

Majority Representation and Legitimacy: Survey-Experimental Evidence from the European Union

Online Appendices

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A Defining Attribute Levels

While our attributes were selected based on theoretical considerations, to increase ecological validity we aimed to define the attribute levels so as to correspond to information that is commonly conveyed to citizens in mass communications. In particular, we considered how these aspects of decisions would be presented in national television. Below we refer to some television reports of EU decision-making on Germany’s prime news programs “ARD Tagesschau” and “ARD Tagesthemen” as motivating examples.

First, television reports of EU decisions usually explain the substantive implications of decisions. This is reflected in our <ISSUE AREA TEXT>s (see Online Appendix [N](#) below) for the egotropic representation attribute. While we had to keep these descriptions short given limited attention of respondents, they clearly communicate the substantive implications to respondents (e.g., “increase environmental protection at the cost of more regulation for businesses” or “decrease the reallocation of refugees between member states”). Second, while not frequent, if information about sociotropic representation is communicated on television, it often takes either the form of specific opinion poll data (actual figures of support are mentioned) or of broad statements about support (e.g., “many welcome this decision”) illustrated by a few brief quotes from citizens interviewed on the street.¹ Our attribute level formulations mirror instances of broad statements about public support (e.g., “Most EU citizens support...”).

Third, while reports of EU decision-making often quote the opinion of interest groups (e.g., business or consumer associations) on decisions, information about the Commission’s online consultations are arguably rare, although there are some examples such as the Commission’s consultation on daylight saving time.² However, we decided to not provide citizens with explicit information that *no* consultation was held, because such information should not carry any news-value for mass media and we could not recall a single instance in which we had seen national television report explicitly that no consultation had been held. Instead, we decided to conceive consultation as an emphasis rather than positional attribute.

Fourth, with regard to the inclusiveness of decision-making in the EP and the Council, television media usually do not become very specific (e.g., displaying exact results of votes) but use broad statements such as that the institutions decided “with large majority”.³ Our formulations of the related attribute levels follow this logic. With regard to the Council, we know that the national government’s vote is, however, a frequently reported detail, especially when the government votes in opposition to the majority (see [Hagemann et al., 2017](#)).

¹See Tagesschau 20 Uhr 19.12.2018 on single-use plastics directive (<https://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/ts-29057.html>).

²See Tagesthemen 21:45 Uhr 31.08.2018 on public consultation on clock changes in Europe (<https://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/tt-6223.html>).

³See Tagesschau 20:00 Uhr 27.03.2019 on single-use plastics directive (<https://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/ts-30581.html>).

Therefore, we included information about the national government’s vote in the formulation of the levels. Note also that we included the unanimity level “All national governments voted in favor”, as this is the most common situation empirically (about 75-80% of all votes are unanimous).

B Operationalizing Legitimacy Beliefs

B.1 Pretest

To select our items operationalizing legitimacy beliefs, we conducted a pretest comparing a total of five different candidate items we had developed based on the literature and discussions with academic peers. The pretest survey was conducted using a sample of 184 respondents from the United Kingdom registered on the survey platform Prolific. Compared to the general UK population our Prolific sample turned out to be younger and more leftist in political preferences, which is in line with biases reported for similar survey platforms such as Amazon.com’s Mechanical Turk.⁴ In addition to the legitimacy and accept items (Q1 and Q2), the following four candidate items were included:

Q3 (Should Right): Only considering your own opinion, do you agree or disagree that the EU should have the right to take this decision?

- Scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)

Q4 (Political Action): Do you agree or disagree that people should take political action (e.g., write to an MP, sign a petition, or join a demonstration) against this decision?

- Scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)

Q5 (Implement): Do you agree or disagree that all national governments should implement this decision?

- Scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)

Respondents were asked to answer all five items following each vignette. Q3 taps into legitimacy by directly referring to the “right-to-rule”, which is at the centre of our legitimacy

⁴Berinsky, Adam J., Gregory A. Huber and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2012. “Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Experimental Research: Amazon.com’s Mechanical Turk. *Political Analysis* 20(3):351–368.

definition. Q4 represents an attempt to provide a behavioural item relevant to legitimacy. Q5 asks for whether they “right-to-rule” by the EU should be accepted by national governments through implementing the decision. In addition, to assess discriminant validity we also asked respondents to indicate for each decision whether they believe there is a legal basis for the EU to take the decision (Legality), since legitimacy is conceptually distinct from legality. Clearly, we still expect a strong correlation between beliefs about legitimacy and legality but aim at selecting items that are not perfectly converging to beliefs about legality. In the same vein, we also surveyed respondents support for EU membership as an indicator of support for integration (EU membership) as well as trust in the EU (Trust in EU), for these constructs are conceptually again distinct from policy-specific legitimacy evaluations.

Table B1 shows correlations between these different items. In terms of convergent validity, we can see that all candidate items correlate highly with each other except for Q4. Hence, while Q1, Q2, Q3 and Q5 seem to measure a common or similar concept(s), Q4 likely measures something else. Given this uniqueness of Q4 and general concerns about purely behavioral measures of political concepts,⁵ we decided against Q4. In terms of discriminant validity, all items correlate with Legality, but Q2 does least so. None of the items is strongly correlated with either support for EU membership or Trust in the EU, but Q3 has the strongest correlation in both cases. In addition, we encountered problems with translating Q3 into different languages as the term “right” has very different connotations (e.g., it is more understood in the sense of a moral right in some languages and in terms of a legal right in others). Hence, we decided against Q3. Finally, we decided against Q5. First, it requires in-depth knowledge to understand issues surrounding the implementation of EU law and some respondents may therefore be unsure to what extent governments have to or are expected to implement a decision. Second, the item could interact with respondent’s approval of the national government (at least more strongly than other items). Hence, we decided to use Q1 and Q2 instead.

Both Q1 and Q2 correlate highly with Q3 and Q5, which suggests convergent validity. We discuss other advantages of these items over further alternative operationalizations from the literature in the paper (in the section “Setup and Vignettes”).

B.2 Alternative Operationalizations in the Literature

Below we list alternative items that are used to operationalize legitimacy beliefs in the literature. They are discussed in the paper in section “Setup and Vignettes”.

⁵Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

	Q1 Legitimate	Q2 Accept	Q3 Should Right	Q4 Political Action	Q5 Implement	Legali- ty	EU membership	Trust in EU
Q1 legitimate		0.74	0.80	0.26	0.78	0.72	0.20	0.19
Q2 accept	0.74		0.76	0.40	0.77	0.60	0.21	0.20
Q3 should right	0.80	0.76		0.33	0.82	0.69	0.27	0.25
Q4 political action	0.26	0.40	0.33		0.34	0.13	0.05	-0.00
Q5 implement	0.78	0.77	0.82	0.34		0.65	0.22	0.17
Q6 legal	0.72	0.60	0.69	0.13	0.65		0.22	0.19
EU membership	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.05	0.22	0.22		0.61
Trust in EU	0.19	0.20	0.25	-0.00	0.17	0.19	0.61	

Table B1: Correlations between Different Question Wordings

Fairness

Examples of questions on fairness are: “How fair do you think matters were when the decision was made?” ⁶; “How fair do you think it was, the way in which the decision was taken?” ⁷; “How fair do you think matters were when the decision was made?” ⁸; “How fair was this decision to women?” ⁹; “Given this racial composition how fair was this decision to all members of the community?” & “how fair was the decision- making process?” ¹⁰

Having the Right to Rule

Examples of questions on the right to rule are: “Specifically, our dependent variables are whether respondents agree with the statements: ‘The tax department always has the right to make people pay taxes,’ ‘the courts always have the right to make decisions people abide

⁶Esaiasson, Peter, Mikael Persson, Mikael Gilljam and Torun Lindholm. 2016. “Reconsidering the Role of Procedures for Decision Acceptance.” *British Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1–24

⁷De Fine Licht, Jenny, Daniel Naurin, Peter Esaiasson and Mikael Gilljam. 2014. “When Does Transparency Generate Legitimacy? Experimenting on a Context-Bound Relationship.” *Governance* 27(1):111–134.

⁸Persson, Mikael, Peter Esaiasson and Mikael Gilljam. 2013. “The Effects of Direct Voting and Deliberation on Legitimacy Beliefs: An Experimental Study of Small Group Decision-Making.” *European Political Science Review* 5(3):381–399.

⁹Clayton, Amanda, Diana Z. O’Brien and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2019. “All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy.” *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1):113–129.

¹⁰Hayes, Matthew and Matthew V. Hibbing. 2017. “The Symbolic Benefits of Descriptive and Substantive Representation.” *Political Behavior* 39(1):31–50.

by' and 'the police always have the right to make people obey the law.' ” ¹¹; “All diffuse support questions began by asking respondents: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?' [...] (3) The right of the courts to decide certain types of controversial issues should be reduced by Congress; (4) It would not make much difference to me if the U.S. Constitution were rewritten so as to reduce the powers of the courts; ” ¹²

Decision Acceptance

Examples of questions on the acceptance of decisions are: “How willing are you to accept this decision?” ¹³ “How willing are you to accept and comply with the decision?” ¹⁴; “All diffuse support questions began by asking respondents: 'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?' [...] 7) People should obey a court decision even if they do not agree with it” ¹⁵

¹¹Levi, Margaret, Audrey Sacks and Tom Tyler. 2009. “Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 53(3):354–375.

¹²Scherer, Nancy and Brett Curry. 2010. “Does Descriptive Race Representation Enhance Institutional Legitimacy? The Case of the U.S. Courts.” *Journal of Politics* 72(1):90–104.

¹³Arnesen, Sveinung, Troy S Broderstad, Mikael Poul Johannesson and Jonas Linde. 2019. “Conditional Legitimacy: How Turnout, Majority Size, and Outcome Affect Perceptions of Legitimacy in European Union Membership Referendums.” *European Union Politics*, pp. 1–22.

¹⁴Esaiasson, Peter, Mikael Persson, Mikael Gilljam and Torun Lindholm. 2016. “Reconsidering the Role of Procedures for Decision Acceptance.” *British Journal of Political Science* pp. 1–24.

¹⁵Scherer, Nancy and Brett Curry. 2010. “Does Descriptive Race Representation Enhance Institutional Legitimacy? The Case of the U.S. Courts.” *Journal of Politics* 72(1):90–104.

C Demographic Descriptives

Below in Figures [C1](#) and [C2](#) we plot descriptive statistics for each national sample with regard to key demographic variables: gender, age, education (Eurostat definitions for low, medium and high), and residency (urban vs. rural). This reveals that our samples are almost normally distributed around a mean age of 41, respondents are mostly living in urban areas, and most of them have medium to high education.

Figure C1: Age and Sex of Respondents

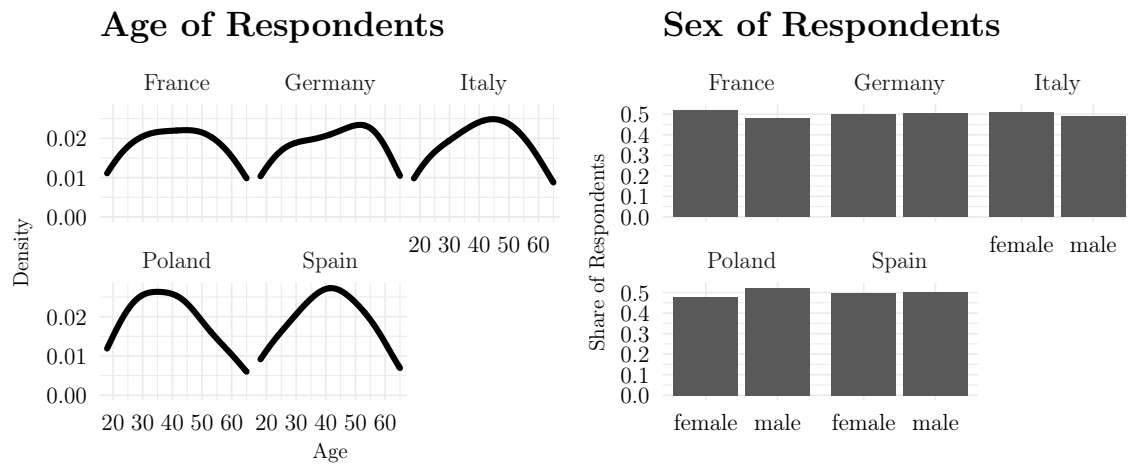
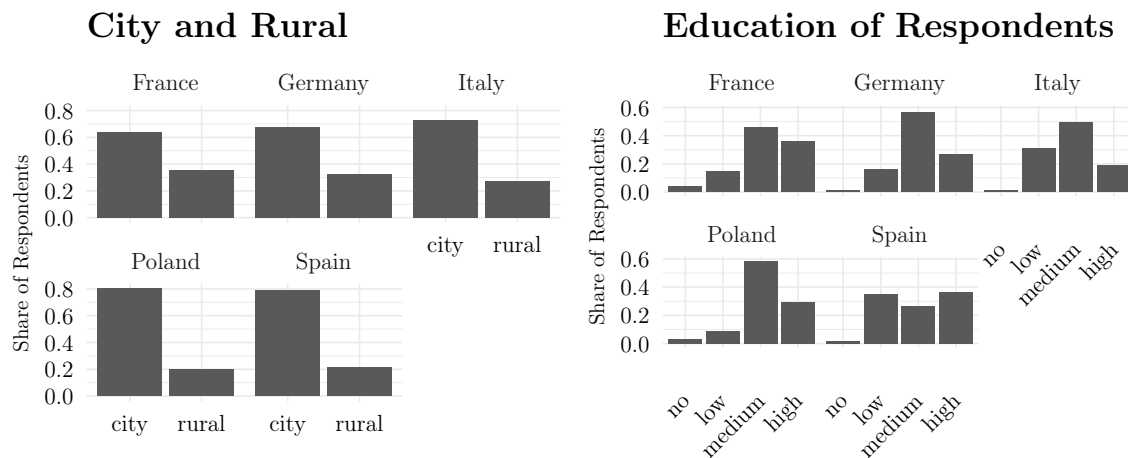


Figure C2: Urbanity and Education of Respondents



D Quality of Samples

In this section, we investigate the quality of our national samples. First, we compare the distributions of key variables to their distributions in Eurobarometer data, a cross-national survey series by the European Commission based on high-quality face-to-face, multi-stage random probability samples from each EU member state.¹⁶ For this comparison, we use data from Eurobarometers 90.1 and 90.3, selecting – for each item – the measurement in the Eurobarometer temporarily closest to our fieldwork period. The distributions of variables in our samples highly converge to those in Eurobarometer data. Figure D1 compares the distributions of the left-right self-placement using the Eurobarometer 90.1 conducted in September 2018. They are strikingly similar in each country, with our sample being a bit more right-leaning in several countries. However, for the most significant difference, which occurs for Spain, this is in line with a surge of the right-wing Vox party in polls towards the end of 2018.¹⁷ With regard to support for EU membership, Figure D2 demonstrates that our sample very much resembles samples from Eurobarometer 90.1 (conducted in September 2018). Clearly there are differences (mostly in Germany and France, where our sample is a bit more Eurosceptic), but overall the distributions are strikingly similar in structure. The same applies to national versus European identity, compared in Figure D3, which was last surveyed in November 2018 in Eurobarometer 90.3.

¹⁶Since the Eurobarometer uses 16+ age residents samples, we exclude people younger than 18 and older than 65 as well as non-nationals from the Eurobarometer samples in order to render them comparable to our samples.

¹⁷Hedgecoe, Guy. 2019. “Spanish elections: How the far-right Vox party found its footing.”.URL:<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-46422036>

Figure D1: Left-Right Self-Placement (Comparison to Eurobarometer)

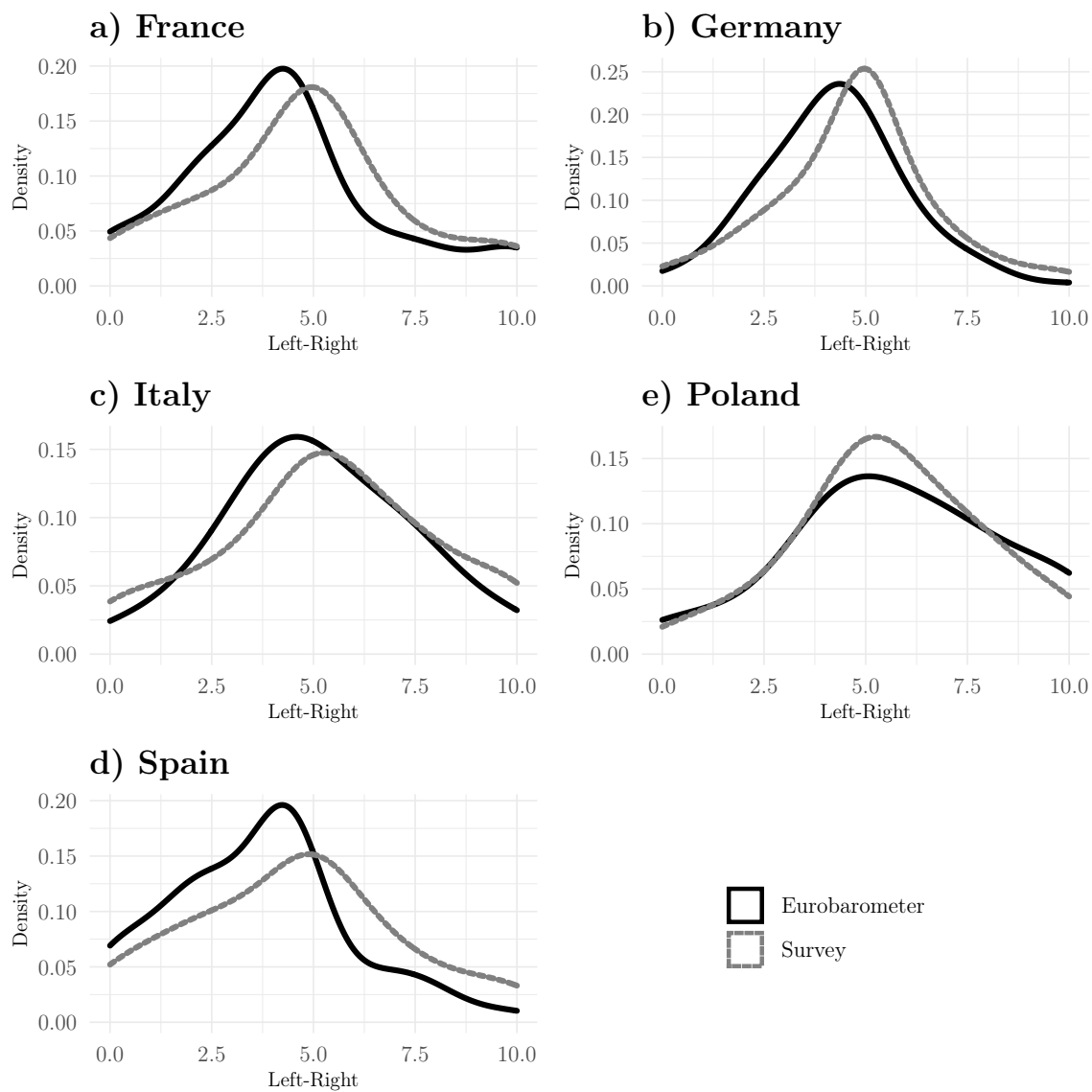


Figure D2: Support for EU Membership (Comparison to Eurobarometer)

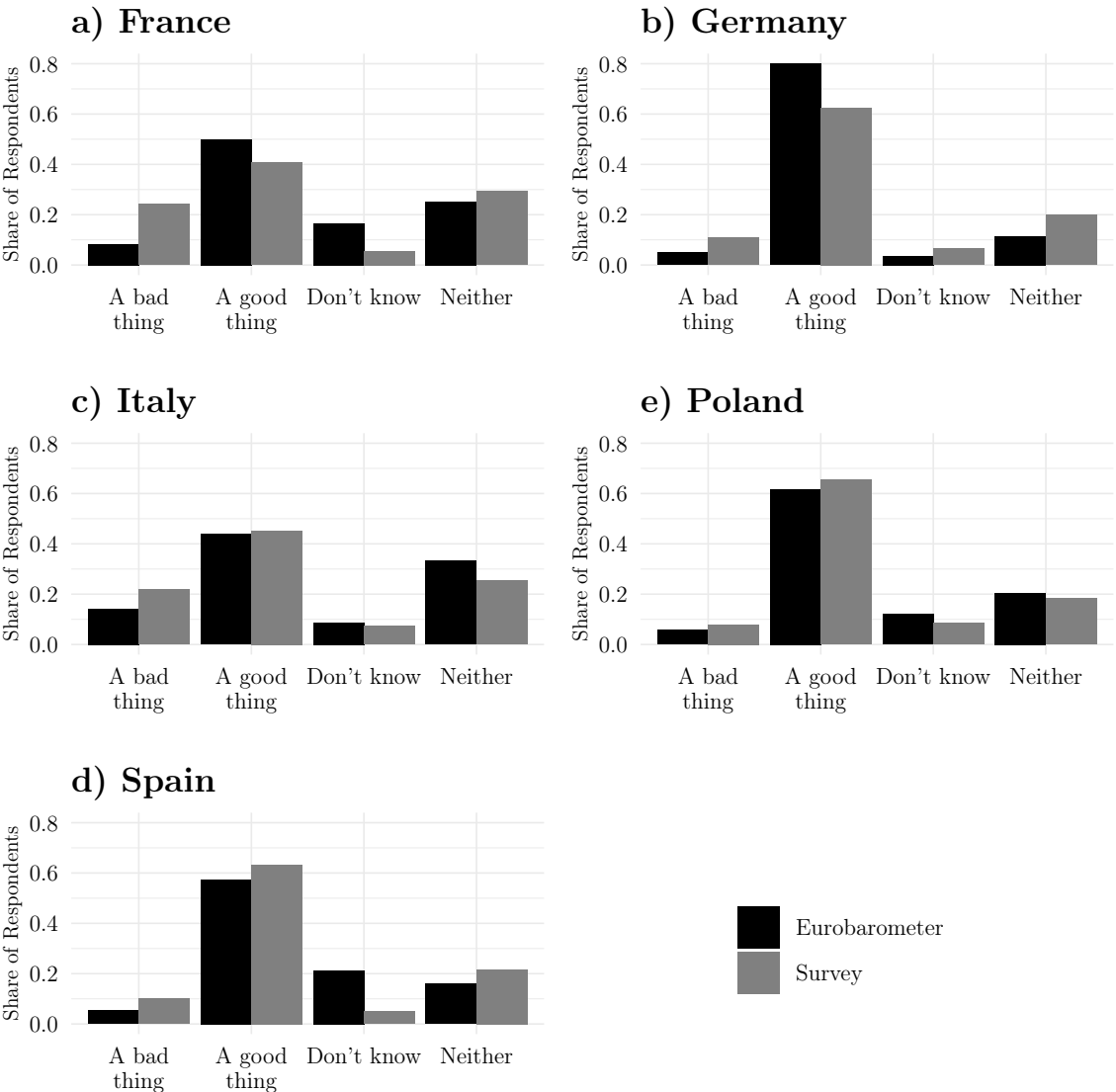
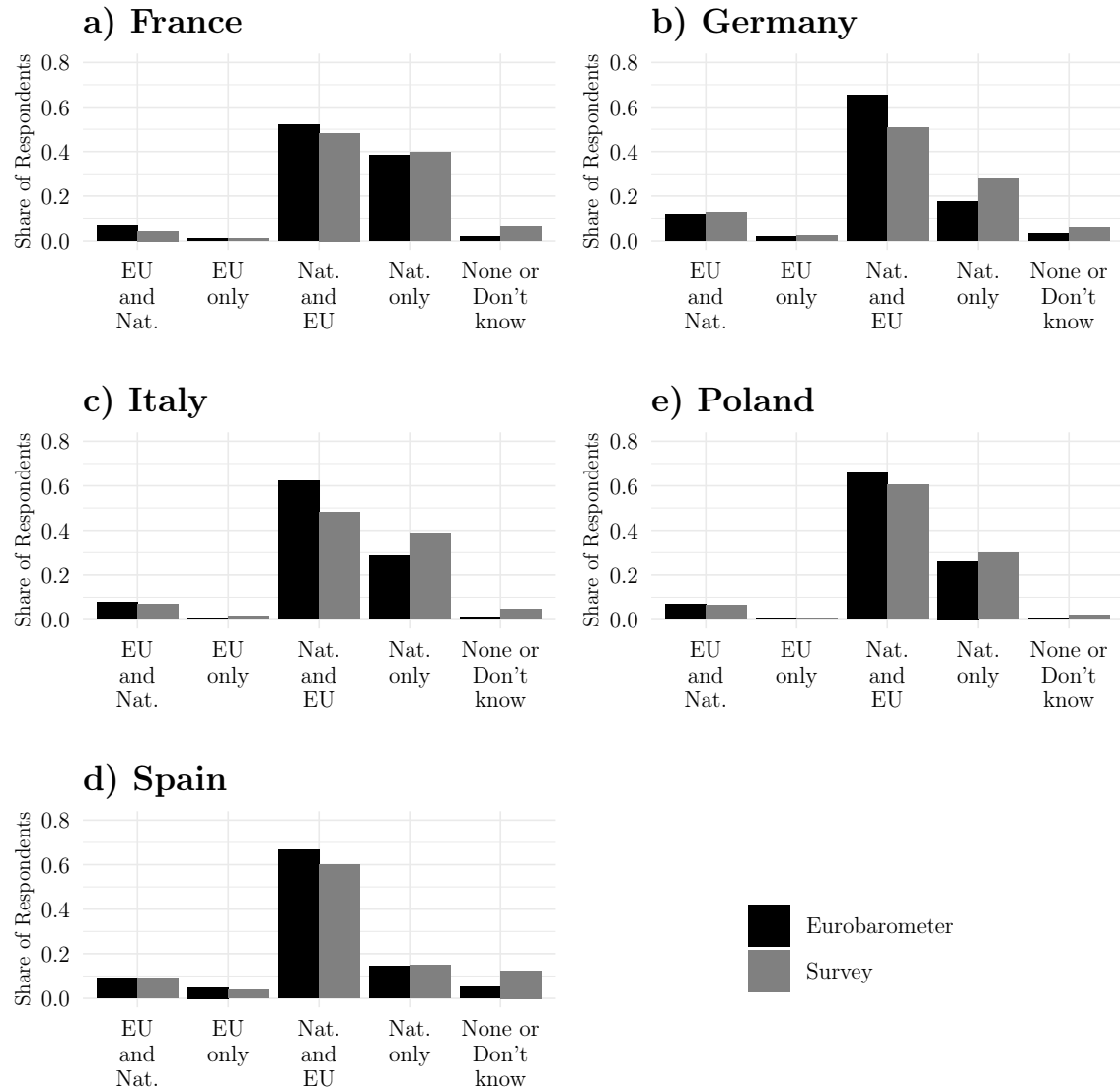


Figure D3: Political Identity (Comparison to Eurobarometer)

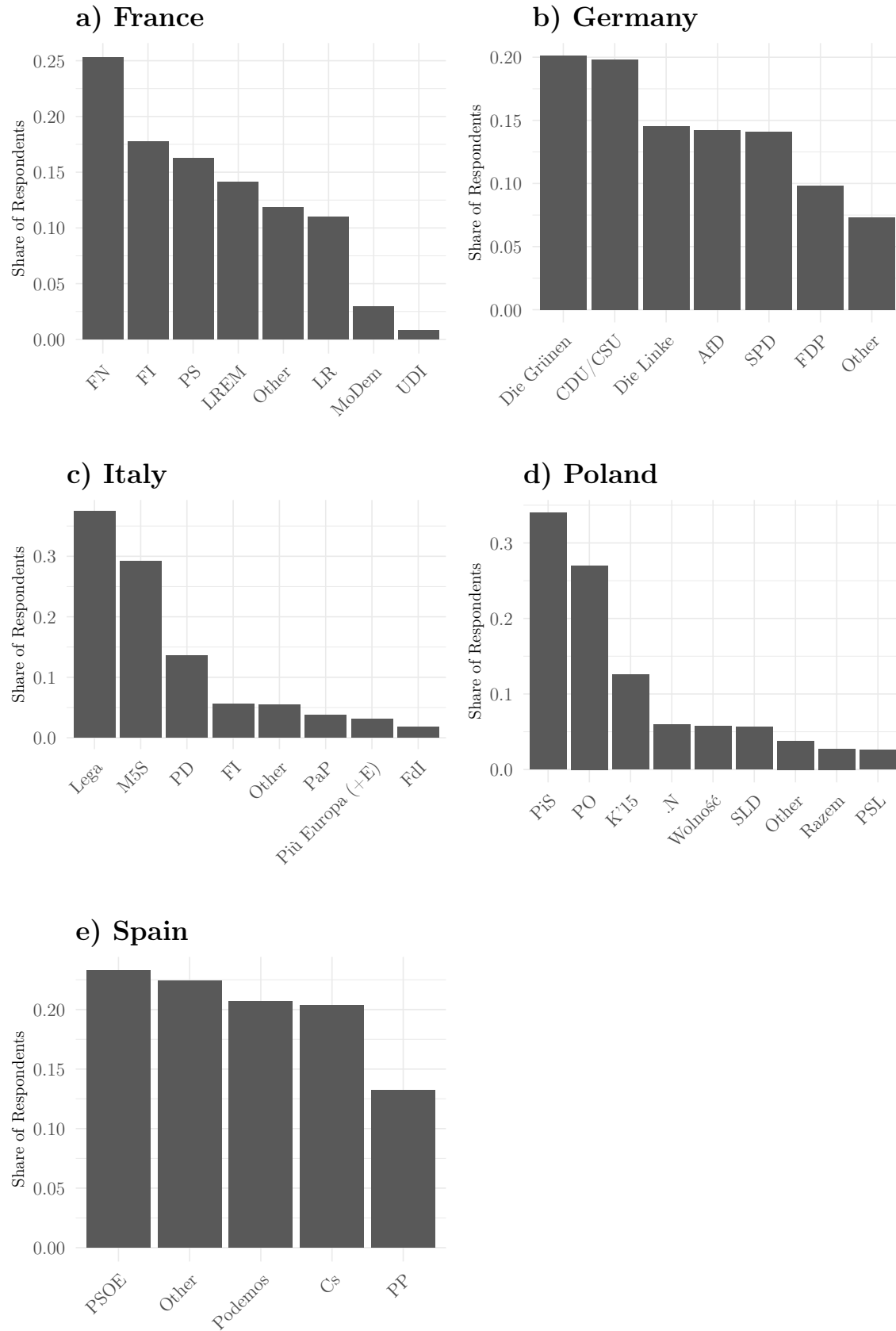


Second, we compare the distributions of voting intentions in our samples with recent polls from national survey organizations. The distributions from our sample are in Figure [D4](#). In France, no parliamentary election polls were conducted in temporal proximity to our fieldwork period, as the next election is still several years away. However, the Front National was leading the polls for the 2019 European Parliament election, which is reflected in our sample. Meanwhile, president Macron’s En Marche party was struggling, while Macron’s approval ratings were low at the end of 2018. In Germany, the Greens received the most votes in our sample. While the Greens did well in polls at the end of 2018, most national polls had CDU/CSU in front. However, this difference is partially explained by the fact that our sample excludes citizens over 65 years of age, a segment in which CDU/CSU have their strongest support. In fact, several polls show that the Greens were the strongest party among voters below 65 years of age in the first half of 2019.

In Italy, the Lega and the Movimento 5 Stelle were leading in our sample and this concurred with polls in early January 2019. In Spain, PSOE, Ciudadanos and Partido Popular were head-to-head in polls at the end of 2018 – as in our data. Meanwhile, more than 20 percent of our respondents indicated they would vote for other parties. A part of that are regional parties, for example in Catalonia, that were not explicitly included in the survey because we fielded only a single cross-regional Spanish questionnaire. In Poland, the ruling Law and Justice (PiS) party received the most support from the Polish respondents, with the opposition Civic Platform (PO) coming second. This is entirely in line with national polls at that time. However, the far-right Kukiz’15 movement received a bit more support in our sample than in most national polls.

Overall, our samples broadly converge to polls of national survey organizations with regard to party preferences. This further underlines the quality of our samples.

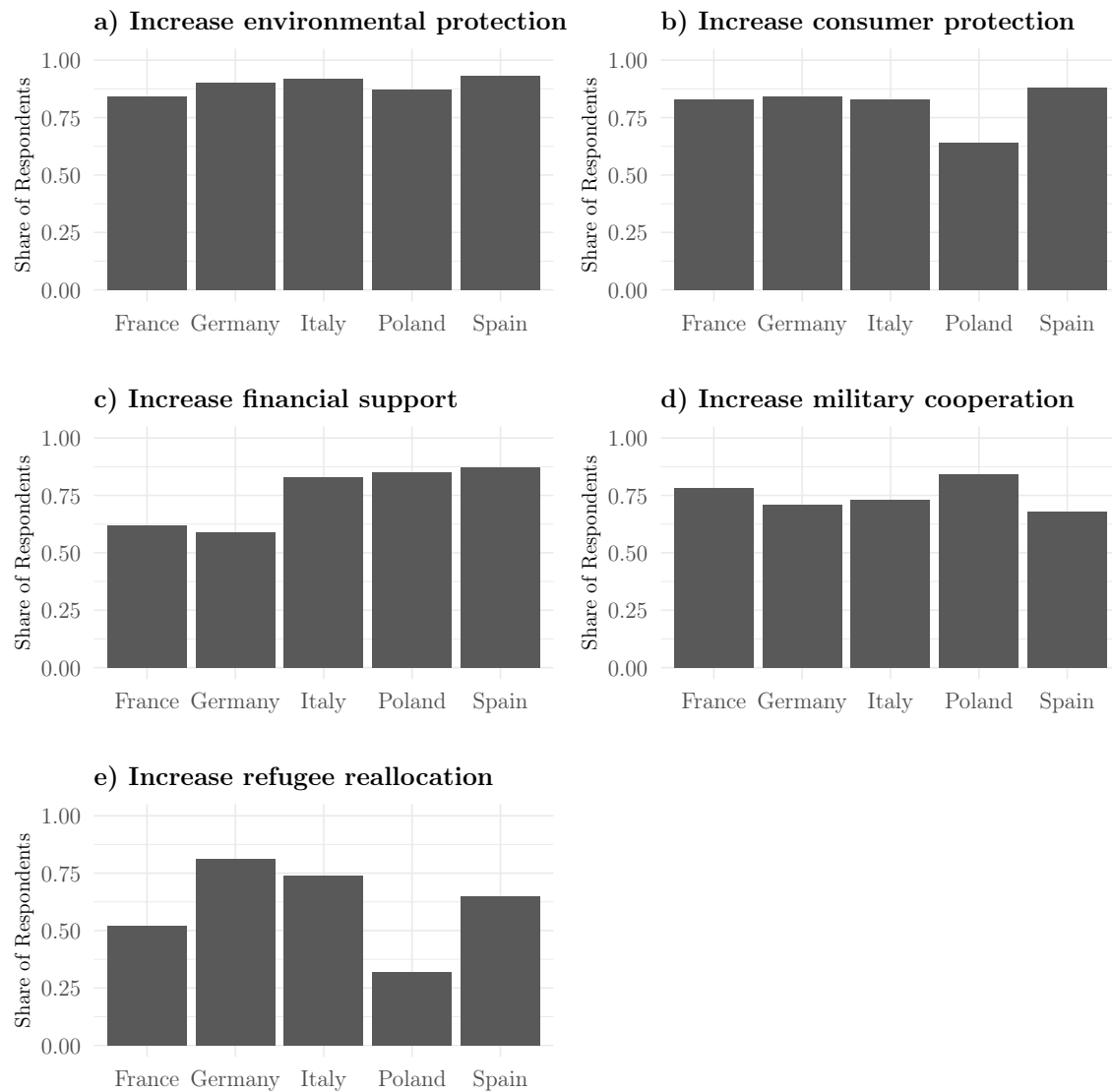
Figure D4: Voting Intentions



E Political Preferences on Issue Areas

Figure E1 displays respondents' personal political preferences on the five issue areas our decisions relate to. Specifically, it plots the share of respondents who want to “increase” environmental protection, consumer protection, etc. Since the questions were forced binary choices, the remaining share opted for “decrease”.

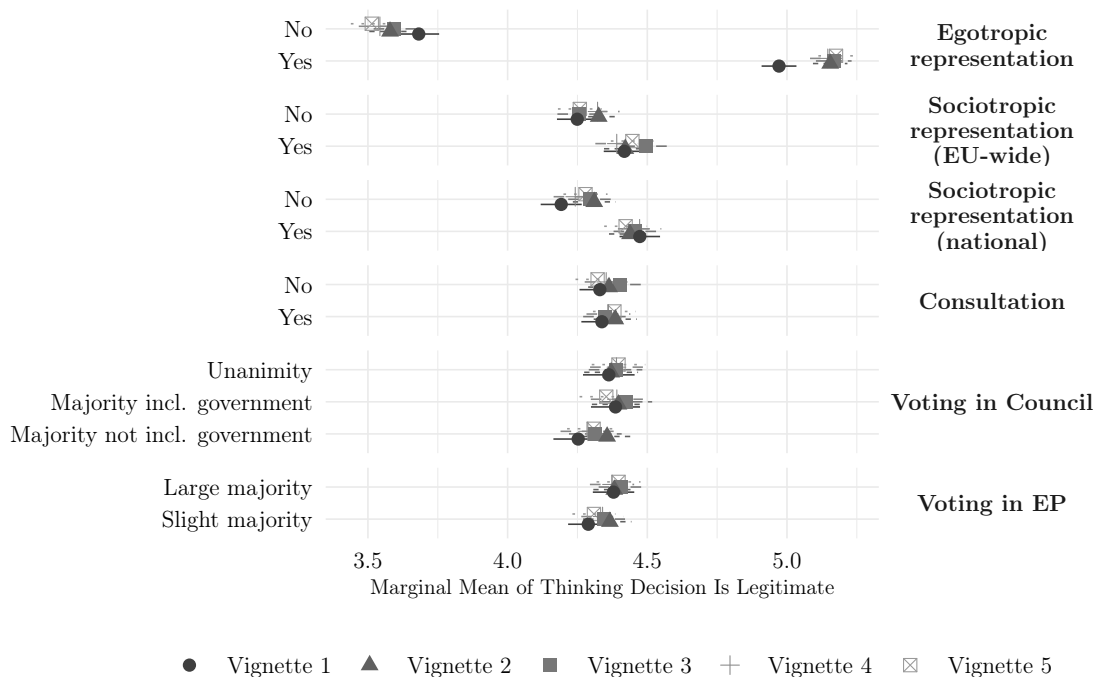
Figure E1: Respondents' Personal Preference By Issue Area and Country



F No Carry-Over Effects Assumption

Figure F1 plots MMs for each choice task separately with 95% confidence intervals as horizontal lines.¹⁸ This reveals little evidence for carry-over effects: estimates do not change as respondents complete more choice tasks. One exception are egotropically representative decisions, which were evaluated slightly less positively in the first than the following vignettes. However, this difference is substantially small. This fits findings by Bansak et al.¹⁹ that satisficing is not a major concern in stated preference survey experiments, even if the number of choice tasks is high.

Figure F1: Effect of Vignette Order



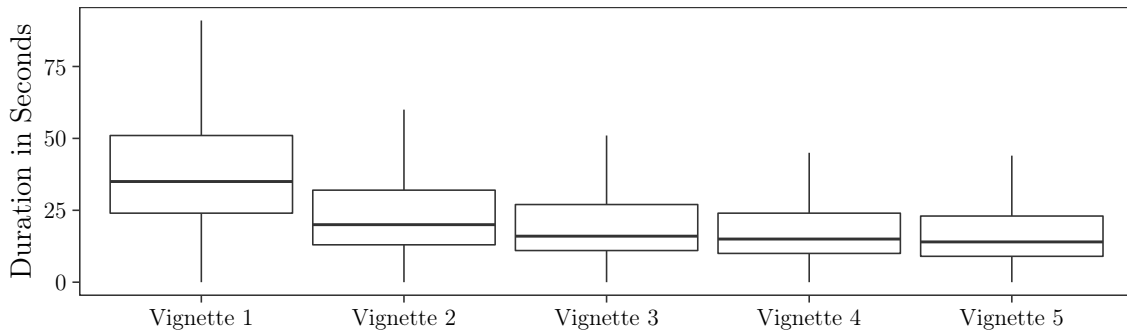
¹⁸Please note that we use 95% confidence intervals only throughout this Online Appendix.

¹⁹Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, Daniel J. Hopkins and Teppei Yamamoto. 2018. "The Number of Choice Tasks and Survey Satisficing in Conjoint Experiments." *Political Analysis* 26(1):112–119.

G Experimental Attention

In this section, we assess the extent of attention respondents paid to our experiment and assess the influence of this attention on our estimates. First, we use response latencies to the choice tasks as a measure of attention. Figure G1 shows boxplots for the length respondents took to answer each of the five administered vignettes. It demonstrates that respondents took substantially longer to answer to the first vignette (about 35 seconds) than later vignettes, but they still take considerable time (about 14 to 15 seconds) for the fourth and fifth vignettes.

Figure G1: Response Latencies by Vignette Order



Second, we consider the influence of these response latencies on our experimental estimates. Figure G2 plots MMs separately by response latency (divided in quartiles). It shows that experimental effects for the quickest respondents (“First quartile”) are substantially muted, but they are largely similar for all other respondents. Hence, if we remove quick respondents, who presumably pay less attention to the experimental task, our estimated effects are even stronger (see Figure G3). This suggests that our results on the effects of representation are not driven by respondents that pay little attention to the task.

Figure G2: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Vignette Response Latency

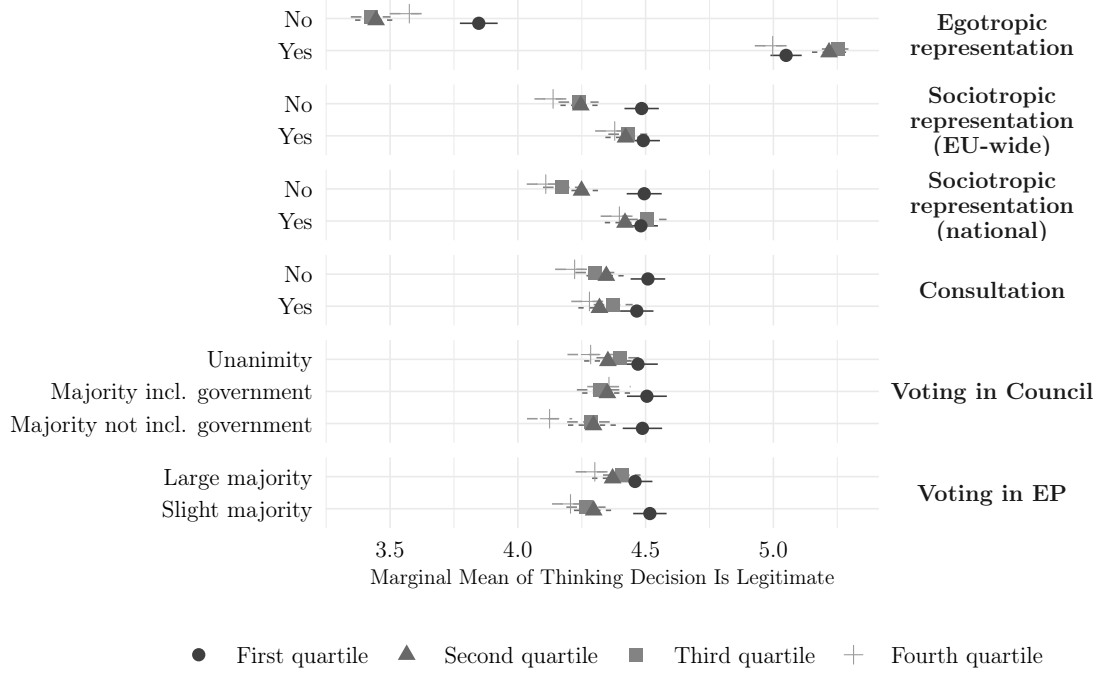
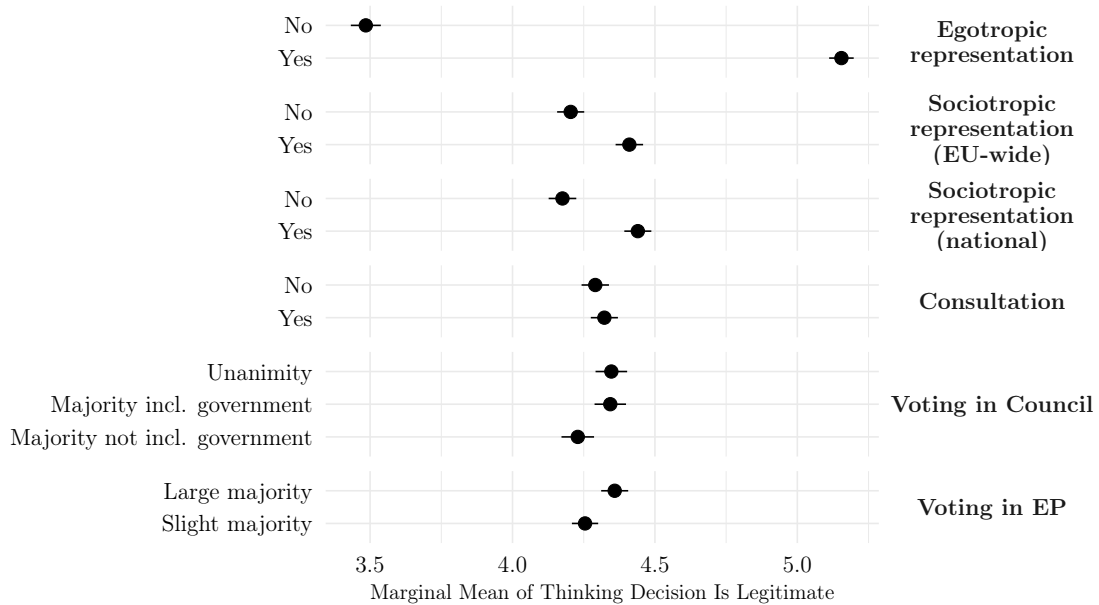


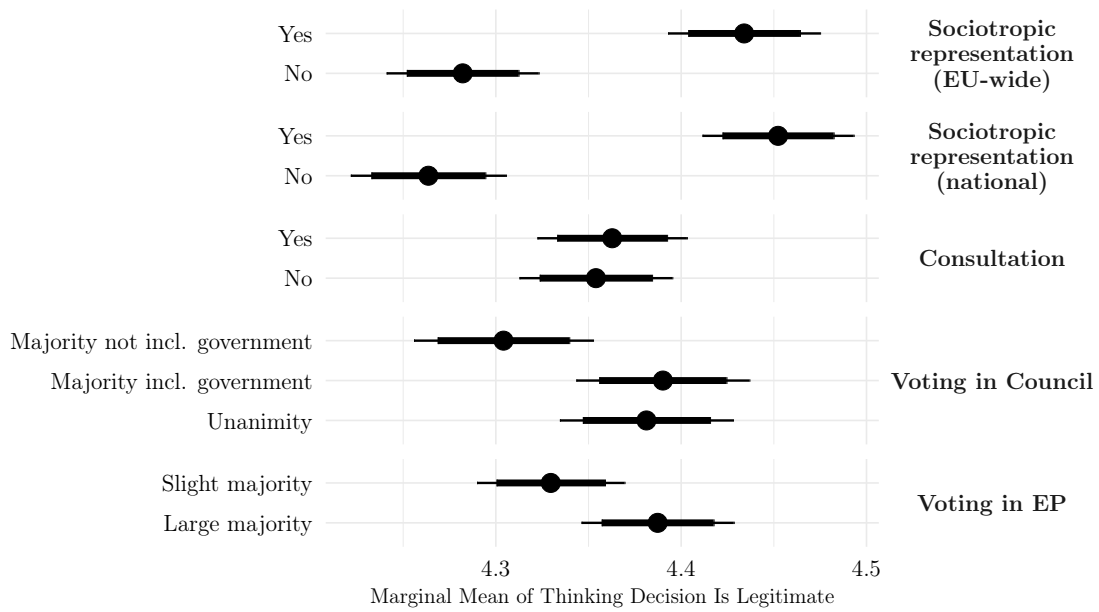
Figure G3: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy Excluding Fast Respondents (First Quartile)



H Zoom-In for Main Plot

In Figure [H1](#) we plot the estimates from Figure [2](#) in the paper but exclude the MMs for egotropic representation. This zooms in on the other estimates for the reader's convenience.

Figure H1: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy Excluding Egotropic Representation Effect



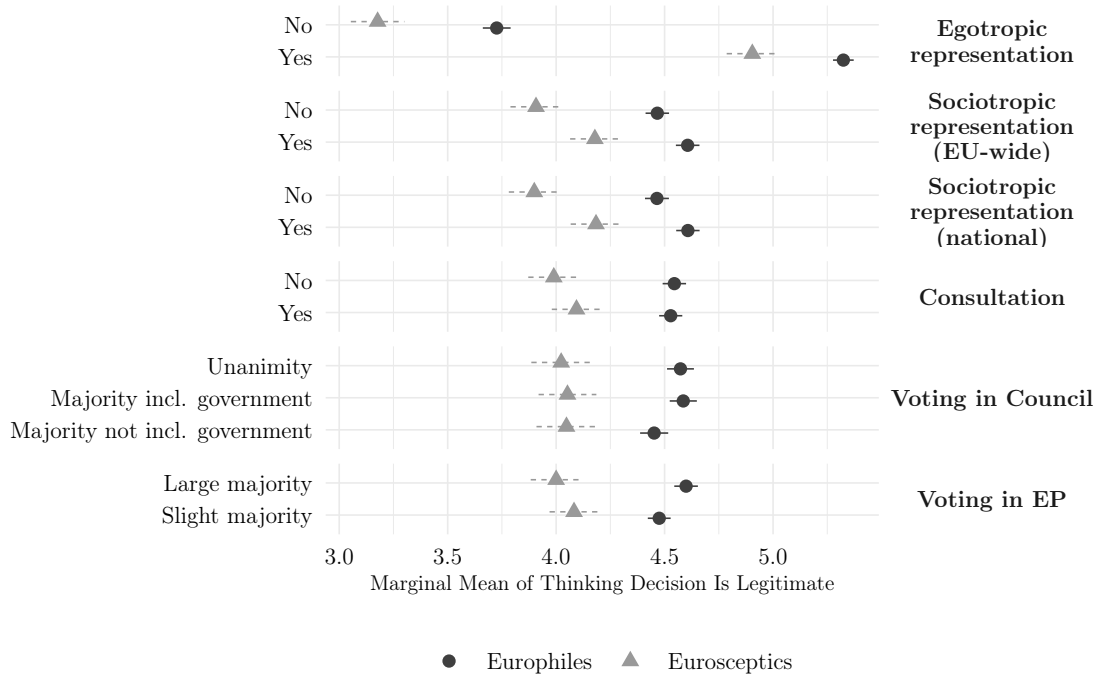
I Robustness Checks

I.1 Universality of Findings

In this section, we provide robustness checks that test the universality of our findings.

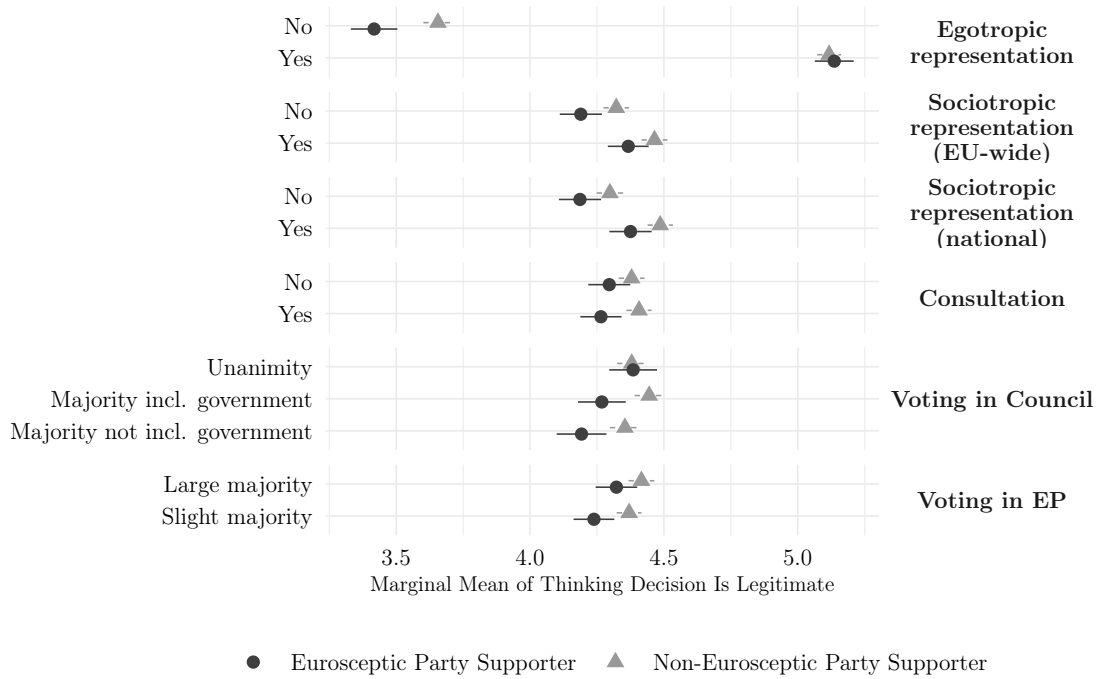
First, it could be that the representation effects are constrained by predispositions about the EU. Individuals who are Eurosceptic might not at all respond to our experimental treatments but deem any decision by the EU as illegitimate. Figure I1 plots MMs by support for European integration (operationalized through support for EU membership). It clearly shows that Eurosceptics (who think the EU is a “bad thing”) increase their legitimacy beliefs not only in response to egotropic but also both forms of sociotropic representation. If anything, the effects are even a bit stronger than those for Europhiles (who think the EU is a “good thing”). We exclude respondents that answered either ‘Don’t know’ or ‘Neither a good thing nor a bad thing’.

Figure I1: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Euroscepticism



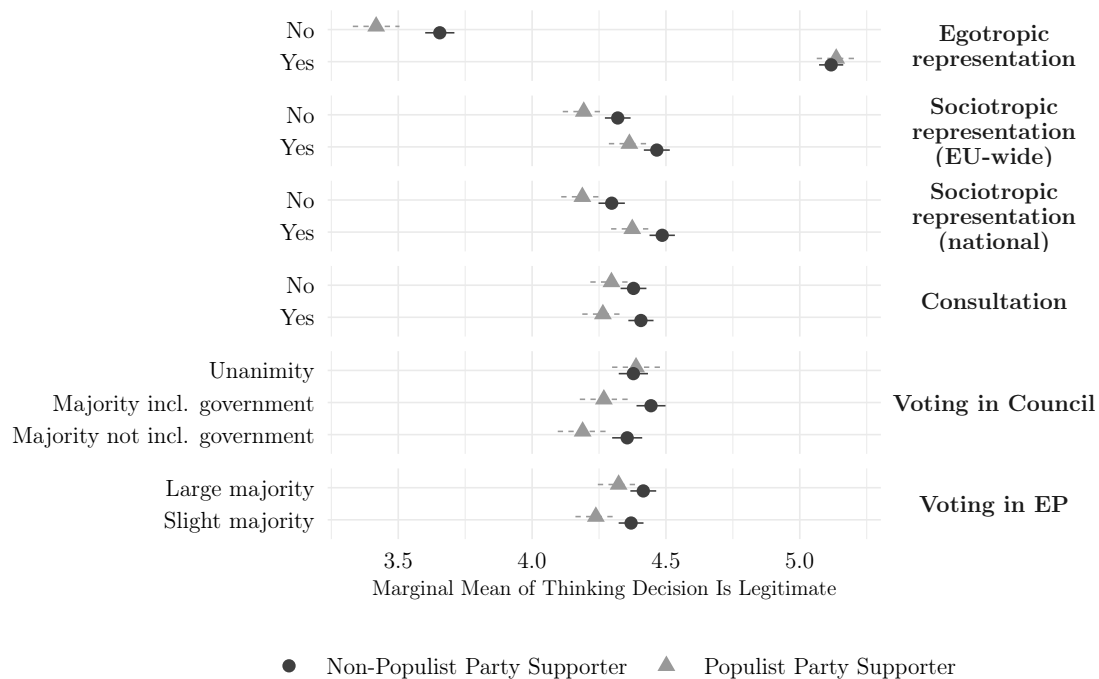
Second and similarly, respondents who are supporters of Eurosceptic or populist parties may not respond to our treatments, given their more negative predispositions about EU decision-making that they may have formed in response to pre-treatment party communications. To investigate this possibility, Figures I2 and I3 show MMs by Eurosceptic and populist party support, respectively (measured by voting intentions).²⁰ Given that our classifications of Eurosceptic and populist parties largely overlap, the results are quite similar. Importantly, the effects of egotropic and sociotropic representation also apply to Eurosceptic as well as populist party supporters. The effects of egotropic representation are even clearly heightened for these individuals. This underlines the generality of our findings.

Figure I2: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Eurosceptic Party Support



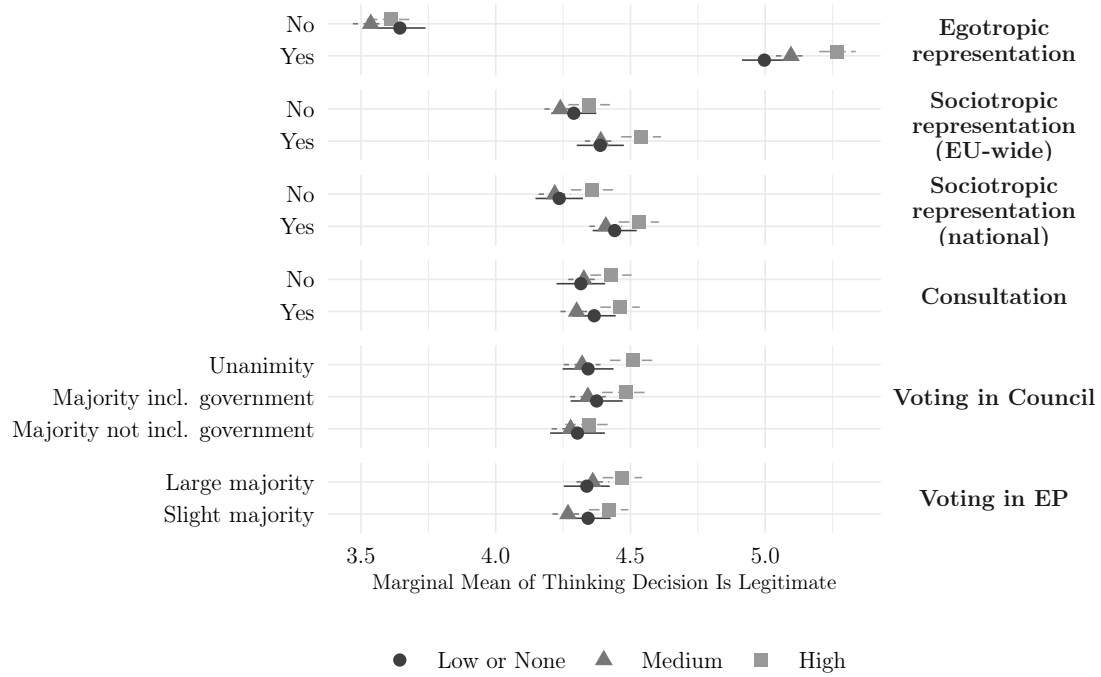
²⁰We consider the following parties both populist and Eurosceptic: Kukiz'15 (K'15), Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), Wolność, La France Insoumise (FI), Front National (FN), Unidos Podemos, Lega (LN), Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S), Die Linke, and Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). Additionally, Fratelli d'Italia is considered Eurosceptic but not populist.

Figure I3: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Populist Party Support



Third, since our tests provide the strongest evidence for the relevance of the consensus heuristic, it could be that our results mainly apply to individuals with low political sophistication that rely more heavily on heuristics than others. We investigate this using education as a proxy for sophistication. Figure I4 displays MMs separately for respondents with different education levels. This reveals few and small differences in the effects of different attribute levels. The effects of representation also apply to individuals with medium and high education.

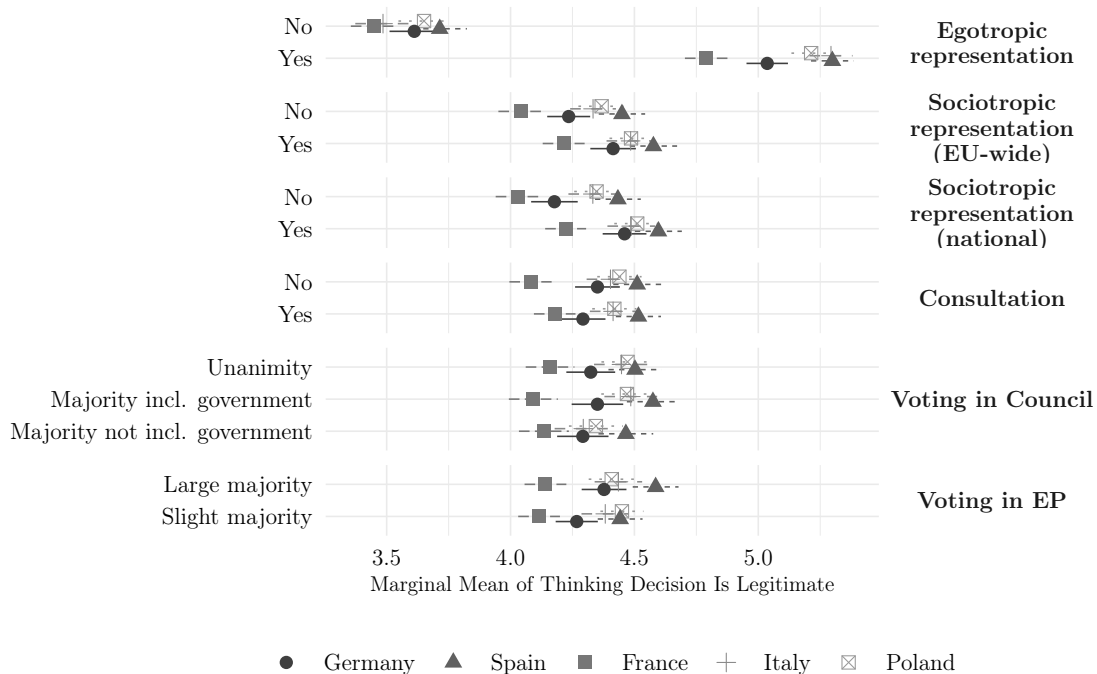
Figure I4: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Education



I.2 Cross-National and Cross-Issue Heterogeneity

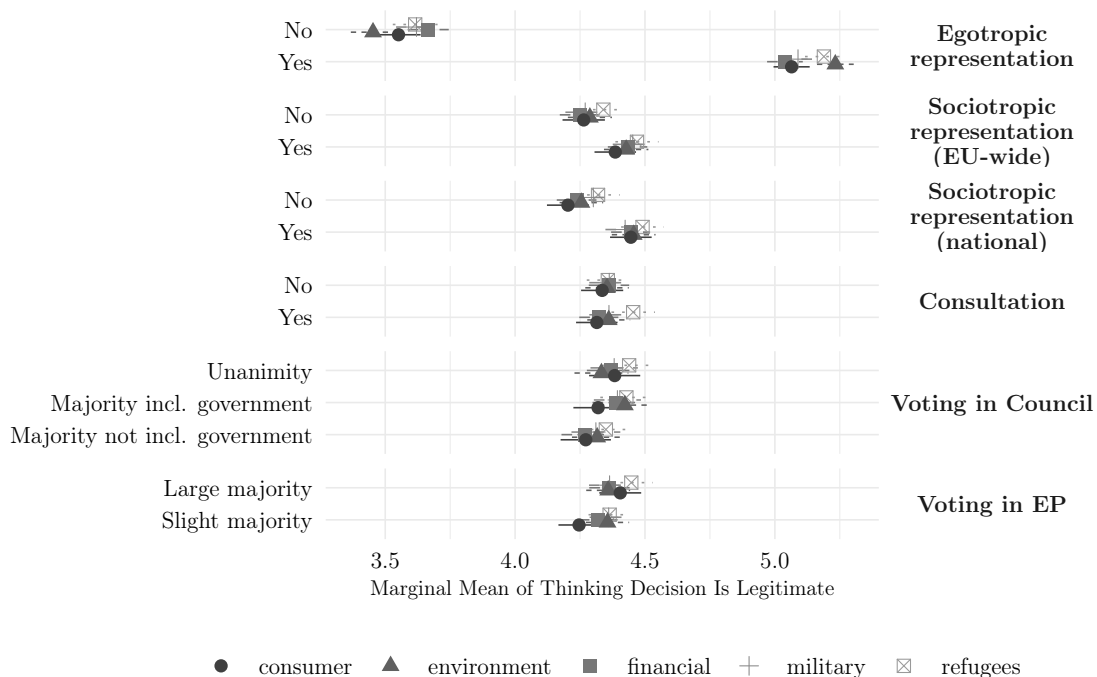
In this section, we investigate the extent of cross-national and cross-issue heterogeneity in our experimental effects. On the one hand, Figure I5 plots MMs for each national sample separately. While the means of perceived legitimacy clearly differ, with French respondents rating decisions least and Spanish respondents most legitimate, most effects of attribute levels are of very similar size across countries. In particular, the effects of egotropic as well as sociotropic representation are sizable and statistically significant in each of the five countries. Hence, the cross-national heterogeneity in effects is very limited, despite starkly varying contextual factors (e.g., aggregate Euroscepticism, party systems, types of governments).

Figure I5: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Country



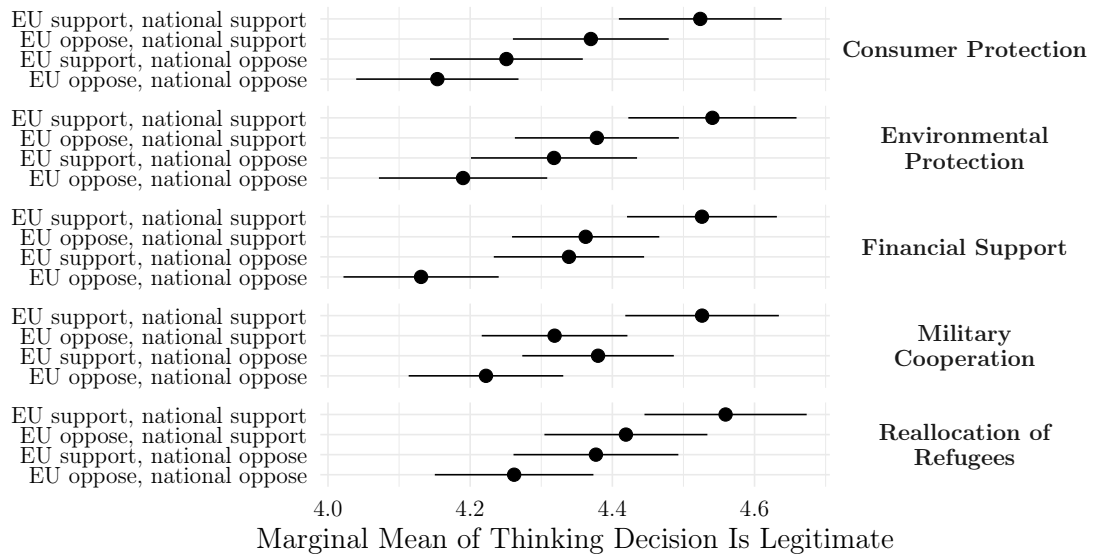
On the other hand, we also ascertain whether our experimental effects are heterogeneous across issue areas. Figure I6 plots MMs using subsets of all decisions in each of the five issue areas. This reveals an even more homogeneous picture than the comparison across countries. The mean differences in perceived legitimacy are substantively small and the effects of attributes are very similar across issues. All our representation effects are statistically significant for each of the five issues.

Figure I6: Marginal Means of Perceived Legitimacy by Issue Area



One further concern with regard to heterogeneity across issue areas pertains to the sociotropic representation effects and the distinction between redistributive vs. regulatory areas. While we argue that majority opinion is used as a cue because citizens believe the majority makes “valid” choices, identifying legitimate policies, it is possible that majority opinion is instead used as a cue for who benefits from a policy. In redistributive policies, when national and EU-wide majority opinion diverge, citizens could view this as a cue that their country is particularly benefiting or loosing out from a policy. This could lead to particularly low (high) legitimacy beliefs if the national majority is opposed (in favor) and the EU-wide majority is in favor (opposed) to an EU decision. To ascertain whether this is the case, we plot the marginal means for the four different scenarios of majority support in Figure I7. The scenarios in which both majorities are opposed or support a decision respectively yield the lowest and highest marginal means. The mixed cases are in-between. Hence, we find no support for this conjecture.

Figure I7: Marginal Means of Sociotropic Representation by Issue Area



I.3 Mechanisms of Sociotropic Representation

Here, we consider one further mechanism that could explain the effects of sociotropic representation as well as three concerns with regard to our tests of the mechanisms discussed in the paper. Note that work on citizens’ sociotropic concerns is prominent in many fields, most importantly in the literature on economic voting that first developed this terminology in political science. However, many theoretical mechanisms stipulated in other fields are not applicable to our phenomenon. For instance, a core idea in the economic voting literature is that citizens pay attention to the state of the national economy as a cue to infer government actions, e.g. whether it is performing to their interests. However, in our experimental design citizens are directly presented with clear information about the EU’s actions and do not need cues to infer them.

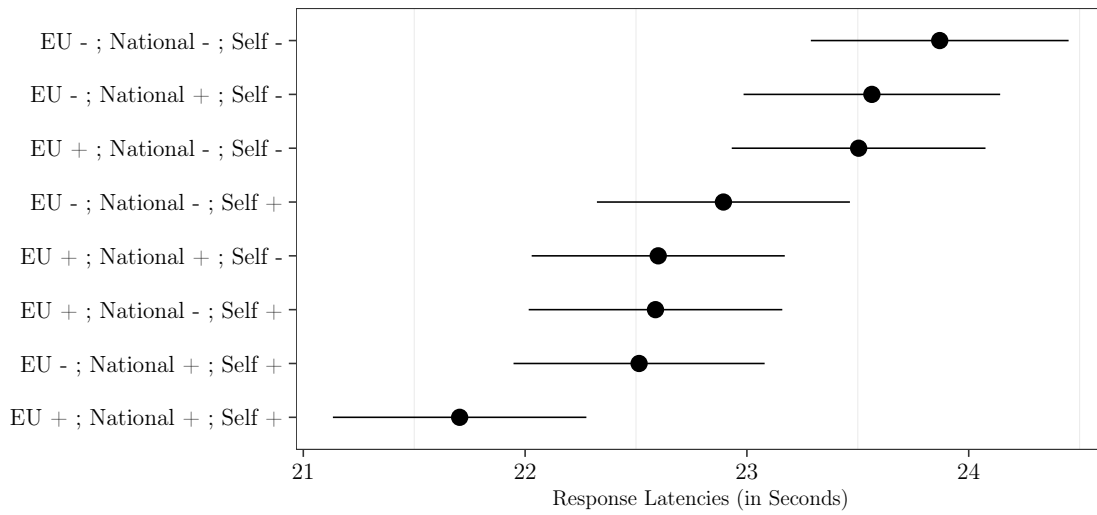
Nevertheless, we here consider one alternative mechanism to those presented in the paper according to which citizens may change a *prima facie* negative assessment of a decision in response to learning that the majority supports a decision, as the deviating assessment of the majority may trigger them to think of new arguments that might explain the others’ view. This primes arguments in citizens’ minds in favor of the substance and legitimacy of a decision that would otherwise not be considered. This mechanism is usually referred to as *cognitive response*, since it results in additional cognitive effort by the individual, who has to come up with new arguments.²¹ If sociotropic representation affects legitimacy beliefs by triggering a cognitive response, i.e. causing respondents to think about new arguments why a decision could be “good” or “legitimate”, we would expect response latencies to the vignettes to increase if majority and personal preferences are in conflict. In these cases, respondents would need time to consider new arguments that are against their own view.

To test this, in Figure I8 we plot estimated response latencies to the vignettes depending on whether personal, national and EU-wide opinion are in favor of the decision. Indeed, respondents give the fastest answers to the vignettes if the decision is congruent with their personal preference and with the majority preference in their country and across the EU, that is, when there is no reason to reconsider one’s own substantive position on the policy. In contrast, response latencies increase if national or EU-wide majority preferences are in conflict with the personal preference. However, this pattern is not consistent, since there also appears to be an effect of negativity: respondents take longest to answer if personal, national and EU-wide preferences are simultaneously against the decision, and three further combinations with two of the three preferences being against the decision follow on places two to four by response latency. Hence, we do not have compelling evidence for the cognitive response mechanism.

Moreover, we address two concerns that pertain to our test of the consensus heuristic. One concern with our operationalization of weak and strong issue attitudes through response latencies to the political preference questions are respondents with fast response styles, who

²¹Mutz, Diana C. 1998. Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Figure I8: Response Latencies to Vignettes by Personal, EU-wide and National Preference



Note: “-” indicates that policy is not in line with preference; “+” indicates that policy is in line with preference.

just tend to answer any survey question quickly. They may have weak issue attitudes but still end up in the “strong” attitudes group when using response latencies as an indicator of attitudes strength. To ascertain whether this potential misclassification may drive any results, Figure I9 re-estimates the MMs shown in panel b) of Figure 3 in the paper but excludes the 10% fastest respondents in the vignette experiment. Respondents with weak issue attitudes are still significantly more receptive to the sociotropic representation cue than those with strong issue attitudes, which is in line with the consensus heuristic.

Figure I9: Sociotropic Representation Effects by Attitude Strength Excluding Fastest Respondents (10%)



A second concern regards the potential heterogeneity in the subgroup analysis by strong vs. weak issue attitudes between countries. Are our results that citizens with weak issue attitudes react more strongly to the majority cue driven by certain countries? To examine this we plot the AMCEs of sociotropic representation (instead of MMs to make the figure more neatly arranged) by attitude strength and country in Figure [I10](#). This reveals that sociotropic representation has a larger effect for respondents with weak issue attitudes in all countries with regard to both, EU-wide and national majority opinion. However, given the limited number of respondents per country, we lack the statistical power to make strong inferences about country-level subgroup results. The difference between weak and strong issue attitudes is larger in some countries (Poland, Germany, France) and smaller in others (Spain). Whereas the AMCE for the subgroup with weak issue attitudes is significantly different from zero in all cases across countries, this is not always the case for the subgroup with strong issue attitudes. In sum, these results are consistent with our main results in the paper.

Last, we address an issue regarding our test for the long-term utilitarian calculus mechanism. In the paper, we operationalize individuals' expected long-term benefits by extremity on the left-right self-placement item. However, the left-right self-placement may have weaknesses in identifying outlier preferences with regard to issues of EU decision-making that may not always neatly map on the left-right dimension of political conflict. Here, we test an alternative operationalization of preference outlier status. Specifically, we count the number of issue areas (1-5) in our experiment in which respondents had the opposite preference from the EU-wide majority estimate from our sample. Cutting the sample into approximate halves, we define "preference outliers" as respondents that concurred with majority opinion on at most three out of the five issue areas, and all others as "preference normals" (which agreed on four of five issues with the majority). Figure [I11](#) plots the MMs separately for the two groups. This reveals no evidence for the long-term utilitarian calculus mechanism. Preference outliers react about as strongly to sociotropic representation as preference normals (especially to sociotropic representation of national majorities).

Figure I10: Test of Consensus Heuristic by Country

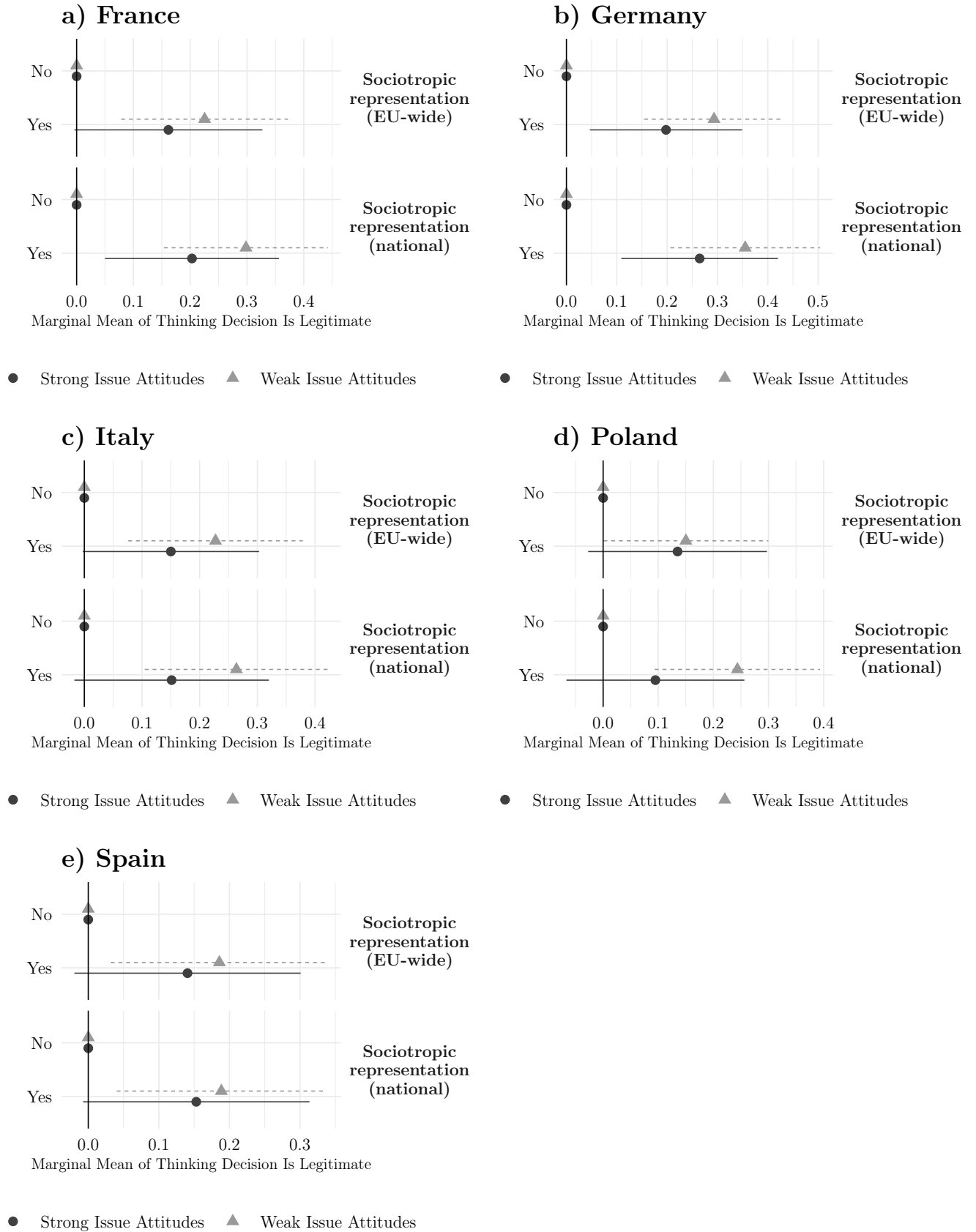
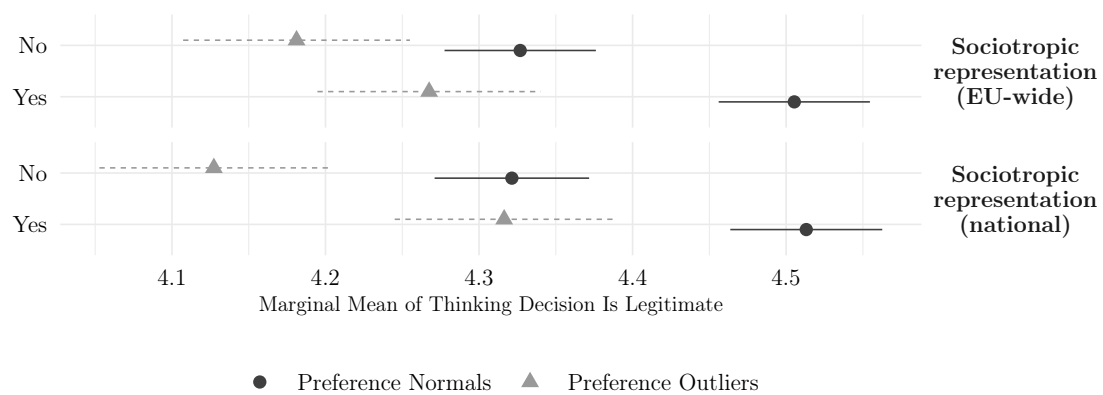


Figure I11: Sociotropic Representation Effects by Preference Outlier Status



J Average Marginal Component Effects

While MMs are the more intuitive estimate when comparing subgroups, as we do in the paper for our mechanism tests, AMCEs (Hainmueller et al., 2014) provide a more explicit estimate of a causal effect. Hence, in Table J1 we provide AMCEs for all attribute levels and both of our outcomes (Q1 and Q2). As AMCEs are simply differences in MMs, they entirely support our main findings. Egotropic representation increases legitimacy beliefs by 1.54 scale points when asking whether the decision is “legitimate”, and by 1.71 scale points when asking whether respondents are willing to accept the decision. In turn, sociotropic representation increases legitimacy beliefs by 0.17 (EU-wide majority preferences) and 0.19 (national majority preferences) scale points on Q1, and by 0.15 and 0.17 scale points respectively on Q2. All these effects are highly statistically significant.

In addition, our mechanism tests ultimately relate to differences in AMCEs, stipulating that the AMCEs for sociotropic representation will be larger/smaller in one subgroup than the other. For the group endorsement mechanism, the AMCEs are in Table J2. All four effects are statistically significant and of similar size. For the consensus heuristic mechanism, the AMCEs are in Table J3. The effect of sociotropic representation for respondents with weak issue attitudes are clearly larger than for those with strong issue attitudes. Finally, the results for the long-term utilitarian mechanism are in Table J4. Here, the AMCEs for ideological extremists are slightly larger than for moderates, but the confidence intervals overlap considerably. To formally test whether the sociotropic effects are different between the subgroups, we run regressions with interactions between sociotropic representation and the grouping variables. The results are presented in Table J6. While the interaction terms for mechanisms 1 (group endorsement) and 3 (long-term utilitarian calculus) in Models (1) and (3) are not statistically significant, the ones for mechanism 2 (consensus heuristic) are. This fully supports our core findings on the mechanisms.

Last, we also formally investigate whether the AMCEs for sociotropic representation differ by whether a respondent is egotropically represented (see Figure 2 (b) in the paper). The AMCEs are reported in Table J5. This reveals that the effect of sociotropic representation is very similar independent of egotropic representation. Model (1) in Table J7 tests whether these AMCEs are statistically distinguishable from each other by way of regression. The two relevant interaction terms between egotropic and sociotropic representation are far from any conventional levels of statistical significance. Model (2) in the same table tests the interaction for all other attributes with egotropic representation. None of the interaction terms are statistically significant, which indicates that the evaluation of procedural aspects such as public consultations is not affected by whether the respondent had their own preference represented (i.e., outcome favorability).

Table J1: AMCEs of Attribute Levels (Both Outcomes)

Outcome	Feature	Level	Estimate	Std.Error	z	p	Lower	Upper
legitimate	Egotropic representation	No	0.00					
legitimate	Egotropic representation	Yes	1.54	0.03	50.83	0.00	1.48	1.60
legitimate	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
legitimate	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.17	0.02	7.38	0.00	0.12	0.21
legitimate	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
legitimate	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.19	0.02	7.87	0.00	0.14	0.23
legitimate	Consultation	No	0.00					
legitimate	Consultation	Yes	0.01	0.02	0.66	0.51	-0.03	0.06
legitimate	Voting in Council	Unanimity	0.00					
legitimate	Voting in Council	Majority incl. government	-0.01	0.03	-0.20	0.84	-0.06	0.05
legitimate	Voting in Council	Majority not incl. government	-0.11	0.03	-3.80	0.00	-0.16	-0.05
legitimate	Voting in EP	Large majority	0.00					
legitimate	Voting in EP	Slight majority	-0.03	0.02	-1.32	0.19	-0.07	0.01
accept	Egotropic representation	No	0.00					
accept	Egotropic representation	Yes	1.71	0.03	55.09	0.00	1.65	1.77
accept	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
accept	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.15	0.02	6.79	0.00	0.11	0.20
accept	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
accept	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.17	0.02	7.39	0.00	0.13	0.22
accept	Consultation	No	0.00					
accept	Consultation	Yes	0.04	0.02	1.89	0.06	-0.00	0.09
accept	Voting in Council	Unanimity	0.00					
accept	Voting in Council	Majority incl. government	-0.01	0.03	-0.21	0.83	-0.06	0.05
accept	Voting in Council	Majority not incl. government	-0.10	0.03	-3.41	0.00	-0.15	-0.04
accept	Voting in EP	Large majority	0.00					
accept	Voting in EP	Slight majority	-0.03	0.02	-1.49	0.14	-0.08	0.01

Table J2: AMCEs of Attribute Levels (Group Endorsement Mechanism)

EU Identity	Feature	Level	Estimate	Std.Error	z	p	Lower	Upper
Exclusive National Identity	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Exclusive National Identity	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.14	0.04	3.23	0.00	0.06	0.23
Some European Identity	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Some European Identity	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.17	0.03	6.08	0.00	0.11	0.22
Exclusive National Identity	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Exclusive National Identity	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.21	0.04	4.79	0.00	0.13	0.30
Some European Identity	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Some European Identity	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.17	0.03	5.77	0.00	0.11	0.22

Table J3: AMCEs of Attribute Levels (Consensus Heuristic Mechanism)

Issue Attitudes	Feature	Level	Estimate	Std.Error	z	p	Lower	Upper
Strong Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Strong Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.13	0.03	4.00	0.00	0.07	0.19
Weak Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Weak Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.21	0.03	6.38	0.00	0.14	0.27
Strong Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Strong Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.12	0.03	3.69	0.00	0.06	0.19
Weak Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Weak Issue Attitudes	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.25	0.03	7.42	0.00	0.18	0.31

Table J4: AMCEs of Attribute Levels (Long-term Utilitarian Calculus Mechanism)

Ideological Extremes	Feature	Level	Estimate	Std.Error	z	p	Lower	Upper
Ideological Extremists	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Ideological Extremists	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.21	0.05	4.69	0.00	0.12	0.30
Moderates	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Moderates	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.15	0.03	5.71	0.00	0.10	0.20
Ideological Extremists	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Ideological Extremists	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.22	0.05	4.67	0.00	0.13	0.31
Moderates	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Moderates	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.17	0.03	6.38	0.00	0.12	0.22

Table J5: AMCEs of Attribute Levels (Congruent and Non-Congruent Decisions, Sociotropic Representation Only)

Egotropic Representation	Feature	Level	Estimate	Std.Error	z	p	Lower	Upper
No	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
No	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.15	0.03	4.22	0.00	0.08	0.21
No	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
No	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.18	0.03	5.06	0.00	0.11	0.25
Yes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	No	0.00					
Yes	Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	Yes	0.19	0.03	6.59	0.00	0.13	0.25
Yes	Sociotropic representation (national)	No	0.00					
Yes	Sociotropic representation (national)	Yes	0.19	0.03	6.66	0.00	0.14	0.25

Table J6: Regression Results for All Three Mechanisms

	Rating of Legitimacy of Decision		
	legitimate		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Egotropic Representation	1.538*** (0.023)	1.541*** (0.023)	1.543*** (0.023)
Some European Identity	0.287*** (0.044)		
Weak Issue Attitudes		-0.177*** (0.040)	
Moderates			0.002 (0.046)
Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	0.148*** (0.042)	0.130*** (0.032)	0.208*** (0.045)
Sociotropic representation (national)	0.213*** (0.042)	0.122*** (0.032)	0.214*** (0.045)
Consultation: Yes	0.008 (0.023)	0.015 (0.023)	0.015 (0.023)
Council: Majority incl. government	-0.018 (0.028)	-0.005 (0.028)	-0.005 (0.028)
Council: Majority not incl. government	-0.122*** (0.028)	-0.106*** (0.028)	-0.107*** (0.028)
EP: Slight majority	-0.039* (0.023)	-0.030 (0.023)	-0.029 (0.023)
Mech 1: Some European Identity x Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	0.018 (0.050)		
Mech 1: Some European Identity x Sociotropic representation (national)	-0.044 (0.050)		
Mech 2: Weak Issue Attitudes x Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)		0.079* (0.046)	
Mech 2: Weak Issue Attitudes x Sociotropic representation (national)		0.128*** (0.046)	
Mech 3: Moderates x Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)			-0.059 (0.052)
Mech 3: Moderates x Sociotropic representation (national)			-0.043 (0.052)
Intercept	3.288*** (0.046)	3.537*** (0.039)	3.447*** (0.048)
Observations	19,550	20,880	20,880
R ²	0.198	0.193	0.193
Adjusted R ²	0.197	0.193	0.192
Residual Std. Error	1.594 (df = 19539)	1.601 (df = 20869)	1.602 (df = 20869)

Note: Respondents with no response on national vs. European identity question were excluded for Model (1); Respondent-level cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table J7: Regression Results for Interactions with Egotropic Representation

	Rating of Legitimacy of Decision	
	legitimate	
	(1)	(2)
Egotropic Representation	1.511*** (0.039)	1.537*** (0.060)
Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	0.146*** (0.034)	0.146*** (0.034)
Sociotropic representation (national)	0.176*** (0.034)	0.177*** (0.034)
Consultation: Yes	0.015 (0.022)	0.018 (0.034)
Council: Majority incl. government	-0.005 (0.027)	0.001 (0.042)
Council: Majority not incl. government	-0.107*** (0.027)	-0.081* (0.042)
EP: Slight majority	-0.029 (0.022)	-0.028 (0.034)
Egotropic Representation x Sociotropic representation (EU-wide)	0.046 (0.044)	0.046 (0.044)
Egotropic Representation x Sociotropic representation (national)	0.018 (0.044)	0.018 (0.044)
Egotropic Representation x Consultation: Yes		-0.008 (0.044)
Egotropic Representation x Council: Majority incl. government		-0.013 (0.054)
Egotropic Representation x Council: Majority not incl. government		-0.051 (0.055)
Egotropic Representation x EP: Slight majority		-0.002 (0.044)
Intercept	3.464*** (0.037)	3.451*** (0.045)
Observations	20,880	20,880
R ²	0.193	0.193
Adjusted R ²	0.192	0.192
Residual Std. Error	1.602 (df = 20870)	1.602 (df = 20866)
F Statistic	553.195*** (df = 9; 20870)	383.004*** (df = 13; 20866)

Note: Respondent-level cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses; *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

K Main Plots Using Accept Outcome (Q2)

Figures [K1](#) to [K4](#) replicate the main analysis plots using the second outcome variable (Q2): willingness to accept the decision. Overall, these plots show very similar results to those obtained using Q1. Importantly, sociotropic representation for non-favored (i.e, without egotropic representation) decisions also affects whether a respondent accepts a decision (Figure [K2](#)). We also see a similar pattern for issue attitude strength as respondents with weak issue attitudes take sociotropic representation more into account (Figure [K4](#)).

Figure K1: Marginal Means of Decision Acceptance

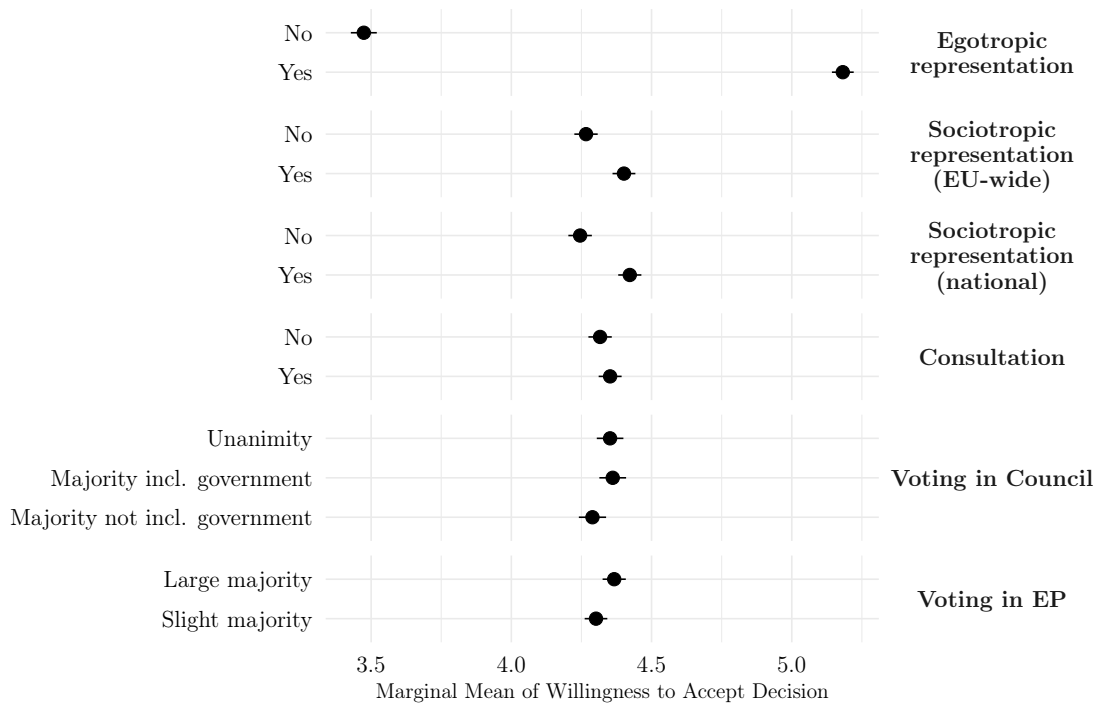


Figure K2: Marginal Means of Decision Acceptance for Non-Congruent Decisions

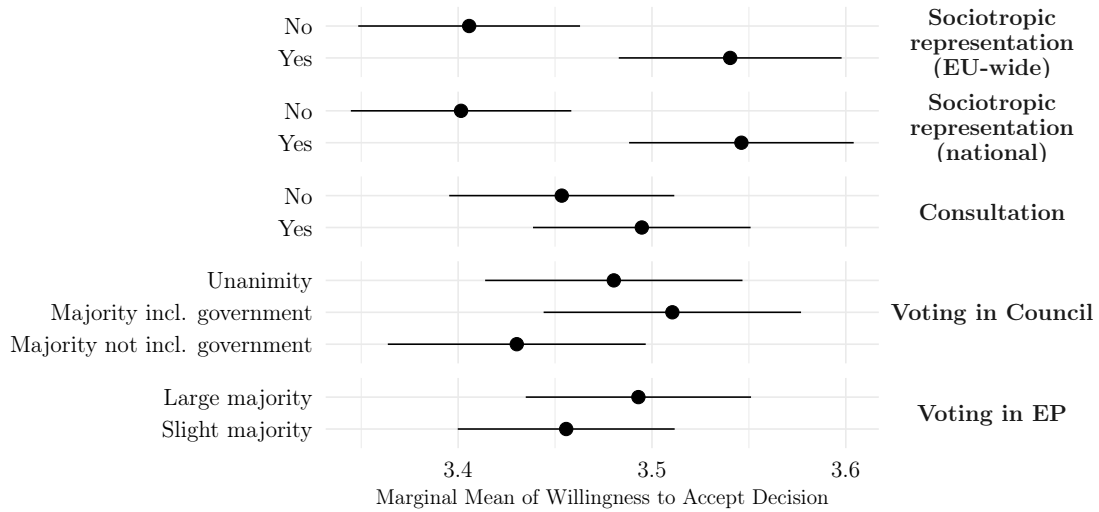


Figure K3: Sociotropic Representation Effects by Group Identification (Accept)

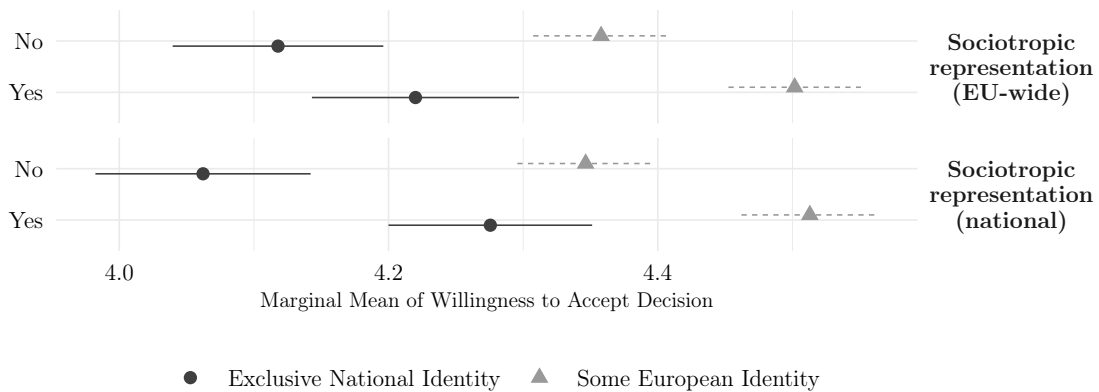


Figure K4: Sociotropic Representation Effects by Attitude Strength (Accept)

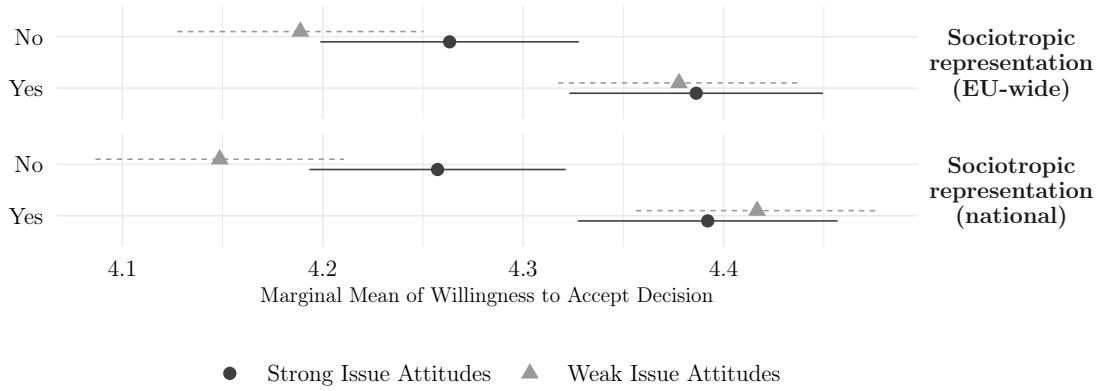
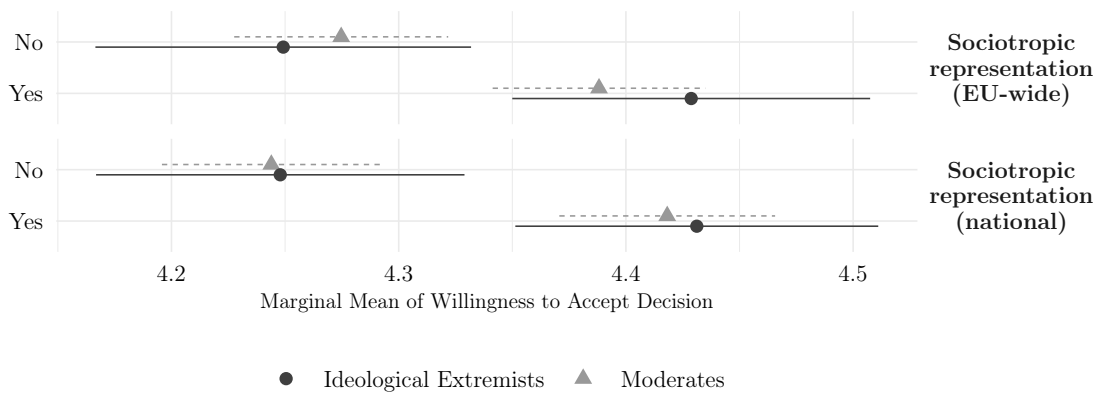


Figure K5: Sociotropic Representation Effects by Preference Extremity (Accept)



L Difference between Legitimate and Accept Outcome (Q1 vs. Q2)

In this section, we investigate what attribute levels make respondents choose high ratings of considering the decision as “legitimate”, as opposed to be willing to accept it. Specifically, we build a new outcome variable that is the score on Q2 minus the score on Q1. Figure L1 shows the MMs for this difference. This reveals that egotropic representation leads respondents to choose different ratings on the two outcomes. When the decision is in line with personal preferences, respondents on average give a higher rating on the acceptance scale than on the legitimate scale. In other words, incongruent decision were regarded as legitimate, but not acceptable to the same degree. This may be due to the more personal scope of Q2, as it asks respondents about a personal processing of or acting towards the decision (accepting the decision), whereas Q1 asks for a more general and abstract assessment (legitimacy of the decision).

However, importantly we find no sizable differences in respondents ratings of decisions as legitimate or acceptable with regard to sociotropic representation or any other attribute levels. This further underlines the robustness of our results.

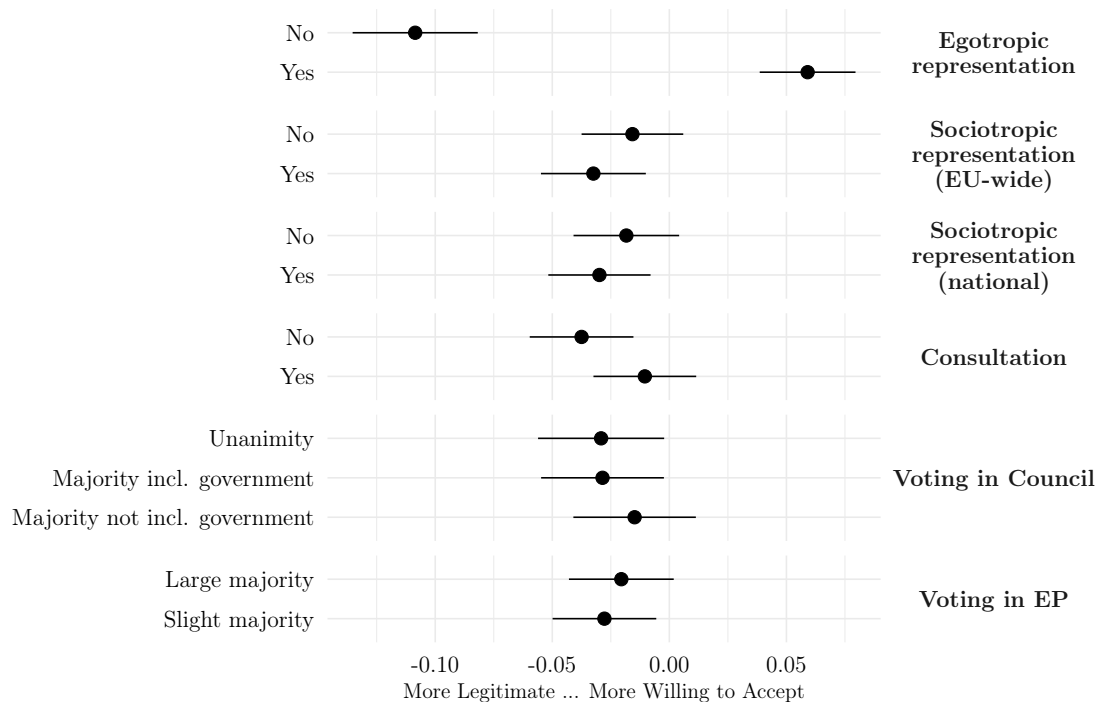


Figure L1: Difference in Ratings between Accept and Legitimate

M Simulation of Sociotropic Effects

To better illustrate the impact of taking sociotropic effects into account for policy-making, we simulate a population of 693 citizens in seven countries ($7 * 99$). Within each simulated country, citizens are assigned binary preferences towards a policy drawn from a beta distribution with varying parameters between countries. Specifically, some countries are simulated to be more positive overall, while others are strongly opposed.²² We then create 20 decisions per level of public support for a decision, proceeding in 0.01 increments, which results in 2020 simulated decisions from 0 (nobody) to support of 1 (all citizens). Finally, we calculate the change in legitimacy perceptions based on the estimates presented in the paper in Figure 2: If a respondent's preference is satisfied, she receives an increase of 0.77 points on the legitimacy scale, while she loses 0.77 points in case her preference is not satisfied (0.77 is half-way the difference in MMs between respondents that are egotropically represented and those that are not). In a second model, each simulated citizen receives additional increases/decreases depending on whether the majorities of all citizens ($+/- 0.085$ points) or citizens in their respective country ($+/- 0.095$ points) have their preferences satisfied.

Figure M1 shows the average simulated change in legitimacy for a citizen belonging to the group of the 25% most opposed towards the decision. For each of the 101 support levels (0, 0.01, 0.02,...,1), we take the average of the 20 simulations run at that level. We plot both models in the left panel: the one only taking egotropic effects into account and the one including sociotropic effects. In both cases, we can see that this group of citizens experiences a decrease in legitimacy if the decision is unpopular (towards the left of the x-axis). This makes sense, as both the individual preferences of the citizens are violated and both overall and country-wide public opinion is against the decision. When we look at very popular decisions, we see a stark increase in legitimacy as more and more citizens, even those immensely critical towards the decision, get convinced.

Crucially, we can see a gap between the model with and the one without sociotropic effects. For unpopular decisions, the model with sociotropic effects points to an additional negative effect of public opinion: not only are citizens dissatisfied with the decision individually, they also observe that the public in their country as well as overall opposes the decision, further lowering legitimacy. Around the point that the decision is attractive to half the population, we can see an increase in legitimacy when taking sociotropic effects into account: now, more and more citizens live in countries in which the majority of the public supports the decision. This effect and the overall support for the decision are added to the individual benefit citizens begin to draw from a very popular decision.

Panel b) shows the difference between taking sociotropic effects into account and ignoring them: ignoring sociotropic representation effects leads us to underestimate both the negative

²²One country is simulated with a symmetrical distribution around a mean of 0.5, and the others are simulated with an increasingly extreme distribution towards both sides of the distribution.

impact of unpopular decisions as well as the positive impact of popular decisions, especially on those most critical towards the policy. Crucially, the positive values right of 0.75 (when the most critical citizens get convinced) suggest that our finding of sociotropic effects make such decisions with very high support more attractive to policy-makers than we thought they are before discovering these effects.

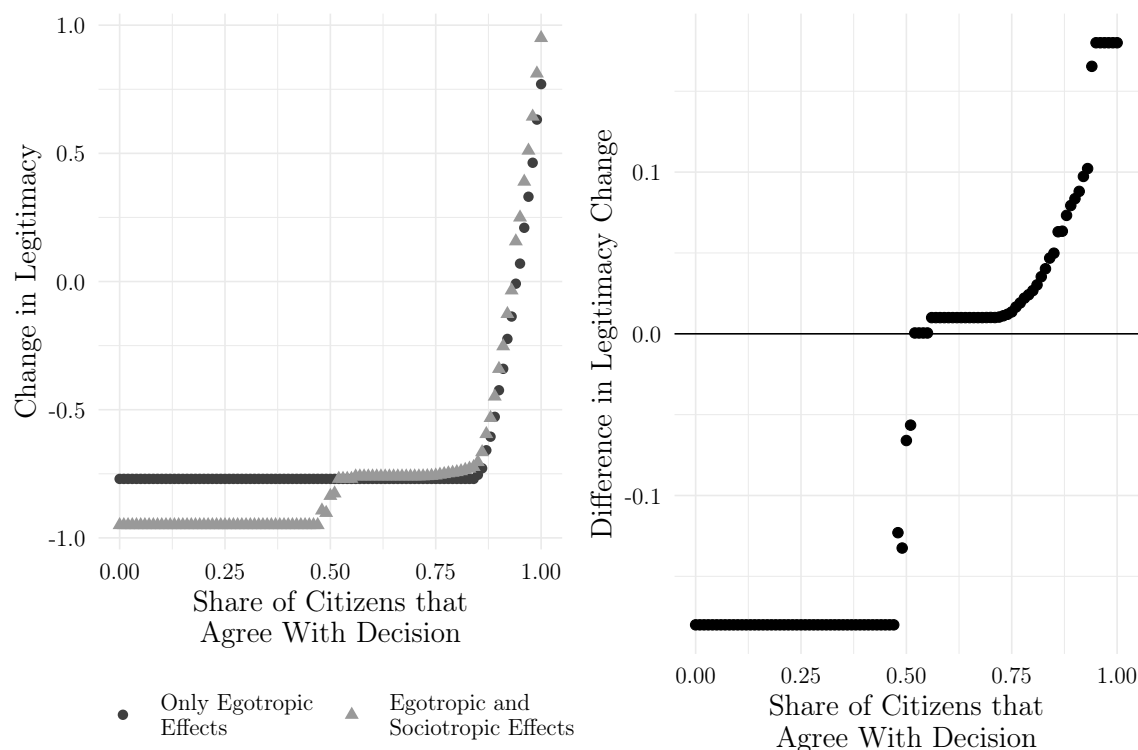


Figure M1: Simulation of Change in Legitimacy By Public Support of Decision
Note: Left: Estimated change in legitimacy for given support level of decision. Right: Difference in legitimacy change after including sociotropic effects.

N Questionnaires

Our English source questionnaire was translated into French, German, Italian, Polish, and Spanish by professional translators and translations were verified with political scientists who were native speakers in these languages.

N.1 Source Questionnaire in English

Intro _main: Welcome to our short survey. This is a survey on political attitudes towards the European Union and political parties. All your data is collected anonymously and will only be used for research. You can interrupt or exit the survey at any time. First, we will start with some questions about you.

Question 1: In political matters people talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

- Scale from "Left" to "Right" (0 to 10)

Question 2: In general elections, many citizens do not manage to cast their vote or do not take part in the election for other reasons. If there were a general election held tomorrow, which party would you vote for, or would you not vote?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: Generally speaking, do you think that the <COUNTRY'S> membership of the EU is...?

- A good thing (1)
- A bad thing (2)
- Neither a good thing nor a bad thing (3)
- Don't Know (4)

Question 4: Do you see yourself as...?

- <NATIONALITY> only (1)
- <NATIONALITY> and European (2)

- European and <NATIONALITY> (3)
- European only (4)
- None of the above (5)

issue_intro: The next section is about your views regarding the European Union. There are no right or wrong answers, we are only interested in your personal opinion.

issue1_environ: Which of the following two political options would you prefer for the EU?

- Increase environmental protection at the cost of more regulation for businesses (1)
- Decrease environmental protection with the benefit of less regulation for businesses (2)

issue2_consum: Which of the following two political options would you prefer for the EU?

- Increase consumer protection at the cost of more bureaucracy for businesses (1)
- Decrease consumer protection with the benefit of less bureaucracy for businesses (2)

issue3_finance: Which of the following two political options would you prefer for the EU?

- Increase financial support for weak economies, creating costs for economically stronger member states (1)
- Decrease financial support for weak economies, reducing costs for economically stronger member states (2)

issue4_military: Which of the following two political options would you prefer for the EU?

- Increase military cooperation between member states (1)
- Decrease military cooperation between member states (2)

issue5_refugees: Which of the following two political options would you prefer for the EU?

- Increase the reallocation of refugees between member states (1)

- Decrease the reallocation of refugees between member states (2)

Introtext _legit: We will now show you five hypothetical political decisions by the EU that are not about actual decisions in the news today. However, for each case please imagine a situation in which this decision was taken and give us your opinion on it.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette _eu: The European Union has taken a decision that will \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$ \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ of the members of the European Parliament voted in favor. \$Voting in Council\$

Vignette _eu _Q1: On a scale from 1 to 7, how legitimate do you think this decision is?

- Scale from 1 (not at all legitimate) to 7 (very legitimate)

Vignette _eu _Q2: On a scale from 1 to 7, how willing are you to accept this decision?

- Scale from 1 (not at all willing) to 7 (very willing)

Thanks a lot for your participation. Before you leave, we would like to remind you that all political decisions and political parties shown in this survey were hypothetical.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - increase environmental protection at the cost of more regulation for businesses
 - decrease environmental protection with the benefit of less regulation for businesses
 - increase consumer protection at the cost of more bureaucracy for businesses
 - decrease consumer protection with the benefit of less bureaucracy for businesses
 - increase financial support for weak economies, creating costs for economically stronger member states

- decrease financial support for weak economies, reducing costs for economically stronger member states
 - increase military cooperation between member states
 - decrease military cooperation between member states
 - increase the reallocation of refugees between member states
 - decrease the reallocation of refugees between member states
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - Most EU citizens support this decision, most <NATIONALITY> support it.
 - Most EU citizens support this decision, most <NATIONALITY> oppose it.
 - Most EU citizens oppose this decision, most <NATIONALITY> support it.
 - Most EU citizens oppose this decision, most <NATIONALITY> oppose it.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - In this instance, the European Commission asked EU citizens and interest groups to submit their views on the topic.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Slightly more than half
 - Most
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - All national governments voted in favor
 - Most national governments voted in favor, some voted against the decision including the <COUNTRY> government
 - Most national governments voted in favor including the <COUNTRY> government, some voted against the decision

N.2 French Translation of Source Questionnaire

Intro _main: Bienvenue sur notre bref sondage! Ce sondage concerne les attitudes politiques vis-à-vis de l'Union Européenne et des partis politiques. Vos données seront toutes collectées de manière anonyme et seront uniquement utilisées à des fins de recherche. Vous pourrez à tout moment interrompre ou quitter le sondage. Nous allons tout d'abord vous poser des questions sur vous.

Question 1: En politique, on parle de gauche et de droite. Où vous situeriez-vous sur l'échelle suivante ?

- Scale from "Left" to "Right" (0 to 10)

Question 2: Lors d'élections législatives, de nombreux électeurs n'arrivent pas à exprimer un vote ou s'abstiennent de voter pour d'autres raisons. S'il devait y avoir des élections législatives demain, pour quel parti voteriez-vous ? Vous abstiendriez-vous ?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: D'une façon générale, pensez-vous que, pour la France, le fait de faire partie de l'Union européenne est...?

- Une bonne chose (1)
- Une mauvaise chose (2)
- Une chose ni bonne, ni mauvaise (3)
- NSP (4)

Question 4: Vous voyez-vous comme... ?

- Français/e uniquement (1)
- Français/e et Européen/ne (2)
- Européen/ne et Français/e (3)
- Européen/ne uniquement (4)
- Rien de tout cela (5)

issue_intro: La section suivante concerne votre opinion sur l'Union Européenne. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses. Nous souhaitons seulement connaître votre opinion personnelle.

issue1_environ: Laquelle des deux options politiques privilégieriez-vous pour l'UE ?

- Renforcer la protection environnementale au prix d'une réglementation accrue des entreprises (1)
- Diminuer la protection environnementale avec l'avantage d'une réglementation réduite des entreprises (2)

issue2_consum: Laquelle des deux options politiques privilégieriez-vous pour l'UE ?

- Renforcer la protection des consommateurs au prix d'une bureaucratie accrue pour les entreprises (1)
- Diminuer la protection des consommateurs avec l'avantage d'une bureaucratie réduite pour les entreprises (2)

issue3_finance: Laquelle des deux options politiques privilégieriez-vous pour l'UE ?

- Accroître le soutien financier aux économies faibles, ce qui augmenterait les coûts pour les États membres économiquement plus forts (1)
- Diminuer le soutien financier aux économies faibles, ce qui réduirait les coûts pour les États membres économiquement plus forts (2)

issue4_military: Laquelle des deux options politiques privilégieriez-vous pour l'UE ?

- Renforcer la coopération militaire entre les États membres (1)
- Réduire la coopération militaire entre les États membres (2)

issue5_refugees: Laquelle des deux options politiques privilégieriez-vous pour l'UE ?

- Accroître la répartition des réfugiés entre les États membres (1)
- Réduire la répartition des réfugiés entre les États membres (2)

Introtext legit: Nous allons vous exposer cinq décisions politiques hypothétiques prises par l’UE. Ce ne sont pas des décisions réelles dont on parle actuellement dans les médias. Essayez toutefois d’imaginer, pour chacun des cas, une situation dans laquelle une décision a été prise et donnez votre avis à ce sujet.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette_eu: L’Union Européenne a pris une décision qui \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$ \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ des membres du Parlement européen ont voté pour. \$Voting in Council\$

Vignette_eu_Q1: Sur une échelle de 1 à 7, comment jugez-vous la légitimité de cette décision ?

- Scale from 1 (pas du tout légitime) to 7 (tout à fait légitime)

Vignette_eu_Q2: Sur une échelle de 1 à 7, dans quelle mesure seriez-vous prêt à accepter cette décision ?

- Scale from 1 (pas du tout prêt(e) à l’accepter) to 7 (tout à fait prêt(e) à l’accepter)

Merci beaucoup pour votre participation. Avant de terminer, nous souhaitons vous rappeler que toutes les décisions et tous les partis politiques de ce sondage étaient hypothétiques.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - renforcera la protection environnementale au prix d’une réglementation accrue des entreprises
 - diminuera la protection environnementale avec l’avantage d’une réglementation réduite des entreprises
 - renforcera la protection des consommateurs au prix d’une bureaucratie accrue pour les entreprises
 - diminuera la protection des consommateurs avec l’avantage d’une bureaucratie réduite pour les entreprises

- accroîtra le soutien financier aux économies faibles, ce qui augmenterait les coûts pour les États membres économiquement plus forts
 - diminuera le soutien financier aux économies faibles, ce qui réduirait les coûts pour les États membres économiquement plus forts
 - renforcera la coopération militaire entre les États membres
 - réduira la coopération militaire entre les États membres
 - accroîtra la répartition des réfugiés entre les États membres
 - réduira la répartition des réfugiés entre les États membres
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - La plupart des citoyens de l’UE soutiennent cette décision, la plupart des Français la soutiennent.
 - La plupart des citoyens de l’UE soutiennent cette décision, la plupart des Français s’y opposent.
 - La plupart des citoyens de l’UE s’opposent à cette décision, la plupart des Français la soutiennent.
 - La plupart des citoyens de l’UE s’opposent à cette décision, la plupart des Français s’y opposent.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - Dans ce cas, la Commission européenne a demandé aux citoyens de l’UE et à des groupes d’intérêts de donner leur opinion à ce sujet.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Un peu plus de la moitié
 - La plupart
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - Les gouvernements nationaux ont tous voté pour.
 - La plupart des gouvernements nationaux ont voté pour, mais certains ont voté contre cette décision, y compris le gouvernement français.
 - La plupart des gouvernements nationaux ont voté pour, y compris le gouvernement français, mais certains ont voté contre cette décision.

N.3 Screenshot of Vignette Task (French)

Décision 1:

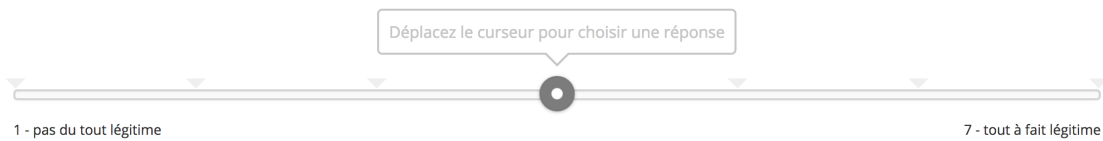
L'Union Européenne a pris une décision qui accroîtra le soutien financier aux économies faibles, ce qui augmenterait les coûts pour les États membres économiquement plus forts.

La plupart des citoyens de l'UE soutiennent cette décision, la plupart des Français la soutiennent. Dans ce cas, la Commission européenne a demandé aux citoyens de l'UE et à des groupes d'intérêts de donner leur opinion à ce sujet.

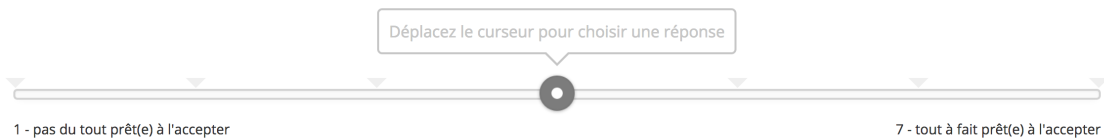
La plupart des membres du Parlement européen ont voté pour.

La plupart des gouvernements nationaux ont voté pour, mais certains ont voté contre cette décision, y compris le gouvernement français.

Sur une échelle de 1 à 7, comment jugez-vous la légitimité de cette décision ?



Sur une échelle de 1 à 7, dans quelle mesure seriez-vous prêt à accepter cette décision ?



N.4 German Translation of Source Questionnaire

Intro_main: Willkommen zu unserer kurzen Umfrage. Dies ist eine Umfrage zu politischen Einstellungen in Bezug auf die Europäische Union und politischen Parteien. All Ihre Daten werden anonymisiert gespeichert und ausschließlich zu Forschungszwecken verwendet. Sie können die Umfrage jederzeit unterbrechen oder verlassen. Fangen wir zuerst mit einigen Fragen zu Ihrer Person an.

Question 1: In politischen Fragen spricht man von links und rechts. Wo würden Sie sich auf der folgenden Skala einordnen?

- Scale from "Links" to "Rechts" (0 to 10)

Question 2: Bei Bundestagswahlen schaffen es viele Bürger nicht ihre Stimme abzugeben oder nehmen aus anderen Gründen nicht an der Wahl teil. Wenn morgen Bundestagswahlen stattfinden würden, welche Partei würden Sie wählen, oder würden Sie nicht zur Wahl gehen?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: Ist die Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in der EU Ihrer Meinung nach im Allgemeinen...?

- Eine gute Sache (1)
- Eine schlechte Sache (2)
- Weder eine gute noch eine schlechte Sache (3)
- Weiß nicht / Keine Angabe (4)

Question 4: Sehen Sie sich selbst...

- nur als Deutsche/r (1)
- als Deutsche/r und Europäer/in (2)
- als Europäer/in und Deutsche/r oder (3)
- nur als Europäer/in? (4)
- Keine dieser Antworten (5)

issue_intro: Im nächsten Abschnitt geht es um Ihre Ansichten zur Europäischen Union. Es gibt weder richtige noch falsche Antworten – uns interessiert ausschließlich Ihre persönliche Meinung.

issue1_environ: Welche der beiden folgenden politischen Optionen würden Sie für die EU bevorzugen?

- Verstärkung des Umweltschutzes auf Kosten einer größeren Regulierung von Unternehmen (1)
- Abbau des Umweltschutzes zugunsten einer geringeren Regulierung von Unternehmen (2)

issue2_consum: Welche der beiden folgenden politischen Optionen würden Sie für die EU bevorzugen?

- Stärkung des Verbraucherschutzes auf Kosten eines größeren bürokratischen Aufwands für Unternehmen (1)
- Abbau des Verbraucherschutzes zugunsten eines geringeren bürokratischen Aufwands für Unternehmen (2)

issue3_finance: Welche der beiden folgenden politischen Optionen würden Sie für die EU bevorzugen?

- Erhöhung der Finanzhilfen für schwächere Volkswirtschaften wodurch Kosten für reichere Mitgliedsstaaten entstehen (1)
- Verringerung der Finanzhilfen für schwächere Volkswirtschaften wodurch Kosten für reichere Mitgliedsstaaten sinken (2)

issue4_military: Welche der beiden folgenden politischen Optionen würden Sie für die EU bevorzugen?

- Erhöhung der militärischen Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten (1)
- Verringerung der militärischen Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten (2)

issue5_refugees: Welche der beiden folgenden politischen Optionen würden Sie für die EU bevorzugen?

- Erhöhung der Umverteilung von Flüchtlingen zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten (1)

- Verringerung der Umverteilung von Flüchtlingen zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten (2)

Introtext_legit: Wir werden Ihnen nun fünf fiktive politische Entscheidungen der EU zeigen, die nichts mit tatsächlichen aktuellen Entscheidungen in den Nachrichten zu tun haben. Stellen Sie sich bitte dennoch vor, dass die jeweilige Entscheidung so getroffen wurde und teilen Sie uns Ihre Meinung dazu mit.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette_eu: Die Europäische Union hat eine Entscheidung getroffen, die \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$ \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ Abgeordneten des Europäischen Parlaments stimmten dafür. \$Voting in Council\$

Vignette_eu_Q1: Für wie legitim halten Sie diese Entscheidung auf einer Skala von 1 bis 7?

- Scale from 1 (überhaupt nicht legitim) to 7 (sehr legitim)

Vignette_eu_Q2: Wie sehr sind Sie – auf einer Skala von 1 bis 7 – dazu bereit, diese Entscheidung zu akzeptieren?

- Scale from 1 (überhaupt nicht bereit) to 7 (sehr bereit)

Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme. Bevor Sie diese Umfrage verlassen, möchten wir Sie nochmals darauf hinweisen, dass alle hier dargestellten politischen Entscheidungen und politischen Parteien rein hypothetisch waren.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - den Umweltschutz auf Kosten einer größeren Regulierung von Unternehmen verstärkt
 - den Umweltschutz zugunsten einer geringeren Regulierung von Unternehmen abbaut

- den Verbraucherschutz auf Kosten eines größeren bürokratischen Aufwands für Unternehmen stärkt
 - den Verbraucherschutz zugunsten eines geringeren bürokratischen Aufwands für Unternehmen abbaut
 - die Finanzhilfen für schwächere Volkswirtschaften erhöht, wodurch Kosten für reichere Mitgliedsstaaten entstehen
 - die Finanzhilfen für schwächere Volkswirtschaften verringert, wodurch Kosten für reichere Mitgliedsstaaten sinken
 - die militärische Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten erhöht
 - die militärische Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten verringert
 - die Umverteilung von Flüchtlingen zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten erhöht
 - die Umverteilung von Flüchtlingen zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten verringert
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - Die meisten EU-Bürger unterstützen diese Entscheidung, die meisten Deutschen unterstützen sie.
 - Die meisten EU-Bürger unterstützen diese Entscheidung, die meisten Deutschen lehnen sie ab.
 - Die meisten EU-Bürger lehnen diese Entscheidung ab, die meisten Deutschen unterstützen sie.
 - Die meisten EU-Bürger lehnen diese Entscheidung ab, die meisten Deutschen lehnen sie ab.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - In diesem Fall bat die Europäische Kommission EU-Bürger und Interessengruppen darum, ihre Ansichten zu dem Thema mitzuteilen.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Etwas mehr als die Hälfte der
 - Die meisten
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - Alle nationalen Regierungen stimmten dafür.
 - Die meisten nationalen Regierungen stimmten dafür, einige stimmten gegen die Entscheidung, darunter die deutsche Regierung.
 - Die meisten nationalen Regierungen, einschließlich der deutschen Regierung, stimmten dafür, einige stimmten gegen die Entscheidung.

N.5 Screenshot of Vignette Task (German)

Entscheidung 1:

Die Europäische Union hat eine Entscheidung getroffen, die die militärische Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Mitgliedsstaaten verringert.

Die meisten EU-Bürger unterstützen diese Entscheidung, die meisten Deutschen unterstützen sie. In diesem Fall bat die Europäische Kommission EU-Bürger und Interessengruppen darum, ihre Ansichten zu dem Thema mitzuteilen.

Etwas mehr als die Hälfte der Abgeordneten des Europäischen Parlaments stimmten dafür. Alle nationalen Regierungen stimmten dafür.

Für wie legitim halten Sie diese Entscheidung auf einer Skala von 1 bis 7?



Wie sehr sind Sie – auf einer Skala von 1 bis 7 – dazu bereit, diese Entscheidung zu akzeptieren?



N.6 Italian Translation of Source Questionnaire

Intro _main: Benvenuto/a al nostro sondaggio. Si tratta di un'indagine sull'atteggiamento politico verso l'Unione europea e i partiti politici. Tutti i dati verranno raccolti in forma anonima e utilizzati esclusivamente a fini di ricerca. Puoi sempre interrompere o abbandonare il sondaggio in qualsiasi momento. Inizieremo con alcune domande su di te.

Question 1: In merito alle questioni politiche, la gente parla di sinistra e destra. Come ti posizioneresti nella seguente scala?

- Scale from "sinistra" to "destra" (0 to 10)

Question 2: Alle elezioni politiche, molti cittadini non riescono a votare o non prendono parte al voto per altri motivi. Se domani vi fossero nuove elezioni politiche, per quale partito voteresti, oppure sceglieresti di astenerti?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: In linea generale, lei pensa che per l'Italia far parte dell'Unione Europea sia...?

- Un bene (1)
- Un male (2)
- né un bene né un male (3)
- non so (4)

Question 4: Lei si vede ... ?

- Soltanto italiano/a (1)
- Italiano/a ed europeo/a (2)
- Europeo/a e italiano/a (3)
- Soltanto europeo/a (4)
- Nessuna delle risposte precedenti (5)

issue_intro: La prossima sezione riguarda la tua opinione sull'Unione Europea. Non ci sono risposte giuste o sbagliate. Siamo solamente interessati a conoscere la tua opinione personale.

issue1_environ: Quale delle due opzioni politiche seguenti preferiresti per l'UE?

- Aumentare la protezione dell'ambiente anche se dovesse portare a un aumento delle norme per le aziende (1)
- Ridurre la protezione dell'ambiente per diminuire le norme per le aziende (2)

issue2_consum: Quale delle due opzioni politiche seguenti preferiresti per l'UE?

- Aumentare la protezione dei consumatori, anche se dovesse portare a una maggiore burocrazia per le aziende (1)
- Ridurre la protezione dei consumatori, a favore di una minore burocrazia per le aziende (2)

issue3_finance: Quale delle due opzioni politiche seguenti preferiresti per l'UE?

- Aumentare il supporto finanziario alle economie deboli, andando ad aumentare i costi per gli Stati membri economicamente più forti (1)
- Ridurre il supporto finanziario alle economie deboli, andando a ridurre i costi per gli Stati membri economicamente più forti (2)

issue4_military: Quale delle due opzioni politiche seguenti preferiresti per l'UE?

- Aumentare la collaborazione militare tra gli Stati membri (1)
- Ridurre la collaborazione militare tra gli Stati membri (2)

issue5_refugees: Quale delle due opzioni politiche seguenti preferiresti per l'UE?

- Aumentare la redistribuzione dei rifugiati tra gli Stati membri (1)
- Ridurre la redistribuzione dei rifugiati tra gli Stati membri (2)

Introtext_legit: Ora, ti mostreremo cinque decisioni politiche ipotetiche dell'UE, che non riguardano fatti reali e attuali. Tuttavia, per ogni ipotesi, ti chiediamo di immaginare una

situazione in cui può essere presa tale decisione e di fornire la tua opinione in merito.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette_eu: L'Unione europea ha preso la decisione di \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$ \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ dei membri del Parlamento Europeo ha votato a favore. \$Voting in Council\$

Vignette_eu_Q1: Su una scala da 1 a 7, quanto pensi che sia legittima questa decisione?

- Scale from 1 (totalmente illegittima) to 7 (completamente legittima)

Vignette_eu_Q2: Su una scala da 1 a 7, quanto sei disposto/a ad accettare questa decisione?

- Scale from 1 (assolutamente non disposto/a) to 7 (assolutamente disposto/a)

Grazie mille per la partecipazione. Prima che te ne vada, desideriamo ricordarti che tutte le decisioni politiche e i partiti politici presentati in questa indagine erano ipotetici.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - aumentare la protezione dell'ambiente anche se dovesse portare a un aumento delle norme per le aziende
 - ridurre la protezione dell'ambiente per diminuire le norme per le aziende
 - aumentare la protezione dei consumatori, anche se dovesse portare a una maggiore burocrazia per le aziende
 - ridurre la protezione dei consumatori, a favore di una minore burocrazia per le aziende
 - aumentare il supporto finanziario alle economie deboli, andando ad aumentare i costi per gli Stati membri economicamente più forti
 - ridurre il supporto finanziario alle economie deboli, andando a ridurre i costi per gli Stati membri economicamente più forti

- aumentare la collaborazione militare tra gli Stati membri
 - ridurre la collaborazione militare tra gli Stati membri
 - aumentare la redistribuzione dei rifugiati tra gli Stati membri
 - ridurre la redistribuzione dei rifugiati tra gli Stati membri
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - La maggioranza dei cittadini Europei supporta questa decisione, la maggioranza degli Italiani la supporta.
 - La maggioranza dei cittadini Europei supporta questa decisione, la maggioranza degli Italiani si oppone.
 - La maggioranza dei cittadini UE si oppone a questa decisione, la maggioranza degli italiani la supporta.
 - La maggioranza dei cittadini UE si oppone a questa decisione, la maggioranza degli italiani si oppone.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - In questo caso, la Commissione europea ha chiesto ai cittadini europei e ai gruppi di interesse di inviare il proprio parere sul tema.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Poco più della metà
 - La maggior parte
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - Tutti i governi nazionali hanno votato a favore.
 - La maggior parte dei governi nazionali hanno votato a favore, alcuni hanno votato contro la decisione, tra cui il governo italiano.
 - La maggior parte dei governi nazionali hanno votato a favore, tra cui il governo italiano, mentre alcuni hanno votato contro la decisione.

N.7 Screenshot of Vignette Task (Italian)

Decisione 1:

L'Unione europea ha preso la decisione di ridurre la protezione dell'ambiente per diminuire le norme per le aziende.

La maggioranza dei cittadini Europei supporta questa decisione, la maggioranza degli Italiani la supporta. Poco più della metà dei membri del Parlamento Europeo ha votato a favore.

La maggior parte dei governi nazionali hanno votato a favore, tra cui il governo italiano, mentre alcuni hanno votato contro la decisione.

Su una scala da 1 a 7, quanto pensi che sia legittima questa decisione?



Su una scala da 1 a 7, quanto sei disposto/a ad accettare questa decisione?



N.8 Polish Translation of Source Questionnaire

Intro_main: Witamy w naszej krótkiej ankiecie. Niniejsza ankieta dotyczy postaw politycznych względem Unii Europejskiej oraz partii politycznych. Wszystkie Pana/Pani dane są gromadzone w sposób anonimowy i zostaną wykorzystane wyłącznie do badań. Ankietę można przerwać lub opuścić ją w dowolnym momencie. Najpierw zaczniemy od pytań na temat Pana/Pani.

Question 1: W sprawach dotyczących polityki ludzie mówią o lewicy i prawicy. Gdzie umieścił(a)by Pan/Pani siebie w skali 0-10?

- Scale from "lewica" to "prawica" (0 to 10)

Question 2: W wyborach powszechnych wielu obywatelom nie udaje się oddać swoich głosów lub nie biorą oni udziału w wyborach z innych powodów. Gdyby wybory odbyły się jutro, na którą partię głosował(a)by Pan/Pani? Czy też nie głosował(a)by Pan/Pani wcale?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: Ogólnie mówiąc, czy uważa Pan(i), że polskie członkostwo w Unii Europejskiej jest ...?

- czymś dobrym (1)
- czymś złym (2)
- ani czymś dobrym, ani czymś złym (3)
- trudno powiedzieć (4)

Question 4: Czy uważa się Pan(i) za...?

- wyłącznie Polaka/Polkę (1)
- Polaka/Polkę i Europejczyka/Europejkę (2)
- Europejczyka/Europejkę i Polaka/Polkę (3)
- wyłącznie Europejczyka/Europejkę (4)
- Żadne z powyższych (5)

issue_intro: Kolejna część dotyczy Pana/Pani poglądów na temat Unii Europejskiej. Nie ma tu prawidłowych bądź nieprawidłowych odpowiedzi, zależy nam tylko na Pana/Pani osobistej opinii.

issue1_environ: Który z poniższych dwóch programów dla UE preferował(a)by Pan/Pani?

- Zwiększenie ochrony środowiska kosztem większej regulacji dla firm (1)
- Zmniejszenie ochrony środowiska z korzyścią w postaci mniejszej regulacji dla firm (2)

issue2_consum: Który z poniższych dwóch programów dla UE preferował(a)by Pan/Pani?

- Zwiększenie ochrony konsumenckiej kosztem większej biurokracji dla firm (1)
- Zmniejszenie ochrony konsumenckiej z korzyścią w postaci mniejszej biurokracji dla firm (2)

issue3_finance: Który z poniższych dwóch programów dla UE preferował(a)by Pan/Pani?

- Zwiększenie wsparcia finansowego dla państw członkowskich o słabych gospodarkach, tworząc koszty dla ekonomicznie silniejszych państw członkowskich (1)
- Zmniejszenie wsparcia finansowego dla państw członkowskich o słabych gospodarkach, obniżając koszty dla ekonomicznie silniejszych państw członkowskich (2)

issue4_military: Który z poniższych dwóch programów dla UE preferował(a)by Pan/Pani?

- Zwiększenie współpracy wojskowej pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi (1)
- Zmniejszenie współpracy wojskowej pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi (2)

issue5_refugees: Który z poniższych dwóch programów dla UE preferował(a)by Pan/Pani?

- Zwiększenie podziału uchodźców pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi (1)
- Zmniejszenie podziału uchodźców pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi (2)

Introtext_legit: Przedstawimy teraz Panu/Pani pięć hipotetycznych decyzji UE które nie mają nic wspólnego z prawdziwymi decyzjami przedstawianymi obecnie w wiadomościach. Jednakże prosimy założyć sytuację, w której podjęto taką decyzję i prosimy podzielić się

Pana/Pani opinią na jej temat.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette _eu: Unia Europejska podjęła decyzję o \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$. \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ posłów Parlamentu Europejskiego głosowało za. \$Voting in Council\$

Vignette _eu_Q1: W skali 1-7, na ile prawowita jest taka decyzja według Pana/Pani?

- Scale from 1 (nie jest w ogóle prawowita) to 7 (jak najbardziej prawowita)

Vignette _eu_Q2: W skali 1-7, na ile skłonny(-a) był(a)by Pan/Pani zaakceptować taką decyzję?

- Scale from 1 (w żadnym zakresie) to 7 (w pełnym zakresie)

Dziękujemy bardzo za Pana/Pani udział w niniejszej ankiecie. Zanim opuści Pan/Pani ankietę, chcielibyśmy przypomnieć, że wszystkie decyzje i partie polityczne w niniejszej ankiecie były hipotetyczne.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - zmniejszeniu ochrony środowiska z korzyścią w postaci mniejszych regulacji dla firm
 - zwiększeniu ochrony środowiska kosztem większych regulacji dla firm
 - zwiększeniu ochrony konsumenckiej kosztem większej biurokracji dla firm
 - zmniejszeniu ochrony konsumenckiej z korzyścią w postaci mniejszej biurokracji dla firm
 - zwiększeniu wsparcia finansowego dla państw członkowskich o słabych gospodarkach, tworząc koszty dla ekonomicznie silniejszych państw członkowskich
 - zmniejszeniu wsparcia finansowego dla państw członkowskich o słabych gospodarkach, obniżając koszty dla ekonomicznie silniejszych państw członkowskich
 - zwiększeniu współpracy wojskowej pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi

- zmniejszeniu współpracy wojskowej pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi
 - zwiększeniu podziału uchodźców pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi
 - zmniejszeniu podziału uchodźców pomiędzy państwami członkowskimi
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - Większość obywateli UE popiera tę decyzję, większość Polaków popiera ją.
 - Większość obywateli UE popiera tę decyzję, większość Polaków sprzeciwia się jej.
 - Większość obywateli UE sprzeciwia się tej decyzji, większość Polaków popiera ją.
 - Większość obywateli UE sprzeciwia się tej decyzji, większość Polaków sprzeciwia się jej.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - W tym przypadku Komisja Europejska poprosiła obywateli UE i grupy interesu o przesłanie swoich poglądów na ten temat.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Trochę więcej niż połowa
 - Większość
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - Wszystkie rządy krajowe głosowały za.
 - Większość rządów krajowych głosowała za, niektóre głosowały przeciw decyzji, w tym rząd Polski.
 - Większość rządów krajowych głosowała za, w tym rząd Polski, niektóre głosowały przeciw decyzji.

N.9 Screenshot of Vignette Task (Polish)

Decyzja 1:

Unia Europejska podjęła decyzję o zwiększeniu ochrony konsumenckiej kosztem większej biurokracji dla firm.

Większość obywateli UE popiera tę decyzję, większość Polaków popiera ją.

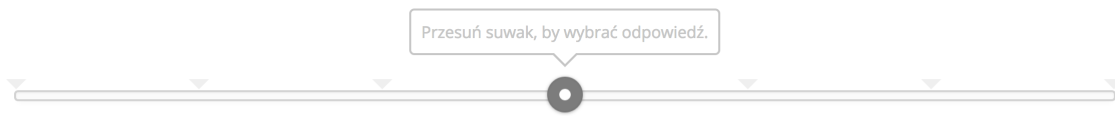
W tym przypadku Komisja Europejska poprosiła obywateli UE i grupy interesu o przesłanie swoich poglądów na ten temat.

Większość posłów Parlamentu Europejskiego głosowało za.

Wszystkie rządy krajowe głosowały za.

W skali 1-7, na ile prawowita jest taka decyzja według Pana/Pani?

Przesuń suwak, by wybrać odpowiedź.

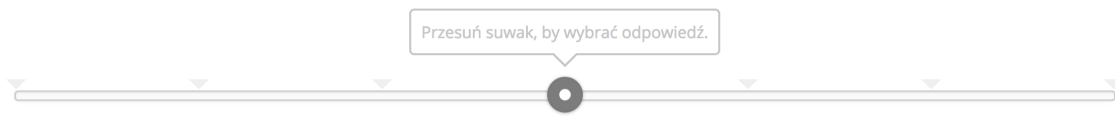


1 - nie jest w ogóle prawowita

7 - jak najbardziej prawowita

W skali 1-7, na ile skłonny(-a) był(a)by Pan/Pani zaakceptować taką decyzję?

Przesuń suwak, by wybrać odpowiedź.



1 - w żadnym zakresie

7 - w pełnym zakresie

N.10 Spanish Translation of Source Questionnaire

Intro _main: Bienvenido/a a nuestra breve encuesta. El objetivo de esta encuesta es estudiar actitudes políticas sobre la Unión Europea y los partidos políticos. Todos tus datos serán recopilados de forma anónima y solo se utilizarán con fines de investigación. Puedes interrumpir o salir de la encuesta en cualquier momento. Primero, empezaremos con algunas preguntas sobre ti.

Question 1: En cuestiones políticas, la gente habla de izquierdas y de derechas. En la siguiente escala, ¿dónde te situarías?

- Scale from "izquierda" to "derecha" (0 to 10)

Question 2: En las elecciones generales, muchos/as ciudadanos/as no consiguen votar o no participan en las elecciones por otros motivos. Si mañana se celebraran unas elecciones generales, ¿a qué partido votarías?

- List of parties and the option to not vote

Question 3: En general, ¿piensas tú que para España el hecho de ser miembro de la Unión Europea es...?

- Algo bueno (1)
- Algo malo (2)
- Ni bueno ni malo (3)
- No sabe (4)

Question 4: ¿Te ves tú como...?

- Sólo español/a (1)
- Español/a y europeo/a (2)
- Europeo/a y español/a (3)
- Solo europeo/a (4)
- Ninguna de las anteriores (5)

issue_intro: La siguiente sección trata de tus opiniones sobre la Unión Europea. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas: solo nos interesa tu opinión personal.

issue1_environ: ¿Cuál de las dos siguientes opciones políticas preferirías para la UE?

- Aumentar la protección del medio ambiente a costa de una mayor regulación para las empresas (1)
- Disminuir la protección del medio ambiente con la ventaja de una menor regulación para las empresas (2)

issue2_consum: ¿Cuál de las dos siguientes opciones políticas preferirías para la UE?

- Aumentar la protección al consumidor a costa de una mayor burocracia para las empresas (1)
- Disminuir la protección al consumidor con la ventaja de una menor burocracia para las empresas (2)

issue3_finance: ¿Cuál de las dos siguientes opciones políticas preferirías para la UE?

- Aumentar el apoyo financiero a las economías débiles, lo que generaría costes para los Estados miembros con economías más fuertes (1)
- Disminuir el apoyo financiero a las economías débiles, lo que reduciría costes para los Estados miembros con economías más fuertes (2)

issue4_military: ¿Cuál de las dos siguientes opciones políticas preferirías para la UE?

- Aumentar la cooperación militar entre los Estados miembros (1)
- Disminuir la cooperación militar entre los Estados miembros (2)

issue5_refugees: ¿Cuál de las dos siguientes opciones políticas preferirías para la UE?

- Aumentar la reubicación de refugiados entre los Estados miembros (1)
- Disminuir la reubicación de refugiados entre los Estados miembros (2)

Introtext _legit: A continuación, te mostraremos cinco supuestas decisiones políticas de la UE. No tienen que ver con ninguna decisión real que pudiera aparecer en las noticias de hoy. Aun así, imagina en cada caso que de verdad se ha tomado esta decisión y dinos lo que piensas al respecto.

FIVE VIGNETTES WITH TWO QUESTIONS EACH

Data to be embedded (enclosed by the \$ signs) is shown at the end of the questionnaire.

Vignette _eu: La Unión Europea ha tomado la decisión de \$Egotropic representation\$. \$Sociotropic representation\$ \$Consultation\$ \$Voting in EP\$ de los miembros del Parlamento Europeo votaron a favor. \$Voting in Council\$.

Vignette _eu_Q1: En una escala del 1 al 7, ¿qué tan legítima crees que es esta decisión?

- Scale from 1 (no es legítima en absoluto) to 7 (es totalmente legítima)

Vignette _eu_Q2: En una escala del 1 al 7, ¿qué tan dispuesto/a estás a aceptar esta decisión?

- Scale from 1 (no estoy dispuesto/a en absoluto) to 7 (estoy totalmente dispuesto/a)

Muchas gracias por tu participación. Antes de irte, nos gustaría recordarte que todas las decisiones y partidos políticos que aparecen en esta encuesta son ficticios.

Embedded data for vignettes:

- \$Egotropic representation\$ (<ISSUE AREA TEXT>s):
 - aumentar la protección del medio ambiente a costa de una mayor regulación para las empresas
 - disminuir la protección del medio ambiente con la ventaja de una menor regulación para las empresas
 - aumentar la protección al consumidor a costa de una mayor burocracia para las empresas
 - disminuir la protección al consumidor con la ventaja de una menor burocracia para las empresas

- aumentar el apoyo financiero a las economías débiles, lo que generaría costes para los Estados miembros con economías más fuertes
 - disminuir el apoyo financiero a las economías débiles, lo que reduciría costes para los Estados miembros con economías más fuertes
 - aumentar la cooperación militar entre los Estados miembros
 - disminuir la cooperación militar entre los Estados miembros
 - aumentar la reubicación de refugiados/as entre los Estados miembros
 - disminuir la reubicación de refugiados/as entre los Estados miembros
- \$Sociotropic representation\$:
 - La mayoría de los ciudadanos de la UE apoyan esta decisión, la mayoría de los españoles la apoyan.
 - La mayoría de los ciudadanos de la UE apoyan esta decisión, la mayoría de los españoles se oponen.
 - La mayoría de los ciudadanos de la UE se oponen a esta decisión, la mayoría de los españoles la apoyan.
 - La mayoría de los ciudadanos de la UE se oponen a esta decisión, la mayoría de los españoles se oponen.
- \$Consultation\$:
 - En este caso, la Comisión Europea pidió a los ciudadanos de la UE y a los grupos de interés que presentaran sus puntos de vista sobre el tema.
 - <BLANK, NO SENTENCE SHOWN>
- \$Voting in EP\$:
 - Un poco más de la mitad
 - La mayoría
- \$Voting in Council\$:
 - Todos los Gobiernos nacionales votaron a favor.
 - La mayoría de los Gobiernos nacionales votaron a favor; algunos votaron en contra de la decisión, incluido el Gobierno de España.
 - La mayoría de los Gobiernos nacionales votaron a favor, incluido el Gobierno de España; algunos votaron en contra de la decisión.

N.11 Screenshot of Vignette Task (Spanish)

Decisión 1:

La Unión Europea ha tomado la decisión de disminuir la reubicación de refugiados/as entre los Estados miembros.

La mayoría de los ciudadanos de la UE apoyan esta decisión, la mayoría de los españoles la apoyan.
Un poco más de la mitad de los miembros del Parlamento Europeo votaron a favor.
Todos los Gobiernos nacionales votaron a favor.

En una escala del 1 al 7, ¿qué tan legítima crees que es esta decisión?



En una escala del 1 al 7, ¿qué tan dispuesto/a estás a aceptar esta decisión?

