# Appendix

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| Table A.1: Descriptive statistics |
|  | N | Mean | SD | Min | Max |
| Level of Agreement (Difference to 50%) | 1440 | 25.253 | 14.337 | 0.065 | 50 |
| Assembly (=1) | 1463 | 0.308 | 0.462 | 0 | 1 |
| Turnout in Merger Decision (%) | 1298 | 56.896 | 18.090 | 0.054 | 98 |
| Population Size | 1481 | 1593 | 4102 | 11 | 58381 |
| Size/Coalition Size | 1481 | 0.284 | 0.272 | 0.001 | 0.994 |
| Δ Tax Rate | 1458 | 0.024 | 0.108 | -0.639 | 0.568 |
| Previous Merger |  |  |  |  |  |
| None | 1541 | 0.826 | 0.379 | 0 | 1 |
| Failed | 1541 | 0.125 | 0.331 | 0 | 1 |
| Succeeded | 1541 | 0.049 | 0.215 | 0 | 1 |
| Name Change |  |  |  |  |  |
| New Name | 1527 | 0.748 | 0.434 | 0 | 1 |
| Compound Name | 1527 | 0.099 | 0.299 | 0 | 1 |
| Old Name | 1527 | 0.153 | 0.360 | 0 | 1 |
| Parliament (=1) | 1399 | 0.242 | 0.428 | 0 | 1 |
| Time Period |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1999-2005 | 1541 | 0.225 | 0.417 | 0 | 1 |
| 2006-2012 | 1541 | 0.437 | 0.496 | 0 | 1 |
| 2013-2019 | 1541 | 0.338 | 0.473 | 0 | 1 |
| Canton |  |  |  |  |  |
| AG | 1541 | 0.057 | 0.232 | 0 | 1 |
| BE | 1541 | 0.114 | 0.318 | 0 | 1 |
| FR | 1541 | 0.166 | 0.372 | 0 | 1 |
| GR | 1541 | 0.117 | 0.321 | 0 | 1 |
| JU | 1541 | 0.045 | 0.207 | 0 | 1 |
| LU | 1541 | 0.043 | 0.203 | 0 | 1 |
| NE | 1541 | 0.047 | 0.211 | 0 | 1 |
| SG | 1541 | 0.019 | 0.136 | 0 | 1 |
| SH | 1541 | 0.010 | 0.101 | 0 | 1 |
| SO | 1541 | 0.028 | 0.165 | 0 | 1 |
| TI | 1541 | 0.171 | 0.377 | 0 | 1 |
| VD | 1541 | 0.120 | 0.325 | 0 | 1 |
| VS | 1541 | 0.046 | 0.210 | 0 | 1 |
| ZH | 1541 | 0.017 | 0.129 | 0 | 1 |

Figure A.1: Correlation between reported and approximated turnout



Figure A.2: Abstention (Cantons of Grisons and Ticino)



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| Figure A.3: Difference in level of agreement between decision procedures in same municipality |

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| Figure A.4: Level of agreement in assemblies taking final decision and assemblies prior to popular votes |
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| Figure A.5: Level of agreement in popular votes with/without prior assemblies |
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| Table A.2: Multilevel Regression Model: Random-Effects ANOVA |
|  | Level of Agreement |  | Intra-Class Correlation |
|  | Estimate | SE |  | Estimate | SE |
| Constant | 24.81 | (1.04) |  |  |  |
| Level-1 Variance (Merger Decisions) | 141.71 | (6.32) |  |  |  |
| Level-2 Variance (Merger Projects) | 57.84 | (8.07) |  | 0.05 | (0.02) |
| Level-3 Variance (Cantons) | 10.06 | (5.35) |  | 0.32 | (0.03) |
| N Merger Decisions | 1440 |  |  |  |
| N Merger Projects | 415 |  |  |  |
| N Cantons | 14 |  |  |  |
| LR test (X2) | 174.59 |  |  |  |
| p>X2 | 0.000 |  |  |  |
| Note. Results obtained through -mixed- command in Stata; standard errors in parentheses. |

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| Table A.3. Robustness, level of agreement: municipalities with assembly followed by popular vote |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | 10.44\*\*\* | 10.44\*\*\* | -1.05 |
|  | (1.11) | (1.11) | (3.78) |
| Turnout (%) |  |  | -0.35\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.11) |
| Previous Merger (B=None) |  |  |  |
| Merger Attempt Failed |  | 5.91 | 2.81 |
|  |  | (4.95) | (4.45) |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |  |
| Compound Name |  | 8.30 | 9.35 |
|  |  | (6.22) | (5.49) |
| Old Name |  | 10.90 | 10.89 |
|  |  | (10.51) | (9.36) |
| Log(Population Size) |  | -4.01 | -6.24\* |
|  |  | (2.67) | (2.45) |
| Size/Coalition Size |  | 6.28 | 1.14 |
|  |  | (16.84) | (15.08) |
| Δ Tax Rate |  | 38.97\* | 39.37\* |
|  |  | (18.41) | (16.19) |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |  |
| 2006-2012 |  | 4.09 | 2.82 |
|  |  | (5.81) | (5.12) |
| 2013-2020 |  | 2.88 | 0.86 |
|  |  | (6.36) | (5.63) |
| Canton (B=AG) |  |  |  |
| LU |  | -5.34 | 5.46 |
|  |  | (9.61) | (9.20) |
| SH |  | -6.09 | -3.11 |
|  |  | (6.75) | (6.01) |
| Constant | 21.61\*\*\* | 37.17\* | 76.39\*\*\* |
|  | (1.73) | (16.42) | (18.76) |
| Level-1 Variance (Merger Decision) | 34.06\*\*\* | 34.06\*\*\* | 38.22\*\*\* |
|  | (6.49) | (6.49) | (8.08) |
| Level-2 Variance (Municipality) | 125.43\*\*\* | 103.32\*\*\* | 73.89\*\*\* |
|  | (36.08) | (23.18) | (20.23) |
| Level-3 Variance (Merger Project) | 1.48 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (24.17) | (0.00) | (.) |
| N (Merger Decisions) | 110 | 110 | 107 |
| N (Municipalities) | 55 | 55 | 55 |
| N (Merger Projects) | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| Log. Lik. | -409 | -404 | -390 |
| Wald X2 | 88.03 | 98.81 | 102.65 |
| p>X2 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| AIC | 828 | 838 | 809 |
| BIC | 841 | 878 | 849 |
| Note. \*<.05 \*\*<.01 \*\*\*<.001. Coefficients are obtained through -mixed- command in Stata; standard errors in parentheses. |

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| Table A.4. Robustness, level of agreement: municipalities involved in 1 merger project only |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | 8.66\*\*\* | 5.37\*\*\* | -3.12\* |
|  | (1.14) | (1.13) | (1.50) |
| Turnout (%) |  |  | -0.31\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.04) |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |  |
| Compound Name |  | 0.34 | 0.68 |
|  |  | (1.56) | (1.53) |
| Old Name |  | 4.24\* | 2.22 |
|  |  | (1.89) | (1.93) |
| Log(Population Size) |  | -3.95\*\*\* | -5.28\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.49) | (0.51) |
| Size/Coalition Size |  | 16.37\*\*\* | 11.78\*\*\* |
|  |  | (3.02) | (3.04) |
| Δ Tax Rate |  | 24.16\*\*\* | 23.48\*\*\* |
|  |  | (3.68) | (3.61) |
| Parliament (B=Assembly) |  | 0.41 | 0.82 |
|  |  | (1.25) | (1.23) |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |  |
| 2006-2012 |  | -1.34 | 0.02 |
|  |  | (1.19) | (1.18) |
| 2013-2020 |  | -1.50 | -1.32 |
|  |  | (1.33) | (1.31) |
| Constant | 22.55\*\*\* | 43.17\*\*\* | 73.34\*\*\* |
|  | (0.67) | (2.87) | (4.46) |
| Level-1 Variance (Merger Decision) | 140.84\*\*\* | 142.64\*\*\* | 128.09\*\*\* |
|  | (7.15) | (7.68) | (7.28) |
| Level-2 Variance (Merger Project) | 53.44\*\*\* | 19.33\*\*\* | 18.19\*\*\* |
|  | (8.57) | (5.90) | (5.68) |
| Level-3 Variance (Canton) | 0.00 | 0.00\*\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| N (Merger Decisions) | 1138 | 979 | 888 |
| N (Merger Projects) | 353 | 317 | 296 |
| N (Cantons) | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Log. Lik. | -4561 | -3870 | -3465 |
| Wald X2 | 57.85 | 221.63 | 291.45 |
| p>X2 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| AIC | 9132 | 7766 | 6957 |
| BIC | 9158 | 7829 | 7024 |
| Note. \*<.05 \*\*<.01 \*\*\*<.001. Coefficients are obtained through -mixed- command in Stata; standard errors in parentheses. |

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| Table A.5. Robustness, level of agreement: multicollinearity test |
|  | Without Turnout |  | With Turnout |
| Variable | Variance Inflation Factor | 1/Variance Inflaction Factor |  | Variance Inflation Factor | 1/Variance Inflaction Factor |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | 2.72 | 0.37 |  | 4.37 | 0.23 |
| % Turnout |  |  |  | 2.99 | 0.33 |
| Previous Merger (B=None) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Failed Merger | 1.13 | 0.88 |  | 1.15 | 0.87 |
| Successful Merger | 1.15 | 0.87 |  | 1.17 | 0.86 |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Compound Name | 1.37 | 0.73 |  | 1.37 | 0.73 |
| Old Name | 2.8 | 0.36 |  | 2.86 | 0.35 |
| log(Population Size) | 2.96 | 0.34 |  | 3.32 | 0.30 |
| Size/Coalition Size | 4.08 | 0.25 |  | 4.23 | 0.24 |
| Δ Tax Rate | 1.11 | 0.90 |  | 1.12 | 0.89 |
| Parliament (B=Assembly) | 3.32 | 0.30 |  | 3.47 | 0.29 |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006-2012 | 2.75 | 0.36 |  | 2.74 | 0.36 |
| 2013-2020 | 2.96 | 0.34 |  | 2.93 | 0.34 |
| Canton (B=AG) |  |  |  |  |  |
| BE | 2.35 | 0.43 |  | 2.19 | 0.46 |
| FR | 3.92 | 0.26 |  | 3.94 | 0.25 |
| GR | 4.02 | 0.25 |  | 4.09 | 0.24 |
| JU | 1.7 | 0.59 |  | 1.37 | 0.73 |
| LU | 1.72 | 0.58 |  | 1.62 | 0.62 |
| NE | 2.17 | 0.46 |  | 2.24 | 0.45 |
| SG | 1.36 | 0.73 |  | 1.33 | 0.75 |
| SH | 1.21 | 0.82 |  | 1.24 | 0.81 |
| SO | 1.43 | 0.70 |  | 1.44 | 0.69 |
| TI | 4.84 | 0.21 |  | 4.93 | 0.20 |
| VD | 1.71 | 0.59 |  | 1.65 | 0.61 |
| VS | 1.66 | 0.60 |  | 1.75 | 0.57 |
| ZH | 1.23 | 0.81 |  | 1.27 | 0.79 |
| Mean VIF | 2.32 |  |  | 2.43 |  |
| Note. Coefficients are obtained through -estat vif- command in Stata, after -regress-. |

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| Table A.6. Turnout: multilevel regression models |
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | -23.05\*\*\* | -27.13\*\*\* |
|  | (1.41) | (1.40) |
| Previous Merger (B=None) |  |  |
| Merger Attempt Failed |  | -1.85 |
|  |  | (1.20) |
| Merger Attempt  |  | -1.30 |
| Succeeded |  | (1.38) |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |
| Compound Name |  | -0.07 |
|  |  | (1.22) |
| Old Name |  | -5.30\*\*\* |
|  |  | (1.35) |
| Log(Population Size) |  | -3.58\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.43) |
| Size/Coalition Size |  | -17.64\*\*\* |
|  |  | (2.38) |
| Δ Tax Rate |  | -2.82 |
|  |  | (2.64) |
| Parliament (B=Assembly) |  | 6.92\*\*\* |
|  |  | (1.22) |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |
| 2006-2012 |  | -1.76 |
|  |  | (1.43) |
| 2013-2020 |  | -1.66 |
|  |  | (1.50) |
| Constant | 63.40\*\*\* | 95.85\*\*\* |
|  | (1.51) | (3.17) |
| Level-1 Variance (Merger Decision) | 153.73\*\*\* | 74.19\*\*\* |
|  | (7.08) | (3.75) |
| Level-2 Variance (Merger Project) | 31.21\*\*\* | 39.21\*\*\* |
|  | (6.05) | (5.15) |
| Level-3 Variance (Canton) | 25.59\*\*\* | 41.10\*\*\* |
|  | (11.50) | (17.93) |
| N (Merger Decisions) | 1273 | 1097 |
| N (Merger Projects) | 380 | 343 |
| N (Cantons) | 14 | 14 |
| Log. Lik. | -5118 | -4094 |
| Wald X2 | 267.78 | 1232.92 |
| p>X2 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| AIC | 10247 | 8218 |
| BIC | 10272 | 8293 |
| Note. \*<.05 \*\*<.01 \*\*\*<.001. Coefficients are obtained through -mixed- command in Stata; standard errors in parentheses. |

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| Table A.7. Level of agreement: mediation analysis |
|  | Turnout (%) |  | Level of Agreement |
|  | B | SE |  | B | SE |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | -26.86\*\*\* | (1.98) |  | -3.89 | (2.01) |
| Turnout (%) |  |  |  | -0.35\*\*\* | (0.04) |
| Previous Merger (B=None) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Merger Attempt Failed | -1.82 | (1.37) |  | 2.65\* | (1.06) |
| Merger Attempt Succeeded | -1.69 | (1.28) |  | -1.72 | (1.87) |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Compound Name | 0.35 | (1.37) |  | -0.77 | (1.41) |
| Old Name | -6.30\*\*\* | (1.57) |  | 2.14 | (1.67) |
| Log(Population Size) | -4.03\*\*\* | (.58) |  | -5.56\*\*\* | (.51) |
| Size/Coalition Size | -14.20\*\*\* | (2.95) |  | 10.88\*\*\* | (2.83) |
| Δ Tax Rate | -0.74 | (3.72) |  | 23.26\*\*\* | (5.23) |
| Parliament (B=Assembly) | 8.92\*\*\* | (1.54) |  | 3.29\* | (1.66) |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006-2012 | -1.06 | (1.65) |  | -.25 | (1.50) |
| 2013-2020 | -1.64 | (1.65) |  | -1.43 | (1.53) |
| Canton (B=AG) |  |  |  |  |  |
| BE | -1.69 | (2.46) |  | 1.77 | (1.94) |
| FR | 0.79 | (1.89) |  | 2.73 | (1.89) |
| GR | 5.47\* | (2.52) |  | 3.54 | (2.26) |
| JU | 8.44\* | (3.73) |  | .47 | (2.93) |
| LU | 13.22\*\*\* | (2.06) |  | 3.95 | (2.45) |
| NE | -9.04\*\*\* | (2.36) |  | -3.29 | (2.40) |
| SG | 6.22\* | (2.69) |  | 4.44 | (2.53) |
| SH | 11.86\* | (4.70) |  | 3.43 | (3.25) |
| SO | -1.71 | (3.53) |  | 2.75 | (2.51) |
| TI | -3.14 | (2.21) |  | 1.70 | (1.98) |
| VD | -7.11\*\*\* | (2.72) |  | 2.09 | (2.93) |
| VS | 14.07\*\*\* | (2.31) |  | 8.61\*\*\* | (2.16) |
| ZH | 12.97\*\*\* | (2.61) |  | 5.20\* | (2.44) |
| Constant | 93.17\*\*\* | (4.05) |  | 75.28\*\*\* | (4.95) |
| Average Causal Mediation Effect (ACME) | 9.56\*\*\* |
| (Assembly -> Turnout -> Level of Agreement) | [7.14, 12.08] |
| Direct Effect | -3.85 |
| (Assembly -> Level of Agreement) | [-7.73,0.16] |
| Total Effect (=ACME+Direct Effect) | 5.71\*\*\* |
|  | [2.27,9.25] |
| N (Merger Decisions) | 1096 |  | 1096 |
| N Clusters (Merger Projects) | 343 |  | 343 |
| F (24, 342) | 72.53 |  | 16.73 |
| p>F | 0.000 |  | 0.000 |
| R2 | .67 |  | .31 |
| Note. \*<.05 \*\*<.01 \*\*\*<.001. Coefficients are obtained through -medeff- command in Stata; clustered standard errors in parentheses, 95% confidence intervals in square brackets. |

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| Table A.8. Unanimous decisions: multilevel logistic regression models |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Assembly (B=Popular Vote) | 3.79\*\*\* | 4.13\*\*\* | 2.49\* |
|  | (0.53) | (0.95) | (1.11) |
| Turnout (%) |  |  | -0.07\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.02) |
| Previous Merger (B=None) |  |  |  |
| Merger Attempt Failed |  | 0.50 | 0.55 |
|  |  | (0.53) | (0.55) |
| Merger Attempt Succeeded |  | 0.53 | -1.11 |
|  |  | (0.73) | (1.16) |
| Name Change (B=New Name) |  |  |  |
| Compound Name |  | 0.43 | 0.38 |
|  |  | (0.59) | (0.62) |
| Old Name |  | 0.16 | -0.29 |
|  |  | (0.68) | (0.79) |
| Log(Population Size) |  | -1.81\*\*\* | -2.22\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.29) | (0.37) |
| Size/Coalition Size |  | 6.42\*\*\* | 5.31\*\*\* |
|  |  | (1.31) | (1.40) |
| Δ Tax Rate |  | 2.26 | 3.27\* |
|  |  | (1.40) | (1.52) |
| Parliament (B=Assembly) |  | -12.91 | -12.06 |
|  |  | (921.82) | (1227.04) |
| Time Period (B=1999-2005) |  |  |  |
| 2006-2012 |  | 0.32 | -0.41 |
|  |  | (0.63) | (0.77) |
| 2013-2020 |  | 0.13 | -0.30 |
|  |  | (0.71) | (0.74) |
| Constant | -5.80\*\*\* | 2.00 | 9.07\*\*\* |
|  | (0.57) | (1.43) | (2.36) |
| Level-2 Variance | 1.69 | 0.30 | 0.17 |
|  | (0.83) | (0.50) | (0.51) |
| Level-3 Variance | 0.11 | 1.18 | 0.33 |
|  | (0.17) | (0.99) | (0.43) |
| N (Merger Decisions) | 1400 | 1199 | 1096 |
| N (Merger Projects) | 407 | 368 | 343 |
| N (Cantons) | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Log. Lik. | -219 | -152 | -115 |
| Wald X2 | 51.02 | 53.30 | 47.92 |
| p>X2 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| AIC | 446 | 332 | 259 |
| BIC | 467 | 404 | 334 |
| Note. \*<.05 \*\*<.01 \*\*\*<.001. Coefficients are obtained through -meqrlogit- command in Stata; standard errors in parentheses. |