

### Online supplementary material

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#### Annex 1. Sampling the EP debates from 2014 and 2022.

To sample EP proceedings, we used a three-step sequential purposive strategy.

- Step 1. We looked up all proceedings in 2014 and 2022 that mentioned 'Ukraine' in the title (see table 1.1). This resulted in 12 proceedings between annexation of Crimea and the end of 2014 and 28 proceedings between the invasion of Ukraine and end of June 2022. We selected the end of June 2022 as a cut off point in time because the sampling took place in July 2022.

Table 1.1. List of all initial EP proceedings with 'Ukraine' in the title.

#	Year	Date	Type	Title
1	2014	15.Jul	Debate	Situation in Ukraine (debate)
2	2014	17.Jul	Oral explanation of vote	Situation in Ukraine (Oral explanations of vote)
3	2014	16.Sep	Debate	Situation in Ukraine and state of play of EU-Russia relations (debate)
4	2014	16.Sep	Debate	EU-Ukraine association agreement, with the exception of the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party - EU-Ukraine association agreement, as regards the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party
5	2014	16.Sep	Oral explanation of vote	EU-Ukraine association agreement, with the exception of the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party
6	2014	16.Sep	Vote	EU-Ukraine association agreement, as regards the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party
7	2014	18.Sep	Vote	Situation in Ukraine and state of play of EU-Russia relations
8	2014	18.Sep	Oral explanation of vote	Situation in Ukraine and state of play of EU-Russia relations
9	2014	21.Oct	Debate	Customs duties on goods originating in Ukraine
10	2014	23.Oct	Oral explanation of vote	Customs duties on goods originating in Ukraine
11	2014	23.Oct	Vote	Customs duties on goods originating in Ukraine
12	2014	16.Dec	Explanations of vote in writing	Renewal of the Agreement on cooperation in science and technology with Ukraine
13	2022	01.Mar	Debate	Russian aggression against Ukraine
14	2022	01.Mar	Debate	Russian aggression against Ukraine (cont.)
15	2022	08.Mar	Debate	The deterioration of the situation of refugees as a consequence of the Russian aggression against Ukraine
16	2022	09.Mar	Debate	Debate with the Prime Minister of Estonia, Kaja Kallas - The EU's role in a changing world and the security situation of

				Europe following the Russian aggression and invasion of Ukraine
17	2022	09.Mar	Debate	Debate with the Prime Minister of Estonia, Kaja Kallas - The EU's role in a changing world and the security situation of Europe following the Russian aggression and invasion of Ukraine (cont.)
18	2022	23.Mar	Debate	Need for an urgent EU action plan to ensure food security inside and outside the EU in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine
19	2022	24.Mar	Oral explanation of vote	Need for an urgent EU action plan to ensure food security inside and outside the EU in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine
20	2022	05.Apr	Debate	EU Protection of children and young people fleeing the war against Ukraine
21	2022	06.Apr	Debate	Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022: including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation
22	2022	07.Apr	Oral explanation of vote	Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022: including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation
23	2022	07.Apr	Oral explanation of vote	EU Protection of children and young people fleeing the war against Ukraine
24	2022	07.Apr	Vote	Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022: including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation
25	2022	03.May	Debate	Impact of Russian illegal war of aggression against Ukraine on the EU transport and tourism sectors
26	2022	03.May	Debate	EU preparedness against cyber-attacks following Russia invasion on Ukraine
27	2022	04.May	Debate	The social and economic consequences for the EU of the Russian war in Ukraine - reinforcing the EU's capacity to act
28	2022	05.May	Oral explanation of vote	The impact of the war against Ukraine on women
29	2022	05.May	Vote	Impact of Russian illegal war of aggression against Ukraine on the EU transport and tourism sectors
30	2022	05.May	Debate	The impact of the war against Ukraine on women
31	2022	19.May	Oral explanation of vote	Social and economic consequences for the EU of the Russian war in Ukraine–reinforcing the EU's capacity to act
32	2022	19.May	Oral explanation of vote	The fight against impunity for war crimes in Ukraine
33	2022	19.May	Debate	The REPowerEU Plan: European solidarity and energy security in face of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, including the recent cuts of gas supply to Poland and Bulgaria
34	2022	19.May	Debate	The fight against impunity for war crimes in Ukraine
35	2022	07.Jun	Debate	The EU's Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after the Russian invasion of Ukraine
36	2022	08.Jun	Vote	The EU's Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after the Russian invasion of Ukraine

37	2022	22.Jun	Short presentation	Draft amending budget No 3/2022: financing reception costs of people fleeing Ukraine
38	2022	22.Jun	Debate	Preparation of the European Council meeting of 23-24 June 2022, including the meeting with Western Balkan leaders on 23 June - Candidate status of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia
39	2022	23.Jun	Oral explanation of vote	Draft amending budget No 3/2022: financing reception costs of people fleeing Ukraine
40	2022	23.Jun	Oral explanation of vote	Candidate status of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia

- Step 2. We excluded all proceedings that were not 'debate.' The excluded proceedings were six voting proceedings, twelve oral explanations of vote, one written explanation of vote, and one short presentation. After this step we were left with four proceedings in 2014 and sixteen proceedings in 2022.
- Step 3. We filtered the remaining proceedings and excluded specialised debates that covered a narrow topic, such as for example a debate on April 5, 2022, entitled 'EU Protection of children and young people fleeing the war against Ukraine.' This step would have excluded two more debates from 2014 but we decided to keep all four proceedings from 2014 to ensure a relative richness of data. The final list of EP proceeding included in the analysis is given in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2. Final list of EP proceedings included in the analysis.

#	Year	Date	Type	Title
1	2014	15.Jul	Debate	Situation in Ukraine (debate)
2	2014	16.Sep	Debate	Situation in Ukraine and state of play of EU-Russia relations (debate)
3	2014	16.Sep	Debate	EU-Ukraine association agreement, with the exception of the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party - EU-Ukraine association agreement, as regards the treatment of third country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party
4	2014	21.Oct	Debate	Customs duties on goods originating in Ukraine
5	2022	01.Mar	Debate	Russian aggression against Ukraine
6	2022	01.Mar	Debate	Russian aggression against Ukraine (cont.)
7	2022	09.Mar	Debate	Debate with the Prime Minister of Estonia, Kaja Kallas - The EU's role in a changing world and the security situation of Europe following the Russian aggression and invasion of Ukraine
8	2022	09.Mar	Debate	Debate with the Prime Minister of Estonia, Kaja Kallas - The EU's role in a changing world and the security situation of Europe following the Russian aggression and invasion of Ukraine (cont.)
9	2022	06.Apr	Debate	Conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022: including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation

10	2022	04.May	Debate	The social and economic consequences for the EU of the Russian war in Ukraine - reinforcing the EU's capacity to act
11	2022	07.Jun	Debate	The EU's Foreign, Security and Defence Policy after the Russian invasion of Ukraine
12	2022	22.Jun	Debate	Preparation of the European Council meeting of 23-24 June 2022, including the meeting with Western Balkan leaders on 23 June - Candidate status of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia

## Annex 2. Coding strategy and coding framework.

To create a coding framework, we started out with three broad approaches that can drive the EU's response to the geopolitical crises: a response driven by tangible capabilities, such as military, economic, and strategic consideration; a response driven by norms, values, rules, and procedures, such as the EU's transformative capacity, conditionality, and considerations related to the international law and rules-based order; and a response that is essentially a non-response, i.e., the idea that the EU should not interfere with the relations between other sovereign nations. The latter category was inductively derived from the data.

Considering that these are rather broad approaches, we broke these categories down into three components or sub-categories: values, goals, and instruments. Values are reasons why actors should act; they inform decisions of policymakers. Goals on the other hand, represent problematizations of various issues and offer insights into either what challenges an actor faces that need to be solved or what alternate state of affairs should be pursued. Finally, instruments offer the means to achieve the goals defined in the previous component. As a result, the three components respectively represent the *why*, the *what*, and the *how* of foreign policy behaviour. In other words, our conceptualization of the EU's response answers the question of *why* the EU should want *what* it wants and *how* the EU can get it. Of course, we treated the MEPs' speech acts as possible the answers to these questions and coded them accordingly.

Our approach to coding resulted in a three-level basic coding framework. The top-level codes represent the three main broad categories as umbrella codes, medium level codes under each category represent the three components of values, goals, and instruments, each of which is then made up with lowest-level codes. The lowest level codes are derived from the empirical data through the coding procedure.

Coding procedure took place in three rounds by two coders using MAXQDA software.

- Round 1. In the first round we inductively created codes as *en vivo* codes based on the chronologically first debate of July 15, 2014. We then ensured that the two coders both agreed on the coding scheme at that time.
- Round 2. In the second round, we coded the remaining three debates from 2014. Once again, we ensured that both coders agreed on how the data was coded. This round resulted in 65 codes lowest-level codes across the three broad categories. We then created memos for each of these 65 codes. Memos had two parts: a short definition and an anchor example from the empirical data (see Table 2.1 for some examples).
- Round 3. In the third round of coding, we coded the 2022 debates using the coding framework of 65 codes developed based on the 2014 debates. During this round, there was a clear need for introducing new codes. Consequently, 23 new codes were added to the framework, used exclusively for the 2022 debates. This is about a quarter of all codes. These new codes account for about 28 percent of all coded segments in 2022 meaning that these statements would not fit into the coding framework developed based on the 2014 debates.

Overall, we have 8342 coded segments, of which less than five percent was not meaningful, i.e., coded under the code 'no meaningful category applies.' The proportion of this code was consistent across the two cases with 5.7 percent in 2014 and 4.8 percent in 2022. In 2014, we had significantly fewer coded segments due to fewer debates taking place in the EP, which is why only about 23 percent of all coded segments belong to the 2014 case and the rest to the 2022 case. For this reason, in order to make some frequencies analysis more interpretable, we weighted the 2014 codes proportionally using the following formula:

$$X_{w2014} = X_{r2014} * T_{2022} / T_{2014}$$

In this formula,  $X_{w2014}$  is a weighted frequency of a coding category appearing in 2014.  $X_{r2014}$  is a raw frequency of the same coding category appearing in 2014.  $T_{2022}$  is a total number of coded segments in 2022 including non-meaningful coding categories. Finally,  $T_{2014}$  is a total number coded segments in 2014. The result was rounded to the nearest integer.

Table 2.1. Examples of codes.

Top level codes	Mid-level codes	Bottom-level codes	Memo	Anchor example (with the date of the debate and page number)
Capabilities-driven response	Values	Security and stability in Europe	References to maintaining the post-WWII order and security infrastructure in Europe as well as to avoiding the risk of returning to the Cold War.	"Do we realize that the security system of Europe, built for almost 70 years, has been affected?" (2014.07.15, p. 18)
	Goals and problems	EU as a geopolitical player	References to the EU being a geopolitical player on an international stage requiring unity and coordination of actions across member states.	"The European Union has become a real geopolitical player through the Vilnius process, with great attractiveness." (2014.07.15, p. 15)
	Instruments	Economic sanctions	Positive references to introducing or deepening economic, financial or personal sanctions.	Sanctions are "the only way to keep Russia on the right side of the Russian-Ukrainian border." (2014.07.15, p. 4)
Values-driven response	Values	European civilization	References to the European values, way of living, and culture, which obliges the EU to help Ukraine due to the latter's aspirations and right to be European.	"It is the duty of the European Union to support the Ukrainian people, because they are part of European culture and will become part of political Europe in the future, and let no one say otherwise." (2014.07.15, p. 11)
	Goals and problems	Ukraine's EU aspirations	References to the willingness of Ukraine - Ukrainian people and democratically elected government - to have deeper and closer relations with the EU even if it comes at the expense of saying no to the Customs Union.	"If there has been fatigue with enlargement, if there will be no enlargement of the Union in the next five years, there must be no fatigue in providing our support to the Ukrainian people to gradually achieve their key goal - membership in the EU." (2014.07.15, p. 13)
	Instruments	AA and DCFTA	References to the benefits of AA and DCFTA as well as a general framework of EaP as drivers for reforms and development in Ukraine and beyond.	"The [Association] Agreement will help to drive reforms and boost growth by offering Ukraine access to the world's largest market" (2014.07.15, p. 2)
Non-response	Values	Security and stability of the entire region	References to European security with the recognition of Russia's right to feel threatened.	"I therefore consider that it is absolutely necessary that, out of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, we have common sense to

				deal with a fundamental issue, which is our security with respect to Russia and Russia's security with respect to its own environment." (2014.07.15, p. 15)
Goals and problems	EU policy on Ukraine provoking Russia	References to EU policy on Ukraine provoking Russia, EU having gone too far with AA and with proposals for Ukraine to join NATO, EU is responsible for Russian aggression and provoking it even further with sanctions.	"The association agreement is one of the fundamental factors that contributed to the open military conflict and civil war." (2014.07.15, p. 4)	
Instruments	Remain neutral	Calls on remaining a neutral party to the conflict and references to negotiations between the actual conflict parties, i.e. Russia and Ukraine (sometimes also USA).	"I ask the European Union not to take the position of the Americans unilaterally, but on the contrary to take a neutral role, to enable tripolar negotiations - the Russians, the Ukrainians and the Europeans on the other hand." (2014.07.15, p. 7)	

**Annex 3. OLS regression tables explaining the distance between the positions of MEPs and the average positions of the EP, region of origin, and their party group.**

Table 3.1. OLS regression table explaining the distance between MEPs and the EP.

	Model 1 (Ideological factors)	Model 2 (National factors)	Model 3 (Full)
Intercept	0.476** (0.140)	0.597*** (0.106)	0.567*** (0.135)
Gender (Female)	-0.009 (0.040)	-0.034 (0.039)	-0.010 (0.042)
Age	0.002+ (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002* (0.001)
New MEP	0.055+ (0.029)	0.115** (0.039)	0.055+ (0.028)
ECR	-0.318*** (0.051)		-0.290*** (0.062)
EPP	-0.322*** (0.061)		-0.316*** (0.065)
Greens/EFA	-0.185 (0.120)		-0.213+ (0.113)
GUE/NGL	-0.013 (0.106)		-0.069 (0.109)
ID/EFDD	0.012 (0.076)		0.019 (0.085)
Renew/ALDE	-0.198* (0.088)		-0.195* (0.093)
S&D	-0.212** (0.066)		-0.217** (0.069)
Economic Left-Right Position	-0.000 (0.011)		-0.006 (0.012)
GAL-TAN Position	0.026* (0.011)		0.026* (0.011)
Invasion 2022	-0.133*** (0.023)	-0.151*** (0.028)	-0.138*** (0.022)
Region (Eastern Europe)		0.011 (0.043)	0.049 (0.046)
NATO Member		-0.017 (0.051)	-0.025 (0.038)
Proximity with Kyiv		0.000 (0.000)	0.000+ (0.000)
Defence Expenditure		-0.041 (0.030)	-0.053* (0.023)
Trade with Russia		-0.004 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.006)
Energy Dependency on Russia		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Party in Government (Part of Year)		-0.042 (0.051)	0.011 (0.045)
Party in Government		-0.096* (0.036)	-0.053* (0.025)
Num.Obs.	283	283	283
R2	0.362	0.159	0.384
R2 Adj.	0.331	0.122	0.335
AIC	-36.3	40.0	-30.2
BIC	14.7	87.4	50.0
RMSE	0.22	0.25	0.21
Std.Errors	by: nationality	by: nationality	by: nationality

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table 3.2. OLS regression table explaining the distance between MEPs and the geographic region.

	Model 1 (Ideological factors)	Model 2 (National factors)	Model 3 (Full)
Intercept	0.492** (0.161)	0.573*** (0.106)	0.593*** (0.153)
Gender (Female)	-0.000 (0.038)	-0.025 (0.038)	-0.005 (0.040)
Age	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.003+ (0.001)
New MEP	0.056+ (0.029)	0.114** (0.038)	0.061* (0.028)
ECR	-0.308*** (0.064)		-0.275*** (0.071)
EPP	-0.298*** (0.066)		-0.277*** (0.070)
Greens/EFA	-0.190 (0.130)		-0.220+ (0.118)
GUE/NGL	-0.042 (0.115)		-0.118 (0.116)
ID/EFDD	0.027 (0.080)		0.027 (0.091)
Renew/ALDE	-0.202* (0.092)		-0.175+ (0.095)
S&D	-0.219** (0.073)		-0.222** (0.076)
Economic Left-Right Position	-0.003 (0.013)		-0.013 (0.014)
GAL-TAN Position	0.020+ (0.012)		0.022+ (0.012)
Invasion 2022	-0.125*** (0.026)	-0.143*** (0.026)	-0.134*** (0.024)
Region (Eastern Europe)		-0.016 (0.048)	0.016 (0.047)
NATO Member		-0.012 (0.049)	-0.021 (0.036)
Proximity with Kyiv		0.000 (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Defence Expenditure		-0.042 (0.031)	-0.051* (0.024)
Trade with Russia		-0.003 (0.007)	0.000 (0.006)
Energy Dependency on Russia		-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Party in Government (Part of Year)		-0.031 (0.051)	0.020 (0.046)
Party in Government		-0.090* (0.034)	-0.054* (0.025)
Num.Obs.	283	283	283
R2	0.316	0.151	0.343
R2 Adj.	0.283	0.113	0.290
AIC	-20.8	38.4	-16.3
BIC	30.2	85.8	63.9
RMSE	0.22	0.25	0.22
Std.Errors	by: nationality	by: nationality	by: nationality

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table 3.3. OLS regression table explaining the distance between MEPs and the EP party group.

	Model 1 (Ideological factors)	Model 2 (National factors)	Model 3 (Full)
Intercept	0.223 (0.140)	0.337** (0.093)	0.301* (0.113)
Gender (Female)	0.007 (0.035)	-0.010 (0.035)	0.002 (0.034)
Age	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)
New MEP	0.036 (0.030)	0.075* (0.031)	0.036 (0.030)
ECR	0.028 (0.092)		0.042 (0.089)
EPP	-0.035 (0.082)		-0.063 (0.076)
Greens/EFA	0.016 (0.142)		-0.027 (0.123)
GUE/NGL	0.019 (0.118)		-0.006 (0.117)
ID/EFDD	0.232** (0.070)		0.235*** (0.060)
Renew/ALDE	0.064 (0.107)		0.035 (0.107)
S&D	0.051 (0.105)		0.022 (0.097)
Economic Left-Right Position	-0.007 (0.011)		-0.008 (0.013)
GAL-TAN Position	0.012 (0.013)		0.010 (0.013)
Invasion 2022	-0.010 (0.030)	-0.005 (0.029)	-0.007 (0.029)
Region (Eastern Europe)		0.005 (0.054)	0.037 (0.059)
NATO Member		0.040 (0.064)	0.017 (0.054)
Proximity with Kyiv		-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Defence Expenditure		-0.051 (0.039)	-0.071+ (0.038)
Trade with Russia		0.004 (0.007)	0.004 (0.008)
Energy Dependency on Russia		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Party in Government (Part of Year)		0.066 (0.051)	0.080 (0.048)
Party in Government		-0.019 (0.032)	-0.012 (0.032)
Num.Obs.	283	283	283
R2	0.110	0.042	0.146
R2 Adj.	0.067	-0.001	0.077
AIC	9.3	28.1	13.6
BIC	60.4	75.5	93.8
RMSE	0.23	0.24	0.23
Std.Errors	by: nationality	by: nationality	by: nationality

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001