Appendix A: Questions and Emojis used in the survey

Table A1: Contructs and corresponding items

Item	Construct
Q9: is competent	Credibility: Competency
Q10: has the required knowledge	Credibility: Competency
Q11: is trustworthy	Credibility: Trustworthiness
Q12: is honest	Credibility: Trustworthiness
Q13: takes care of me	Social identification: Caring
Q14: stands up for me	Social identification: Caring
Q15: is someone like me or people close to me	Social Identification (like me)
Q16: I recognize myself in [LEADER]	Social Identification (like me)
Q17: I agree with the vision that [LEADER] has for [COUNTRY]	Ideology
Q18: I agree with the way [LEADER] handled the Eurocrisis	Ideology
Q19: [LEADER] was elected democratically and can therefore make decisions for [COUNTRY]	Democracy
Q20: Even though I do not always agree with [LEADER], I accept his/her decisions because he was elected democratically	Democracy

Full survey

Political behaviour:
Q1: If national elections would be held today, which party would you vote for?

[NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES]

Political attitudes:
Q2: Below are five institutions. Please indicate the amount of trust you have in each of these institutions.

	1 Very little trust	2	3	4	5 Very much trust	Don't know
Q2a: [NATIONAL PARLIAMENT]						
Q2b: Politicians						
Q2c: Political parties						
Q2d: The European Union						
Q2e: The European Parliament						

Q3: For each of the following statements, please indicate your level of agreement.

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q3a: The European Union functions well						

Q3b: It is a good thing that [COUNTRY] is a member of the European Union						
Q3c: I have a negative image of the European Union						
Q3d: The European Union should have less influence on [COUNTRY]						
Q3e: The European Union is democratic						
Q3f: The disadvantages of the European Union for [COUNTRY] are larger than the advantages						

Q4: Should [COUNTRY] leave the European Union?
Yes
No
Don't know

Q5: Everything considered, does [COUNTRY] in your opinion have an advantage of its membership of the European Union or not?
Yes
No
Don't know

Q6: About the EU I feel... [emoticons as answer categories]
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

National Leaders
Q7:
<- with picture.> [LEADER PER COUNTRY]

This is [TITLE LEADER] of [COUNTRY], who is [HE/SHE]?

[WRONG ANSWER 1]
[RIGHT ANSWER]
[WRONG ANSWER 2]
[WRONG ANSWER 3]
Don't know

<if answer correct; proceed> <if not, go to next page>

Q8: [NAME LEADER] makes me feel
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

[LEADER]…

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q9: is competent						
Q10: has the required knowledge						
Q11: is trustworthy						
Q12: is honest						
Q13: takes care of me						
Q14: stands up for me						
Q15: is someone like me or people close to me						

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q16: I recognize myself in [LEADER]						
Q17: I agree with the vision that [LEADER] has for [COUNTRY]						
Q18: I agree with the way [LEADER] handled the Eurocrisis						
Q19: [LEADER] was elected democratically and can therefore make decisions for [COUNTRY]						
Q20: Even though I do not always agree with [LEADER], I accept his/her decisions because he was elected democratically						

NOT IF GERMANY

Q21:

<- with picture.>

This is the Chancellor of Germany, who is she?

Ursula von der Leyen
Frauke Petry
Angela Merkel
Hildegard von Bingen
Don't know

<if answer: Angela Merkel; proceed> <if not, go to next page>

Q22: Angela Merkel makes me feel:
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared

- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

Angela Merkel…

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q23: is competent						
Q24: is trustworthy						
Q25: is someone like me or people close to me						

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q26: I agree with the vision that Angela Merkel has for the world						
Q27: Angela Merkel was elected democratically and can therefore make decisions for Europe						

NOT IF FRANCE

Q28:

<- with picture.>

This is the president of France, who is he?

Jacques Chirac

Nicolas Sarkozy

Jacques Delors

François Hollande

Don't know

<if answer: François Hollande; proceed> <if not, go to next page>

Q29: François Hollande makes me feel :
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

François Hollande …

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q30: is competent						
Q31: is trustworthy						
Q32: is someone like me or people close to me						

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q33: I agree with the vision that François Hollande has for the world						
Q34: François Hollande was elected democratically and can therefore make decisions for Europe						

ONLY IF FRANCE OR GERMANY

QXX:

<- with picture.>

This is the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is he?

Jeremy Corbyn

David Cameron

Gordon Brown

Boris Johnson

Don't know

<if answer: David Cameron; proceed> <if not, go to next page>

QXX: David Cameron makes me feel:
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

David Cameron...

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
QXX: is competent						
QXX: is trustworthy						
QXX: is someone like me or people close to me						

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
QXX: I agree with the vision that David Cameron has for the world						
QXX: David Cameron was elected democratically and can therefore make decisions for Europe						

ALL

Q35:

<- with picture.>

This is the president of the European Central Bank, who is he?

Mario Draghi
Jean-Claude Trichet
Mario Monti
Wolfgang Schäuble
Don't know

<if answer: Mario Draghi; proceed> <if not, go to next page>

Q36: Mario Draghi makes me feel:
[emoticons as answer category]
- Angry
- Sad
- Scared
- Indifferent
- Happy
- Love

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

Mario Draghi …

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q37: is competent						
Q38: is trustworthy						
Q39: is someone like me or people close to me						

To what extend do you agree with the following statements?

	1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5 Strongly agree	Don't know
Q40: I agree with the vision that Mario Draghi has for the world						
Q41: Mario Draghi was not elected democratically and can therefore not make decisions for Europe						

How often do you read the following newspapers?

	1 Never	2	3	4	5 Every edition	Don't know
Q42: [NEWSPAPER 1]						
Q43: [NEWSPAPER 2]						
Q44: [NEWSPAPER 3]						
Q45: [NEWSPAPER 4]						

Q46: Which description best fits your current income situation?

I can live comfortably of the current income

I can just make ends meet with the current income

I find it difficult to make ends meet with the current income

I find it very difficult to make ends meet with the current income

Don't know/no opinion

Q47: Which of the following descriptions best describes your highest level of education?

1: No formal education

2: Education until the age of 12

3: Education until the age of 14
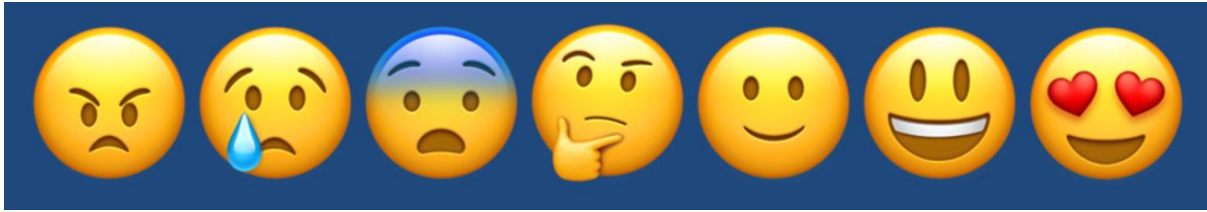
4: Education until the age of 16

5: Education until the age of 18

6: Higher education

7: University (Bachelor/Master)

8: University (Doctoraat)

Emojis used for emotion questions

Appendix B

Background of respondents

Denmark			508
	Gender		
		Male	243
		Female	258
	Age		
		18-34	114
		35-54	189
		55+	198
	Education		
		No formal education	2
		Complete primary	78
		Complete secondary	380
		Higher education	41
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	212
		Can just make ends meet	180
		Difficult to make ends meet	65
		Very difficult to make ends meet	37
France			507
	Gender		
		Male	258
		Female	242
	Age		
		18-34	136
		35-54	172
		55+	192
	Education		
		No formal education	8
		Complete primary	14
		Complete secondary	332
		Higher education	146
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	124
		Can just make ends meet	202
		Difficult to make ends meet	115
		Very difficult to make ends meet	46
Germany			506

	Gender		
		Male	251
		Female	248
	Age		
		18-34	132
		35-54	175
		55+	192
	Education		
		No formal education	2
		Complete primary	41
		Complete secondary	344
		Higher education	112
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	149
		Can just make ends meet	193
		Difficult to make ends meet	89
		Very difficult to make ends meet	61
Hungary			516
	Gender		
		Male	253
		Female	247
	Age		
		18-34	164
		35-54	187
		55+	149
	Education		
		No formal education	0
		Complete primary	8
		Complete secondary	262
		Higher education	230
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	106
		Can just make ends meet	221
		Difficult to make ends meet	92
		Very difficult to make ends meet	69
Ireland			507
	Gender		
		Male	255
		Female	244
	Age		
		18-34	135
		35-54	203
		55+	161
	Education		
		No formal education	0
		Complete primary	23
		Complete secondary	238
		Higher education	238
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	136

		Can just make ends meet	193
		Difficult to make ends meet	98
		Very difficult to make ends meet	59
Italy			509
	Gender		
		Male	247
		Female	253
	Age		
		18-34	130
		35-54	187
		55+	183
	Education		
		No formal education	1
		Complete primary	65
		Complete secondary	309
		Higher education	125
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	46
		Can just make ends meet	168
		Difficult to make ends meet	152
		Very difficult to make ends meet	108
Spain			506
	Gender		
		Male	252
		Female	248
	Age		
		18-34	150
		35-54	192
		55+	158
	Education		
		No formal education	2
		Complete primary	30
		Complete secondary	257
		Higher education	211
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	163
		Can just make ends meet	191
		Difficult to make ends meet	83
		Very difficult to make ends meet	61
The Netherlands			509
	Gender		
		Male	280
		Female	219
	Age		
		18-34	90
		35-54	169
		55+	240
	Education		
		No formal education	2

		Complete primary	22
		Complete secondary	276
		Higher education	199
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	252
		Can just make ends meet	159
		Difficult to make ends meet	48
		Very difficult to make ends meet	22
United Kingdom			505
	Gender		
		Male	249
		Female	250
	Age		
		18-34	144
		35-54	175
		55+	180
	Education		
		No formal education	6
		Complete primary	17
		Complete secondary	287
		Higher education	189
	Income (subjective)		
		Can live comfortably	181
		Can just make ends meet	188
		Difficult to make ends meet	73
		Very difficult to make ends meet	46
Total			**4573**

Note. Totals per background variable can differ due to item non-response.

Appendix C: Regression Analysis & Robustness Check

Table C-1: Correlation between the legitimacy of national leaders and trust in the EU per country

Vectors of Legitimacy	Overall	Netherlands	Germany	Denmark	Ireland	UK	France	Spain	Italy	Hungary
National leader	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Credibility: Competency	.27**	.37**	.36**	.37**	.37**	.26**	.43**	.39**	.45**	-.27**
Credibility: Trustworthiness	.30**	.49**	.42**	.40**	.44**	.29**	.43**	.37**	.45**	-.28**
Social Identification (like me)	.27**	.32**	.40**	.34**	.42**	.34**	.39**	.32**	.40**	-.17**
Ideology	.28**	.41**	.45**	.34**	.41**	.28**	.37**	.36**	.46**	-.36**
Democracy	.23**	.36**	.34**	.27**	.39**	.17**	.31**	.34**	.41**	-.23**

Emotions										
Angry	-.22**	-.32**	-.35**	-.20**	-.32**	-.18**	-.32**	-.36**	-.38**	.21**
Sad	-.03*	-.10*	-.06	-.09*	-.02	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.09*	.11*
Scared	.01	-.12*	-.05	-.04	-.06	.00	.06	.14**	.08	.04
Don´t know	.05**	.00	.06	.10*	.08	-.03	.15**	.10*	.17**	-.12*
Happy/ Satisfied	.13**	.27**	.17**	.13**	.17**	.18**	.13**	.20**	.16**	-.14**
Joy	.12**	.20**	.17**	.10*	.14**	.10*	.19**	.15**	.15**	-.10*
Love	.09**	.06	.12**	.18**	.17**	.15**	.11*	.12**	.10*	-.16**

[a] *No differentiation in answers from respondents*

* p<.05; ** p<.01.

Table C-2: Correlation between the legitimacy of supranational leader, Draghi, and trust in the EU per country

Vectors of Legitimacy	Overall	Netherlands	Germany	Denmark	Ireland	UK	France	Spain	Italy	Hungary
EU leader (Draghi)	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Credibility: Competency	.39**	.48**	.35**	.51**	.51**	.59**	.42**	.56**	.23**	.52**
Credibility: Trustworthiness	.48**	.51**	.45**	.46**	.63**	.68**	.47**	.64**	.35**	.59**
Social Identification (like me)	.41**	.26**	.41**	.28*	.59**	.62**	.46**	.50**	.36**	.39**
Ideology	.48**	.39**	.40**	.60**	.56**	.81**	.51**	.58**	.43**	.58**
Democracy	.05	-.18*	.05	-.21	-.02	.30*	.18*	.14*	.03	.12
Emotions										
Angry	-.35**	-.34**	-.40**	-.27**	-.44**	-.37**	-.37**	-.47**	-.20**	-.17*
Sad	-.12**	-.14*	-.04	-.02	-.15*	-.05	-.17	-.16**	-.11*	-.21*
Scared	-.04	.07	.07	-.25*	-.03	-.09	-.03	-.05	-.08	-.22*
Don´t know	.06*	.07	.20**	-.21*	.11	.03	.09	.26**	-.20**	.01
Happy/ Satisfied	.20**	.26**	.11	.31**	.18*	.24*	.23**	.23**	.16**	.30**
Joy	.19**	.05	.13*	.30**	.30**	.22	.20*	.21**	.24**	.19*
Love	.11**	a	a	.15	.19**	.29*	.17*	.01	.15**	a

[a] *No differentiation in answers from respondents*

* p<.05; ** p<.01.

Table C-3: Correlation between the legitimacy of transnational leaders and trust in the EU per country

Vectors of Legitimacy	Overall	Netherlands	Germany	Denmark	Ireland	UK	France	Spain	Italy	Hungary

Transnational leaders (compounded)	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Credibility: Competency	.40**	.39**	.30**	.46**	.42**	.51**	.34**	.47**	.31**	.53**
Credibility: Trustworthiness	.48**	.45**	.34**	.52**	.54**	.61**	.41**	.52**	.48**	.55**
Social Identification (like me)	.39**	.23**	.29**	.44**	.45**	.61**	.36**	.42**	.43**	.45**
Ideology	.52**	.50**	.33**	.61**	.54**	.68**	.41**	.54**	.56**	.58**
Democracy	.40**	.32**	.29**	.39**	.41**	.49**	.34**	.43**	.38**	.51**
Emotions										
Angry	-.33**	-.25**	-.23**	-.35**	-.31**	-.36**	-.32**	-.37**	-.36**	-.38**
Sad	-.18**	-.22**	-.16**	-.18**	-.27**	-.10*	-.08	-.15**	-.22**	-.27**
Scared	-.07**	-.06	.00	-.08	-.06	-.07	-.06	-.07	-.11*	-.15**
Don´t know	.04*	-.02	.07	-.11*	-.04	-.01	.01	.14**	.07	.18**
Happy/ Satisfied	.26**	.26**	.11*	.27**	.30**	.33**	.20**	.27**	.37**	.32**
Joy	.20**	.21**	.12*	.17**	.26**	.31**	.19**	.20**	.19**	.19**
Love	.16**	.05	.14**	.22**	.18**	.18**	.12*	.16**	.13**	.20**

[a] *No differentiation in answers from respondents*

* p<.05; ** p<.01.

Table C-4: *Robustness Check: Stepwise regression excluding Draghi.*

Type of Leader	Variable[a]	Vector	*B*	Δ adj. R^2
	Constant		1.13**	
Transnational	I agree with the vision that ... has for the world	Ideology	0.30**	.28
National	... is trustworthy	Credibility	0.07**	.03
Transnational	... is trustworthy	Credibility	0.18**	.01
Transnational	Angry	Emotion	-.0.39**	.01
Transnational	Love	Emotion	0.61**	<.01
Transnational	Sad	Emotion	-0.22**	<.01
Transnational	... is competent	Credibility	-0.12**	<.01
Transnational	Happy	Emotion	0.17**	<.01
Transnational	Joy	Emotion	0.22**	<.01
National	I agree with the vision that ... has for [country]	Ideology	0.06*	<.01
Transnational	... was elected democratically and could therefore make decisions for Europe.	Democracy	0.06**	<.01
National	Scared	Emotion	0.15**	<.01
Transnational	Scared	Emotion	-0.11*	<.01
National	... is someone like me, or people close to me	Social Identification	0.05*	<.01
	R^2		.34	

	F		126.39**	

Note. N=3477; * p<.05; ** p<.01, [a] In order of addition to the model.