

Online appendix for Chapter 4 of *Why Regional Parties*

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Table B1. Description of variables used in individual-level analysis of vote choice

Variable	Description
Regional vote	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent voted for a party classified as a regional party based on its VFI and 0 if a respondent voted for a national party. Those not indicating a vote choice are not included.
Regionalist vote	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent voted for a party classified as a regionalist party in Table B3 and 0 if a respondent voted for some other party. Those not indicating a vote choice are not included.
Fully loyal	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent indicated that s/he fully agreed with the statement that one should be loyal to one's region before one's country and 0 for all other responses, including "no opinion."
Native	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent reports a mother tongue that is either the state's dominant language or a minority language associated specifically with that state and 0 if a respondent reports speaking another language (e.g., English or a language that is the dominant language of another state) as his/her mother tongue.
Majority	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent reports a mother tongue that is either the state's dominant language and 0 if a respondent reports any other language as his/her mother tongue.
Partisanship	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent reports feeling close to a party that is coded as regionalist (in the regionalist party voting analysis) or regional party (in the regional party voting analysis).
Female	Dummy variable coded as 1 if a respondent is a female and 0 if a respondent is a male.
Age	Respondent's age in years.
Education	A 4-point scale taking the following values for a respondent's level of education: 1 = illiterate; 2 = some schooling but did not pass middle school; 3 = more than primary education but did not matriculate; 4 = matriculation or higher
Income	An 8-point scale taking the following values for a respondent's total monthly household income: 1 = up to Rs. 1000; 2 = Rs. 1001-Rs. 2000; 3 = Rs. 2001-Rs. 3000; 4 = Rs. 3001-Rs. 4000; 5 = Rs. 4001-Rs. 5000; 6 = Rs. 5001-Rs. 10000; 7 = Rs. 10001-Rs. 20000; 8 = Rs. 20001 or more
Caste/religion dummies	A series of dummy variables indicating a respondent's caste/religion. The following dummy variables are included: upper caste, peasant proprietor, upper OBC, lower OBC, SC, ST, and Muslim. The reference category is "other," which includes Hindus whose caste is unclassified as well as other religious minorities. Each respondent is coded as 1 for one of these variables and a 0 for all others.
Political interest	A 3-point scale taking the following values: 1 = respondent has no interest in politics outside of election time; 2 = respondent has some interest in politics outside of election time; 3 = respondent has a great deal of interest in politics outside of election time

Political efficacy	A dummy variable taking a value of 1 if the respondent believes that his/her vote has an effect on things are run in India and 0 if s/he thinks his/her vote has no effect. Those with no opinion are not included.
Voting dummies	A series of dummy variables, each indicating a different response to the question of what mattered to the voter most when voting: the central government in Delhi (Voting: Centre); the state government (Voting: state); both the central government and the state government (Voting: both). The reference category is those who are interested in neither or “other.” Each respondent is coded as 1 for one of these variables and a 0 for all others.
State dummies	A series of dummy variables for each of the states included in the analysis. For the regionalist party voting analysis, the state dummies are the following: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir, Maharashtra, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu. Jharkhand is the reference category. For the regional party voting analysis, the set of dummy variables includes the same ones as in the regionalist party voting analysis plus dummy variables for Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Jharkhand is the reference category. There are no dummies for Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, or Rajasthan because there are no respondents from those states in the analysis. No constituencies in those states meet the criteria of having regional party vote shares of between 10% and 90%. Each respondent is coded as 1 for one of these variables and a 0 for all others.

Table B2a. Descriptive statistics for variables used in individual-level analysis of voting for regionalist parties

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Regionalist vote	0.43	0.50	0	1
Fully loyal	0.60	0.49	0	1
Native	0.81	0.39	0	1
Majority	0.68	0.47	0	1
Partisanship	0.20	0.40	0	1
Female	0.43	0.50	0	1
Age	39.51	14.65	18	98
Education	2.40	1.11	1	4
Income	3.05	2.00	1	8
Upper caste	0.12	0.33	0	1
Peasant proprietor	0.11	0.31	0	1
Upper OBC	0.15	0.36	0	1
Lower OBC	0.16	0.37	0	1
SC	0.14	0.35	0	1
ST	0.08	0.28	0	1
Muslim	0.12	0.33	0	1
Other	0.11	0.32	0	1
Political interest	1.53	0.64	1	3
Political efficacy	0.84	0.37	0	1
Voting: state	0.26	0.44	0	1
Voting: Centre	0.23	0.42	0	1
Voting: both	0.26	0.44	0	1
Voting: other	0.24	0.43	0	1
Andhra Pradesh	0.18	0.39	0	1
Assam	0.28	0.45	0	1
Jammu & Kashmir	0.08	0.27	0	1
Maharashtra	0.14	0.35	0	1
Punjab	0.12	0.32	0	1
Tamil Nadu	0.14	0.34	0	1
Jharkhand	0.06	0.23	0	1

The number of observations is 3,354. Table B2a only includes observations included in all models in Table B4 and Models (1)-(3) of Table 4.2 on page 93.

Table B2b. Descriptive statistics for variables used in individual-level analysis of voting for regional parties

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Regional vote	0.38	0.48	0	1
Fully loyal	0.57	0.49	0	1
Native	0.83	0.37	0	1
Majority	0.70	0.46	0	1
Partisanship	0.18	0.39	0	1
Female	0.42	0.49	0	1
Age	38.88	14.64	18	98
Education	2.48	1.13	1	4
Income	2.98	1.95	1	8
Upper caste	0.17	0.37	0	1
Peasant proprietor	0.07	0.25	0	1
Upper OBC	0.18	0.39	0	1
Lower OBC	0.15	0.36	0	1
SC	0.16	0.36	0	1
ST	0.06	0.23	0	1
Muslim	0.12	0.33	0	1
Other	0.09	0.29	0	1
Political interest	1.55	0.65	1	3
Political efficacy	0.86	0.35	0	1
Voting: state	0.25	0.43	0	1
Voting: Centre	0.29	0.45	0	1
Voting: both	0.26	0.44	0	1
Voting: other	0.21	0.40	0	1
Andhra Pradesh	0.08	0.27	0	1
Assam	0.14	0.34	0	1
Bihar	0.06	0.23	0	1
Haryana	0.05	0.23	0	1
Jammu & Kashmir	0.03	0.16	0	1
Karnataka	0.12	0.32	0	1
Kerala	0.09	0.28	0	1
Maharashtra	0.05	0.22	0	1
Odisha	0.05	0.23	0	1
Punjab	0.06	0.23	0	1
Tamil Nadu	0.03	0.18	0	1
Uttar Pradesh	0.14	0.34	0	1
West Bengal	0.05	0.22	0	1
Jharkhand	0.06	0.24	0	1

The number of observations is 7,796. Table B2b only includes observations included in all models in Table B5 and Models (4)-(6) of Table 4.2 on page. 93

Table B3. List of parties coded as regionalist in individual-level analysis of vote choice

<u>Regionalist party</u>	<u>State where party is based</u>
All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Tamil Nadu
Asom Gana Parishad	Assam
Autonomous State Demand Committee	Assam
Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Tamil Nadu
Jamm & Kashmir National Conference	Jammu and Kashmir
Jammu & Kashmir People's Democratic Party	Jammu and Kashmir
Jharkhand Mukti Morcha	Jharkhand
Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	Tamil Nadu
Pattali Makkal Katchi	Tamil Nadu
Shiromani Akali Dal	Punjab
Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann)	Punjab
Shiv Sena	Maharashtra
Telangana Rashtra Samithi	Andhra Pradesh*
Telugu Desam Party	Andhra Pradesh

*Now Telangana

The parties coded as regionalist in the analysis of the 2004 Indian National Election Study are those parties for whom respondents indicated having voted in significant number in one of India's major states. There are other regionalist parties that competed in the election, but they are not listed in Table B3 if few or no respondents indicated having voted for them.

Table B4. Regional identity and voting for a regionalist party with control variables included

	DV: Regionalist vote		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fully loyal	0.06 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)
Native	0.78*** (0.20)	0.69*** (0.20)	0.72*** (0.22)
Partisanship		2.69*** (0.36)	2.80*** (0.40)
Female			-0.04 (0.10)
Age			0.00 (0.00)
Education			0.04 (0.05)
Income			0.04 (0.03)
Upper caste			-0.15 (0.29)
Peasant proprietor			0.06 (0.28)
Upper OBC			0.09 (0.29)
Lower OBC			0.17 (0.26)
SC			-0.60** (0.26)
ST			0.27 (0.36)
Muslim			-0.19 (0.30)
Political interest			-0.13 (0.10)
Political efficacy			-0.19 (0.16)
Voting: state			-0.09 (0.15)
Voting: Centre			0.07 (0.19)
Voting: both			0.14 (0.18)

Andhra Pradesh	0.66 (0.57)	0.46 (0.54)	0.47 (0.52)
Assam	0.13 (0.60)	0.23 (0.57)	0.29 (0.56)
Jammu & Kashmir	-0.20 (0.81)	-0.35 (0.71)	-0.66 (0.64)
Maharashtra	0.91 (0.58)	0.94* (0.56)	0.85 (0.54)
Punjab	0.74 (0.57)	0.77 (0.55)	0.75 (0.56)
Tamil Nadu	3.14*** (0.75)	2.80*** (0.81)	2.97*** (0.86)
Constant	-1.69*** (0.58)	-1.86*** (0.56)	-1.83*** (0.66)
<i>N</i>	4,191	4,161	3,354

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B4 replicates models (1)-(3) in Table 4.2 on page 93; the only difference is that Table B4 reports the results for control variables as well. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. Note that there is a small error in the notes to Table 4.2. Models (1) and (2) include state dummies, but no other controls. The notes in the table imply that state dummies are not included when they are.

Table B5. Regional identity and voting for a regional party with control variables included

	DV: Regional vote		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fully loyal	0.20*** (0.07)	0.12* (0.07)	0.14** (0.07)
Native	0.31** (0.12)	0.31** (0.13)	0.40*** (0.14)
Partisanship		2.30*** (0.13)	2.38*** (0.14)
Female			-0.02 (0.06)
Age			-0.00 (0.00)
Education			-0.04 (0.03)
Income			-0.02 (0.02)
Upper caste			0.01 (0.19)
Peasant proprietor			0.41* (0.21)
Upper OBC			0.19 (0.18)
Lower OBC			0.24 (0.18)
SC			-0.32* (0.18)
ST			0.26 (0.25)
Muslim			0.35* (0.19)
Political interest			-0.08 (0.05)
Political efficacy			-0.26** (0.10)
Voting: state			-0.04 (0.11)
Voting: Centre			-0.24** (0.11)
Voting: both			-0.12 (0.11)
Andhra Pradesh	0.34	-0.04	-0.22

	(0.35)	(0.38)	(0.42)
Assam	-0.06 (0.41)	-0.07 (0.42)	0.03 (0.43)
Bihar	1.24*** (0.42)	1.16*** (0.44)	1.15** (0.46)
Haryana	-0.10 (0.38)	-0.23 (0.38)	-0.26 (0.39)
Jammu & Kashmir	-0.81 (0.71)	-0.91 (0.67)	-1.16** (0.48)
Karnataka	-0.72* (0.40)	-0.77* (0.40)	-0.72* (0.41)
Kerala	0.80** (0.37)	0.44 (0.38)	0.47 (0.39)
Maharashtra	0.56 (0.45)	0.43 (0.45)	0.34 (0.49)
Odisha	0.88** (0.43)	0.88** (0.45)	1.05** (0.48)
Punjab	0.73** (0.35)	0.62* (0.37)	0.82** (0.39)
Tamil Nadu	0.52 (0.37)	-0.45 (0.40)	-0.68* (0.40)
Uttar Pradesh	0.27 (0.35)	-0.03 (0.35)	-0.10 (0.37)
West Bengal	1.50*** (0.38)	0.99*** (0.38)	1.06** (0.41)
Constant	-1.21*** (0.34)	-1.37*** (0.36)	-1.01** (0.44)
<i>N</i>	9,547	9,547	7,796

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B5 replicates models (4)-(6) in Table 4.2 on page 93; the only difference is that Table B5 reports the results for control variables as well. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. Note that there is a small error in the notes to Table 4.2. Models (4) and (5) include state dummies, but no other controls. The notes in the table imply that state dummies are not included when they are.

Table B6. Vote choice in 2004 in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir, and Jharkhand

DV: Regional party vote	Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Jammu & Kashmir	Jharkhand
Fully loyal	-0.19 (0.27)	0.25 (0.24)	-0.04 (0.48)	-0.91** (0.44)
Native	-0.65* (0.35)	0.97*** (0.30)	0.65 (0.59)	-0.13 (0.29)
Partisanship	3.05*** (0.50)	3.24*** (0.46)	4.34*** (1.58)	3.46*** (0.80)
Female	0.20 (0.25)	-0.13 (0.19)	-0.51** (0.23)	-1.31*** (0.21)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)
Education	-0.07 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.13 (0.55)	-0.60** (0.24)
Income	0.03 (0.11)	0.12* (0.07)	0.13 (0.29)	-0.26 (0.21)
Upper caste	0.38 (0.62)	0.19 (0.47)	-5.75*** (0.77)	-0.93 (1.09)
Peasant proprietors	0.23 (0.49)	-1.05 (0.99)		
Upper OBC	0.17 (0.55)	0.25 (0.47)	-1.56 (1.33)	-0.44 (1.15)
Lower OBC	0.56 (0.56)	0.13 (0.44)	-2.72* (1.60)	-0.62 (1.25)
SC	-0.35 (0.53)	-0.19 (0.33)	-4.47*** (0.75)	
ST	0.14 (0.68)	-0.11 (0.56)	-1.75*** (0.57)	2.26*** (0.46)
Muslim		-0.44 (0.43)		
Political interest	0.20 (0.21)	-0.20 (0.22)	-1.06** (0.45)	0.93 (0.73)
Political efficacy	0.73* (0.40)	-0.33 (0.32)	-1.49*** (0.48)	-0.60 (0.98)
Voting: state	-0.29 (0.21)	0.11 (0.41)	-0.15 (0.52)	0.02 (0.33)
Voting: Centre	-0.21 (0.42)	0.09 (0.38)	-0.71 (0.76)	-2.80*** (1.02)
Voting: both	0.19 (0.31)	0.51 (0.38)	0.48 (1.30)	-0.89* (0.54)

Constant	-1.45 (0.92)	-1.29* (0.72)	2.11 (1.81)	1.95 (2.26)
<i>N</i>	609	952	248	171

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B6 breaks down the analysis in Table 4.2 on page 93 by state. I replicate model (3) in Table 4.2 but include only respondents from one state in each model in Table B6. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. Table B6 includes models for respondents from Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jammu & Kashmir, and Jharkhand. Because of the varying caste and religious demographics of the different states, not all models include the full set of caste/religion dummy variables.

Table B7. Vote choice in 2004 in Maharashtra, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu

DV: Regional party vote	Maharashtra	Punjab	Tamil Nadu
Fully loyal	0.15 (0.18)	-0.65*** (0.22)	-0.08 (0.50)
Native	0.37 (0.55)	0.13 (0.35)	1.57*** (0.48)
Partisanship	4.07*** (0.65)	3.22*** (0.52)	-0.50 (0.38)
Female	0.15 (0.30)	-0.20 (0.27)	-0.04 (0.27)
Age	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Education	0.20 (0.16)	0.06 (0.13)	0.20 (0.19)
Income	0.09 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.14)
Upper caste	2.55*** (0.93)	-0.54 (0.36)	
Peasant proprietors	2.30** (0.90)	-1.43* (0.86)	-1.62 (1.81)
Upper OBC	2.46** (0.99)	0.46 (1.07)	-0.13 (0.86)
Lower OBC	1.75* (0.91)	-0.09 (0.59)	0.06 (1.10)
SC	0.93 (1.08)	-0.94 (0.63)	0.27 (0.92)
ST	0.15 (0.18)		
Muslim	0.37 (0.55)	-1.97*** (0.60)	
Political interest	4.07*** (0.65)	-0.27 (0.23)	-0.16 (0.19)
Political efficacy	0.15 (0.30)	-0.54* (0.32)	-0.20 (0.24)
Voting: state	-0.00 (0.01)	0.45 (0.46)	0.23 (0.65)
Voting: Centre	0.20 (0.16)	1.37*** (0.47)	-0.88 (0.70)
Voting: both	0.09 (0.06)	0.28 (0.42)	0.46 (0.60)
Constant	2.55*** (0.93)	-0.04 (0.90)	0.95 (2.12)

<i>N</i>	2.30**	393	432
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* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B7 breaks down the analysis in Table 4.2 on page 93 by state. I replicate model (3) in Table 4.2 but include only respondents from one state in each model in Table B7. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. Table B7 includes models for respondents from Maharashtra, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu. Because of the varying caste and religious demographics of the different states, not all models include the full set of caste/religion dummy variables.

Table B8. Description of variables used in analysis of vote choice in Québec

Variable	Description
BQ vote	Dummy variable taking a value of 1 if the respondent indicates that s/he plans to vote for the Bloc Québécois and 0 if s/he intends to vote for the Liberals, Conservatives, NDP, or Greens. The variable excludes those who do not know for which party they will vote or who planned to vote for another party.
Sovereignty	A series of dummy variables indicating a respondent's feelings about Québec sovereignty. In the analysis, I include a separate variable for each of the following three responses: Very favorable, Somewhat favorable, and Somewhat opposed. Very opposed is the reference category. Each respondent is coded as 1 for one of these variables and a 0 for all others.
BQ partisan	Dummy variable taking a value of 1 if respondent indicated that in federal politics s/he usually thinks of him/herself as a supporter of the Bloc Québécois and taking a value of 0 otherwise.
Other party partisan	Dummy variable taking a value of 1 if respondent indicated that in federal politics s/he usually thinks of him/herself as a support of the Liberals, Conservatives, NDP, or Greens and 0 otherwise.
Age	Respondent's age.
Education	A series of dummy variables indicating a respondent's education. The original variable includes a dozen response options. I collapse these into four categories and include dummy variables for three. The first includes those who have completed high school or have less than a high school education. The second includes those who have some technical or community college or some university education or who have completed technical or community college. The third includes those who have a university degree. The omitted category consists of those with a master's or professional degree or a doctorate.
Catholic	Dummy variable taking a value of 1 if the respondent indicated that his or her religion was Roman Catholicism and 0 otherwise.
Immigrant	Dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicates that his/her country of birth is outside of Canada and 0 otherwise.
Francophone	Dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicates that his/her first language is French and 0 otherwise.
Student	Dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicates that s/he is a student and 0 otherwise.
Unemployed	Dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the respondent indicates that s/he is unemployed and 0 otherwise.
Income	Income is reported in thousands of (pre-tax) dollars. I collapse this into a five-point variable and include dummy variables for those making \$30,000 or less; \$31,000-\$60,000; \$61,000-\$90,000; and \$90,000-\$110,000. Those making \$111,000 or more are the reference category.

Table B9. Sovereignty attitudes and vote choice in Québec

	DV = BQ vote	
	(1)	(2)
<i>Sovereignty</i>		
Very favorable	4.43*** (0.38)	2.34*** (0.58)
Somewhat favorable	3.09*** (0.36)	0.91 (0.56)
Somewhat opposed	1.75*** (0.40)	0.63 (0.65)
BQ partisan		2.81*** (0.56)
Other party partisan		-1.47** (0.60)
Age		-0.00 (0.01)
<i>Education</i>		
High school or less		-1.16* (0.62)
Some higher education		-0.77 (0.58)
College degree		-0.64 (0.63)
Catholic		-0.11 (0.47)
Immigrant		-0.50 (0.90)
Francophone		2.01*** (0.59)
Student		-0.59 (1.28)
Unemployed		0.52 (1.13)
<i>Income</i>		
\$30,000 or less		1.50** (0.68)
\$31,000-\$60,000		0.85 (0.59)
\$61,000-\$90,000		0.95 (0.64)
\$91,000-\$110,000		0.65 (0.69)
Constant	-3.23*** (0.32)	-4.22*** (1.26)

<i>N</i>	658	501
* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$		

Table B9 presents the full analysis of the 2011 Canadian Election Study with respondents in Québec that is described on pages 94-95. The dependent variable is *BQ vote*. Both models are estimated using logistic regression. Model 1 includes only attitudes on Québec sovereignty. Model 2 includes controls. Though the size of the coefficients on the Québec sovereignty variables are much smaller in model 2, there is still a significant association between strongly favoring Québec sovereignty and voting for the Bloc Québécois, much stronger than in the data on India.

Table B10. Regional loyalty and regional party voting robustness checks (*majority* variable and restricted set of constituencies)

	(1)	(1)
Fully loyal	0.15** (0.07)	0.12 (0.07)
Majority	0.37*** (0.14)	
Native		0.51*** (0.16)
Partisanship	2.37*** (0.13)	2.44*** (0.14)
Female	-0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Upper caste	-0.00 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.20)
Peasant proprietors	0.40* (0.21)	0.43** (0.20)
Upper OBC	0.19 (0.18)	0.21 (0.19)
Lower OBC	0.24 (0.18)	0.35* (0.18)
SC	-0.33* (0.18)	-0.38** (0.19)
ST	0.37 (0.26)	0.38 (0.26)
Muslim	0.37* (0.19)	0.27 (0.20)
Political interest	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)
Political efficacy	-0.25** (0.10)	-0.17 (0.10)
Voting: state	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)
Voting: Centre	-0.23** (0.11)	-0.20* (0.12)
Voting: both	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.12)
Andhra Pradesh	-0.28 (0.42)	0.03 (0.36)

Assam	-0.06 (0.43)	0.37 (0.39)
Bihar	1.23*** (0.46)	0.70* (0.37)
Haryana	-0.34 (0.39)	-0.13 (0.34)
Jammu & Kashmir	-0.93** (0.47)	-1.00** (0.44)
Karnataka	-0.82** (0.41)	-0.29 (0.38)
Kerala	0.38 (0.39)	0.40 (0.31)
Maharashtra	0.24 (0.49)	0.97** (0.42)
Odisha	0.96** (0.48)	1.48*** (0.40)
Punjab	0.74* (0.40)	0.94*** (0.34)
Tamil Nadu	-0.77* (0.40)	-0.59* (0.36)
Uttar Pradesh	-0.06 (0.37)	0.03 (0.32)
West Bengal	1.01** (0.41)	0.92*** (0.35)
Constant	-0.90** (0.44)	-1.24*** (0.41)
<i>N</i>	7,796	6,565

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B10 presents two robustness checks described on pages 96-97. Model (1) replicates model (3) in Table 4.2 on page 93 but replaces the variable *native* with the variable *minority*. Model (1) replicates model (3) in Table 4.2 on page 93 but restricts the analysis to constituencies where regional parties won between 20%-80% of the vote instead of between 10%-90%. Both models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency.

Table B11a. Regional loyalty and regional party voting with different constructions of the regional

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Loyal	0.14** (0.07)	0.17** (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	0.07 (0.10)
Native	0.40*** (0.14)	0.33** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.33** (0.14)
Partisanship	2.38*** (0.14)	2.40*** (0.14)	2.38*** (0.14)	2.41*** (0.14)
Female	-0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Education	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Upper caste	0.01 (0.19)	0.03 (0.19)	0.01 (0.19)	0.04 (0.19)
Peasant proprietor	0.41* (0.21)	0.43* (0.22)	0.42** (0.21)	0.43* (0.23)
Upper OBC	0.19 (0.18)	0.18 (0.19)	0.20 (0.18)	0.19 (0.19)
Lower OBC	0.24 (0.18)	0.23 (0.19)	0.25 (0.18)	0.24 (0.20)
SC	-0.32* (0.18)	-0.27 (0.19)	-0.31* (0.18)	-0.26 (0.19)
ST	0.26 (0.25)	0.30 (0.26)	0.27 (0.25)	0.32 (0.26)
Muslim	0.35* (0.19)	0.37* (0.19)	0.36* (0.19)	0.38* (0.19)
Political interest	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
Political efficacy	-0.26** (0.10)	-0.25** (0.11)	-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.25** (0.11)
Voting: state	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)
Voting: Centre	-0.24** (0.11)	-0.23* (0.12)	-0.23** (0.11)	-0.24* (0.12)
Voting: both	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.12)
Andhra Pradesh	-0.22 (0.42)	-0.25 (0.44)	-0.23 (0.42)	-0.24 (0.44)
Assam	0.03 (0.43)	0.06 (0.44)	0.03 (0.44)	0.06 (0.44)
Bihar	1.15**	1.18***	1.15**	1.18***

	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.46)	(0.45)
Haryana	-0.26	-0.24	-0.27	-0.24
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Jammu & Kashmir	-1.16**	-1.11**	-1.19**	-1.14**
	(0.48)	(0.50)	(0.48)	(0.50)
Karnataka	-0.72*	-0.76*	-0.75*	-0.79*
	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)
Kerala	0.47	0.46	0.46	0.45
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Maharashtra	0.34	0.38	0.32	0.37
	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.49)	(0.51)
Odisha	1.05**	1.13**	1.04**	1.13**
	(0.48)	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.49)
Punjab	0.82**	0.84**	0.80**	0.82**
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.40)
Tamil Nadu	-0.68*	-0.68*	-0.66*	-0.67*
	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.39)
Uttar Pradesh	-0.10	-0.11	-0.12	-0.12
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.37)
West Bengal	1.06**	1.07**	1.07***	1.08***
	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)
Constant	-1.01**	-1.11**	-0.96**	-1.05**
	(0.44)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.46)
<i>N</i>	7,796	7,128	7,796	7,128

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B11a presents the full results of the models presented in Table 4.3 on page 97. Table 4.3 presents the coefficients and standard errors from different models in which I use different constructions of the regional loyalty variable. Table B11a includes the results for all the variables in the models. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. In model (1) *Loyal* is coded as 1 if a respondent fully agrees with the statement that one should be loyal to one's region before one's country and 0 for all other responses, including no opinion. In model (2) *Loyal* is coded as 1 if a respondent fully agrees with the statement that one should be loyal to one's region before one's country and 0 for all other responses, excluding those who do not offer an opinion. In model (3) *Loyal* is coded as 1 if a respondent fully or somewhat agrees with the statement that one should be loyal to one's region before one's country and 0 for all other responses, including no opinion. In model (4) *Loyal* is coded as 1 if a respondent fully or somewhat agrees with the statement that one should be loyal to one's region before one's country and 0 for all other responses, excluding those who do not offer an opinion.

Table B11b. Regional loyalty and regional party voting with different constructions of the regional

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Loyal	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	
Fully disagree			-0.11 (0.11)
Somewhat disagree			-0.17 (0.15)
No opinion			0.01 (0.13)
Somewhat agree			-0.28** (0.11)
Native	0.33** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.14)
Partisanship	2.40*** (0.14)	2.38*** (0.14)	2.38*** (0.14)
Female	0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Income	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Upper caste	0.04 (0.19)	0.01 (0.19)	0.01 (0.19)
Peasant proprietor	0.43* (0.23)	0.41* (0.21)	0.41* (0.21)
Upper OBC	0.19 (0.19)	0.20 (0.18)	0.19 (0.18)
Lower OBC	0.23 (0.20)	0.24 (0.18)	0.24 (0.18)
SC	-0.27 (0.19)	-0.32* (0.18)	-0.32* (0.18)
ST	0.31 (0.26)	0.27 (0.25)	0.26 (0.25)
Muslim	0.37* (0.19)	0.36* (0.19)	0.36* (0.19)
Political interest	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)
Political efficacy	-0.25** (0.11)	-0.26** (0.10)	-0.26** (0.10)
Voting: state	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)

Voting: Centre	-0.23* (0.12)	-0.23** (0.11)	-0.22* (0.11)
Voting: both	-0.14 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)
Andhra Pradesh	-0.24 (0.44)	-0.22 (0.42)	-0.25 (0.42)
Assam	0.06 (0.44)	0.03 (0.44)	0.02 (0.43)
Bihar	1.19*** (0.45)	1.16** (0.46)	1.13** (0.46)
Haryana	-0.24 (0.39)	-0.26 (0.39)	-0.28 (0.39)
Jammu & Kashmir	-1.13** (0.50)	-1.18** (0.48)	-1.16** (0.48)
Karnataka	-0.78* (0.41)	-0.74* (0.41)	-0.72* (0.41)
Kerala	0.46 (0.39)	0.47 (0.39)	0.46 (0.39)
Maharashtra	0.38 (0.51)	0.33 (0.49)	0.32 (0.49)
Odisha	1.13** (0.49)	1.04** (0.48)	1.04** (0.48)
Punjab	0.83** (0.40)	0.81** (0.39)	0.79** (0.39)
Tamil Nadu	-0.67* (0.39)	-0.67* (0.40)	-0.69* (0.40)
Uttar Pradesh	-0.12 (0.37)	-0.11 (0.37)	-0.12 (0.37)
West Bengal	1.08*** (0.42)	1.07*** (0.42)	1.05** (0.42)
Constant	-1.15** (0.46)	-1.05** (0.45)	-0.89** (0.45)
<i>N</i>	7,128	7,796	7,796

* $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Table B11b presents the full results of the models presented in Table 4.3 on page 97. Table 4.3 presents the coefficients and standard errors from different models in which I use different constructions of the regional loyalty variable. Table B11b includes the results for all the variables in the models. All models are estimated using logistic regression, with standard errors clustered by parliamentary constituency. In model (1), *Loyal* is a 4-point ordinal variable ranging from 1 (fully disagree) to 4 (fully agree), with no opinion responses excluded. In model (2), *Loyal* is a 5-point ordinal variable ranging from 1 (fully disagree) to 5 (fully agree), with no opinion responses as the midpoint (3). Model (3) includes dummy variables for the responses to the question about whether one should be loyal to one's region before one's country. The reference category is those who fully agree with the statement.