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Two Sorts of Scepticisms or One?
Citizens' Support for European Integration
and Globalization

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Introduction

The current wave of globalization until 2008 was characterized by unprecedented worldwide flows of goods, capital, people, information, and ideas. So is European integration on a regional geographic scale. In the growing body of literature on the relationship between globalization and European integration, the latter is often portrayed as accelerating the forces of globalization through deep market integration inside Europe. Some authors conceive of European integration as being a “regional variant of globalization” (Schmidt, 2003). Others affirm that, for Western European countries, “globalization means, first of all, European integration” (Kriesi et al., 2008: 3). Both processes can be seen as part of a process of denationalization (Zürn, 1998), the lowering of national boundaries and barriers to trade and to the exchange of information, ideas and people. According to other scholars, deep market integration inside the European Union (EU) is promoting – alongside globalization – a trend towards rising social inequalities in the EU member states (Beckfield, 2006) and leading towards a relocation of European companies and tendencies of welfare state retrenchment. The European Union would thus not be capable of mitigating the negative economic and social effects of globalization on the European social model(s). Even though there is empirical evidence that the pressures of economic globalization do not lead to a uniform reduction of social welfare programmes and provisions (cf. Begg et al., 2008 for key trends), the mass publics in EU member states might nevertheless see the EU as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. The multi-faceted phenomenon of globalization is open for many interpretations by citizens as well as by political elites, and so is the relationship between globalization and European integration (cf. Hay and Rosamond, 2002).

While there is a growing body of survey-based literature on citizens' attitudes towards European integration (e.g. Niedermayer and Sinnott, 1998; Brettschneider et al., 2003; Marks and Steenbergen, 2004; Fuchs et al., 2009), survey-based research on attitudes towards globalization and trade in Western mass publics (or EU member states) is less developed (e.g. Norris, 2000; Scheve and Slaughter, 2001; O'Rourke, 2003; Mayda and Rodrik, 2005; Wolfe and Mendelsohn, 2005; Margalit, 2006/2007). Furthermore, survey-based research on the relationship between attitudes towards globalization and attitudes towards the EU and the EU's role with respect to the process of globalization is, to our knowledge, virtually non-existent (cf. Gerhards and Hessel 2008, for one of the rare studies which link both fields of research).

Based on recent Eurobarometer survey data, this contribution intends to take a closer look at citizens' scepticism or support with regard to globalization and to EU integration. Our main questions are the following: Are citizens' perceptions of EU integration and of globaliza-

tion related (1)? And – if they are – in how far are there similarities to be found with regard to the socio-demographic and attitudinal sources of these EU- and globalization-related attitudes? (2) Do attitudes towards globalization influence attitudes towards European integration and vice versa? (3)

We proceed as follows: First, we report general arguments from the literature which point to a link between attitudes towards both varieties of denationalization (chapter 2). Then we formulate, again based on the existing literature, specific hypotheses with respect to explanatory factors accounting for individual-level variation of attitudes towards globalization and European integration (chapter 3), before we turn to the description of data, methods and operationalization of our key variables (chapter 4). Finally, we report and discuss the empirical results of our analyses (chapter 5) and indicate some axes of future research in our conclusion (chapter 6).

Denationalization: Basis for a new political cleavage?

Our basic assumption is that attitudes towards globalization and towards European integration are closely linked in the citizenry of European Union member states because both processes are seen as two different variants – global and regional – of a process of denationalization. But why should we expect a more or less strong relationship between attitudes towards globalization and European integration in the first place? We see two strands in the literature supporting this idea. We can broadly distinguish between interest-based and culture-based approaches which can be found both in the literature on attitudes towards European integration as well as in the literature on attitudes towards (economic) globalization and trade.

On the one hand, we find an interest-based, utilitarian approach. Following a logic of economic interests, based on professional skills or factor endowments of individuals, some authors (e.g. Gabel, 1998; Schwartz, 2001) see the (potential) “losers of denationalisation” (globalization and European market integration) mainly coming either from the private sectors of the economy that are relatively sheltered from the pressures of open world markets, or the public administration / public sector.¹ According to a Heckscher-Ohlin trade theory logic (O’Rourke, 2003) which has dominated the literature on trade policy attitudes, workers with low levels of education or professional skills in skill-abundant countries are vulnerable to increased international competition and to the spread of supply chains on a worldwide scale. The (potential) winners of globalization would thus be the highly educated and highly-skilled

¹ Our data set does unfortunately not contain information on the economic sector of employment, so that we cannot test this hypothesis.

persons and those in the internationally competitive sectors of the economy of economically advanced countries. Professional skills equip individuals with a stock of human capital thus enabling them to seize the economic opportunities of globalization thanks to their highly valued resources on the labour market. These are giving them an "exit option" through professional and geographical mobility which less skilled workers/employees clearly lack. A high stock of personal skills, making people adaptable to changing labour markets, should lead to more positive perceptions of different facets of denationalization in the guise of globalization and European integration, especially their economic and trade-related facets. Thus, the individual's endowment with resources to cope with the economic challenges of economic globalization is, according to an interest-based, utilitarian logic, of key importance for understanding attitudes towards the opening of national borders.

Globalization and European integration is also often perceived as a threat on cultural grounds. Opposition to the further opening of national borders, especially in terms of immigration, can be rooted in particularistic, nationalistic and anti-universal values and world views. According to this strand of research, economic and cultural aspects of globalization are not easily disentangled by individuals: "...many individuals do not assess the economic effects of market openness independently of the *non-economic* effects they associate with the openness 'package'. The complex and all-encompassing nature of globalization means that, for many, attitudes towards trade are inseparably tied to views on other changes that come with openness, whether demographic, technological or cultural" (Margalit, 2006: 3; emphasis in original). Thus, interest-based attitudes are mixed up with identity-based attitudes. In a similar vein, previous research on support for the EU has shown that utilitarian concerns and perceived cultural threats to the national identity are both part of the explanation for sceptical attitudes towards the EU (McLaren, 2002; Hooghe and Marks, 2004). Following this line of reasoning, it might be quite difficult to predict general attitudes towards globalization and European integration on the basis of the precise location of the individual in the labour market and on the basis of skill-related variables such as income, education or occupation alone. This is all the more so as many individuals are surely not able to make (sometimes quite demanding and contested) cost-benefit calculations with regard to the consequences of market integration and increased trade for themselves in terms of job security, market income or effects on their country's welfare regime and its social transfers.

Attitudes towards the process of globalization and towards the EU might be seen as being embedded in a broader value-dimension underlying these more specific attitudes. Grunberg and Schweisguth (1997: 162-72) hinted at the emergence of a value-based cleavage opposing universalist (or cosmopolitan) and anti-universalist outlooks. As we know from comparative research on values and value change, higher levels of education are conducive to values

of tolerance, to universalist and cosmopolitan values and to increased openness towards foreign cultures (Ester et al., 1994; Norris, 2000: 162).

It seems highly likely that universalist values are also tightly linked to a positive general outlook on the process of denationalization and anti-universalist values to a negative outlook. If both attitudes towards European integration and towards globalization are indeed embedded in such a broader value-dimension, then they are also highly likely to go together and to influence each other.

In one important recent contribution to the literature, Kriesi et al. (2008) combine an economic-interest approach and a cultural approach in order to make a strong argument about the emergence of new political cleavage they dub "integration-demarcation" cleavage. They put forward a "critical juncture" thesis according to which "the contemporary opening up of boundaries (...) is likely to result in the formation of new structural cleavages, both within and between national contexts" (Kriesi et al., 2008: 4). In line with the economic cost-benefit and Heckscher-Ohlin-type of arguments, they see denationalization (or globalization) in terms of increased trade, foreign direct investments and free capital flows across borders as creating economic and social disparities, winners and losers. It gives rise, according to these authors, to a new structural conflict pinning losers against winners from globalization and European integration. This socio-political conflict would be anchored in the social structure of economically advanced countries and thus structure political conflicts in West European countries. Denationalization enhances (perceived) economic competition between individuals on world wide and European labour markets, between companies in these markets, and also spurs competition between states and their welfare state regimes, tax regimes or regulatory regimes.

This economic-interest argument is combined by the authors with a cultural argument: Denationalization enhances (perceived) cultural competition and group conflict in the sense that immigrants with a different ethnic and/or religious background are seen by many citizens as a threat to their collective identity, mainly the national identity. They challenge the life-styles of the native population and may be seen as competitors for scarce resources, i.e. social transfers. Thus, denationalization can be perceived by potential losers of this process as posing a threat to their jobs, social status, social welfare entitlements, collective identity and cultural life-styles. The winners are those who, contrary to the losers, have exit options thanks to their mobility and superior resources and skills and who see denationalization as improving their life chances (Kriesi et al., 2008: 4-5.)

We follow Kriesi et al. (2008) in thinking that the broad and multi-dimensional process of denationalization creates the potential for new types of political conflict, having an economic and a cultural dimension which may – but must not – reinforce each other. Whether dena-

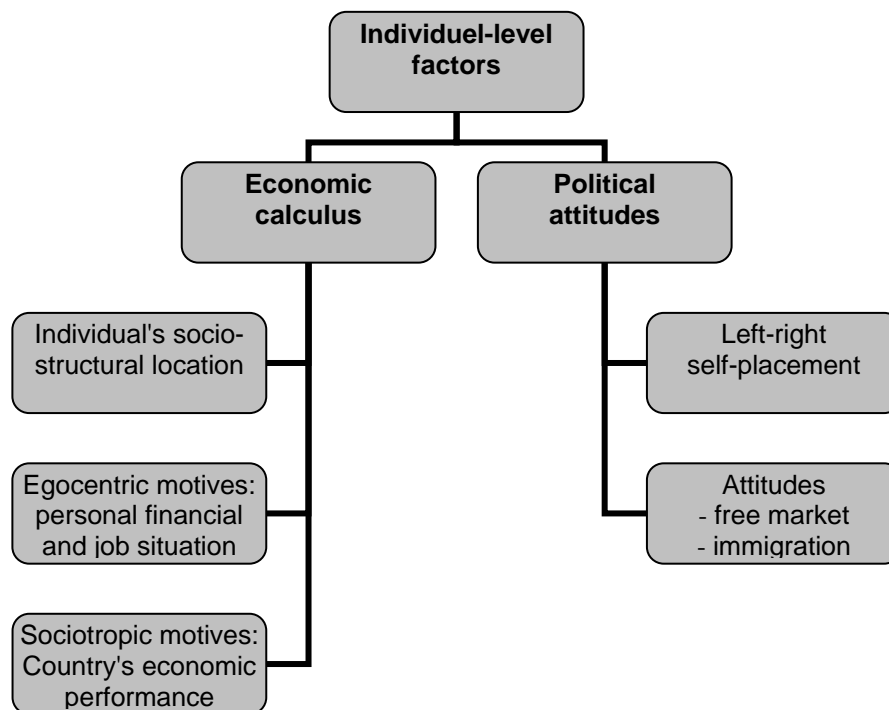
tionalization really gives rise to a new or redefined cleavage in a Rokkanian sense, deeply anchored in the evolving social structure of European societies and periodically activated in the political debate and party competition is a different question that is not at the centre of our attention here. But the likelihood to see the emergence of an important and lasting political cleavage between nation state- and international/supranational-focused citizens is the greater the less European integration and globalization are seen as two distinct phenomena.

What accounts for attitudes towards globalization and European integration?

If our assumption holds true that the two processes of globalization and European integration are seen by citizens as two expressions of a broader process of denationalization, then factors accounting for sceptical attitudes towards the European level of policy-making should also contribute to explaining scepticism towards the broader process of globalization. Based on the extant literature on globalization and European integration-related attitudes, we try to single out specific explanatory factors which can be assumed to explain attitudes towards both European integration and globalization. The individual-level explanatory factors accounting for attitudes on European integration and globalization can be grouped into two categories: economic calculus and political attitudes (see figure 1).

Economic interest-based approaches usually take the individual's socio-structural location as their starting point and rely on education, occupation and income to measure an individual's factor endowment. Due to data limitations (e.g. lack of an income variable), we rely on information on education and occupational positions available in our data set, variables which should tap the professional skills of respondents. But higher levels of education and a higher social status (in terms of profession) are also equipping the individual with social and cultural capital which makes it easier to embrace the entire "openness package" (Margalit, 2006) and not only the economic parts of it, thanks to more universalist and cosmopolitan outlooks associated with higher positions on the social stratification ladder.

Level of education is, thus, not an unambiguous variable and cannot be claimed to support only economic interest-based explanations in line with the factor endowment model. Even though different causal logics are seen to be at work, both types of approaches nevertheless converge in one important point: formal education is considered as being a highly important explanatory factor.

Figure 1: Individual-level explanations of support for denationalization

(H1) The level of education is positively related to the level of support for the process of globalization and for European integration.²

(H2) Higher occupational positions are associated with more positive attitudes towards globalization and European integration, lower position with more negative attitudes.

Independent of factor endowment, but also based on an economic cost-benefit logic, egocentric perceptions of economic well-being might influence attitudes towards (economic) denationalization. Individuals who are worse off today than in the past might attribute this change in their individual life chances and material conditions to the opening of borders and increased economic competition. And the same holds true for people who hold negative expectations about their future financial and job situation.

Our data set contains a variable asking people to compare the present purchasing power of their household to that of five years ago. People reporting a loss of purchasing power might have experienced a process of social downward mobility which they could attribute to the forces unleashed by globalization as well as European economic market integration.

(H3) A loss of purchasing power over time is associated with negative attitudes towards globalization and towards European integration.

² For the exact operationalization of independent and dependent variables, see Appendix 1.

(H4) Positive/negative expectations about one's future financial and job situation are related to positive/negative attitudes towards globalization and European integration.

In the past, in the literature on economic voting and on European integration-related attitudes, it could be shown that sociotropic evaluations of one country's economic performance, in terms of overall economic performance or employment situation, are an important factor influencing attitudes and voting behaviour. They often turned out to be of greater importance than egocentric evaluations (Feldman, 1982). Hence, we assume that individuals with a pessimistic outlook on the economic future of their country are much less likely to fully embrace the reality and logic of denationalization than those displaying an optimistic outlook on the future.

(H5) Positive/negative expectations about one's country's future economic and employment situation are related to positive/negative attitudes towards globalization and European integration.

Besides these variables reflecting the social and economic position and evaluations of the respondent, social identity, in terms of territorial identity, has been shown to be a highly important element in the explanation of support for European integration. (Hooghe and Marks, 2004). It seems highly plausible that people who do not exclusively identify with the nation are not only more supportive of European integration, but also of other forms of denationalization such as globalization processes. The questionnaire of the Eurobarometer dataset used for this analysis contains a question regarding respondent's territorial identity (national and/or European). However, this question was still under embargo at the time this study was conducted and could therefore unfortunately not be included in the analysis.

Finally, according to the literature, a number of political variables are likely to be influential. We consider left-right self-placement and attitudes on important economic and cultural issues to be major factors influencing our dependent variables.

With regard to self-placement on the left-right scale, we assume a divide between the far left and far right on the one hand and the centre-left and centre-right on the other hand. Those on the extremes of the left-right spectrum are more likely than those taking the middle ground to hold the EU either responsible for reinforcing the neo-liberal logic of globalization, a typical issue for left-wing populist or extremist parties, or for the influx of (unwelcomed) immigrants, a core issue for right-wing populist and extremist parties. This assumption is based on well established empirical findings with respect to the relationship between support for European integration and the self-placement on a left-right scale. On the level of political parties, too, we find an inverted U-shape when charting the positions of party families on a left-right dimension combined with a second dimension indicating level of support

for European integration (Hooghe et al., 2002). Party political actors on the extreme right and extreme left more often than not apply their critique of “neoliberalism” (extreme left) and of the “flood of immigrants” (extreme right) not only to European integration but also to the process of globalization.

(H6) Individuals placing themselves on the extreme ends of the left-right scale are more sceptical towards globalization and the European integration than those in the centre.

Apart from this self-positioning on the abstract ideological left-right dimension, we assume that attitudes on core issues of the economic and cultural cleavage dimensions structuring the political space of Western democracies are connected with attitudes towards globalization and European integration. Those who are in general supportive of the free market should also be supportive of transnational economic competition which sets free market forces, contributes to a more efficient allocation of resources and to higher productivity and prosperity. This should find its expression in pro-globalization attitudes and lead them to support the EU's basic economic freedoms and market integration efforts.

(H7) Respondents with pro-market attitudes are more likely to embrace globalization and European integration.

Attitudes towards immigration are highly likely to be correlated with those towards globalization and the EU's more or less protective role. Immigration not only is for many citizens a highly visible and polarizing aspect of globalization; it is also a favourite issue for political mobilisation used by rightist parties with an anti-EU and an anti-globalization agenda.

(H8) Respondents who see in general beneficial effects of immigration for their countries are more likely to embrace globalization and European integration than those who are more sceptical towards immigrants..

Finally, we hypothesize that attitudes towards European integration and attitudes towards globalization are correlated even when controlling for common underlying factors. These attitudes can be thought of as being embedded in a broader individual value and belief system which predisposes citizens towards a higher or lower level of openness with respect to process of denationalization in all its facets. Attitudes based on economic calculations, attitudes towards immigration and political attitudes such as left-right self-placement can only capture part of this broader underlying value and belief system. And the stronger the rela-

tionship between attitudes towards European integration and globalization, the more confident we can be that citizens indeed see both processes as instances of a more encompassing phenomenon of denationalization.

(H9) Support for European integration has a positive effect on support for globalization and vice versa even when controlling for common antecedent variables.

Data, Method, and Operationalization

We used a recent Eurobarometer data set dating from 2008 (Eurobarometer 69.2, European Commission 2009; field work from March to Mai 2008) which, apart from standard Eurobarometer trend questions on EU support, contains a number of questions designed to measure globalization related attitudes. We constructed three different dependent variables to tap EU support and attitudes towards globalization in the population of the EU-27. In order to measure the extent of EU support – or scepticism – we computed an additive index using two Eurobarometer standard items tapping affective support (“membership of the EU a good/bad thing”) and utilitarian support (“country benefited from membership of the EU?”) combining them with the answers to a question asking whether “at the present time (...) things are going in the right direction or the wrong direction in the European Union”.³

In order to capture attitudes towards globalization, we conducted principle component analyses on a battery of items with statements on globalization, then selected a number of items loading on the same principal component (in a varimax rotated solution) and used these items for scale construction. The items loading on a first principal component turned out to tap positive perceptions of globalization in terms of promoting economic growth, peace in the world, the development of poorer countries and the openness to other cultures whereas those loading on the second principal component tap negative perceptions of globalization in terms of increasing social inequalities, representing a threat to our culture and being profitable only for large companies, not for citizens.⁴ It is interesting to note that the two principal components did not neatly separate economic from non-economic and cultural aspects of globalization. This lends credit to the idea that citizens tend to see globalization as a composite phenomenon, as the “openness package” in the words of Yotam Magalit (2006: 3).

³ See appendix for the exact wording of the questions used and for a detailed description of variable construction.

⁴ In the EU-27 and in all but two member states (Sweden and Finland), we found a solution with the abovementioned two principal components. In Sweden and Finland, we found only one single principal component. The detailed results of our principal component analyses can be obtained from the authors upon request.

Based on the two sets of items, we constructed two different scales, one measuring the extent of explicitly positive perceptions of globalization, the other one measuring explicitly negative perceptions.⁵ Of course, the positions of individuals on both scales can reflect their positive as well as their negative attitudes towards the consequences of the process of globalization.

These variables were then used as dependent variables in different OLS regression models. We are well aware that contextual variables might be of high substantial and methodological importance when analysing attitudes towards European integration or globalization. The choice of OLS regression instead of hierarchical linear regression models can nevertheless be justified for two reasons. First, we investigate the relations between Euroscepticism/EU-support and globalization support or scepticism at the individual level because we are not primarily interested in country-level differences in the *absolute magnitude* of EU and globalization support. Our focus is on the *relationship* and the *similarity or dissimilarity of the explanatory factors* accounting for individual-level support for both varieties of denationalization. Our main focus is on individual-level explanatory factors and we have no theoretical reason to believe that their influence on EU and globalization support differs fundamentally from one EU member state to another. But we are well aware that explaining variation *between* countries in their level of EU and globalization support is a strand of research which surely has a promising future (Brinegar and Jolly, 2005).

Second, it is statistically possible to avoid the problem of incorrect standard errors and thus biased coefficient estimates which might be the consequence of model misspecification by omitting context variables and ignoring the clustering in multi-level data structures (Steenbergen and Jones, 2002: 219-20). To avoid this problem, we included country dummy variables in our regression models, thus statistically accounting for country-level variation without being able to substantively explaining this variation.⁶

5 The Cronbach Alphas for the two resulting scales are 0.77 (positive consequences of globalization) and 0.60 (negative consequences of globalization). In our regression models, we used the first scale because of their superior scale properties. These two globalization scales are correlated with $r = -0.31$, thus measuring different, but related facets of globalization related attitudes.

6 When reporting the results of our regression models, we do not report the coefficients of the country dummy variables. The full results including all control variables can be obtained from the authors upon request.

Empirical Results and Discussion

First, we investigate the relationship between EU support and support for globalization by looking at simple bivariate correlations. As we can see from table 1, a relationship between EU support and globalization support is not only to be found in the EU-27 as a whole, but also in individual EU member states.

The results shown in table 1 make clear that citizens' attitudes towards the double processes of European integration and globalization are indeed correlated in all the 27 member states of the EU. The direction of the relationship is as expected: high levels of EU support correlate with high levels of positive perceptions of globalization and low levels of negative perceptions of globalization (except for Italy in the latter case, but this correlation is very small and not significant). In some member states, these correlations are pretty strong (Austria, Finland, Sweden, Greece, UK). These results lend credit to the idea that citizens perceive the processes of European integration and globalization as in some respect similar or related phenomena. If this were true, then we should also observe similar individual-level factors influencing citizens' attitudes towards both processes.

In order to test our hypotheses, we calculated several multiple regression models for the two dependent variables, support for European integration on the one hand and support for globalization on the other hand. In a first step, we include the socio-economic variables as well as those measuring general (political) attitudes (models 1 and 3). In a second step we include the variables capturing the support for globalization as a predictor for support for European integration and *vice versa* (models 2 and 4). Starting with those results that shed light on economic calculus-based hypotheses, we can find only partial empirical confirmation of a cleavage theoretical approach (table 2).

Table 1: Correlations between EU Support and Globalization Support by Country

Country	Correlation EU Support – Globalization Support (negative consequences)	Correlation EU Support – Globalization Support (positive consequences)	
AT	Austria	-0,30**	0,49**
BE	Belgium	-0,29**	0,20**
BG	Bulgaria	-0,25**	0,36**
CZ	Czech Republic	-0,29**	0,37**
DE	Germany	-0,33**	0,30**
DK	Denmark	-0,33**	0,38**
EE	Estonia	-0,24**	0,30**
IE	Ireland	-0,24**	0,33**
EL	Greece	-0,26**	0,45**
ES	Spain	-0,15**	0,20**
FI	Finland	-0,38**	0,40**
FR	France	-0,33**	0,24**
IT	Italy	0,02	0,32**
CY	Cyprus	-0,22**	0,15**
LV	Latvia	-0,10*	0,24**
LT	Lithuania	-0,17**	0,24**
LU	Luxembourg	-0,25**	0,22**
HU	Hungary	-0,25**	0,40**
MT	Malta	-0,36**	0,36**
NL	Netherlands	-0,36**	0,30**
PL	Poland	-0,27**	0,32**
PT	Portugal	-0,09*	0,35**
RO	Romania	-0,22**	0,24**
SE	Sweden	-0,45**	0,46**
SI	Slovenia	-0,20**	0,20**
SK	Slovakia	-0,19**	0,36**
UK	United Kingdom	-0,24**	0,46**
EU-27		-0,24**	0,35**

* significant at $p < 0,05$ ** significant at $p < 0,01$; n.s. = not significant

Table 2: Support for European integration and support for globalization

	<i>Europeanization support</i>				<i>Globalization support</i>			
	<i>Model 1</i>		<i>Model 2</i>		<i>Model 3</i>		<i>Model 4</i>	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Male	-.044***	0.029	-.038***	0.028	-.022***	0.040	-.009	0.039
Age	.009	0.001	.014	0.001	-.020*	0.001	-.023**	0.001
Education	.118***	0.023	.119***	0.022	-.004	0.031	-.038***	0.030
Manager	.016*	0.057	.015*	0.055	.005	0.078	.000	0.075
Manual worker	-.057***	0.049	-.053***	0.047	-.012	0.067	.004	0.064
Unemployed	-.039***	0.074	-.038***	0.071	-.003	0.102	.007	0.097
Egocentric expectations for the future (<i>good – bad</i>)	-.055***	0.015	-.054***	0.015	-.004	0.021	.011	0.020
HH purchasing power (<i>improved – worsened</i>)	-.127***	0.020	-.096***	0.020	-.121***	0.028	-.083***	0.027
Socio-tropic expectations for the future (<i>good – bad</i>)	-.178***	0.012	-.142***	0.012	-.139***	0.017	-.088***	0.016
Left extreme	-.009	0.052	-.007	0.050	-.007	0.070	-.004	0.068
Right extreme	-.033***	0.063	-.036***	0.060	.014*	0.086	.024***	0.082
Free competition (<i>bad – good</i>)	.018***	0.009	-.001***	0.008	.079***	0.012	.074***	0.012
Immigrants contribution (<i>dis-agree – agree</i>)	.101***	0.009	.075***	0.009	.101***	0.012	.072***	0.012
Globalization support			.257***	0.005				
Europeanization support							.290***	0.010
Intercept	4.989***	0.474	2.835***	0.460	10.697***	0.644	8.844***	0.621
Adjusted R ²	0.223		0.281		0.1230		0.1885	
F	105.81		140.54		52.00		83.64	

Source: Eurobarometer 69.2 (2008), N=16,367, EU-27, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

OLS regression with country dummies (not reported), standardized coefficients

Reference category for occupational status = other white collar worker

Reference category for political self-assessment = centre (5-6)

Weighted according to country size

Education, used as an indicator for the human capital or factor endowment of individuals, is only positively related to the support for European integration but not to the support for globalization. However, when controlling for attitudes towards European integration in model 4, the variable for education shows a highly significant albeit small *negative* effect on globalization support. This confirms findings of Gerhards and Hessel (2008). Using a different data set, they found that education is only very weakly (and even negatively) or – depending on the models they tested – not at all related to attitudes towards globalization when controlling for subjective calculations of the benefits of globalization. These findings stand in clear contrast to the effect of education on support for European integration for which it could be shown time and again to be a powerful predictor, a finding once more confirmed by our own analysis.

When looking at the occupational categories of respondents, we find significant but small effects in the reported categories (other white collar workers serving as the reference category) only with regard to the support for European integration (models 1-2). In the ranks of the unemployed and manual workers, fears of negative consequences of European integration are clearly visible whereas in the occupational category of managers, attitudes towards European integration are more positive. Nevertheless, occupation is not a significant predictor of globalization-related attitudes. However, we generally cannot exclude that our measurement instruments, lacking precision with regard to the individual's labour market location, fail to uncover the socio-structural basis of an anti-globalization cleavage.

If we turn to egocentric economic motives as possible predictors for support of denationalization, we find a differentiated picture. A (perceived) loss in one's household's purchasing power over the last five years clearly is a good predictor both of support for European integration and for globalization. But fears of a worsening of one's financial and job situation in the next twelve months are only modestly negatively related to support of European integration, and not significantly related to support for globalization at all.

The variable tapping socio-tropic economic motives does a much better job in predicting levels of support both of European integration and globalization than variables tapping egocentric motives. Those who expect the economic and employment situation of their country to worsen are supporting European integration and globalization to a much lower degree than those who expect no change or even an improvement of the economy and the overall job situation of their respective country.

Next, we consider political attitude variables, starting with the self-placement of respondents on a left-right scale. Our extremism hypothesis, stating that individuals placing themselves on the extreme ends of the left-right scale are more sceptical towards globalization

and European integration, is only partially corroborated by the data. There are small but significant effects to be found on the extreme right side of the left-right scale with regard to support for European integration (models 1 and 2). Respondents situating themselves on the positions 9 and 10 of a ten-point scale running from extreme left (1) to extreme right (10) are more sceptical towards European integration and globalization than those in the political centre (positions 5-6 serving as reference category). But this does not hold true for the opposite side of the political spectrum, i.e. the extreme left. The signs are in the expected direction but the regression coefficients are not significant. The extremism hypothesis does not find any empirical confirmation in the case of support for globalization (models 3 and 4). Situating oneself on the extreme left is not significantly related to the level of support for globalization when controlling for other variables. A position on the extreme right side of the left-right scale even goes together with more positive attitudes towards globalization. This seems highly counterintuitive at first sight. But this finding should not be overestimated since the magnitude of the β -coefficients is quite small (.014 in model 3 and .024 in model 4). One possible explanation for the unexpected sign of the coefficient in this case and for the small or insignificant coefficients in the case of support for European integration might be that the economic and cultural reasons accounting for critical attitudes towards globalization and European integration are already well captured by our variables measuring attitudes towards free competition and immigration to which we now turn.

We can indeed observe a highly significant and positive relationship between the level of support for free competition "as the best guarantee for economic prosperity" and for the idea that "immigrants contribute a lot to our country" on the one hand and the level of support for globalization on the other (models 3 and 4). The same holds true with respect to the level of support for European integration and its relationship to the openness towards immigrants, but only to a lesser extent with respect to the support of free competition. In the case of the latter variable, the effect is quite small (.018) in model 1 and virtually inexistent – and even in the wrong direction – in model 2 (-0.001).

Thus, there is an interesting difference in the way the European public perceives European integration and globalization. The degree of cultural openness towards immigration influences attitudes towards both globalization and European integration. This item, tapping a cultural cleavage dimension, is a good predictor for attitudes towards European integration and globalization. But attitudes towards an economic core element of the left-right axis – the free market and competition – are clearly a more important predictor for citizens' attitudes toward globalization compared to European integration. There are two possible explanations for this. Globalization might be seen primarily as an economic process, much more so than European integration. An alternative or complementary explanation could point to the fact

that the European Union is not only seen as unleashing forces of economic denationalization but also as a potential framework for regulating the economy. Whether respondents with critical attitudes towards free competition take also a critical stance towards the EU then crucially depends on their vision of the EU: is the European level seen as a pertinent level for market-regulating policies or not?

Finally, the results of models 2 and 4 strongly support our hypothesis that attitudes towards European integration are an important predictor for citizens' support for globalization and vice versa. As the regression coefficients show, the effects of both variables by far outweigh those of all other variables included in the respective model (.26 in model 2 and .29 in model 4). With approximately 6 percent, both variables help to explain a substantial amount of the total variance. Our assumption that European citizens perceive both European integration and globalization as instances of a broader process of denationalization finds strong empirical support in our data.

When comparing our two full models (2 and 4), we notice that our explanatory variables do a much better job in explaining the variance in the data in the case of support for European integration with an adjusted R^2 of .28 compared to an adjusted R^2 of only 0.19 in the case of support for globalization. This is especially the case for the skill-related variables education and professional status which are of highest theoretical importance for economic calculus-based approaches. They are of very little relevance in explaining attitudes towards globalization when we control for the evolution of purchasing power and egocentric and especially socio-tropic economic expectations for the future. Education is a good predictor in the case of support for European integration (.12 in model 2). But as discussed above, the level of education is an ambivalent indicator which does not only support economic interest-based explanations in line with the factor endowment model. Moreover higher levels of education also support general universalist outlooks, lower levels of education are frequently associated with particularistic and nationalist world views.

The difference in terms of explained variance in the models for globalization and European integration might be due to the fact that globalization is seen by many citizens as even more remote and abstract than European integration, a process that citizens are more familiar with. In the case of globalization, individuals might thus be more dependent on elite and party cues. This creates room for important country-specific differences which might lower the magnitude of our coefficients at the level of the EU-27 and, thus, the overall level of explained variance.

Table 3 summarizes the main findings of our investigation, again showing that economic-interest based explanations based on a factor endowment logic are only weakly corroborated by the data.

Table 3: Hypotheses and results: summary

<i>H1</i>	The level of education is positively related to the level of support for the process of globalization and European integration.	confirmed for European integration but small reverse effect for globalization
<i>H2</i>	Higher professional positions are associated with more positive attitudes towards globalization and European integration, lower position with more negative attitudes.	confirmed for European integration, no significant effects for globalization
<i>H3</i>	A loss of purchasing power over time is associated with negative attitudes towards globalization and towards European integration.	confirmed
<i>H4</i>	Positive/negative expectations about one's future financial and job situation are related to positive/negative attitudes towards globalization and European integration	confirmed
<i>H5</i>	Positive/negative expectations about one's country's future economic and employment situation are related to positive/negative attitudes towards globalization and European integration.	confirmed
<i>H6</i>	Individuals placing themselves on the extreme ends of the left-right scale are more sceptical towards globalization and the European integration.	only for right-extreme in the case of support for European integration
<i>H7</i>	Respondents with pro-market attitudes are more likely to embrace globalization and European integration.	confirmed
<i>H8</i>	Respondents who see in general beneficial effects of immigration for their countries are more likely to embrace globalization and European integration.	confirmed
<i>H9</i>	Support for European integration has a positive effect on support for globalization and vice versa even when controlling for common antecedent variables.	confirmed

Conclusion

In this contribution, we tried to fill a gap in the literature on attitudes towards European integration and globalization. Most contributions treat citizens' attitudes towards these two phenomena separately. We were explicitly interested in the relationship between the attitudes towards both processes and in the common underlying factors accounting for the level of support for European integration and globalization. In a first step, we could show that citizens' attitudes towards these two instances of denationalization are indeed correlated in the expected direction in all the 27 member states of the EU. In a second step, we asked whether socio-demographic and attitudinal sources of the support for European integration and globalization are similar or not. Using interest-based, utilitarian approaches as well as culture-based approaches and related variables, we developed a set of hypotheses which were then tested by using OLS regression models.

Our basic assumption that attitudes towards globalization and towards European integration are closely linked in the citizenry of European Union member states found strong support in our data. Our results lend credit to the idea that the European public perceives both processes as two different variants – global and regional – of a broader process of denationalization.

But do the reported results also support a cleavage theoretical approach as put forward by Kriesi et al. (2008)? We think that this is only partly the case. The empirical link between attitudes towards European integration and towards globalization points indeed to the possible emergence of a group of self-perceived “losers of denationalization” with critical attitudes towards open borders and towards the economic, social, and cultural interpenetration of their societies. This group, eventually growing as a consequence of the current deep economic crisis, might indeed serve as a support base for parties with a eurosceptic and globalization critical profile. But our results cast some doubt on the interpretation of this line of conflict in terms of a socio-political cleavage. A cleavage in the sense of Stein Rokkan should be anchored in the social structure of the society. But we could show that those variables which were intended to tap the socio-structural and labour market location and thus the skill endowment of the individual, namely education and occupation, had either no strong effect (occupation) or are open to other interpretations (e.g. education). And the finding that socio-tropic expectations for the future are a more important than egocentric expectations in accounting for variation in the level of support for European integration and globalization also casts some doubt on the cost-benefit arguments associated with the individual's structural location in the labour market which imply that egocentric evaluations are the decisive factor explaining support of the process of denationalization.

We think that we are indeed dealing here with an important and potentially lasting attitudinal issue-dimension structuring current political conflicts but lacking a clear-cut socio-structural base. As more refined indicators of the occupation and labour market location of the individual might lead to other results, further research is needed on this crucial point.

At this point, we tend to believe that attitudes towards European integration and globalization are part of a more general outlook on denationalization which encompasses economic, cultural and political dimensions which are usually not neatly disentangled by the individual. How exactly citizens see the relationship between European integration and globalization very much depends on national discursive contexts and on elite and party cues which are beyond the scope of this paper. A more fine-grained analysis at the level of individual EU member states, combining quantitative and qualitative methods in order to better understand the interplay between the dynamic of public opinion and the evolution of elite

and party discourses on both varieties of denationalization seems a promising venue for further research.

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Appendix: Description of variables

Variable	(Re-)Coding	Source
Dependent Variables		
EU support	<p>We have created an additive index of the following items:</p> <p><u>Question:</u> <i>Generally speaking, do you think that (our country) membership of the European union is...?</i></p> <p><u>(Re-)coding:</u> (1) a bad thing, (2) neither good nor bad, (3) a good thing, (4) dk=missing</p> <p><u>Question:</u> <i>Taking everything into account, would you say that (our country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European union?</i></p> <p><u>(Re-)coding:</u> (1) not benefited, (2) benefited, (3) dk=missing</p> <p><u>Question:</u> <i>At the present time, would you say that in general things are going in the right or wrong direction, in "The European Union"?</i></p> <p><u>(Re-)coding:</u> (1) things are going in the wrong direction, (2) neither the one nor the other, (3) things are going in the right direction</p> <p>The Cronbach's Alpha [EU-27] for the index is 0.7477</p>	<p>Eurobarometer (EB) 69.2</p> <p>QA7a + QA8a + QA11a_2</p>
Globalization support (positive evaluations)	<p><u>Question:</u> <i>For each of the following statements please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.</i></p> <p>We have created an additive index of the following items:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>G. is an opportunity for economic growth</i> ▪ <i>G. helps peace in the world</i> ▪ <i>G. means more foreign investments in (COUNTRY)</i> ▪ <i>G. helps the development of poorer countries</i> ▪ <i>G. helps people to be more open to external cultures</i> <p>The answer category 'strongly agree' was coded with (4), 'somewhat agree' with (3), 'somewhat disagree' with (2) and 'strongly disagree' with (1) respectively. Dk was coded as missing.</p> <p>The Cronbach's Alpha [EU-27] for the index is 0.77</p>	EB 69.2 QA47a
Globalization support (negative evaluations)	<p><u>Question:</u> <i>For each of the following statements please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.</i></p> <p>We have created an additive index of the following items:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>G. increases social inequalities</i> ▪ <i>G. represents a threat to (NATIONALITY) culture</i> ▪ <i>G. is profitable only for large companies, not for citizens</i> <p>The answer category 'strongly agree' was coded with (4), 'somewhat agree' with (3), 'somewhat disagree' with (2) and 'strongly disagree' with (1) respectively. Dk was coded as missing.</p> <p>The Cronbach's Alpha [EU-27] for the index is 0.60</p>	EB 69.2 QA47a

Independent Variables		
Education	<u>Question:</u> <i>How old were you when you finished full-time education?</i>	EB 69.2 D8
Age	<u>Question:</u> <i>How old are you?</i>	EB 69.2 D11
Male - Female	Gender: (0) male, (1) female	EB 69.2 D10
Occupation	Respondent's current occupation. Dummy variables for the listed occupational categories. "Other white collar worker" represents the reference category.	EB 69.2 D15
Free competition	<u>Question:</u> <i>For each of the following propositions, tell me if you...? Free competition is the best guarantee for economic prosperity!</i> <u>Original coding:</u> (1) totally agree, (2) tend to agree, (3) tend to disagree, (4) totally disagree, (5) dk <u>Re-coding:</u> (1) totally disagree, (2) tend to disagree, (3) tend to agree, (4) totally agree, (5) missing	EB 69.2 QD1a
Immigration	<u>Question:</u> <i>For each of the following propositions, tell me if you...? Immigrants contribute a lot to (OUR COUNTRY)!</i> <u>(Re-)coding:</u> (1) totally disagree, (2) tend to disagree, (3) tend to agree, (4) totally agree, (5) missing	EB 69.2 QD1a
Household purchasing power	<u>Question:</u> <i>Thinking about your purchase power, that is to say the things that your household can afford in your daily life. If you compare your present situation with five years ago, would you say it has improved, stayed about the same, or got worse?</i> <u>Re-)coding:</u> (1) improved, (2) stayed about the same, (3) got worse, (4) missing	EB 69.2 GA27
Left & Right extreme	<u>Question:</u> <i>In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale?</i> The scale ranges from 1 (left) to 10 (right) in terms of their political orientation. The data set includes one variable recoding the answers into 5 categories: (1-2) left, (3-4) middle-left, (5-6) centre, (7-8) middle-right and (9-10) right. Based on these five categories we have created dummy variables for each category with the centre (5-6) serving as the reference category. <u>Left extreme</u> thus refers to scale positions 1-2, <u>right extreme</u> to the scale positions 9-10	EB 69.2 D1
Socio-tropic expectations for the future	<u>Question:</u> <i>What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will it be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?</i> We have created an additive index of the following items: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>The economic situation in (our country)</i> ▪ <i>The employment situation in (our country)</i> Coding: (1) better, (2) same, (3) worse, (4) missing The Cronbach's Alpha [EU-27] for the index is 0.68	EB 69.2 qa4a_2 + qa4a_4
Egocentric expectations for the future	<u>Question:</u> <i>What are your expectations for the next twelve months: will it be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?</i> We have created an additive index of the following items: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>The financial situation in the household</i> ▪ <i>Your personal job situation</i> Coding: (1) better, (2) same, (3) worse, (4) missing The Cronbach's Alpha [EU-27] for the index is 0.63	EB 69.2 qa4a_3 + qa4a_5