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## Winners and losers of globalization in Europe: attitudes and ideologies

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

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

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

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

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

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

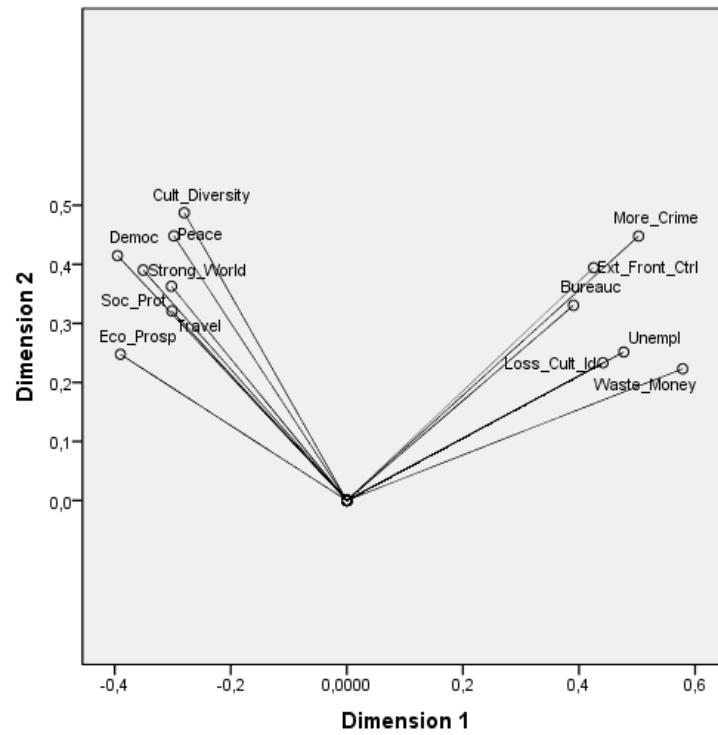
Table C. The four EU-meaning dimensions (cosmopolitan, utilitarian, libertarian, communitarian) and attitudes toward immigrants regressed on socio-demographic characteristics, by controlling for between-country variation.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Cosmopolitan	Utilitarian	Libertarian	Communitarian	Tolerance
	EU Meaning	EU Meaning	EU Meaning	EU Meaning	toward immigrants
Office					
worker (ref)					
Unemployed	-0.055 *** (-7.11)	-0.008 (-1.76)	0.013 * (2.35)	0.035 *** (5.93)	-0.357 *** (-5.38)
Student	0.072 *** (7.58)	0.007 (1.13)	-0.049 *** (-7.59)	-0.043 *** (-5.92)	0.342 *** (4.20)
Unskilled	-0.061 *** (-6.82)	-0.015 ** (-2.72)	0.007 (1.08)	0.049 *** (7.22)	-0.536 *** (-6.99)
manual					
workers					
Skilled	-0.034 *** (-5.19)	0.007(1.67)	0.009 (1.91)	0.011 * (2.12)	-0.262 *** (-4.68)
manual					
workers					
Professional	0.027 ** (2.67)	0.011 (1.74)	-0.013 (-1.81)	-0.033 *** (-4.32)	0.309 *** (3.62)
Self-employed	-0.021 (-1.76)	0.008(1.06)	0.007 (0.83)	0.002 (0.25)	-0.236 * (-2.39)
Company owner	0.003 (0.20)	0.009 (1.08)	-0.005 (-0.52)	-0.011 (-1.06)	0.051 (0.43)

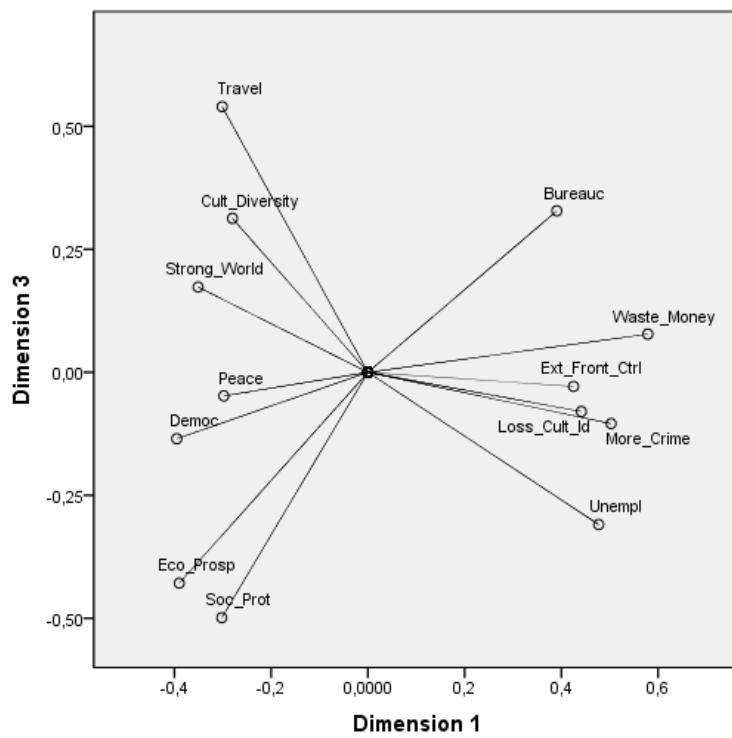
Mid	0.046 *** (5.73)	-0.002 (-0.33)	-0.008 (-1.51)	-0.035 *** (-5.71)	0.454 *** (6.70)
manager					
Top manager	0.041 ** (2.59)	0.034 *** (3.54)	-0.007 (-0.63)	-0.057 *** (-4.77)	0.594 *** (4.56)
Education	0.004 *** (7.20)	-0.0002 (-0.61)	-0.0001 (-0.24)	-0.003 *** (-6.49)	0.056 *** (12.64)
Age	-0.0005 *** (-3.38)	-0.0003 ** (-2.92)	0.0007 *** (6.50)	0.0004 *** (3.60)	-0.0014 (-1.08)
Female	0.015 *** (3.37)	-0.009 ** (-3.26)	-0.020 *** (-6.66)	0.008 * (2.52)	0.012 (0.32)
Internet	0.027 *** (5.05)	0.004 (1.36)	-0.012 ** (-3.23)	-0.026 *** (-6.47)	0.369 *** (8.11)
Rural (ref)					
Small town	0.012 * (2.28)	0.0002 (0.08)	-0.0016 (-0.46)	-0.008 * (-2.03)	0.126 ** (2.90)
Large town	0.019 *** (3.38)	0.002 (0.51)	-0.009 * (-2.27)	-0.012 ** (-2.82)	0.283 *** (5.92)
Non EU	0.009(0.93)	0.018 ** (3.16)	-0.014 * (-2.19)	-0.012(-1.68)	0.931 *** (11.57)
migrant					
EU migrant	0.018(1.91)	0.004(0.73)	-0.014 * (-2.23)	-0.010(-1.49)	0.644 *** (8.28)
_cons	0.455 *** 30.02	0.107 *** (11.54)	0.149 *** (12.16)	0.182 *** (15.17)	4.437 *** (21.74)
ICC	0.0434	0.0447	0.0627	0.0482	0.1278
R <sup>2</sup>	0.0291	0.0044	0.0116	0.0337	0.0777

Note. Table reports multilevel regression maximum likelihood estimates. *t* statistics in parentheses; R<sup>2</sup> values were calculated following the formula proposed by Snijders and Bosker (1999:102).

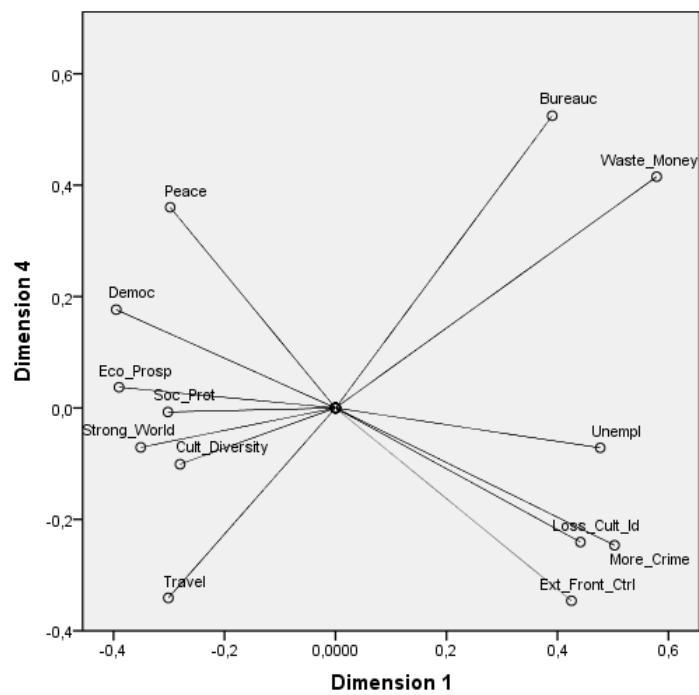
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



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



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



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