**APPENDIX**

**Table A.1. Data sources**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Data source** | **Description of variables** | **Link or reference** | **Specification** |
| AFF\_POL | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording was: ‘Could you use the scale below to indicate how you feel about the following groups?’. The proposed scale ranged from 0 to 100: 0 to 50 = Not very favourable; 50 = Neutral; 50 to 100 = Favourable. Each respondent located the same 7 parties from their region (Flanders or Wallonia) on the scale. | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Affective\_Pol\_VL\_3  to  Affective\_Pol\_VL\_9  VoteFed19\_Fl\_w2  Affective\_Pol\_Wal\_3  to  Affective\_Pol\_Wal\_9  VoteFed19\_Wal\_w2 |
| GDP | Eurostat | Gross Domestic Product at current market price, in million Euro, by NUTS-3 region | https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database | nama\_10r\_3gdp |
| DENSITY | Eurostat | Persons per square kilometer, by NUTS-3 region | https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database | demo\_r\_d3dens |
| PUBSERV\_QUAL | Fuzekas | Fazekas (2017) analysed the quality of regional institutions in Europe over the period 2005-2017 by means of public procurements data. Details about the way in which the author operationalized the dimensions of quality of institutions are reported in his paper. | https://ec.europa.eu/regional\_policy/sources/docgener/work/201703\_regional\_pp\_governance.pdf | benchm |
| ECON\_TREND | Eurostat | Gross Domestic Product at current market price, in Euro per inhabitant, by NUTS-3 region. Percentage variation over the period 2000-2018 | https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database | nama\_10r\_3gdp |
| INDUS\_TREND | Eurostat | Employment in thousand of persons, by NUTS-3 region and NACE Rev-2 sectors (Industry is sector B-E). Percentage variation over the period 2000-2018 | https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database | nama\_10r\_3empers |
| DEMOG\_TREND | Eurostat | Population on 1 January, by NUTS-3 region. Percentage variation over the period 2000-2018 | https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/regions/data/database | demo\_r\_pjangrp3 |
| IDEO\_DIVERGENCE | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording was: ‘In politics people often talk of “left” or “right”. Can you place your own convictions on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 meaning “left”, 5 “in the centre”, and 10 “right”?’. The proposed scale ranged from 0 to 10: 0=Left; 5=Centre; 10=Right. | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Left\_Right |
| INSTIT\_TRUST | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording of the three items was: ‘Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in Belgium?’ (reversed 5-point scale ranging from 1 “very unsatisfied” to 5 “very satisfied”); ‘On a scale from 0 to 10, what is your level of trust in each of the following institutions?’: scale from 0=Absolutely no trust to 10= full trust, for the items ‘The federal parliament’ and ‘The European Union’. The Cronbach’s alpha test for the internal consistency of such items is 0.91. | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Sat\_Dem  Trust\_Pol2  Trust\_Pol4 |
| REDISTR\_POL | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording was: ‘Some people think that the government must intervene as little as possible in the market. Other people think that the government must intervene as much as possible’. Respondents indicate their position on a scale 0-10, where 0 indicates ‘as little as possible’, and 10 ‘as much as possible’. | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Value\_1 |
| MIGR | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording was: ‘Some people think that non-western immigrants must be able to live in Europe while preserving their own culture. Others think that those immigrants should adapt to the European culture’. Respondents indicate their position on a scale 0-10, where 0 indicates ‘preserve their own culture’, and 10 ‘completely adapt to the European culture’. | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Value\_3 |
| SOCIAL\_POL | RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019 | The exact question wording was: ‘Could you use the scale below to indicate how you feel about the following groups?’. The proposed scale ranged from 0 to 100: 0 to 50 = Not very favourable; 50 = Neutral; 50 to 100 = Favourable. Each respondent located voters from the two regions on the same scale (Flemish/Walloons). | https://represent-project.be/data/ | Affective\_Pol\_VL\_1  to  Affective\_Pol\_VL\_2  Affective\_Pol\_Wal\_1  to  Affective\_Pol\_Wal\_2 |
| DISTANCE | Tercet, European Commission | Distance in KM between centroids of NUTS-3 regions | https://gisco-services.ec.europa.eu/tercet/flat-files | NUTS distance matrices |

**Table A.2. Correlation matrix**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) | (15) |
| (1) | 1.000 |
| (2) | 0.088 | 1.000 |
| (3) | 0.242 | 0.617 | 1.000 |
| (4) | 0.141 | 0.013 | -0.052 | 1.000 |
| (5) | -0.000 | 0.084 | 0.045 | 0.061 | 1.000 |
| (6) | -0.015 | 0.089 | -0.006 | -0.031 | 0.344 | 1.000 |
| (7) | 0.056 | 0.339 | 0.514 | 0.061 | 0.242 | 0.164 | 1.000 |
| (8) | 0.053 | 0.002 | -0.116 | 0.260 | 0.189 | -0.035 | 0.111 | 1.000 |
| (9) | -0.026 | -0.339 | -0.222 | -0.112 | -0.068 | 0.008 | -0.115 | -0.344 | 1.000 |
| (10) | 0.024 | -0.169 | -0.076 | -0.040 | -0.052 | -0.027 | -0.120 | -0.411 | 0.355 | 1.000 |
| (11) | 0.208 | -0.068 | -0.051 | 0.059 | -0.003 | 0.009 | 0.005 | 0.067 | -0.041 | -0.002 | 1.000 |
| (12) | 0.070 | 0.167 | -0.019 | 0.102 | -0.058 | -0.013 | -0.053 | 0.062 | -0.285 | -0.129 | 0.101 | 1.000 |
| (13) | 0.092 | -0.098 | -0.074 | 0.124 | -0.029 | -0.061 | -0.040 | 0.127 | -0.001 | 0.003 | 0.057 | 0.149 | 1.000 |
| (14) | 0.228 | -0.126 | -0.089 | 0.086 | 0.016 | -0.008 | -0.028 | 0.215 | -0.019 | 0.016 | 0.083 | 0.037 | 0.305 | 1.000 |
| (15) | 0.103 | 0.042 | 0.045 | 0.091 | 0.040 | -0.129 | -0.023 | 0.161 | -0.073 | -0.086 | 0.040 | 0.025 | 0.007 | 0.043 | 1.000 |

Note: (1) affpol, (2) gdp, (3) pop, (4) pubserv\_qual, (5) gdp\_trend, (6) indus\_trend, (7) pop\_trend, (8) distance, (9) samenuts1, (10) samenuts2, (11) ideo\_diverg, (12) instit\_trust, (13) redistr\_pol, (14) migr, (15) socio\_pol

**Table A.3.a. Average Sympathy Score Assigned by Party Voters to Relevant Parties, Wallonia**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Party vote / Sympathy Score | cdH | DeFI | Ecolo | MR | PP | PS | PTB |
| cdH | 68.3 | 46.9 | 56.9 | 45.3 | 27.3 | 36.9 | 34.4 |
| DeFI | 38.1 | 67.3 | 44.9 | 39.9 | 23.8 | 39.1 | 29.1 |
| Ecolo | 43.1 | 42.5 | 73.4 | 38.0 | 24.0 | 46.3 | 37.5 |
| MR | 42.4 | 35.3 | 35.3 | 71.8 | 29.1 | 26.2 | 23.2 |
| PP | 23.1 | 28.9 | 20.5 | 34.7 | 79.5 | 19.3 | 21.3 |
| PS | 39.8 | 43.1 | 46.9 | 29.2 | 29.6 | 72.2 | 45.1 |
| PTB | 28.9 | 35.8 | 37.0 | 21.9 | 22.1 | 36.9 | 75.4 |

Source: RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019.

Note: Parties in rows are those voted by respondents in the 2019 Federal elections (Lower Chamber). Parties in columns are those evaluated by supporters of each party in rows. By way of example, first row reports the score that cdH voters assign to other relevant parties in Wallonia, including the party they voted for. The diagonal indicates scores assigned by respondents to the party they voted for, which is also systematically the party they give the highest sympathy score.

**Table A.3.b. Average Sympathy Score Assigned by Party Voters to Relevant Parties, Flanders**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | CD&V | Groen | N-VA | VLD | PvdA | sp.a. | VB |
| CD&V | 71.7 | 51.9 | 41.5 | 49.8 | 35.8 | 45.3 | 26.6 |
| Groen | 53.7 | 78.7 | 33.3 | 44.8 | 49.0 | 54.4 | 21.0 |
| N-VA | 44.3 | 29.8 | 77.2 | 50.7 | 28.1 | 30.4 | 40.0 |
| VLD | 51.0 | 45.9 | 44 | 74.5 | 34.2 | 38.9 | 26.4 |
| PvdA | 42.7 | 48.7 | 23.5 | 28.7 | 74.5 | 58.5 | 25.6 |
| sp.a. | 48.6 | 51.0 | 31.3 | 40.0 | 45.6 | 73.6 | 24.9 |
| VB | 39.8 | 29.4 | 48.8 | 38.1 | 35.1 | 32.9 | 79.0 |

Source: RepResent Voter Panel Survey 2019.

Note: Parties in rows are those voted by respondents in the 2019 Federal elections (Lower Chamber). Parties in columns are those evaluated by supporters of each party in rows. By way of example, first row reports the score that CD&V voters assign to other relevant parties in Flanders, including the party they voted for. The diagonal indicates scores assigned by respondents to the party they voted for, which is also systematically the party they give the highest sympathy score.

**Table A4. OLS model with monadic variables**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | (1) |
|  | AFF\_POL |
| GDP | .164 |
|  | (.101) |
| POP | -0.0031\*\* |
|  | (0.0013) |
| GDP\_TREND | -.323\*\* |
|  | (.14) |
| IND\_TREND | -.154\* |
|  | (.085) |
| POP\_TRENT | -0.0310 |
|  | (0.0596) |
| IDEO\_POL | .099 |
|  | (.103) |
| INST\_TRUST | -0.041\* |
|  | (0.023) |
| REDISTR\_POL | -.641 |
|  | (1.525) |
| MIGR | .238\*\* |
|  | (.092) |
| SOCIAL\_POL | .129\*\* |
|  | (.06) |
| Observations | 43 |
| R-squared | .398 |
| NUTS-2 Region dummies | Yes |
| Standard errors are in parentheses, clustered by NUTS-2 region.  All variables enter in level. | |
| \*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.1 | |

**Table A5. Robustness checks**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  | AFF\_POL | AFF\_POL | AFF\_POL | AFF\_POL |
| GDP | -.012 | -.009 | -.006 | -.131 |
|  | (.025) | (.026) | (.027) | (.2) |
| POP | .012\* | .011\* | .012\* | .099\*\* |
|  | (.008) | (.007) | (.006) | (.047) |
| PUBSERV\_QUAL | .014 | .018 | .026 | .097 |
|  | (.021) | (.024) | (.027) | (.192) |
| GDP\_TREND | .088\*\* | .0831\*\* | .0840\*\* | .319\*\* |
|  | (.044) | (.031) | (.041) | (.11) |
| IND\_TREND | .013 | .033 | .036 | .153 |
|  | (.033) | (.042) | (.043) | (.186) |
| POP\_TREND | .031 | .043 | .046 | .083 |
|  | (.129) | (.163) | (.171) | (.887) |
| DISTANCE | -.035\*\* | -.039\*\*\* | -.039\*\*\* | -.237\*\* |
|  | (.009) | (.011) | (.012) | (.091) |
| IDEO\_DIVERGENCE | .035\*\* | .041\*\* | .038\* | .327\*\*\* |
|  | (.017) | (.02) | (.02) | (.126) |
| INST\_TRUST | .031\*\* | .034\*\* | .033\*\* | .192 |
|  | (.014) | (.015) | (.014) | (.155) |
| REDISTR\_POL | .033 | .027 | .025 | .22 |
|  | (.029) | (.026) | (.026) | (.163) |
| MIGR | .051\*\* | .062\*\* | .057\* | .426\*\* |
|  | (.026) | (.029) | (.036) | (.189) |
| SOCIAL\_POL | .023 | .022 | .019 | .097 |
|  | (.034) | (.03) | (.028) | (.18) |
| Observations | 780 | 903 | 903 | 903 |
| Region dummies | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by any pair containing the same region, using the Multiway Clustering Method (Cameron et al., 2010). Estimation strategy is PPML with region fixed effects in Columns (1)-(3), OLS with region fixed effects in Column (4). Column (1) excludes region with less than 50 observations available in RepResent voter survey dataset. Columns (2) and (3) account for the outliers by winsorizing the dependent variable at 1 and 99 percentiles, and 5 and 95 percentiles, respectively. We do it using the Stata command *Winsor2.* | | | | |
| *\*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.1* | | | | |
|  | | | | |