**Online Appendices to**

**Hooghe, M. and Dassonneville, R. (2016), ‘A Spiral of Distrust: A Panel Study on the Relation between Political Distrust and Protest Voting**

**in Belgium’, *Government and Opposition***

**Appendix 1.** Effect of political trust (2014) on vote intention – Flemish region (probability of choosing party over Christian Democrats)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Groen!  (Greens) | N-VA  (Nationalist) | Open VLD  (Liberal) | SP.a  (Socialist) | Vlaams Belang  (Extreme right) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | −0.468 | −0.860\*\* | −0.063 | −0.352 | −0.782 | −0.882 | −0.752 |
|  | (0.430) | (0.314) | (0.368) | (0.390) | (0.561) | (0.672) | (0.506) |
| Age | −0.040\* | −0.020 | −0.032\*\* | −0.026\* | −0.048\*\* | −0.034 | −0.016 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.011) | (0.012) | (0.011) | (0.018) | (0.021) | (0.017) |
| Lower educated | −1.738 | −0.810 | −0.320 | 0.724 | 0.307 | 1.000 | 0.287 |
| (ref: middle) | (1.134) | (0.477) | (0.529) | (0.530) | (0.668) | (0.994) | (0.629) |
| Higher educated | 1.010\* | 0.351 | 0.276 | 0.331 | −0.598 | 2.062\*\* | 0.343 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.457) | (0.334) | (0.399) | (0.423) | (0.927) | (0.745) | (0.648) |
| Political trust (2014) | −0.183 | −0.820\*\*\* | −0.273\* | −0.349 | −1.256\*\*\* | −0.456\* | −0.960\*\*\* |
|  | (0.187) | (0.128) | (0.139) | (0.183) | (0.189) | (0.193) | (0.158) |
| Political interest | 0.010 | −0.036 | −0.029 | 0.036 | −0.156 | −0.292\* | −0.244\* |
|  | (0.112) | (0.072) | (0.087) | (0.092) | (0.114) | (0.137) | (0.120) |
| Left-right placement | −0.651\*\*\* | 0.384\*\*\* | 0.103 | −0.534\*\*\* | 0.420\* | −0.679\*\* | −0.090 |
|  | (0.119) | (0.095) | (0.111) | (0.114) | (0.204) | (0.227) | (0.137) |
| Constant | 4.787\*\*\* | 3.763\*\*\* | 1.984 | 4.930\*\*\* | 4.775\*\* | 5.914\*\* | 5.587\*\*\* |
|  | (1.316) | (0.980) | (1.214) | (1.319) | (1.677) | (2.030) | (1.341) |
| N | 439 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.225 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel, BEP 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Appendix 2.** Effect of political trust (2014) on vote intention – Walloon region (probability of choosing party over Christian Democrats)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Ecolo  (Greens) | MR  (Liberal) | PS  (Socialist) | PTB Go!  (Extreme left) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | 0.246 | −0.010 | −0.086 | −0.449 | −0.424 | −0.084 |
|  | (0.516) | (0.446) | (0.439) | (0.605) | (0.570) | (0.607) |
| Age | −0.012 | 0.024 | 0.005 | −0.015 | −0.006 | −0.005 |
|  | (0.020) | (0.016) | (0.015) | (0.021) | (0.020) | (0.021) |
| Lower educated | −0.383 | −0.829 | −0.387 | −0.883 | −0.083 | −1.402 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.746) | (0.555) | (0.563) | (0.827) | (0.682) | (0.842) |
| Higher educated | 0.185 | −0.279 | −0.288 | −0.895 | −0.557 | −0.626 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.564) | (0.473) | (0.488) | (0.654) | (0.677) | (0.617) |
| Political trust (2014) | −0.020 | −0.205 | 0.043 | −0.605\*\*\* | −0.780\*\*\* | −0.628\*\*\* |
|  | (0.147) | (0.126) | (0.137) | (0.175) | (0.185) | (0.157) |
| Political interest | −0.077 | −0.130 | −0.168 | −0.107 | −0.139 | −0.293\*\* |
|  | (0.103) | (0.093) | (0.089) | (0.119) | (0.122) | (0.113) |
| Left-right placement | −0.436\*\*\* | 0.475\*\*\* | −0.586\*\*\* | −0.601\*\*\* | −0.016 | −0.094 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.109) | (0.105) | (0.169) | (0.138) | (0.126) |
| Constant | 2.724 | −1.269 | 3.811\*\* | 6.426\*\*\* | 3.951\* | 4.663\*\* |
|  | (1.475) | (1.407) | (1.238) | (1.546) | (1.672) | (1.726) |
| N | 327 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.223 |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel, BEP 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Appendix 3.** Effect of political trust (2009) and evolution of political trust (2009–2014) on vote intention in the Flemish region (probability of choosing party over CD&V)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Groen!  (Greens) | N-VA  (Nationalist) | Open VLD  (Liberal) | SP.a  (Socialist) | Vlaams Belang  (extreme right) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | −0.426 | −0.811\* | −0.052 | −0.309 | −0.670 | −0.847 | −0.830 |
|  | (0.432) | (0.318) | (0.372) | (0.395) | (0.583) | (0.694) | (0.507) |
| Age | −0.042\*\* | −0.023\* | −0.032\*\* | −0.029\* | −0.052\*\* | −0.041 | −0.015 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.011) | (0.012) | (0.011) | (0.019) | (0.022) | (0.017) |
| Lower educated | −1.741 | −0.806 | −0.328 | 0.727 | 0.421 | 1.120 | 0.199 |
| (ref: middle) | (1.137) | (0.481) | (0.533) | (0.537) | (0.690) | (0.996) | (0.633) |
| Higher educated | 1.016\* | 0.324 | 0.270 | 0.334 | −0.615 | 2.181\*\* | 0.306 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.463) | (0.336) | (0.399) | (0.427) | (0.943) | (0.794) | (0.644) |
| Political trust 2009 | −0.334 | −0.983\*\*\* | −0.300 | −0.524\* | −1.557\*\*\* | −0.846\*\*\* | −0.876\*\*\* |
|  | (0.210) | (0.153) | (0.173) | (0.214) | (0.256) | (0.237) | (0.251) |
| Δ political trust | −0.114 | −0.746\*\*\* | −0.258 | −0.269 | −1.156\*\*\* | −0.312 | −0.922\*\*\* |
| (2009–2014) | (0.204) | (0.134) | (0.143) | (0.195) | (0.201) | (0.240) | (0.159) |
| Political interest | 0.049 | 0.009 | −0.019 | 0.082 | −0.055 | −0.201 | −0.260 |
|  | (0.115) | (0.077) | (0.092) | (0.094) | (0.130) | (0.136) | (0.141) |
| Left-right placement | −0.644\*\*\* | 0.381\*\*\* | 0.104 | −0.527\*\*\* | 0.404 | −0.674\*\* | −0.082 |
|  | (0.119) | (0.096) | (0.112) | (0.114) | (0.207) | (0.223) | (0.139) |
| Constant | 5.483\*\*\* | 4.583\*\*\* | 2.103 | 5.733\*\*\* | 6.098\*\* | 7.762\*\*\* | 5.253\*\* |
|  | (1.423) | (1.091) | (1.351) | (1.409) | (1.854) | (2.096) | (1.697) |
| N | 439 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.231 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Appendix 4.** Effect of political trust (2009) and evolution of political trust (2009–2014) on vote intention in the Walloon region (probability of choosing party over cdH)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Ecolo  (Greens) | MR  (Liberals) | PS  (Socialists) | PTB Go!  (Extreme left) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | 0.207 | −0.051 | −0.098 | −0.466 | −0.447 | −0.080 |
|  | (0.520) | (0.447) | (0.439) | (0.612) | (0.568) | (0.616) |
| Age | −0.012 | 0.022 | 0.004 | −0.016 | −0.007 | −0.007 |
|  | (0.020) | (0.016) | (0.015) | (0.021) | (0.020) | (0.021) |
| Lower educated | −0.448 | −0.915 | −0.473 | −0.973 | −0.166 | −1.493 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.757) | (0.549) | (0.560) | (0.826) | (0.679) | (0.821) |
| Higher educated | 0.163 | −0.398 | −0.410 | −1.002 | −0.660 | −0.768 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.561) | (0.473) | (0.485) | (0.648) | (0.686) | (0.627) |
| Political trust 2009 | −0.042 | −0.394\* | −0.172 | −0.768\*\* | −0.930\*\*\* | −0.841\*\*\* |
|  | (0.210) | (0.158) | (0.182) | (0.240) | (0.226) | (0.218) |
| Δ political trust | −0.008 | −0.130 | 0.123 | −0.546\*\* | −0.725\*\*\* | −0.548\*\* |
| (2009–2014) | (0.155) | (0.139) | (0.146) | (0.181) | (0.195) | (0.171) |
| Political interest | −0.083 | −0.093 | −0.125 | −0.078 | −0.111 | −0.247\* |
|  | (0.111) | (0.099) | (0.091) | (0.128) | (0.128) | (0.124) |
| Left-right placement | −0.444\*\*\* | 0.459\*\*\* | −0.597\*\*\* | −0.614\*\*\* | −0.027 | −0.105 |
|  | (0.126) | (0.111) | (0.109) | (0.172) | (0.140) | (0.128) |
| Constant | 2.983 | −0.117 | 5.004\*\*\* | 7.419\*\*\* | 4.845\*\* | 5.864\*\*\* |
|  | (1.752) | (1.451) | (1.362) | (1.717) | (1.785) | (1.767) |
| N | 327 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.227 |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Appendix 5.** Effect of regional political trust (2009) and evolution of regional political trust (2009–2014) on vote intention in the Flemish region (probability of choosing party over CD&V)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Groen!  (Greens) | N-VA  (Nationalist) | Open VLD  (Liberal) | SP.a  (Socialist) | Vlaams Belang  (Extreme right) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | −0.558 | −1.014\*\* | −0.152 | −0.450 | −0.936 | −1.137 | −0.935 |
|  | (0.435) | (0.314) | (0.377) | (0.391) | (0.566) | (0.716) | (0.514) |
| Age | −0.039\* | −0.017 | −0.030\* | −0.025\* | −0.041\* | −0.035 | −0.010 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.011) | (0.013) | (0.011) | (0.021) | (0.023) | (0.017) |
| Lower educated | −1.767 | −0.704 | −0.435 | 0.590 | 0.552 | 0.851 | 0.365 |
| (ref: middle) | (1.131) | (0.439) | (0.532) | (0.535) | (0.695) | (0.974) | (0.651) |
| Higher educated | 1.047\* | 0.262 | 0.287 | 0.333 | −0.600 | 2.082\*\* | 0.292 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.461) | (0.332) | (0.405) | (0.422) | (0.939) | (0.771) | (0.637) |
| Regional political | −0.200 | −0.546\*\*\* | −0.450\*\* | −0.442\* | −1.175\*\*\* | −0.859\*\* | −0.776\*\*\* |
| trust 2009 | (0.197) | (0.134) | (0.160) | (0.188) | (0.222) | (0.263) | (0.189) |
| Δ regional political | −0.132 | −0.465\*\*\* | −0.287\* | −0.348\* | −0.947\*\*\* | −0.520\*\* | −0.748\*\*\* |
| trust (2009–2014) | (0.166) | (0.101) | (0.129) | (0.148) | (0.167) | (0.189) | (0.130) |
| Political interest | 0.009 | −0.063 | 0.002 | 0.046 | −0.145 | −0.212 | −0.276\* |
|  | (0.121) | (0.080) | (0.093) | (0.094) | (0.142) | (0.169) | (0.125) |
| Left-right placement | −0.648\*\*\* | 0.371\*\*\* | 0.137 | −0.502\*\*\* | 0.360 | −0.582\* | −0.085 |
|  | (0.124) | (0.091) | (0.113) | (0.117) | (0.206) | (0.243) | (0.135) |
| Constant | 4.936\*\*\* | 2.965\*\* | 2.826\* | 5.432\*\*\* | 5.157\*\* | 7.702\*\*\* | 5.028\*\*\* |
|  | (1.387) | (0.998) | (1.245) | (1.307) | (1.881) | (1.887) | (1.492) |
| N | 439 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.209 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Appendix 6.** Effect of federal political trust (2009) and evolution of federal political trust (2009–2014) on vote intention in the Flemish region (probability of choosing party over CD&V)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Groen!  (Greens) | N-VA  (Nationalist) | Open VLD  (Liberal) | SP.a  (Socialist) | Vlaams Belang  (Extreme right) | Other | Blank/invalid |
|  | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) | b  (s.e.) |
| Female (ref: male) | −0.437 | −0.777\* | −0.050 | −0.312 | −0.560 | −0.852 | −0.732 |
|  | (0.429) | (0.324) | (0.370) | (0.405) | (0.589) | (0.700) | (0.513) |
| Age | −0.039\* | −0.018 | −0.032\* | −0.027\* | −0.050\*\* | −0.033 | −0.014 |
|  | (0.016) | (0.011) | (0.012) | (0.011) | (0.017) | (0.022) | (0.016) |
| Lower educated | −1.593 | −0.874 | −0.302 | 0.826 | 0.564 | 1.319 | 0.340 |
| (ref: middle) | (1.123) | (0.494) | (0.529) | (0.534) | (0.686) | (0.987) | (0.602) |
| Higher educated | 1.019\* | 0.411 | 0.252 | 0.306 | −0.561 | 2.085\*\* | 0.295 |
| (ref: middle) | (0.464) | (0.340) | (0.398) | (0.431) | (0.939) | (0.767) | (0.641) |
| Federal political | −0.075 | −0.905\*\*\* | −0.182 | −0.397\* | −1.373\*\*\* | −0.347 | −0.685\*\* |
| trust 2009 | (0.187) | (0.138) | (0.157) | (0.197) | (0.236) | (0.236) | (0.242) |
| Δ federal political | 0.080 | −0.696\*\*\* | −0.130 | −0.055 | −0.875\*\*\* | −0.047 | −0.653\*\*\* |
| trust (2009–2014) | (0.180) | (0.107) | (0.110) | (0.160) | (0.205) | (0.221) | (0.135) |
| Political interest | 0.012 | −0.026 | −0.029 | 0.066 | −0.063 | −0.294 | −0.270\* |
|  | (0.114) | (0.076) | (0.094) | (0.095) | (0.114) | (0.152) | (0.137) |
| Left-right placement | −0.661\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.094 | −0.538\*\*\* | 0.388 | −0.705\*\* | −0.118 |
|  | (0.121) | (0.099) | (0.112) | (0.114) | (0.213) | (0.235) | (0.133) |
| Constant | 4.172\*\* | 4.137\*\*\* | 1.578 | 5.192\*\*\* | 5.358\*\* | 5.517\* | 4.595\*\* |
|  | (1.328) | (1.039) | (1.285) | (1.361) | (1.711) | (2.147) | (1.540) |
| N | 439 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pseudo-R2 | 0.239 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*Source:* Belgian Election Panel 2009–2014. Data are weighted by socio-demographics (gender, age and level of education).

Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.