

Online Appendix

Table A. Descriptive statistics of individual level variables (unweighted).

Variable	ESS code	Description	Mean (S.D.) / %
Support for an EMI	E37 (eusclbf)	Against or in favour of an EU-wide social benefit scheme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strongly against - Against - In favour - Strongly in favour 	7.99 25.17 57.00 9.85
Age	agea	Age of respondent (calculated)	49.63 (18.55)
Gender	F2 (gndr)	Female (recoded)	52.86
Education	F16 (eisced)	Own variable construction based on ISCED <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low - Middle - High 	27.81 36.68 35.51
Income	F41 (hinctnta)	Household's total net income, all sources (equivalised, calculated) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First quartile - Second quartile - Third quartile - Fourth quartile - Missing 	21.13 21.55 20.09 19.29 17.94
Occupational status	isco08, mainact	Combined own variable construction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Higher service class - White collar - Blue collar - Self-employed - Unemployed - Retired and other 	4.81 22.65 16.34 6.98 5.41 43.81
Welfare dependency	F40 (hincsrca)	Main source of household income: Code 5 (unemployment/redundancy benefit) and Code 6 (any other social benefits or grants)	5.37
Expectations of EU impact on social security	E38 (eudcnbf)	More decisions made by the EU: level of benefit in country becomes higher or lower (1-5), recoded	2.94 (0.98)

Perceived welfare state performance	E4 (slvpens)	Standard of living of pensioners (0-10)	4.51 (2.29)
	E5 (slvuemp)	Standard of living of unemployed (0-10)	4.04 (2.10)
Egalitarianism	E1 (dfincac)	- Large difference in incomes is acceptable to reward talents and efforts (1-5)	2.97 (1.44)
	E2 (smdfslv)	- For a fair society, differences in standard of living should be small (1-5)	3.60 (0.96)
	B33 (gincdif)	- Government should reduce differences in income levels (1-5)	3.87 (0.99)
European identity	C9 (atcherp)	How emotionally attached to [country] (0-10)	5.78 (2.54)

Table B. Factor loadings of the confirmatory factor analysis (N=35,422)

Factor	Item	Standardized factor loading
Egalitarianism	Large difference in incomes is acceptable to reward talents and efforts	0.493
	For a fair society, differences in standard of living should be small	0.597
	Government should reduce differences in income levels	0.674
Perceived welfare state performance	Standard of living of pensioners	0.558
	Standard of living of unemployed	0.800
Correlation egalitarianism and perceived welfare state performance: -0.346		

Note: Estimator = Bayes. No model fit indices available. Model fit with estimator MLR: $\chi^2=27.24$; $df=4$; RMSEA=0.013; CFI=0.999; TLI=0.997.

Table C. Descriptive statistics of country characteristics.

Country	N	Minimum income benefit	Social spending (% GDP)	GDP per capita
		Source: CSB-MIPI	Source: Eurostat	Source: Eurostat
AT	2010	46.01	30.3	37200
BE	1766	46.51	29.8	34300
CZ	2269	45.79	18.9	25600
DE	2852	44.84	29.4	36000
EE	2019	31.84	16.6	21900
ES	1958	35.82	24.3	26700
FI	1925	49.98	31.8	31900
FR	2070	41.31	34.3	30400
UK	1959	47.44	26.2	31400
HU	1614	17.80	19.2	19700
IE	2757	44.88	15.8	53300
IT	2626	.	29.7	28200
LT	2122	19.95	15.4	22000
NL	1681	61.17	29.5	37200
PL	1694	22.81	20.3	19900
PT	1270	24.34	25.2	22600
SE	1551	43.41	29.6	36000
SI	1307	36.44	23.3	24100

Table D. Multilevel structural equation model explaining support for an EMI benefit: indirect effects via expectations, perceived welfare performance, egalitarianism and European identity (N=31,833).

	Indirect effect via expectations				Indirect effect via perceived welfare state performance				Indirect effect via egalitarianism				Indirect effect via European identity			
	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.
Individual-level variables																
Age	0.000	*	[0.000;0.000]	-0.008	0.000	*	[0.000;0.000]	0.005	0.001	*	[0.001;0.001]	0.025	0.000	*	[0.000;0.000]	-0.002
Gender ^o (ref: man)	0.000		[-0.002;0.003]	0.000	0.005	*	[0.003;0.007]	0.007	0.028	*	[0.023;0.034]	0.039	0.004	*	[0.003;0.006]	0.006
Education ^o																
Low	0.014	*	[0.010;0.018]	0.019	0.008	*	[0.005;0.012]	0.011	0.020	*	[0.013;0.027]	0.028	-0.014	*	[-0.017;-0.011]	-0.019
Medium	0.006	*	[0.003;0.013]	0.009	0.003	*	[0.001;0.005]	0.004	0.011	*	[0.005;0.017]	0.015	-0.006	*	[-0.008;-0.004]	-0.008
High	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.				Ref.			
Income ^o																
First quartile	0.008	*	[0.003;0.013]	0.010	0.001		[-0.001;0.003]	0.001	0.061	*	[0.052;0.071]	0.084	-0.017	*	[-0.020;-0.014]	-0.023
Second quartile	0.005	*	[0.001;0.010]	0.007	0.000		[-0.002;0.002]	0.000	0.058	*	[0.050;0.067]	0.080	-0.013	*	[-0.016;-0.010]	-0.017
Third quartile	0.002		[-0.002;0.006]	0.003	-0.001		[-0.003;0.000]	-0.002	0.039	*	[0.031;0.047]	0.053	-0.007	*	[-0.009;-0.004]	-0.009
Fourth quartile				Ref.	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.			
Missing	0.000		[-0.005;0.005]	0.000	0.001		[-0.001;0.003]	0.001	0.020	*	[0.011;0.028]	0.027	-0.008	*	[-0.011;-0.005]	-0.011
Occupational status ^o																
Higher service class	Ref.		Ref.	Ref.	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.			
White collar	0.001		[-0.005;0.008]	0.002	0.000		[-0.003;0.003]	0.000	0.024	*	[0.012;0.036]	0.033	-0.003		[-0.007;0.001]	-0.004
Blue collar	0.004		[-0.003;0.011]	0.005	0.007	*	[0.003;0.011]	0.009	0.057	*	[0.044;0.071]	0.078	-0.009	*	[-0.013;-0.005]	-0.012
Self-employed	0.005		[-0.003;0.013]	0.007	-0.002		[-0.005;0.001]	-0.003	-0.012		[-0.027;0.002]	-0.017	-0.005	*	[-0.010;0.000]	-0.007
Unemployed	0.005		[-0.005;0.014]	0.007	0.014	*	[0.009;0.020]	0.019	0.070	*	[0.053;0.087]	0.096	-0.004		[-0.010;0.001]	-0.006
Retired and other	0.007	*	[0.000;0.013]	0.009	0.001		[-0.002;0.004]	0.001	0.020	*	[0.008;0.032]	0.027	0.000		[-0.004;0.004]	0.000
Welfare dependency	-0.009	*	[-0.016;-0.002]	-0.012	0.001		[-0.001;0.004]	0.002	0.010		[-0.002;0.022]	0.014	-0.016	*	[-0.020;-0.012]	-0.022
Expectations of EU impact on social security																
Perceived welfare state performance																
Egalitarianism																
European identity																
Country-level variables																
Minimum income generosity	-0.008	*	[-0.019;0.000]	-0.435												
Expectations of EU impact on social security																
GDP per capita																
R² individual level	0.117															
R² country level	0.686															

* = One-sided $p < .025$. CI=credibility intervals. ^o=semi-standardized results. Note: the estimated model contains direct effects of all variables listed (see Table 1 in the article).

Table E. Multilevel structural equation model explaining support for an EMI benefit: robustness check using social spending as percentage of GDP (N=34,271).

	Total effect				Direct effect				Indirect effect			
	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.	Est.	<i>p</i>	95% CI	Std. Est.
Individual-level variables												
Age	-0.002	*	[-0.002;-0.001]	-0.039	-0.002	*	[-0.003;-0.002]	-0.059	0.001	*	[0.001;0.001]	0.020
Gender ^o (ref: man)	0.036	*	[0.020;0.053]	0.050	0.000		[-0.016;0.016]	0.000	0.036	*	[0.030;0.043]	0.050
Education ^o												
Low	0.060	*	[0.037;0.084]	0.083	0.025	*	[0.002;0.048]	0.034	0.036	*	[0.027;0.045]	0.049
Medium	0.027	*	[0.007;0.048]	0.038	0.007		[-0.012;0.027]	0.010	0.020	*	[0.013;0.028]	0.028
High	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.			
Income ^o												
First quartile	0.038	*	[0.011;0.065]	0.051	-0.011		[-0.036;0.016]	-0.015	0.048	*	[0.037;0.059]	0.066
Second quartile	0.041	*	[0.015;0.066]	0.056	-0.003		[-0.028;0.021]	-0.005	0.044	*	[0.034;0.054]	0.061
Third quartile	-0.001		[-0.026;0.024]	-0.001	-0.029	*	[-0.053;-0.004]	-0.039	0.027	*	[0.017;0.037]	0.038
Fourth quartile	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.			
Missing	-0.028	*	[-0.056;0.001]	-0.039	-0.048	*	[-0.076;-0.020]	-0.067	0.020	*	[0.010;0.031]	0.028
Occupational status ^o												
Higher service class	Ref.				Ref.				Ref.		Ref.	
White collar	0.018		[-0.022;0.056]	0.024	-0.006		[-0.043;0.032]	-0.008	0.023	*	[0.008;0.038]	0.032
Blue collar	0.037		[-0.005;0.080]	0.051	-0.019		[-0.060;0.021]	-0.027	0.056	*	[0.040;0.073]	0.078
Self-employed	-0.029		[-0.075;0.018]	-0.040	-0.014		[-0.059;0.030]	-0.020	-0.015		[-0.032;0.003]	-0.020
Unemployed	0.133	*	[0.079;0.188]	0.184	0.041		[-0.011;0.094]	0.057	0.092	*	[0.072;0.113]	0.127
Retired and other	0.047	*	[0.007;0.087]	0.065	0.021		[-0.018;0.059]	0.028	0.027	*	[0.011;0.042]	0.037
Welfare dependency	0.065	*	[0.025;0.104]	0.089	0.083	*	[0.044;0.120]	0.114	-0.018	*	[-0.032;-0.003]	-0.025
Expectations of EU impact on social security	0.129	*	[0.120;0.139]	0.155	0.129	*	[0.120;0.139]	0.155				
Perceived welfare state performance	-0.029	*	[-0.038;-0.020]	-0.053	-0.029	*	[-0.038;-0.020]	-0.053				
Egalitarianism	0.322	*	[0.299;0.345]	0.244	0.322	*	[0.299;0.345]	0.244				
European identity	0.027	*	[0.023;0.030]	0.093	0.027	*	[0.023;0.030]	0.093				
Country-level variables												
Social spending (% GDP)	-0.021	*	[-0.045;-0.001]	-0.477	-0.004		[-0.019;0.028]	0.088	-0.024	*	[-0.060;0.000]	-0.565
Expectations of EU impact on social security	0.474	*	[0.007;0.950]	0.855	0.474	*	[0.007;0.950]	0.855				
GDP per capita	0.007		[-0.011;0.025]	0.199	0.007		[-0.011;0.025]	0.199				
R² individual level	0.116											
R² country level	0.692											

* = One-sided $p < .025$. CI=credibility interval. ^o=semi-standardized results. a=the sum of the direct effects and the indirect effects that run through all mediators (expectations, perceived welfare state performance, egalitarianism and European identity).