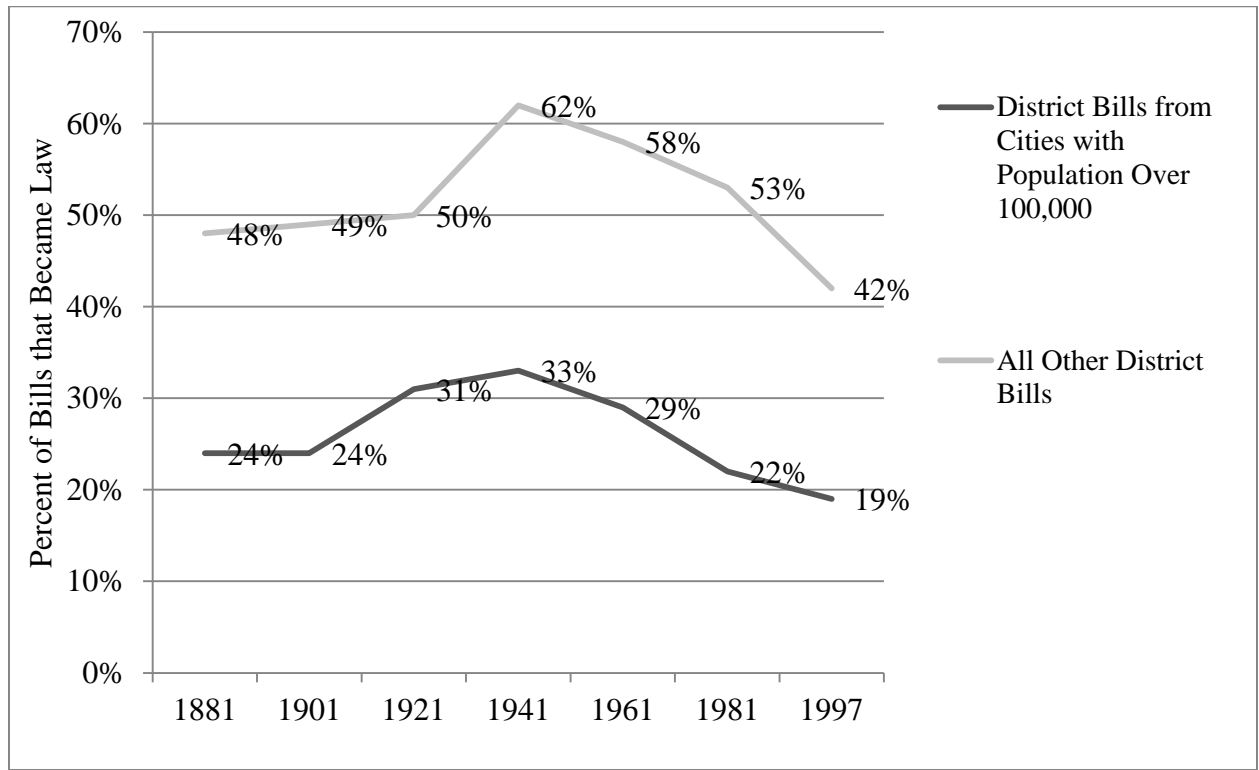
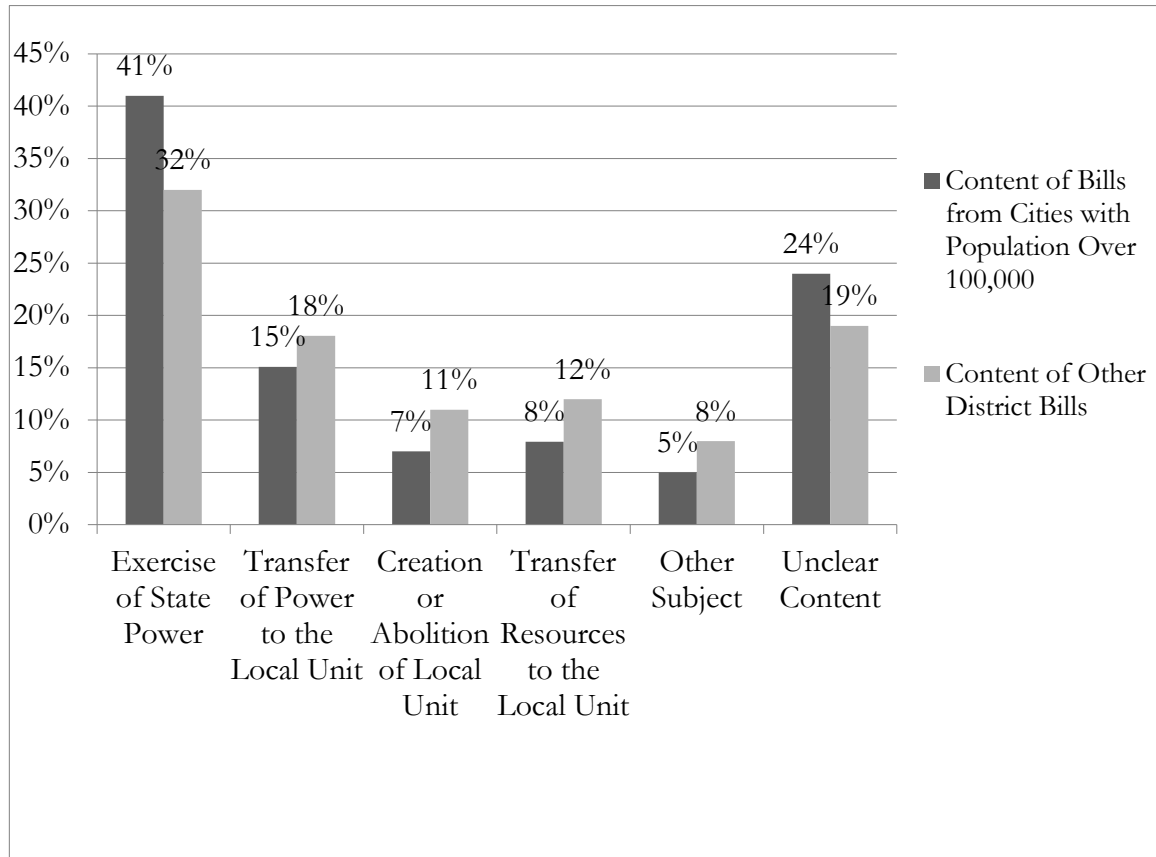


Appendix Figure A1. Comparing Whether Bills Become Law for Big-City vs. Other District Bills, Over Time



Notes: This figure parallels Figure 1 in the main text except that it reports the rate at which bills become law rather than the rate at which they pass in a legislature's lower house. The data for this figure are drawn directly from the legislative journals of Alabama, California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington.

Appendix Figure A2. Comparing the Content of Big-City vs. Other District Bills



Appendix Table A1. Characterizing Bill Content

1. Transfer of Power

- a. Approval of Local Actions. State government approves the actions of a local unit. *Example: Approving charter amendments approved by the citizens of the city of San Leandro in the county of Alameda.*
- b. Exercise of State Power. State government takes direct action with respect to the local unit or it mandates or regulates local unit action. *Example: Establish rules and regulations for elections in counties with populations greater than 150,000 and establish salaries of election officers.*
- c. Power Reclaimed by the State. State government claims jurisdiction or is given authority over a matter previously overseen by the local unit. *Example: Bill to abolish the office of state quarantine official in the city of San Francisco and to create the same office for the state.*
- d. Transfer of Power to the Local Unit. Local unit receives jurisdiction or is given authority over a matter previously overseen by the state government or local unit has its jurisdiction or authority enlarged. *Example: Granting powers of eminent domain to the Harris County Improvement District No. 1.*
- e. Creation or Abolition of Local Unit. State creates local unit, abolishes local unit, or abolishes local unit and replaces it with another local unit. *Example: An act to incorporate the city of Spokane Falls in Spokane County.*
- f. Transfer of Power between Local Units. Local unit receives jurisdiction or is given authority over a matter previously overseen by another local unit. *Example: A bill transferring control of county industrial farms from the county commissioners to the sheriffs of the several counties.*
- g. Unclear Transfer of Power. A transfer of power occurs, but the nature of the transfer is unclear. *Example: Amend Illinois municipal code.*

2. Geographic Jurisdiction

- a. Boundary determination. State government sets a boundary between two local units. *Example: A bill to alter and extend the corporate limits of the Town of Brundidge, Pike County, and to define the boundaries thereof.*
- b. Redistricting. State creates or modifies legislative districts. *Example: To detach Blount County from the ninth congressional district and to attach the same to the eighth congressional district.*

3. Transfer of Resources

- a. Transfer of Resources to the Local Unit. State funds or resources are appropriated to the local unit. *Example: To appropriate the sum of \$75,000 to Colbert County out of the state treasury to reimburse said county for the cost of paving Wilson Dam Highway.*
- b. Resources Reclaimed by State. Funds or resources previously controlled by the local unit are reclaimed by the state. *Example: To repeal an act providing for a public school teachers and employees pension fund in cities over 100,000 and the return of moneys now on hand in such fund.*
- c. Transfer of Resources between Local Units. Funds or resources are transferred between local units or from local units to private citizens. *Example: Petition that the city of Billerica be authorized to reimburse J. Dougherty.*
- d. Purchase of Property. State government purchases land from the local unit or vice versa. *Example: To appropriate money for the acquisition of Lake Elmo near Billings for use as a state park.*
- e. Unclear Transfer of Resources. A transfer of resources occurs, but the nature of the transfer is unclear. *Example: Amend sections of an act to provide for the creation, setting apart, maintenance, and administration of a municipal employees' annuity and benefit fund in cities with more than 200,000 people.*

4. Committee, Commission, or Study. Establishes a committee, commission, or study to investigate a particular topic in relation to the local unit. *Example: Creating a commission to study Southwestern Illinois and the advisability of providing for an exposition authority therefor.*

5. Symbolic. Bills such as renaming a bridge or otherwise taking symbolic action. *Example: A bill to name each of two bridges near the town of Front Royal, one across the North Fork of the Shenandoah River and the other across the South Fork.*

6. Unclear Action. It is unclear what the intention of the bill is and whether it is a transfer of power, a transfer of resources, or something else.

Appendix Table A2. Explaining Whether Bills Become Law

<i>All District Bills</i>		<i>Subsample with Richer Data</i>	
<i>Size of Locality</i>		<i>Size of the City</i>	
City under 10,000	-0.05 (.19)	Seats in City Delegation (ln)	-0.73* (.33)
City between 10,000-100,000	.01 (.21)	Size of the City as % of State	-.02 (.03)
City over 100,000	-1.30** (.31)		
		<i>Demographic Differences</i>	
Bill from State's Biggest City	.21 (.26)	Foreign-Born Difference	-.06 (.05)
		Black Population Difference	-.0001 (.03)
<i>Bill Content</i>		<i>Bill Content</i>	
Approval of Local Action	.24 (.45)	Approval of Local Action	-.83 (1.33)
Exercise of State Power	-.09 (.14)	Exercise of State Power	-.04 (.23)
Power Reclaimed by State	-.12 (.71)	Power Reclaimed by State	-.80 (1.17)
Power to Local Unit	.38* (.17)	Power to Local Unit	.57* (.27)
Create or Abolish Unit	-.40* (.17)	Create or Abolish Unit	-.56 (.33)
Power Between Units	-.31 (.91)	Resources to Local Unit	-.26 (.36)
Resources to Local Unit	-.94** (.22)	Resources Between Units	.11 (.73)
State Reclaims Resources	-2.52* (1.11)		
Resources Between Units	-.33 (.53)	<i>Party Differences</i>	
		Majority Party Author	-.03 (.25)
<i>Author Characteristics</i>		% Delegation from Majority	-.008 (.006)
Majority Party Author	.07 (.15)		
Largest Geographic Group	-.14 (.12)	<i>Legislative and State Context</i>	
		Mayor is African-American	.33 (.75)
<i>Legislative and State Context</i>		State Has a 2 nd Major City	.12 (.56)
Size of Majority Party Margin	.009* (.004)	Size of Majority Party Margin	.006 (.007)
Minor Party Seat Share	-.15** (.04)	Minor Party Seat Share	-.13 (.09)
Size of Urban-Rural Margin	.004 (.006)	Size of Urban-Rural Margin	.002 (.008)
Suburban Seat Share	-.02 (.01)	Suburban Seat Share	-.06* (.03)
Black % of Population	-.03 (.03)	# of City Bills Introduced	-.002 (.002)
Turnover of Membership	-.02 (.01)	Turnover of Membership	-.028 (.014)
Total Bill Intros (1000s)	-.09 (.09)	Total Bill Intros (1000s)	.09 (.13)
Session Length	.004 (.002)	Session Length	.001 (.003)
Legislative Salaries	.08 (.13)	Legislative Salaries	.10 (.18)
Home Rule Provision	.22 (.34)	Home Rule Provision	-.10 (.44)
Malapportionment Ratio	.13 (.07)	Malapportionment Ratio	.19 (.12)
State Fixed Effects	included	State Fixed Effects	included
Year Fixed Effects	included	Year Fixed Effects	included
State-Year Random Effects	included	State-Year Random Effects	included
-2 X Log Likelihood	1983.50	-2 X Log Likelihood	770.08
Number of Observations	1736		747

Notes: Table entries are estimated coefficients and (standard errors) from models with random coefficients for each legislative session, estimated using GLLMM in Stata 8.0.

** = $p < .05$ and ** = $p < .01$ in two-tailed tests.*