

Table A2: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, inclusion of regional fiscal autonomy

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.01** (0.004)	-0.01*** (0.003)	-0.20*** (0.055)	-0.23*** (0.045)	-0.20*** (0.055)	-0.23*** (0.045)
Ballot Control			10.16* (5.387)	9.89* (5.088)	10.16* (5.387)	9.89* (5.088)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.19*** (0.058)	0.22*** (0.048)	0.19*** (0.058)	0.22*** (0.048)
Poll-Vote Rules			-16.33 (11.920)	-14.85 (11.350)	-8.17 (5.960)	-7.43 (5.675)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.76*** (0.191)	0.88*** (0.159)	0.38*** (0.096)	0.44*** (0.080)
Election	-0.57 (1.870)	0.20 (1.735)	-0.68 (1.943)	-0.11 (1.810)	-0.68 (1.943)	-0.11 (1.810)
Government Preference	-0.24 (0.328)	-0.32 (0.275)	-0.28 (0.343)	-0.35 (0.296)	-0.28 (0.343)	-0.35 (0.296)
Years in EU	-13.35*** (3.590)	-16.23*** (4.022)	-13.36*** (3.763)	-17.12*** (4.242)	-13.36*** (3.763)	-17.12*** (4.242)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.40 (0.792)	-0.30 (0.754)	-0.34 (0.764)	-0.13 (0.737)	-0.34 (0.764)	-0.13 (0.737)
Regional Fiscal Autonomy at t-1	-9.04 (34.530)	0.24 (34.090)	-10.05 (33.830)	-4.43 (33.200)	-10.05 (33.830)	-4.43 (33.200)
Constant	80.71 (56.220)	65.11 (54.360)	87.93 (56.580)	76.22 (54.100)	87.93 (56.580)	76.22 (54.100)
R-squared	0.231	0.294	0.254	0.317	0.254	0.317
Wald chi2	506.6	2721	631.0	222.8	631.0	922.9
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: See Table 1, Model 1 rho: 0.024, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.015. Data on regional fiscal autonomy are collected from Hooghe, Marks, and Schakel. (2010)

Table A3: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, number unlawful aid measures as dependent variable

	(1)	(2)	(3)
District Magnitude	-0.102*** (0.0139)	-2.616*** (0.314)	-2.616*** (0.314)
Ballot Control		83.63*** (7.298)	83.63*** (7.298)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control		2.951*** (0.354)	2.951*** (0.354)
Poll-Vote Rules		-13.87 (26.08)	-6.933 (13.04)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules		11.22*** (1.256)	5.608*** (0.628)
Election	10.59 (14.78)	16.09 (14.51)	16.09 (14.51)
Government Preference	-5.424* (2.954)	-3.466 (2.588)	-3.466 (2.588)
Years in EU	-95.96*** (14.24)	-106.2*** (17.32)	-106.2*** (17.32)
GDP per capita at t-1	-3.821 (3.599)	-0.516 (3.024)	-0.516 (3.024)
Number of Aid Measures	2.804*** (0.449)	2.693*** (0.382)	2.693*** (0.382)
Constant	411.6*** (123.0)	269.6*** (96.30)	269.6*** (96.30)
Log-likelihood	-383.2	-375.0	-375.0
Lalpha	-2.781	-12.81	-12.80

Notes: Negative binomial regressions with country fixed effects and standard errors clustered on countries. N=297. Coefficient and standard errors, in parentheses, scaled up by a factor of 100. ***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1. Average of scores of 'pool' and 'vote' in Model 2, sum of scores in Model 3.

Table A4: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, inclusion of public expenditure

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.00873*	-0.00777***	-0.201***	-0.230***	-0.201***	-0.230***
	(0.00449)	(0.00265)	(0.0545)	(0.0428)	(0.0545)	(0.0428)
Ballot Control			10.23*	9.985**	10.23*	9.985**
			(5.387)	(5.033)	(5.387)	(5.033)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.190***	0.232***	0.190***	0.232***
			(0.0537)	(0.0436)	(0.0537)	(0.0436)
Poll-Vote Rules			-14.93	-12.38	-7.464	-6.190
			(11.89)	(10.95)	(5.944)	(5.477)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.773***	0.901***	0.386***	0.450***
			(0.176)	(0.142)	(0.0881)	(0.0711)
Election	-0.582	0.153	-0.657	-0.104	-0.657	-0.104
	(1.882)	(1.730)	(1.946)	(1.800)	(1.946)	(1.800)
Government Preference	-0.230	-0.310	-0.265	-0.329	-0.265	-0.329
	(0.327)	(0.271)	(0.340)	(0.289)	(0.340)	(0.289)
Years in EU	-13.60***	-16.76***	-13.66***	-17.79***	-13.66***	-17.79***
	(3.457)	(3.768)	(3.603)	(3.920)	(3.603)	(3.920)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.396	-0.282	-0.335	-0.105	-0.335	-0.105
	(0.770)	(0.724)	(0.743)	(0.705)	(0.743)	(0.705)
Public expenditure at t-1	-0.107	-0.157	-0.0940	-0.161	-0.0940	-0.161
	(0.237)	(0.231)	(0.228)	(0.228)	(0.228)	(0.228)
Constant	67.25**	72.27***	70.99**	72.81***	70.99**	72.81***
	(28.59)	(26.81)	(28.05)	(26.37)	(28.05)	(26.37)
R-squared	0.233	0.298	0.255	0.320	0.255	0.320
Wald chi2	409.7	296.9	405.7	312.1	405.7	420.9
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: See Table 1, Model 1 rho: 0.024, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.015 Public expenditure as % of GDP, Source: IMF, Government Finance Statistics.

Table A5: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, inclusion of aid expenditure

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.00936** (0.00427)	-0.00847*** (0.00262)	-0.203*** (0.0547)	-0.229*** (0.0444)	-0.203*** (0.0547)	-0.229*** (0.0444)
Ballot Control			10.17* (5.408)	9.881* (5.093)	10.17* (5.408)	9.881* (5.093)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.188*** (0.0578)	0.225*** (0.0483)	0.188*** (0.0578)	0.225*** (0.0483)
Poll-Vote Rules			-16.37 (11.95)	-14.91 (11.37)	-8.185 (5.975)	-7.454 (5.684)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.769*** (0.191)	0.878*** (0.160)	0.385*** (0.0957)	0.439*** (0.0801)
Election	-0.552 (1.861)	0.194 (1.722)	-0.667 (1.929)	-0.116 (1.793)	-0.667 (1.929)	-0.116 (1.793)
Government Preference	-0.237 (0.326)	-0.316 (0.278)	-0.277 (0.341)	-0.347 (0.299)	-0.277 (0.341)	-0.347 (0.299)
Years in EU	-13.37*** (3.592)	-16.24*** (4.030)	-13.41*** (3.775)	-17.12*** (4.256)	-13.41*** (3.775)	-17.12*** (4.256)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.401 (0.774)	-0.295 (0.731)	-0.341 (0.748)	-0.132 (0.715)	-0.341 (0.748)	-0.132 (0.715)
Aid expenditure at t-1	-5.52e-05 (0.000190)	-2.51e-05 (0.000193)	-0.000110 (0.000191)	-6.32e-05 (0.000188)	-0.000110 (0.000191)	-6.32e-05 (0.000188)
Constant	62.91** (28.12)	65.54** (26.26)	68.09** (27.72)	67.73*** (25.96)	68.09** (27.72)	67.73*** (25.96)
R-squared	0.231	0.294	0.253	0.316	0.253	0.316
Wald chi2	77.25	230.4	985.7	317.8	985.7	317.8
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: See Table 1, Model 1 rho: 0.026, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.011. Expenditure aid is non-crisis state aid, excluding railways, in millions of euros. Source: EU Commission.

Table A6: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, government left-right position from Chapel Hill Surveys data

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.00940** (0.00411)	-0.00846*** (0.00267)	-0.199*** (0.0516)	-0.227*** (0.0417)	-0.199*** (0.0516)	-0.227*** (0.0417)
Ballot Control			10.30* (5.685)	10.10* (5.394)	10.30* (5.685)	10.10* (5.394)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.189*** (0.0523)	0.226*** (0.0415)	0.189*** (0.0523)	0.226*** (0.0415)
Poll-Vote Rules			-14.52 (11.77)	-13.47 (11.35)	-7.261 (5.886)	-6.735 (5.675)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.777*** (0.172)	0.890*** (0.134)	0.388*** (0.0860)	0.445*** (0.0671)
Election	-0.236 (1.948)	0.485 (1.785)	-0.139 (2.025)	0.190 (1.841)	-0.139 (2.025)	0.190 (1.841)
Government Preference	0.0273 (0.792)	-0.115 (0.735)	0.0353 (0.809)	-0.285 (0.727)	0.0353 (0.809)	-0.285 (0.727)
Years in EU	-13.34*** (3.185)	-15.96*** (3.502)	-13.99*** (3.436)	-17.34*** (3.661)	-13.99*** (3.436)	-17.34*** (3.661)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.493 (0.876)	-0.360 (0.787)	-0.361 (0.869)	-0.0726 (0.776)	-0.361 (0.869)	-0.0726 (0.776)
Constant	51.02 (32.17)	63.86** (27.20)	65.12** (30.74)	62.20** (27.58)	65.12** (30.74)	62.20** (27.58)
R-squared	0.255	0.316	0.281	0.342	0.281	0.342
Wald chi2	204.6	457.5	501.6	4759	699.1	4759
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: N= 266, groups 24, see Table 1 for other details, Model 1 rho: 0.012, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.034. Chapel Hill Surveys data (1999; 2002; 2006; 2010)

Table A7: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, government position on left-right and EU integration from Chapel Hill Surveys data

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.00940** (0.00411)	-0.00877*** (0.00228)	-0.197*** (0.0516)	-0.221*** (0.0414)	-0.197*** (0.0516)	-0.221*** (0.0414)
Ballot Control			9.872* (5.768)	9.830* (5.461)	9.872* (5.768)	9.830* (5.461)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.185*** (0.0521)	0.217*** (0.0411)	0.185*** (0.0521)	0.217*** (0.0411)
Poll-Vote Rules			-14.68 (11.80)	-13.68 (11.32)		
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.752*** (0.172)	0.849*** (0.133)		
Election					-7.338 (5.901)	-6.840 (5.659)
Government Left-Right Preference	0.0273 (0.792)	-0.0359 (0.709)	-0.0519 (0.782)	-0.216 (0.705)	-0.0519 (0.782)	-0.216 (0.705)
Government Preference on EU Integration	1.971 (1.465)	1.665 (1.335)	1.555 (1.431)	1.110 (1.347)	1.555 (1.431)	1.110 (1.347)
Years in EU	-13.34*** (3.185)	-15.16*** (3.373)	-13.69*** (3.360)	-16.61*** (3.569)	-13.69*** (3.360)	-16.61*** (3.569)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.493 (0.876)	-0.418 (0.792)	-0.367 (0.865)	-0.125 (0.781)	-0.367 (0.865)	-0.125 (0.781)
Constant	51.02 (32.17)	53.62* (29.17)	55.92* (32.42)	55.63* (29.80)	55.92* (32.42)	55.63* (29.80)
R-squared	0.255	0.315	0.282	0.340	0.282	0.340
Wald chi2	204.6	7673	448.0	3892	460.1	2458
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: N= 266, groups 24, see Table 1 for other details, Model 1 rho: 0.012, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.030. Chapel Hill Surveys data (1999; 2002; 2006; 2010).

Table A8: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, inclusion of all control variables

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
District Magnitude	-0.00898** (0.00449)	-0.00786*** (0.00277)	-0.203*** (0.0544)	-0.230*** (0.0427)	-0.203*** (0.0544)	-0.230*** (0.0427)
Ballot Control			10.27* (5.402)	9.982** (5.037)	10.27* (5.402)	9.982** (5.037)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control			0.192*** (0.0538)	0.232*** (0.0437)	0.192*** (0.0538)	0.232*** (0.0437)
Poll-Vote Rules			-14.95 (11.92)	-12.44 (10.96)	-7.474 (5.962)	-6.221 (5.478)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules			0.780*** (0.177)	0.901*** (0.143)	0.390*** (0.0883)	0.451*** (0.0715)
Election	-0.606 (1.891)	0.160 (1.747)	-0.692 (1.955)	-0.121 (1.815)	-0.692 (1.955)	-0.121 (1.815)
Government Preference	-0.229 (0.326)	-0.309 (0.274)	-0.262 (0.339)	-0.330 (0.293)	-0.262 (0.339)	-0.330 (0.293)
Years in EU	-13.63*** (3.466)	-16.75*** (3.785)	-13.73*** (3.620)	-17.78*** (3.939)	-13.73*** (3.620)	-17.78*** (3.939)
GDP per capita at t-1	-0.387 (0.788)	-0.286 (0.747)	-0.320 (0.762)	-0.107 (0.728)	-0.320 (0.762)	-0.107 (0.728)
Regional Fiscal Autonomy at t-1	-6.570 (35.17)	4.350 (35.33)	-7.444 (34.53)	0.448 (34.89)	-7.444 (34.53)	0.448 (34.89)
Public expenditure at t-1	-0.106 (0.237)	-0.157 (0.231)	-0.0928 (0.229)	-0.161 (0.229)	-0.0928 (0.229)	-0.161 (0.229)
Aid expenditure at t-1	-4.25e-05 (0.000192)	-1.38e-05 (0.000194)	-9.90e-05 (0.000194)	-5.04e-05 (0.000189)	-9.90e-05 (0.000194)	-5.04e-05 (0.000189)
Constant	80.16 (57.27)	63.73 (57.06)	85.56 (57.61)	72.10 (57.27)	85.56 (57.61)	72.10 (57.27)

R-squared	0.233	0.298	0.254	0.320	0.254	0.320
Wald chi2	281.5	385.3	5502	577.8	2170	1354
AR1 error correction	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific	common	unit-specific

Notes: See Table 1, Model 1 rho: 0.026, Model 3 and 5 rho: -0.011.

Table A9: Robustness tests of Table 1 models, fractional logit models

	(1)	(2)	(3)
District Magnitude	-0.133 (0.161)	-16.09*** (1.409)	-16.09*** (1.409)
Ballot Control		55.51 (115.6)	55.51 (115.6)
District Magnitude × Ballot Control		17.42*** (1.499)	17.42*** (1.499)
Poll-Vote Rules		-908.5*** (193.8)	-454.2*** (96.89)
District Magnitude × Poll-Vote Rules		61.43*** (4.872)	30.71*** (2.436)
Election	-11.99 (22.20)	-12.84 (23.30)	-12.84 (23.30)
Government Preference	-5.649 (4.360)	-3.010 (4.641)	-3.010 (4.641)
Years in EU	-135.6*** (24.87)	-133.8*** (27.18)	-133.8*** (27.18)
GDP per capita at t-1	-1.787 (5.246)	0.603 (5.557)	0.603 (5.557)
Number of Aid Measures	252.9 (187.5)	477.9** (228.0)	477.9** (228.0)
Constant	-0.133 (0.161)	-16.09*** (1.409)	-16.09*** (1.409)

Notes: Fractional logit models with country fixed effects. N=297. Coefficient and standard errors, in parentheses, scaled up by a factor of 100. ***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1. Average of scores of 'pool' and 'vote' in Model 2, sum of scores in Model 3.

Data Sources for the Robustness Tests

Regional Fiscal Autonomy:

Hooghe L., Marks G. and Schakel A. H. (2010) *The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies*. London: Routledge.

Public expenditure:

World Bank - World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.XPN.TOTL.GD.ZS>

Aid expenditure:

EU Commission - DG Competition,

http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm_comp/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=comp_ncr_xrl_01&plugin=1

Chapell Hill Survey Data:

Steenbergen M. and Marks G. (2007) Evaluating Expert Judgments. *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 347-366.

Hooghe L., Bakker R., Brigevich A., de Vries C., Edwards E., Marks G., Rovny J. and Steenbergen M. (2010) Reliability and Validity of Measuring Party Positions: the Chapel Hill Expert Surveys of 2002 and 2006. *European Journal of Political Research* 49(5): 687-703.

Bakker R., de Vries C., Edwards E., Hooghe L., Jolly S., Marks G., Polk J., Rovny J., Steenbergen M. and Vachudova M. (2015) Measuring Party Positions in Europe: the Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File. 1999-2010. *Party Politics* 21(1): 143-152.