlGov with information collected from Wikipedia. We use party names, ideology, and political position, that can be found in the summary box on the right side of each party’s Wikipedia page. For example, Wikipedia indicates that the ideology of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party includes Armenian nationalism, National liberalism, Classical liberalism, Pro-Europeanism, and Pro-NATO, and that its political position is center-right.

Using these three sources we map political parties onto party families and separate party families into left-right bins. The mapping from political parties to party families is taken from the Manifesto Project, and ParlGov if not available in the Manifesto Project. We then create the mapping from party families to bins as follows.

We averaged parties’ left-right position within each party family separately for the Manifesto Project and ParlGov and placed each party family in one of seven bins accordingly: 1 (far-left), 2 (left), 3 (center-left), 4 (center), 5 (center-right), 6 (right), and 7 (other). These bins were created based on the distance between party families on the left-right axis. We placed parties whose platforms revolve around ethnic/regional issues or special issues in the “other” bin.

- For the Manifesto Project, this method results in the following six bins: 1=[socialist or other left parties], 2=[social democratic], 3=[ecological], 4=[Christian democratic], 5=[agrarian, liberal, nationalist], 6=[conservative]. The gap between the average left-right position of the right-most party family in bin 1 and left-most party family in bin 2 (resp. 2 and 3, 3 and 4, 4 and 5, and 5 and 6) is 5.6 (resp. 8.3, 7.2, 3.9, and 3.0). Overall, the Manifesto Project’s left-right variable ranges from -74.3 to 91.9.
- For ParlGov, this method results in the following six bins: 1=[communist/socialist], 2=[green/ecologist, social democracy], 4=[liberal, agrarian, Christian democracy], 5=[conservative], 6=[right-wing]. The gap between the average left-right position of the right-most party family in bin 1 and left-most party family in bin 2 (resp. 2 and 4, 4 and 5, and 5 and 6) is 1.8 (resp. 2.7, 1.2, and 1.2). Note that since ParlGov’s left-right variable is measured on a 0-10 scale and there are six bins, the 2.7 gap between bins 2 and 4 was deemed sufficiently large to create an empty bin 3.

The two classifications agree on all party families except for conservative (placed in bin 6 in the Manifesto Project classification and 5 in the ParlGov classification), liberal (5 and 4), green/ecological (3 and 2), and agrarian (5 and 4). Since the Manifesto Project’s left-right variable is time-variant

and the underlying methodology is more transparent, we rely on the Manifesto Project classification of party families. This results in the following final seven bins: 1=[left, socialist, communist], 2=[social democratic], 3=[ecological/green], 4=[Christian democratic], 5=[liberal, agrarian, nationalist], 6=[right-wing, conservative], 7=[ethnic and regional parties, special issue parties].

All political parties present in the ParlGov or Manifesto Project data are allocated to the seven bins based on the mapping between political parties and party families on one hand, and party families and bins on the other. Parties that belong to different party families according to the Manifesto Project and ParlGov are placed in the bin corresponding to their Manifesto Project party family. (The two sources agree on party family labels for 80.6 percent of parties.)

Parties for which information is only available on Wikipedia are allocated to the seven bins based on their political position, when stated, and based on their list of ideologies otherwise. For ideologies also present in the Manifesto Project and ParlGov, the mapping into bins is immediate. Furthermore, democratic socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and African socialism are allocated to bin 1 (which already includes socialism), social conservatism to bin 6 (which already includes right-wing and conservative parties), and national conservatism to bin 5 (which already includes nationalist, agrarian, and liberal). We allocate other Wikipedia ideologies into bins as follows: we consider all parties for which this ideology is listed; compute each of these parties' average bin, based on other ideologies also listed for this party which were already allocated to bins;²⁹ and compute again the average bin, over all parties with that ideology. Finally, we take the average of all ideologies' bins in the ideology list of each party.

In some cases, the ideological information available for parties does not allow us to place them into one of the bins on the left-right axis. Examples of these are single-issue ideologies such as human rights or anti-corruption, as well as candidates running as independents. These parties and candidates are labeled as "other."

In the end, after allocating all parties to seven bins, we mapped these bins into four orientations to ensure sufficient statistical power. The bins 1 and 2 were mapped into orientation "left," 3 and 4 into "center," 5 and 6 into "right," and 7 into "other."

²⁹Specifically, when the average between the bins corresponding to the different ideologies of a party falls between bins, we choose the most extreme bin. For example, the orientation of a party with one left ideology and one center ideology would be center-left. The orientation of a party with one left ideology and one center-left ideology would be left. The orientation of a party with two center ideologies and one center-left ideology would be center-left.

Placebo tests

We conduct placebo tests to examine whether there is a discontinuity at the threshold for any of the following variables. The variables are defined the same way as for French elections, as detailed in Appendix B.

- Set of four dummies indicating the candidate's political orientation (left, center, right, and other).
- Missing orientation: a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate's orientation is missing.
- Number of candidates of the candidate's orientation in the first round.
- Number of candidates of the candidate's orientation who did not qualify for the second round.
- Strength of the candidate in the first round: sum of the first-round vote shares of all candidates of the same orientation.
- Total vote share of non-qualified candidates of the same orientation as the candidate: sum of the first-round vote shares of candidates of the same orientation who did not qualify for the second round.

The results are shown in Tables G3.1 and G3.2. None of the 18 coefficients shown in these two tables is statistically significant.

Table G3.1: Placebo test beyond France - 1vs2

Outcome	(1) Right	(2) Left	(3) Center	(4) Other	(5) Missing Orientation	(6) # Same	(7) Strength	(8) # Same n.qualif	(9) % votes n.qualif
Treatment	0.028 (0.033)	0.002 (0.029)	-0.018 (0.028)	-0.016 (0.013)	0.023 (0.027)	-0.031 (0.124)	-0.002 (0.011)	-0.034 (0.112)	-0.004 (0.008)
Robust p-value	0.467	0.990	0.674	0.237	0.274	0.900	0.879	0.843	0.625
Observations left	1,942	2,149	1,963	1,729	2,542	1,814	1,889	1,853	1,881
Observations right	1,983	2,195	2,003	1,772	2,542	1,856	1,935	1,899	1,925
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.123	0.143	0.125	0.107	0.116	0.114	0.120	0.117	0.119
Mean, left of threshold	0.458	0.281	0.219	0.044	0.275	2.049	0.449	0.881	0.062

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcomes are described in the text and presented in the same order in the table. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table G3.2: Placebo test beyond France - 2vs3

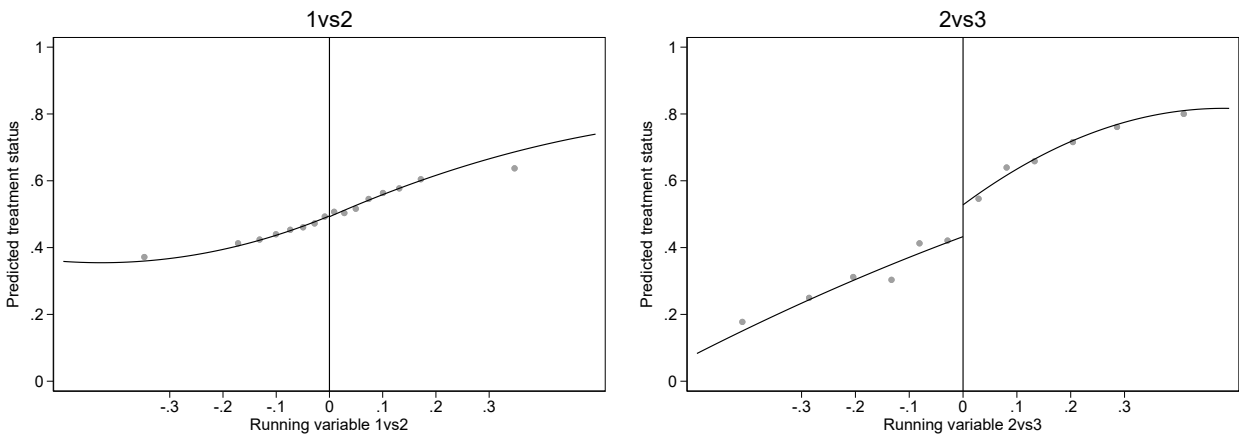
Outcome	(1) Right	(2) Left	(3) Center	(4) Other	(5) Missing Orientation	(6) # Same	(7) Strength	(8) # Same n.qualif	(9) % votes n.qualif
Treatment	0.100 (0.119)	-0.056 (0.106)	0.021 (0.048)	-0.032 (0.043)	0.125 (0.072)	-0.216 (0.231)	-0.021 (0.021)	-0.008 (0.192)	-0.007 (0.011)
Robust p-value	0.301	0.478	0.878	0.541	0.202	0.557	0.462	0.787	0.742
Observations left	203	206	337	337	293	306	353	262	264
Observations right	165	169	278	278	293	251	292	215	217
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.095	0.096	0.162	0.163	0.119	0.146	0.170	0.124	0.127
Mean, left of threshold	0.524	0.339	0.053	0.073	0.170	2.148	0.328	0.504	0.029

Notes: Same notes as in Table G3.1.

General balance tests

We conduct the same general test for imbalance as the one described in Section 2.4, using the nine baseline variables described above. Figure G3.1 shows the lack of any jump at the cutoff for predicted assignment to first rank (instead of second). There is an apparent small jump at the cutoff for predicted assignment to second rank (instead of third) but, as shown in Table G3.3, the coefficients are not statistically significant.

Figure G3.1: General balance test beyond France



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the predicted treatment status (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 50 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Table G3.3: General balance test beyond France

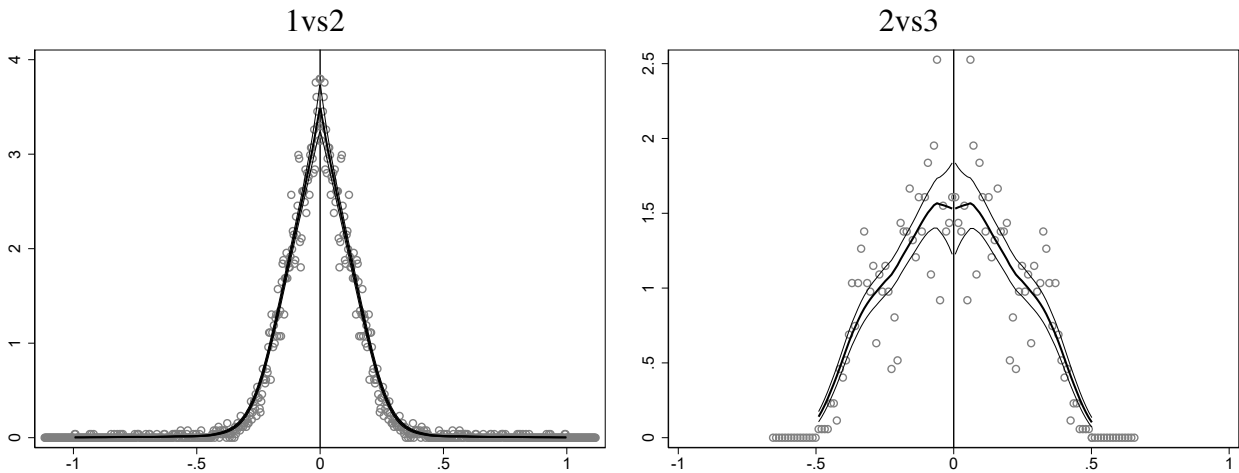
	(1)	(2)
Outcome	Predicted treatment	
	1vs2	2vs3
	(sample 1)	(sample 2)
Treatment	0.001 (0.009)	0.064 (0.051)
Robust p-value	0.996	0.338
Observations left	3,140	301
Observations right	3,140	301
Polyn. order	1	1
Bandwidth	0.156	0.122
Mean, left of threshold	0.492	0.428

Notes: The outcome is predicted treatment status. Other notes as in Table G3.1.

Density of the running variable - McCrary test

Figure G3.2 shows the McCrary test both for ranking 1vs2 and 2vs3. As stated in Section 2.4, this test is satisfied by construction in our setting.

Figure G3.2: Density of the running variable beyond France - McCrary test



Notes: This figure tests if there is a jump at the threshold in the density of the running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round), represented by the solid line. The confidence intervals are represented by thin lines. In our setting, this test is satisfied by construction since we consider the same set of races on both sides of the threshold and, in each race, the higher- and lower-ranked candidates are equally distant to the cutoff.

Appendix G4: Main results - additional tables

Table G4.1: Impact of ranking 1vs2 depending on the strength of the 3rd - beyond France

	(1)	(2)	(3) 1vs2 - 3rd qualifies Gap 2 nd -3 rd <5%		(5)	(6)
	Full		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <2.5%		Gap 2 nd -3 rd <2.5%	
Outcome	Run	Win	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.018 (0.023)	0.041 (0.063)	0.251 (0.202)	0.600** (0.276)	0.162 (0.190)	0.616 (0.423)
Robust p-value	0.442	0.859	0.235	0.040	0.418	0.133
Observations left	571	506	48	47	31	26
Observations right	571	506	48	47	31	26
Poly. order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.126	0.110	0.081	0.080	0.101	0.076
Outcome mean	0.955	0.469	0.749	0.209	0.838	0.199

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The sample only includes the races where the third candidate qualifies for the second round. In columns 3 and 4 (resp. 5 and 6), the sample is further restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the candidates ranked second and third in the first round is under 5 (resp. 2.5) percentage points. In columns 1, 3, and 5 (resp. 2, 4, and 6), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table G4.2: Impact of ranking 1vs2 in races where the 3rd does not qualify - beyond France

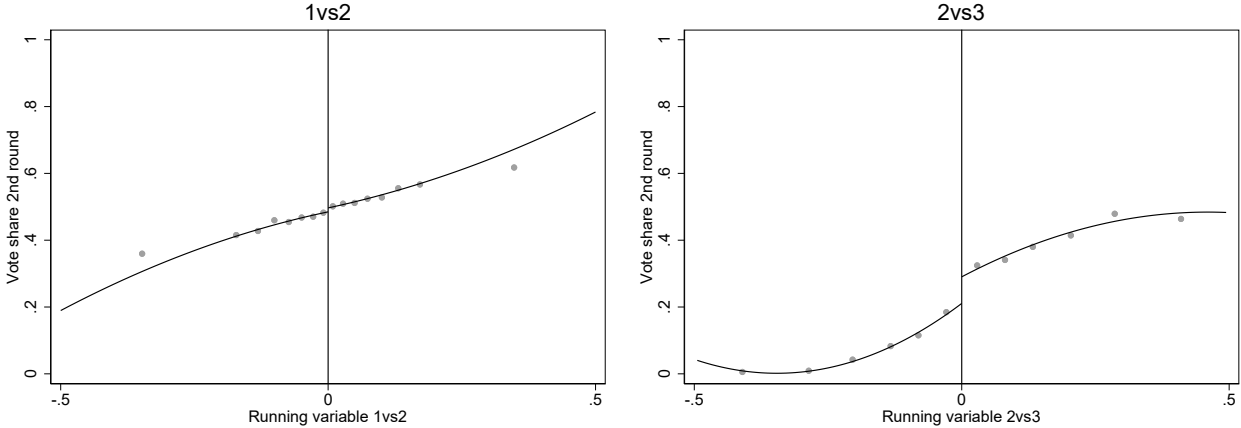
	(1)	(2)
	Run	Win
Treatment	0.008 (0.005)	0.073*** (0.026)
Robust p-value	0.146	0.008
Observations left	1,941	2,674
Observations right	1,941	2,674
Polyn. order	1	1
Bandwidth	0.110	0.177
Mean, left of threshold	0.988	0.462

Note: The sample only includes the races where the third candidate does not qualify for the second round. In column 1 (resp. 2), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. Other notes as in Table G4.1.

Appendix G5: Impact on vote shares

Figure G5.1 plots the unconditional vote shares of the lower- and higher-ranked candidates against the running variable. The point estimates on the effects on unconditional vote shares are shown in Table G5.1.

Figure G5.1: Impact on 2nd round vote shares - beyond France



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the candidate’s vote share in the second round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The vote share is set to 0 if the candidate does not run in the second round. The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 50 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Table G5.1: Impact on 2nd round vote shares - beyond France

	(1)	(2)
	Voteshare 2 nd round	
	1vs2	2vs3
Treatment	0.017*** (0.005)	0.093*** (0.024)
Robust p-value	0.001	0.002
Observations left	2,432	370
Observations right	2,432	370
Polyn. order	1	1
Bandwidth	0.109	0.152
Mean, left of threshold	0.483	0.215

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The outcome is the unconditional vote share of the candidate, meaning that the vote share is set to 0 if the candidate does not run in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Appendix G6: Robustness tests

As we do in Appendix C for French elections, we conduct several robustness tests.

First, we estimate the treatment impacts using the optimal bandwidths computed according to Imbens and Kalyanaraman (2012) (Table G6.1) or tighter bandwidths obtained by dividing the MSERD bandwidths by 2 (Table G6.2). All estimates obtained using these different bandwidths are very close in magnitude to the estimates obtained with the MSERD bandwidth. The estimates on the probability to win the election are significant at the 10 percent level with the IK bandwidths and not statistically significant with the MSERD bandwidths divided by 2.

Second, Table G6.3 shows that the effects of ranking 2vs3 are robust to excluding races in which the second candidate is less than 2 percentage points behind the first in the first round. This indicates that our estimates are not driven by cases in which the 1vs2 and 2vs3 vote share discontinuities overlap.

Third, we run the analysis on the subsample excluding races which failed one of the seven

checks described in Section G.1. The impacts of placing 1vs2 or 2vs3 in the first round on winning are robust to dropping all flagged elections (Figure G6.1 and Table G6.4).

Table G6.1: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France - IK bandwidths

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1vs2		2vs3	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.009	0.058*	0.081	0.158*
	(0.005)	(0.031)	(0.067)	(0.064)
Robust p-value	0.160	0.088	0.292	0.064
Observations left	3,059	2,200	276	341
Observations right	3,059	2,200	276	341
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.150	0.095	0.109	0.137
Outcome mean	0.983	0.4668	0.839	0.68

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1 and 3 (resp. 2 and 4), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold. We compute the bandwidths according to the IK procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Table G6.2: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France - MSERD bandwidths divided by 2

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1vs2		2vs3	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.006 (0.008)	0.047 (0.034)	0.131 (0.097)	0.175 (0.107)
Robust p-value	0.485	0.195	0.188	0.116
Observations left	1,472	1,905	140	149
Observations right	1,472	1,905	140	149
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.059	0.081	0.059	0.062
Mean, left of threshold	0.985	0.474	0.771	0.113

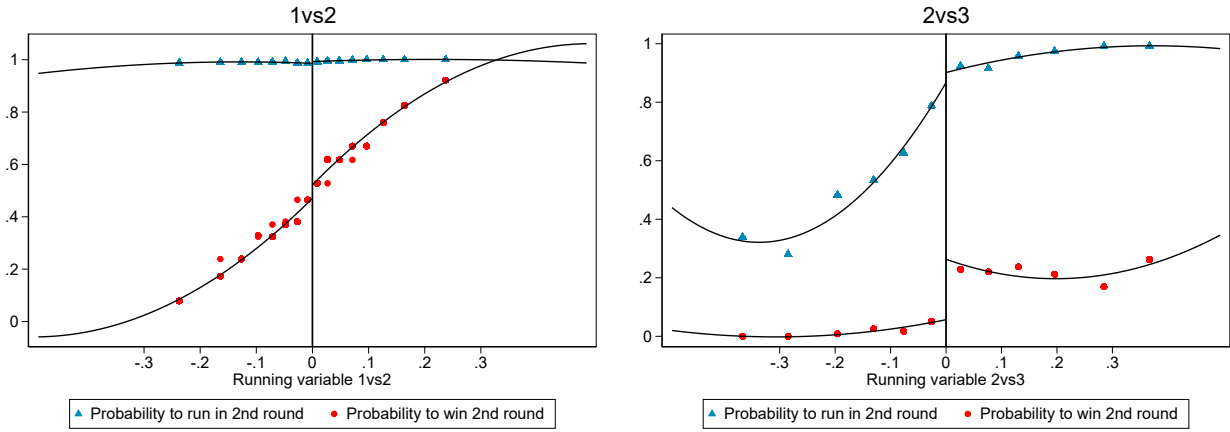
Notes: We compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure, and then divide them by 2. Other notes as in Table G6.1.

Table G6.3: Impact of ranking 2vs3 beyond France - Excluding races in which the 2nd is close to the 1st

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Full sample 2vs3		Gap 1 st -2 nd > 2pp	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.082	0.158*	0.090	0.161*
	(0.064)	(0.069)	(0.073)	(0.072)
Robust p-value	0.271	0.069	0.345	0.081
Observations left	295	307	254	277
Observations right	295	307	254	277
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.119	0.123	0.110	0.122
Mean, left of threshold	0.837	0.074	0.841	0.079

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 3 and 4, the sample is restricted to elections where the vote share difference between the first and the second candidates in the first round is strictly higher than 2 percentage points. In columns 1 and 3 (resp. 2 and 4), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Figure G6.1: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France - non-flagged elections



Notes: The sample includes only elections that pass all seven checks described in Section G.1. Triangles (resp. circles) represent the local averages of the probability that the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 50 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Table G6.4: Impact on running in the 2nd round and winning beyond France - non-flagged elections

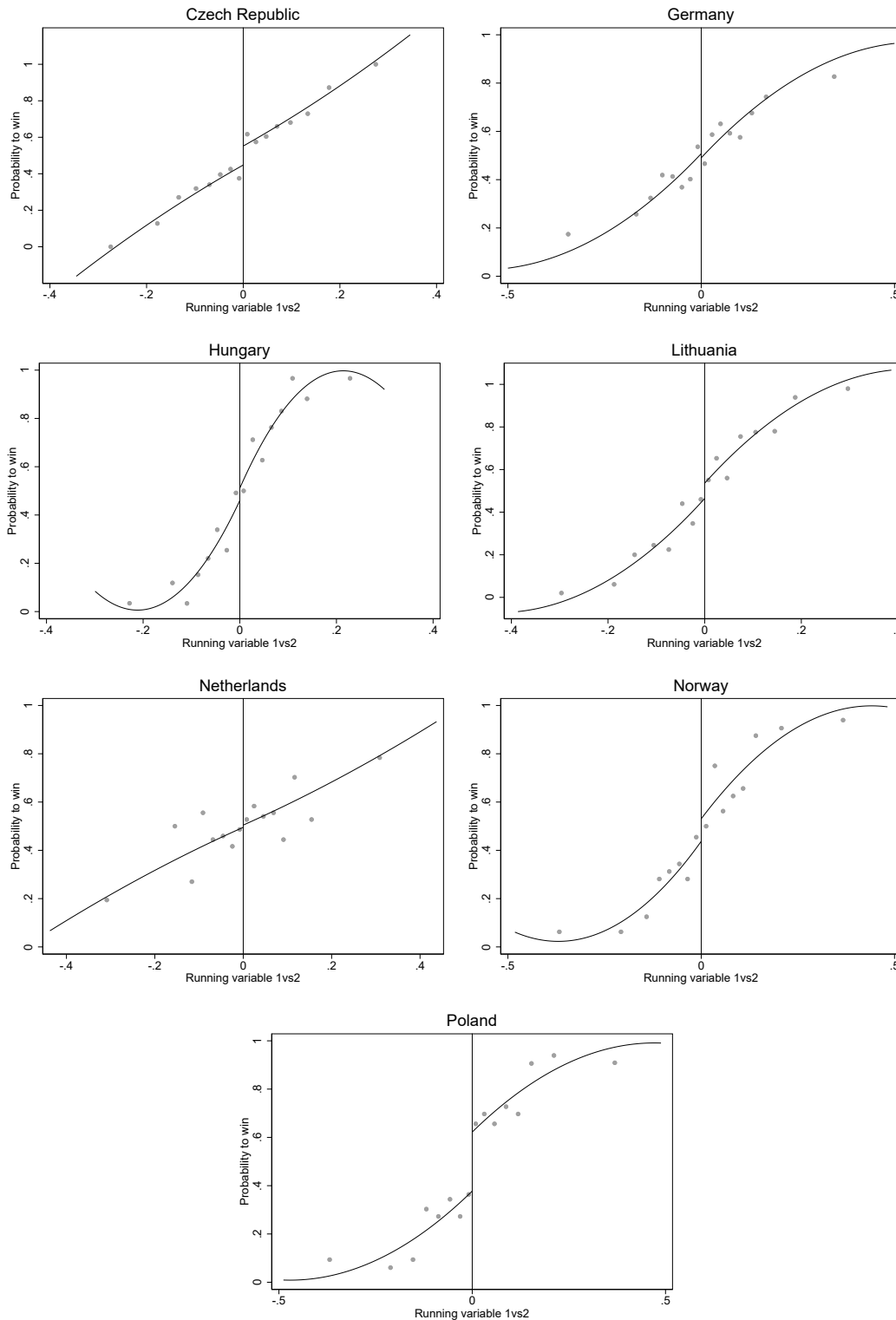
Outcome	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	1vs2		2vs3	
	Run	Win	Run	Win
Treatment	0.006	0.066*	0.083	0.163*
	(0.006)	(0.027)	(0.066)	(0.073)
Robust p-value	0.346	0.059	0.285	0.078
Observations left	2,225	2,656	284	274
Observations right	2,225	2,656	284	274
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.098	0.125	0.126	0.121
Mean, left of threshold	0.985	0.464	0.830	0.080

Notes: The sample includes only elections that pass all seven checks described in Section G.1. Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. In columns 1 and 3 (resp. 2 and 4), the outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate runs (resp. wins) in the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Appendix G7: Individual country results

Of all 19 countries represented in our sample of parliamentary elections outside of France, seven count at least 250 races: the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland. The impact of placing higher in the first round on winning the second round in each of these seven countries is shown below.

Figure G7.1: Impact on winning by country



Notes: Dots represent the local averages of the probability that the candidate wins the second round (vertical axis). Averages are calculated within quantile-spaced bins of the running variable (horizontal axis). The running variable (the vote share difference between the two candidates in the first round) is measured as percentage points. The graph is truncated at 50 percentage points on the horizontal axis to accommodate for outliers. Continuous lines are a quadratic fit.

Table G7.1: Impact on winning by country

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Probability to win 2 nd round						
	Czech Republic	Germany	Hungary	Lithuania	Netherlands	Norway	Poland
Treatment	0.211** (0.095)	-0.005 (0.039)	-0.038 (0.092)	0.086 (0.080)	0.089 (0.096)	0.160* (0.083)	0.316*** (0.104)
Robust p-value	0.023	0.794	0.500	0.383	0.435	0.082	0.003
Observations left	212	1,191	223	258	211	191	184
Observations right	212	1,191	223	258	211	191	184
Polyn. order	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bandwidth	0.094	0.175	0.072	0.134	0.119	0.160	0.154
Mean, left of threshold	0.394	0.502	0.513	0.457	0.456	0.411	0.342

Notes: Standard errors, shown in parentheses, are clustered at the district level. We compute statistical significance based on the robust p-value and indicate significance at 1, 5, and 10% with ***, **, and *, respectively. The unit of observation is the candidate. The outcome is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate wins the second round. The independent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the candidate placed higher in the first round. We use local polynomial regressions: we fit separate polynomials of order 1 on each side of the threshold and compute the bandwidths according to the MSERD procedure. The mean, left of the threshold gives the value of the outcome for the lower-ranked candidate at the threshold.

Appendix H. Political orientations

We allocate candidates to six political orientations (far-left, left, center, right, far-right, and other) based on labels attributed to them by the Ministry of the Interior. The following tables show our mapping between political labels and orientations, for each election. The third column also indicates whether the political label corresponds to a specific political party. We use this variable to classify candidates as “party” or “non-party” candidates. The 1978 and 1981 parliamentary elections, as well as the 1982 and 1985 local elections are shown together because the sets of political parties competing in both elections were identical.

1958 parliamentary elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Centre National des Indépendants	Right	1
Centre de la Réforme Républicains	Left	1
Démocratie chrétienne de France	Right	1
Divers Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Divers Gaullistes	Right	0
Modérés	Other	0
Mouvement Républicain Populaire	Center	1
Non Classés	Other	0
Parti Communiste	Left	1
Parti Poujadiste	Far-right	1
Parti Socialiste Autonome	Left	1
Radicaux du Centre	Center	1
Radicaux Socialistes	Left	1
Radicaux - Union des Forces Démocratiques	Left	1
Rassemblement des Gauches Républicaines	Center	1
Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière	Left	1
Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance	Left	1
Union des Forces Démocratiques	Left	1
Union de la gauche socialiste	Left	1
Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1

1962 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Centre National des Indépendants	Right	1
Divers Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Divers Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Divers Gaullistes	Right	0
Indépendants	Other	0
Indépendants - Vème République	Other	0
Modérés	Other	0
Mouvement Républicain Populaire	Center	1
Mouvement Républicain Populaire - Vème République	Center	1
Non Classés	Other	0
Parti Communiste	Left	1
Parti Poujadiste	Far-right	1
Parti Socialiste Unifié	Far-left	1
Radicaux du Centre	Center	1
Radicaux Socialistes	Left	1
Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière	Left	1
Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1

1967 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Alliance Républicaine	Center	1
Apparentés Parti Communiste	Left	0
Centre Démocrate	Center	1
Divers Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Divers Gaullistes	Right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Modérés	Other	0
Parti Communiste	Left	1
Parti Socialiste Unifié	Far-left	1
Radicaux de Droite	Right	1
Ralliés Gaullistes	Right	0
Régionalistes	Other	0
Républicains Indépendants	Right	1
Parti Socialiste et Fédération de Gauche	Left	1
Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1

1968 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Alliance Républicaine	Center	1
Apparentés Parti Communiste et Parti Communiste	Left	1
Centre Démocrate	Center	1
Centre Démocrate/Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne	Center	1
Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne	Center	1
Divers Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Divers Gaullistes	Right	0
Divers Gaulliste/Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Indépendants	Other	0
Modérés	Other	0
Modérés/Centre Progrès et Démocratie Moderne	Center	1
Modérés/Radicaux Socialistes	Left	1
Modérés/Républicains Indépendants	Right	1
Mouvement pour la Réforme	Center	1
Non Classés	Other	0
Parti Communiste Français	Left	1
Parti Socialiste Unifié	Far-left	1
Radicaux de Droite	Right	1
Radicaux de Droite/Républicains Indépendants	Right	1
Radicaux Socialistes	Left	1
Radicaux Socialistes/Républicains Indépendants	Right	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Républicains Indépendants (RI)	Right	1
RI /Divers Gaulliste	Right	1
RI/Union des Démocrates pour la République (UDR)	Right	1
RI/UDR/Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1
Parti Socialiste et Fédération de Gauche	Left	1
Technique et Démocratie	Other	1
Union pour la Nouvelle République	Right	1

1973 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Centre Démocratie et Progrès (CDP)	Right	1
CDP/Union des Républicains de Progrès (URP)	Right	1
Divers Gaullistes	Right	0
Groupe des Réformateurs Démocrates Sociaux	Center	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Indépendants	Other	0
Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire	Far-left	1
Lutte Ouvrière	Far-left	1
Union de la Gauche	Left	1
Non Classés	Other	0
Organisation Communiste Internationale	Far-left	1
Parti Communiste Français	Left	1
Parti Socialiste Unifié	Far-left	1
Parti Socialiste Unifié - Gauche Sociale Unifiée	Left	1
Radicaux Réformateurs	Center	1
Républicains Indépendants	Right	1
Républicains Indépendants/URP	Right	1
Union des Démocrates pour la République	Right	1
Union des Démocrates pour la République/URP	Right	1
Union des Républicains de Progrès	Right	1

1978 and 1981 parliamentary elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Indépendants	Other	0
Non Classés	Other	0
Parti Communiste Français	Left	1
Parti Socialiste	Left	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1979 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
“DMF”: Divers Droite - Républicains Indépendants	Right	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1982 and 1985 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1988 parliamentary elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Majorité Présidentielle	Left	0
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1988 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Parti Communiste	Left	1
Parti Socialiste	Left	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Sans Etiquette	Other	0
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1992 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Génération Ecologie	Other	1
Majorité Présidentielle	Left	0
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

1993 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Génération Ecologie	Other	1
Majorité Présidentielle	Left	0
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

1994 local elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Génération Ecologie	Other	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

1997 parliamentary elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	1
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Parti Radical Socialiste	Left	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1

1998 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Mouvement Des Citoyens	Left	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

2001 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions	Right	1
Divers	Other	0
Démocratie Libérale	Right	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Mouvement Des Citoyens	Left	1
Mouvement National Républicain	Far-right	1
Parti Radical de Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement du Peuple Français	Right	1
Rassemblement Pour la République	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Center	1
Les Verts	Left	1

2002 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions	Right	1
Divers	Other	0
Démocratie Libérale	Right	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire	Far-left	1
Lutte Ouvrière	Far-left	1
Mouvement National Républicain	Far-right	1
Mouvement Pour la France	Right	1
Pôle Républicain	Left	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Rassemblement Pour la France	Right	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Center	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

2004 local elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions	Right	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française	Center	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

2007 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Traditions	Right	1
Divers	Other	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Majorité présidentielle	Right	0
Mouvement Pour la France	Right	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour la Démocratie Française - Mouvement Démocrate	Center	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Les Verts	Left	1

2011 local elections		
Political label	Political orientation	Party
Autres	Other	0
Communiste	Left	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front National	Far-right	1
Majorité présidentielle	Right	1
Nouveau Centre	Right	1
Modem	Center	1
Parti de Gauche	Left	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Europe Ecologie les Verts	Left	1

2012 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Alliance Centriste	Center	1
Autres	Other	0
Centre pour la France	Center	0
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Other	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front de Gauche	Left	1
Front National	Far-right	1
Nouveau Centre	Right	1
Parti Radical	Right	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
Socialistes	Left	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Europe Ecologie les Verts	Left	1

2015 local elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Debout La France	Right	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
Front de Gauche	Left	1
Front National	Far-right	1
Modem	Center	1
Parti De Gauche	Left	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union Centriste	Center	1
Union pour la Démocratie	Right	1
Union des Démocrates et Indépendants	Right	1
Union de Gauche	Left	1
Union pour un Mouvement Populaire	Right	1
Europe Ecologie les Verts	Left	1

2017 parliamentary elections

Political label	Political orientation	Party
Communistes	Left	1
Divers	Other	0
Debout La France	Right	1
Divers Droite	Right	0
Divers Gauche	Left	0
Ecologistes	Left	0
Extrême Droite	Far-right	0
Extrême Gauche	Far-left	0
France Insoumise	Left	1
Front National	Far-right	1
Les Républicains	Right	1
Modem	Center	1
Radicaux De Gauche	Left	1
Régionalistes	Other	0
République En Marche	Center	1
Socialistes	Left	1
Union des Démocrates et Indépendants	Right	1
