Appendix: Substance over Procedural Sovereignty: Why Authoritarians and Nationalists Oppose European Courts.

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# Appendix A: Sample recruitment and composition

Our sample recruitment strategy followed the pre-registered recruitment plan as closely as possible.[[1]](#footnote-1) 3000 respondents were recruited via Qualtrics Panels from Denmark, France, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom respectively. For each country, quotas for age, gender and education were generated based on census benchmarks for the voting-age population. However, because certain sub-populations were comparatively rare in the online sample compared to the overall population, we were forced to relax our quotas during the process of fielding the survey in order to reach the 3000 respondent target in each country. We primarily relaxed restrictions on education and age in some of the countries. Below, we outline the original target quotas in each country along with the actual composition of the sample that we recruited. Overall, our samples tend to match the original targets quite well. However, in Poland and Denmark, we substantially under-sampled less-educated respondents though the college/non-college split still roughly matches the population. In most countries, we also slightly under-sampled older respondents (65+) and over-sampled younger respondents.

*Quotas: United Kingdom*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | |
| Age | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| 18-24 | 12% | 360 | 11.9% | 362 |
| 25-34 | 19% | 570 | 19.1% | 578 |
| 35-44 | 18% | 540 | 18.1% | 549 |
| 45-54 | 20% | 600 | 19.8% | 600 |
| 55-64 | 17% | 510 | 17% | 516 |
| 65+ | 14% | 420 | 14.1% | 428 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3033 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | |
| Gender | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| Male | 49% | 1470 | 48.8% | 1470 |
| Female | 51% | 1530 | 51.2% | 1533 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3033 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | |
| Education | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| ISCED 0-2 | 21% | 630 | 16.2% | 492 |
| ISCED 3-4 | 40% | 1200 | 42.7% | 1294 |
| ISCED 5-8 | 39% | 1170 | 41.1% | 1247 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3033 |
|  |  |  | |

*Quotas: Denmark*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| 18-24 | 12% | 360 | 13.5% | 404 |
| 25-34 | 17% | 510 | 18.0% | 541 |
| 35-44 | 18% | 540 | 15.7% | 471 |
| 45-54 | 20% | 600 | 19.2% | 576 |
| 55-64 | 17% | 510 | 17.4% | 524 |
| 65+ | 16% | 480 | 16.2% | 487 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3003 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Gender | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| Male | 50% | 1500 | 50.4% | 1513 |
| Female | 50% | 1500 | 49.6% | 1490 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3003 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Education | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| ISCED 0-2 | 23.87% | 716 | 3.0% | 89 |
| ISCED 3-4 | 44.30% | 1329 | 56.1% | 1685 |
| ISCED 5-8 | 31.83% | 955 | 40.9% | 1229 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3003 |

*Quotas: Spain*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| 18-24 | 8.26% | 248 | 9.9% | 303 |
| 25-34 | 14.87% | 446 | 19.4% | 591 |
| 35-49 | 30.15% | 905 | 32.6% | 994 |
| 50-64 | 23.90% | 717 | 24.4% | 744 |
| 65+ | 22.82% | 685 | 13.7% | 418 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3050 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Gender | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| Male | 48.58% | 1457 | 49.0% | 1494 |
| Female | 51.42% | 1543 | 51.0% | 1556 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3050 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Education | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| ISCED 0-2 | 45.37% | 1361 | 26.9% | 819 |
| ISCED 3-4 | 23.35% | 701 | 29.7% | 905 |
| ISCED 5-8 | 31.28% | 938 | 43.5% | 1326 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3050 |

*Quotas: France*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| 18-24 | 10.34% | 310 | 9.9% | 299 |
| 25-34 | 15.55% | 467 | 16.0% | 482 |
| 35-49 | 25.22% | 757 | 25.3% | 762 |
| 50-64 | 24.71% | 741 | 25.1% | 757 |
| 65+ | 24.19% | 726 | 23.6% | 712 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Gender | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| Male | 47.67% | 1430 | 47.7% | 1436 |
| Female | 52.33% | 1570 | 52.3% | 1576 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3012 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Education | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| ISCED 0-2 | 24.49% | 735 | 22.8% | 686 |
| ISCED 3-4 | 44.59% | 1338 | 45.7% | 1376 |
| ISCED 5-8 | 30.92% | 928 | 31.5% | 950 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3012 |

*Quotas: Poland*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| 18-24 | 10.36% | 311 | 11.5% | 349 |
| 25-34 | 19.10% | 573 | 21.4% | 648 |
| 35-49 | 25.70% | 771 | 27.8% | 841 |
| 50-64 | 25.38% | 761 | 25.2% | 762 |
| 65+ | 19.47% | 584 | 14.0% | 425 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3025 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Gender | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| Male | 47.76% | 1433 | 48.0% | 1451 |
| Female | 52.24% | 1567 | 52.0% | 1574 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3025 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Education | Percentage | Target Quota | Actual Percentage | Actual Count |
| ISCED 0-2 | 12.85% | 386 | 3.2% | 98 |
| ISCED 3-4 | 62.32% | 1870 | 68.3% | 2066 |
| ISCED 5-8 | 24.83% | 745 | 28.5% | 861 |
| **Total** | 100% | 3000 | 100% | 3025 |

# Appendix B: Post-stratification strata

We want to generate strata that are predictive of the outcome to improve the precision of our estimator. In our pre-registration plan, we specified age, gender, education and survey country as the four covariates on which we would construct the strata to generate post-stratified estimates. Because we did not know ex-ante how many respondents in each treatment condition would appear in a hypothetical set of bins, we could not determine the strata ex-ante. We need to balance choosing very fine strata with having enough observations in each stratum to be able to estimate the conditional sampling variance of the treatment effect estimator. Below, we describe the set of coarsenings that we used for each experiment in our analyses and the number of observations assigned to each treatment condition within each stratum.

Table B1: Number of observations by treatment condition in each covariate stratum – Deportation vignette

|  | **Deportation** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Entitled, No Court (N=1244)** | **Entitled, Overturned (N=1263)** | **Entitled, Upheld (N=1262)** | **Not Entitled, No Court (N=1267)** | **Not Entitled, Overturned (N=1274)** | **Not Entitled, Upheld (N=1259)** |
| **Stratum** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Denmark, Female, College, 18-34 | 16 (1.3%) | 19 (1.5%) | 11 (0.9%) | 15 (1.2%) | 14 (1.1%) | 21 (1.7%) |
| Denmark, Female, College, 35-50 | 11 (0.9%) | 14 (1.1%) | 21 (1.7%) | 14 (1.1%) | 11 (0.9%) | 15 (1.2%) |
| Denmark, Female, College, 51+ | 21 (1.7%) | 20 (1.6%) | 18 (1.4%) | 21 (1.7%) | 26 (2.0%) | 15 (1.2%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 25 (2.0%) | 28 (2.2%) | 34 (2.7%) | 31 (2.4%) | 31 (2.4%) | 33 (2.6%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 19 (1.5%) | 17 (1.3%) | 20 (1.6%) | 16 (1.3%) | 13 (1.0%) | 23 (1.8%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 37 (3.0%) | 34 (2.7%) | 27 (2.1%) | 20 (1.6%) | 36 (2.8%) | 26 (2.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 18-34 | 8 (0.6%) | 16 (1.3%) | 13 (1.0%) | 13 (1.0%) | 11 (0.9%) | 9 (0.7%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 35-50 | 17 (1.4%) | 13 (1.0%) | 16 (1.3%) | 20 (1.6%) | 20 (1.6%) | 14 (1.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 51+ | 29 (2.3%) | 29 (2.3%) | 16 (1.3%) | 23 (1.8%) | 16 (1.3%) | 27 (2.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 23 (1.8%) | 20 (1.6%) | 26 (2.1%) | 16 (1.3%) | 21 (1.6%) | 20 (1.6%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 17 (1.4%) | 20 (1.6%) | 19 (1.5%) | 18 (1.4%) | 23 (1.8%) | 13 (1.0%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 27 (2.2%) | 27 (2.1%) | 29 (2.3%) | 36 (2.8%) | 37 (2.9%) | 32 (2.5%) |
| France, Female, College, 18-34 | 15 (1.2%) | 16 (1.3%) | 19 (1.5%) | 9 (0.7%) | 11 (0.9%) | 22 (1.7%) |
| France, Female, College, 35-50 | 8 (0.6%) | 13 (1.0%) | 13 (1.0%) | 20 (1.6%) | 20 (1.6%) | 11 (0.9%) |
| France, Female, College, 51+ | 11 (0.9%) | 18 (1.4%) | 14 (1.1%) | 12 (0.9%) | 12 (0.9%) | 13 (1.0%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 18 (1.4%) | 18 (1.4%) | 15 (1.2%) | 30 (2.4%) | 28 (2.2%) | 27 (2.1%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 30 (2.4%) | 34 (2.7%) | 22 (1.7%) | 17 (1.3%) | 28 (2.2%) | 19 (1.5%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 40 (3.2%) | 40 (3.2%) | 40 (3.2%) | 37 (2.9%) | 39 (3.1%) | 41 (3.3%) |
| France, Male, College, 18-34 | 9 (0.7%) | 6 (0.5%) | 12 (1.0%) | 9 (0.7%) | 8 (0.6%) | 11 (0.9%) |
| France, Male, College, 35-50 | 17 (1.4%) | 9 (0.7%) | 12 (1.0%) | 18 (1.4%) | 12 (0.9%) | 11 (0.9%) |
| France, Male, College, 51+ | 11 (0.9%) | 14 (1.1%) | 15 (1.2%) | 16 (1.3%) | 12 (0.9%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 21 (1.7%) | 23 (1.8%) | 14 (1.1%) | 26 (2.1%) | 16 (1.3%) | 18 (1.4%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 22 (1.8%) | 11 (0.9%) | 13 (1.0%) | 13 (1.0%) | 25 (2.0%) | 18 (1.4%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 47 (3.8%) | 49 (3.9%) | 62 (4.9%) | 46 (3.6%) | 44 (3.5%) | 46 (3.7%) |
| Poland, Female, College, 18-34 | 20 (1.6%) | 20 (1.6%) | 15 (1.2%) | 22 (1.7%) | 27 (2.1%) | 17 (1.4%) |
| Poland, Female, College, 35-50 | 8 (0.6%) | 15 (1.2%) | 7 (0.6%) | 15 (1.2%) | 15 (1.2%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| Poland, Female, College, 51+ | 6 (0.5%) | 10 (0.8%) | 10 (0.8%) | 4 (0.3%) | 6 (0.5%) | 12 (1.0%) |
| Poland, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 40 (3.2%) | 28 (2.2%) | 35 (2.8%) | 28 (2.2%) | 32 (2.5%) | 35 (2.8%) |
| Poland, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 27 (2.2%) | 19 (1.5%) | 35 (2.8%) | 24 (1.9%) | 29 (2.3%) | 17 (1.4%) |
| Poland, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 32 (2.6%) | 33 (2.6%) | 40 (3.2%) | 35 (2.8%) | 39 (3.1%) | 33 (2.6%) |
| Poland, Male, College, 18-34 | 13 (1.0%) | 7 (0.6%) | 14 (1.1%) | 14 (1.1%) | 6 (0.5%) | 10 (0.8%) |
| Poland, Male, College, 35-50 | 10 (0.8%) | 16 (1.3%) | 6 (0.5%) | 12 (0.9%) | 16 (1.3%) | 8 (0.6%) |
| Poland, Male, College, 51+ | 7 (0.6%) | 8 (0.6%) | 9 (0.7%) | 11 (0.9%) | 6 (0.5%) | 8 (0.6%) |
| Poland, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 16 (1.3%) | 27 (2.1%) | 27 (2.1%) | 20 (1.6%) | 14 (1.1%) | 19 (1.5%) |
| Poland, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 26 (2.1%) | 28 (2.2%) | 26 (2.1%) | 30 (2.4%) | 21 (1.6%) | 27 (2.1%) |
| Poland, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 49 (3.9%) | 38 (3.0%) | 26 (2.1%) | 39 (3.1%) | 41 (3.2%) | 54 (4.3%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 18-34 | 31 (2.5%) | 23 (1.8%) | 33 (2.6%) | 28 (2.2%) | 30 (2.4%) | 41 (3.3%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 35-50 | 21 (1.7%) | 30 (2.4%) | 26 (2.1%) | 20 (1.6%) | 24 (1.9%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 51+ | 6 (0.5%) | 12 (1.0%) | 9 (0.7%) | 8 (0.6%) | 12 (0.9%) | 4 (0.3%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 18 (1.4%) | 18 (1.4%) | 20 (1.6%) | 16 (1.3%) | 18 (1.4%) | 19 (1.5%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 16 (1.3%) | 19 (1.5%) | 18 (1.4%) | 23 (1.8%) | 19 (1.5%) | 23 (1.8%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 30 (2.4%) | 30 (2.4%) | 27 (2.1%) | 33 (2.6%) | 24 (1.9%) | 38 (3.0%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 18-34 | 6 (0.5%) | 6 (0.5%) | 13 (1.0%) | 9 (0.7%) | 13 (1.0%) | 8 (0.6%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 35-50 | 8 (0.6%) | 18 (1.4%) | 16 (1.3%) | 21 (1.7%) | 19 (1.5%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 51+ | 31 (2.5%) | 19 (1.5%) | 25 (2.0%) | 24 (1.9%) | 19 (1.5%) | 18 (1.4%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 20 (1.6%) | 21 (1.7%) | 16 (1.3%) | 12 (0.9%) | 18 (1.4%) | 15 (1.2%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 31 (2.5%) | 29 (2.3%) | 24 (1.9%) | 23 (1.8%) | 23 (1.8%) | 28 (2.2%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 25 (2.0%) | 33 (2.6%) | 29 (2.3%) | 44 (3.5%) | 35 (2.7%) | 27 (2.1%) |
| UK, Female, College, 18-34 | 14 (1.1%) | 23 (1.8%) | 25 (2.0%) | 19 (1.5%) | 21 (1.6%) | 22 (1.7%) |
| UK, Female, College, 35-50 | 23 (1.8%) | 17 (1.3%) | 16 (1.3%) | 19 (1.5%) | 18 (1.4%) | 17 (1.4%) |
| UK, Female, College, 51+ | 15 (1.2%) | 15 (1.2%) | 18 (1.4%) | 23 (1.8%) | 15 (1.2%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 27 (2.2%) | 25 (2.0%) | 19 (1.5%) | 23 (1.8%) | 19 (1.5%) | 26 (2.1%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 15 (1.2%) | 26 (2.1%) | 27 (2.1%) | 20 (1.6%) | 23 (1.8%) | 24 (1.9%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 29 (2.3%) | 31 (2.5%) | 29 (2.3%) | 26 (2.1%) | 31 (2.4%) | 35 (2.8%) |
| UK, Male, College, 18-34 | 13 (1.0%) | 18 (1.4%) | 14 (1.1%) | 9 (0.7%) | 12 (0.9%) | 13 (1.0%) |
| UK, Male, College, 35-50 | 19 (1.5%) | 12 (1.0%) | 18 (1.4%) | 14 (1.1%) | 15 (1.2%) | 19 (1.5%) |
| UK, Male, College, 51+ | 32 (2.6%) | 14 (1.1%) | 15 (1.2%) | 26 (2.1%) | 20 (1.6%) | 10 (0.8%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 15 (1.2%) | 19 (1.5%) | 19 (1.5%) | 27 (2.1%) | 25 (2.0%) | 16 (1.3%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 14 (1.1%) | 18 (1.4%) | 21 (1.7%) | 14 (1.1%) | 24 (1.9%) | 18 (1.4%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 32 (2.6%) | 30 (2.4%) | 34 (2.7%) | 36 (2.8%) | 31 (2.4%) | 33 (2.6%) |

Table B2: Number of observations by treatment condition in each covariate stratum – Quran burning vignette

|  | **Quran burning** | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Entitled, Overturned (N=760)** | **Entitled, Upheld (N=753)** | **Not Entitled, Overturned (N=755)** | **Not Entitled, Upheld (N=751)** |
| **Stratum** |  |  |  |  |
| Denmark, Female, College, 18-34 | 18 (2.4%) | 13 (1.7%) | 17 (2.3%) | 25 (3.3%) |
| Denmark, Female, College, 35-50 | 32 (4.2%) | 23 (3.1%) | 34 (4.5%) | 17 (2.3%) |
| Denmark, Female, College, 51+ | 34 (4.5%) | 30 (4.0%) | 26 (3.4%) | 24 (3.2%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 34 (4.5%) | 42 (5.6%) | 35 (4.6%) | 41 (5.5%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 34 (4.5%) | 22 (2.9%) | 23 (3.0%) | 27 (3.6%) |
| Denmark, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 34 (4.5%) | 38 (5.0%) | 50 (6.6%) | 44 (5.9%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 18-34 | 25 (3.3%) | 32 (4.2%) | 24 (3.2%) | 8 (1.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 35-50 | 27 (3.6%) | 20 (2.7%) | 22 (2.9%) | 26 (3.5%) |
| Denmark, Male, College, 51+ | 32 (4.2%) | 37 (4.9%) | 38 (5.0%) | 32 (4.3%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 35 (4.6%) | 34 (4.5%) | 42 (5.6%) | 46 (6.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 27 (3.6%) | 27 (3.6%) | 20 (2.6%) | 23 (3.1%) |
| Denmark, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 46 (6.1%) | 55 (7.3%) | 47 (6.2%) | 54 (7.2%) |
| UK, Female, College, 18-34 | 28 (3.7%) | 36 (4.8%) | 29 (3.8%) | 31 (4.1%) |
| UK, Female, College, 35-50 | 32 (4.2%) | 22 (2.9%) | 24 (3.2%) | 21 (2.8%) |
| UK, Female, College, 51+ | 21 (2.8%) | 17 (2.3%) | 16 (2.1%) | 32 (4.3%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 38 (5.0%) | 23 (3.1%) | 34 (4.5%) | 37 (4.9%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 38 (5.0%) | 34 (4.5%) | 40 (5.3%) | 33 (4.4%) |
| UK, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 51 (6.7%) | 40 (5.3%) | 35 (4.6%) | 50 (6.7%) |
| UK, Male, College, 18-34 | 16 (2.1%) | 23 (3.1%) | 33 (4.4%) | 21 (2.8%) |
| UK, Male, College, 35-50 | 19 (2.5%) | 20 (2.7%) | 28 (3.7%) | 21 (2.8%) |
| UK, Male, College, 51+ | 37 (4.9%) | 35 (4.6%) | 26 (3.4%) | 30 (4.0%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 29 (3.8%) | 39 (5.2%) | 30 (4.0%) | 30 (4.0%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 29 (3.8%) | 30 (4.0%) | 41 (5.4%) | 29 (3.9%) |
| UK, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 44 (5.8%) | 61 (8.1%) | 41 (5.4%) | 49 (6.5%) |

Table B3: Number of observations by treatment condition in each covariate stratum – Eviction vignette

|  | **Eviction** | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Entitled, Overturned (N=756)** | **Entitled, Upheld (N=743)** | **Not Entitled, Overturned (N=762)** | **Not Entitled, Upheld (N=764)** |
| **Stratum** |  |  |  |  |
| France, Female, College, 18-34 | 24 (3.2%) | 17 (2.3%) | 21 (2.8%) | 16 (2.1%) |
| France, Female, College, 35-50 | 20 (2.6%) | 17 (2.3%) | 23 (3.0%) | 27 (3.5%) |
| France, Female, College, 51+ | 25 (3.3%) | 16 (2.2%) | 18 (2.4%) | 25 (3.3%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 44 (5.8%) | 30 (4.0%) | 35 (4.6%) | 29 (3.8%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 35 (4.6%) | 37 (5.0%) | 34 (4.5%) | 31 (4.1%) |
| France, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 67 (8.9%) | 71 (9.6%) | 76 (10.0%) | 58 (7.6%) |
| France, Male, College, 18-34 | 11 (1.5%) | 9 (1.2%) | 12 (1.6%) | 13 (1.7%) |
| France, Male, College, 35-50 | 24 (3.2%) | 19 (2.6%) | 23 (3.0%) | 19 (2.5%) |
| France, Male, College, 51+ | 21 (2.8%) | 22 (3.0%) | 25 (3.3%) | 28 (3.7%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 24 (3.2%) | 35 (4.7%) | 29 (3.8%) | 31 (4.1%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 12 (1.6%) | 19 (2.6%) | 24 (3.1%) | 29 (3.8%) |
| France, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 71 (9.4%) | 70 (9.4%) | 61 (8.0%) | 73 (9.6%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 18-34 | 52 (6.9%) | 37 (5.0%) | 46 (6.0%) | 44 (5.8%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 35-50 | 38 (5.0%) | 35 (4.7%) | 30 (3.9%) | 26 (3.4%) |
| Spain, Female, College, 51+ | 19 (2.5%) | 16 (2.2%) | 10 (1.3%) | 21 (2.7%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 18-34 | 26 (3.4%) | 27 (3.6%) | 24 (3.1%) | 21 (2.7%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 35-50 | 30 (4.0%) | 34 (4.6%) | 35 (4.6%) | 41 (5.4%) |
| Spain, Female, Non-College, 51+ | 32 (4.2%) | 41 (5.5%) | 50 (6.6%) | 38 (5.0%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 18-34 | 14 (1.9%) | 14 (1.9%) | 15 (2.0%) | 19 (2.5%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 35-50 | 22 (2.9%) | 32 (4.3%) | 27 (3.5%) | 26 (3.4%) |
| Spain, Male, College, 51+ | 32 (4.2%) | 24 (3.2%) | 30 (3.9%) | 34 (4.5%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 18-34 | 27 (3.6%) | 32 (4.3%) | 23 (3.0%) | 21 (2.7%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 35-50 | 41 (5.4%) | 46 (6.2%) | 38 (5.0%) | 41 (5.4%) |
| Spain, Male, Non-College, 51+ | 45 (6.0%) | 43 (5.8%) | 53 (7.0%) | 53 (6.9%) |

# Appendix F. Questionnaire

**Public support for national and European adjudication on Human rights (UK)**

**Start of Block: Consent form - UK**

|  |
| --- |
|  |

QConsent I agree to participate in a research study conducted by the University of Copenhagen. I understand that this study is being conducted on behalf of the principal investigators XXXXX. Individuals must be at least 18 years old to participate in this study.   In order to analyse responses to the questionnaire, my answers will be recorded. No identifying information about me will be made public and any views I express will be kept completely confidential. Findings from this study will be reported in scholarly journals, at academic seminars, and at research association meetings. The data will be stored at a secured location and retained indefinitely. I understand that there are no foreseeable risks from my participating in this study. My participation is voluntary. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.   The questionnaire should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Further information regarding this study may be obtained by contacting XXXX   If you choose to participate, please select “I agree to participate” below and then click next.  If you choose not to participate, you will automatically exit the survey.

* I agree to participate (1)
* I don't agree to participate (2)

*Skip To: End of Block If I agree to participate in a research study conducted by the University of Copenhagen. I understan... != I don't agree to participate*

**End of Block: Consent form - UK**

**Start of Block: Demographic questions for the quotas - UK**

QQuotas1 *We would first like to ask you some socio-demographic questions.*   
  
 Gender

* Male (1)
* Female (2)
* Other (3) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

*Skip To: End of Block If We would first like to ask you some socio-demographic questions. Gender = Other*

|  |
| --- |
|  |

QQuotas2 How old are you?

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

*Skip To: End of Block If How old are you? < 18*

QQuotas3 What is the highest educational level that you have attained?

* ISCED 0: Early childhood education (‘less than primary’ ) (1)
* ISCED 1: Primary education (2)
* ISCED 2: Lower secondary education (3)
* ISCED 3: Upper secondary education (4)
* ISCED 4: Post-secondary non-tertiary education (NOT a University degree) (5)
* ISCED 5: Short-cycle tertiary education (6)
* ISCED 6: Bachelor’s or equivalent level (7)
* ISCED 7: Master’s or equivalent level (8)
* ISCED 8: Doctoral or equivalent level (9)

*Skip To: End of Block If What is the highest educational level that you have attained? =*

**End of Block: Demographic questions for the quotas - UK**

**Start of Block: Trust and satisfaction government - UK**

QA1 *Next, we would like to ask you some general questions regarding your attitudes towards democracy and institutions.*   
  Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people? Please tell me on a score of 1 to 7, where 1 means “you can’t be too careful” and 7 means that “most people can be trusted”.

* You can’t be too careful in dealing with people (1) (2)
* (2) (3)
* (3) (4)
* (4) (5)
* (5) (6)
* (6) (10)
* Most people can be trusted (7) (11)

QA2 In general terms, the United Kingdom’s membership of the European Union is…

* Very good (1)
* Good (2)
* Neither good nor bad (3)
* Bad (4)
* Very bad (5)

QA3 In general terms, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United Kingdom?

* Very Satisfied (1)
* Satisfied (2)
* Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied (3)
* Dissatisfied (4)
* Very dissatisfied (5)

QA4 In general terms, how satisfied are you with the way the rule of law works in the United Kingdom?

* Very Satisfied (1)
* Satisfied (2)
* Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied (3)
* Dissatisfied (4)
* Very dissatisfied (5)

QA5 For each of the following institutions, please tell us on a score from 1 to 7 how much you trust them. 1 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 7 means you have complete trust (Please mark one in each row).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) (1) | (2) (2) | (3) (3) | (4) (4) | (5) (5) | (6) (6) | (7) (7) |
| The UK government (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The European Union (4) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The UK judicial system (9) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The public administration / officials (10) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The police (11) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The European Court of Human Rights (7) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Court of Justice of the European Union (8) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The UK Supreme Court (5) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**End of Block: Trust and satisfaction government - UK**

**Start of Block: Issue opinions - UK**

QB1 *Now we would like you to tell us your positions on some specific issues. Below, we have provided a series of statements and we would like you to tell us if you agree or disagree with them.*   
 Gay, lesbian, transgender and bisexual people should have the same rights as heterosexual people.

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

QB2 National security should be protected at all costs even if it means sacrificing individual freedom.

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

QB3 The number of immigrants coming into the United Kingdom should be reduced.

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

QB4 The public display of Islamic symbols in the United Kingdom, such as burkas, veils, and minarets, should be reduced.

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

QB5 It is too easy for landlords and banks to evict people from their homes.

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

QB6 Globalization, especially connections to other economies, has been good for the United Kingdom

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Page Break |  |

QB7 The judiciary sometimes makes mistakes, but which do you think is worse?

* To convict an innocent person (1)
* To let a guilty person go free (2)

QB8 Public authorities that manage welfare programs sometimes make mistakes, but which do you think is worse?

* To give social benefits to someone who does not qualify (1)
* To deny social benefits to someone who qualifies (2)

QB9 Public authorities that decide on the legal status of immigrants sometimes make mistakes, but which do you think is worse?

* To give legal status to someone who misrepresented their situation back home (e.g. does not face a death threat back home) (1)
* To deny legal status to someone who did not misrepresent their situation (e.g. faces a death threat back home) (2)

QB10 Public authorities that decide on the eviction of people from their houses sometimes make mistakes, but which do you think is worse?

* To evict people who were treated unfairly by a landlord or mortgage company. (1)
* To not evict people who were treated fairly by their landlord or mortgage company but who have not paid their rent or mortgage. (2)

**End of Block: Issue opinions - UK**

**Start of Block: Values and ideology - UK**

|  |
| --- |
|  |

QC1 In politics, people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. In an ideological scale, where 0 represents the extreme left, 10 represents the extreme right and 5 denotes the center, where would you place yourself?

* Extreme left (0) (1)
* (1) (2)
* (2) (3)
* (3) (4)
* (4) (5)
* (5) (6)
* (6) (7)
* (7) (8)
* (8) (9)
* (9) (10)
* Extreme right (10) (11)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| QC2 Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements | Strongly agree (1) | Agree (2) | Slightly agree (8) | Slightly disagree (9) | Disagree (10) | Strongly disagree (11) |
| Police should avoid using violence against suspects. (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| It is necessary to use force against people who are a threat to authority. (2) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Traditions are the foundation of a healthy society and should be respected. (3) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| People should challenge social traditions in order to advance society. (4) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| In the United Kingdom, our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others. (5) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| I would rather be a citizen of the United Kingdom than of any other country in the world. (6) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

QC3 Howe proud are you of being British

* Very proud (1)
* Somewhat proud (2)
* Not very proud (3)
* Not proud at all (4)
* I am not British (5)

QC4 Which option best characterises how you identify yourself?

* British only (1)
* British and European (2)
* European and British (3)
* European only (4)
* Neither British nor European (5)

**End of Block: Values and ideology - UK**

**Start of Block: Vignette - UK**

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = can*

*And judgment = agree*

V-I-CA Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities can deport the foreigner. The question was then brought before a European court, which agreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the foreigner should be deported.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = can*

*And judgment = disagree*

V-I-CD Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities can deport the foreigner. The question was then brought before a European court, which disagreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the foreigner should remain in the UK.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = cannot*

*And judgment = agree*

V-I-NA Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities cannot deport the foreigner. The question was then brought before a European court, which agreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the foreigner should remain in the UK.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = cannot*

*And judgment = disagree*

V-I-ND Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities cannot deport the foreigner. The question was then brought before a European court, which disagreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the foreigner should be deported.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = can*

*And judgment = nocourt*

V-I-C Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities can deport the foreigner.  The final decision is that the foreigner should be deported.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = immigration*

*And outcome = cannot*

*And judgment = nocourt*

V-I-N Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities decided to deport a foreigner who has been convicted of a crime. The foreigner appealed at a UK court that the decision to deport him violated his human rights. The UK court found that the authorities cannot deport the foreigner.  The final decision is that the foreigner should remain in the UK.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = quran*

*And outcome = can*

*And judgment = agree*

V-Q-CA   
Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities have fined an individual who burned the Quran for disturbing public order and inciting hatred. The individual appealed at a UK court that the decision violated her rights to freedom of speech. The UK court found that the authorities can impose the fine. The question was then brought before a European court, which agreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the British authorities can impose the fine.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = quran*

*And outcome = can*

*And judgment = disagree*

V-Q-CD Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities have fined an individual who burned the Quran for disturbing public order and inciting hatred. The individual appealed at a UK court that the decision violated her rights to freedom of speech. The UK court found that the authorities can impose the fine. The question was then brought before a European court, which disagreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the British authorities cannot impose the fine.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = quran*

*And outcome = cannot*

*And judgment = agree*

V-Q-NA Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities have fined an individual who burned the Quran for disturbing public order and inciting hatred. The individual appealed at a UK court that the decision violated her rights to freedom of speech. The UK court found that the authorities cannot impose the fine. The question was then brought before a European court, which agreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the British authorities cannot impose the fine.

*Display This Question:*

*If vignette = quran*

*And outcome = cannot*

*And judgment = disagree*

V-Q-ND Suppose that United Kingdom (UK) authorities have fined an individual who burned the Quran for disturbing public order and inciting hatred. The individual appealed at a UK court that the decision violated her rights to freedom of speech. The UK court found that the authorities cannot impose the fine. The question was then brought before a European court, which disagreed with the UK court. The final decision is that the British authorities can impose the fine.

D1 Do you agree or disagree with the final decision?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

D2 Do you agree that the UK government should implement the final decision?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

D3 Do you agree that the United Kingdom should continue to accept the authority of European courts?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

D4 Do you agree that many of the country’s problems could be dealt with more effectively if the government didn’t have to worry so much about courts intervening?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

D5 Do you agree that people should be able to sue the government in a British court if they believe that the government has violated their human rights?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

D6 Do you agree that the United Kingdom should stop letting international organisations tell us what we can and cannot do?

* Strongly agree (1)
* Agree (2)
* Slightly agree (3)
* Slightly disagree (4)
* Disagree (5)
* Strongly disagree (6)

**End of Block: Vignette - UK**

**Start of Block: General questions - UK**

QE1 In general, how interested are you in politics and public affairs?

* Very interested (1)
* Quite interested (2)
* Hardly interested (3)
* Not at all interested (4)

QE2 On an average weekday, how much of your time do you spend watching or reading about politics and current affairs (e.g. TV, internet, newspapers)?

* No time at all (8)
* Less than ½ hour (1)
* ½ hour to 1 hour (2)
* More than 1 hour, up to 1½ hours (3)
* More than 1½ hours, up to 2 hours (4)
* More than 2 hours, up to 2½ hours (5)
* More than 2½ hours, up to 3 hours (6)
* More than 3 hours (7)

QE3 In the past 12 months, have you… (check all that apply)

* Attended a protest or demonstration? (1)
* Contacted a politician or public officials? (2)
* Volunteered or worked in a political party or trade union? (3)
* Volunteered or worked in non-political organization or association? (4)
* Signed a petition? (5)
* Boycotted certain products? (6)
* Worked with others in your community to solve a community problem? (7)

QE4 Please rate how much you like each of the people or parties listed below:

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very much dislike (1) | Dislike (2) | Somewhat dislike (3) | Neither like nor dislike (4) | Somewhat like (5) | Like (6) | Very much like (7) |
| The Conservative Party (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Labour Party (2) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Liberal Democract Party (3) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Brexit Party (4) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boris Johnson (5) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jo Swinson (6) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jeremy Corbyn (7) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Nigel Farage (8) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

QE5 If there were a UK General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

* Conservative Party (10)
* Labour Party (2)
* Liberal Democrats (3)
* Scottish National Party (SNP) (4)
* Plaid Cymru (5)
* Brexit Party (13)
* Green Party (6)
* United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) (7)
* British National Party (BNP) (12)
* Change UK - The Independent Group for Change (14)
* Other (8) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_
* I would not vote (9)

QE6 Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?

* Not at all religious (0) (1)
* (1) (2)
* (2) (3)
* (3) (4)
* (4) (5)
* (5) (6)
* (6) (7)
* (7) (8)
* (8) (9)
* (9) (10)
* Very Religious (10) (11)

QE7 In which region of the United Kingdom do you live?

* Northern England (North West, North East, Yorkshire & the Humber) (1)
* Mid England (West Midlands, East Midlands & East of England) (2)
* Southern England (South West & South East) (3)
* Greater London (4)
* Wales (5)
* Scotland (6)
* Northern Ireland (7)
* Other (8) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

QE8 To what extent do you feel attached to or identified with… (Please mark one in each row).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (0) (1) | (1) (11) | (2) (2) | (3) (3) | (4) (4) | (5) (5) | (6) (6) | (7) (7) | (8) (8) | (9) (9) | (10) (10) |
| United Kingdom? (1) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Europe? (2) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Your region? (3) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Your municipality (4) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

QE9 Where are you employed?

* Self employed (1)
* Employee in a government or public institution (2)
* Employee in a private business or industry (3)
* Employee in a private non-profit organisation (4)
* Retired/pensioned (5)
* Homemaker not otherwise employed (6)
* Student (7)
* Unemployed (8)
* Other (9) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

QE10 Roughly how many pounds you earn monthly from employment and other incomes, after taxes and other deductions?

* Less than 550 £ (11)
* Between 550 and 1.099 £ (13)
* Between 1.100 and 1.499 £ (14)
* Between 1.500 and 1.799 £ (15)
* Between 1.800 and 2.199 £ (16)
* Between 2.200 and 2.599 £ (17)
* Between 2.600 and 2.999 £ (18)
* Between 3.000 and 3.699 £ (19)
* Between 3.700 and 5.500 £ (20)
* 5.500 £ or more (21)

QE11 Which of the following best describes the area where you live?

* Capital city (1)
* A big city (2)
* The suburbs or outskirts of a big city (3)
* A town or a small city (4)
* A country village (5)
* A farm or home in the countryside (6)

**End of Block: General questions - UK**

1. EGAP, registration ID 20191220AA (<http://egap.org/registration/6366>). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)