

A1 Appendix

Appendix to the manuscript “Vox Populi – Popular Support for the Popular Initiative”
American Political Science Review (Leemann, Lucas, Patrick Emmenegger, and André Walter)

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A1.1 Federal Votes used in Measurement Model

Table A1: Federal Votes Used in Measurement Model

Vote	Year	Title	Ballot	Parliament	CAP Topic	Result
3	1866	Equal treatment of Jews and naturalized individuals regarding settlement	✓	–	Civil Rights	53.2%
7	1866	Freedom of belief and worship	✓	–	Civil Rights	49.2%
11	1872	Federal Constitution (Total Revision)	✓	–	Government Operations	49.5%
12	1874	Federal Constitution (Total Revision)	✓	✓	Government Operations	63.2%
13	1875	Federal Law concerning the determination and certification of civil status and marriage	✓	✓	Law and Crime	51.0%
14	1875	Federal Law on the political voting rights of Swiss citizens	–	✓	Civil Rights	49.4%
15	1876	Federal Law on the Issuance and Redemption of Banknotes	✓	✓	Macroeconomics	38.3%
16	1876	Federal Law concerning the Military Service Replacement Tax	✓	–	Macroeconomics	45.8%

To be continued

Vote	Year	Title	Ballot	Parliament	CAP Topic	Result
17	1877	Federal Law concerning work in factories	✓	✓	Labor	51.5%
19	1877	Federal Law concerning the political rights of settled residents and residents and the loss of political rights of Swiss citizens	✓	–	Civil Rights	38.2%
20	1879	Federal Law concerning the granting of subsidies for alpine railways	✓	✓	Transportation	70.7%
21	1879	Federal resolution concerning the amendment of Article 65 of the Federal Constitution (Death Penalty)	–	✓	Law and Crime	52.5%
23	1882	Federal resolution concerning the protection of inventions	✓	✓	Domestic Commerce	47.5%
24	1882	Federal Law concerning measures against communally dangerous epidemics	–	✓	Public Health	21.1%

To be continued

Vote	Year	Title	Ballot	Parliament	CAP Topic	Result
27	1884	Federal resolution concerning the patent taxes of commercial travelers	-	✓	Domestic Commerce	47.9%
28	1884	Federal Law concerning the supplement of the Federal Criminal Law	-	✓	Law and Crime	44.0%
30	1885	Federal resolution concerning partial amendment of the Federal Constitution (Economic Affairs and Alcohol Issue)	✓	✓	Public Health	59.4%
31	1887	Federal Law concerning distilled spirits	-	✓	Public Health	65.9%
33	1889	Federal Law on Debt Collection and Bankruptcy	-	✓	Domestic Commerce	52.9%
34	1890	Federal resolution regarding legislative authority over accident and health insurance	-	✓	Public Health	75.4%
36	1891	Introduction of the popular initiative	✓	-	Government Operations	60.3%

To be continued

Vote	Year	Title	Ballot	Parliament	CAP Topic	Result
39	1891	Federal resolution concerning the purchase of the Swiss Central Railway	-	✓	Transportation	31.1%

Notes: Check mark signs indicate whether the federal vote was used for the estimation of the ideological positions of voters and legislators respectively. Inclusion is a function of data availability. All federal votes are categorized in terms of topic areas used in the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP). The column ‘Results’ displays the nation-wide yes-shares in the popular vote. The data are from [Linder, Bollinger, and Rielle \(2010\)](#).

A1.2 Item Response Theory (IRT) Model

A1.2.1 More Details on Customized IRT Model

Our IRT model departs in two ways from simple applications. First, we observe votes from two different sets of decision makers. We observe municipality-level returns of voters and we have roll-call votes from the parliament. A number of votes take place in both loci and provide *bridges*. This is what eventually allows us to map MPs and voters in the same ideological space. The second difference is that the municipality returns are reported as percentages while the roll-call votes are binary.

Like most other studies, we only exploit yes and no votes in the parliament and abstentions do not inform the model. While nonresponse can bias estimates of ideological positions (e.g., [Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl, 2015](#)), we are interested in the chamber median rather than the individual MP positions.

We achieve identification by using standard normal priors for all θ s and forcing the model to provide us with draws where the θ parameter for the city of Zurich is smaller (i.e. more liberal) than the parameter estimate for Altdorf (i.e more conservative). Zurich was one of the main strongholds of the radical-liberal coalition and Switzerland’s economic capital. Zurich’s unique position is reflected in the fact that all official sequences of cantonal flags list Zurich first – before Switzerland’s political capital Bern. Altdorf is the main city in the canton of Uri, which has been one of the key members of the losing coalition in Switzerland’s 1847 civil war. Politically, the canton of Uri was completely dominated by the Catholic Conservatives.

We implement this model in Stan ([Carpenter et al., 2017](#)). We run four chains for 2500 iterations and discard the first 500 iterations and only rely on every 8th draw (thinning). To assess convergence of all chains, we explore the \hat{R} value and find the largest value is 1.0370 as well as visually inspect traceplots (examples presented in [Figure 1](#), [Figure 2](#), and [Figure 3](#)) .

Figure 1: Traceplot for Ideal Point of City of Zurich

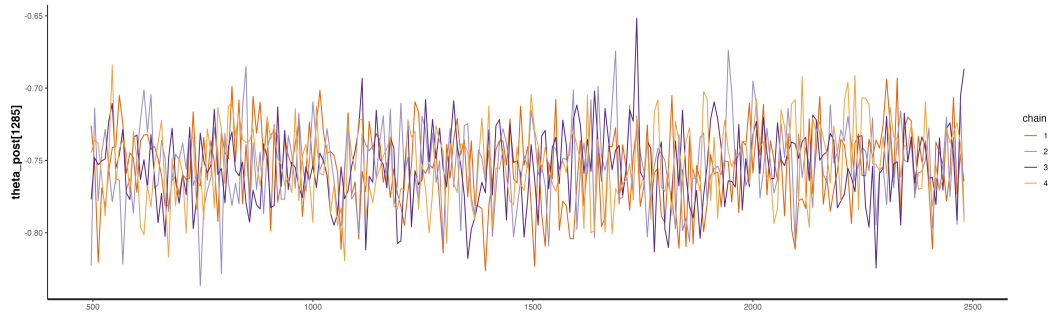


Figure 2: Traceplot for Ideal Point of City of Lucerne

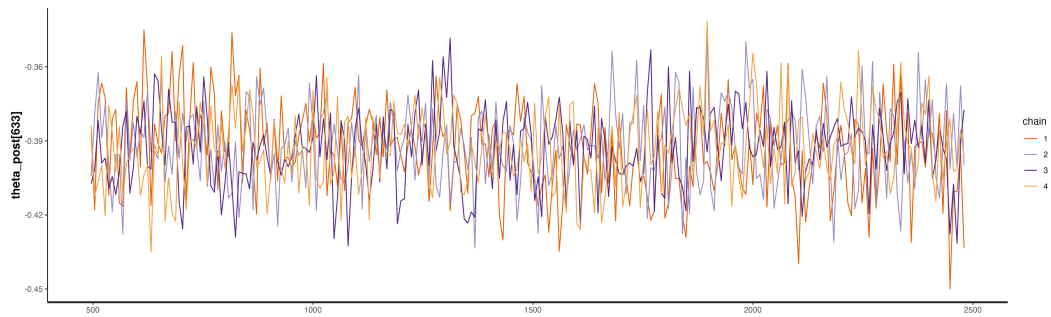
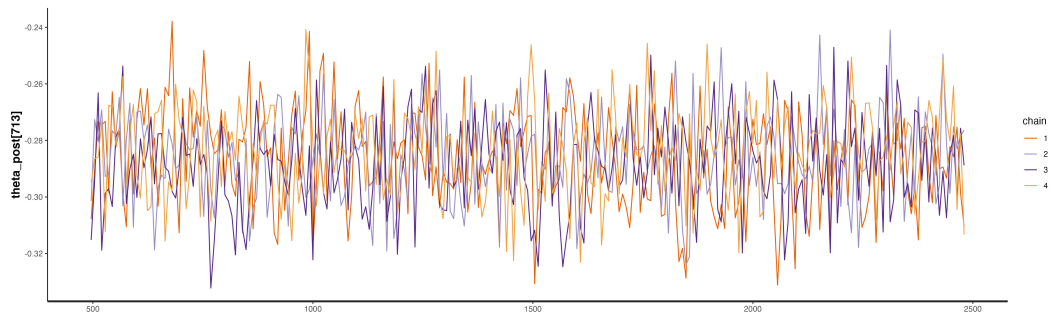


Figure 3: Traceplot for Ideal Point of Altdorf (UR)



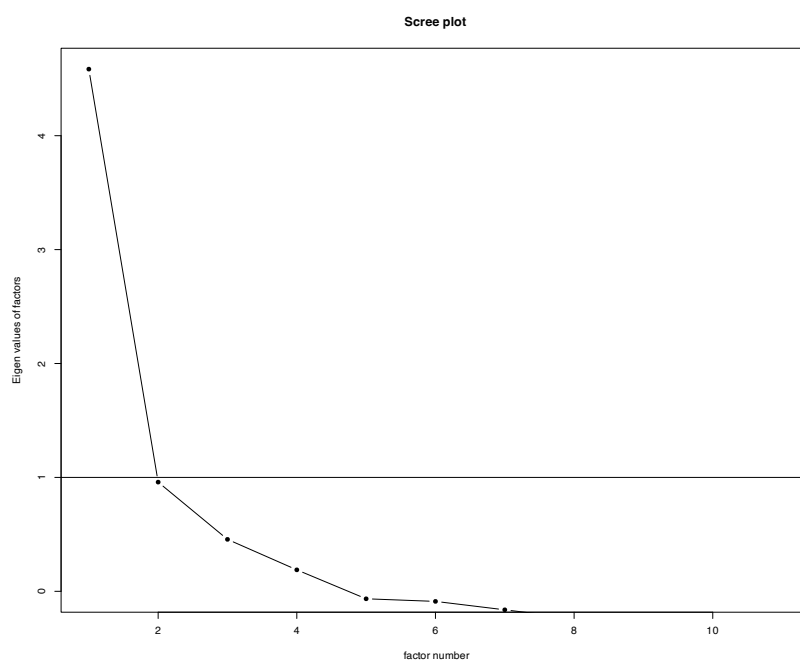
A1.2.2 Discrimination Parameter Estimates

Discrimination Parameter	run_id	vote_id	Vote	
β_7	5.20	22	7	Freedom of belief and religious practice (1866)
β_3	5.16	15	3	Equal rights for Jews and naturalised citizens with regard to the right of residence (1866)
β_{12}	3.24	2	12	Federal Constitution, Total Revision (1874)
β_{28}	2.58	14	28	Federal Criminal Law (1884)
β_{11}	2.46	1	11	Federal Constitution, Total Revision (1872)

Discrimination Parameter	run_id	vote_id	Vote	
β_{17}	0.19	7	17	Factories Act (1877)
β_{34}	0.30	19	34	Right to Legislate on Accident and Health Insurance (1890)
β_{30}	0.40	16	30	Federal Competence to Regulate the Alcohol Sector (1885)
β_{31}	0.61	17	31	Federal Law on State Monopoly for Liquor (1887)
β_{15}	0.62	5	15	Banknotes Act (1876)

A1.2.3 Factor Analysis of Direct Democratic Votes

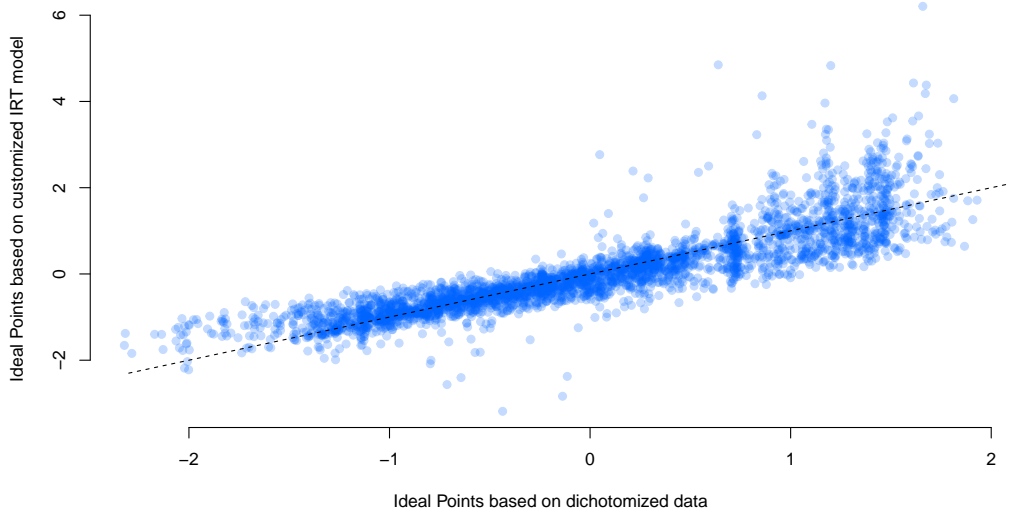
Figure 4: Scree Plot of Eigenvalues (Factor Analysis, all Municipalities, 1866-1891)



A1.2.4 Robustness with Dichotomized Municipality Returns

We also estimate alternative IRT models where we rely on the conventional binary IRT model. We dichotomize the vote return data from municipalities by recording whether a vote share was below or above the median. Figure 5 shows the ideal points where the estimates of the main model are displayed on the y -axis and the alternative measure (from the dichotomized data) are shown on the x -axis.

Figure 5: Ideal Points from Two Different Models



We find a very high correlation between both strategies of 0.88 and take this as an indication that our customized models yields substantively similar results for most units with the exception of the few very extreme municipalities at far right of the dimension.

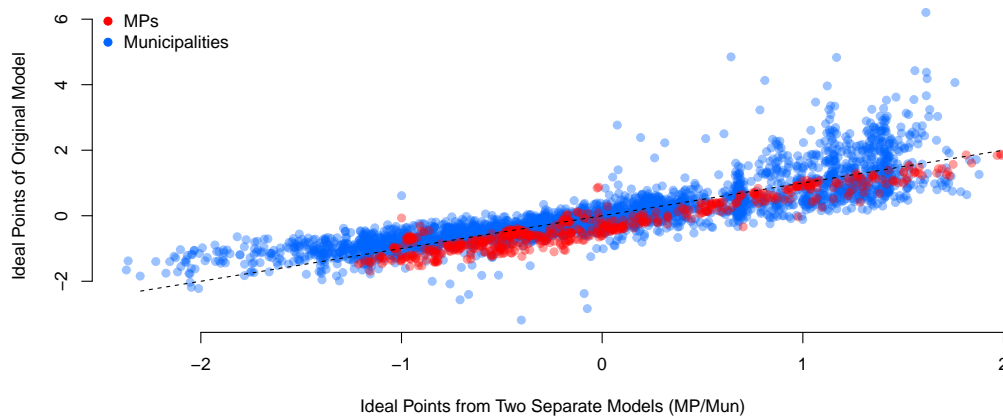
A1.2.5 Is There a Common Space for MPs and Municipalities?

An additional robustness check is to verify that the two group of decision makers – MPs and municipalities – can be projected into the same common space. To verify this we separate the voting data of MPs and the vote returns from the municipalities and estimate two separate IRT models.

We can thereby verify whether the political space of politicians and voters is fundamentally different or if it is indeed similar. If the results would show that the similarity with the estimates of joint model (one model with both choice makers) it would call in question the validity. Figure 6 shows the results of two separate models whereas the y -axis shows the ideal point of our main model in the main part

of the manuscript and the x -axis shows the estimates based on two separate models.

Figure 6: Ideal Points from Two Different Models



The results show that we uncover the same substantive positions in both models as we did in the main model. Among the municipalities the correlation is .86 and for the MPs we find a correlation of 0.95 – these results bolster our confidence that municipalities and MPs can be displayed in a *meaningful* way in a common political space. The municipality data shows slightly more observations for the municipalities at the very end of the dimension as we already observed in [Figure 5](#).

A1.3 Summary Statistics of all Variables

Table A2: Summary Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Pctl. 25	Pctl. 75	Max
Municipality ID	1875	3268	2119	1	1128	5132	6806
Cantonal ID	1875	13	8.4	1	3	21	25
Electoral District	1875	26	15	1	11	40	49
Ideological Position	1875	-0.23	0.55	-1.5	-0.61	-0.0058	4.5
Municipality Population	1875	1272	4027	35	344	1266	103958
Cantonal Population	1875	194339	161846	12538	94810	228174	530365
Share Catholics	1875	0.53	0.45	0	0.036	0.99	1
Share German-speakers	1875	0.67	0.44	0	0.069	1	1
Share foreigners	1875	0.051	0.081	0	0.0031	0.058	0.66
Population Density	1875	0.12	0.22	0.0011	0.038	0.13	4.8
Historic Direct Democracy Index	1875	2.5	1.4	0	1.2	3.9	4.5
Vote Share Liberals	1680	0.1	0.19	0	0	0.14	0.82
Vote Share Radicals	1680	0.42	0.36	0	0	0.7	1
Vote Share Socialists	1680	0.02	0.056	0	0	0	0.37
Vote Share Democrats	1680	0.079	0.21	0	0	0	1
Vote Share Conservative Catholics	1680	0.37	0.4	0	0	0.77	1
Vote Share Others	1680	0.014	0.069	0	0	0	0.67
Turnout	1663	0.48	0.22	0	0.32	0.65	1.3
Share Agricultural Sector	1799	0.66	0.24	0.015	0.5	0.85	1
Share Industrial Sector	1799	0.23	0.2	0	0.065	0.35	0.9
Vote Deviation PARL-MUN	1875	0.34	0.12	0.099	0.24	0.43	0.7
Ideological Deviation MUN-MP	1875	0.47	0.4	0.00017	0.17	0.66	4.2
Ideological Deviation MUN-PARL	1875	0.4	0.44	0.00029	0.15	0.49	5
Ideological Deviation MUN-medianMUN	1875	0.39	0.41	0.00057	0.13	0.47	4.9
Extreme Municipality	1875	0.25	0.43	0	0	0.5	1

A1.4 Full Model Output

Table A3: Strategic Vote for the Adoption of the Popular Initiative

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	59.36*** (6.19)	61.03*** (5.94)	68.22*** (8.41)	59.21*** (11.55)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	107.43*** (7.66)	89.68*** (7.51)	89.37*** (7.51)	66.01*** (7.92)
Share Agricultural Sector	1.66 (5.54)	-4.72 (5.35)	-4.72 (5.35)	-2.89 (5.14)
Share Industrial Sector	12.53 (7.04)	7.72 (6.78)	7.78 (6.78)	11.11 (6.51)
Extreme Municipality		16.50*** (1.36)	16.43*** (1.36)	9.96*** (1.37)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-2.94 (2.46)	-5.48* (2.64)
Electoral share Radicals				-5.93 (7.95)
Electoral share Socialists				129.01*** (13.41)
Electoral share Democrats				67.91*** (9.74)
Electoral share Conservatives				30.94*** (8.00)
Electoral share Others				2.05 (11.72)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7931.56	-7859.80	-7857.28	-7004.80
# Municipalities	1783	1783	1783	1622
# Electoral District	44	44	44	43
# Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	96.07	83.83	86.44	71.89
σ_{Canton}^2	210.56	195.18	182.62	219.66
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	404.42	374.06	374.06	318.79

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$, *HDDI*: Historical Direct Democracy Index value for the canton, *Local labor market structure*: Employment shares in first and second sectors. *Party vote shares* for Radicals, Socialists, Democrats, Catholic Conservatives, and others. Constant included but not shown.

A1.5 Robustness

In the manuscript we rely on hierarchical models to estimate partial correlations between ballot box support for the initiative and various explanatory factors. Here, we will show that these results can also be shown when relying on a fixed effects models. Specifically, we introduce a fixed effect for each electoral district to restrict the analyzed variance.

Table A4: Alternative Model Specification

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 4
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	106.18*** (7.80)	89.24*** (7.63)	62.18*** (8.04)
Share Agricultural Sector	2.54 (5.59)	-3.65 (5.40)	-0.98 (5.18)
Share Industrial Sector	15.08* (7.13)	10.31 (6.87)	13.98* (6.58)
Extreme Municipality		16.37*** (1.37)	9.22*** (1.38)
Electoral share Radicals			-16.63 (11.57)
Electoral share Socialists			121.44*** (15.11)
Electoral share Democrats			78.98*** (13.94)
Electoral share Conservatives			25.63* (11.85)
Electoral share Others			-7.43 (14.68)
District FE	✓	✓	✓
R ²	0.10	0.17	0.31
Adj. R ²	0.08	0.14	0.29
Num. obs.	1783	1783	1622

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

In a next step, we also show the estimation results for an alternative specification where we interact the two distance measures to show that the coefficients associated with the two distance measures remain significant even when we allow for the interaction. In this specification, the interaction term captures ideologically extreme municipalities. In [Table A5](#), one can see that the substantive results remain unchanged as do the significance levels.

Table A5: Robustness Check with Interaction

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	61.91*** (6.12)	62.46*** (5.93)	69.55*** (8.42)	59.91*** (11.42)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	104.92*** (7.56)	89.82*** (7.47)	89.52*** (7.47)	66.56*** (7.88)
$\Delta_{mun, Mun} \times \Delta_{mun, MP}$	3.61*** (0.50)	2.27*** (0.50)	2.27*** (0.50)	1.92*** (0.46)
Share Agricultural Sector	-2.20 (5.48)	-6.53 (5.33)	-6.53 (5.33)	-4.63 (5.13)
Share Industrial Sector	8.78 (6.96)	5.85 (6.75)	5.92 (6.75)	9.30 (6.49)
Extreme Municipality		14.89*** (1.40)	14.82*** (1.40)	8.68*** (1.40)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-2.90 (2.46)	-5.37* (2.60)
Electoral share Radicals				-5.18 (7.85)
Electoral share Socialists				129.32*** (13.32)
Electoral share Democrats				67.06*** (9.62)
Electoral share Conservatives				31.21*** (7.90)
Electoral share Others				3.15 (11.62)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7905.36	-7849.25	-7846.75	-6996.02
# of Observations	1783	1783	1783	1622
# of Electoral Districts	44	44	44	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma^2_{ElectoralDistrict}$	84.56	80.01	82.35	68.39
σ^2_{Canton}	212.36	197.96	186.46	214.98
$\sigma^2_{Municipality}$	393.35	370.03	370.02	315.77

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.6 Model Estimates with Additional Structural Information

Table A6: Robustness Check with Additional Structural Variables

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	56.58*** (8.08)	66.12*** (7.93)	65.26*** (7.88)	58.00*** (8.09)
Share of Catholics	12.28*** (2.37)			9.90*** (2.51)
Population Denisty (log.)		-0.30 (0.64)		-0.32 (0.63)
Share of German-Speakers			-12.06*** (2.75)	-8.36** (2.88)
Extreme Municipality	9.51*** (1.36)	9.91*** (1.37)	9.37*** (1.37)	9.13*** (1.37)
Hist Direct Democracy Index	-4.20 (2.39)	-5.56* (2.65)	-4.25 (2.59)	-3.66 (2.42)
Share Agricultural Sector	-1.30 (5.12)	-3.22 (5.20)	-3.05 (5.12)	-2.04 (5.17)
Share Industrial Sector	12.50 (6.47)	11.46 (6.55)	11.11 (6.48)	12.68 (6.50)
Electoral share Radicals	-0.93 (7.77)	-6.17 (7.98)	-4.13 (8.16)	-0.92 (8.01)
Electoral share Socialists	123.54*** (13.31)	129.06*** (13.43)	130.44*** (13.46)	125.54*** (13.42)
Electoral share Democrats	62.55*** (9.64)	67.93*** (9.77)	64.80*** (10.17)	61.40*** (10.04)
Electoral share Conservatives	29.62*** (7.80)	30.75*** (8.03)	32.52*** (8.22)	30.83*** (8.06)
Electoral share Others	5.76 (11.52)	1.83 (11.74)	4.33 (11.84)	6.40 (11.69)
Constant	47.21*** (11.16)	58.94*** (11.60)	64.42*** (11.63)	52.77*** (11.52)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-6989.84	-7004.22	-6993.47	-6983.27
# of Municipalities	1622	1622	1622	1622
# of Electoral Districts	43	43	43	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	70.39	72.78	91.47	87.59
σ_{Canton}^2	167.66	221.28	192.04	158.27
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	314.63	318.87	314.68	312.68

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.7 Turnout as Outcome Variable in Models

Table A7: Robustness Check on Turnout

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	0.41*** (0.06)	0.42*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.10)	0.39** (0.12)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	0.20** (0.06)	0.12 (0.06)	0.12 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)
Share Agricultural Sector	0.09 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
Share Industrial Sector	0.02 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)
Extreme Municipality		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Electoral share Radicals				-0.08 (0.07)
Electoral share Socialists				-0.19 (0.12)
Electoral share Democrats				0.11 (0.08)
Electoral share Conservatives				0.04 (0.07)
Electoral share Others				0.13 (0.10)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	636.33	654.17	652.24	605.22
# of Municipalities	1643	1643	1643	1484
# of Electoral Districts	38	38	38	35
# of Cantons	20	20	20	20
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistricts}^2$	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
$\sigma_{Cantons}^2$	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
$\sigma_{Municipalities}^2$	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.8 Turnout as Additional Control Variable

Table A8: Robustness Check with Turnout as Control Variable

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	54.97*** (6.78)	60.30*** (6.41)	62.86*** (9.59)	59.40*** (12.97)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	103.46*** (8.06)	84.11*** (7.85)	84.02*** (7.86)	59.71*** (8.25)
Voter Turnout	12.71*** (3.37)	5.93 (3.26)	6.03 (3.26)	1.70 (3.19)
Share Agricultural Sector	0.90 (5.79)	-6.08 (5.56)	-6.04 (5.56)	-4.35 (5.31)
Share Industrial Sector	10.38 (7.38)	4.68 (7.06)	4.79 (7.07)	8.26 (6.76)
Extreme Municipality		18.09*** (1.45)	18.06*** (1.45)	11.74*** (1.45)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-1.09 (2.97)	-6.06 (3.31)
Electoral share Radicals				-5.16 (8.32)
Electoral share Socialists				129.32*** (13.60)
Electoral share Democrats				72.21*** (10.14)
Electoral share Conservatives				31.75*** (8.35)
Electoral share Others				1.60 (12.17)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7251.39	-7175.45	-7173.38	-6353.20
# of Municipalities	1627	1627	1627	1472
# of Electoral Districts	38	38	38	35
# of Cantons	20	20	20	20
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	96.54	87.31	87.82	79.28
σ_{Canton}^2	233.19	192.81	204.81	263.46
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	414.06	378.25	378.24	320.04

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.9 Model Estimates on Sample Without Socialist Candidates

Table A9: Robustness Check on Sample Without Socialist Candidates

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	59.85*** (6.85)	61.89*** (6.54)	67.94*** (8.85)	64.99*** (12.68)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	134.88*** (9.34)	110.20*** (9.14)	109.82*** (9.15)	77.96*** (9.10)
Share Agricultural Sector	1.11 (6.22)	-6.11 (5.95)	-6.10 (5.95)	-7.17 (5.58)
Share Industrial Sector	3.55 (8.46)	-0.93 (8.06)	-0.85 (8.06)	0.51 (7.59)
Extreme Municipality		16.46*** (1.42)	16.39*** (1.42)	10.15*** (1.43)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-2.45 (2.44)	-5.48* (2.66)
Electoral share Radicals				-8.39 (9.17)
Electoral share Democrats				68.14*** (11.25)
Electoral share Conservatives				28.89** (9.20)
Electoral share Others				-0.65 (12.90)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-5713.08	-5647.92	-5645.61	-5550.87
# of Municipalities	1283	1283	1283	1283
# of Electoral Districts	39	39	39	39
# of Cantons	21	21	21	21
$\sigma_{Electoral District}^2$	82.69	67.27	70.53	94.14
σ_{Canton}^2	193.26	184.47	176.58	195.57
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	408.25	370.04	369.99	322.96

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.10 Model Estimates on Sample With Low Competition Municipalities

Table A10: Estimates on Sample with Low Competition Municipalities

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	52.14*** (6.95)	53.64*** (6.76)	62.98*** (9.62)	41.70** (13.27)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	121.38*** (9.09)	104.58*** (9.12)	104.17*** (9.12)	63.18*** (9.17)
Share Agricultural Sector	8.58 (6.26)	2.99 (6.15)	2.91 (6.15)	3.42 (5.75)
Share Industrial Sector	21.85** (7.86)	18.28* (7.67)	18.20* (7.67)	20.65** (7.20)
Extreme Municipality		12.41*** (1.57)	12.31*** (1.57)	6.97*** (1.54)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-3.88 (2.88)	-3.98 (2.39)
Electoral share Radicals				6.22 (10.93)
Electoral share Socialists				122.52*** (16.48)
Electoral share Democrats				36.08 (20.51)
Electoral share Conservatives				41.98*** (11.03)
Electoral share Others				10.79 (14.88)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-5449.04	-5417.22	-5414.35	-5307.24
# of Municipalities	1236	1236	1236	1236
# of Electoral Districts	40	40	40	40
# of Cantons	23	23	23	23
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	54.99	38.75	40.14	76.23
σ_{Canton}^2	296.91	286.42	270.00	145.76
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	371.26	354.76	354.72	305.85

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.11 Model Estimates with ‘Noisy’ Measures of Ideological Positions

We re-estimate the models with modified ideological measures. We first use the original estimates, θ_{mun} and θ_{MP} , and then add random noise to the measures. Finally, we re-estimate the models. To generate the random noise we draw from a normal distribution with mean 0. The variance of the noise is based on the actual variation we find in the ideological measures. In both cases, the municipalities and the MPs, we take a third of the standard deviation to be the standard deviation of the noise

component.

$$\theta_{mun,i}^{\text{noise}} = \theta_{mun,i} + \mu_i$$

$$\mu_i \sim N(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1/4 * V(\theta_{mun,i}))$$

The above identities show how the noisy measure is derived and we follow the same procedure for the measures of the MPs. The following table shows the estimation results based on these noisy measures.

Table A11: Robustness to Noisy Measures

Constant	59.20***	60.90***	69.96***	63.46***
	(6.50)	(6.20)	(8.86)	(12.10)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP}^{\text{noisy}} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun}^{\text{noisy}})$	67.80***	45.98***	45.83***	35.12***
	(7.75)	(7.63)	(7.63)	(7.60)
Share Agricultural Sector	4.17	-2.76	-2.81	-1.91
	(5.70)	(5.50)	(5.50)	(5.21)
Share Industrial Sector	11.25	6.35	6.37	10.92
	(7.26)	(6.97)	(6.97)	(6.61)
Extreme Municipality		17.73***	17.64***	9.58***
		(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.40)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-3.69	-6.33*
			(2.61)	(2.78)
Electoral share Radicals				-11.50
				(8.35)
Electoral share Socialists				128.57***
				(13.74)
Electoral share Democrats				67.95***
				(10.32)
Electoral share Conservatives				32.12***
				(8.45)
Electoral share Others				1.42
				(12.13)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7987.01	-7910.19	-7907.34	-7027.90
# of Observations	1783	1783	1783	1622
# of Electoral Districts	44	44	44	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	88.80	76.21	78.67	92.81
σ_{Canton}^2	268.00	241.74	220.33	238.30
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	430.44	396.00	396.00	326.95

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.12 Model with Ideological Gap between Municipality and Local MP

Table A12: Robustness Check: Including Distance Measure to Local MP

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	57.01*** (6.13)	59.93*** (5.94)	66.94*** (8.37)	57.75*** (11.49)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{med MP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{med Mun})$	105.63*** (7.62)	89.65*** (7.50)	89.34*** (7.51)	66.34*** (7.92)
$abs(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{Local MP})$	7.58*** (1.59)	3.32* (1.58)	3.30* (1.58)	2.50 (1.50)
Share Agricultural Sector	0.18 (5.51)	-5.09 (5.35)	-5.10 (5.35)	-3.24 (5.14)
Share Industrial Sector	11.33 (7.00)	7.40 (6.77)	7.46 (6.77)	10.77 (6.51)
Extreme Municipality		15.81*** (1.40)	15.74*** (1.40)	9.47*** (1.40)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-2.87 (2.43)	-5.31* (2.60)
Electoral share Radicals				-5.43 (7.90)
Electoral share Socialists				130.07*** (13.40)
Electoral share Democrats				66.53*** (9.73)
Electoral share Conservatives				31.27*** (7.96)
Electoral share Others				2.33 (11.68)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7918.91	-7856.22	-7853.73	-7002.08
# of Municipalities	1783	1783	1783	1622
# of Electoral Districts	44	44	44	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma^2_{ElectoralDistrict}$	103.30	86.76	89.46	70.56
σ^2_{Canton}	189.37	187.02	174.90	212.58
$\sigma^2_{Municipality}$	399.44	373.32	373.32	318.60

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.13 Breaking the Main Explanatory Variable into its Components

Table A13: Breaking the Main Explanatory Variable into its Components

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	60.08*** (5.94)	60.78*** (5.89)	67.51*** (8.42)	56.74*** (11.23)
$\text{abs}(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{medianMP})$	106.65*** (7.32)	96.98*** (7.47)	96.69*** (7.47)	73.48*** (7.92)
$\text{abs}(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{medianmun})$	-87.90*** (7.47)	-83.95*** (7.44)	-83.68*** (7.44)	-63.24*** (7.84)
Share Agricultural Sector	-6.94 (5.33)	-7.87 (5.29)	-7.87 (5.29)	-5.76 (5.11)
Share Industrial Sector	5.20 (6.74)	4.78 (6.69)	4.86 (6.69)	8.16 (6.45)
Extreme Municipality		9.21*** (1.66)	9.16*** (1.66)	4.62** (1.61)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-2.75 (2.48)	-5.04* (2.55)
Electoral share Radicals				-3.02 (7.71)
Electoral share Socialists				131.88*** (13.20)
Electoral share Democrats				65.59*** (9.42)
Electoral share Conservatives				31.70*** (7.74)
Electoral share Others				5.36 (11.48)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7847.72	-7831.05	-7828.61	-6984.61
# of Municipalities	1783	1783	1783	1622
# of Electoral Districts	44	44	44	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma^2_{ElectoralDistrict}$	79.67	79.75	81.91	62.79
σ^2_{Canton}	204.73	199.14	189.77	208.23
$\sigma^2_{Municipality}$	368.99	362.88	362.88	312.15

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.14 Cantonal Population Size as Additional Control Variable

Table A14: Cantonal Population Size as Additional Control Variable

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	110.42** (42.24)	112.32** (40.35)	127.44** (40.52)	89.34 (45.98)
$(\theta_{mun} - \theta_{medianMP} - \theta_{mun} - \theta_{medianmun})$	106.88*** (7.68)	89.11*** (7.52)	88.64*** (7.53)	65.81*** (7.93)
log(Cantonal Population)	-4.50 (3.69)	-4.53 (3.52)	-5.12 (3.43)	-2.56 (3.80)
Share Agricultural Sector	1.93 (5.54)	-4.44 (5.35)	-4.40 (5.35)	-2.72 (5.15)
Share Industrial Sector	12.81 (7.04)	8.01 (6.78)	8.11 (6.78)	11.28 (6.52)
Extreme Municipality		16.51*** (1.36)	16.42*** (1.36)	9.97*** (1.37)
Hist Direct Democracy Index			-3.42 (2.42)	-5.78* (2.71)
Electoral share Radicals				-6.47 (7.98)
Electoral share Socialists				128.80*** (13.42)
Electoral share Democrats				67.91*** (9.75)
Electoral share Conservatives				30.24*** (8.06)
Electoral share Others				1.57 (11.74)
Canton RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
District RE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Log Likelihood	-7928.59	-7856.80	-7854.02	-7002.32
# Municipalities	1783	1783	1783	1622
# of Electoral Districts	44	44	44	43
# of Cantons	24	24	24	24
$\sigma_{ElectoralDistrict}^2$	96.62	83.84	86.46	71.82
σ_{Canton}^2	204.08	188.85	170.41	228.16
$\sigma_{Municipality}^2$	404.39	374.04	374.02	318.78

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

A1.15 Examples of Data Sources



Figure 7: Newspaper with published vote outcome on the front page (St. Gallen, 1889)

Abonnementspreis:
 für die Schweiz 10.—, für die G.
 für's Ausland, Annahme Erhebung fr. 16.—
 bei der Post beträgt 10 Gfr. Zulage.

№ 272.

Insertionspreis:
 Die 6spaltige Zeile oder deren Raum für
 die "Bündner Nachrichten" und das "Bündner
 Blatt" berechnen aufsumme nur 10 Gfr.
 Mehrere Aufträge gelten bedeutenden Rabatt.

Bündner Nachrichten.

Fortschrittlich-demokratisches Organ.

Chur, Dienstag 19. November

Erscheinen wöchentlich sechs Mal.

1889. IV. Jahrgang.

Redaktion: F. Kanaufgal & Dr. G. Larnutzer. Druck und Verlag von Kanaufgal & Cener.

Eidgen. Volksabstimmung		Resultate von Graubünden.		Ja. Nein.		Ja. Nein.	
über						St. Antonien	
das Betriebs- und Konkursgesetz.							
Ja.	Nein.	Ja.	Nein.	Ja.	Nein.	Ja.	Nein.
241,231	212,559	241,231	212,559	241,231	212,559	241,231	212,559
<p>Gesamtergebnis bis Montag Mittag 241,231 Ja, 212,559 Nein. Es fehlen noch 126 Gemeinden. Das Gesetz ist jedenfalls mit 29,000 bis 34,000 St. Mehr angenommen!</p> <p>Das Gesetz ist ein erfreuliches; der lange, harte Kampf gegen Föderalismus und Diktandium ist glücklicherweise beendet. Wir sind glücklich, der Hand hat einen neuen Schritt auf dem Wege zur Reichseinheit gemacht. Dem Vaterland ist zu diesem Resultat Glück zu wünschen. Möge es zu seinem Heile ausfallen!</p>							
<p>*) Stadt allein 4019 Ja und nur 342 Nein. **) Stadt Chur 4883 Ja, 1205 Nein. ***) St. Gallen noch 29 Gemeinden.</p>							

13. Solita.
 Novelle von H. König.

Derold kam Lola entgegen und reichte ihr die Hand.
 Seine verklärten Augen verriethen, daß etwas Außergewöhnliches sich ereignet.
 „Lola, Du wirst erschüttert sein — die Frau Senator Straten ist in dieser Nacht plötzlich gestorben. Ein Herzschlag hat ihr Leben schnell beendet. Meine Mutter ist zu Angeborg gegangen, um sie zu trösten und ihre beizusetzen.“
 Lola begriff nicht gleich die Möglichkeit eines solchen schnellen Todes.
 Die Frau Senator, die noch gestern in lebensmüthiger Weise die Donners machte, die so unermüdbar ihre Güte zu längerem Verweilen nützte? Dassel, es ist mir fast unmöglich, mir die unterhaltende Dame mit ihren schnellen, bewußt schmerzlichen Bewegungen jetzt als Tote zu denken!
 „Und dennoch ist es so, mein Liebling! Gerade wie vorhin, die Hand, die sich in dem ganzen Leben Frau Straten in letzter Zeit ausgesöhnte, erstickt mir besorgniserregend und ließ mich das Schicksal befürchten. Sie war früher — zu des verstorbenen Senators Zeiten — eine sehr lebenslustige Frau; es fiel ihr schwer, sich mit einem Male von der Gesellschaft zurückzuziehen. Deswegen lud sie noch häufig Gäste in ihr Haus, obwohl ihre Mittel ihr ein Leben im großen Stile, wie sie es früher zu führen gewöhnt war, nicht mehr gestatteten. Es fiel mir auf, daß sie in letzter Zeit besonders viele Gesellschaften gab; vielleicht hätte sie ihre letzten Stunden und wollte — um sich selbst zu betrogen — gerade Andern den Beweis zu liefern, daß sie durchaus nicht so krank sei, als man glaubte. Sie gab sich auch gestern Mühe, eine nie erlaubende, aufmerksame Wirtin zu sein, aber ich sah es ihr wohl an, welche Ueberwindung es ihr kostete, sich aufrecht zu erhalten.“
 „Die arme Angeborg!“ flugte Lola; dabei hatte sie das Köpfchen in die Hand gestützt und blinzelte schwermüthig vor sich hin.
 „Aber im nächsten Sinne des Wortes erschien ihr die Freundin, und sie selbst hatte sich nicht getraut, sie zu betrauen! Und nun hatte der Befehlens-
 merthen das Gesicht, auch noch die einzige Güte die sie bisher gehabt, entziffen.“
 „Was war ihr geblieben? Ein einfaches, liebevolles Dasein!“
 Vielleicht hoffte sie, daß der Mann, den sie liebte, nun in der Stunde der Noth zu ihr stehen würde, um sie mit seiner Liebe für ihren Verlust zu entschädigen.
 „Arme Angeborg!“ wiederholte sich Lola immer wieder; und ihre kleine Hand wehrte die Rechte des Doctors ab, die dieser auf ihr Wundbauch gelegt.
 Rari Derold hob das Kinn Lola zu sich empor und schaute fragend und vorwurfsvoll in ihre Augen.
 „Lola! Was hast Du, daß Du mich so kalt von Dir abwehrst!“
 „Dankte Gott für die Leise Gestalt.“ „Dankel, der Augenblick ist schlecht gewählt. Die geistlich wäre es, nur an uns zu denken! Mich bewegt Angeborgs Gesicht tiefer, als Du vielleicht denken magst. Alle schmerzlichen Rücksichten müssen in den Hintergrund treten, gegenüber einem so erschütternden Ereignis. Angeborg steht uns nahe genug, um von uns mit gutem Recht Theilnahme fordern zu können.“

Figure 8: Newspaper with published vote outcome on the front page (Grisons, 1889)

REDICTION
ADMINISTRATION
ABONNEMENTS
Place de la Paix, 31
LAUSANNE

L'ESTAFETTE

RESUME DES NOUVELLES et feuille d'annonces
RESUME DES NOUVELLES et feuille d'annonces

JOURNAL DU MATIN

ANNONCES
Haenstein & Vogler
Place de la Paix, 31
LAUSANNE

Montreux, Vevey, Gex, Nyon,
Chaux-de-Fonds, Yverdon,
St-Imier, Delémont, Porrentruy,
Bâle, Bern, Zurich, etc.
PRIX D'INSERTION
Annonces locales 10 c.
Annonces usuelles 15 c.
Annonces étrangères 20 c.
Reclames 50 c.

PRIX D'ABONNEMENT
Une année Fr. 10 —
Six mois . . . 5 50
Trois mois . . . 3 —
Prix du numéro, 5 cent.

Votation du 17 novembre sur la loi concernant les poursuites et faillites.

Le premier chiffre est celui des oui, le second, celui des non.

Table of election results for the law on proceedings and bankruptcies, listing cantons and districts with 'OUI' and 'NON' counts.

Table of election results for the law on proceedings and bankruptcies, listing districts and communes with 'OUI' and 'NON' counts.

Table of election results for the law on proceedings and bankruptcies, listing districts and communes with 'OUI' and 'NON' counts.

Table of election results for the law on proceedings and bankruptcies, listing districts and communes with 'OUI' and 'NON' counts.

DEPECHE

Bâle, 17 novembre.
M. Spéiser, conservateur, a été nommé conseiller national par 4329 suffrages.
M. Wulschleger, candidat ouvrier, a fait 2199 voix.
Paris, 16 novembre.
Après l'élection de M. Floquet comme président définitif de la Chambre, MM. de Mahy, Develle, Casimir Périer et Peytral ont été vice-présidents.
Outre les projets de loi, la déclaration du gouvernement annoncera des projets modifiant les droits de succession, exonérant le passif de tous droits et tendant à rendre la justice plus expéditive et moins coûteuse.
Le bruit court dans les couloirs que le cabinet n'a pas été unanime sur l'opportunité de la déclaration, et que M. Constans, notamment, s'est prononcé contre.
Le 6e bureau s'est prononcé pour l'invalidation de M. du Mesnilot, député de Valognes. M. du Mesnilot, dans la dernière semaine de la période électorale, avait fait distribuer aux électeurs de la circonscription, avec sa profession de foi et ses bulletins de vote, une circulaire anonyme attaquant la nationalité, la naissance et le nom de son concurrent, M. de Lagorsse.
Le 11e bureau proposera aussi l'invalidation de M. Leouzon-Leduc, député boulangiste de la Haute-Vienne.
La révolution du Brésil.
Paris, 16 novembre.
Le ministre des affaires étrangères n'avait reçu samedi à midi, aucune communication officielle de ses agents au sujet de la révolution au Brésil. A la légation du Brésil, on n'avait reçu non plus aucune communication officielle, mais des avis venant de pays voisins du Brésil faisaient incliner les représentants du gouvernement de Rio-Janeiro à considérer comme très probable la nouvelle.
Bruxelles, 16 novembre.
D'après des dépêches reçues par l'Indépendance belge, le mouvement insurrectionnel de Rio-Janeiro ne serait autre chose qu'un prononcement favorisé par les anciens propriétaires d'esclaves mécontentés par l'émancipation.

Figure 9: Newspaper with published vote outcome on the front page (Vaud, 1889)

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