

**Table 1.** Kinetic parameters used to make the quantitative estimates in the text and plots in the figures.

Kinetic Rate	Symbol	Value	Reference
Unregulated promoter transcription rate	$r$	$0.33\text{ s}^{-1}$	[99]
Repressor and activator associations rates	$k_R^0, k_A^0$	$0.0027\text{ (s nM)}^{-1}$	[2]
Repressor and activator dissociation rates	$k_R^{\text{off}}, k_A^{\text{off}}$	$0.0023\text{ s}^{-1}$	[42]
mRNA decay rate	$\gamma$	$0.011\text{ s}^{-1}$	[10]
Ratio between transcription rates due to activation	$f = r_1 / r_2$	11	[50]
Cooperativity in repression	$\Omega_{\text{repression}}$	0.013	[50]
Cooperativity in activation	$\Omega_{\text{activation}}$	0.1	[33]
Looping J-factor	$[J]$	660 nM	[33]
Protein translation burst size	$b$	31.2 proteins/mRNA	[5]
Protein decay rate	$[J]$	$0.00083\text{ s}^{-1}$	[99]

These parameters are all measured for model systems such as the  $P_{\text{lac}}$  promoter or the  $P_{RM}$  in *E. coli*, and are here considered representative for promoter-transcription factor interactions.

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