

Supplementary Appendix for

“A Comparative Study of the Effects of Electoral Institutions on Campaigns”

by Laura Sudulich and Siim Trumm

Table A1. Countries and Electoral Institutions

Country		Election Year	Electoral System	Electoral Incentives	District Magnitude Mean (Range)
Australia	House	2007/2013	SMD	9	1 (1-1)
	Senate	2007/2013	PR preferential	5	6 (2-8)
Canada		2008	SMD	9	1 (1-1)
Czech Republic		2006	PR list open	4	16 (5-25)
Denmark		2011	PR list open	7	19 (2-26)
Estonia		2015	PR list open	8	9 (5-14)
Finland		2011	PR list open	8	18 (1-35)
Germany*		2009	SMD	8	1 (1-1)
Greece		2007	Semi-PR	8	8 (1-42)
Iceland		2009	PR list closed	4	11 (9-12)
Ireland		2007/2011	PR-STV	8	4 (3-5)
Netherlands		2006	PR list open	8	150 (150-150)
Norway		2009	PR list closed	4	10 (4-19)
Poland		2011	PR list open	8	12 (7-20)
Portugal		2009/2011	PR list closed	3	23 (2-47)
Switzerland		2007/2011	PR list open	7	17 (1-34)

*Only candidates standing in SMD constituencies included

Table A2. Estimates from Models with a Constant Sample of Countries¹

	Campaign Effort (Time)			Campaign Effort (Complexity)			Campaign Focus		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
SMD	10.57* (5.39)			6.18** (0.27)			2.20** (0.56)		
Electoral Incentives		2.64* (1.35)			1.54** (0.07)			.55** (0.14)	
District Magnitude	-1.30** (0.37)	-1.30** (0.37)		-0.09* (0.03)	-0.09* (0.03)		-0.05 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	
Personal Vote * DM									
Personal Vote (1)			-3.02* (1.21)			-0.23** (0.08)			-0.23* (0.11)
Personal Vote (2)			-2.11 (1.57)			-0.03 (0.13)			-0.45** (0.16)
Personal Vote (3)			-1.74** (0.39)			-0.13** (0.05)			-0.06 (0.08)
Personal Vote (4)			1.38 (1.08)			0.15** (0.06)			0.12 (0.14)
Likelihood of Success	3.64** (0.27)	3.64** (0.27)	3.62** (0.27)	0.21** (0.02)	.21** (0.02)	0.21** (0.02)	0.65** (0.04)	0.65** (0.04)	0.65** (0.04)
Ideological Distance	-0.05 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.21)	-0.07 (0.20)	0.04* (0.02)	.04* (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.21** (0.03)	0.21** (0.03)	0.20** (0.03)
Past MP	2.66** (1.03)	2.66** (1.03)	2.57* (1.02)	0.27** (0.06)	.27** (0.06)	0.28** (0.06)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.12)
Party Hierarchy	3.87** (0.59)	3.87** (0.59)	3.87** (0.59)	0.31** (0.05)	.31** (0.05)	0.31** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)
Constituency	-0.79 (1.32)	-0.79 (1.32)	-0.88 (1.32)	0.12 (0.07)	.12 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)	0.14 (0.14)	0.14 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
Constant	15.18** (5.49)	1.97 (12.10)	25.35** (1.59)				-0.77 (0.57)	-3.52** (1.25)	1.38** (0.20)
/cut1				4.75 (0.24)	12.47 (0.60)	-1.40 (0.17)			
/cut2				5.58 (0.24)	13.31 (0.61)	-0.57 (0.17)			
/cut3				6.22 (0.24)	13.95 (0.61)	0.07 (0.17)			
/cut4				6.77 (0.25)	14.49 (0.61)	0.62 (0.17)			
/cut5				7.15 (0.25)	14.88 (0.61)	1.00 (0.17)			
Country fixed-effects	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Countries	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Observations	4664	4664	4664	2949	2949	2949	6049	6049	6049
R ² / Log Pseudo-LL	0.28	0.28	0.28	-4725	-4725	-4722	0.21	0.21	0.21

Note: robust standard errors in parentheses. Personal vote: (1) vote for list only; (2) vote for list or candidate, list vote dominates; (3) vote for list or candidate, candidate vote dominates; (4) vote for candidate only. **p<0.01, *p<0.05

¹ These include Australia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, and Switzerland.

Table A3. Estimates from Multi-Level Models with Countries as Level-2 Variable

	Campaign Effort (Time)			Campaign Effort (Complexity)			Campaign Focus		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
SMD	13.21** (3.51)			1.29** (0.38)			1.72** (0.50)		
Electoral Incentives		2.26** (0.84)			0.25** (0.09)			0.46** (0.09)	
District Magnitude	-1.26** (0.37)	-1.37** (0.37)		-0.12** (0.04)	-0.14** (0.04)		-0.05 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	
Personal Vote * DM									
Personal Vote (1)			-2.89** (0.93)			-0.31** (0.11)			-0.32* (0.14)
Personal Vote (2)			-2.18 (1.13)			-0.18 (0.14)			-0.46** (0.14)
Personal Vote (3)			-1.71** (0.47)			-0.17** (0.05)			-0.05 (0.08)
Personal Vote (4)			0.69 (0.80)			0.06 (0.09)			0.06 (0.10)
Likelihood of Success	3.84** (0.23)	3.83** (0.23)	3.81** (0.23)	0.29** (0.03)	0.29** (0.03)	0.29** (0.03)	0.64** (0.03)	0.64** (0.03)	0.64** (0.03)
Ideological Distance	0.04 (0.20)	0.03 (0.20)	0.02 (0.20)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.22** (0.03)	0.22** (0.03)	0.21** (0.03)
Past MP	2.88** (0.83)	2.85** (0.83)	2.79** (0.83)	0.33** (0.09)	0.33** (0.09)	0.34** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)
Party Hierarchy	3.45** (0.53)	3.43** (0.53)	3.43** (0.53)	0.42** (0.06)	0.41** (0.06)	0.41** (0.06)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)
Constituency	-0.22 (0.91)	-0.26 (0.91)	-0.38 (0.91)	0.07 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)	0.05 (0.13)	0.06 (0.13)	0.04 (0.13)
Constant	19.60** (2.49)	6.99 (6.50)	21.35** (3.10)	2.02** (0.24)	0.61 (0.64)	2.24** (0.28)	1.60** (0.38)	-1.19 (0.67)	2.01** (0.31)
Countries	15	15	15	13	13	13	14	14	14
Observations	5158	5158	5158	3032	3032	3032	6375	6375	6375
Log likelihood	-21615	-21618	-21616	-5364	-5365	-5364	-15389	-15383	-15389
ICC	0.19 (0.06)	0.25 (0.07)	0.31 (0.08)	0.13 (0.05)	0.15 (0.05)	0.24 (0.09)	0.16 (0.05)	0.07 (0.03)	0.09 (0.04)

Note: robust standard errors in parentheses. Personal vote: (1) vote for list only; (2) vote for list or candidate, list vote dominates; (3) vote for list or candidate, candidate vote dominates; (4) vote for candidate only. **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Table A4. Estimates from Multi-Level Models with Parties as Level-2 Variable

	Campaign Effort (Time)			Campaign Effort (Complexity)			Campaign Focus		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
SMD	13.56** (2.62)			1.41** (0.25)			1.49** (0.38)		
Electoral Incentives		1.07* (0.48)			0.16** (0.05)			0.44** (0.07)	
District Magnitude	-1.00** (0.37)	-1.52** (0.35)		-0.06 (0.04)	-0.14** (0.04)		0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)	
Personal Vote * DM									
Personal Vote (1)			-2.22** (0.81)			-0.28** (0.08)			-0.40** (0.12)
Personal Vote (2)			-2.13* (0.84)			-0.38** (0.09)			-0.51** (0.12)
Personal Vote (3)			-1.66** (0.45)			-0.09* (0.05)			0.05 (0.07)
Personal Vote (4)			-0.97 (0.54)			-0.18** (0.05)			0.05 (0.08)
Likelihood of Success	3.38** (0.24)	3.34** (0.25)	3.33** (0.25)	0.28** (0.03)	0.27** (0.03)	0.27** (0.03)	0.48** (0.03)	0.49** (0.03)	0.48** (0.03)
Ideological Distance	-0.12 (0.21)	-0.13 (0.21)	-0.13 (0.21)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.16** (0.03)	0.16** (0.03)	0.16** (0.03)
Past MP	2.21* (0.86)	2.25** (0.86)	2.23* (0.86)	0.30** (0.09)	0.31** (0.09)	0.32** (0.09)	-0.25* (0.11)	-0.22 (0.11)	-0.22* (0.11)
Party Hierarchy	3.73** (0.54)	3.63** (0.54)	3.63** (0.54)	0.43** (0.06)	0.41** (0.06)	0.42** (0.06)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
Constituency	-0.17 (0.91)	-0.29 (0.92)	-0.39 (0.92)	0.03 (0.10)	0.00 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.12)
Constant	18.13** (1.66)	13.70** (3.80)	20.93** (1.64)	1.81** (0.18)	1.15** (0.38)	2.35** (0.17)	2.08** (0.26)	-0.71 (0.52)	2.47** (0.23)
Parties	118	118	118	103	103	103	117	117	117
Observations	5021	5021	5021	2933	2933	2933	6233	6233	6233
Log likelihood	-21093	-21103	-21104	-5174	-5183	-5183	-14860	-14847	-14853
ICC	0.23 (0.03)	0.26 (0.03)	0.27 (0.03)	0.20 (0.03)	0.24 (0.03)	0.23 (0.04)	0.26 (0.03)	0.20 (0.03)	0.21 (0.03)

Note: robust standard errors in parentheses. Personal vote: (1) vote for list only; (2) vote for list or candidate, list vote dominates; (3) vote for list or candidate, candidate vote dominates; (4) vote for candidate only. **p<0.01, *p<0.05