*Table A: Summary Statistics and associations (mean differences and correlations) between objective and subjective IVs*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Subjective deprivation | Globalization as opportunity | (sub)national identification | Supranational identification |
| *Categorical control variables* | *Mean difference* |
| Gender | T=6.40\*\*\* | T=3.01\*\* | T=-2.51\* | T=8.49\*\*\* |
| Male (44.58%) | 2.63 | 3.45 | 5.41 | 3.96 |
| Female (55.42%) | 2.69 | 3.38 | 5.44 | 3.79 |
| Internet Use  | T=-42.93\*\*\* | T=-21.69\*\*\* | T=9.64\*\*\* | T=-27.63\*\*\* |
| Non-Daily (59.02%) | 2.50 | 3.20 | 5.47 | 3.65 |
| Daily (40.98%) | 2.89 | 3.67 | 5.35 | 4.19 |
| Residence Size | F\*=124\*\*\* | F\*=4.23\*\* | F\*=35.87\*\*\* | F\*=43.48\*\*\* |
| Rural (37.29% | 2.65 | 3.36 | 5.51 | 3.83 |
| Small (34.46%) | 2.68 | 3.42 | 5.41 | 3.85 |
| Large (28.26%) | 2.65 | 3.46 | 5.34 | 3.94 |
| Immigrant Background | F\*=175.11\*\*\* | F\*=3.35\* | F\*=252.56\*\*\* | F\*=63.82\*\*\* |
| National (88.00%) | 2.66 | 3.42 | 5.50 | 3.85 |
| EU Migrant (6.35%) | 2.76 | 3.42 | 4.85 | 4.20 |
| Non-EU Migrant (5.65%) | 2.57 | 3.29 | 4.84 | 3.86 |
| SES | F\*= 338.83\*\*\* | F\*= 40.96\*\*\* | F\*=12.01\*\*\* | F\*= 72.00\*\*\* |
| Unemployed (11.50%) | 2.17 | 3.12 | 5.35 | 3.63 |
| Student (7.63%) | 2.81 | 3.77 | 5.29 | 4.24 |
| Unskilled Manual (8.63) | 2.39 | 3.24 | 5.42 | 3.45 |
| Skilled Manual (21.25%) | 2.52 | 3.24 | 5.50 | 3.70 |
| Office Worker (27.60%) | 2.78 | 3.38 | 5.45 | 3.89 |
| Professional Workers (5.50%) | 2.93 | 3.79 | 5.38 | 4.22 |
| Self-Employed (3.77%) | 2.69 | 3.15 | 5.40 | 3.93 |
| Company Owner (2.43%) | 2.96 | 3.73 | 5.32 | 4.11 |
| Mid-Range Manager (9.71%) | 2.98 | 3.67 | 5.47 | 4.19 |
| Top Manager (1.97%) | 3.12 | 3.82 | 5.31 | 4.25 |
| *Ordinal control variables* | *Correlation* |
| Age (centered) (SD: 18.18) |  -0.007 |  -0.046 |  0.104 |  -0.115 |
| Age end Education (centered) (SD: 4.91)  | 0.206 |  0.122 | -0.035 |  0.147 |

*Note*: for the categorical control variables, F\* statistics take into account heterogeneity of variance.

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table B. Coefficients of association of the 14 EU meaning categories (range from -1 to +1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| (1) Peace | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (2) Democracy | ,219 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (3) Travel | ,096 | ,107 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (4) Cult diversity | ,140 | ,167 | ,208 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (5) Stronger world | ,147 | ,148 | ,150 | ,170 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (6) Euro | ,083 | ,067 | ,131 | ,123 | ,089 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (7) Eco prosperity | ,121 | ,146 | ,055 | ,092 | ,118 | ,037 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (8) Soc protection | ,128 | ,164 | ,045 | ,117 | ,121 | ,021 | ,195 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| (9) Bureaucracy | ,028 | -,034 | ,008 | ,043 | -,006 | ,065 | -,062 | -,052 | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| (10) Waste of money | -,039 | -,093 | -,100 | -,045 | -,080 | -,010 | -,121 | -,065 | ,288 | 1 |  |  |  |
| (11) Unemployment | -,035 | -,051 | -,092 | -,024 | -,075 | ,024 | -,057 | ,000 | ,106 | ,201 | 1 |  |  |
| (12) Loss cult identity | -,047 | -,060 | -,057 | -,014 | -,043 | ,002 | -,068 | -,022 | ,121 | ,168 | ,139 | 1 |  |
| (13) Crime | ,011 | -,024 | -,002 | ,018 | -,022 | ,071 | -,059 | -,005 | ,155 | ,221 | ,277 | ,198 | 1 |
| (14) Not enough border control | ,001 | -,028 | ,005 | ,008 | -,005 | ,061 | -,048 | -,005 | ,136 | ,167 | ,151 | ,185 | ,291 |

Table C. The four EU-meaning dimensions (cosmopolitan, utilitarian, libertarian, communitarian) and attitudes toward immigrants regressed on socio-demographic characteristics, by controlling for between-country variation.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Cosmopolitan EU Meaning | Utilitarian EU Meaning | Libertarian EU Meaning | Communitarian EU Meaning | Tolerance toward immigrants |
| Office worker (ref) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | -0.055\*\*\* (-7.11) | -0.008 (-1.76) | 0.013\* (2.35) | 0.035\*\*\* (5.93) | -0.357\*\*\* (-5.38) |
| Student | 0.072\*\*\* (7.58) | 0.007 (1.13) | -0.049\*\*\* (-7.59) | -0.043\*\*\* (-5.92) | 0.342\*\*\* (4.20) |
| Unskilled manual workers | -0.061\*\*\* (-6.82) | -0.015\*\* (-2.72) | 0.007 (1.08) | 0.049\*\*\* (7.22) | -0.536\*\*\* (-6.99) |
| Skilled manual workers | -0.034\*\*\* (-5.19) | 0.007(1.67) | 0.009 (1.91) | 0.011\* (2.12) | -0.262\*\*\* (-4.68) |
| Professional | 0.027\*\* (2.67) | 0.011 (1.74) | -0.013 (-1.81) | -0.033\*\*\* (-4.32) | 0.309\*\*\* (3.62) |
| Self-employed | -0.021 (-1.76) | 0.008(1.06) | 0.007 (0.83) | 0.002 (0.25) | -0.236\* (-2.39) |
| Company owner | 0.003 (0.20) | 0.009 (1.08) | -0.005 (-0.52) | -0.011 (-1.06) | 0.051 (0.43) |
| Mid manager | 0.046\*\*\* (5.73) | -0.002 (-0.33) | -0.008 (-1.51) | -0.035\*\*\* (-5.71) | 0.454\*\*\* (6.70) |
| Top manager | 0.041\*\* (2.59) | 0.034\*\*\* (3.54) | -0.007 (-0.63) | -0.057\*\*\* (-4.77) | 0.594\*\*\* (4.56) |
| Education  | 0.004\*\*\* (7.20) | -0.0002 (-0.61) | -0.0001 (-0.24) | -0.003\*\*\* (-6.49) | 0.056\*\*\* (12.64) |
| Age | -0.0005\*\*\* (-3.38) | -0.0003\*\* (-2.92) | 0.0007\*\*\* (6.50) | 0.0004\*\*\* (3.60) | -0.0014 (-1.08) |
| Female | 0.015\*\*\* (3.37) | -0.009\*\* (-3.26) | -0.020\*\*\* (-6.66) | 0.008\* (2.52) | 0.012 (0.32) |
| Internet | 0.027\*\*\* (5.05) | 0.004 (1.36) | -0.012\*\* (-3.23) | -0.026\*\*\* (-6.47) | 0.369\*\*\* (8.11) |
| Rural (ref) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Small town | 0.012\* (2.28) | 0.0002 (0.08) | -0.0016 (-0.46) | -0.008\* (-2.03) | 0.126\*\* (2.90) |
| Large town | 0.019\*\*\* (3.38) | 0.002 (0.51) | -0.009\* (-2.27) | -0.012\*\* (-2.82) | 0.283\*\*\* (5.92) |
| Non EU migrant | 0.009(0.93) | 0.018\*\*(3.16) | -0.014\*(-2.19) | -0.012(-1.68) | 0.931\*\*\*(11.57) |
| EU migrant | 0.018(1.91) | 0.004(0.73) | -0.014\*(-2.23) | -0.010(-1.49) | 0.644\*\*\*(8.28) |
| \_cons | 0.455\*\*\* 30.02) | 0.107\*\*\* (11.54) | 0.149\*\*\* (12.16) | 0.182\*\*\* (15.17) | 4.437\*\*\* (21.74) |
| ICC | 0.0434 | 0.0447 | 0.0627 | 0.0482 | 0.1278 |
| R² | 0.0291 | 0.0044 | 0.0116 | 0.0337 | 0.0777 |

*Note.* Table reports multilevel regression maximum likelihood estimates. *t* statistics in parentheses; R² values were calculated following the formula proposed by Snijders and Bosker (1999:102).

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Graph A: dimension 1 against dimension 2 of the Cat PCA

Graph B: dimension 1 against dimension 3 of the Cat PCA

Graph C: dimension 1 against dimension 4 of the Cat PCA