A Gubernatorial Helping Hand?
How Governors Affect Presidential Elections

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Abstract

It is commonly argued in the media that a presidential candidate will be helped in a state by having a governor of the same party in office. There is however little research to support this claim. Even though there is a positive relationship between gubernatorial party and the state presidential vote, this says little about the causal effect of the gubernatorial party. The relationship might simply reflect underlying voter partisanship – states with Democratic governors, on average, vote more for Democrats. To address this problem we use a regression discontinuity design. The basic idea behind this is that in very close elections the party of the governor will essentially be decided by a coin flip. Focusing on these very close elections thus allows us to estimate the causal effect of gubernatorial party. Doing this we show that a presidential candidate is not helped, but in fact hurt, by having a governor from the same party. On average, winning the governor's election leads to a two percentage point reduction in a state's presidential vote share in the following election. Having established this we begin exploring why this might be the case. A preliminary analysis unveils a pattern consistent with balancing. Using data from the American National Election Studies we show that it is moderate voters that are those that are affect by the party of the governor. Finally, we ask whether the opposite relationship also exists – i.e., does the president's party do worse in gubernatorial elections held at the presidential midterm? Our estimates suggest the existence of a strong, negative relationship.

1. Introduction

When a state votes for president, how much sway does the governor have over the outcome? Among political practitioners and political commentators, a commonly expressed view is that governors can be a positive force for their party's presidential candidate. In an Atlantic magazine commentary, Reid Wilson, editor of *National Journal's* hotline summarizes the conventional wisdom thusly:

> Those governors who do not have to seek reelection next year can donate their political organizations – often the best existing machines in their states – to their party's eventual nominee.[1]

Governors supposedly make a difference at the margin by mobilizing their party's workers and supporters, and possibly exert modest influence on the counting of the votes. Proper empirical evidence for this proposition, however, is hard to find[2]. One test of this proposition via multiple regression equations over multiple elections finds no support for the idea that governors help their presidential ticket. In fact in one specification the small estimated effect of the governor's party is both negative and significant. (Powell, 2004).

One reason for uncertainty about the gubernatorial effect on presidential elections is that there is an alternative theoretical argument to consider, which suggests that a governor of the same party hurts rather than helps a presidential candidate. The argument is an extension of the balancing argument often applied to congressional midterm elections. In the context of midterm congressional elections, midterm voters are motivated to vote against the presidential party to restore a partisan balance. This motivation could be ideological or not. Here, we test for the possibility of a more global voter motivation to generate a partisan balance of governing officials. This extension of the argument is that presidential voters can be motivated to achieve balance by voting against the candidate of their governor's party.

We propose a theory of "global" ideological balancing. The idea is that voters prefer a combined set of policies at the national and state level that on average match their ideological

[1] http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2011/06/governors-drive-the-political-discussion/240568/

[2] For one skeptical view, see Jonathan Sides, "Gubernatorial Coattails," The Monkey Cage, June 16, 2011. http://themonkeycage.org/blog/2011/06/16/gubernatorial-coattails/

taste. The typical state's median voter would generally see (at both the state and national level) the Republican policies as to the voter's right and Democratic policies to the voter's left. To achieve an ideological balance, our median voter could see the antidote to a rightward Republican (leftward Democratic) governor would be a Democratic (Republican) president and vice versa.

Voting for balance does not require that voters hold complex spatial models of ideology in their heads. All that is required is that the fact that the governor is a Republican (Democrat) makes voters gravitate toward the Democratic (Republican) presidential candidate. The motivation could be a simple belief that no party should hold all the major offices. Or voters could respond directly to ideological tendencies of policies enacted under the sitting governor, for which the governor's party affiliation is a marker.

There is a large literature that has studied, and found, ideological balancing involving the president and Congress – see, for example, Erikson (1988), Alesina and Rosenthal (1989, 1995, 1996), and Bafumi et al. (2010). Folke and Snyder (2012) use a regression discontinuity design to study the same phenomena for the governor and state legislature, and find support for ideological balancing also at the state level. Although there are many studies that have examined balancing across branches of government there are none that have examined balancing across different levels of government in the United States. However, Kern and Hainmueller (2006) find evidence of balancing across state and federal elections in Germany.

Our data is drawn from a dataset of election results covering every presidential and gubernatorial election from 1880 through 2008. We study governors who are not up for reelection in the presidential year, and therefore still in power for two more years at the time of the presidential election.[3] The test is for the effect of the governor's party affiliation on the state's presidential vote. For much of the analysis, we restrict our cases to post-World War II and sometimes further to non-southern states only. The dependent variable of interest is the change in the Democratic share of the two-party presidential vote from the previous election.

A simple test is to see whether the presidential vote shifts more or less in the direction

[3]In some states governors are elected in odd-numbered years, so in these states the governor will be in power for one more year or three more years.

of the governor's party. While informative, this test is open to the claim of being influenced by unobserved variables. Therefore, we perform a regression discontinuity analysis where the "forcing" regressor variable is the vote for governor in the governor's most recent election. This research design closely follows Folke and Snyder (2012). In effect, the regression discontinuity design (RDD) involves comparing the presidential vote shift in those states where a Democratic governor barely won with those where a Republican governor barely lost. In these states where the gubernatorial vote was very close, the difference between the states with the two types of winning governors is basically a coin flip, virtually a random draw.[4] States with barely winning Democratic governors and those with barely wining Republican governors are virtually alike on all variables except for those which flow from the gubernatorial outcome.

The estimates show that winning the governor's election systematically leads to a loss for the party's presidential candidate in a state, and, on average, this loss is about 2.5 percentage points. Given our identification strategy we can interpret this as a causal effect. Thus, we can rule out the that this is due omitted variables such as swings in party popularity. This conclusion is supported by other results and several robustness checks. First, our results show a persistent effect from 1878 to 2008. The results are even more stable in the post-WWII era. Finally, placebo tests also support the identifying assumption. The bottom line from this analysis is strong evidence that there is a penalty for the party of the governor in presidential elections.

Although our RDD estimates establishes that there is a negative effect, they say little on why there is one. To examine the balancing hypotheses in more detail we analyze data from the American National Election Studies (ANES). Intuitively, "balancing" considerations should have a larger effect on the vote choice of individuals with weak or no party ties. Applying the RDD to the ANES also shows that this also is the case.

Finally, we examine the opposite relationship as that in our main analysis – that is, how does the party of the president affect gubernatorial elections? We find evidence that there is a similar, but larger, effect. Our results suggest that winning the presidency leads to

[4]See, e.g., Imbens and Lemieux (2008) for an overview of the RDD methodology. See, e.g., Lee, et al. (2004) and Ferreira and Gyorko (2009) for applications involving U.S. elections.

an average vote share loss of 5 percentage points or more in the subsequent gubernatorial elections.

2. Data and Specifications

2.1. Data

We focus on two time periods, 1882-2010 and the post-WWII period, 1946-2010.[5] The main dependent variable is the change in state presidential vote share since the last presidential election. The key independent variable is the partisan division of the vote in gubernatorial elections. Electoral data are from the ICPSR and publications by the election officials of each state Gubernatorial and presidential election returns are measured in terms of the Democratic percent of the two-party vote.

The dependent variable is distributed quite symmetrically about 0, with a mean of -0.4 and standard deviation of 10.7. The Democrats control the governorship in 56.7% of our midterm elections. One important feature of the data is the large number of close gubernatorial elections, at least outside the South. The gubernatorial election margin variable is distributed symmetrically about 0, with a mean of 1.7 and a standard deviation of 10.5. In nearly half of the elections in our main sample (253 out of 532) the winning margin is below 5%.

2.2 Specifications

We consider three different specifications for estimating the effect of the gubernatorial party on state presidential vote share: (i) OLS, (ii) a RDD specification with a flexible control polynomial, and (iii) a RDD specification where only close elections are included. The OLS specification quantifies the general association between gubernatorial party and the state presidential vote share, but it does not provide the causal effect. However, with the RDD we can estimate the causal effect of the gubernatorial party.

Let t index state legislative election years, and let i index states. Let P_{it}^{D} be the vote share won by the Democratic presidential candidate in state i in election t; let $C_{it}^{D} = P_{it}^{D} - P_{it-2}^{D}$

[5]This means that the last gubernatorial election we examine is in 2008.

be the change in the Democratic presidential vote share in state i between the presidential election at time $t-2$ and election at time t; and let $G^D_{i,t-1}$ be a dummy variable indicating whether or not state i has a Democratic governor during the presidential mid-term at time $t-1$. In each specification we also include the lagged presidential vote share P^D_{it-2} and year fixed effects, δ_t. These are not needed for our identifying assumptions to hold, but they substantially reduce the estimated standard errors. In the robustness checks we show that our conclusions are similar whether or not the control variables are included, but that we need them to increase the precision of our estimates.

In the OLS we estimate the simple relationship between C^D_{it} and $G^D_{i,t-1}$:

$$C^D_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 G^D_{i,t-1} + \gamma P^D_{it-2} + \delta_t + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where β_1 measures the relationship between having a Democratic governor and the change in Democratic vote share in the presidential election.

The RDD regressions follows two of the standard RDD approaches. First we use the full sample and include a control function defined as a low-order polynomial of the forcing variable, which is the Democratic vote share in the gubernatorial election in state i at time $t-1$, $V^D_{i,t-1}$. The basic idea behind this specification is that the treatment variable, $G^D_{i,t-1}$, is entirely determined by the forcing variable, $V^D_{i,t-1}$.This means that we can control for potential endogeneity of the treatment variable by flexible controlling for the forcing variable. In this case it means that we, for example, control for general swings in party popularity. We present results for 3rd- and 4th-degree polynomials in the tables below.

The specification is then:

$$C^D_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 G^D_{i,t-1} + \gamma P^D_{it-2} + \delta_t + f(V^D_{i,t-1}) + \epsilon_{it} \tag{2}$$

where $f(V^D_{i,t-1})$ is the control function.

The second RDD approach is to use the OLS specification, equation (1) above, but limit the sample to "close" elections – i.e., those where the winner's share of the vote is close to 50%. We consider a variety of different thresholds in the margin to 50% of the two party vote share to define close elections, including 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 percentage points. Our preference if for the tighter thresholds, such as 52%, because it seems unlikely that outcomes of elections

where the winner's vote share is 55% can be considered "as good as random." We include the less stringent thresholds, however, for two reasons. First, these thresholds are commonly used in the RDD literature. Second, presenting the full battery of estimates shows whether or not the estimates found using tight bounds – which have small sample sizes – are stable as we move away from the threshold and increase the sample size.

3. Basic Results

3.1. Graphical Analyses

Following previous RDD work, we begin with a graphical analysis. Figures 1(a)-1(d) show binned averages of the change in state presidential vote share, C_{it}^D, as a function of the percentage of votes received by the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, $G_{i,t-1}^D$.[6] The range of $G_{i,t-1}^D$ in the figures is 40% to 60%, which covers 75% of the observations in our sample. The interval for each bin is 1 percentage point. Figure 1(a) is for the full sample from 1882 to 2008, 1(b) excludes the southern states, 1(c) shows the period after WWII, and 1(d) shows the period after WWII with the southern states excluded.

It seems clear from Figure 1(a) that for the full sample C_{it}^D falls as we cross the 50% threshold and move from Republican gubernatorial control to Democratic control. The downward shift appears to be around 2-3 percentage points. Note that there seems to be a positive relationship between the gubernatorial vote share and the change in state presidential vote share. The downward shift across the threshold seems to be of the same magnitude, but more clear, when we exclude the southern states, as Figure 1(b) shows. In the post-WWII period the downward shift seems to be slightly larger, see Figure 1(c), and when we exclude the southern states it becomes even clearer – see Figure 1(d).

Overall, while it is difficult to pin down the magnitude, the figures indicate that there is a loss in state presidential vote share for the party of the governor. Most importantly the shifts in the outcome variable around the 50% threshold indicate that this is a direct effect of the gubernatorial party rather than general trends in party support or other potential

[6] To reduce the noise in the graphs we first run a regression with C_{it}^D as depended variable and the vector of control variabels, γ_{it}, as the independent variables. We then take the residual and use that in the figure.

omitted variables.

3.2. Regression Analyses

We now turn to regressions. Table 1 presents the main results. Each row of the table represents a different specification, and each column covers a different sample. Column 1 is for the full time period, column 2 excludes the south, column 3 covers the post-WWII period, column 4 covers the post-WWII period excluding the south, and column 5 covers the full time period for state-year observations with both presidential and gubernatorial elections. Each cell contains the estimated coefficient on the Democratic governor dummy variable – i.e., β_1 in equation (1) or (2) – as well as the standard errors in parentheses and number of observations in brackets.

The OLS estimates for the full time period (see column 1) shows no overall relationship between the party of the governor and the change in state presidential vote share. The estimates for the RDD specifications, are all negative and statistically significant at the 10% level. The range of the estimates is quite large, however, ranging from -1.2 to -3.8. The reason for the large variation in the estimates can be traced back to Figure 1(a). First, there is a lot of noise in the relationship between forcing variable and outcome. This means that the estimates will jump around as we change the sample. Also, we will capture more and more of the positive relationship between the forcing variable and the outcome as we increase the margin we use to define close elections. This means that we should expect a reduction in estimates as we increase the window used to define close elections. Thus, although we can be confident that the party that controls the governor's office can expect a vote loss in the presidential election we cannot pin down the exact magnitude of this loss.

Column 2 shows that the loss in the presidential vote is slightly larger for the non-southern states. The estimated vote loss in the RDD specifications ranges from about 1.7 to 4.9 percent. Also, all of the estimates are statistically significant. Something important to note is that the standard errors go down when we exclude the southern states, even though we reduce the sample size.

Next we explore the post-WWII period 1946-2008. Column 3 considers all states, while

column 4 excludes the southern states. The OLS estimates are still close to zero. The RDD point are all between -1.5 and -3.5 in the full sample of states and between -2.3 and -4.7 when we exclude the southern states. All the estimates are statistically significant. This suggests that there is a strong and clear penalty for the party of the governor in the post-WWII period.

In column 5 we see that the party of the governor does not matter when there is a gubernatorial election. All point estimates for the RDD specifications are close to zero and not statistically significant.

3.3. Robustness Checks

We perform two types of robustness check to test the validity of our RDD results in Table 1. First we change the set of control variables in the specification. Secondly we perform a placebo test where we test if the party of the governor has an effect on the vote change in the previous election. If the identifying assumptions of the RDD hold, the party of the governor should not have any effect on previous elections.

The results are presented in Table 2. Each row covers a different RDD specification, and each column covers a different robustness check. As in Table 1, each cell contains the point estimate of the Democratic governor dummy variable – i.e., β_1 in equation (1) or (2) – the standard error of the estimate in parentheses and number of observations in brackets.

In Column 1 and 2 we drop both control variables and use the full time period, see column 1, and the post-WWII period, see column 2. In these specification all the point estimates are negative, the range is however much larger. Also, as expected, the standard errors becomes much larger than in our baseline specifications. This leads to none of estimated coefficients being significant. Although the changes in point estimates are relative large none are statistically different from the estimates in the baseline specification. This shows that we need the control variables to increase the precision of our estimates

In columns 3-4 we only include the year fixed effect, but do not the control for the lagged vote share. We use both the full time period, see column 1, and the post-WWII period, see column 2. Here we get essentially the same estimates as in the baseline specification, with

only marginally larger standard errors. This shows that it is the year fixed effects that are essential for reducing the standard errors.

Column 5 shows the placebo tests. All the estimates are close to zero. Also, none of the coefficients are even close to being statistically significant. Thus, overall these tests provide strong support for our identifying assumptions.

3.3. Individual Voter Responses

In this section we analyze data from the American National Election Studies. The individual level survey data allows us to study the behavior of voters as a function of their partisan attachments. Intuitively, "balancing" considerations should have a larger effect on the vote choice of those with weak or no party ties. For partisans, such considerations – even if taken into account – are unlikely to change vote choice.

The analysis is straightforward: We regress presidential vote choice on gubernatorial party control, controlling for party identification using the most flexible possible functional form. We run separate regressions for different groups of respondents, defined by the strength of their party identification. As above, we restrict attention to cases where the previous gubernatorial election was "close."

Consider respondent j living in state i voting in election t. Let P_{jt} by respondent j's party identification on a seven-point scale, where 1=strong Democrat, 2=weak Democrat, 3=independent leaning Democratic, 4=independent, 5=independent leaning Republican, 6=weak Republican, and 7=strong Republican.[7] Let $\boldsymbol{P}_{jt} = (P_{jt1}, ..., P_{jt7})$ be a vector of dummy variables such that $P_{jtk} = 1$ if respondent j's party identification is equal to k and $P_{jtk} = 0$ otherwise. As above, let $G^D_{i,t-1}$ be a dummy variable indicating whether or not state i has a Democratic governor during the presidential midterm at time $t-1$. Finally, let $V^D_{jt} = 1$ if respondent j reported voting for the Democratic candidate for president in election t and $V_{jt} = 0$ if respondent j reported voting for the Republican candidate.

$$V^D_{jt} = \alpha_0 + \boldsymbol{\theta}' \boldsymbol{P}_{jt} + \beta G^D_{i,t-1} + \epsilon_{jt} \tag{3}$$

To account for various unobserved factors (e.g., home-state or region effects), in some spec-

[7] We drop respondents who identify with minor parties or responded "don't know."

ifications we add state fixed effects, and in other specifications we add state fixed effects plus year fixed effects. Note that this is a linear probability model. Probit and logit models produce essentially the same results. We run the model separately for strong partisans (P=1 or 7), strong and weak partisans (P=1, 2, 6 or 7) and independents including independent leaners (P=3, 4 or 5).[8]

The results are show in Table 3. In the top half of the table we use a rather large 5% window to define "close" races, and in the bottom half we use a more restrictive window of 2%. In the interest of space we only report the estimates of the coefficient of interest, β. Standard errors are reported in parentheses, and samples sizes are reported in square brackets. The standard errors are clustered by state-year.

The bottom line is simple. First, for strong partisans, or strong and weak partisans, the estimates of β are always tiny and statistically insignificant. Evidently, these individuals do not engage in "balancing" to any noticeable degree. Second, for independents and independent leaners, the estimates of β are always negative, and much larger in absolute value than those for partisans. Finally, when we control for state fixed effects, or state and year fixed effects, the estimates of β for independents are strongly significant, and suggest a large amount of "balancing."

3.5. Effect of Presidential Party on Gubernatorial Elections

If voters are motivated to vote for president based on their governor's party, one could easily believe that the reverse would also be true – people would vote for governor based on the party of the president. We test this hypothesis using national-level election data. We take the same type of RDD as in baseline regressions – except that we do not include control variables. Also, given the small sample we only include a linear control instead of the low order polynomial. We also use the close election specifications. Of course this cannot we seen as a true RDD due to the small sample size.

We use the Democratic percentage of the two-party popular vote to define the presidential

[8]For each sub-sample we only include the logically possible components of the $\boldsymbol{P}_{jt}$, and drop one category to avoid perfect multicollinearity.

winning margin[9]. The dependent variable is the mean change in the Democratic vote share from one midterm election to the next. The forcing variable is the national two-party vote for president. The independent variable of interest is the party of the president. Our expectation is that the Republican (Democratic) vote for governor shifts in the negative direction when the Republican (Democrat) is elected as president in the intervening election.

We first show the data in Figure 2, where we plot the average change in gubernatorial vote share against the two party presidential vote share. Here we clearly see a large negative shift in the gubernatorial vote share when we cross the threshold for having a Democratic president.

The regression results are shown in Table 4. The estimates suggest that the presidential party generates between a 4.5 to 7 percentage point swing in the gubernatorial vote from the previous election to the next. The result are similar across all 32 elections 1880-2008 and for the 15 post-WWII election alone, but slightly larger in the latter period. All estimates are highly significant. Although this is not a proper RDD it is still hard to see that there would not be a direct penalty associated with holding the presidency.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we show that winning control of the governor's office in a state leads to a vote share loss in the next presidential election of about 2 percentage points in the same states. Our identification strategy allows us to rule out that this is caused by any factors other than the party of the governor. The use of a regression discontinuity design puts the finding on a solid statistical footing. Moreover, the results from the RDD show that simple OLS estimates would give us biased estimates and show either a positive, or null, effect winning the governor's office.

In the analyses of possible mechanisms we find evidence suggesting loss in presidential vote share be attributed to partisan balancing. Using data from the American National Election Studies we show that it is voters with weak or no partisan ties that are affected by the party of the governor.

[9]Two presidential elections in the data set – 1888 and 2000 – resulted in Republican victories in the Electoral College even though the popular vote plurality favored the Democratic candidate. Of course we count these instances as Republican victories.

Our final analysis suggest analysis suggests that there is a negative, and large, effect of winning the presidency on subsequent gubernatorial elections. This, together with our main results, suggests that balancing type mechanisms not only take place between the legislature and executive at one level of government, but also across different levels of government.

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Table 1: Effect of Party Control of Governor on State's Vote for President

Specification	1882-2008 All States	1882-2008 No South	1946-2008 All States	1946-2008 No South	1882-2008 Gov Elect
OLS	0.436 (0.533) [526]	-0.456 (0.482) [425]	0.015 (0.590) [384]	-0.843 (0.536) [305]	2.143 (0.573) [650]
RDD, 3rd-Order Polynomial	-1.674 (0.826) [526]	-2.249 (0.799) [425]	-2.009 (0.949) [384]	-3.200 (0.894) [305]	-1.174 (0.840) [650]
RDD, 4th-Order Polynomial	-2.294 (0.908) [526]	-2.374 (0.810) [425]	-2.481 (1.041) [384]	-3.366 (0.912) [305]	-1.185 (0.878) [650]
RDD, 5% Margin	-1.178 (0.644) [250]	-1.639 (0.670) [216]	-1.542 (0.726) [177]	-2.275 (0.736) [144]	0.702 (0.604) [308]
RDD, 4% Margin	-1.353 (0.726) [208]	-1.943 (0.744) [180]	-2.196 (0.827) [144]	-3.270 (0.809) [117]	0.590 (0.631) [256]
RDD, 3% Margin	-1.709 (0.781) [153]	-1.993 (0.804) [136]	-2.719 (0.960) [104]	-3.323 (0.994) [88]	-0.099 (0.760) [204]
RDD, 2% Margin	-2.613 (0.874) [106]	-2.884 (0.854) [94]	-3.525 (1.061) [73]	-4.214 (1.035) [61]	-0.810 (0.899) [136]
RDD, 1% Margin	-3.782 (1.300) [60]	-4.916 (1.496) [54]	-3.488 (1.377) [44]	-4.665 (1.627) [38]	-0.664 (1.517) [69]

Cell entries are the estimated coefficients on the *Democratic Governor* dummy variable. The dependent variable is *Change in State's Democratic Presidential Vote*. Standard errors in parentheses. Sample sizes in brackets.

Table 2: Robustness Checks					
Specification	1882-2008 No Controls	1946-2008 No Controls	1882-2008 Year F.E	1946-2008 NYear F.E	1882-2008 Placebo
OLS	1.688 (0.854) [526]	2.040 (1.007) [384]	-0.458 (0.549) [538]	-0.415 (0.634) [384]	1.600 (0.530) [519]
RDD, 3rd-Order Polynomial	-1.925 (1.430) [526]	-2.601 (1.722) [384]	-1.919 (0.873) [538]	-2.401 (1.016) [384]	0.610 (0.789) [503]
RDD, 4th-Order Polynomial	-3.076 (1.571) [526]	-2.908 (1.900) [384]	-2.436 (0.958) [538]	-2.667 (1.117) [384]	0.458 (0.862) [503]
RDD, 5% Margin	-0.342 (1.161) [250]	-0.197 (1.445) [177]	-1.252 (0.677) [255]	-1.558 (0.762) [177]	0.850 (0.703) [247]
RDD, 1% Margin	-0.689 (1.298) [208]	-0.254 (1.661) [144]	-1.357 (0.773) [213]	-2.176 (0.882) [144]	0.734 (0.789) [205]
RDD, 3% Margin	-1.715 (1.464) [153]	-1.567 (1.909) [104]	-1.534 (0.838) [158]	-2.710 (1.005) [104]	0.430 (0.882) [151]
RDD, 2% Margin	-2.534 (1.834) [106]	-2.770 (2.369) [73]	-2.476 (0.940) [110]	-3.600 (1.119) [73]	0.018 (1.085) [105]
RDD, 1% Margin	-1.076 (2.595) [60]	-0.379 (3.202) [44]	-3.562 (1.430) [61]	-3.271 (1.468) [44]	-0.712 (1.705) [59]

Cell entries are the estimated coefficients on the *Democratic Governor* dummy variable. The dependent variable is *Change Democratic State Presidential Vote*. Standard errors in parentheses. Sample sizes in brackets.

Table 3: ANES Results				
Specification	Window	Independents & Leaners	Strong & Weak Party Identifiers	Strong Party Identifiers
party ID	5%	-0.032 (0.025) [1920]	0.010 (0.022) [4892]	0.002 (0.013) [2520]
party ID + state FE	5%	-0.043 (0.020) [1920]	-0.002 (0.012) [4892]	-0.001 (0.009) [2520]
party ID + state FE + year FE	5%	-0.048 (0.019) [1920]	0.002 (0.013) [4892]	-0.001 (0.010) [2520]
party ID	2%	-0.036 (0.034) [827]	0.011 (0.021) [2155]	0.000 (0.018) [1090]
party ID + state FE	2%	-0.067 (0.019) [827]	-0.010 (0.013) [2155]	-0.002 (0.014) [1090]
party ID + state FE + year FE	2%	-0.139 (0.030) [827]	-0.008 (0.015) [2155]	-0.013 (0.018) [1090]

Cell entries are the estimated coefficients on the *Democratic Governor* dummy variable. The dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating that the respondent voted for the Democratic presidential candidate. Standard errors (clustered by state) are in parentheses. Sample sizes in brackets.

Table 4: Gubernatorial Vote Change of President's Party 1898-2006		
	1888-2010	1946- 2010
OLS	-5.533 (1.781) [32]	-6.490 (2.375) [16]
Linear Control	-4.411 (1.130) [32]	-6.297 (1.476) [16]
5% Margin	-4.907 (1.362) [19]	-6.146 (2.023) [10]
4% Margin	-5.245 (1.597) [16]	-6.609 (2.154) [9]
3% Margin	-5.655 (1.788) [11]	-6.909 (2.666) [6]
2% Margin	-6.446 (1.890) [9]	-9.286 (1.556) [5]

Cell entries are the estimated coefficients on the *Democratic President* dummy variable. The dependent variable is *Change in Mean Democratic Vote for Governor*. Standard errors in parentheses. Sample sizes in brackets.

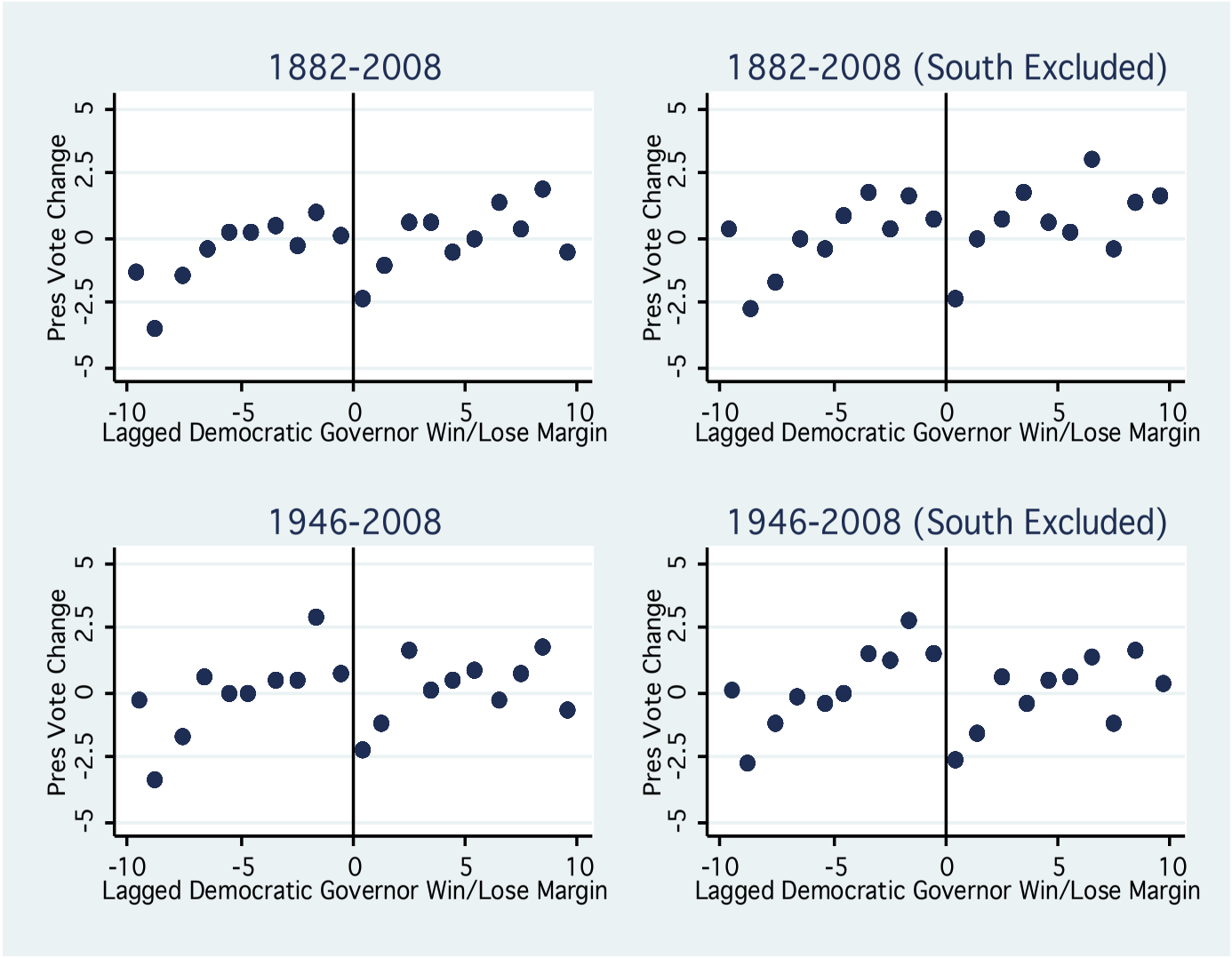

Figure 1(a)-1(d). Binned averages of the change in presidential vote share as a function of the win/lose margin of the Democratic gubernatorial candidate; 1 percentage point bins.

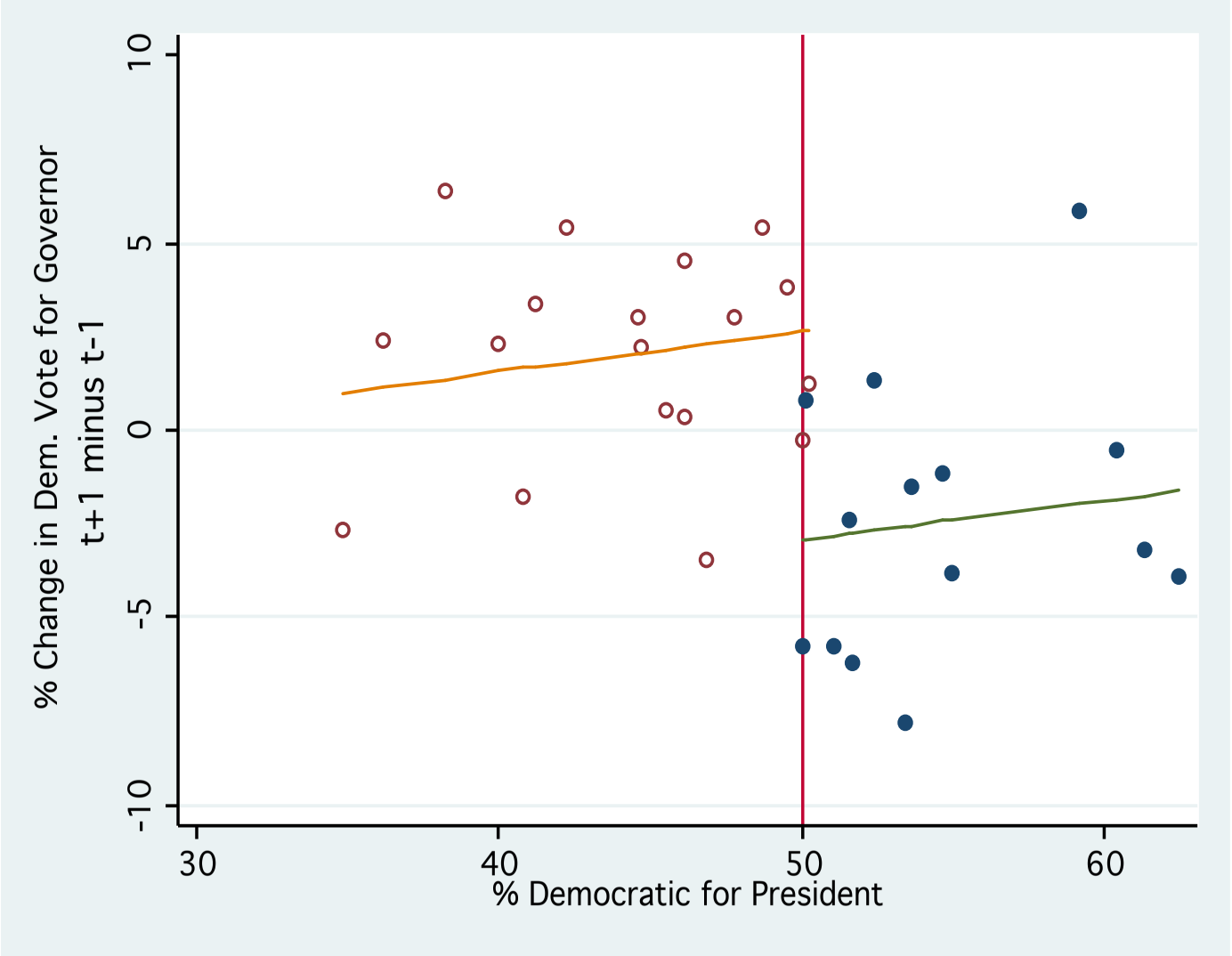

Figure 2(a)-2(d). Change in gubernatorial vote share as a function of the two party vote share of the Democratic presidential candidate.