

Economics School of Louvain - ESL

Economics School of Namur - ESN

Identity priming and transport-mode choice

The case of Walloon and Flemish commuters

Author : Thibault de Bueger

Thesis Director : Prof. Amma Panin

Thesis Reader : Prof. Guilhem Cassan

Academic Year 2022-2023

Master in Economics – 120 credits – Focus : Research

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Professor Amma Panin, for her precious guidance and expertise and for her trust throughout the course of the research that led to this thesis. I could not have hoped for a better supervisor, I really mean it. It may have taken a bit more time than expected but I hope it was worth it.

I also want to thank my parents and my sister for their support throughout my studies. This thesis brings to a close a more global chapter that has also undoubtedly been longer than expected. Once again, I hope it has been worthwhile.

Thank you to my Ysa for her patience, her support, her sweetness and her love. Within and outside the scope of this work, these are the most precious gifts I can aim for.

Finally, thanks to each and every person with whom I was able to talk about this thesis. Sometimes it is in the smallest comments, pieces of advice and expressions of support that the key is found.

Contents

1 Introduction	3
2 Literature review	4
2.1 Commuting transport-mode choice and the Theory of Planned Behaviour . .	4
2.2 Nudging, priming and identity economics	7
2.3 Walloon and Flemish identities and behaviours	9
3 Theoretical framework	10
4 Data and research design	12
4.1 Robustness checks	17
4.1.1 Internal validity	17
4.1.2 External validity	18
5 Results	20
5.1 Descriptive statistics	20
5.2 Identity treatment	24
6 Discussion	28
7 Conclusion	30
8 Additional tables	40
9 Appendix	45

Identity priming and home-work transport-mode choice: the case of Walloon and Flemish commuters

Abstract

The present thesis observes the effect of priming on home-work commuters' transport mode choice through the activation of Walloon-Flemish identity in Belgium. As an overwhelming majority of commuters are still taking their car to achieve their daily trips to work, the aim is here to use priming through social comparison nudges to assess whether activating linguistic identity and highlighting social norms could act as a catalyst towards environmental-friendly behaviour, helping commuters to abandon their cars in favour of cycling. This is evaluated through the difference in the intention of commuters to take their bikes when compensated with a per-km allowance, a tool already commonly used in Belgium. The data collection method through social media is also aimed at contributing at the small but developing literature on the topic. While increasing allowance levels displays promising results in terms of bicycling commuters, priming linguistic identity turns out to be largely insignificant, being only significant and powerful enough in a single case for Flemish respondents when controlling for other variables and not being significant in any observed case for Walloon respondents.

1 Introduction

As sources of greenhouse gas emissions are hugely diversified, actors are looking for ways to reduce humans' impact on the environment through various channels. Representing more than 12% of world's GHG emissions on its own (Ritchie et al., 2020), road transport is one of the most important. To remedy this problem, a large variety of public policies have been and continue to be implemented to encourage people to drive less. As an example, increasing the share of rail transport is one of the main objectives of the EU to decarbonise the economy (European Council, 2022). Regarding bikes, providing good infrastructure for cyclists has proved to be effective in getting more people on to their bikes (Kraus and Koch, 2021). More than that, Raifman et al. (2021) found that investments in walking and cycling not only cover their costs but also generate a surplus when considering the associated health benefits.

If massive investments in infrastructure are undoubtedly necessary, it seems important for their effectiveness to be accompanied by a willingness from the public to use environmental-friendly transport modes to achieve sustainable and significant change. The city of Brussels had to discontinue their previous bike-sharing program in 2011 due in part to insufficient demand from the public (La Libre, 2007; OBIS, 2011). The present thesis' objective is therefore twofold. First, it tries to assess the extent to which Belgians are prepared to cycle to work,

with a particular focus on car commuters, depending on different levels of bike allowance. Then, it observes how Flemish and Walloon identities could be potential levers of change in the realm of home-work commuting. Belgium offers an interesting opportunity to see to what extent mobilising the identity of its citizens could lead to a change in behaviour. Walloons and Flemings have both antagonistic identities and mobility habits that differ significantly despite living in the same country. If highlighting those identities lead to positive behavioural change, this could lead to concrete applications in Belgian public policies implementation. Lastly, it tries to assess how social media can represent an efficient and cost-effective way to collect data.

Increases in bike allowance levels trigger large responses from both Walloons and Flemings at any level, but even more from the Dutch-speaking part of the country. At the highest level, more than half of Flemings and more than a quarter of Walloons report intention to commute by bike to work. The identity treatment, however, does not significantly increase or decrease the propensity of respondents to cycle to work. Priming identity only has a significant impact in the case of a change of allowance from 0 to 0.15€/km among Flemish respondents, while controlling for company car ownership. In that specific case, respondents tend to cycle more when they are being primed. Regarding data collection, internal validity looks strong while external validity displays some issues regarding respondents from large cities and overrepresentation of women that are addressed herebelow.

The thesis is divided as follows. [Section 2](#) provides a review of the existing literature on three main topics that will be intertwined for the remainder of the paper: transport-mode choice, priming and the relationship between Walloons and Flemings. [Section 3](#) defines the theoretical framework in which the research will take place. [Section 4](#) details the data collection and the research design of the experiment. [Section 5](#) gives the main results of it and conducts some robustness checks regarding internal and external validity while [section 6](#) discusses their scope and potential limitations.

2 Literature review

2.1 Commuting transport-mode choice and the Theory of Planned Behaviour

The first part focusses on transport-mode choice and its determinants. Travel behaviour research has taken two distinct directions in the literature: a psycho-sociological approach and a more lifestyle-oriented approach ([Krueger et al. 2018](#)). Given the aim of this thesis, the former is more relevant than the latter. Following this approach, the Theory of Planned

Behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen 1991) is particularly well-suited to explain and analyse travel-mode decisions. It has been extensively used with this aim and proved to be a suitable way to do so (Bamberg et al., 2007; Donald et al., 2014; Haustein and Hunecke, 2007; Heath and Gifford, 2002; Heinen and Handy, 2012; Korzilius, 2017).

TPB concentrates on behaviours under volitional control, that is behaviours which agents can choose to perform or not. Logically, those behaviours depend on agents' intention to perform them which precedes the actual performance. Cognitive processes that are involved with that intention are determined by salient beliefs, which are the limited number of beliefs an individual mobilise when making a decision. According to TPB, those beliefs can be disentangled into three categories that will provide the basis for determinants of individuals' intention: *behavioural* beliefs influencing the individual's attitudes towards the behaviour, *normative* beliefs determining subjective norms and, consequently, the significance of others, and *control* beliefs constituting the agents' perceived behavioural control (Ajzen 1991; Bamberg et al., 2003; Gardner and Abraham, 2008). Attitudes, norms and perceived behavioural control will now be detailed.

According to Ajzen (2005), attitude is "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" which is the extent to which an individual has a favourable or unfavourable perspective of the considered behaviour. In the transport literature, several studies demonstrate that people's attitudes regarding travel modes predominate when they select a mode of transportation to commute to work (Abou Zeid, 2009; Johansson et al., 2006; Manaugh and El-Geneidy, 2013; Schwanen and Mokhtarian, 2005). Attitudes can be instrumental, affective or symbolic (Bamberg et al., 2007; Şimşekoğlu et al., 2015; Steg, 2005). Instrumental attitudes refer to objective benefits - or disadvantages - of the object/subject at stake. These are attitudes explaining people's behaviour in a rational way. Regarding transport modes, car use can be explained by the fact it is perceived as a fast, flexible and convenient way to get around. However, instrumental attitudes are insufficient to explain comprehensively transport decisions. Non-instrumental attitudes are therefore needed. Affective attitudes touch on specific feelings that a given transport mode will provide to individuals, as the ones of freedom, independency or pleasure (Gatersleben and Uzzell, 2007; Steg, 2005). Symbolic attitudes are rather related to the expression of one's identity or social position through transport mode choices (Steg, 2005; Van et al., 2014). Again, concerning car use, a car can be deemed as a positional goods (Hirsch, 2005) and will symbolise the wealth of its owner.

Attitudes can be represented as the sum of beliefs whether they are positive or negative towards the behaviour multiplied by the importance of each belief judged by the individual (Ajzen, 1991):

$$A \propto \sum_{i=1}^n b_i e_i \quad (1)$$

b being the strength of each salient belief and e the subjective evaluation of the beliefs attribute by the individual. Products are then summed up for the n salient beliefs. ¹

Then, subjective norms depict how the social networks around an individual can impact her behaviour. In the original version of TPB, (Ajzen, 1991) was referring to norms influence as "how referent individuals or groups approve or disapprove of performing a given behaviour". However, norms can be descriptive or injunctive (Cialdini et al. 1991). A descriptive norm states how other individuals are behaving in a given situation. An injunctive norm which is closer to the original definition, has an added normative dimension, being rather something that ought to be done than simply something that is done (Forward, 2009). Hence, Heath and Gifford (2002) proposed to add that nuance to TPB. Fornara et al. (2009) also refined the original Theory of Planned Behaviour by making a second distinction concerning norms, advocating that they could be subjective or local. While Ajzen (1991) was mentioning "important others" as referent group for subjective norms, they noted that the referent group does not need to share particular affective bonds but could also be locally rooted in the same place as the subject undertaking the behaviour, arguing that the closest the group would feel to the individual, the more influence it would have. Regarding transport mode choice, it has been found that travel decisions are shaped by mobility decisions and habits of family members and of peers (Avineri 2012). More generally, it is recognised that individuals make travel-related decisions in relation with the social context they are embedded in (Abou Zeid et al. 2013). Kormos et al. (2015) observed that subjects exposed to messages highlighting descriptive norms about others' sustainable transportation efforts made them decrease their private vehicle use for commuting by a factor of five. Descriptive norms were also found to be a strong predictor regarding intention of drivers to commit violations on the road (Forward, 2009). Regarding bicycle, it was found that the more bike riders there were in a one's social network, the more one was inclined to travel by bicycle too, whether it was in a student population (Wang et al. 2015) or in a working population (de Geus et al. 2008).

In the realm of TPB, subjective norms can be represented as follows:

$$SN \propto \sum_{i=1}^n n_i m_i \quad (2)$$

¹Note that the aim of the present work is not to compute a given value representing any of the three determinants of intention. The formulas are only given for illustrative purposes.

n being the strength of each normative belief and m the agent's motivation to comply with the referent in question. Again those products are summed over every salient normative beliefs.

Finally, control beliefs determines perceived behavioural control (PBC) which is the last determinant of intention leading to behaviour. It is defined as "the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behaviour, and is assumed to reflect past experiences as well as anticipated impediments and obstacles" (Ajzen, 1991). It can refer to internal or to external elements to individuals under observation (Garvill, 1999; Kraft et al., 2005) and they can affect their intention towards more or less intention to perform the behaviour.

Regarding transport behaviour, examples of factors influencing PBC are individuals' perception of their ability to have the physical strength to cycle to work for the bicycle, or their confidence in their driving skills regarding the car. Perceived behavioural control has been found to be a significant predictor of intention to use various means of transportation (Titze et al., 2008) and shared bicycle (Xin et al., 2019) and even to be the sole predictor of using the car and the bus among the determinants encompassed in TPB (Forward, 2004).

Again, perceived behavioural control in TPB is depicted as:

$$PBC \propto \sum_{i=1}^n c_i p_i \quad (3)$$

c each control belief and p the perceived power of the particular control factor to facilitate or inhibit performance of the behavior.

2.2 Nudging, priming and identity economics

Building on the idea that individuals do not behave economically rationally, have self-control problems, are biased and use heuristics when making decisions (Gilovich et al., 2002; Kahneman and Tversky, 1984; Kahneman et al., 1991), Thaler and Sunstein (2003) developed the idea of libertarian paternalism. They encouraged the approach of preserving freedom of choice while allowing for institutions to influence people in welfare-enhancing directions. Shortly afterwards, they popularise the concept of *nudge*, which is "any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behavior in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives" (Thaler and Sunstein, 2009). It is often referred as "a gentle push in the right direction" (Damgaard and Nielsen, 2018; De Ridder et al., 2020; Korzilius, 2017).

Priming is recognised as one possible way to nudge exposed subjects (Dolan et al., 2012). It

has been largely used to highlight identity characteristics of individuals and the stereotypes they imply, to then measure the impact of such activation. This technique has been defined as the activation of mental concepts through situational cues (Bargh and Chartrand, 2014). Priming regarding transportation has been very seldomly used. Metcalfe and Dolan (2012) found no paper tackling the matter. Since then, Evans et al. (2013) observed priming related to car-use but in a different manner than the one intended here. Légal et al. (2016) and Margetts and Kashima (2017) had unclear or mixed results regarding priming related to transport. Without targetting transport mode choices specifically but focussing on pro-environmental behaviours in general, Mont et al. (2014) argued that nudges' effectiveness remains inconclusive but insisted that they are useful complements to traditional policy instruments.

However, priming has been extensively exploited to highlight subjects' identity. Psychology has been observing individuals' identity by studying stereotypes that arise from it and their effects for a long time (Bargh et al., 1996; Pratto and Bargh, 1991; Steele, 1998). Much of the literature has brought to light that a negative stereotype associated with one's identity will cause inhibition of performance, a phenomenon known as stereotype threat. As an example, priming Black students with the part of their identity related to their skin colour made Black students underperform in tests (Steele and Aronson, 1995). However, priming can also trigger socially desirable behaviour, increasing patience of Asian-American primed individuals (Benjamin et al., 2010) or willingness to donate from primed Protestants (Benjamin et al., 2016). Priming can also trigger effects in both directions. An *assimilation* effect occurs when a positive relationship arises between priming and respondents' behaviour. A *contrast* effect occurs when the contrary happens (Bless and Burger, 2016). While more blatant priming has also been used, the majority of priming experiments have used more subtle and dissimulated ways to operate (Cohn and Maréchal, 2016; Wheeler and Petty, 2001). Subtle priming is also more likely to trigger assimilation from respondents rather than contrast (Bless and Burger, 2016).

Regarding economics, the concept of identity was brought into the discipline by Akerlof and Kranton (2000). They argued that individuals have a multiplicity of different identities linked to social categories and with each category come attributes and prescribed behaviours, i.e. norms (Cohn and Maréchal, 2016). Identifying with a given social category affects the payoffs of different actions, as deviating from prescribed norms is costly. By incorporating identity in the utility function of the expected utility maximizing individual, it was made possible to show how it could influence economic outcomes. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) developed a model with prescriptions attributed to a given social category and losses in an individual's utility for deviating from prescriptions of her social category. As it is difficult to observe the

weight people give to identity in their behaviour, priming was seen as a promising way to observe it in economic setup. Indeed, RCTs allow to manipulate the saliency of an identity in subjects' groups to observe the reaction it triggers in behaviour. In such a manner, priming changes temporarily the weights people give to the primed identity and with the norms attached to it. As an example, [Günther et al. \(2010\)](#) found that women were responding less to competitive incentives in "male" tasks and more in "women" tasks while their responses was as strong as the ones from men in gender-neutral tasks.

2.3 Walloon and Flemish identities and behaviours

Belgium has always been characterised by linguistic tensions. When the country became independent, French was the only official language of the country. The majority of the aristocracy spoke French at the time and, due to a franchise, only those who paid a given amount of tax, the *cens*, had the right to vote. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, several movements campaigned for the recognition of Dutch. Even though Dutch was proclaimed an official language in 1898, tensions rose over the decades by building on myths such as the fact that many Flemish soldiers died in the First World War because documents and orders were only given in French². Unrest peaked in 1970 with the *Walen buiten* or *Leuven Vlaams* as Walloon students were kicked out of the city of Leuven in the Flemish side of the country. Since then, Belgium has undergone numerous constitutional reforms towards more and more federalism. Consequently, Flemish and Walloon political systems have grown further apart and will likely continue to do so in the coming years ([Billiet et al. 2006](#), [Meeusen et al. 2017](#)). Culture, education, transport and energy policy are just some of the areas that are no longer managed by the State but by federated entities. [Mnookin and Verbeke \(2009\)](#) qualified the relation between Flemings and Walloons as a 'persistent nonviolent conflict with no reconciliation'.

Behavioural differences between Walloons and Flemings remains an underresearched topic. They mainly have been studied from the point of view of electoral behaviour. In 2019 elections, in the same trend as in many European countries, mainstream traditional parties lost a significant share of their voters. In Flanders, the two main winners of this shift were the *N-VA* and the *Vlaams Belang*, both being at the far-right end of the political spectrum. In Wallonia, left-wing parties benefited the most from this decline, with *Ecolo* and the *PTB* making important electoral breakthroughs. However, if we observe opposite changes at the ballot box, a consortium of researchers from various universities showed that Walloons and

²It should be noted that if it is true that said documents were only available in French and that commanding officers were mainly French-speaking, there is no evidence that Flemish soldiers died in greater numbers.

Flemings only mildly differ in values they stand for and priorities they would like to see addressed (RepResent, 2019).

However, regarding transport behaviour, Belgian public authorities regularly publish a report on home-work mobility (SPF Mobilité & Transports, 2023) in companies larger than a hundred employees which highlights clear differences. While commuting by car is dominant throughout Belgium - 84.7% of workers in Wallonia and 66.7% in Flanders taking their car -, there is roughly a tenfold difference in bike use in Flanders compared with Wallonia - 20.8% and 2.4% of bike commuters. This explains almost entirely the difference in car use, other transport modes being used in similar proportions.

While there are few established differences in behaviour between the two communities, persistent stereotypes have lasted for a long time. The gradual shift towards more and more federalism has reinforced a regional prejudice and stereotyping that is typical to the Belgian case (Klein et al., 2012). Furthermore, it has been shown that mostly negative stereotypes were dominating (De Keere et al., 2011). The prejudice of the *luie waal*, the lazy walloon, in opposition to the hard-working Fleming, is the most famous one and has been repeatedly analysed, questioned and, sometimes, refuted by media on both sides (Andries, 2023; Hooghe, 2016; Smekens, 2011). However, the fact that so much attention has been paid to it over such a long period of time bears witness to its enduring presence in debates and in people's minds (Meeusen et al., 2017). Importantly, prejudices towards the other community have been found to be predictors of voting behaviours in Flanders but not in Wallonia (Meeusen et al., 2017). Flemish identity has also been found to be stronger than Walloon identity among Belgian citizens (Brigevich, 2016).

3 Theoretical framework

The aim of the present thesis is double. First, it is here tried to assess if there is room for change in Belgians' commuting behaviour in favour of biking, depending on different levels of per-kilometer bike allowance. This will be done mostly through descriptive statistics on the basis of collected data. Given the large number and geographical diversity of the responses received, it is possible to draw a detailed picture of the Belgian population regarding commuting through self-reported intentions. This could be relevant for policy recommendations. Indeed, through the different levels of bike allowances, it is possible to identify potential tipping points where commuters would massively switch from their previous transport mode choice to the bike. In the same vein, it is crucial to observe which type of commuters switch to the bike. If the switch operates majoritarily through public transport users but does not convince car users, the implementation of such a policy would likely be counter-productive.

Then, the second objective of the thesis is to study how, in the framework developed here-above, can an identity priming nudge comparing social norms in two distinct communities, Wallonia and Flanders, behaving differently on a given behaviour, commuting by bike, but sharing a major common element of their identity, Belgium, affect how individuals behave. The highlighted norm is descriptive as the objective is only to show how Flemings and Walloons are behaving, not to include any normative dimension in the conveyed message. However, it cannot be classified as purely subjective or local (Fornara et al. 2009). While all Walloons and all Flemings obviously do not know each other and do not share affective bonds, as explained hereabove, these are salient characteristics of Belgian citizens' identity that create and have created a sense of community. On the other hand, both groups are majoritarially located on a given side of the language border of the country.

When observing hinderances to car or bike use, the federal report on home-work mobility (SPF Mobilité & Transports, 2023) highlights many more elements that make cycling more difficult than taking the car to work. Hence, taking the car could be seen as a sign of laziness. While it is undeniably true that the topography of the two regions differs and that policies for investment in mobility are independent from each other, it is to be noted that the behaviour under observation is in line with the dominant stereotype over Walloons - independently of the thruthfulness of the prejudice at stake. Priming to trigger stereotype threat has been largely used to observe the impact on agents' cognitive skills. A majority of experiments concluded that it was negatively affecting performance (Carr and Steele, 2010; Davies et al., 2002; Spencer et al., 2016; Steele and Aronson, 1995; Walton and Spencer, 2009). However, the existing literature does not seem to tackle the effects of stereotype threat on planned behaviour. That is, could highlighting a stereotype over a given community affect intentions from individuals of this community over their future behaviour? And if so, in what direction?

The baseline logistic regression aimed at computing potential effects of identity priming on respondents' intention is the following:

$$\log \frac{\pi_{s_1, s_2}}{1 - \pi_{s_1, s_2}} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Treatment \quad (4)$$

Treat is a dummy variable with value 1 if the respondent got his or her identity primed, i.e. belonged to the treatment group. Then, a second category of regressions are computed when adding control variables - gender, age groups and company car ownership - as depicted in equation (6).

$$\log \frac{\pi_{s_1, s_2}}{1 - \pi_{s_1, s_2}} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \textit{Treatment} + \beta_2 \textit{Gender} + \beta_3 \textit{AgeGroup} + \beta_4 \textit{CompanyCar} \quad (5)$$

The significance level is set at 95% - i.e. $\alpha = 0.05$. π is the probability from respondents to switch from their previous transport-mode to the bike. Regressions are done separately for Walloons and Flemings as results could differ between them. Then, they are computed to assess the probability of switching to the bike for various changes of allowances. At the start of this research and until May 2023, a tax-exempt bike allowance of up to 0.25€/km could be granted by employers although they were under no obligation to do so. Hence, 0.25€/km was chosen as "central" option. Since then, regulations have changed and all Belgian private sector employees can now ask for a 0.27€/km bike allowance even if no such agreement exists for the public sector. $s_1 = \{0, 0.25\}$ denotes the baseline subsidy and $s_2 = \{0.15, 0.25, 0.35, 0.50\}$ the proposed subsidy in each regression. Namely, switches at any change of allowance level - anywhere between 0 and 0.5€/km -, for a change between 0 and 0.15€/km, between 0 and 0.25€/km, and between 0.25€/km and 0.35€/km are tested. Asides from the global test, this allows to observe if priming identity triggers a significant change, first, between no allowance and a smaller level than the one currently applied in the majority of cases, then, between no allowance and the main current level, and finally, between the current level and a larger level. This is done with a concern for applicability in concrete public policies. As an example, if it turns out that there is a major switch with a change from 0.25€/km - the applied level until May 2023 - to 0.35€/km coming from commuters being treated, this could bring to light promising avenues towards greener commuting.

4 Data and research design

Prior to collecting data, a power analysis was realised with a concern not to set up an experiment too low-powered. The probability of correctly rejecting the null hypothesis, i.e. of finding a "true positive" is set at 0.8. The probability of a type II error, β , being equal to 0.2. To ensure that the experiment is "powerful" enough, researchers typically aim for a given sample size taking power analysis into account. However, due to the time frame of this research and to a lack of exploitable figures regarding the observed phenomenon, power calculations were done in order to get a minimum detectable effect (MDE) rather than a sample size. The MDE is the smallest effect that, if true, has a $(1 - \alpha)$ per cent chance of producing an impact estimate that is statistically significant at the $(1 - \beta)$ level (Bloom, 1995). This can be computed as follows:

$$MDE = (t_1 + t_2) \sqrt{\frac{P(1 - P)}{T(1 - T)n}} \quad (6)$$

t_1 and t_2 are t-values corresponding to the significance level of the test and power level of the experiment, respectively. P is the proportion of the study population that has a value of 1 for the outcome in absence of treatment. T is the proportion of the sample assigned to the treatment group. n is the sample size. Different MDEs were computed for Walloons and Flemings, as they differ drastically in the proportion of people cycling to work.

For this purpose, we used the available statistics on current bike commuters - 2.8% in Wallonia, 20.4% in Flanders - as the proportion P of the population having a value of 1 in absence of treatment (SPF Mobilité & Transports, 2023). The necessary assumption here made is that no commuters would take their bike in the absence of an allowance and that every commuter is aware of the allowance which is wildly unrealistic. Hypothesising sample sizes of 1000 respondents for Wallonia and of 2,000 respondents for Flanders and a 50-50 distribution between control and treatment groups yields MDEs of 0.029 and 0.051, respectively. In other words, this means that the change in probability of switching to the bike needs to be greater than 0.08 percentage point for Walloons and than 0.85 percentage point for Flemings when being treated for the experiment to reach a power of 80%³. As those deviations seem reasonable, the experiment was considered to be sufficiently powerful. It is worth noting that the purpose of the computations here made is only to give an order of magnitude of the observed change required, which is fairly low.

Going back to the hypothesis made at the beginning of the previous paragraph, MDEs computed hereabove provide more of an upper bound as differences in the proportions for the various allowance levels would likely be and turned out to be smaller. Therefore, resulting MDEs would also be of smaller magnitude. Larger samples than forecasted - which also turned out to be the case - would also have the same effect on MDEs.

Data was collected through online surveys posted on Belgian municipalities' Facebook group between the 12th and the 20th of April 2023. Almost every Belgian municipality has a Facebook group to ask questions, provide information, advertise a business, etc. which represents a new opportunity to collect reliable data at lower cost. This is even more relevant as concerns are growing regarding data quality coming from traditional survey platforms (Gupta et al., 2021) and mainly from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk) (Aruguete et al., 2019; Fréchette et al., 2022). Besides from that, collecting data on those platforms represent significant cost for small-scale research. Peer et al. (2022) experienced a per-observation cost

³see Appendix 1 for the detailed computations

slightly above 2\$ while Gupta et al. (2021) could not get under 3\$/observation, both studies using three different platforms. The method used in this paper allows to reach inhabitants from all over Belgium at no cost apart from the researcher’s time.

Given Facebook’s strict policy on bot blocking and the limited time frame available to conduct research, it was deemed preferable to join a random subset of municipalities’ groups rather than the entirety of them. As Belgium is divided in 43 districts, which is the most precise division of the territory next to municipalities themselves, a request to join the group was sent to half of the groups in each district. Asides from that, as they represent a significant part of the Belgian population, all municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants were included in the selected subset and, as the risk of missing out on a large part of their population was greater in those municipalities, neighbourhoods’ - i.e. intra-municipality - Facebook groups from those municipalities were also included. In case the reason to join the group was asked, a small text explaining the purpose of the research was sent. The exact text can be found in Appendix 2a in both languages. In total, 329 municipalities and neighbourhoods were selected, 291 of them accepted the request while 38 of them refused, did not respond to the request or did not have a Facebook group. Brussels’ and German-speaking municipalities were left out of the sample under observation as done by Meeusen et al. (2017), to be able to observe and isolate Walloon and Flemish identities more easily. Table 1 gives an overview of the selected municipalities compared with all Belgian municipalities. Average and median populations are higher in selected samples as large cities were always included. The full list of municipalities can be found in Appendix 3

Table 1: Comparison between selected municipalities and all municipalities

	<i>Groups</i>			
	Selected FL	All FL	Selected WA	All WA ⁴
Municipalities	148	300	127	253
which accepted	133		113	
which declined	15		14	
Neighbourhoods	24		21	
which accepted	14		15	
which declined	6		3	
Average municipality’s population	25,951	22,330	15,709	14,168
Median municipality’s population	16,473	15,269	10,851	8,700

A post stating the purpose of the research with the link to the survey was sent to each group. The post was written in the official language of the municipality, with the possibility

⁴without German-speaking municipalities

to answer the survey in the other language underneath. The post was fully written in both languages for facilitated municipalities⁵ with the official language first. Again, the full post can be found in [Appendix 2b](#). Particular attention was given to the translation between the two versions in such a way that there was no significant difference in the interpretation of the questions in the two languages. In some groups, administrators had to accept the post before it could be read by members. It is likely that the post was not accepted for publication in every group. However, as no notification is sent unless the post is expressly refused or banned afterwards, it is not possible to give an account of refusals. 463 and 301 different ZIP codes were reported in the Dutch and French versions of the survey, respectively. This is an imperfect metric as some municipalities encompass several ZIP codes but it can help reflecting the geographical diversity of respondents

In total, 4,782 Belgian citizens responded to the survey, 2,985 responded in Dutch while 1,797 did so in French. 1,508 respondents were assigned to the control group and 1,477 to the treatment group in the Flemish version. In the Walloon version, 906 respondents were assigned to the control group while 891 got treated. Hence, data coming from both versions of the survey are very close to a 50-50 split.

Data was cleaned to eliminate non-existing ZIP codes and non-usable or irrational mobility choices. Cases where respondents responded with two different transport-modes when their dominant one was asked were the most common non-usable data. Regarding irrational mobility choice, respondents choosing to switch from the car to public transport when the bike allowance was increasing is an example. It should be noted that beyond a sign of inattention or misunderstanding, this could also be a sign of a more global reflection of the respondent, or of the prospect of having a bicycle allowance even if the bicycle is not the dominant transport-mode but these considerations are outside the scope of the present work. Another example is respondents indicating a transport mode that they currently use and not indicating that transport mode for any level of allowance, even zero. After data cleaning, 2,740 Flemish responses - 1,402 in the control group and 1,338 in the treatment group - and 1,613 Walloon responses - 792 in the control group and 821 in the treatment group - remained usable, that is 89.8% of valid responses for Walloons and 91.8% for Flemings. In general, we can see that the understanding of the survey was good and that the treatment did not change respondents' understanding of the survey. As Walloon and Flemish identity are built on their language, it was the criterion used to classify respondents as Flemings or Walloons. Respondents of the survey written in Dutch and in French will be designated as Flemings and Walloons, respectively, for the remainder of this thesis. 1.6% of respondents living in

⁵Facilitated municipalities are close to the linguistic border and offer administrative services in the other language as they have a higher share of citizens speaking it.

Wallonia chose to respond in Dutch, while 7.6% living in Flanders did so in French. Hence, these respondents were left in the group of their preferred language. It should be noted that the large difference between Walloons in Flanders and Flemings in Wallonia is not surprising. Even if no statistics are available on the matter, the French speaking minority in Flanders has always been present while the opposite is less true (Dassargues, 2013, Francard, 2011).

The complete version of the survey is available in Appendix 4. As respondents clicked on the URL link posted, it randomly redirected them to one of the two versions of the survey without notification in order for respondents not to know if they were being treated or not. The allocation of subjects was done thanks to a tool developed by Fergusson (2016).

Basic information was collected in the first part of the survey. People had to give socio-demographic characteristics - age, gender, ZIP code, student or not - and provide details on their current home-work commuting habits: distance, frequency, current dominant transport mode. Then, they had to rate their Walloon/Flemish feeling out of 10. They also had to specify if they benefited from a company car, from a fuel card and, in the case they were commuting by bike, from a bike allowance. As almost all respondents having a company car also had a fuel card and vice-versa in all groups the two control variables were merged. The limited number of control variables available is due to the willingness to gather sufficient data and to the fact that it was deemed there would be a trade-off between the number of personal questions asked and survey attrition (Stantcheva, 2022). In the second part, people had to choose their dominant transport mode choice if they would benefit from a bike allowance that was incrementally increasing with five different levels: no allowance - 0€/km -, 0.15€/km, 0.25€/km, 0.35€/km, and 0.50€/km.

Roughly half of the respondents - the control group - had to answer the survey without any added information. The second half - the treatment group - got their identity primed, through a social comparison nudge. The additional part consisted of four different questions on respondents' interests and tastes. The last question asked them to choose between a typical Walloon dish - *Boulets à la liégeoise* - and a typical Flemish dish - *Vlaams stoofvlees*. Additionally, a message stating the difference between biking habits for home-work commuting, Flemings overwhelmingly outperforming Walloons on the matter was displayed for treated individuals when they had to choose their transport-mode. The aim was for respondents to feel that their communities is over- and under-performing relative to the other one while staying subtle. If they would feel offended or if it seemed too obvious that the priming was the key element that would be observed, it could be detrimental to the validity of their responses or trigger attrition. Importantly, the question about Walloon/Flemish identity feeling was put after the treatment for primed individual. That way, it was possible to assess nudge effectiveness.

The choice was made to ask for a unique *dominant* transport mode, that is the one they use most of the time to cover the largest distance. It has been shown that travel behaviour is subject to automaticity and to habit formation (Gärling and Axhausen, 2003; Verplanken and Aarts, 1999) as individuals do not ask themselves every day what is the most suitable way to get to work and act without thinking once they found a convenient routine. Hence, people should reconsider their transport mode choice first, before taking the decision. Therefore, the objective is here to see if individuals could rethink their commuting transport-mode choice to enter a new cycle of habit formation and start biking instead of driving. This is knowingly done at the cost of nuance. For instance, going by car three times a week and by bike the rest of the time will not be taken into account, nor will be going to work by bike during summer and by car during the rest of the year. In addition to triggering a total rethink of the respondent's travel behaviour, this is done for two additional reasons. First, Belgian statistics on mobility operates this way and it will ease comparison. Second, allowing for several 'intermediary' possibilities increases the risk of moderacy response bias, i.e. choosing for the middleground irrespective if it does represents the respondent's actual behaviour, and of social desirability bias, i.e. complying with what respondents think is expected from them and not with what they actually do (Bogner and Landrock, 2016; Stantcheva, 2022). It should be emphasised that this is not contradicting that other approaches such as multimodality - using more than one mode of transport - which is another interesting possibility to observe (An et al., 2022).

The last report on home-work mobility published by Belgian authorities (SPF Mobilité & Transports, 2023) which provides extensive data on Belgian commuters, is used to conduct robustness checks and to compute MDEs as it was the closest estimates to necessary parameters. The survey only gathers data from companies of at least 100 employees, which is not representative of the whole Belgian working population. Furthermore, reports are majoritarilly based on citizens' workplace as data collection occur through companies while the present is focused on respondents' place of residence as surveys were posted on municipalities' Facebook groups. Finally, reports include the region of Brussels while this is not the case of the present work. Hence, differences between the data collected for this study and the federal report are to be expected and only general trends will therefore be compared.

4.1 Robustness checks

4.1.1 Internal validity

Data was collected in the most neutral way possible to try to limit the possible differences between control and survey groups' interpretations. Socio-demographic characteristics between control and treatment groups for Walloons as well as as for Flemings are very similar.

The difference in genders' proportion of respondents is approximately 3% for Walloons and is inferior to 1% for Flemings. Differences in age groups structure, dominant transport mode use and company car ownership are also small. [Table 2](#) and [Figure 1](#) provide a comparison of socio-demographic variables between groups. In addition, t-tests were conducted to compare Walloon and Flemish control and treatment groups regarding the three variables displayed here, no significant difference between groups was found.

Globally, the internal validity of the experiment looks robust.

Table 2: Comparison between survey groups

	<i>Groups</i>			
	Control FL	Treatment FL	Control WA	Treatment WA
Men	344 (24.54%)	337 (25.19%)	179 (22.10%)	153 (19.05%)
Women	1051 (74.96%)	997 (74.51%)	629 (77.65%)	650 (80.95%)
Other	0 (0%)	2 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
18-25	109 (7.77%)	101 (7.55%)	58 (7.16%)	58 (7.22%)
26-35	354 (25.25%)	348 (26%)	189 (23.33%)	188 (23.41%)
36-45	386 (27.53%)	349 (26.08%)	243 (30%)	234 (29.14%)
46-55	368 (26.25%)	357 (26.68%)	212 (26.17%)	223 (27.77%)
56-65	163 (11.63%)	167 (12.48%)	101 (12.47%)	97 (12.08%)
66+	22 (1.57%)	16 (1.2%)	7 (0.86%)	3 (0.37%)
Company car	262 (18.69%)	268 (20.03%)	119 (14.69%)	125 (15.57%)
No Company car	1140 (81.31%)	1070 (79.97%)	691 (85.31%)	678 (84.43%)

4.1.2 External validity

Data was collected during the spring as it was deemed that doing it in summer or winter could distort respondents' intentions given the weather. Every spring, Flanders hosts cycling races that generate a great deal of public interest. The data collection took place afterwards, in order to avoid potential temporary hype generated by the races.

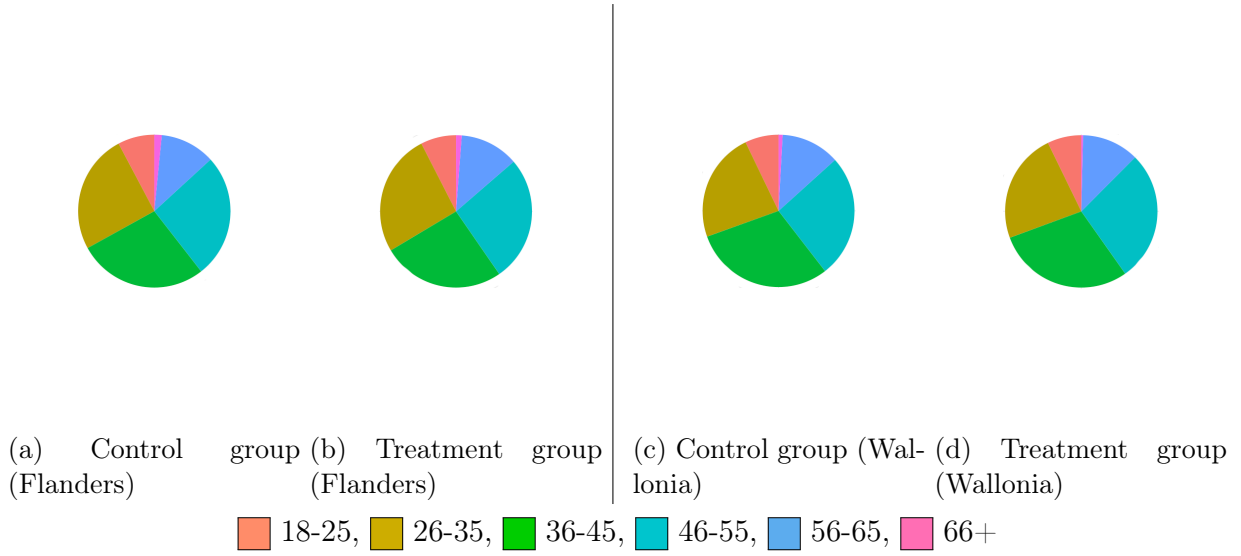


Figure 1: Age groups structure

However, a few issues prevent from achieving perfect external validity. First, given the time frame of the research, data were collected only at a specific point in time. Results may have been different if responses were collected over a longer time frame.

Second, regarding representativity of the sample population, several remarks can also be made. In every group - control and treatment, Walloons and Flemings -, women consistently responded much more to the survey, representing between 74.7% and 80.9% of the respondents. As it represents a significant deviation from the actual Belgian population which is close to a 50-50 distribution (Statbel, 2023b), this is tackled in the discussion towards the end of the paper. Comparing the Walloons-Flemings distribution of the gathered sample with the actual distribution (Statbel, 2023c) can serve as a first proxy to assess the balance of data collection. In terms of age groups, crossing population data (Statbel, 2023b) with working population data (Statbel, 2023a), the respondents' proportion of each age group in all surveys is relatively close to their actual proportion in the Belgian population. This is displayed in Table 3⁶.

Respondents' reported transport behaviour depicts the same tendencies as the federal report

⁶To get exploitable figures regarding target populations, several assumptions are made. First, there is one year mismatch between age groups of surveys used here and age groups available on Statbel, the Belgian statistics office. They are made equal for the present computations. For instance, statistics on the 25-34 years group are used as if they were on the 26-35 years group of the survey. Second, the 18-25 years group is supposed to have the employment rate of the 20-24 years of official statistics. This is done due to the very low employment rate of the 15-19 years group and the impossibility of knowing how this is distributed over the different years. Finally, no figures could be found regarding employment above 65 years old. Hence, the group is discarded from the present comparison. Statistics about target populations are therefore computed to gain insight into their overall structure, rather than aiming for perfect accuracy.

Table 3: Regional and age groups distributions from samples and target populations

	<i>Groups</i>			
	Sample FL	Population FL	Sample WA	Population WA
Share of total population	62.95%	65.29%	37.05%	34.71%
18-25	7.77%	9.45%	7.24%	8.34%
26-35	25.98%	23.76%	23.52%	23.97%
36-45	27.20%	25.05%	29.76%	25.17%
46-55	26.83%	24.61%	27.14%	25.77%
56-65	12.21%	17.14%	12.35%	16.75%
66+	/	/	/	/

on home-work commuting. The majority of respondents are commuting by car, even more so for Walloons than for Flemings and in the same proportion as in the report (SPF Mobilité & Transports, 2023) as depicted in the next section. Flemings largely outscore Walloons regarding cycling, with one Fleming out of five commuting by bike.

Another potential issue came from the underrepresentation of large cities. In Flanders, 13.4% of the population lives in Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent and Leuven. However, respondents with ZIP codes corresponding to those cities account for only 4.3% of the sample, even with the aforementioned precautions. This phenomenon is less noticeable in Wallonia as the four largest Walloon cities - Charleroi, Liège, Namur and Mons - represents roughly 16% of the Walloon population while the gathered responses from those cities accounts for 11.9% of the sample. This issue is more difficult to take into account. If it seems sensible that mobility behaviours differ in urban and in rural areas given the various level of infrastructures at commuters' disposal around their home and/or their workplace, this may not be true between large and small urban areas. Moreover, Belgium has many municipalities that are partly urbanised and partly rural, hence, the ZIP code indicator does not provide a relevant filter to make the distinction between types of environments. Therefore, it was deemed that trying to weight those respondents differently could do more harm than good. They were left as they are in the computations but it represents the major concern to achieve external validity.

5 Results

5.1 Descriptive statistics

The details of descriptive statistics on Walloon and Flemings can be found in Table 10 which is left at the end of the thesis for ease of reading.

Among Flemish respondents to the survey, 65.7% drive to work, 21.3% cycle to work and 11% use public transport. Regarding Walloons, 76.1% use their car, 3.9% their bike and 17.7% public transport to get to their workplace. Flemings also have to do shorter home-work trips, 61.3% of them live less than 20 km away from their workplace, while only 47.4% of Walloons are in this case and 14.8% have to go more than 50 km away - against 8.66% on the Flemish side. Interestingly, while they cycle more, Flemings seem to own more company cars, with roughly 19% against around 15% for Walloons. Bike allowances seem to be much more common among Flemings than they are among Walloons. While 90% of commuters by bike reported they were given an allowance for cycling to work in the Dutch survey, only 20.9% reported the same in the French questionnaire.

Among Flemings, quite surprisingly, older respondents tend to cycle more than their younger counterparts. Respectively, more than 23% and more than 25% of the 46-55 and 56-65 age groups cycle to work while only 20% and 18.5% of 18-25 and 26-35 do so. The 26-35 group is also the one from which respondents take their car the most, with more than 70%. Accounting for home-work distance, logically, the further the workplace from home, the less likely people are to take their bike. Almost 50% of commuters travel by bike if they live less than 5 km away from their workplace, and 36.6% if it is between 6 and 10 km. Above 30 km, this drops to less than 4%.

Regarding Walloons, 56-65s are also the ones cycling to work the most but the youngest age group is just below, both above 5%. Home-work trips between 10 and 30 km are the ones for which commuters use their car the most. They are probably deemed too long to be done by bike or walking and too short to take the train. The same observation was made in the federal report of the [SPF Mobilité & Transports \(2023\)](#), but here the same cannot be said for Flemings. If cycling to work becomes unpopular more quickly among Walloons as the distance becomes bigger, it is with smaller distances that the gap is the biggest between the two communities, only 12.3% of the 0-5 km and 10.9% of the 6-10 km trips are done by bike. However, for distances above 40 km, for which bike use is very low for both regions, Walloons take public transport much more than Flemings.

Walloons and Flemings depict similar patterns in their commuting frequency. The majority of commuters goes to work between three and five times a week, with 44.8% in Wallonia and 40.3% in Flanders going exactly five times. However, the same cannot be said about their means of transport. Apart from respondents going only once or more than six times to work weekly, the more often Walloons commute to work each week, the more likely it they are to take the car, peaking at more than 91% for the "six times per week" group. Regarding Flemings, no matter the frequency, between 60% and 70% of commuters are taking the car to go to work. In terms of bicycling, there is an upward trend in its adoption as a mode of

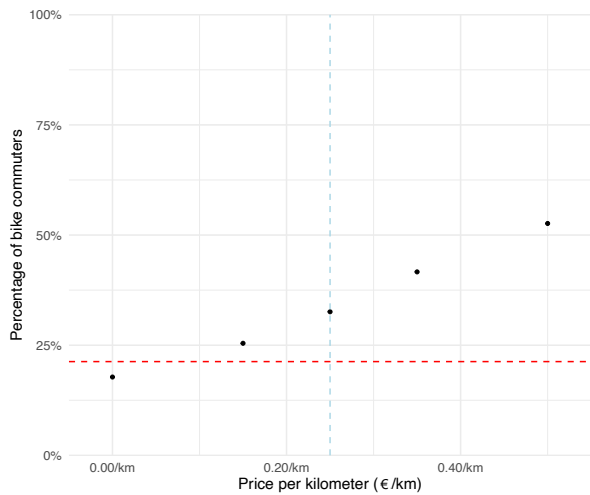
transportation as individuals increasingly commute from once to five times per week.

Focussing on the various levels of bike allowance and their effects, Flanders gives interesting results. As stated hereabove, 21.3% of Flemish respondents commute by bike. Getting rid of any allowance decrease the share of cycling commuters, bringing it to 17.8%, demonstrating that a small part of commuters currently using their bike would stop doing so if it was to disappear. More interestingly, allowances of 0.15€/km and 0.25€/km bring the share of bicycle riders to 25.4% and 32.6% while they are both below the current minimum allowance level in the private sector - from 0.25€/km to 0.27€/km since the 1st of May 2023 -, the public sector still lacking a global agreement on the matter. Globally, the relationship between the allowance and the share of bike-riders is almost linear - $R^2 = 0.9899$ - topping at 52.6% for the 0.5€/km level. Hence, no tipping points can be found. The same can be said for Walloons regarding the linearity between the two variables - $R^2 = 0.9666$. The difference being that there is currently a very small share of Walloons using their bikes. For the 0.25€/km, 11% are reporting they would make the effort of cycling to work. For the maximum level, Walloons reach half the level of Flemings for the same level, with 26%. The difference between respondents' intention in taking their bike at the level that is currently mandatory for employers - at least in the private sector - in both communities compared with what happens in reality is what strikes the most in the figures found here. This is discussed herebelow.

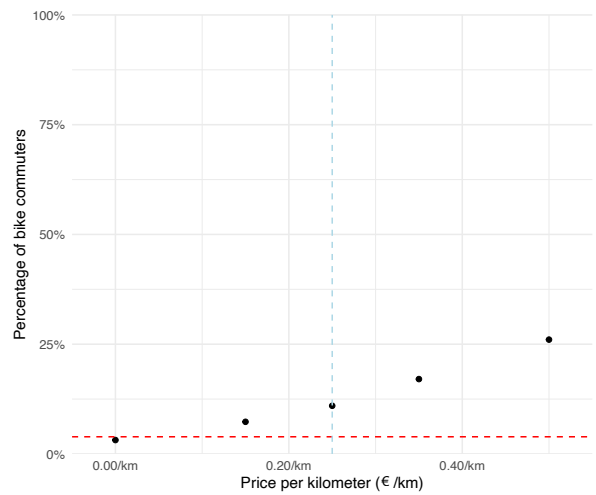
Promisingly, the majority of the switch operating with increasing levels of allowance operates between car users and bike users. Hence, from a polluting transport-mode to a greener one. The share of Walloon commuters using public transport stays very steady around 16-17% for almost every allowance level, only dropping at 14.5% with the 0.5€/km allowance. As that share is currently lower in Flanders, the risk of losing public transport users decreases too. From the current 11%, the share drops to 7% with the highest allowance. However, logically with the results of the previous paragraph, it follows that while Flemish people currently cycle more than Walloons, they are also quicker to give up the car. Even with a 0.5€/km allowance, 58% of Walloon respondents would still use their car compared to only 39% of their Flemish counterparts. [Figure 2](#) and [Table 4](#) depict the effect of allowance levels on bike commuting percentage.

Table 4: Bike allowance effect

	<i>Communities</i>	
	Flemings	Walloons
<u>Bike allowance effect</u>		
0 €/km		
Car	67.96%	76.44%
Bike	17.77%	3.16%
Public transport	11.72%	17.92%
0.15 €/km		
Car	62.30%	73.47%
Bike	25.44%	7.32%
Public transport	10.40%	17.36%
0.25 €/km		
Car	56.06%	70.61%
Bike	32.59%	10.97%
Public transport	9.56%	16.74%
0.35 €/km		
Car	48.03%	65.22%
Bike	41.64%	17.05%
Public transport	8.69%	16.06%
0.50 €/km		
Car	38.98%	58.03%
Bike	52.63%	26.04%
Public transport	6.97%	14.57%



(a) Flanders



(b) Wallonia

Figure 2: Propensity to commute by bike with various allowance levels (red line: current level of reported bike commuting, light blue line: current targeted allowance level)

5.2 Identity treatment

Self-reported Flemish identity appears to be stronger than Walloon identity, in line with previous results (Brigeveich, 2016). On a scale from 0 to 10, on average, respondents to the French questionnaire rated their Walloon feeling at 6.90 while respondents to the Dutch questionnaire rated theirs roughly one point higher, at 7.88. On another note, this sense of belonging sharply drops for Flemings and Walloons living in the other community. French respondents with Flemish ZIP codes have an average Walloon feeling of 2.19 while Dutch respondents living in Wallonia rate their Flemish identity at 4.30.

Regarding nudge effectiveness, interestingly, both treated groups had significantly lower identity feeling when being primed than their control counterparts - t-tests p-values being smaller than 0.05 in both cases. Hence, it seems that even when trying to antagonise communities, highlighting a behaviour on which they differ, priming dampens respondents' sense of belonging whether they are on the "winning" side or on the "losing" side, at least in the setup here experimented.

In the majority of observed cases, priming respondents with their respective linguistic identities did not prove to be an effective way in changing their commuting habits.

Among Walloon respondents, the treatment has no significant effect on the propensity to switch to the bike for home-work commuting for any level of allowance. Controlling for socio-demographic variables does not change the significance of the treatment. Hence, no case of stereotype threat can be identified towards Walloons here.

Regarding Flanders, for an allowance level changing from 0 to 0.15€/km, being treated just misses out on the significance threshold - $p\text{-value} = 0.0539$ - and shows an increase in the likelihood of taking the bike - $\beta_1 = 0.278$. When adding control variables, treatment becomes significant. Sequentially withdrawing control variables, controlling for company car ownership is what does alter significance of the treatment. There, both variables are significant and the coefficient depicts the same magnitude as without control variables - $\beta_1 = 0.287$. It can therefore be stated that when accounting for the negative impact of owning a company car - $\beta_2 = -0.668$ - in adopting the bike as main transport mode for home-work commuting, being primed with their linguistic identity made Flemish respondents more likely to make the switch going from no allowance to the smallest level of it, that is 0.15€/km. This goes in the sense of an assimilation effect with respondents' linguistic community prescribed behaviour and corroborates findings from (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000) that deviating from social norms would be costly. Table 5 details the regressions of the Flemish case between no allowance and a 0.15€/km level when controlling for car ownership. However, it should be emphasised that in the various regressions computed, as p-values are hovering around the significance

threshold while coefficients' sizes are only marginally differing, it is difficult to establish treatment significance with total certainty. Details of insignificant regressions are displayed hereafter.

Table 5: Flanders' treatment effect with and without controlling for car ownership

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Switch to bike commuting	
	(1)	(2)
Treatment	0.278* (0.144)	0.287** (0.145)
Company car		-0.668*** (0.223)
Constant	-2.633*** (0.107)	-2.534*** (0.110)
Observations	2,740	2,740
Log Likelihood	-739.277	-734.041
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,482.554	1,474.082
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 6: Wallonia's treatment effect

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5 (1)	0, 0.15 (2)	0, 0.25 (3)	0.15, 0.25 (4)	0.25, 0.35 (5)
Treatment	-0.003 (0.118)	-0.273 (0.252)	-0.092 (0.184)	0.108 (0.257)	0.227 (0.209)
Constant	-1.203*** (0.083)	-3.011*** (0.166)	-2.406*** (0.128)	-3.258*** (0.186)	-2.857*** (0.155)
Observations	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613
Log Likelihood	-871.071	-278.134	-446.985	-265.956	-368.856
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,746.142	560.268	897.969	535.912	741.712

Note:

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

Table 7: Flanders' treatment effect

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5 (1)	0, 0.15 (2)	0, 0.25 (3)	0.15, 0.25 (4)	0.25, 0.35 (5)
Treatment	-0.057 (0.080)	0.278* (0.144)	0.095 (0.107)	-0.076 (0.145)	-0.156 (0.132)
Constant	-0.593*** (0.056)	-2.633*** (0.107)	-1.782*** (0.076)	-2.473*** (0.100)	-2.199*** (0.089)
Observations	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740
Log Likelihood	-1,773.135	-739.277	-1,157.828	-731.013	-849.806
Akaike Inf. Crit.	3,550.269	1,482.554	2,319.657	1,466.026	1,703.612

Note:

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

Table 8: Wallonia's treatment effect with control variables

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5	0, 0.15	0, 0.25	0.15, 0.25	0.25, 0.35
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	0.004 (0.121)	-0.291 (0.254)	-0.107 (0.186)	0.092 (0.258)	0.241 (0.211)
Company Car	-0.480** (0.189)	-0.757 (0.479)	-0.273 (0.291)	0.072 (0.360)	-0.344 (0.336)
26-35	-0.999*** (0.222)	-1.149*** (0.390)	-0.439 (0.308)	0.690 (0.551)	-0.736** (0.372)
36-45	-1.126*** (0.217)	-1.809*** (0.430)	-1.218*** (0.332)	-0.167 (0.578)	-0.289 (0.339)
46-55	-1.287*** (0.223)	-0.924** (0.365)	-0.646** (0.310)	0.130 (0.568)	-1.168*** (0.391)
56-65	-1.433*** (0.265)	-1.294*** (0.481)	-1.220*** (0.415)	-0.830 (0.774)	-1.086** (0.467)
66+	-2.143** (1.075)	-14.585 (755.162)	-13.852 (459.864)	-13.157 (758.269)	-14.465 (755.978)
Men	0.294** (0.148)	0.139 (0.314)	-0.007 (0.237)	-0.205 (0.345)	0.173 (0.261)
Not specified	-12.232 (378.308)	-13.430 (1,676.162)	-13.034 (1,022.886)	-13.204 (1,694.235)	-13.695 (1,674.335)
Constant	-0.130 (0.198)	-1.841*** (0.313)	-1.628*** (0.275)	-3.352*** (0.529)	-2.209*** (0.320)
Observations	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613
Log Likelihood	-845.133	-266.465	-435.950	-259.575	-359.811
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,710.266	552.930	891.900	539.150	739.622

Note:

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

Table 9: Flanders' treatment effect with control variables

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5	0, 0.15	0, 0.25	0.15, 0.25	0.25, 0.35
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	-0.054 (0.082)	0.289** (0.145)	0.104 (0.108)	-0.071 (0.146)	-0.154 (0.133)
Company Car	-0.515*** (0.112)	-0.711*** (0.229)	-0.720*** (0.165)	-0.621*** (0.221)	-0.330* (0.188)
26-35	-0.431*** (0.159)	-0.662*** (0.245)	-0.265 (0.194)	0.254 (0.284)	-0.389* (0.220)
36-45	-0.845*** (0.160)	-0.809*** (0.249)	-0.470** (0.197)	0.090 (0.287)	-0.590*** (0.224)
46-55	-1.050*** (0.162)	-0.739*** (0.246)	-0.617*** (0.200)	-0.252 (0.297)	-1.014*** (0.239)
56-65	-1.381*** (0.191)	-0.725** (0.288)	-0.811*** (0.240)	-0.774** (0.380)	-1.199*** (0.302)
66+	-2.370*** (0.548)	-0.768 (0.637)	-1.307** (0.626)	-14.201 (388.648)	-14.930 (388.687)
Men	-0.006 (0.099)	0.268 (0.167)	0.186 (0.127)	0.087 (0.175)	-0.134 (0.165)
Not specified	-0.242 (0.720)	0.423 (1.075)	-0.387 (1.067)	-14.131 (793.516)	0.811 (0.814)
Other	0.670 (1.457)	-11.222 (378.562)	-11.893 (375.920)	-13.981 (1,665.816)	2.422* (1.452)
Constant	0.290** (0.147)	-1.940*** (0.219)	-1.261*** (0.178)	-2.344*** (0.266)	-1.473*** (0.200)
Observations	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740
Log Likelihood	-1,712.430	-726.867	-1,137.193	-715.155	-827.898
Akaike Inf. Crit.	3,446.860	1,475.735	2,296.385	1,452.310	1,677.795

Note:

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

6 Discussion

In spite of the attention paid to the research an survey design, the present thesis provides more of an upper bound to potential improvements that raises in bike allowances could trigger rather than an accurate estimate of what would happen if such allowances were adopted.

Rebound effects were not taken into account in the analysis. As an example, such effects

could happen if laggards that would take their bike for a given level of allowance realise that once other commuters have started doing it, roads are not as busy as they used to be and, consequently, are not as keen as they used to be to operate the switch. Conversely, important arrivals of bike commuters could also be the starting point of mobility investments that could then attract other ones.

Then, the major limitation of the present thesis is its inability to assess whether reported intentions will effectively translate into behaviours once allowances are made available to commuters. First, external validity could be strengthened. As mentioned hereabove, the share of women among respondents is much larger than the share of men. Even though coefficients were insignificant when controlling for respondents' gender in the propensity to switch to bicycling, weighted regressions were computed accounting for the gender difference between sample and population. Performing such regressions does not change conclusions nor does it change significance with respect to the unweighted case. Table 11 and 12 display weighted average results for Flanders and for Wallonia and are left at the end of the thesis. Second and most importantly, the thesis is unable to assess the magnitude of a potential intention-behaviour gap (Hassan et al. 2016; Sheeran and Webb 2016). This is even more difficult to assess as regular changes are operated regarding bike allowances in various sectors which makes it tricky to know if respondents are entitled to a bike allowance, and if so, if they are aware of it. Further research with greater resources are here needed allowing to observe behaviours in reality and over a significant lap of time. This could help to understand if the gap found here is due to unawareness of commuters or to insufficient exposure from public authorities and/or from companies, or to an intention-behaviour gap.

On another note, if it is undeniable that Flemings cycle more than Walloons, most commuters still take their car to go to work. It is therefore possible that cycling is not widespread enough to exert the sufficient influence that a social norm is supposed to exert on people and it is not as costly to deviate as the majority of the population is not performing the observed behaviour.

Finally, regarding further research, it seems that "facilitated" municipalities could represent an interesting case study regarding identity, whether it is in the framework of mobility or not. While they have often been the focus of linguistic tensions in Belgium, it seems that Belgian citizens living in regions where their native language is not spoken have a less pronounced identity linked to their language. It should be noted, however, that not all of these citizens live in facilitated municipalities, but that the sample collected in this study does not allow us to draw any further conclusions.

7 Conclusion

As an urgent switch towards pro-environmental behaviours needs to happen and as transport is responsible for a significant proportion of global carbon emissions, this thesis tries to provide an answer to several questions regarding Belgian home-work commuting.

First, financial incentives in the form of an increase in the level of bike allowance for home-work commuters seems promising in terms of reported intentions to cycle to work. Compared to the current 3.91% of Walloons and 21.28% of Flemings, more than half of Flemish respondents and more than a quarter of Walloon respondents were keen to do so with a allowance of 0.5€/km, which is roughly twice the targeted level in 2023. More than that, more than 30% and 10% of commuters living in Flanders and Wallonia respectively reported a willingness to get to work by bike with the current targeted bike allowance level in Belgium. Generalising the allowance to all sectors and raising awareness around it could therefore potentially already trigger important changes without the need to raise it.

Second, priming identity did not prove to be an efficient way to get more Belgian commuters to take their bike to go to work. While significance was found at some level on the Flemish side of the country, the same cannot be said for Walloons. Overall, it does not seem that priming identity represent a real opportunity towards greener commuting, all the more so as the implementation of this type of priming should be very cautious, so as not to reignite potential linguistic tensions.

Asides from that, collecting data through Facebook municipalities groups proved to be convenient and cost-effective. While external validity could be improved, cautious research design results in a strong internal validity which shows that social media could represent a way forward for conducting social experiments.

References

- Abou Zeid, M. (2009). *Measuring and modeling activity and travel well-being*. Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Accepted: 2010-05-25T20:54:25Z.
- Abou Zeid, M., Schmöcker, J.-D., Belgiawan, P. F., and Fujii, S. (2013). Mass effects and mobility decisions. *Transportation Letters*, 5(3):115–130. Publisher: Taylor & Francis _eprint: <https://doi.org/10.1179/1942786713Z.00000000011>.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2):179–211.
- Ajzen, I. (2005). *Attitudes, Personality and Behaviour*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK). Google-Books-ID: dmJ9EGEy0ZYC.
- Akerlof, G. A. and Kranton, R. E. (2000). Economics and Identity*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(3):715–753.
- An, Z., Heinen, E., and Watling, D. (2022). Multimodal travel behaviour, attitudes, and cognitive dissonance. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 91:260–273.
- Andries, S. (2023). PS-staatssecretaris Dermine over Bouchez: ‘Het meest trieste is de negatieve impact op het imago van Wallonië’. *De Standaard*. Section: Wetstraat.
- Aruguete, M. S., Huynh, H., Browne, B. L., Jurs, B., Flint, E., and McCutcheon, L. E. (2019). How serious is the ‘carelessness’ problem on Mechanical Turk? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 22(5):441–449. Publisher: Routledge _eprint: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2018.1563966>.
- Avineri, E. (2012). On the use and potential of behavioural economics from the perspective of transport and climate change. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 24:512–521.
- Bamberg, S., Ajzen, I., and Schmidt, P. (2003). Choice of Travel Mode in the Theory of Planned Behavior: The Roles of Past Behavior, Habit, and Reasoned Action. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 25(3):175–187. Place: US Publisher: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bamberg, S., Hunecke, M., and Blöbaum, A. (2007). Social context, personal norms and the use of public transportation: Two field studies. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 27(3):190–203.
- Bargh, J. A. and Chartrand, T. L. (2014). The mind in the middle: A practical guide to priming and automaticity research. In *Handbook of research methods in social and*

- personality psychology*, 2nd ed, pages 311–344. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, US.
- Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., and Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 71(2):230. Publisher: American Psychological Association.
- Benjamin, D. J., Choi, J. J., and Fisher, G. (2016). Religious identity and economic behavior. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 98(4):617–637. Publisher: The MIT Press.
- Benjamin, D. J., Choi, J. J., and Strickland, A. J. (2010). Social Identity and Preferences. *American Economic Review*, 100(4):1913–1928.
- Billiet, J., Maddens, B., and Frogner, A.-P. (2006). Does Belgium (still) exist? Differences in political culture between Flemings and Walloons. *West European Politics*, 29(5):912–932. Publisher: Routledge _eprint: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380600968802>.
- Bless, H. and Burger, A. M. (2016). Assimilation and contrast in social priming. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 12:26–31.
- Bloom, H. S. (1995). Minimum Detectable Effects. *Evaluation Review*, 19(5):547–556.
- Bogner, K. and Landrock, U. (2016). Response biases in standardised surveys. *GESIS Survey Guidelines*. Publisher: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences.
- Brigevich, A. (2016). Eurosceptic Regionalists: Flemish and Walloon Identities Compared. *L’Europe en Formation*, 379(1):95–121. Place: Nice Publisher: Centre international de formation européenne.
- Carr, P. B. and Steele, C. M. (2010). Stereotype Threat Affects Financial Decision Making. *Psychological Science*, 21(10):1411–1416. Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A., and Reno, R. R. (1991). A Focus Theory of Normative Conduct: A Theoretical Refinement and Reevaluation of the Role of Norms in Human Behavior. In Zanna, M. P., editor, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, volume 24, pages 201–234. Academic Press.
- Cohn, A. and Maréchal, M. A. (2016). Priming in economics. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 12:17–21.
- Damgaard, M. T. and Nielsen, H. (2018). Nudging in education. *Economics of Education Review*, 64(C):313–342. Publisher: Elsevier.

- Dassargues, A. (2013). Les francophones de Flandre : une communauté ? un avenir ? Enquête sociolinguistique auprès de jeunes francophones gantois. *FrancoFonie: Revue du Centre d'Étude des Francophones en Flandre / Tijdschrift van het Studiecentrum Franstaligen in Vlaanderen*, 4. Publisher: CEFF-SFV, Bruxelles, Belgium.
- Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., Quinn, D. M., and Gerhardstein, R. (2002). Consuming Images: How Television Commercials that Elicit Stereotype Threat Can Restrain Women Academically and Professionally. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(12):1615–1628. Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc.
- de Geus, B., De Bourdeaudhuij, I., Jannes, C., and Meeusen, R. (2008). Psychosocial and environmental factors associated with cycling for transport among a working population. *Health Education Research*, 23(4):697–708.
- De Keere, K., Elchardus, M., and Servais, O. (2011). *Eén Land/Twee Talen. België uit het leven gegrepen*. LannooCampus.
- De Ridder, D., Feitsma, J., Van Den Hoven, M., Kroese, F., Schillemans, T., Verweij, M., Venema, T., Vugts, A., and Vet, E. D. (2020). Simple nudges that are not so easy. *Behavioural Public Policy*, pages 1–19. Publisher: Cambridge University Press.
- Dolan, P., Hallsworth, M., Halpern, D., King, D., Metcalfe, R., and Vlaev, I. (2012). Influencing behaviour: The mindspace way. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 33(1):264–277.
- Donald, I., Cooper, S., and Conchie, S. (2014). An extended theory of planned behaviour model of the psychological factors affecting commuters’ transport mode use. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 40:39–48. Place: Netherlands Publisher: Elsevier Science.
- European Council (2022). Building the single European railway area.
- Evans, L., Maio, G. R., Corner, A., Hodgetts, C. J., Ahmed, S., and Hahn, U. (2013). Self-interest and pro-environmental behaviour. *Nature Climate Change*, 3(2):122–125.
- Fergusson, A. (2016). Designing online experiments using google forms+ random redirect tool. Retrieved from <https://teaching.statistics-is-awesome.org/designing-online-experiments-using-google-forms-random-redirect-tool>.
- Fornara, F., Bonnes, M., Carrus, G., Passafaro, P., and Tronu, G. (2009). Planned behavior and “local” norms: an analysis of the space-based aspects of normative ecological behavior. *Cognitive Processing*, 10(S2):198–200.
- Forward, S. (2004). The Prediction of Travel Behaviour Using the Theory of Planned Behaviour. *Traffic and Transport Psychology*, pages 481–492.

- Forward, S. E. (2009). The theory of planned behaviour: The role of descriptive norms and past behaviour in the prediction of drivers' intentions to violate. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 12(3):198–207.
- Francard, M. (2011). La minorité linguistique francophone en Flandre (Belgique) : des droits menacés ? *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*, 103(3):151–155. Place: Paris Publisher: Centre d'études et de recherches sur le Proche-Orient.
- Fréchette, G. R., Sarnoff, K., and Yariv, L. (2022). Experimental Economics: Past and Future. *Annual Review of Economics*, 14(1):777–794. _eprint: <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-081621-124424>.
- Gardner, B. and Abraham, C. (2008). Psychological correlates of car use: A meta-analysis. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 11(4):300–311.
- Garvill, J. (1999). Choice of Transportation Mode: Factors Influencing Drivers' Willingness to Reduce Personal Car Use and Support Car Regulations. In Foddy, M., Smithson, M., Schneider, S., and Hogg, M. A., editors, *Resolving Social Dilemmas*. Psychology Press. Num Pages: 17.
- Gatersleben, B. and Uzzell, D. (2007). Affective Appraisals of the Daily Commute: Comparing Perceptions of Drivers, Cyclists, Walkers, and Users of Public Transport. *Environment and Behavior*, 39(3):416–431.
- Gilovich, T., Griffin, D., and Kahneman, D. (2002). *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgment*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta, N., Rigotti, L., and Wilson, A. (2021). The Experimenters' Dilemma: Inferential Preferences over Populations. arXiv:2107.05064 [econ, q-fin].
- Gärling, T. and Axhausen, K. W. (2003). Introduction: Habitual travel choice. *Transportation*, 30(1):1–11.
- Günther, C., Ekinçi, N. A., Schwierén, C., and Strobel, M. (2010). Women can't jump?—An experiment on competitive attitudes and stereotype threat. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 75(3):395–401.
- Hassan, L. M., Shiu, E., and Shaw, D. (2016). Who Says There is an Intention–Behaviour Gap? Assessing the Empirical Evidence of an Intention–Behaviour Gap in Ethical Consumption. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 136(2):219–236.

- Haustein, S. and Hunecke, M. (2007). Reduced use of environmentally friendly modes of transportation caused by perceived mobility necessities: An extension of the theory of planned behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 37(8):1856–1883. Place: United Kingdom Publisher: Blackwell Publishing.
- Heath, Y. and Gifford, R. (2002). Extending the Theory of Planned Behavior: Predicting the Use of Public Transportation1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32(10):2154–2189. _eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb02068.x>.
- Heinen, E. and Handy, S. (2012). Similarities in Attitudes and Norms and the Effect on Bicycle Commuting: Evidence from the Bicycle Cities Davis and Delft. *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation*, 6(5):257–281. Publisher: Taylor & Francis _eprint: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15568318.2011.593695>.
- Hirsch, F. (2005). *Social Limits to Growth*. Routledge. Google-Books-ID: PV8NKgoLr2QC.
- Hooghe, M. (2016). Luie Walen, Vlaamse werkers? *VRT*.
- Johansson, M. V., Heldt, T., and Johansson, P. (2006). The effects of attitudes and personality traits on mode choice. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 40(6):507–525. Publisher: Elsevier.
- Kahneman, D., Knetsch, J. L., and Thaler, R. H. (1991). Anomalies: The Endowment Effect, Loss Aversion, and Status Quo Bias. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1):193–206.
- Kahneman, D. and Tversky, A. (1984). Choices, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39:341–350. Place: US Publisher: American Psychological Association.
- Klein, O., Licata, L., Van der Linden, N., Mercy, A., and Luminet, O. (2012). A waffle-shaped model for how realistic dimensions of the Belgian conflict structure collective memories and stereotypes. *Memory Studies*, 5(1):16–31. Publisher: SAGE Publications.
- Kormos, C., Gifford, R., and Brown, E. (2015). The Influence of Descriptive Social Norm Information on Sustainable Transportation Behavior: A Field Experiment. *Environment and Behavior*, 47(5):479–501. Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Korzilius, N. (2017). *A gentle push towards sustainability? The effect of nudging to promote cycling*. PhD thesis, Radboud Universiteit. Accepted: 2018-02-12T11:08:25Z.
- Kraft, P., Rise, J., Sutton, S., and Røysamb, E. (2005). Perceived difficulty in the theory of planned behaviour: perceived behavioural control or affective attitude? *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(Pt 3):479–496.

- Kraus, S. and Koch, N. (2021). Provisional COVID-19 infrastructure induces large, rapid increases in cycling. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(15):e2024399118. Publisher: Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.
- Krueger, R., Vij, A., and Rashidi, T. H. (2018). Normative beliefs and modality styles: a latent class and latent variable model of travel behaviour. *Transportation*, 45(3):789–825.
- La Libre (2007). Echec des vélos publics à Bruxelles ?
- Légal, J.-B., Meyer, T., Csillik, A., and Nicolas, P.-A. (2016). Goal priming, public transportation habit and travel mode selection: The moderating role of trait mindfulness. *Transportation Research Part F: Traffic Psychology and Behaviour*, 38:47–54.
- Manaugh, K. and El-Geneidy, A. M. (2013). Does distance matter? Exploring the links among values, motivations, home location, and satisfaction in walking trips. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 50:198–208.
- Margetts, E. A. and Kashima, Y. (2017). Spillover between pro-environmental behaviours: The role of resources and perceived similarity. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 49:30–42.
- Meeusen, C., Boonen, J., and Dassonneville, R. (2017). The Structure of Prejudice and Its Relation to Party Preferences in Belgium: Flanders and Wallonia Compared. *Psychologica Belgica*, 57(3):52. Number: 3 Publisher: Ubiquity Press.
- Metcalfe, R. and Dolan, P. (2012). Behavioural economics and its implications for transport. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 24:503–511.
- Mnookin, R. and Verbeke, A. (2009). Persistent Nonviolent Conflict with No Reconciliation: The Flemish and Walloons in Belgium. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 72(2):151–186. Publisher: Duke University School of Law.
- Mont, O., Lehner, M., and Heiskanen, E. (2014). *Nudging : A tool for sustainable behaviour?* Naturvårdsverket.
- OBIS (2011). Optimising Bike Sharing in European Cities - A Handbook.
- Peer, E., Rothschild, D., Gordon, A., Evernden, Z., and Damer, E. (2022). Data quality of platforms and panels for online behavioral research. *Behavior Research Methods*, 54(4):1643–1662.

- Pratto, F. and Bargh, J. A. (1991). Stereotyping based on apparently individuating information: Trait and global components of sex stereotypes under attention overload. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 27(1):26–47.
- Raifman, M., Lambert, K. F., Levy, J. I., and Kinney, P. L. (2021). Mortality Implications of Increased Active Mobility for a Proposed Regional Transportation Emission Cap-and-Invest Program. *Journal of Urban Health*, 98(3):315–327.
- RepResent (2019). Les Flamands et les Wallons ont voté pour des partis différents le 26 mai – mais leurs avis divergent moins sur les politiques publiques qu’ils souhaitent.
- Ritchie, H., Roser, M., and Rosado, P. (2020). Co2 and greenhouse gas emissions. *Our World in Data*. <https://ourworldindata.org/co2-and-greenhouse-gas-emissions>.
- Schwanen, T. and Mokhtarian, P. L. (2005). What affects commute mode choice: neighborhood physical structure or preferences toward neighborhoods? *Journal of Transport Geography*, 13(1):83–99.
- Sheeran, P. and Webb, T. L. (2016). The Intention–Behavior Gap. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 10(9):503–518. _eprint: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/spc3.12265>.
- Smekens, M. (2011). Le Flamand serait plus paresseux que le Wallon.
- Spencer, S. J., Logel, C., and Davies, P. G. (2016). Stereotype threat. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 67:415–437. Place: US Publisher: Annual Reviews.
- SPF Mobilité & Transports (2023). Enquête fédérale sur les déplacements domicile-travail 2021-2022. Technical report.
- Stantcheva, S. (2022). How to Run Surveys: A Guide to Creating Your Own Identifying Variation and Revealing the Invisible.
- Statbel (2023a). Population active (travailleurs et chômeurs) et inactive depuis 2017 basé sur l’enquête sur les forces de travail, par année, province, sexe, classe d’âge et niveau d’éducation.
- Statbel (2023b). Population par lieu de résidence, nationalité (belge/non-belge), état civil, âge et sexe.
- Statbel (2023c). Structure de la population.

- Steele, C. M. and Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69:797–811. Place: US Publisher: American Psychological Association.
- Steele, S. (1998). *The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race In America*. Harper Perennial, New York, NY, reprint edition edition.
- Steg, L. (2005). Car use: lust and must. Instrumental, symbolic and affective motives for car use. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 39(2):147–162.
- Thaler, R. H. and Sunstein, C. R. (2003). Libertarian Paternalism. *American Economic Review*, 93(2):175–179.
- Thaler, R. H. and Sunstein, C. R. (2009). *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. Penguin Books, New York.
- Titze, S., Stronegger, W. J., Janschitz, S., and Oja, P. (2008). Association of built-environment, social-environment and personal factors with bicycling as a mode of transportation among Austrian city dwellers. *Preventive Medicine*, 47(3):252–259.
- Van, H. T., Choocharukul, K., and Fujii, S. (2014). The effect of attitudes toward cars and public transportation on behavioral intention in commuting mode choice—A comparison across six Asian countries. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 69:36–44.
- Verplanken, B. and Aarts, H. (1999). Habit, Attitude, and Planned Behaviour: Is Habit an Empty Construct or an Interesting Case of Goal-directed Automaticity? *European Review of Social Psychology*, 10(1):101–134. Routledge.
- Walton, G. M. and Spencer, S. J. (2009). Latent Ability: Grades and Test Scores Systematically Underestimate the Intellectual Ability of Negatively Stereotyped Students. *Psychological Science*, 20(9):1132–1139. Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Wang, C.-H., Akar, G., and Guldman, J.-M. (2015). Do your neighbors affect your bicycling choice? A spatial probit model for bicycling to The Ohio State University. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 42:122–130.
- Wheeler, S. C. and Petty, R. E. (2001). The effects of stereotype activation on behavior: A review of possible mechanisms. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127:797–826. Place: US Publisher: American Psychological Association.
- Xin, Z., Liang, M., Zhanyou, W., and Hua, X. (2019). Psychosocial factors influencing shared bicycle travel choices among Chinese: An application of theory planned behavior. *PLOS ONE*, 14(1).

Şimşekoğlu, O., Nordfjærn, T., and Rundmo, T. (2015). The role of attitudes, transport priorities, and car use habit for travel mode use and intentions to use public transportation in an urban Norwegian public. *Transport Policy*, 42:113–120.

8 Additional tables

Descriptive statistics

Table 10: Detailed mobility statistics

	<i>Communities</i>	
	Flemings	Walloons
Company car	19.34%	15.13%
Fuel card	19.49%	14.63%
Bike allowance	89.97%	77.78%
Identity feeling (/10)	7.88	6.90
while living in the other region (/10)	4.30	2.19
Control group (/10)	8.08	7.11
Treatment group (/10)	7.67	6.69
<u>Transport to work</u>		
Car	65.66%	76.13%
Bike	21.28%	3.91%
Public transport	10.99%	17.73%
<u>Age groups</u>		
18-25	7.66%	7.19%
Car	64.29%	69.83%
Bike	20.00%	5.17%
Public transport	13.33%	20.69%
26-35	25.62%	23.37%
Car	70.23%	76.39%
Bike	18.52%	3.18%
Public transport	9.12%	18.04%
36-45	26.82%	29.57%
Car	67.07%	80.50%
Bike	21.22%	3.56%
Public transport	10.34%	15.30%
46-55	26.46%	26.97%
Car	63.86%	73.33%
Bike	23.17%	4.14%
Public transport	11.03%	19.54%

56-65	12.04%	12.28%
Car	57.58%	75.25%
Bike	25.45%	5.05%
Public transport	13.64%	17.17%
66+	1.39%	0.62%
Car	65.79%	70.00%
Bike	7.89%	0.00%
Public transport	21.05%	20.00%
<u>Distance to work</u>		
0-5 km	15.44%	10.04%
Car	38.06%	59.26%
Bike	49.17%	12.35%
Public transport	2.84%	9.88%
6-10 km	19.34%	14.26%
Car	60.19%	80.00%
Bike	36.60%	10.87%
Public transport	3.21%	8.26%
11-20 km	26.53%	23.06%
Car	71.94%	88.44%
Bike	16.64%	3.49%
Public transport	10.87%	7.80%
21-30 km	16.53%	16.68%
Car	73.51%	86.62%
Bike	10.15%	1.12%
Public transport	15.23%	12.27%
31-40 km	9.27%	13.89%
Car	74.80%	71.88%
Bike	4.33%	0.89%
Public transport	20.87%	26.34%
41-50 km	4.38%	7.32%
Car	79.17%	72.03%
Bike	2.5%	0.00%
Public transport	18.33%	27.97%
51-60 km	2.85%	4.77%
Car	71.74%	59.38%
Bike	0.00%	0.00%
Public transport	26.09%	40.62%

60+ km	5.66%	9.98%
Car	76.13%	60.25%
Bike	0.00%	0.00%
Public transport	21.29%	39.13%
<u>Commutes per week</u>		
1	4.73%	2.12%
Car	63.57%	67.65%
Bike	13.18%	2.94%
Public transport	20.93%	29.41%
2	11.08%	9.65%
Car	54.97%	53.55%
Bike	13.91%	1.94%
Public transport	28.81%	41.94%
3	13.87%	14.07%
Car	65.87%	63.72%
Bike	20.37%	5.31%
Public transport	13.23%	29.20%
4	19.56%	17.93%
Car	67.35%	76.74%
Bike	21.76%	5.56%
Public transport	9.76%	16.67%
5	40.33%	44.83%
Car	66.61%	82.64%
Bike	24.75%	3.47%
Public transport	6.46%	11.94%
6	3.23%	4.42%
Car	72.73%	91.55%
Bike	15.91%	2.82%
Public transport	4.55%	1.41%
6+	7.19%	6.97%
Car	70.41%	81.25%
Bike	21.94%	5.63%
Public transport	3.06%	8.93%

Remark: For ease of reading, commuting by motorbike and by foot are not included in the table as they represent marginal proportions. Due to a bug, there were 15 missing values regarding Flemings' commuting frequency, which were just subtracted when computing per-

centages. 7 Walloon respondents reported no - 0 - weekly trips to work while still completing the survey, they were subtracted for commuting frequency percentages.

Regression results

Table 11: Wallonia's weighted average results

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5	0, 0.15	0, 0.25	0.15, 0.25	0.25, 0.35
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	0.004 (0.138)	-0.285 (0.294)	-0.094 (0.215)	0.114 (0.299)	0.223 (0.245)
Constant	-1.217*** (0.098)	-3.006*** (0.194)	-2.400*** (0.149)	-3.249*** (0.217)	-2.859*** (0.182)
Observations	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613	1,613
Log Likelihood	-871.089	-278.135	-446.986	-265.961	-368.857
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,746.178	560.270	897.972	535.922	741.714

Note:

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

Table 12: Flanders' weighted average results

s_1, s_2	<i>Switch to bike commuting given a change in allowance (€/km):</i>				
	0, 0.5	0, 0.15	0, 0.25	0.15, 0.25	0.25, 0.35
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Treatment	-0.055 (0.097)	0.299* (0.175)	0.113 (0.129)	-0.059 (0.175)	-0.186 (0.159)
Constant	-0.586*** (0.067)	-2.655*** (0.130)	-1.793*** (0.092)	-2.476*** (0.120)	-2.174*** (0.106)
Observations	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740	2,740
Log Likelihood	-1,773.157	-739.299	-1,157.843	-731.023	-849.847
Akaike Inf. Crit.	3,550.314	1,482.597	2,319.686	1,466.046	1,703.694

Note:

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

9 Appendix

Appendix 1: power calculations

Flanders

$$\text{MDE} = (1.96 + 0.84) \sqrt{\frac{0.204(1-0.204)}{0.5(1-0.5)2000}} = 0.051$$

$$\text{Control group log-odds ratio: } \log\left(\frac{0.204}{1-0.204}\right) = -1.361$$

$$\text{Log-odds ratio} + \text{MDE: } -1.361 + 0.051 = -1.35$$

$$\text{Probability of taking the bike to reach the MDE: } \log\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) = -1.35 \\ \Rightarrow x = 21.25\%$$

$$\text{Difference with the control group probability: } 21.25\% - 20.4\% = 0.85\%$$

Wallonia

$$\text{MDE} = (1.96 + 0.84) \sqrt{\frac{0.028(1-0.028)}{0.5(1-0.5)1000}} = 0.029$$

$$\text{Control group log-odds ratio: } \log\left(\frac{0.028}{1-0.028}\right) = -3.547$$

$$\text{Log-odds ratio} - \text{MDE: } -3.547 - 0.029 = -3.576$$

$$\text{Probability of taking the bike to reach the MDE: } \log\left(\frac{x}{1-x}\right) = -3.576 \\ \Rightarrow x = 2.72\%$$

$$\text{Difference with the control group probability: } 2.8\% - 2.72\% = 0.08\%$$

Remark: To make the computations, we are hypothesising that priming has an effect depending on the relative position of each community in their propensity to take the bike, a positive effect on Flemings and a negative effect on Walloons. Hence, we are adding the MDE for the case of Flanders while subtracting it in the case of Wallonia. Note that this has a negligible impact on the computed percentages which are already of small magnitude.

Appendix 2a: text sent to groups' administrators

[French version]

Bonjour, j'ai besoin d'informations sur les navetteurs de Wallonie et entre autres de [municipality] pour ma thèse. J'ai lu les règles du groupe et je ne vais pas spammer le groupe, ni poster 10 fois le même message. Je quitterai le groupe rapidement après.

[Dutch version]

Ik heb info nodig over pendelaars uit Vlaanderen en onder andere uit [municipality] voor mijn thesis. Ik heb de groepsregels gelezen en ik zal de groep niet spammen, noch 10 keer hetzelfde bericht posten. Ik zal de groep daarna snel verlaten.

Appendix 2b: text posted on Facebook groups

[French version]

[ENQUÊTE DÉPLACEMENTS DOMICILE-TRAVAIL]

Durée de réponse : 4 minutes

bit.ly/3zMqV9W

Chers habitants de [municipality],

Dans le cadre de mon mémoire, je cherche à étudier les déplacements domicile-travail en Belgique. Cela me serait vraiment d'une grande aide si vous pouviez prendre le temps de compléter une courte enquête disponible ci-dessus.

Un très grand merci pour votre temps.

(als u de enquête liever in het Nederlands invult, kunt u naar de volgende link gaan: bit.ly/3Uld2sM)

[Dutch version]

[WOON-WERKVERKEER ENQUÊTE]

Antwoordtijd: 4 minuten

bit.ly/3Uld2sM

Beste inwoners van [municipality],

In verband met mijn masterthesis bestudeer ik het woon-werkverkeer in België. Het zou echt een grote hulp zijn als jullie de tijd konden nemen om de hierboven beschikbare enquête in te vullen.

Hartelijk dank voor uw tijd.

(si vous préférez répondre à l'enquête en français, veuillez cliquer sur le lien suivant :

bit.ly/3zMqV9W)

Appendix 2: Facebook groups

■ entered, ■ refused, ■ not selected

Lieu de Résidence	URL	Total	
Belgique		11,584,008	
Région flamande		6,698,876	
Région wallonne		3,662,495	
Aartselaar	facebook.com/groups/2756	14,610	1
Boechout	facebook.com/groups/9017	13,733	
Boom	facebook.com/groups/14530	18,832	1
Borsbeek	facebook.com/groups/2170	11,226	
Brasschaat	www.facebook.com/groups/B	38,237	1
Brecht	facebook.com/groups/7600	30,143	
Edegem	facebook.com/groups/14489	22,386	1
Essen	facebook.com/groups/4776	19,341	
Hemiksem	w.facebook.com/groups/55	11,812	1
Hove (Anvers)	facebook.com/groups/6770	8,311	
Kalmthout	facebook.com/groups/6143	19,179	1
Kapellen (Anvers)	facebook.com/groups/14622	27,442	
Kontich	v.facebook.com/groups/gezi	21,340	1
Lint	facebook.com/groups/7515	8,553	
Mortsel	ebook.com/groups/ge.zijt.v	26,189	1
Niel	facebook.com/groups/5874	10,595	
Ranst	facebook.com/groups/2185	19,366	1
Rumst	facebook.com/groups/17045	15,254	
Schelle	facebook.com/groups/2055	8,692	1
Schilde	facebook.com/groups/6853	20,031	
Schoten	facebook.com/groups/4213	34,157	1
Stabroek	facebook.com/groups/13810	18,782	
Wijnegem	facebook.com/groups/5095	10,244	1
Wommelgem	book.com/groups/GeZijtVan	13,181	
Wuustwezel	facebook.com/groups/6547	21,523	1
Zandhoven	facebook.com/groups/8301	13,172	
Zoersel	facebook.com/groups/2849	22,317	1
Zwijndrecht	facebook.com/groups/5848	19,243	
Malle	www.facebook.com/groups/v	15,756	
Berlaar	facebook.com/groups/2511	11,730	
Bonheiden	facebook.com/groups/4421	15,319	1
Bornem	facebook.com/groups/6238	21,599	
Duffel	facebook.com/groups/2850	17,770	1
Heist-op-den-Berg	book.com/groups/gezijtvan	43,594	
Lierre	w.facebook.com/groups/gez	37,309	1
Malines	w.facebook.com/groups/gz	86,996	
Nijlen	facebook.com/groups/19734	23,259	1
Putte	facebook.com/groups/4320	18,392	
Sint-Katelijne-Waver	facebook.com/groups/5994	21,391	

Willebroek	facebook.com/groups/2050	27,436	
Puurs-Sint-Amands	facebook.com/groups/3454	26,311	1
Arendonk	facebook.com/groups/7167	13,297	1
Baerle-Duc	facebook.com/groups/10135	2,997	
Balen	facebook.com/groups/6854	23,000	1
Beerse	w.facebook.com/groups/Ge	18,378	
Dessel	facebook.com/groups/3957	9,686	1
Geel	/www.facebook.com/groups	41,146	
Grobbendonk	book.com/groups/gezijtva	11,442	1
Herentals	facebook.com/groups/6401	28,455	
Herenthout	facebook.com/groups/29514	9,287	
Herselt	facebook.com/groups/3053	14,731	
Hoogstraten	facebook.com/groups/2311	21,895	1
Hulshout	w.facebook.com/groups/18	10,560	
Kasterlee	facebook.com/groups/7028	19,140	1
Lille	www.facebook.com/groups/	16,688	
Meerhout	facebook.com/groups/14617	10,258	1
Merksplas	facebook.com/groups/6571	8,683	
Mol	facebook.com/groups/6685	37,600	1
Olen	facebook.com/groups/1437	12,582	
Oud-Turnhout	facebook.com/groups/4016	14,402	1
Ravels	facebook.com/groups/6982	15,293	
Retie	facebook.com/groups/4556	11,663	1
Rijkevorsel	facebook.com/groups/14611	12,324	
Turnhout	facebook.com/groups/gezeva	46,372	1
Vorselaar	facebook.com/groups/10389	8,019	
Vosselaar	facebook.com/groups/14069	11,556	1
Westerlo	facebook.com/groups/8612	25,308	
Laakdal	facebook.com/groups/13794	16,464	
Asse	ww.facebook.com/groups/le	34,494	
Beersel	facebook.com/groups/6403	26,013	1
Biérvène	facebook.com/groups/4143	2,265	
Dilbeek	facebook.com/groups/2109	44,095	1
Gammerages	w.facebook.com/groups/83	8,806	
Gooik	w.facebook.com/groups/lkz	9,392	1
Grimbergen	facebook.com/groups/gezijtva	38,539	
Hal (Hal-Vilvorde)	facebook.com/groups/2460	41,284	1
Herne	facebook.com/groups/14634	6,743	
Hoeilaart	w.facebook.com/groups/31	11,433	1
Kampenhout	https://www.facebook.com	12,350	
Kapelle-op-den-Bos	facebook.com/groups/5237	9,610	1
Liedekerke	facebook.com/groups/3209	13,651	
Londerzeel	facebook.com/groups/16587	19,136	1
Machelen (Hal-Vilvorde)	facebook.com/groups/5902	16,108	
Meise	facebook.com/groups/GeZij	19,991	1
Merchtem	ww.facebook.com/groups/N	17,507	
Opwijk	facebook.com/groups/14030	14,828	1
Overijse	facebook.com/groups/1912	25,888	

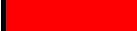
Pepingen	facebook.com/groups/14235	4,507	1
Sint-Pieters-Leeuw	facebook.com/groups/7125	35,486	
Steenokkerzeel	https://www.facebook.com/	12,497	1
Ternat	w.facebook.com/groups/lev	16,283	
Vilvorde	facebook.com/groups/Gezijtva	46,354	
Zaventem	facebook.com/groups/Gezijtva	35,916	
Zemst	/www.facebook.com/groups	23,306	1
Roosdaal	facebook.com/groups/3124	11,735	
Drogenbos	facebook.com/groups/2491	5,770	1
Kraainem	facebook.com/groups/3272	13,928	
Linkebeek	facebook.com/groups/13813	4,709	1
Rhode-Saint-Genèse	facebook.com/groups/1232	18,628	
Wemmel	facebook.com/groups/14662	17,182	1
Wezembeek-Oppeem	facebook.com/groups/1890	14,488	
Lennik	facebook.com/groups/Lennik	9,312	1
Affligem	www.facebook.com/groups/	13,466	
Aarschot	www.facebook.com/groups/	30,594	1
Begijnendijk	facebook.com/groups/4264	10,390	
Bekkevoort	facebook.com/groups/14643	6,459	1
Bertem	facebook.com/groups/13951	10,258	
Bierbeek	facebook.com/groups/4131	10,277	1
Boortmeerbeek	facebook.com/groups/16132	12,968	
Boutersem	facebook.com/groups/21538	8,386	1
Diest	facebook.com/groups/21936	24,516	
Geetbets	facebook.com/groups/15638	6,201	1
Haacht	facebook.com/groups/44437	15,264	
Herent	y.facebook.com/groups/alles	22,430	1
Hoegaarden	facebook.com/groups/77882	6,811	
Holsbeek	facebook.com/groups/51889	10,110	1
Huldenberg	facebook.com/groups/2585	10,017	
Keerbergen	facebook.com/groups/14426	13,118	1
Kortenaken	facebook.com/groups/22839	7,916	
Kortenbergh	facebook.com/groups/Gezetvan	20,462	1
Landen	facebook.com/groups/18389	16,149	
Louvain	facebook.com/groups/durfte	102,236	
Lubbeek	facebook.com/groups/28169	14,776	
Oud-Heverlee	facebook.com/groups/41944	11,470	1
Rotselaar	facebook.com/groups/11235	17,294	
Tervuren	facebook.com/groups/39723	22,852	1
Tirlemont	facebook.com/groups/GeZijtV	35,973	
Tremelo	facebook.com/groups/49348	15,190	1
Léau		8,591	
Linters	facebook.com/groups/43871	7,276	1
Montaigu-Zichem	facebook.com/groups/47949	23,375	
Tielt-Winge	facebook.com/groups/40242	11,037	1
Glabbeek	facebook.com/groups/2838	5,344	
Beauvechain	facebook.com/groups/59029	7,173	
Braine-l'Alleud	facebook.com/groups/2131	40,346	1

Braine-le-Château	facebook.com/groups/3703	10,638	
Chaumont-Gistoux	w.facebook.com/groups/bor	11,685	1
Court-Saint-Etienne	facebook.com/groups/10069	10,603	
Genappe	https://www.facebook.com/	15,611	1
Grez-Doiceau	facebook.com/groups/lesvrais	14,005	
Incourt	facebook.com/groups/14314	5,614	1
Ittre	/www.facebook.com/groups/	7,067	
Jodoigne	facebook.com/groups/19544	14,558	1
La Hulpe	w.facebook.com/groups/298	7,499	
Mont-Saint-Guibert	facebook.com/groups/7518	8,081	1
Nivelles	w.facebook.com/groups/143	29,085	
Perwez (Nivelles)	facebook.com/groups/71288	9,513	1
Rixensart	vw.facebook.com/groups/Ri	22,856	
Tubize	facebook.com/groups/tubize	27,774	1
Villers-la-Ville	facebook.com/groups/17153	10,970	
Waterloo	v.facebook.com/groups/vivr	30,356	
Wavre	ww.facebook.com/groups/w	35,111	
Chastre	v.facebook.com/groups/jhab	7,727	1
Hélcine	facebook.com/groups/22458	3,687	
Lasne	facebook.com/groups/19946	14,299	1
Orp-Jauche	facebook.com/groups/65119	9,048	
Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve	w.facebook.com/groups/20	31,363	1
Ramillies	facebook.com/groups/74389	6,651	
Rebecq	facebook.com/groups/14474	10,977	1
Walhain	ok.com/groups/tusaisquetu	7,485	
Compte d'Ysa			
Beernem	facebook.com/groups/21329	15,966	1
Blankenberge	facebook.com/groups/tomn	20,408	
Damme	facebook.com/groups/15704	11,044	1
Jabbeke	facebook.com/groups/20689	14,222	
Oostkamp	facebook.com/groups/49049	23,998	
Torhout	facebook.com/groups/14506	20,517	
Zedelgem	facebook.com/groups/23914	23,157	1
Zuilenkerke	vw.facebook.com/groups/zu	2,709	
Knokke-Heist	w.facebook.com/groups/334	32,875	1
Dixmude	facebook.com/groups/58316	16,926	
Houthulst	v.facebook.com/groups/hou	10,267	1
Koekelare	facebook.com/groups/71122	8,769	
Kortemark	facebook.com/groups/35268	12,803	1
Lo-Reninge	facebook.com/groups/1678	3,217	
Ypres	facebook.com/groups/28009	35,039	1
Messines		1,062	
Poperinge	facebook.com/groups/28110	19,782	1
Wervik	ww.facebook.com/groups/w	19,020	
Zonnebeke	facebook.com/groups/14409	12,556	1
Heuvelland	v.facebook.com/groups/323	7,991	

Langemark-Poelkapelle	facebook.com/groups/40823	7,926	1
Vleteren	facebook.com/groups/14991	3,646	
Anzegem	facebook.com/groups/13893	15,029	
Avelgem	facebook.com/groups/2157	10,291	1
Courtrai	facebook.com/groups/Kortrijk	77,741	
Deerlijk	facebook.com/groups/78351	12,356	1
Harelbeke	facebook.com/groups/14615	29,095	
Kuurne	facebook.com/groups/14446	13,975	
Lendelede	facebook.com/groups/27298	5,803	
Menin	www.facebook.com/groups/menin	33,982	1
Waregem	facebook.com/groups/75888	38,948	
Wevelgem	facebook.com/groups/5863	31,565	1
Zwevegem	facebook.com/groups/59022	25,140	
Espierres-Helchin		2,056	
SIMON V			
Bredene	facebook.com/groups/77876	18,167	1
Gistel	facebook.com/groups/34869	12,106	
Ichtegem	facebook.com/groups/14229	14,139	
Middelkerke	facebook.com/groups/21549	19,723	
Ostende	facebook.com/groups/80079	71,557	1
Oudenburg	facebook.com/groups/81230	9,717	
De Haan	facebook.com/groups/32797	12,740	1
Hooglede	facebook.com/groups/23364	10,003	
Ingelmunster	https://www.facebook.com/groups/11294	11,294	1
Izegem	facebook.com/groups/35604	28,845	
Ledegem	y.facebook.com/groups/nen	9,738	1
Lichtervelde	facebook.com/groups/geziev	9,018	
Moorslede	facebook.com/groups/27636	11,386	1
Roulers	facebook.com/groups/1326	64,495	
Staden	facebook.com/groups/14043	11,530	
Dentergem	facebook.com/groups/5907	8,699	1
Meulebeke	book.com/groups/meulebeke	11,010	
Oostrozebeke	facebook.com/groups/18554	7,972	1
Pittem		6,793	
Ruiselede	facebook.com/groups/23328	5,444	1
Tielt (Tielt)	facebook.com/groups/21319	20,500	
Wielsbeke	facebook.com/groups/57769	9,917	1
Wingene	facebook.com/groups/57722	14,852	
Ardoos	facebook.com/groups/7657	9,195	1
Alveringem	facebook.com/groups/14459	5,025	
La Panne	facebook.com/groups/47180	11,122	1
Furnes	facebook.com/groups/21346	12,295	
Koksijde	ok.com/groups/6679193232	21,851	1
Nieuport	facebook.com/groups/63158	11,488	

Alost (Alost)	facebook.com/groups/19723	88,854	1
Denderleeuw	facebook.com/groups/59420	20,772	
Grammont		34,328	
Haaltert	facebook.com/groups/6104	18,960	1
Herzele	facebook.com/groups/Ge.zijt	18,489	
Lede	www.facebook.com/groups/Ge	19,054	1
Ninove	facebook.com/groups/25610	39,626	
Sint-Lievens-Houtem	facebook.com/groups/59859	10,534	1
Zottegem	facebook.com/groups/43874	27,341	
Erpe-Mere	www.facebook.com/groups/var	20,606	1
Berlare	facebook.com/groups/13918	15,274	
Buggenhout	facebook.com/groups/21418	14,748	1
Termonde	facebook.com/groups/14079	46,325	
Hamme (Termonde)	facebook.com/groups/4817	25,141	1
Laarne	facebook.com/groups/6403	12,518	
Lebbeke	facebook.com/groups/26637	19,719	1
Waasmunster	facebook.com/groups/62896	11,022	
Wetteren	www.facebook.com/groups/36	26,444	1
Wichelen	www.facebook.com/groups/v	11,765	
Zele	facebook.com/groups/25888	21,349	1
Assenede	facebook.com/groups/46611	14,449	
Eeklo	facebook.com/groups/28560	21,775	
Kaprijke	facebook.com/groups/67944	6,539	1
Maldegem	facebook.com/groups/gezeu	24,409	
Sint-Laureins	facebook.com/groups/99471	6,940	1
Zelzate	facebook.com/groups/59643	13,298	
De Pinte	facebook.com/groups/47369	11,046	
Destelbergen	facebook.com/groups/24537	18,856	1
Evergem	facebook.com/groups/46076	36,087	
Gavere	facebook.com/groups/43261	13,205	1
Lochristi	facebook.com/groups/25979	22,897	
Melle	facebook.com/groups/53809	11,887	1
Merelbeke	facebook.com/groups/13869	24,886	
Moerbeke (Gand)	www.facebook.com/groups/37	6,685	1
Nazareth	facebook.com/groups/25713	12,040	
Oosterzele	facebook.com/groups/21700	13,840	1
Sint-Martens-Latem	facebook.com/groups/2833	8,263	
Wachtebeke	facebook.com/groups/4549	7,847	1
Zulte	facebook.com/groups/14463	15,943	
Deinze	facebook.com/groups/gezijtv	44,315	1
Aalter	facebook.com/groups/64869	29,340	
Lievegem	facebook.com/groups/25553	26,657	1
Audenarde	facebook.com/groups/64914	31,866	1
Renaix	facebook.com/groups/14590	26,702	
Brakel	www.facebook.com/groups/Br	14,850	1

Kluisbergen	w.facebook.com/groups/5011111111111111	6,791	
Wortegem-Petegem	https://www.facebook.com/groups/1111111111111111	6,517	1
Horebeke	www.facebook.com/groups/1111111111111111	2,023	
Lierde	facebook.com/groups/7938411111111111	6,689	1
Maarkedal	facebook.com/groups/1911411111111111	6,386	
Zwalm	facebook.com/groups/2037411111111111	8,244	1
Kruisem	facebook.com/groups/2005811111111111	15,876	
Beveren (Saint-Nicolas)	facebook.com/groups/2644311111111111	49,531	
Kruibeke	https://www.facebook.com/groups/1111111111111111	16,980	1
Lokeren	cebook.com/groups/gezijtva1111111111111111	42,703	
Sint-Gillis-Waas	facebook.com/groups/6694111111111111	19,716	1
Nicolas)	facebook.com/groups/1339211111111111	80,167	
Stekene	https://www.facebook.com/groups/1111111111111111	19,030	1
Tamise	facebook.com/groups/2733011111111111	30,635	
Simon dW			
Ath	.facebook.com/groups/tues1111111111111111	29,630	
Beloeil	facebook.com/groups/1558211111111111	14,203	
Bernissart	facebook.com/groups/1414711111111111	11,916	
Brugelette	facebook.com/groups/2273411111111111	3,776	
Chièvres	facebook.com/groups/1518911111111111	7,004	1
Ellezelles	facebook.com/groups/2268011111111111	6,025	
Flobecq	facebook.com/groups/flobe1111111111111111	3,453	1
Frasnes-lez-Anvaing	facebook.com/groups/1319811111111111	11,974	
Enghien	w.facebook.com/groups/En1111111111111111	14,233	1
Silly	w.facebook.com/groups/9811111111111111	8,415	
Lessines	w.facebook.com/groups/le1111111111111111	18,780	1
Chapelle-lez-Herlaimont	facebook.com/groups/2632911111111111	14,672	
Châtelet	facebook.com/groups/Chat1111111111111111	35,527	1
Courcelles	facebook.com/groups/4366911111111111	31,148	
Farciennes	facebook.com/groups/2144811111111111	11,233	1
Fleurus	facebook.com/groups/2882811111111111	22,923	
Fontaine-l'Evêque	facebook.com/groups/2763111111111111	17,999	1
Gerpennes	facebook.com/groups/1999411111111111	12,771	
Montigny-le-Tilleul	facebook.com/groups/1723811111111111	10,125	1
Pont-à-Celles	facebook.com/groups/2700211111111111	17,449	
Aiseau-Presles	y.facebook.com/groups/Hab1111111111111111	10,900	1
Les Bons Villers	facebook.com/groups/bons1111111111111111	9,510	
Boussu	facebook.com/groups/3383411111111111	19,913	1
Dour	y.facebook.com/groups/case1111111111111111	16,553	
Frameries	facebook.com/groups/3890911111111111	21,717	1
Hensies	y.facebook.com/groups/wha1111111111111111	6,826	
Jurbise	facebook.com/groups/5203711111111111	10,802	1
Lens	facebook.com/groups/1028011111111111	4,651	
Mons	facebook.com/groups/1886811111111111	96,545	1
Quaregnon	w.facebook.com/groups/1091111111111111	18,878	

Quiévrain	facebook.com/groups/45259	6,826	 1
Saint-Ghislain	w.facebook.com/groups/609	23,502	
Colfontaine	facebook.com/groups/44873	20,714	 1
Honnelles	vw.facebook.com/groups/jh	5,178	
Quévy	w.facebook.com/groups/252	8,087	 1
Braine-le-Comte	facebook.com/groups/11526	22,752	
Le Roeulx	y.facebook.com/groups/lesv	8,738	 1
Soignies	facebook.com/groups/15443	28,523	
Ecaussinnes	facebook.com/groups/14643	11,338	 1
Seneffe	facebook.com/groups/40589	11,465	
Manage	facebook.com/groups/61444	23,825	 1
Anderlues	facebook.com/groups/31123	12,498	
Beaumont	facebook.com/groups/62218	7,173	
Chimay	facebook.com/groups/10373	9,769	 1
Erquelinnes	facebook.com/groups/erque	10,084	
Froidchapelle	facebook.com/groups/17693	4,049	 1
Lobbès	facebook.com/groups/6842	5,867	
Merbes-le-Château	facebook.com/groups/46786	4,224	 1
Momignies	facebook.com/groups/97898	5,284	
Thuin	facebook.com/groups/20403	14,907	 1
Sivry-Rance	facebook.com/groups/17923	4,850	
Ham-sur-Heure-Nalinnes	facebook.com/groups/47720	13,725	 1
Antoing	facebook.com/groups/2866	7,687	
Celles (Tournai)	facebook.com/groups/59589	5,675	
Estaimpuis	ww.facebook.com/groups/Es	10,654	 1
Pecq	facebook.com/groups/68264	5,847	
Péruwelz	w.facebook.com/groups/pe	17,141	
Rumes	facebook.com/groups/20526	5,286	
Tournai	facebook.com/groups/2166	68,518	 1
Brunehaut	facebook.com/groups/BienEt	8,167	
Leuze-en-Hainaut	book.com/groups/leuzeenh	13,998	 1
Mont-de-l'Enclus	w.facebook.com/groups/389	3,806	
Mouscron	facebook.com/groups/99014	59,179	 1
Comines-Warneton	facebook.com/groups/14648	18,209	
La Louvière	facebook.com/groups/6322	80,992	 1
Binche	www.facebook.com/groups/	33,470	
Estinnes	cebook.com/groups/estinne	7,940	 1
Morlanwelz	v.facebook.com/groups/106	19,208	
Amay	facebook.com/groups/14615	14,448	 1
Burdinne	facebook.com/groups/24872	3,306	
Clavier	cebook.com/groups/Clavier	4,848	 1
Ferrières	facebook.com/groups/18415	5,077	
Hamoir	facebook.com/groups/14928	3,789	 1
Héron	facebook.com/groups/14157	5,560	

Huy	www.facebook.com/groups/universitehuy	21,405	
Marchin	facebook.com/groups/30888	5,501	
Modave	facebook.com/groups/groupee	4,231	
Nandrin		5,802	
Ouffet	facebook.com/groups/19203	2,806	
Verlaine	facebook.com/groups/comm	4,265	
Villers-Le-Bouillet	w.facebook.com/groups/ville	6,683	
Wanze	facebook.com/groups/62955	13,999	
Anthisnes	facebook.com/groups/17670	4,234	
Engis	facebook.com/groups/17760	6,269	
Tinlot	facebook.com/groups/64655	2,719	
Ans	facebook.com/groups/13228	28,625	
Awans	facebook.com/groups/14037	9,152	
Aywaille	facebook.com/groups/43438	12,667	
Bassenge	facebook.com/groups/12053	8,988	
Beyne-Heusay	w.facebook.com/groups/69	11,948	
Chaufontaine	facebook.com/groups/38798	20,556	
Comblain-au-Pont	facebook.com/groups/CauPhi	5,321	
Dalhem	facebook.com/groups/41207	7,649	
Esneux	book.com/groups/esneux41	12,865	
Fléron	facebook.com/groups/17834	16,235	
Herstal	facebook.com/groups/comm	40,481	
Juprelle	facebook.com/groups/23167	9,639	
Liège			
Oupeye	facebook.com/groups/25347	25,571	
Saint-Nicolas (Liège)	facebook.com/groups/75796	24,369	
Seraing	facebook.com/groups/48725	63,926	
Soumagne	https://www.facebook.com/	17,287	
Sprimont	facebook.com/groups/23615	15,043	
Visé	facebook.com/groups/21930	17,973	
Grâce-Hollogne	w.facebook.com/groups/929	23,037	
Blegny	w.facebook.com/groups/167	13,395	
Flémalle	w.facebook.com/groups/298	26,677	
Neupré	v.facebook.com/groups/119	10,020	
Trooz	/www.facebook.com/groups	7,822	
THIBAULT			
Aubel	facebook.com/groups/48181	4,237	
Baelen	facebook.com/groups/32816	4,461	
Dison	facebook.com/groups/80716	15,207	
Herve	facebook.com/groups/6203	17,674	
Jalhay	facebook.com/groups/23629	8,700	
Lierneux	facebook.com/groups/12562	3,579	
Limbourg	facebook.com/groups/29322	5,695	
Malmedy	facebook.com/groups/11980	12,857	
Olne	facebook.com/groups/23140	4,068	
Pepinster	facebook.com/groups/15657	9,285	
Spa	facebook.com/groups/23035	10,002	
Stavelot	facebook.com/groups/34767	7,202	

Stoumont	facebook.com/groups/chevreuil	3,189	
Theux	facebook.com/groups/89089	11,957	1
Verviers	facebook.com/groups/78162	55,102	
Waimes	facebook.com/groups/waimes	7,414	1
Welkenraedt	www.facebook.com/groups/iw	10,428	
Trois-Ponts	facebook.com/groups/troispor	2,560	1
Plombières	facebook.com/groups/24358	10,682	
Thimister-Clermont	facebook.com/groups/20744	5,608	1
Berloz	www.facebook.com/groups/435	3,280	1
Braives	www.facebook.com/groups/176	6,442	
Crisnée	facebook.com/groups/14027	3,517	1
Donceel	www.facebook.com/groups/706	3,120	
Fexhe-le-Haut-Clocher	facebook.com/groups/36395	3,327	1
Geer	www.facebook.com/groups/187	3,521	
Hannut	www.facebook.com/groups/	16,968	1
Lincet	facebook.com/groups/90110	3,309	
Oreye	facebook.com/groups/32831	4,001	1
Remicourt	www.facebook.com/groups/R	6,053	
Saint-Georges-sur-Meuse	facebook.com/groups/44544	7,076	1
Waremmé	www.facebook.com/groups/info	15,312	
Wasseiges	facebook.com/groups/36229	3,060	1
Faimes	www.facebook.com/groups/314	4,026	
As	facebook.com/groups/18951	8,246	
Beringen	facebook.com/groups/13972	47,217	1
Diepenbeek	facebook.com/groups/2557	19,241	
Genk	facebook.com/groups/14468	67,009	1
Gingelom	facebook.com/groups/61131	8,483	
Halen	www.facebook.com/groups/400	9,475	1
Hasselt	facebook.com/groups/58809	79,524	
Herck-la-Ville	www.facebook.com/groups/He	12,756	1
Bourg-Léopold	www.facebook.com/groups/lec	16,125	
Lummen	facebook.com/groups/inwo	15,172	1
Nieuwerkerken (Hasselt)	facebook.com/groups/72079	7,027	
Saint-Trond	facebook.com/groups/59879	40,845	1
Tessenderlo	facebook.com/groups/18976	18,884	
Zonhoven	facebook.com/groups/2822	21,473	1
Zutendaal	facebook.com/groups/14441	7,307	
Ham	facebook.com/groups/51852	11,163	1
Heusden-Zolder	facebook.com/groups/41647	34,243	
Bocholt	facebook.com/groups/5097	13,508	
Bree	www.facebook.com/groups/gez	16,324	
Kinrooi	facebook.com/groups/13258	12,258	1
Lommel	facebook.com/groups/2114	34,396	
Maaseik	www.facebook.com/groups/b	25,524	
Peer	facebook.com/groups/47074	16,449	
Hamont-Achel		14,375	

Hechtel-Eksel	facebook.com/groups/60436	12,760	
Houthalen-Helchteren	facebook.com/groups/74494	30,844	1
Dilsen-Stokkem	facebook.com/groups/13910	20,995	
Oudsbergen	facebook.com/groups/27641	23,611	1
Pelt	facebook.com/groups/14176	33,601	
Alken	facebook.com/groups/14213	11,757	
Bilzen	https://www.facebook.com/	32,455	1
Looz	facebook.com/groups/2005	11,272	
Heers	https://www.facebook.com/	7,457	1
Herstappe	trop petit	79	
Hoeselt	facebook.com/groups/22880	9,833	
Kortesseem	facebook.com/groups/21023	8,595	
Lanaken	facebook.com/groups/12368	26,172	
Riemst	facebook.com/groups/timme	16,779	
Tongres	facebook.com/groups/57624	31,562	1
Wellen	facebook.com/groups/13807	7,459	
Maasmechelen	facebook.com/groups/65599	39,409	1
Fourons	facebook.com/groups/23513	4,287	
MERLIN			
Arlon	w.facebook.com/groups/173	30,818	1
Attert	w.facebook.com/groups/338	5,624	
Aubange	facebook.com/groups/71651	17,417	1
Martelange	facebook.com/groups/11361	1,931	
Messancy	w.facebook.com/groups/392	8,339	1
Bastogne	facebook.com/groups/53115	16,618	
Bertogne	facebook.com/groups/14720	3,743	1
Fauvillers	facebook.com/groups/fauville	2,368	
Houffalize	facebook.com/groups/Tuesd	5,233	1
Vielsalm	facebook.com/groups/50659	7,891	
Vaux-sur-Sûre	https://www.facebook.com/	6,023	1
Gouvy	facebook.com/groups/13829	5,406	
Sainte-Ode		2,655	
Durbuy	facebook.com/groups/51396	11,467	1
Erezée	facebook.com/groups/78439	3,337	
Hotton	w.facebook.com/groups/114	5,707	1
La Roche-en-Ardenne	w.facebook.com/groups/card	4,210	
Marche-en-Famenne	facebook.com/groups/2670	17,758	1
Nassogne	facebook.com/groups/60936	5,632	
Rendeux	facebook.com/groups/15017	2,693	
Tenneville	facebook.com/groups/16687	2,884	
Manhay	facebook.com/groups/77157	3,650	
Bertrix	facebook.com/groups/82811	8,950	
Bouillon	facebook.com/groups/37502	5,433	1
Daverdisse		1,408	

Herbeumont	facebook.com/groups/10199	1,677	
Léglise	facebook.com/groups/58659	5,705	
Libin	facebook.com/groups/18006	5,307	
Neufchâteau (Neufchâteau)	facebook.com/groups/Neufch	8,041	
Paliseul	facebook.com/groups/49266	5,469	
Saint-Hubert	facebook.com/groups/16240	5,672	
Tellin	www.facebook.com/groups/	2,528	
Wellin	facebook.com/groups/bourgn	3,135	
Libramont-Chevigny	facebook.com/groups/37277	11,598	
Chiny		5,292	
Etalle	facebook.com/groups/74335	6,052	
Florenville	facebook.com/groups/15811	5,765	
Meix-devant-Virton	facebook.com/groups/27844	2,823	
Musson	facebook.com/groups/28196	4,650	
Saint-Léger (Virton)	facebook.com/groups/13948	3,735	
Tintigny	facebook.com/groups/63389	4,371	
Virton		11,404	
Habay	w.facebook.com/groups/274	8,586	
Rouvroy		2,138	
Anhée	facebook.com/groups/13944	7,221	
Beauraing	facebook.com/groups/16858	9,327	
Bièvre	facebook.com/groups/14468	3,447	
Ciney	facebook.com/groups/20083	17,007	
Dinant	facebook.com/groups/70408	13,313	
Gedinne	facebook.com/groups/16609	4,672	
Hamois	facebook.com/groups/20003	7,386	
Havelange	facebook.com/groups/12710	5,306	
Houyet	facebook.com/groups/86564	5,067	
Onhaye	facebook.com/groups/77578	3,267	
Rochefort	facebook.com/groups/19966	12,610	
Somme-Leuze	facebook.com/groups/17170	5,975	
Yvoir	facebook.com/groups/19809	9,181	
Hastière	facebook.com/groups/18189	6,089	
Vresse-sur-Semois	facebook.com/groups/17383	2,515	
Andenne	facebook.com/groups/25296	27,863	
Assesse	facebook.com/groups/97349	7,274	
Eghezée	facebook.com/groups/adeli	16,577	
Floreffe	w.facebook.com/groups/viv	8,077	
Fosses-la-Ville	w.facebook.com/groups/247	10,401	
Gesves	facebook.com/groups/10342	7,334	
Mettet	facebook.com/groups/19279	13,488	
Ohey	facebook.com/groups/41210	5,144	
Profondeville	facebook.com/groups/15829	12,197	
Sombreffe	facebook.com/groups/38709	8,404	
Sambreville	w.facebook.com/groups/sam	28,254	
Fernelmont	facebook.com/groups/41327	8,115	
Jemeppe-sur-Sambre	facebook.com/groups/24927	19,146	

La Bruyère	facebook.com/groups/citoyensdegembloux/	9,316	
Gembloux	facebook.com/groups/261991111111111/	26,330	
Cerfontaine	facebook.com/groups/222161111111111/	5,014	
Couvin	facebook.com/groups/494441111111111/	13,871	1
Doische	facebook.com/groups/155721111111111/	3,010	
Florennes	facebook.com/groups/Florennes/	11,320	1
Philippeville	facebook.com/groups/715331111111111/	9,243	
Walcourt	www.facebook.com/groups/hainaut/	18,429	1
Viroinval	facebook.com/groups/195621111111111/	5,705	
		535	550
			241
			292

LARGE CITIES

Anvers	facebook.com/groups/Gezijttvanantwerpen/	1	530,630
Berendrecht	https://www.facebook.com/groups/berendrecht/	1	
Wilrijk	https://www.facebook.com/groups/wilrijk/	1	
Merksem	https://www.facebook.com/groups/merksem/	1	
Berchem	https://www.facebook.com/groups/berchem/	1	
Deurne	https://www.facebook.com/groups/deurne/	1	
Borgerhout	https://www.facebook.com/groups/borgerhout/	1	
Hoboken	https://www.facebook.com/groups/hoboken/	1	
		7	
Leuven			
Heverlee	https://www.facebook.com/groups/heverlee/	1	
Kessel-Lo	https://www.facebook.com/groups/kessel-lo/	1	
Wijgmaal	https://www.facebook.com/groups/wijgmaal/	1	
Wilsele	https://www.facebook.com/groups/wilsele/	1	
		4	
Bruges	facebook.com/groups/589391111111111/	1	118,509
Sint-Andries	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-andries/	1	
Sint-Michiels	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-michiels/	1	
Assebroek	https://www.facebook.com/groups/assebroek/	1	
Sint-Kruis	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-kruis/	1	
		4	
Gand	facebook.com/groups/144731111111111/	1	265,086
Mariakerke	https://www.facebook.com/groups/mariakerke/	1	
Drongen	https://www.facebook.com/groups/drongen/	1	
Wondelgem	https://www.facebook.com/groups/wondelgem/	1	
Sint-Amandsberg	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-amandsberg/	1	
Oostakker	https://www.facebook.com/groups/oostakker/	1	
Sint-Kruis-Winkel	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-kruis-winkel/	1	
Ledeberg	https://www.facebook.com/groups/ledeberg/	1	
Gentbrugge	https://www.facebook.com/groups/gentbrugge/	1	
Sint-Denijs-Westrem	https://www.facebook.com/groups/sint-denijs-westrem/	1	
Zwijnaarde	https://www.facebook.com/groups/zwijnaarde/	1	
		10	

Charleroi			202,421
Couillet	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Marcinelle	https://www.facebook.com/groups/252302610000/		
Lodelinsart	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Gilly	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Gosselies	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Marchienne-au-Pont	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Mont-sur-Marchienne	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Monceau-sur-Sambre	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Ransart	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Jumet	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Roux	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
		10	
Liège	facebook.com/groups/Valeu	1	195,278
Rocourt	acebook.com/groups/14639	1	
Angleur	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Grivegnée	acebook.com/groups/104620069430015/		
Bressoux	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Jupille	www.facebook.com/groups/	1	
Wandre	facebook.com/groups/528831044211059/		
Sclessin	ww.facebook.com/groups/C5clessin/		
Chênée	facebook.com/groups/3036	1	
Glain			
		6	
Namur	w.facebook.com/groups/nar	1	
Jambes	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Flawinne	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Bouge	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Vedrin	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Wépion	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Malonne	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Saint-Marc	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Temploux	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
Naninne	https://www.facebook.com/	1	
		10	

Appendix 4: Online survey

Enquête sur les déplacements domicile-travail en Belgique

Bonjour,

Ce questionnaire prend environ 4 minutes à être rempli et comprend trois parties.

La première partie est composée de questions socio-démographiques de base, traitées de manière **anonyme**.

La seconde partie est composée de questions sur vos hobbies et vos centres d'intérêts.

La troisième partie se focalise sur vos habitudes de déplacements domicile-travail.

Un très grand merci pour votre temps.

* Indique une question obligatoire

1. Vous êtes un/une : *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Homme
- ☐ Femme
- ☐ Autre
- ☐ Je ne souhaite pas le préciser

2. Quel âge avez-vous ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ 18-25 ans
- ☐ 26-35 ans
- ☐ 36-45 ans
- ☐ 46-55 ans
- ☐ 56-65 ans
- ☐ 66 ans et plus

3. Quel est votre code postal ? *

4. Êtes-vous étudiant ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Oui

☐ Non

Questions sur vos centres d'intérêt

5. Quel est votre saison préférée ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Printemps

☐ Été

☐ Automne

☐ Hiver

6. Quelle est votre type de cuisine préféré ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ italienne

☐ française

☐ indienne

☐ thaïlandaise

☐ américaine

☐ britannique

☐ chinoise

☐ japonaise

☐ Autre : _____

7. Si seulement un de ces deux plats devait exister, lequel choisiriez-vous ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

☐ Les boulets à la liégeoise

☐ La carbonnade flamande

8. Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, à quel point vous sentez-vous wallon ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

—

0 ☐

1 ☐

2 ☐

3 ☐

4 ☐

5 ☐

6 ☐

7 ☐

8 ☐

9 ☐

10 ☐

—

Vos trajets domicile-travail actuels

Les questions suivantes se focalisent sur votre mode de transport dominant entre votre domicile et votre lieu de travail actuel.

Si vous utilisez plusieurs modes de transport, il s'agit de celui qui vous fait parcourir la plus grande distance.

Si vous changez de mode de transport au cours de l'année (en fonction de la météo par exemple), il s'agit de celui que vous prenez le plus souvent.

Si vous êtes étudiant, votre lieu de travail est le lieu où vous suivez votre formation.

9. Quel est votre mode de transport dominant pour vous rendre à votre travail ? (celui que vous prenez le plus souvent sur l'année et qui vous fait parcourir la plus grande distance) *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Voiture
- ☐ Transport en commun (train, bus, métro, tram)
- ☐ Vélo, vélo électrique
- ☐ Moto, scooter,...
- ☐ Marche à pied
- ☐ Autre : _____

10. Disposez-vous d'une voiture de société ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

11. Disposez-vous d'une carte carburant par votre travail ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

12. Si vous vous rendez au travail à vélo, bénéficiez-vous d'une indemnité vélo ?

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non
- ☐ Je ne rends pas au travail à vélo

13. Durant une semaine normale, combien de fois vous rendez-vous sur votre lieu de travail ? *

NB : si vous revenez chez vous sur votre journée (pour manger à midi, par exemple), vous vous rendez 2 fois/jour au travail, et donc 10 fois/semaine si vous travaillez 5 jours/semaine.

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5 (temps plein classique)
- ☐ 6
- ☐ Plus de 6

14. À quelle distance de votre domicile travaillez-vous ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ 0-5 km
- ☐ 6-10 km
- ☐ 11-20 km
- ☐ 21-30 km
- ☐ 31-40 km
- ☐ 41-50 km
- ☐ 50-60 km
- ☐ + de 60 km

Trajet domicile-travail en fonction d'un indemnité vélo (0-5 km)

Selon une enquête fédérale réalisée par le SPF Mobilité, environ **2%** des Wallons se rendent au travail à vélo contre environ **20%** des Flamands.

Les tableaux avec les sommes annuelles sont basés sur une personne travaillant à temps plein et faisant un aller-retour pour se rendre au travail 220 jours/an (250 jours ouvrés environ avec 20 jours de congé et 10 jours fériés).

Ceci est la dernière partie du questionnaire.

15. Dans le cas où aucune indemnité vélo n'était mise en place, quel mode de transport dominant utiliseriez-vous ? *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Voiture
- ☐ Transport en commun (train, bus, métro, tram)
- ☐ Vélo, vélo électrique
- ☐ Moto, scooter,...
- ☐ Marche à pied
- ☐ Autre : _____

16. Pour une indemnité vélo de 0.15€/km, quel mode de transport dominant * utiliserez-vous ?

Le tableau suivant indique la somme annuelle nette que cela représente pour une personne travaillant à temps plein :

Distance domicile-travail	Montant annuel
1 km	66€
2 km	132€
3 km	198€
4 km	264€
5 km	330€

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Voiture
- ☐ Transport en commun (train, bus, métro, tram)
- ☐ Vélo, vélo électrique
- ☐ Moto, scooter,...
- ☐ Marche à pied
- ☐ Autre : _____

