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Increasing public perceived legitimacy of the European Union through the integration of psychological insights into law

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9.1 APPENDIX CHAPTER 2

Supplementary Table 1. Descriptive statistics of personal values and perceived EU values

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Skewness</i>
Personal values			
Democracy	4.36	0.71	-1.41
Liberty	4.47	0.69	-1.33
Fairness	4.55	0.69	-1.70
Rule of law	4.10	0.87	-0.82
Respect for national authority	3.40	1.09	-0.29
Respect for tradition	3.16	1.21	-0.07
Perceived EU values			
Democracy	3.80	0.99	-0.89
Liberty	3.70	0.97	-0.67
Fairness	3.44	1.04	-0.44
Rule of law	3.67	0.99	-0.62
Respect for national authority	3.27	1.02	-0.43
Respect for tradition	3.13	1.08	-0.13

Supplementary Table 2. Results from a factor analysis of personal values

<i>Value</i>	<i>Factor loading</i>		<i>Eigenvalue</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	
Factor 1: Individualizing values			1.19
Democracy	.59		
Liberty	.56		
Fairness	.63		
Factor 2: Binding values			1.45
Rule of law	.35	.40	
Respect for national authority		.98	
Respect for tradition		.57	

Note. Factor loadings above .35 are in bold. The two-factor model had a good fit, $\chi^2(8) = 97.39, p < .001$; CFI = .921; TLI = .852; RMSEA = .099; SRMR = .070.

Supplementary Table 3. Results from a factor analysis of perceived EU values

Value	Factor loading		Eigenvalue
	1	2	
Factor 1: Individualizing values			2.25
Democracy	.77	.25	
Liberty	.77	.29	
Fairness	.70	.27	
Factor 2: Binding values			1.61
Rule of law	.60	.40	
Respect for national authority	.28	.96	
Respect for tradition	.35	.56	

Note. Factor loadings above .35 are in bold. The two-factor model had a good fit, $\chi^2(8) = 186.22, p < .001$; CFI = .943; TLI = .893; RMSEA = .140; SRMR = .050.

Supplementary Table 4. Results from regression analyses on perceived legitimacy of the CJEU with individualizing values

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	-0.01	0.15	-0.30	0.28	.954	
Country ^a						1.53
France	-0.42	0.09	-0.60	-0.24	< .001	
Germany	-0.09	0.09	-0.26	0.09	.323	
Italy	-0.18	0.09	-0.36	0.00	.052	
Netherlands	-0.02	0.09	-0.20	0.15	.784	
Poland	-0.22	0.09	-0.40	-0.04	.020	
Age	0.10	0.03	0.05	0.15	< .001	1.15
Education ^b						1.46
Secondary education	-0.06	0.15	-0.35	0.22	.662	
Vocational education	-0.20	0.17	-0.54	0.14	.256	
Professional education	0.15	0.16	-0.16	0.47	.346	
Bachelor's degree	0.20	0.15	-0.09	0.48	.173	
Master's degree	0.37	0.15	0.08	0.66	.011	
Doctoral degree	0.42	0.18	0.08	0.77	.016	
Pers. ind. values	0.04	0.03	-0.02	0.09	.187	1.32
Perc. ind. values EU	0.49	0.03	0.43	0.54	< .001	1.22
Pers. ind. values X perc. ind. values EU	-0.02	0.03	-0.07	0.04	.533	1.16

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance inflation factor; pers. = personal; perc. = perceived; ind. = individualizing. $R^2 = .329$.
^aReference group = Finland. ^bReference group = primary education.

Supplementary Table 5. Results from regression analyses on perceived legitimacy of the CJEU with binding values

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	-0.07	0.15	-0.36	0.23	.652	
Country ^a						1.53
France	-0.43	0.09	-0.61	-0.25	< .001	
Germany	-0.14	0.09	-0.26	0.09	.125	
Italy	-0.20	0.09	-0.32	0.04	.031	
Netherlands	-0.03	0.09	-0.21	0.15	.742	
Poland	-0.30	0.10	-0.49	-0.11	.002	
Age	0.09	0.03	0.04	0.14	< .001	1.15
Education ^b						1.45
Secondary education	-0.02	0.15	-0.32	0.28	.906	
Vocational education	-0.16	0.18	-0.51	0.19	.381	
Professional education	0.18	0.17	-0.15	0.50	.288	
Bachelor's degree	0.30	0.15	0.01	0.59	.043	
Master's degree	0.49	0.15	0.19	0.79	.001	
Doctoral degree	0.53	0.18	0.17	0.88	.003	
Pers. bind. values	0.05	0.03	0.00	0.10	.070	1.09
Perc. bind. values EU	0.44	0.03	0.38	0.49	< .001	1.17
Pers. bind. values X perc. bind. values EU	0.03	0.02	-0.02	0.07	.251	1.13

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance inflation factor; pers. = personal; perc. = perceived; bind. = binding. $R^2 = .291$.

^aReference group = Finland. ^bReference group = primary education.

Supplementary Table 6. Results from regression analyses on perceived legitimacy of the EU with individualizing values

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.11	0.14	-0.17	0.38	.439	
Country ^a						1.53
France	-0.35	0.09	-0.51	-0.18	< .001	
Germany	-0.11	0.08	-0.28	0.05	.189	
Italy	-0.11	0.09	-0.28	0.06	.202	
Netherlands	-0.05	0.08	-0.21	0.12	.582	
Poland	-0.27	0.09	-0.45	-0.10	.002	
Age	0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.06	.525	1.15
Education ^b						1.46
Secondary education	-0.08	0.14	-0.36	0.19	.558	
Vocational education	-0.30	0.16	-0.62	0.03	.071	
Professional education	-0.01	0.15	-0.31	0.29	.949	
Bachelor's degree	0.08	0.14	-0.19	0.35	.549	
Master's degree	0.18	0.14	-0.09	0.46	.186	
Doctoral degree	0.21	0.17	-0.12	0.53	.211	

<i>Effect</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>VIF</i>
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>		
Pers. ind. values	-0.02	0.13	-0.08	0.03	.362	1.32
Perc. ind. values EU	0.60	0.03	0.55	0.65	< .001	1.22
Pers. ind. values X perc. ind. values EU	-0.03	0.03	-0.07	0.02	.322	1.16

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit; *VIF* = variance inflation factor; pers. = personal; perc. = perceived; ind. = individualizing. $R^2 = .402$.

^aReference group = Finland. ^bReference group = primary education.

Supplementary Table 7. Results from regression analyses on perceived legitimacy of the EU with binding values

<i>Effect</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>VIF</i>
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>		
Intercept	0.06	0.14	-0.22	0.35	.660	
Country ^a						1.53
France	-0.38	0.09	-0.55	-0.20	< .001	
Germany	-0.20	0.09	-0.37	-0.03	.021	
Italy	-0.16	0.09	-0.33	0.02	.075	
Netherlands	-0.05	0.09	-0.22	0.12	.590	
Poland	-0.35	0.09	-0.53	-0.17	<.001	
Age	0.00	0.03	-0.05	0.05	.946	1.15
Education ^b						1.45
Secondary education	-0.05	0.14	-0.33	0.23	.720	
Vocational education	-0.26	0.17	-0.60	0.07	.122	
Professional education	0.01	0.16	-0.30	0.32	.956	
Bachelor's degree	0.17	0.14	-0.10	0.45	.221	
Master's degree	0.30	0.14	0.01	0.58	.041	
Doctoral degree	0.27	0.17	-0.06	0.61	.110	
Pers. bind. values	0.01	0.03	-0.04	0.06	.640	1.09
Perc. bind. values EU	0.52	0.03	0.47	0.58	< .001	1.17
Pers. bind. values X perc. bind. values EU	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.11	.002	1.13

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit; *VIF* = variance inflation factor; pers. = personal; perc. = perceived; bind. = binding. $R^2 = .358$.

^aReference group = Finland. ^bReference group = primary education.

9.2 APPENDIX CHAPTER 3

Supplementary Table 1. Stimuli for Study 2

Legal norm	Description
Primacy of EU law	EU law has absolute primacy over national law, even over national constitutions. This means that if there is a conflict between EU law and a national constitution, national courts should apply EU law and not the constitution.
Direct effect	EU rules in principle have direct effect in all Member States. This means that citizens can invoke and rely on their EU rights directly in front of national courts and administrative authorities.
Fundamental status EU citizenship	Citizenship of the EU is destined to be the fundamental status of nationals of the member states. This means within EU law, being an EU citizen is your fundamental status as a person.
Non-discrimination based on nationality	All EU citizens must be treated equally, irrespective of their nationality, unless an exception can be justified. This means that in principle a Member State must treat citizens from other EU Member States the same as their own citizens.
EU citizenship additional	Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship. This means that you first have your national citizenship, and then also get EU citizenship on top of your national citizenship.
Respect for national identities	The EU shall respect the national identities of the Member States, inherent in their fundamental political and constitutional structures. This means that the EU must for example respect the constitutional identity of each Member State.
Respect for essential state functions	The EU shall respect Member States' essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State, maintaining law and order, and safeguarding national security. This means for example that Member States determine their own military activities.
Principle of conferral	The EU may act only within the limits of the competences conferred upon it by the Member States in the Treaties to attain the objectives set out therein. This means that the EU may only do something if the Member States have given it the power to do so. All powers not given to the EU remain with the Member States themselves.
Principle of subsidiarity	The EU shall act only if and in so far as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States. This means that the EU only steps in where the Member States cannot achieve a certain goal just as well by themselves.
Right to withdraw from the EU	Every Member State has the sovereign right to withdraw from the EU. This means that the EU can never stop a Member State from leaving the EU if it decides to do so.
Unanimity voting accession	The accession of new Member States to the EU requires unanimity. This means that a new country can only join the EU if all other Member States agree.
Representation Council of Ministers	EU laws have to be approved by the Council of Ministers. Every Member State has one minister in this Council. This means that no EU law can be adopted without Member States voting on it via their own ministers.

<i>Legal norm</i>	<i>Description</i>
Qualified majority voting	An EU law will only be adopted with a qualified majority of votes. This means that at least 55% of the Member States must vote yes. These Member States, moreover, must, together represent at least 65% of the entire EU population. This means that individual Member States do not have a veto, but that EU laws can only be adopted when most ministers, representing most EU citizens, agree with it.
Principle of transparency	Decisions in the EU shall be taken as openly and closely as possible to the citizens. This means that all EU citizens have right to the widest possible access to the documents of the European Parliament, Council, and Commission.
Tax on plastic	Part of the EU budget comes from a tax on plastic packaging waste that is not recycled. This means that the Member States collect this tax, and then transfer it to the EU.
Net payers and receivers	The Member States with the highest national income contribute the most to the EU. This means that some Member States pay more to the EU than they receive back in EU funds (net payers), whereas some Member States get more money from the EU than they pay (net receivers).
European arrest warrant	Member States are obligated to arrest criminal suspects and surrender them to the Member State where the criminal act was committed. This means that Member States must in principle arrest and transport people who are suspected of crimes in other Member States. Surrender may only be refused if there is a risk of inhuman treatment in the Member State to which the suspect will be surrendered.
External border and Frontex	In order to improve migration management, combat crime with a cross-border dimension, and ensure a high level of internal security within the EU, the EU shall have a common European Border and Coast Guard Agency. This means that the EU has a body (Frontex) which helps Member States with protecting their borders, even though Member States remain in charge of their own borders.
Internal market principles	The EU creates an internal market. The internal market is an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital is ensured. This means that products, money, and people can in principle freely move between Member States.
Harmonization competence for internal market	To create an internal market and ensure the free movement of goods, persons, services, and capital the EU may harmonize national laws. This means for example that the EU may set common product standards for cars, which all member States must then apply.
Equal treatment of workers	All EU citizens have the right to work in another member state, where they shall enjoy equal treatment with the nationals of the host member state. This means that an EU citizen who works in another Member State may live there and has to be treated the same as national workers.
Right to reside	All EU citizens have the right to work in another member state, where they shall enjoy equal treatment with the nationals of the host member state. This means that an EU citizen who works in another Member State may live there and has to be treated the same as national workers.
Limitation to right to reside	EU citizens who do not have sufficient financial means to support themselves and have no other EU right to reside in another Member State, are not entitled to social security benefits in other Member States. This means that Member States may refuse social security benefits (for example, maternity/paternity or unemployment benefits) to EU citizens that come to them without sufficient means to support themselves.
Principle of mutual recognition	When a good is lawfully placed on the market in one member state, other member states must in principle allow this good to be sold in their territory as well. This means that products that meet the rules of the state in which they are made may in principle also be sold in the rest of the EU.

<i>Legal norm</i>	<i>Description</i>
Law on same sex marriage	Member States are not required to allow same-sex marriage. Yet Member States must recognize a same-sex marriage that is lawfully concluded in another member state. This means that if a same-sex couple is legally married in one Member State, other member states must allow these partners to reside together on their territories.
Monetary Union	The EU shall establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro. This means that member states stop with their own currency and use the euro as their joint money.
EU values	The EU is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.
Judicial independence	Every member state must ensure that its national courts are independent and offer effective judicial protection. This means that national courts must respect EU rules on the independence of judges
Voting in municipal and European Parliament elections	All EU citizens have the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in the Member State where they reside. This means that EU citizens that move to another Member State may vote in municipal elections in that state, but not in its national elections.
Composition of European Parliament	The European Parliament shall be composed of representatives of the EU's citizens. This means that all members of the European Parliament are directly elected by citizens in special national elections. Member States with larger populations have more seats in the European Parliament. But no Member State has more than 96 seats, and even the smallest Member State has at least 6 seats.
Protection of fundamental rights	The EU shall protect fundamental rights. These include the freedoms and principles set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, the European Convention of Human Rights as well as the constitutional traditions common to the Member States. This also means that Member States may not do anything that violates these EU fundamental rights.
Prohibition to extradition	No one may be removed, expelled, or extradited to a State where there is a serious risk that he or she would be subjected to the death penalty, torture or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. This for example means that refugees may not be sent back to countries where this is not guaranteed.
European green deal	The EU aims to fight climate change and to meet the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement. To this end, the EU has created a European Green Deal, rethinking policies for clean energy. For example, all new petrol and diesel cars will be banned from sale by 2035
Principle of non-discrimination	Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited. This means that you are not allowed to treat people differently for any of these reasons.
Relocation of migrants	In accordance with the principles of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility between the Member States, migrants will be relocated from Italy and Greece to the territories of the other Member States. This means that Member States where the most migrants come in may send some of those migrants to Member States where fewer migrants enter.

<i>Legal norm</i>	<i>Description</i>
Principle of solidarity	The EU is based on a principle of solidarity. This means that Member States must help each other and that the strongest shoulders should carry the heaviest burden. For example, to recover from the COVID-19 crisis and create a better future for the next generations, the EU has set up a €750 billion euros recovery fund. The Member States that have been hit hardest by the crisis will receive more financial support than others.
Consumer protection	To promote the interests of consumers and to ensure a high level of consumer protection, the Union shall contribute to protecting the health, safety, and economic interests of consumers, as well as to promoting their right to information, education and to organise themselves in order to safeguard their interests. This means that the EU can adopt rules to protect consumers, and all Member States and companies must respect these rules.
Free roaming	Consumers will not be charged with roaming costs for voice calls, text messages and data when in other Member States. This means that making calls or using data in other Member States costs the same as in your own state.
European Food Safety Authority	The EU will ensure a high level of protection of human health and consumers' interest in relation to food. For that purpose, the European Food Safety Authority is established. This means that the EU ensures that all food meets high standards and is safe to eat.
European Medicines Agency	All medicines sold in the EU must meet the EU standards for health and safety and must be approved by the European Medicines Agency. This means that Member States or companies may not sell medicines that do not meet EU rules.

Supplementary Table 2. Demographic characteristics of the pilot sample in Study 3

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Participants with reframed conditions</i>	<i>Participants with rebalanced conditions</i>
<i>n</i>	195	96	99
Age			
<i>M</i>	29.79	28.34	31.20
<i>SD</i>	9.59	8.53	10.37
Range	18-70	18-67	19-70
Gender (%)			
Male	49.47	48.96	50.51
Female	48.21	48.96	47.47
Non-binary	2.05	2.08	2.02
Education level (%)			
Primary	0.51	1.04	0
Secondary	6.67	8.33	5.05
Vocational	9.74	10.42	9.09
Higher vocational	35.38	35.42	35.35
Academic bachelor	19.49	19.79	19.19
Academic master	26.67	22.92	30.30
Doctoral	1.54	2.08	1.01

Supplementary Table 3. Factor loadings of moral foundations in Study 3 in a two- and four-factor solution

Item	Two-Factor Solution		Four-Factor Solution			
	1 (7.25)	2 (4.59)	1 (6.11)	2 (3.47)	3 (3.39)	4 (2.61)
Caring for people who have suffered is an important virtue.	0.33	0.38		0.73		
The world would be a better place if everyone made the same amount of money.		0.84			0.85	
I think people who are more hard-working should end up with more money.	0.50					0.74
I think children should be taught to be loyal to their country.	0.72		0.77			
I think it is important for societies to cherish their traditional values.	0.71		0.73			
I think the human body should be treated like a temple, housing something sacred within.	0.47		0.49			
I believe that compassion for those who are suffering is one of the most crucial virtues.		0.43		0.66		
Our society would have fewer problems if people had the same income.		0.85			0.87	
I think people should be rewarded in proportion to what they contribute.	0.46					0.68
It upsets me when people have no loyalty to their country.	0.61		0.63			
I feel that most traditions serve a valuable function in keeping society orderly.	0.67		0.68			
I believe chastity is an important virtue.	0.50		0.52			
We should all care for people who are in emotional pain.		0.49		0.70		
I believe that everyone should be given the same quantity of resources in life.		0.71			0.66	
The effort a worker puts into a job ought to be reflected in the size of a raise they receive.	0.40					0.65
Everyone should love their own community.	0.56		0.56			
I think obedience to parents is an important virtue.	0.67		0.63			
It upsets me when people use foul language like it is nothing.	0.46		0.46	0.34		
I am empathetic toward those people who have suffered in their lives.		0.34		0.70		
I believe it would be ideal if everyone in society wound up with roughly the same amount of money.		0.84			0.85	
It makes me happy when people are recognized on their merits.	0.43			0.34		0.49
Everyone should defend their country, if called upon.	0.57		0.58			
We all need to learn from our elders.	0.59		0.57			

Item	Two-Factor Solution		Four-Factor Solution			
	1 (7.25)	2 (4.59)	1 (6.11)	2 (3.47)	3 (3.39)	4 (2.61)
If I found out that an acquaintance had an unusual but harmless sexual fetish I would feel uneasy about them.			0.33			
Everyone should try to comfort people who are going through something hard.	0.31	0.46		0.67		
When people work together toward a common goal, they should share the rewards equally, even if some worked harder on it.		0.45			0.41	
In a fair society, those who work hard should live with higher standards of living.	0.48					0.62
Everyone should feel proud when a person in their community wins in an international competition.	0.58		0.53			
I believe that one of the most important values to teach children is to have respect for authority.	0.58		0.58			
People should try to use natural medicines rather than chemically identical human-made ones.	0.35	0.38				
It pains me when I see someone ignoring the needs of another human being.	0.31	0.43		0.65		
I get upset when some people have a lot more money than others in my country.		0.52			0.49	
I feel good when I see cheaters get caught and punished.	0.50		0.41			0.32
I believe the strength of a sports team comes from the loyalty of its members to each other.	0.47		0.39			
I think having a strong leader is good for society.	0.49		0.46			
I admire people who keep their virginity until marriage.	0.38		0.41			

Note. SS loadings are presented in brackets. Only factor loadings higher than 0.30 are presented.

Supplementary Table 4. Experimental conditions in Study 3

Reframing conditions	
Control	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed.
Care/equality	To protect fundamental rights and equal treatment of all citizens, EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. Primacy thus ensures that citizens have the same rights and that some will not be treated differently than others.
Loyalty	To protect national constitutions, EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. Since EU law is legally obligated to always respect the national constitutional identity and traditions of the Member States, primacy thus ensures that no country will have to breach their own constitution.

Authority	To ensure a clear hierarchy between authorities, EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. Since a well-functioning society requires that authorities are respected, primacy thus ensures that citizens can live in a stable and orderly European society.
Liberty	To protect individual freedoms, EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. As EU law strongly protects individual freedoms, primacy thus ensures that all citizens can live in freedom, without being oppressed by national governments, companies, or other organizations.
Economic	To ensure economic growth and a well-functioning market, EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. As this is required for the uniform application of internal market rules, primacy thus ensures that all citizens can live in prosperity.

Rebalancing conditions

Control	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed.
Care/ equality	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. However, EU laws have no primacy if they violate fundamental human rights, which EU law also protects. If an EU law harms someone's fundamental rights, national law is thus allowed to protect citizens against the EU law.
Loyalty	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. However, EU laws have no primacy over the constitutional identity and traditions of the Member States. If an EU law conflicts with the core of a national constitution, people can thus remain loyal to their national constitution because national courts will apply national law.
Authority	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. However, EU laws have no primacy when they subvert the rightful authority of the Member States. An EU law can therefore not exceed the competences given to the EU by the Member States. If it does national courts can thus limit the primacy of EU law.
Liberty	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. However, EU laws have no primacy if they violate individual freedoms. If an EU law harms the core of someone's liberty, national law is thus allowed to protect citizens against the EU law.
Economic	EU laws have primacy over the laws of the Member States. This means that EU laws are higher than national laws. If an EU law and a national law conflict, the EU law therefore wins. The national law must then be disapplied and changed. However, EU laws have no primacy if they threaten economic stability and prosperity. If an EU law endangers a vital national economic interest, it thus has no primacy over national law.

Supplementary Table 5. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of average probabilities of moral foundations words in State of the Union speeches

	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority
Fairness	< -0.001			
Loyalty	0.009***	0.009***		
Authority	0.010***	0.010***	<0.001	
Purity	0.024***	0.024***	0.015***	0.014***

Note. ****p* < .001.

Supplementary Table 6. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the mediation model in Study 2

Predictor Variable	Dependent Variable					
	Moral Alignment			Perceived EU Legitimacy		
	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Country (dummy = France)						
Germany	0.34	0.14	.012	-0.02	0.12	.868
Italy	0.30	0.14	.032	0.17	0.12	.175
Netherlands	0.18	0.14	.203	-0.02	0.12	.900
Poland	0.09	0.14	.502	0.22	0.12	.071
Sweden	0.13	0.14	.352	-0.18	0.13	.154
Age	0.06	0.05	.169	-0.16	0.04	< .001
Political Orientation	-0.06	0.05	.213	-0.14	0.04	.001
Individualizing Moral Foundations	0.18	0.05	< .001	0.02	0.04	.586
Binding Moral Foundations	-0.12	0.05	.019	-0.02	0.04	.599
Moral Alignment	-	-	-	0.43	0.04	< .001
Adjusted R ² = .06			Adjusted R ² = .28			
F(9, 583) = 5.42, p < .001			F(10, 582) = 24.01, p < .001			

Supplementary Table 7. Descriptive statistics of responses to EU rules

Item	% 'right'	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Purity	Liberty	Other
Primacy of EU law	68.4	R: .38 W: .17	R: .70 W: .25	R: .05 W: .22	R: .16 W: .49	R: .08 W: .12	R: .52 W: .43	R: .19 W: .26
Direct effect	97.0	R: .50 W: .17	R: .75 W: .50	R: .06 W: .17	R: .15 W: .50	R: .09 W: 0	R: .63 W: .33	R: .08 W: .17
Fundamental status EU citizenship	82.4	R: .23 W: .19	R: .64 W: .17	R: .19 W: .31	R: .08 W: .33	R: .06 W: .17	R: .26 W: .36	R: .24 W: .31
Non-discrimination nationality	95.7	R: .59 W: .11	R: .91 W: .11	R: .12 W: .22	R: .12 W: .56	R: .16 W: 0	R: .54 W: .22	R: .06 W: .22
EU citizenship additional to national citizenship	95.7	R: .13 W: 0	R: .60 W: .22	R: .28 W: .22	R: .21 W: .11	R: .04 W: .11	R: .27 W: .11	R: .21 W: .56
Respect for national identities	93.1	R: .06 W: .53	R: .35 W: .27	R: .32 W: .07	R: .54 W: .07	R: .10 W: 0	R: .34 W: .60	R: .13 W: .13

<i>Item</i>	<i>% 'right'</i>	<i>Care</i>	<i>Fairness</i>	<i>Loyalty</i>	<i>Authority</i>	<i>Purity</i>	<i>Liberty</i>	<i>Other</i>
Respect for essential state functions	80.3	R: .19 W: .46	R: .14 W: .31	R: .24 W: .09	R: .45 W: .09	R: .03 W: .09	R: .34 W: .54	R: .21 W: .31
Conferral	90.6	R: .09 W: .32	R: .33 W: .37	R: .15 W: .05	R: .48 W: .16	R: .06 W: .05	R: .38 W: .37	R: .23 W: .47
Subsidiarity	91.9	R: .32 W: .44	R: .40 W: .33	R: .16 W: 0	R: .30 W: .06	R: .05 W: 0	R: .34 W: .39	R: .23 W: .39
Right to withdraw	95.0	R: .06 W: .36	R: .45 W: 0	R: .13 W: .27	R: .24 W: .45	R: .04 W: 0	R: .59 W: .55	R: .23 W: .09
Unanimity requirement accession	68.5	R: .12 W: .20	R: .55 W: .53	R: .24 W: .05	R: .28 W: .08	R: .04 W: .08	R: .22 W: .39	R: .26 W: .44
Council representation	91.3	R: .15 W: .11	R: .69 W: .32	R: .21 W: .26	R: .28 W: .16	R: .04 W: 0	R: .42 W: .32	R: .13 W: .32
Qualified majority voting	87.5	R: .15 W: .11	R: .50 W: .70	R: .14 W: .15	R: .24 W: .15	R: .07 W: .11	R: .41 W: .30	R: .23 W: .26
Transparency	99.1	R: .16 W: .50	R: .65 W: 0	R: .11 W: 0	R: .22 W: 0	R: .19 W: 0	R: .55 W: .50	R: .19 W: .50
Plastic tax	88.9	R: .11 W: .24	R: .22 W: .10	R: .11 W: .05	R: .18 W: .10	R: .21 W: .19	R: .04 W: .10	R: .57 W: .62
Net payers and net receivers	82.1	R: .53 W: .03	R: .50 W: .66	R: .19 W: .06	R: .06 W: .06	R: .10 W: .09	R: .19 W: .09	R: .21 W: .31
European Arrest Warrant	93.3	R: .41 W: .31	R: .51 W: .38	R: .17 W: .23	R: .45 W: .08	R: .14 W: .08	R: .30 W: .23	R: .15 W: .08
External border and Frontex	83.9	R: .45 W: .55	R: .25 W: .52	R: .23 W: .09	R: .35 W: .12	R: .06 W: .12	R: .28 W: .42	R: .23 W: .33
Internal market principles	95.1	R: .12 W: .20	R: .66 W: .50	R: .10 W: .10	R: .09 W: .50	R: .07 W: .30	R: .47 W: .20	R: .31 W: .20
Harmonization competence internal market	88.6	R: .17 W: .12	R: .71 W: .24	R: .06 W: .04	R: .15 W: .24	R: .06 W: .08	R: .11 W: .48	R: .29 W: .32
Equal treatment workers	96.0	R: .31 W: .22	R: .91 W: .44	R: .09 W: .22	R: .09 W: .33	R: .17 W: .11	R: .46 W: .11	R: .11 W: 0
Right to reside	93.4	R: .17 W: .64	R: .56 W: .79	R: .14 W: .07	R: .19 W: .14	R: .10 W: .07	R: .14 W: .21	R: .24 W: .07
Limitation to right to reside	49.8	R: .10 W: .80	R: .34 W: .60	R: .10 W: .03	R: .33 W: .06	R: .12 W: .21	R: .05 W: .32	R: .38 W: .10
Mutual recognition	73.4	R: .08 W: .18	R: .61 W: .07	R: .10 W: .09	R: .13 W: .21	R: .05 W: .07	R: .25 W: .19	R: .28 W: .53
Same sex marriage	81.9	R: .49 W: .39	R: .72 W: .63	R: .05 W: .03	R: .13 W: .11	R: .21 W: .37	R: .68 W: .63	R: .10 W: .11
Monetary Union	73.2	R: .06 W: .14	R: .48 W: .21	R: .13 W: .18	R: .17 W: .37	R: .03 W: .02	R: .13 W: .28	R: .44 W: .46
Article 2 EU values	97.5	R: .73 W: 0	R: .83 W: .20	R: .11 W: 0	R: .15 W: .20	R: .30 W: .60	R: .71 W: 0	R: .06 W: .40
Judicial independence	97.6	R: .44 W: .20	R: .74 W: .20	R: .04 W: .20	R: .27 W: .40	R: .14 W: 0	R: .58 W: .20	R: .09 W: .40
Voting municipal elections	74.8	R: .07 W: .05	R: .59 W: .75	R: .20 W: .07	R: .25 W: .07	R: .07 W: .07	R: .27 W: .25	R: .21 W: .33
Election European Parliament	83.8	R: .11 W: .09	R: .67 W: .65	R: .10 W: .09	R: .21 W: .15	R: .03 W: .06	R: .34 W: .38	R: .16 W: .21
Fundamental rights protection	98.1	R: .68 W: .25	R: .77 W: 0	R: .11 W: 0	R: .30 W: .25	R: .18 W: 0	R: .73 W: .75	R: .06 W: .25
Prohibition to extradition when inhuman treatment	88.8	R: .84 W: .04	R: .34 W: .21	R: .07 W: .08	R: .07 W: .33	R: .27 W: .17	R: .67 W: .13	R: .08 W: .50

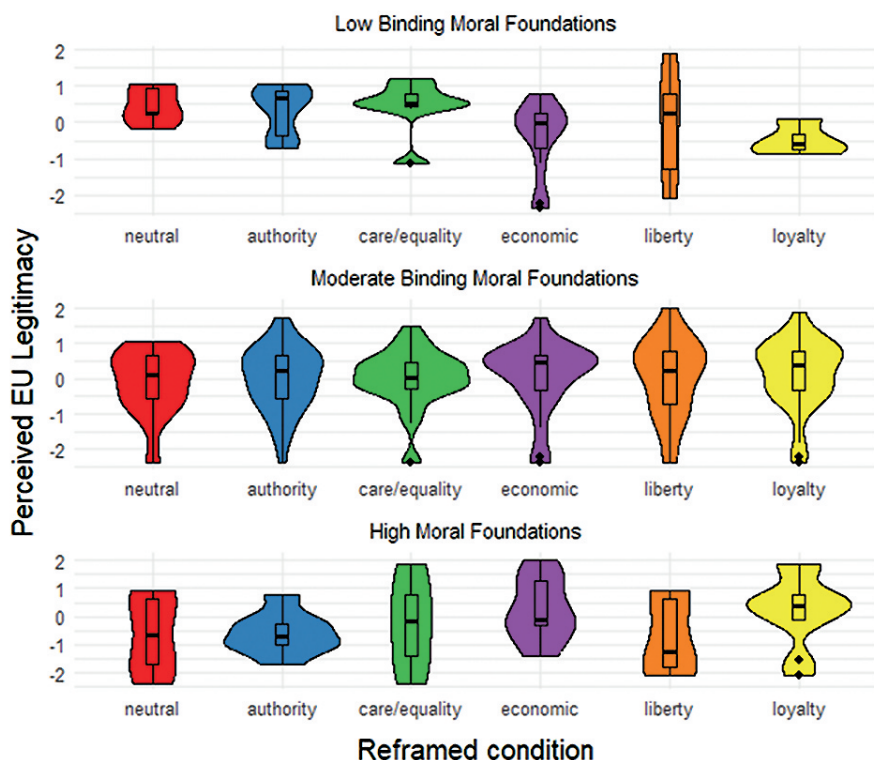
Item	% 'right'	Care	Fairness	Loyalty	Authority	Purity	Liberty	Other
European Green Deal	79.1	R: .43 W: .23	R: .15 W: .41	R: .11 W: .09	R: .14 W: .11	R: .31 W: .07	R: .05 W: .59	R: .49 W: .43
Non-discrimination	96.6	R: .72 W: .43	R: .89 W: .14	R: .10 W: .57	R: .16 W: .57	R: .40 W: .43	R: .74 W: .29	R: .04 W: .29
Relocation of migrants	81.3	R: .66 W: .37	R: .57 W: .39	R: .16 W: .17	R: .20 W: .46	R: .19 W: .17	R: .38 W: .49	R: .17 W: .34
Solidarity and NextGeneration EU	91.5	R: .82 W: .11	R: .47 W: .44	R: .28 W: .11	R: .11 W: .11	R: .17 W: .17	R: .22 W: .17	R: .10 W: .39
Consumer protection	93.3	R: .60 W: .23	R: .61 W: .08	R: .07 W: 0	R: .11 W: .15	R: .15 W: .08	R: .38 W: .62	R: .14 W: .31
Free roaming costs	97.6	R: .13 W: .40	R: .76 W: .20	R: .09 W: .20	R: .09 W: .20	R: .06 W: .20	R: .25 W: 0	R: .28 W: .20
European Food Safety Authority	97.0	R: .73 W: .17	R: .31 W: .17	R: .08 W: .17	R: .10 W: .17	R: .29 W: 0	R: .08 W: .50	R: .24 W: .50
European Medicines Agency	93.7	R: .77 W: .54	R: .35 W: .23	R: .03 W: .15	R: .16 W: .23	R: .15 W: .08	R: .14 W: .54	R: .17 W: .23
Total	87.7	R: .35 W: .26	R: .55 W: .33	R: .14 W: .13	R: .21 W: .22	R: .13 W: .11	R: .37 W: .34	R: .21 W: .31

Note. This table reports percentages of participants who judged rules to be ‘right’ (vs. ‘wrong’), and proportion of arguments selected for these right/wrong judgments. Ind = individualizing. Ind. = individualizing. Bind = binding. R = right. W = wrong.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

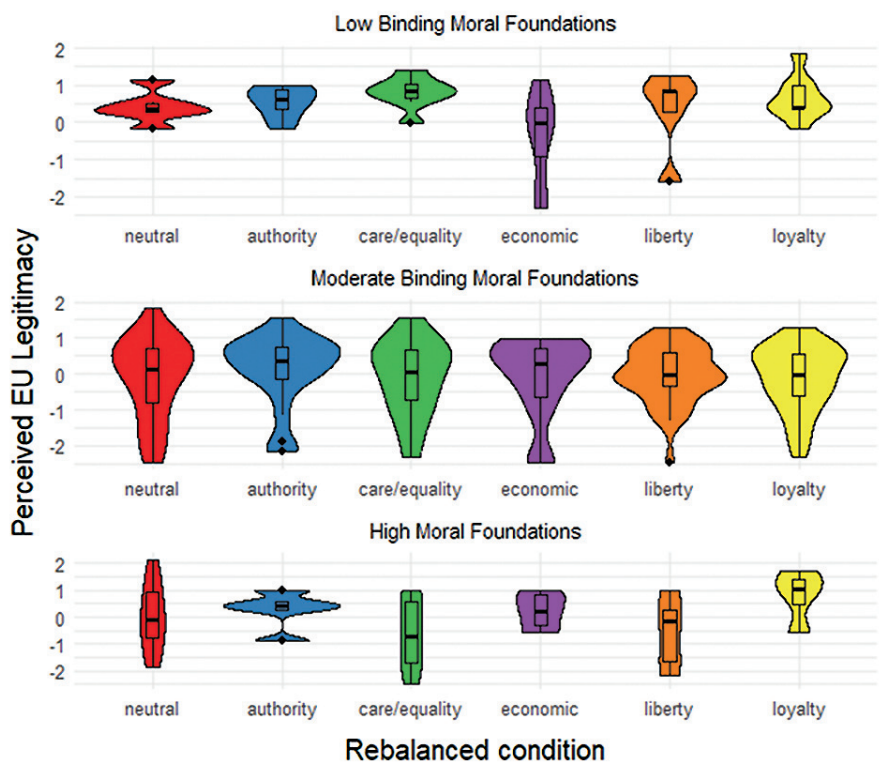
Supplementary Table 8. Means and standard deviations of perceived EU legitimacy and support for primacy by strategy and condition

Strategy	Condition	<i>n</i>	Perceived EU Legitimacy	Support for Primacy
Reframing	Neutral	40	3.06 (0.89)	2.78 (1.19)
	Care/Equality	46	3.18 (0.86)	3.11 (1.08)
	Loyalty	48	3.25 (0.92)	2.96 (1.15)
	Authority	58	3.16 (0.80)	2.83 (1.23)
	Liberty	47	3.11 (1.08)	2.96 (1.35)
	Economic	45	3.15 (0.96)	3.02 (1.03)
Rebalancing	Neutral	45	3.14 (0.95)	2.67 (1.19)
	Care/Equality	52	3.08 (0.95)	3.06 (1.19)
	Loyalty	48	3.21 (0.81)	2.88 (1.14)
	Authority	37	3.33 (0.77)	3.30 (1.02)
	Liberty	48	3.07 (0.80)	2.87 (1.03)
	Economic	53	3.07 (0.92)	2.87 (1.14)

Supplementary Figure 1. Violin and boxplots of perceived EU legitimacy (mean-centred) for each reframed condition and binding moral foundations group (low = 1 SD below M; moderate = between 1 SD below and above M; high = 1 SD above M)



Supplementary Figure 2. Violin and boxplots of perceived EU legitimacy (mean-centred) for each rebalanced condition and binding moral foundations group (low = 1 SD below M; moderate = between 1 SD below and above M; high = 1 SD above M)



Supplementary Table 9. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of mean differences of perceived EU legitimacy between education levels

	Low	Medium	High
Medium	-0.12		
High	-0.57***	-0.49***	
M	2.90	3.02	3.47
SD	0.87	0.91	0.79

Note. *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 10. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on reframed conditions and binding moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Age	-0.19	0.06	-2.92	.004	.05
Education (Dummy = Low)					.03
Medium	0.15	0.15	1.01	.311	
High	0.47	0.16	2.91	.004	
Binding MF	-0.32	0.18	-1.82	.070	< .01
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.01
Authority	0.08	0.20	0.39	.695	
Care/Equality	0.17	0.21	0.80	.426	
Economic	0.19	0.21	0.92	.358	
Liberty	0.09	0.21	0.42	.674	
Loyalty	0.33	0.21	1.57	.117	
Binding MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.05
Binding MF X Authority	0.19	0.21	0.89	.374	
Binding MF X Care/Equality	0.40	0.24	1.67	.097	
Binding MF X Economic	0.65	0.21	3.12	.002	
Binding MF X Liberty	0.09	0.25	0.36	.718	
Binding MF X Loyalty	0.46	0.23	1.98	.049	
Adjusted $R^2 = .09$					
$F(14, 269) = 2.99, p < .001$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

Supplementary Table 11. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on rebalanced conditions and binding moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Age	-0.15	0.06	-2.43	.016	.05
Education (Dummy = Low)					.09
Medium	-0.07	0.15	-0.50	.620	
High	0.61	0.16	3.81	< .001	
Binding MF	0.12	0.13	0.92	.360	< .01
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.01
Authority	0.27	0.21	1.33	.184	
Care/Equality	-0.02	0.19	-0.10	.919	
Economic	0.00	0.19	0.01	.990	
Liberty	-0.05	0.19	-0.28	.780	
Loyalty	0.10	0.19	0.50	.619	
Binding MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.03
Binding MF X Authority	-0.35	0.18	-1.89	.059	
Binding MF X Care/Equality	0.10	0.19	0.57	.572	
Binding MF X Economic	-0.32	0.20	-1.62	.106	
Binding MF X Liberty	-0.02	0.20	-0.10	.919	
Binding MF X Loyalty	-0.15	0.06	-2.43	.016	
Adjusted $R^2 = .14$					
$F(14, 268) = 4.23, p < .001$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

Supplementary Table 12. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on reframed conditions and individualizing moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Age	-0.21	0.06	-3.56	< .001	.05
Education (Dummy = Low)					.03
Medium	0.20	0.15	1.34	.181	
High	0.53	0.16	3.32	.001	
Individualizing MF	0.07	0.16	0.45	.654	.05
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.01
Authority	0.14	0.19	0.74	.463	
Care/Equality	0.19	0.20	0.95	.344	
Economic	0.27	0.21	1.33	.186	
Liberty	0.12	0.20	0.58	.562	
Loyalty	0.39	0.21	1.87	.063	
Individualizing MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.03
Individualizing MF X Authority	0.02	0.20	0.10	.917	
Individualizing MF X Care/Equality	0.11	0.22	0.51	.611	
Individualizing MF X Economic	0.36	0.20	1.78	.075	
Individualizing MF X Liberty	0.42	0.22	1.92	.056	
Individualizing MF X Loyalty	-0.03	0.22	-0.14	.889	
Adjusted $R^2 = .12$					
$F(14, 269) = 3.67, p < .001$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

Supplementary Table 13. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on rebalanced conditions and individualizing moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Age	-0.16	0.06	-2.62	.009	.05
Education (Dummy = Low)					.09
Medium	-0.03	0.14	-0.22	.828	
High	0.63	0.16	4.01	< .001	
Individualizing MF	0.56	0.15	3.64	.003	.01
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.01
Authority	0.20	0.21	0.97	.335	
Care/Equality	-0.13	0.19	-0.69	.493	
Economic	-0.06	0.19	-0.33	.744	
Liberty	-0.12	0.19	-0.62	.534	
Loyalty	0.00	0.19	0.02	.982	
Individualizing MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.03
Individualizing MF X Authority	-0.48	0.20	-2.34	.020	
Individualizing MF X Care/Equality	-0.45	0.20	-2.26	.025	
Individualizing MF X Economic	-0.65	0.20	-3.29	.001	
Individualizing MF X Liberty	-0.49	0.21	-2.40	.017	
Individualizing MF X Loyalty	-0.42	0.22	-1.94	.054	
Adjusted $R^2 = .16$					
$F(14, 268) = 4.76, p < .001$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

Supplementary Table 14. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing support for primacy on reframed conditions and binding moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Age	-0.10	0.06	-1.52	.129	.02
Education (Dummy = Low)					.03
Medium	0.15	0.15	0.97	.332	
High	0.49	0.16	2.96	.003	
Binding MF	-0.16	0.18	-0.88	.381	< .01
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.01
Authority	-0.02	0.20	-0.10	.918	
Care/Equality	0.30	0.21	1.40	.162	
Economic	0.27	0.21	1.25	.214	
Liberty	0.16	0.21	0.77	.441	
Loyalty	0.25	0.21	1.17	.241	
Binding MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.04
Binding MF X Authority	-0.07	0.21	-0.34	.736	
Binding MF X Care/Equality	0.11	0.24	0.47	.640	
Binding MF X Economic	0.42	0.21	2.00	.047	
Binding MF X Liberty	-0.05	0.25	-0.20	.839	
Binding MF X Loyalty	0.24	0.24	1.02	.309	
Adjusted $R^2 = .06$					
$F(14, 269) = 2.32, p = .005$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

Supplementary Table 15. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing support for primacy on rebalanced conditions and binding moral foundations (Study 3)

	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Age	-0.10	0.06	-1.57	.117	.03
Education (Dummy = Low)					.05
Medium	-0.15	0.15	-1.00	.316	
High	0.38	0.16	2.31	.022	
Binding MF	-0.17	0.14	-1.27	.206	< .01
Condition (Dummy = Control)					.03
Authority	0.60	0.21	2.84	.005	
Care/Equality	0.38	0.19	1.95	.052	
Economic	0.25	0.19	1.27	.206	
Liberty	0.13	0.20	0.64	.525	
Loyalty	0.19	0.20	0.94	.347	
Binding MF X Condition (Dummy = Control)					.03
Binding MF X Authority	0.43	0.19	2.29	.023	
Binding MF X Care/Equality	-0.04	0.19	-0.22	.824	
Binding MF X Economic	0.19	0.19	0.99	.322	
Binding MF X Liberty	0.02	0.20	0.08	.933	
Binding MF X Loyalty	0.14	0.21	0.66	.510	
Adjusted $R^2 = .09$					
$F(14, 268) = 3.07, p < .001$					

Note. MF = moral foundations.

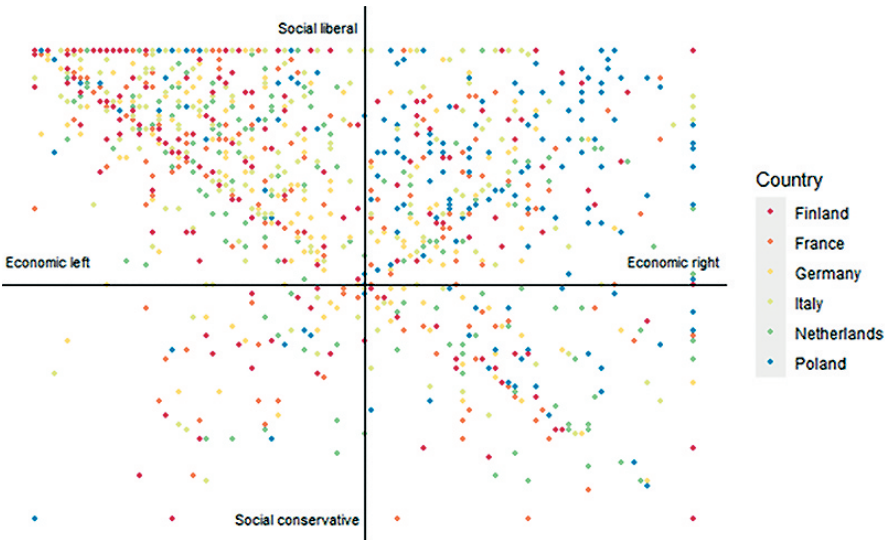
9.3 APPENDIX CHAPTER 4

Supplementary Table 1. Main characteristics of the total sample and each country subsample

	Total	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Poland
Sample size	1136	164	197	195	200	196	184
Age M	27.60	29.16	28.49	30.39	26.36	28.79	22.35
(SD)	(8.98)	(8.71)	(8.88)	(9.96)	(7.97)	(9.71)	(5.54)
Range	18-73	18-73	18-62	18-63	18-62	18-71	18-46
Gender (in %)							
Female	40.1	38.4	44.7	37.9	49	45.4	23.9
Male	58.4	58.5	52.8	61	50	53.6	75.5
Other	1.3	3	2	1	0.5	1	0.5
Not indicated	0.2	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	0
Education level (in %)							
Primary education	3.3	6.1	2.5	2.6	1	0	8.7
Secondary education	19.5	12.2	13.7	15.4	26.5	7.1	42.4
Vocational education [†]	5.6	15.2	2	6.2	0	9.7	2.2
Professional education	10.2	16.5	4.6	4.6	2.5	28.6	5.4
Bachelor's degree	29.8	25.6	27.4	36.4	38	21.9	28.3
Master's degree	26.1	18.3	42.1	27.7	28	26.5	12
Doctoral degree	5.5	6.1	7.6	7.7	4	1	1.1

[†]This answer category was not in the Italian version of the questionnaire because in Italy this level of education does not exist.

Supplementary Figure 1. Political preferences of the country subsamples on the economic and social dimension



Supplementary Table 2. Results from oblique promax rotated principal axis factor analysis of items measuring threat to national power and sociocultural identity

	Sociocultural identity threat	Power threat
<i>Eigenvalue</i>	4.82	4.32
<i>α</i>	.94	.95
1. The EU has too much power and responsibility in [country]		.94
2. The EU controls the destinies of [country] in too many ways		.93
3. The EU too often denies [country]'s independent positions of power and responsibilities	.10	.79
4. The EU has too much power and responsibility over our national institutions		.91
5. The EU undermines democracy in [country]	.35	.53
6. The EU undermines the value of my national vote	.43	.45
7. The EU undermines core [nationality] norms and values	.71	.18
8. The EU undermines [nationality] customs and symbols	.91	
9. The EU undermines [nationality] identity	.97	
10. The EU undermines the unity of [nationality] culture	.93	
11. The Euro threatens our national identity / Joining the Eurozone would threaten our national identity [†]	.74	
12. I experience fear that [country] will lose its distinctive culture due to the EU	.59	.20

Note. We conducted exploratory principles axis factoring, using oblique promax rotation, to assess the factor structure. A scree plot suggested that two factors should be retained. Taking the recommended cut-off level of .32, the factor loadings indicated that items 5 and 6 load on both factors. These items were thus deleted due to cross-loadings. Factor loadings in bold indicate onto which final factors the item loaded. The *α* is indicated for the final factors.

[†]The second item was used in the Polish sample.

Supplementary Table 3. Descriptive statistics for dual identification variables in all country subsamples

	<i>Finland</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Poland</i>
National identification	5.42 (1.09)	4.81 (1.10)	4.78 (0.96)	4.66 (1.03)	5.24 (0.90)	4.11 (1.26)
EU identification	5.32 (1.01)	5.26 (1.03)	5.53 (0.87)	5.58 (0.90)	5.08 (0.94)	5.17 (0.98)
Dual identification (con.)	5.26 (1.59)	5.08 (1.65)	5.28 (1.48)	5.40 (1.47)	5.02 (1.50)	4.72 (1.67)
Dual identification (cat.)						
Exclusive national	46	47	20	22	37	25
First national, then EU	98	103	116	127	134	103
First EU, then national	15	42	56	48	24	46
Exclusive EU	5	5	3	3	1	10

Note. Con. = continuous. Cat. = categorical. Means and standard deviations between brackets are reported for the continuous dual identification measure. The number of participants in each of the categories of the categorical dual identification measure are shown.

Supplementary Table 4. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of threat to power between countries

	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Poland
France	0.11 [-0.33, 0.56]					
Germany	-0.57** [-1.02, -0.12]	-0.68*** [-1.11, -0.25]				
Italy	-0.40 [-0.85, 0.04]	-0.52** [-0.94, -0.09]	0.16 [-0.27, 0.59]			
Netherlands	0.10 [-0.35, 0.55]	-0.02 [-0.45, 0.41]	0.66*** [0.23, 1.09]	0.50* [0.07, 0.93]		
Poland	-0.14 [-0.60, 0.32]	-0.25 [-0.69, 0.18]	0.43 [-0.01, 0.86]	0.27 [-0.17, 0.70]	-0.24 [-0.67, 0.20]	
M	3.13	3.25	2.57	2.73	3.23	2.99
SD	1.49	1.49	1.44	1.44	1.50	1.56

Note. Values are the mean differences in power threat, in brackets the 95% confidence intervals.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 5. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of threat to sociocultural identity between countries

	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Poland
France	0.18 [-0.22, 0.58]					
Germany	-0.34 [-0.73, 0.06]	-0.51** [-0.89, -0.13]				
Italy	-0.30 [-0.69, 0.10]	-0.47** [-0.85, -0.10]	0.04 [-0.34, 0.42]			
Netherlands	0.36 [-0.03, 0.76]	0.19 [-0.19, 0.56]	0.70*** [0.32, 1.08]	0.66*** [0.28, 1.04]		
Poland	0.25 [-0.15, 0.65]	0.07 [-0.31, 0.46]	0.59*** [0.20, 0.97]	0.55*** [0.16, 0.93]	-0.11 [-0.50, 0.27]	
M	2.35	2.52	2.01	2.05	2.71	2.60
SD	1.33	1.33	1.15	1.18	1.43	1.44

Note. Values are the mean differences in culture threat, in brackets the 95% confidence intervals.
** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 6. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of perceived EU legitimacy between countries

	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Poland
France	-0.34 [-0.69, 0]					
Germany	-0.09 [-0.43, 0.26]	0.26 [-0.07, 0.59]				
Italy	0.11 [-0.23, 0.45]	0.45** [0.13, 0.78]	0.20 [-0.13, 0.52]			
Netherlands	-0.18 [-0.52, 0.17]	0.17 [-0.16, 0.49]	-0.09 [-0.42, 0.24]	-0.29 [-0.62, 0.04]		
Poland	-0.37* [-0.72, -0.02]	-0.03 [-0.36, 0.30]	-0.29 [-0.62, 0.05]	-0.48*** [-0.81, -0.15]	-0.20 [-0.53, 0.14]	
M	4.77	4.43	4.68	4.88	4.59	4.40
SD	1.04	1.26	1.15	1.03	1.13	1.17

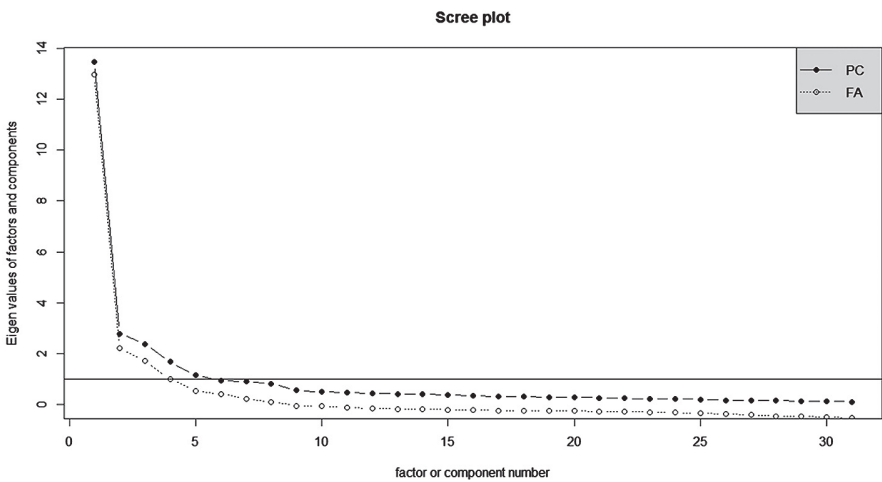
Note. Values are the mean differences in culture threat, in brackets the 95% confidence intervals.
** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Table 7. Tukey HSD pairwise comparisons of perceived EU legitimacy between education levels

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	-0.10 [-0.69, 0.49]						
3	-0.49 [-1.17, 0.20]	-0.39 [-0.86, 0.09]					
4	-0.01 [-0.64, 0.62]	0.09 [-0.29, 0.47]	0.48 [-0.04, 0.93]				
5	0.23 [-0.35, 0.80]	0.32* [0.04, 0.61]	0.71*** [0.26, 1.17]	0.23 [-0.13, 0.59]			
6	0.35 [-0.23, 0.94]	0.45*** [0.16, 0.75]	0.84*** [0.38, 1.30]	0.36 [0, 0.73]	0.13 [-0.14, 0.39]		
7	0.35 [-0.34, 1.04]	0.45 [-0.03, 0.93]	0.83*** [0.24, 1.43]	0.35 [-0.17, 0.88]	0.12 [-0.34, 0.58]	-0.01 [-0.47, 0.46]	
n	37	222	64	116	338	297	62
M	4.49	4.39	4.01	4.49	4.72	4.85	4.84
SD	1.11	1.17	1.23	1.20	1.10	1.07	1.18

Note. 1: Primary education, 2: Secondary education, 3: Vocational education, 4: Professional education, 5: Bachelor's degree, 6: Master's degree, 7: Doctoral degree.
Values are the mean differences in culture threat, in brackets the 95% confidence intervals.
** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Supplementary Figure 2. Scree plot of all items measuring EU identification, threat to nation, institutional trust, felt duty to obey, and political orientation, revealing 5 factors



Supplementary Table 8. Factor loadings and fit indices from oblique promax rotated principal axis factor analysis of items measuring EU identification, threat to nation, institutional trust, felt duty to obey, and political orientation

	PA1	PA2	PA3	PA4	PA5
I identify with other people in the EU			0.96		
I am like other people in the EU		-0.15	1.01		
The group of EU people is an important reflection of who I am	0.11		0.94	0.15	
I would like to continue belonging to people in the EU			0.56	-0.32	
I dislike being one of the people in the EU			-0.11	0.74	
I would rather belong to another group than people in the EU	-0.13			0.77	
I think people in the EU have little to be proud of				0.74	
I feel good about people in the EU			0.58	-0.21	
I have little respect for people in the EU			0.13	0.72	
I would rather not tell that I belong to people in the EU				0.74	
The EU has too much power and responsibility in [country]	-0.11				0.93
The EU controls the destinies of [country] in too many ways	-0.11	-0.10			0.94
The EU too often denies [country]'s independent positions of power and responsibilities					0.79
The EU has too much power and responsibility over our national institutions		-0.11			0.86
The EU undermines core [nationality] norms and values	0.65				0.29
The EU undermines [nationality] customs and symbols	0.90				
The EU undermines [nationality] identity	0.97				

	PA1	PA2	PA3	PA4	PA5
The EU undermines the unity of [nationality] culture	0.94				
The Euro threatens our national identity / Joining the Eurozone would threaten our national identity [†]	0.64			0.15	
I experience fear that [country] will lose its distinctive culture due to the EU	0.53				0.16
I have confidence in the EU	-0.12	0.40	0.26		
The EU is trustworthy	-0.19	0.45	0.23		
The EU acts within the law	-0.31	0.42			
Most EU civil servants do their job well	-0.24	0.42	0.16		
People should obey laws made by the EU even if it goes against what they think is right		0.88			
People should obey laws made by the EU even if they will not be caught for breaking it		0.74			
People should do what the EU tells them to do even if they disagree with it	0.14	1.03			
People should do what the EU tells them to do even if they don't like the way the EU treats them	0.16	0.98	-0.10		
I feel I should accept the decisions made by the EU		0.85			
Economic left (equal wealth distribution and larger role of the state) – right (individual responsibility and free market)					0.33
Social left (progressive policy) – right (conservative policy)	0.15	0.12			0.47

Note. TLI = .90, RMSEA = .08, $\chi^2 = 722$, $df = 271$, $p < .001$.

[†]The second item was used in the Polish sample.

Supplementary Table 9. Factor correlations and indices from oblique promax rotated principal axis factor analysis of items measuring EU identification, threat to nation, institutional trust, felt duty to obey, and political orientation

	PA1	PA2	PA3	PA4	PA5
PA1					
PA2	-.62				
PA3	-.55	.59			
PA4	.64	-.51	-.60		
PA5	.75	-.56	-.51	-.50	
SS loadings	4.09	4.89	3.71	3.02	3.69
Proportion explained	.24	.22	.18	.15	.16

Supplementary Table 10. Results of the main regression model on institutional trust

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.18	0.05	0.07	0.28	.001	
Country [†]						
France	-0.26	0.07	-0.40	-0.12	<.001	1.28
Germany	-0.35	0.07	-0.49	-0.20	<.001	
Italy	-0.09	0.07	-0.23	0.05	.204	
Netherlands	-0.11	0.07	-0.25	0.03	.125	
Poland	-0.12	0.08	-0.27	0.02	.102	
National id.	<0.01	0.02	-0.05	0.05	.942	1.52
EU id.	0.28	0.03	0.22	0.34	<.001	2.36
Dual id.	0.13	0.03	0.08	0.19	<.001	1.99
Threat to nation	-0.44	0.03	-0.49	-0.39	<.001	1.82
National id. X threat	-0.07	0.02	-0.10	-0.03	.001	1.12
EU id. X threat	-0.01	0.02	-0.06	0.04	.646	3.03
Dual id. X threat	0.04	0.03	-0.01	0.09	.111	3.01

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance

[†] Finland was the reference category

Supplementary Table 11. Results of the main regression model on duty to obey

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.10	0.07	-0.03	0.24	.118	
Country [†]						
France	-0.15	0.09	-0.32	0.03	.094	1.28
Germany	-0.18	0.09	-0.35	<0.01	.050	
Italy	-0.04	0.09	-0.22	0.13	.637	
Netherlands	0.08	0.09	-0.09	0.26	.339	
Poland	-0.24	0.09	-0.42	0.05	.013	
National id.	0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.08	.498	1.52
EU id.	0.16	0.04	0.09	0.23	<.001	2.36
Dual id.	0.11	0.03	0.05	0.18	.001	1.99
Threat to nation	-0.35	0.03	-0.41	-0.28	<.001	1.82
National id. X threat	-0.05	0.02	-0.10	-0.01	.026	1.12
EU id. X threat	-0.05	0.03	-0.11	0.01	.085	3.03
Dual id. X threat	0.11	0.03	0.04	0.17	.001	3.01

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance

[†] Finland was the reference category

Supplementary Table 12. Results of the regression model on institutional trust with threat to national power

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.22	0.06	0.11	0.33	<.001	
Country [†]						
France	-0.29	0.07	-0.43	-0.15	<.001	1.27
Germany	-0.36	0.07	-0.51	-0.22	<.001	
Italy	-0.11	0.07	-0.26	0.03	.125	
Netherlands	-0.16	0.07	-0.30	-0.02	.026	
Poland	-0.19	0.08	-0.34	-0.04	.015	
National id.	-0.01	0.03	-0.06	0.04	.673	1.55
EU id.	0.33	0.03	0.27	0.39	<.001	2.24
Dual id.	0.14	0.03	0.08	0.19	<.001	2.01
Threat to national power	-0.38	0.03	-0.43	-0.33	<.001	1.63
National id. X threat	-0.07	0.02	-0.11	-0.03	.001	1.13
EU id. X threat	0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.07	.401	2.69
Dual id. X threat	0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.07	.529	2.79

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance

[†] Finland was the reference category

Supplementary Table 13. Results of the regression model on felt duty to obey with threat to national power

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.13	0.07	<0.01	0.26	.057	
Country [†]						
France	-0.17	0.09	-0.34	0.01	.061	1.27
Germany	-0.19	0.09	-0.37	-0.01	.034	
Italy	-0.06	0.09	-0.23	0.12	.526	
Netherlands	0.04	0.09	-0.13	0.22	.611	
Poland	-0.29	0.09	-0.47	-0.10	.003	
National id.	0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.08	.570	1.55
EU id.	0.19	0.04	0.12	0.26	<.001	2.24
Dual id.	0.12	0.03	0.05	0.18	.001	2.01
Threat to national power	-0.32	0.03	-0.38	-0.26	<.001	1.63
National id. X threat	-0.05	0.02	-0.10	<0.01	.051	1.13
EU id. X threat	-0.04	0.03	-0.10	0.02	.196	2.69
Dual id. X threat	0.09	0.03	0.02	0.15	.007	2.79

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance

[†] Finland was the reference category

Table S14. Results of the regression model on institutional trust with threat to national sociocultural identity

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.15	0.06	0.04	0.26	.006	
Country [†]						
France	-0.27	0.07	-0.41	-0.12	<.001	1.28
Germany	-0.32	0.07	-0.46	-0.18	<.001	
Italy	-0.09	0.07	-0.24	0.05	.202	
Netherlands	-0.06	0.07	-0.20	0.08	.396	
Poland	-0.10	0.08	-0.26	0.05	.193	
National id.	-0.04	0.02	-0.09	0.01	.080	1.44
EU id.	0.32	0.03	0.26	0.37	<.001	2.28
Dual id.	0.16	0.03	0.10	0.21	<.001	1.95
Threat to national sociocultural identity	-0.39	0.03	-0.44	-0.33	<.001	1.79
National id. X threat	-0.06	0.02	-0.10	-0.02	.002	1.10
EU id. X threat	-0.04	0.02	-0.09	0.01	.133	3.13
Dual id. X threat	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.11	.018	2.93

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance
[†] Finland was the reference category

Table S15. Results of the regression model on felt duty to obey with threat to national sociocultural identity

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	0.10	0.07	-0.03	0.23	.146	
Country [†]						
France	-0.17	0.09	-0.34	0.01	.065	1.29
Germany	-0.15	0.09	-0.33	0.02	.088	
Italy	-0.05	0.09	-0.23	0.13	.594	
Netherlands	0.11	0.09	-0.06	0.29	.213	
Poland	-0.22	0.10	-0.41	-0.03	.021	
National id.	0.02	0.03	-0.08	0.04	.468	1.44
EU id.	0.20	0.04	0.13	0.27	<.001	2.28
Dual id.	0.13	0.03	0.07	0.20	<.001	1.95
Threat to national sociocultural identity	-0.27	0.03	-0.34	-0.21	<.001	1.79
National id. X threat	-0.06	0.02	-0.11	-0.01	.018	1.10
EU id. X threat	-0.05	0.03	-0.11	0.01	.123	3.13
Dual id. X threat	0.11	0.03	0.05	0.17	.001	2.93

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance
[†] Finland was the reference category

Supplementary Table 16. Robustness check: results of the regression model on legitimacy among far-right sub sample

Effect	Estimate	SE	95% CI		p	VIF
			LL	UL		
Intercept	-0.24	0.16	-0.56	0.07	.131	
Country [†]						
France	-0.14	0.20	-0.53	0.24	.466	1.52
Germany	-0.32	0.20	-0.72	0.08	.119	
Italy	0.12	0.18	-0.25	0.48	.526	
Netherlands	0.36	0.21	-0.05	0.78	.084	
Poland	0.15	0.22	-0.27	0.58	.476	
National id.	-0.04	0.07	-0.17	0.10	.609	2.01
EU id.	0.45	0.10	0.26	0.65	<.001	3.04
Dual id.	0.13	0.08	-0.03	0.30	.104	2.67
Threat to nation	-0.34	0.10	-0.52	-0.15	<.001	1.91
National id. X threat	<0.01	0.06	-0.13	0.12	.946	1.78
EU id. X threat	<-0.01	0.10	-0.19	0.19	.974	3.39
Dual id. X threat	0.01	0.09	-0.17	0.20	.876	3.77

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; VIF = variance
[†] Finland was the reference category

9.4 APPENDIX CHAPTER 5

9.4.1 Participants, materials, and procedure Preliminary Study 1

9.4.1.1 Participants

After removing data from participants who completed the study in less than one minute, the sample comprised 153 individuals with Dutch nationality (age: $M = 30.50$, $SD = 10.43$, 18-74; 53.6% male, 43.1% female, 3.3% non-binary) and 150 with French nationality (age: $M = 32.23$, $SD = 10.24$, 18-68; 56.7% male, 40.7% female, 2.7% non-binary). Dutch and French samples were recruited partly as convenience samples, and partly because it had appeared in previous work that experienced national identity threat was more normally distributed in these samples than in other samples.¹ The sample was on average highly educated (78.5% received a higher professional or university degree). 18.5% of the participants lived in a rural area or small village, 43.5% in a small or medium-sized city, and 38.0% in a large city. Participants were slightly more left-oriented on the political spectrum ($M = 36.26$, $SD = 25.56$ on a 100-point scale; see below).

1 Eva Grosfeld and others, 'The Integration of Subgroups at the Supranational Level: The Relation between Social Identity, National Threat, and Perceived Legitimacy of the EU' (2022) 10 Journal of Social and Political Psychology 607.

9.4.1.2 Materials and procedure

Participants first provided demographic information (age, gender, education, living place) and indicated their political orientation on a scale running from 1 (left/progressive) to 100 (right/conservative). They were then randomly assigned to one of three conditions (low threat vs. moderate threat vs. high threat). National identity threat was induced by letting participants read a piece of text. The text described the primacy of EU law over national law. A detailed description of the national identity threat manipulation materials can be found on the OSF. In the moderate threat condition, the primacy of EU law was explained through neutral language used by the Court of Justice of the European Union itself. In the high threat condition, identity-based language, which is more common in populist communication, was used to explain primacy (e.g., ‘...ultimately a United States of Europe can be created’, ‘the absolute primacy of EU [...] may threaten their [member states’] national sovereignty and identity’). The low threat condition did not mention primacy. All conditions included a statement about the institutions of the EU to prevent that we would test the effect of EU salience rather than the effect of primacy of EU law on national identity threat. After reading the experimental text, participants indicated their agreement with six items measuring national identity threat (e.g., ‘In the European Union, the [nationality] way of life is preserved’, ‘[country] might lose part of its identity due to the European Union’, $\alpha = .93$) on 7-point Likert scales ranging from *totally disagree* to *totally agree*. Some items were reverse-coded. Participants also indicated on a 10-point scale to what extent they personally had confidence in the EU, as a proxy of perceived EU legitimacy. At the end of the study, participants were redirected to Prolific where they were appropriately reimbursed for participation.

9.4.2 Participants, materials, and procedure Preliminary Study 2

9.4.2.1 Participants

Participants were recruited in a polling station in Leiden, the Netherlands, after they had voted for the national election on November 22nd, 2023. The sample comprised 150 Dutch individuals (age: $M = 48.98$, $SD = 16.59$, 18-79; 52% female, 3.3% gender not indicated), of which 20.7% had received low education, 30% medium education, and 49.3% high education. Parties that participants voted most often for were GroenLinks/PvdA (27.3%; economic and social left), PVV (16%; economic center, social radical right), VVD (15.3%, economic and social right), D66 (11.3%; economic center, social left), SP (9.3%; economic radical left, social left), and NSC (8%; economic and social center). The sample was slightly more progressive/social left than the general Dutch population, among which PVV became the biggest party.

9.4.2.2 Procedure and measures

The study was conducted in a room next to the voting booths. Participants wore headphones during the entire study because the threat manipulation was a video with audio. First, they provided demographic information (age, gender, education). Participants were then asked to indicate their agreement with a set of statements measuring national identification. National identification was assessed with the same items as those measuring national identification strength in the main study. Internal consistency of the total scale was high ($\alpha = .93$). Participants were then randomly assigned to one of three threat conditions. Instead of reading a text, in this study participants watched an information video of two minutes. After watching the video, participants responded to the same national identity threat items ($\alpha = .92$) as those used in Preliminary Study 1 and indicated their agreement with eight items assessing perceived EU legitimacy ($\alpha = .95$). Perceived EU legitimacy was assessed with the same items as those measuring perceived EU legitimacy in the main study. At the end of the study, participants indicated for which party they had voted, which constituted the measure of political ideology, after which they were thanked for their participation and received a small token of appreciation.

9.4.3 Latent profile analysis

National identity profiles were estimated through latent profile analysis (LPA) using the tidyLPA package in R.² The number of national identity profiles in LPA was decided by estimating and comparing models with three to six profiles, allowing for varying variances and covariances. The comparison was done by looking at the fit indices (Akaike Information Criteria (AIC), Bayesian Information Criteria (BIC), entropy) and visualization of the profiles. Taking into account the principle of parsimony, we decided on three profiles. Participants are assigned to the class of which their membership is most likely.

The mean values of the national identity dimensions for each class are depicted as z-scores in Figure S1.

2 Joshua Rosenberg and others, 'tidyLPA: An R Package to Easily Carry out Latent Profile Analysis (LPA) Using Open-Source or Commercial Software' (2018) 3 Journal of Open Source Software 978.

9.4.4 National affirmation lists across countries

Country: Austria

Elements national identity:

1. Österreichische Traditionen wie zum Beispiel Nikolaus, Donauwalzer zum Jahreswechsel, Faschingsumzug, Kaffeehaus, Skifahren, Würstlstand
2. Österreichische Feiertage wie beispielsweise der Staatsfeiertag am 1. Mai oder der Nationalfeiertag am 26. Oktober
3. Österreichische Werte wie Humanismus, Selbstbestimmung, Neutralität
4. Die deutsche Sprache (in ihren unterschiedlichen regionalen Ausprägungen)
5. Die österreichische Flagge
6. Bedingungen zum Erlangen der österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft
7. Die österreichische Staats- und Regierungsform: parlamentarischer Bundesstaat (Bundesrepublik)
8. Regionale Bräuche wie Narzissenfest, Almagtrieb, Maibaumaufstellen, Sonnwendfeuer, Sternsingen, Perchtenläufe, Ratschen.

Country: Belgium

Elements national identity:

1. Belgische tradities zoals 'de koers'; muziekfestivals; carnaval
2. Belgische feestdagen zoals de nationale feestdag (21 juli), Allerheiligen, en Wapenstilstand
3. Belgische waarden zoals het (politieke) compromis, scheiding van kerk en staat, solidariteit, bescheidenheid
4. De Nederlandse taal, le Français, die deutsche Sprache
5. De Belgische driekleur (zwart-geel-rood)
6. Voorwaarden voor wie wel en niet Belgisch staatsburger mag worden
7. De Belgische constitutionele monarchie, parlementaire democratie en federalisme
8. De Bourgondische levensstijl (Belgisch bier, stoofvlees en frietjes van de frituur)

Country: France

Elements national identity:

1. Les traditions Françaises comme le « repas gastronomique des Français », un patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité
2. Les vacances Françaises comme le 14 juillet, qui fete la prise de la Bastille (Revolution française)
3. Les valeurs Françaises comme Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, Laïcité
4. Le Français
5. Le drapeau français (bleu blanc rouge)
6. Conditions pour devenir ou ne pas devenir citoyen français : Code civil Titre 1er bis : De la nationalité française (Articles 17 a 33-2)
7. La forme de l'État français : Article premier de la Constitution française : "La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale."

8. Le défilé et les feux d'artifice du 14 juillet, L'interdiction des signes religieux à l'école

Country: Germany

Elements national identity:

1. Deutsche Traditionen wie zum Beispiel Weihnachtsmärkte, Karneval und Volksfeste, "Dinner for one" am Silvesterabend
2. Deutsche Feiertage wie beispielsweise der Tag der deutschen Einheit
3. Deutsche Werte wie Ordnung und Pünktlichkeit
4. Die deutsche Sprache
5. Die Flagge der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
6. Bedingungen zum Erlangen der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft
7. Die deutsche Staats- und Regierungsform: parlamentarischer Bundesstaat (Bundesrepublik)
8. Erinnerungskultur an die Verbrechen des Holocaust

Country: Greece

Elements national identity:

1. Ελληνικές παραδόσεις όπως η Βάψιμο αυγών και σούβλισμα αρνιών το Πάσχα, πανηγύρι δεκαπενταύγουστου
2. Ελληνικές εθνικές εορτές όπως η Ημέρα του ΟΧΙ στο τηλεσίγραφο των Ιταλών (είσοδος Ελλάδας στον Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο), Ημέρα κήρυξης του πολέμου ανεξαρτησίας (25η Μαρτίου)
3. Ελληνικές αξίες όπως η φιλοξενία, κοινοτισμός (ιδιαίτερη σύνδεση με τον τόπο καταγωγής)
4. Ελληνικά
5. Ελληνική σημαία
6. Οι όροι για ποιοι επιτρέπεται και ποιοι δεν επιτρέπεται να γίνουν Έλληνες πολίτες.
7. Η ελληνική μορφή της κυβέρνησης: Προεδρευομένη κοινοβουλευτική δημοκρατία
8. την ιδιαίτερος χρόνος και τρόπος ζωής του ελληνικού καλοκαιριού

Country: Ireland

Elements national identity:

1. Irish traditions such as traditional music and dancing (pub sessions and céilís) and Irish sports (hurling and gaelic football).
2. Irish holidays such as St. Patrick's Day and St. Brigid's Day
3. Irish values such as social justice and equality, military neutrality and being a large humanitarian donor
4. The English and Gaeilge/Irish languages
5. The tricolour
6. Conditions for who is and who is not allowed to become an Irish citizen
7. Irish form of government: constitutional republic with a parliamentary democracy
8. Nollaig na mBan

Country: Italy

Elements national identity:

1. Tradizioni italiane come mangiare una pasta in famiglia o con amici, seguire le partite di calcio con grande passione e apprezzare un buon caffè
2. Feste nazionali italiane come la liberazione d'Italia il 25 Aprile
3. Valoraioni italiani come l'accoglienza, l'importanza della famiglia e della condivisione
4. Italiano (con diversi dialetti tipici per ogni regione)
5. Il tricolore italiano (Verde, Bianco, Rosso)
6. Condizioni per chi può e chi non può ottenere la cittadinanza italiana
7. La forma di governo dello stato italiano è una repubblica parlamentare
8. La passione è il carburante che continua ad alimentare la società odierna

Country: Netherlands

Elements national identity:

1. Nederlandse tradities zoals Sinterklaas en de Elfstedentocht
2. Nederlandse feestdagen zoals Koningsdag en Bevrijddag
3. Nederlandse waarden zoals vrijheid van meningsuiting en de vrijheid om godsdienst of levensovertuiging te kiezen
4. De Nederlandse taal
5. De Nederlandse vlag
6. Voorwaarden voor wie wel en niet Nederlands staatsburger mag worden
7. De Nederlandse staatsvorm: een constitutionele monarchie (met de koning als staatshoofd) en parlementaire democratie
8. Typisch Nederlands eten zoals stamppot, bitterballen en de HEMA rookworst

Country: Poland

Elements national identity:

1. Polskie tradycje, takie jak topiennicze Marzanny, śmigus-dyngus (lany poniedziałek), 12 potraw na Wigilię
2. Polskie święta, takie jak Narodowe Święto Niepodległości (11 listopada) lub Dzień Wszystkich Świętych (1 listopada)
3. Polskie wartości, takie jak rodzina, gościnność, zaradność
4. Język polski
5. Flaga Polski "Biało-czerwona"
6. Warunki nabycia obywatelstwa polskiego: kto (nie) może zostać obywatelem polskim
7. Polska forma rządów: republika parlamentarna
8. Pamięć o polskiej historii, w tym doświadczeniach wojennych oraz przymusowej migracji

Country: Romania

Elements national identity:

1. Tradiții românești precum Dragobetele și Mărțișorul.
2. Sărbători românești precum Ziua Marii Uniri
3. Valori românești precum ospitalitatea și prietenia față de străini
4. Limba română
5. Drapelul României
6. Condițiile pentru cine este și cine nu este autorizat să devină cetățean român.
7. Forma de stat românească: Republica
8. Minoritățile diferite în diferite zone geografice.

Country: Slovenia

Elements national identity:

1. Slovenski običaji kot npr. Miklavževanje, Pust in velikonočni običaji, kurentovanje
2. Slovenski narodni prazniki kot npr. Prešernov dan (8. februar), Pust, Dan žena, Martinovo
3. Slovenske narodne vrednote kot npr. samostojnost in neodvisnost, domoljubje
4. slovenščina
5. Slovenska zastava
6. pogoji za pridobitev slovenskega državljansta: kdo lahko/ne more) postati slovenski državljan/ka
7. oblika državne vladavine: parlamentarna republika z dvodomnim parlamentom (DZ in DS)
8. stičišče alpskega, sredozemskega, panonskega in dinarskega sveta

Country: Sweden

Elements national identity:

1. Svenska traditioner som Midsommarfirande och Fettisdagen
2. Svenska helgdagar som Nationaldagen och Julafton
3. Svenska värderingar som jämlikhet, en stark välfärdsstat och konformitet
4. Det svenska språket och de sex minoritetsspråken
5. Den svenska flaggan
6. Villkoren för vem som kan bli svensk medborgare och vem som inte kan det
7. Svensk statsform: monarki med parlamentarisk demokrati
8. Den svenska modellen

9.4.5 Supplementary tables and figures

Supplementary Table 1. Means and standard deviations of national identity threat and perceived EU legitimacy across gender, education level, living place, and nationality (Preliminary Study 1)

Grouping Variable	National Identity Threat		Perceived EU Legitimacy	
	M	SD	M	SD
Gender				
Male	3.46	1.45	6.15	2.21
Female	3.21	1.45	6.65	1.94
Non-binary	2.91	1.12	6.56	1.59
Education				
Primary	-	-	-	-
Secondary	3.51	1.50	5.93	2.19
Vocational	3.54	1.56	6.43	1.95
Professional	3.61	1.40	6.25	2.02
Undergraduate	3.35	1.31	6.71	2.11
Graduate	3.13	1.45	6.47	2.10
Doctorate	2.90	1.58	5.71	2.43
Living place				
Rural area/village	3.73	1.51	6.09	2.11
Small-/middle-sized town	3.41	1.55	6.27	2.20
Big city	3.08	1.23	6.62	1.94
Nationality				
French	3.35	1.54	6.03	2.26
Dutch	3.33	1.34	6.71	1.86

Supplementary Table 2. Unstandardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on national identity threat (Preliminary Study 1)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Nationality (reference = France)					.03
Netherlands	0.65	0.17	3.96	< .001	
Political Orientation	0.01	< 0.01	2.07	.040	.06
National Identity Threat	-1.09	0.06	-16.97	< .001	.45
Adjusted $R^2 = .53$					
$F(3, 299) = 113.9, p < .001$					

Supplementary Table 3. Means and standard deviations of national identity threat and perceived eu legitimacy across gender, education level, and political party (Preliminary Study 2)

Grouping Variable	National Identity Threat		Perceived EU Legitimacy	
	M	SD	M	SD
Gender				
Male	3.88	1.53	4.56	1.52
Female	3.56	1.26	4.72	1.27
Non-binary	-	-	-	-
Not indicated	4.07	1.25	3.80	0.29
Education				
Low	4.66	1.22	3.83	1.19
Medium	4.06	1.27	4.36	1.40
High	3.12	1.28	5.10	1.25
Political party				
BIJ1	3.00	1.00	5.68	1.27
D66	2.96	0.95	5.35	0.66
GL/PvdA	2.54	0.80	5.53	0.82
NSC	4.58	0.50	4.64	0.98
PVV	4.89	1.18	3.31	1.37
PvdD	2.54	0.91	5.44	0.72
SP	4.43	1.00	2.99	0.92
VVD	4.07	1.14	4.34	0.97

Note. Only the descriptive statistics of political parties on which four or more participants voted were reported.

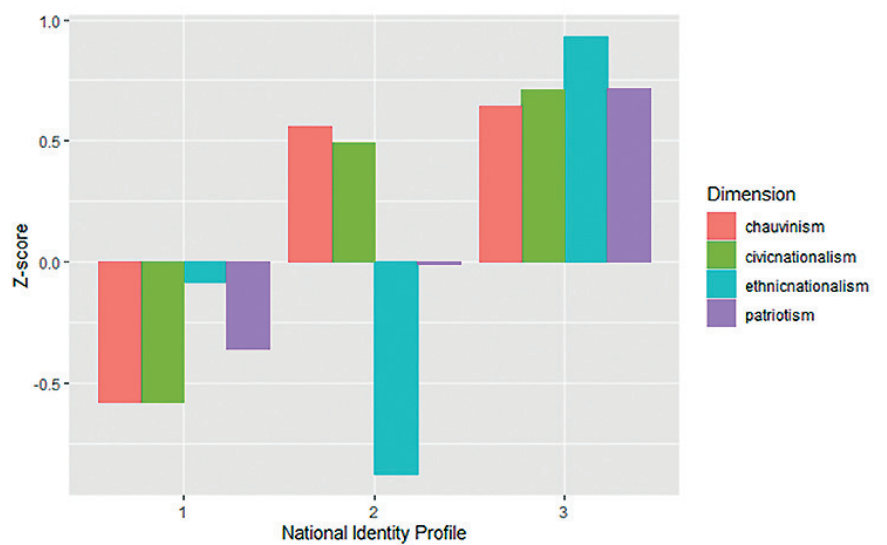
Supplementary Table 4. Unstandardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on national identity threat (Preliminary Study 2)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Political Orientation (Reference = 50PLUS)					.54
BBB	0.36	1.08	0.33	.742	
BIJ1	0.30	0.85	0.35	.727	
BVNL/Groep van Haga	-1.80	1.08	-1.66	.099	
CDA	0.48	1.09	0.44	.660	
CU	0.91	1.08	0.84	.403	
D66	-0.06	0.80	-0.07	.943	
DENK	-1.88	0.93	-2.01	.047	
FvD	-1.63	0.94	-1.74	.084	
GL/PvdA	-0.14	0.80	-0.17	.864	
NSC	0.28	0.80	0.35	.728	
PvdD	-0.23	0.87	-0.27	.789	
PVV	-0.85	0.78	-1.10	.275	
SP	-0.47	0.79	-0.59	.557	
Volt	0.52	1.09	0.47	.638	
VVD	-0.35	0.78	-0.45	.652	
National Identity Threat	-0.64	0.07	-9.42	< .001	.18
Adjusted R ² = .69					
F(16, 133) = 21.9, p < .001					

Supplementary Table 5. Unstandardized coefficients of national identity threat in the models regressing subdimensions of perceived EU legitimacy (Preliminary Study 2)

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
DV: Trust	-0.69	0.09	-8.01	< .001	.17
DV: Morality	-0.69	0.08	-8.57	< .001	.20
DV: Lawfulness	-0.60	0.08	-7.19	< .001	.15
DV: Duty to Obey	-0.59	0.08	-7.19	< .001	.13

Supplementary Figure 1. Z-scores of national identity dimensions across national identity profiles



Supplementary Table 6. Means and standard deviations of study variables across nationality

Nationality	National identification	National identity threat	Perceived EU legitimacy
Austria	4.23 (1.04)	3.22 (1.22)	4.85 (1.10)
Belgium	4.11 (1.07)	3.29 (1.27)	4.74 (1.22)
France	4.82 (1.09)	3.74 (1.24)	4.34 (1.22)
Germany	4.02 (1.23)	3.46 (1.23)	4.67 (1.33)
Greece	4.43 (1.57)	3.70 (1.16)	4.35 (1.22)
Ireland	5.81 (0.83)	3.59 (1.40)	4.88 (1.12)
Italy	4.20 (1.29)	3.01 (1.33)	4.94 (1.23)
Netherlands	4.53 (0.85)	3.69 (1.32)	4.74 (1.09)
Poland	4.46 (1.27)	3.72 (1.29)	4.42 (1.32)
Romania	4.30 (1.32)	3.27 (1.23)	4.87 (1.20)
Slovenia	4.59 (1.05)	3.45 (1.06)	4.76 (1.08)
Sweden	4.78 (1.03)	3.82 (1.12)	4.51 (1.32)
Average	4.52 (1.24)	3.50 (1.26)	4.67 (1.22)

Supplementary Table 7. Means and standard deviations of the identification sub-scales for national and EU identity

Sub-scale	National identity	EU identity
Satisfaction	4.95 (1.27)	5.03 (1.15)
Solidarity	4.48 (1.39)	4.17 (1.34)
Centrality	3.99 (1.58)	3.58 (1.49)

Supplementary Table 8. Tukey HSD comparisons between affirmation conditions with the legitimacy subdimensions as dependent variables

Comparison	Mean difference	95% CI		p
		Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
DV: Trust				
National – Control	-0.05	-0.32	0.22	.910
EU – Control	0.29	0.02	0.56	.030
EU – National	0.34	0.06	0.62	.012
DV: Morality				
National – Control	< -0.01	-0.26	0.25	.999
EU – Control	0.30	0.04	0.55	.017
EU – National	0.30	0.04	0.57	.021
DV: Lawfulness				
National – Control	0.08	-0.17	0.32	.746
EU – Control	0.24	-0.01	0.49	.062
EU – National	0.16	-0.10	0.42	.303
DV: Duty to obey				
National – Control	0.06	-0.18	0.30	.826
EU – Control	0.17	-0.07	0.41	.207
EU – National	0.11	-0.13	0.36	.535

Note. CI = confidence interval; DV = dependent variable.

Supplementary Table 9. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing national identity threat on affirmation strategy and national identification

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Nationality (reference = Austria)					< .01
Belgium	-0.08	0.18	-0.44	.659	
France	0.43	0.18	2.36	.019	
Germany	0.16	0.18	0.87	.382	
Greece	0.24	0.18	1.32	.187	
Ireland	0.30	0.19	1.56	.119	
Italy	-0.17	0.18	-0.91	.365	
Netherlands	0.38	0.18	2.07	.038	
Poland	0.34	0.18	1.87	.062	
Romania	-0.12	0.19	-0.65	.515	
Slovenia	0.21	0.18	1.15	.251	
Sweden	0.55	0.18	2.98	.003	

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Political Orientation	0.02	< 0.01	14.16	< .001	.18
Affirmation (reference = control)					.02
National	-0.24	0.09	-2.58	.010	
EU	-0.39	0.09	-4.23	< .001	
National Id.	0.04	0.05	0.82	.414	< .01
Affirmation X National Id.					< .01
National X National Id.	-0.10	0.07	-1.32	.188	
EU X National Id.	-0.03	0.07	-0.44	.663	
Adjusted $R^2 = .22$					
$F(17, 886) = 15.92, p < .001$					

Note. Id. = identification.

Supplementary Table 10. Contrasts between slopes of national identification across affirmation strategies on national identity threat

Contrast	Estimate	SE	df	t	p
Control – nat. affirm.	0.10	0.07	886	1.32	.386
Control – EU affirm.	0.03	0.07	886	0.44	.901
Nat. affirm. – EU affirm.	-0.06	0.08	886	-0.83	.682

Note. Nat. = national. Affirm. = Affirmation.

Supplementary Table 11. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on affirmation strategy and national identification

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Nationality (reference = Austria)					.03
Belgium	0.04	0.18	0.20	.839	
France	-0.55	0.19	-2.95	.003	
Germany	-0.07	0.18	-0.37	.709	
Greece	-0.37	0.19	-1.98	.048	
Ireland	-0.25	0.19	-1.30	.193	
Italy	0.05	0.18	0.28	.782	
Netherlands	-0.09	0.19	-0.50	.618	
Poland	-0.36	0.18	-1.95	.052	
Romania	0.15	0.19	0.81	.418	
Slovenia	-0.15	0.19	-0.78	.434	
Sweden	-0.40	0.19	-2.16	.031	
Political Orientation	-0.02	0.00	-11.02	< .001	.09
Affirmation (reference = control)					.01
National	0.01	0.09	0.08	.935	
EU	0.26	0.09	2.84	.005	
National Id.	0.15	0.05	2.93	.003	.04
Affirmation X National Id.					.02
National X National Id.	0.09	0.07	1.22	.224	
EU X National Id.	0.09	0.07	1.20	.229	
Adjusted $R^2 = .15$					
$F(17, 886) = 10.32, p < .001$					

Note. Id. = identification.

Supplementary Table 12. Contrasts between slopes of national identification across affirmation strategies on perceived EU legitimacy

Contrast	Estimate	SE	df	t	p
Control – nat. affirm.	-0.09	0.07	886	-1.22	.444
Control – EU affirm.	-0.09	0.07	886	-1.20	.451
Nat. affirm. – EU affirm.	< 0.01	0.08	886	0.01	1.00

Note. Nat. = national. Affirm. = Affirmation.

Supplementary Table 13. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing national identity threat on affirmation strategy and national identity profile

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Nationality (reference = Austria)					.04
Belgium	-0.13	0.18	-0.74	.457	
France	0.43	0.18	2.38	.017	
Germany	0.07	0.18	0.41	.685	
Greece	0.12	0.19	0.63	.528	
Ireland	0.15	0.18	0.84	.403	
Italy	-0.22	0.18	-1.23	.218	
Netherlands	0.38	0.18	2.11	.036	
Poland	0.18	0.18	1.00	.319	
Romania	-0.20	0.19	-1.07	.287	
Slovenia	0.00	0.18	-0.01	.995	
Sweden	0.50	0.18	2.76	.006	
Political Orientation	0.02	0.00	12.78	< .001	.18
Affirmation (reference = control)					.02
National	-0.27	0.12	-2.14	.032	
EU	-0.43	0.12	-3.52	< .001	
Nat. Id. Profile (reference = non-nationalists)					.02
Inclusive Nationalists	-0.35	0.15	-2.27	.024	
Exclusive Nationalists	0.23	0.16	1.47	.142	
Affirmation X Nat. Id. Profile					.01
National X Inclusive Nationalists	0.20	0.22	0.94	.347	
EU X Inclusive Nationalists	-0.22	0.23	-0.99	.325	
National X Exclusive Nationalists	-0.13	0.22	-0.60	.546	
EU X Exclusive Nationalists	0.23	0.21	1.09	.275	

Adjusted $R^2 = .25$
 $F(20, 883) = 15.91, p < .001$

Note. Nat. Id. Profile = national identity profile.

Supplementary Table 14. Standardized coefficients and model statistics of the model regressing perceived EU legitimacy on affirmation strategy and national identity profile

	β	SE	t	p	η^2
Nationality (reference = Austria)					.03
Belgium	0.09	0.19	0.49	.622	
France	-0.39	0.19	-2.06	.040	
Germany	-0.01	0.19	-0.06	.952	
Greece	-0.18	0.19	-0.93	.350	
Ireland	0.22	0.19	1.14	.253	
Italy	0.16	0.19	0.84	.404	
Netherlands	-0.03	0.19	-0.14	.885	
Poland	-0.15	0.19	-0.80	.425	
Romania	0.36	0.20	1.83	.068	
Slovenia	0.03	0.19	0.15	.879	
Sweden	-0.28	0.19	-1.49	.137	
Political Orientation	-0.02	0.00	-9.62	< .001	.09
Affirmation (reference = control)					.01
National	-0.11	0.13	-0.81	.416	
EU	0.27	0.13	2.08	.038	
Nat. Id. Profile (reference = non-nationalists)					.02
Inclusive Nationalists	0.35	0.16	2.17	.030	
Exclusive Nationalists	0.14	0.16	0.87	.387	
Affirmation X Nat. Id. Profile					< .01
National X Inclusive Nationalists	0.15	0.23	0.67	.505	
EU X Inclusive Nationalists	0.08	0.24	0.35	.728	
National X Exclusive Nationalists	0.37	0.23	1.63	.103	
EU X Exclusive Nationalists	-0.03	0.22	-0.14	.891	
Adjusted $R^2 = .13$					
$F(20, 883) = 7.69, p < .001$					

Note. Nat. Id. Profile = national identity profile.

Supplementary Table 15. Average order of ranking national affirmation and EU affirmation across national identity profiles

National Identity Profile	National Affirmation	EU Affirmation
Non-Nationalists	1. National values such as ... 2. The national language(s) 3. The national form of government 4. National traditions such as ... 5. National holidays such as ... 6. Other 7. Conditions for national citizenship 8. The national flag	1. Protection of fundamental human rights and human dignity 2. The freedom to live and work everywhere in the EU 3. The principle of equality between member states and nationalities 4. Solidarity between EU countries in times of crisis (helping those countries in need) 5. The EU's multilayered representative democracy 6. The continent's unique nature and environment 7. Europe's shared history and cultural heritage 8. The melting pot of European cultures
Inclusive Nationalists	1. National values such as ... 2. The national language(s) 3. The national form of government 4. National holidays such as ... 5. National traditions such as ... 6. Other 7. Conditions for national citizenship 8. The national flag	1. Protection of fundamental human rights and human dignity 2. The freedom to live and work everywhere in the EU 3. The principle of equality between member states and nationalities 4. Solidarity between EU countries in times of crisis (helping those countries in need) 5. The EU's multilayered representative democracy 6. The continent's unique nature and environment 7. Europe's shared history and cultural heritage 8. The melting pot of European cultures
Exclusive Nationalists	1. The national language(s) 2. National values such as ... 3. National holidays such as ... 4. National traditions such as ... 5. The national form of government 6. The national flag 7. Conditions for national citizenship 8. Other	1. Protection of fundamental human rights and human dignity 2. The freedom to live and work everywhere in the EU 3. Solidarity between EU countries in times of crisis (helping those countries in need) 4. The principle of equality between member states and nationalities 5. The continent's unique nature and environment 6. The EU's multilayered representative democracy 7. Europe's shared history and cultural heritage 8. The melting pot of European cultures