Index

academics, 18
accountability
democratic accountability, 33, 147, 171–2, 174
electoral accountability, 147, 171–2
political accountability, 17, 30–2, 123–4, 141, 150–1, 171–2
active citizenship, 228
addressee of claim, 153, 189, 190
administrative elites, 215
AfD. see Alternative für Deutschland
affectedness principle, 224
aggressive chauvinism, 4
AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) Justice and Development Party, Turkey, 106
allocation of authority, 120
Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), 2, 112, 144, 203
America First politics, 228
Americanization, 20, 21
‘an sich’ class, 19
anti-globalization Left, 2
anti-liberalism, 230
anti-pluralist thinking, 232
Archibugi, Daniele, 220–1, 222
Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC), 236
asylum policies, 26
Australia, 186
Austria, 218
Austrian presidential elections, 2–3
authoritarianism, 232, 235
authority allocation, 45
axes of contention, 13, 14, 28, 65–6, 72
Barber, Benjamin, 211
barrier-free relocation, 41
Bartolini, Stefano, 208–9
Battle of Seattle, 2, 145
Bavarian Christian-Democrats (CSU), 203
Beitz, Charles, 210, 222
beneficiary of claims, 191
Benhabib, Seyla, 210
Blair, Tony, 1
border crossings
capital and, 173–4
closed borders, 146, 179–88, 181–2
as contentious, 149, 159
education, 80
open borders, 144, 146, 179–88, 181–2
by political authority, 27
political globalization, 72, 73
position variable in, 153–4
borderless governance, 228
boundaries
permeability of, 45, 58, 120
symbolic, 29, 38–9, 42
Brexit referendum, 2, 3, 17–18, 145
Bush, George W., 107
Bush, Jeb, 2
business elites, 119, 120–1, 122, 123, 125, 131–3, 136
business firms. see employers/employers’ organizations
Calhoun, Craig, 231
Canada, 16, 186
Caney, Simon, 210
capital
cross-border opportunities, 173–4
free flow of, 210
social capital, 42, 120, 123, 213
symbolic capital, 42
transnationalist capitalist class, 122
capital flight, 174
capitalism/capitalists, 40, 122
capital owners, 1
catch-all parties, 218, 219
causality in studying supranational elites, 126
CDU/CSU (Christlich Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union), Germany. see German Christian Democrats
CETA. see US-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
chaunism nationalism, 231
China, 180–2, 223, 224
CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) Republican People’s Party, Turkey, 106, 109, 114, 215
civil society organizations, 91, 133, 185, 236
claimant reference in migration, 154
claims analysis contestation over globalization, 175–9, 177f framing globalization problems, 188–99, 194–5t, 198t introduction to, 173–5 open vs. closed borders, 179–88, 181–2t problem scope, 103t, 153, 155, 163t, 164, 166f, 166, 167, 168t, 170, 188–99, 190t summary of, 199–204, 201f
class ‘an sich’ and ‘für sich,’ 19 conflict, 1, 8, 10 consciousness, 29, 52, 92, 119 lower class, 39, 218, 233 middle class, 17, 18, 174, 207, 210, 218 theory, 75 transnational capitalist class, 122 upper class, 39, 42, 123 working class, 1, 18 class cleavage, 1, 7, 10, 63 cleavage/cleavage theory class cleavage, 1, 7, 10, 63
Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments (Lipset, Rokkan), 65
climate change claims analysis, 175–8, 191 comparisons to, 108–13 cosmopolitan attitudes toward, 58 globalist coalition and, 106 open vs. closed borders, 180 overview of, 26–7, 45 salience and polarization in, 97–100 supranational elites, 136–9, 137–8t, 141
Clinton, Bill, 1
Clinton, Hillary, 1, 2, 5 closed borders, 146, 179–88, 181–2t cognitive mobilization theory, 39 cognitive skills and European integration, 63 Cold War, 3 collective actors, 177, 201–3, 208
Commerce and Coalitions (Rogowski), 8
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 162, 170
cosmopolitan democracy, 228–32
communitarian democracy, defined, 3, 90, 151. see also cosmopolitan-communitarian divide
community constitutive community, 12, 95, 109, 146, 153
global community, 11, 192
political community, 108, 213, 228 comparative fit index (CFI), 69 competitive democracy, 23 concomittant variation, 66
Confederal Group of the European United Left and the Nordic Green Left (GUE-NGL), 163, 167
Index

conflict
class conflicts, 1, 8, 10
formations, 3, 6–7, 8, 17–28, 40
political conflict formation, 40
conservative parties, 2, 89, 107, 187–8, 199, 202, 217
Conservative Right, 167–9, 183
consociational democracy, 232
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide
cultural capital vs. economic incentives, 52–63, 55–60t, 61–2t
defects of, 207–8
elite-mass gap, 28–9, 37–9
in Germany, 39–43, 103–8, 104f/globalization cleavage, 101
international assemblies and, 144–7
introduction to, 1–6
left-right cleavage, 4–5
in Mexico, 103–8, 108f
in Poland, 103–8, 105f
as political ideology, 10–17, 28, 197
social basis, 5–6
supranational elites, 119–20, 125
in Turkey, 103–8, 106f
in United States, 103–8, 107f/cosmopolitanism
cultural capital, 42–3
defined, 4, 78
democracy and, 220–8
of European elites, 127–30, 128f, 129t
as normative theory, 11–12
opposition to, 214–15
supranational elites, 123
cultural cohesion, 5, 213
cultural habitus, 173, 174
culture
boundary drawing, 20
cultural capital, 42–3, 52–63, 55–60t, 61–2t
demarcationists, 9
democratic accountability, 33, 147, 171–2, 174
democratization, 112, 145, 224
denationalization, 65–6, 192
Die Linke party, 1
Dutch Freedom Party (PVV), 202
discrimination, 65–6, 192
discriminant analysis, 96
distributional effects/redistribution, 3, 19, 210, 221
Eckstein, Harry, 208
economic category, 66–7
economic globalization analysis of, 41, 65–6
economic globalization (cont.)
labour relative to capital, 122
mass publics, 65–7, 73–86
open vs. closed borders, 179–88, 181–2t
positive attitudes toward migration, 72
economic incentives, 40–2, 52–63, 55–60t, 61–2t, 120–2, 125, 131–3
Economic Institute of the ETH Zurich, 66
economic interest, 17, 30, 39, 78, 201, 213, 214, 234
economic protectionism, 5
education, 42, 76, 78, 80, 82
EFDD. see Europe of Freedom and
Direct Democracy (EFDD) group
elections, 2, 91, 124, 166, 217, 226
electoral accountability, 147, 171–2
elite-mass divide. see also
supranational elites
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 63–4, 150
within countries, 46–63
cultural capital, 42–3, 52–63, 55–60t, 61–2t
descriptive analyses, 46–52, 48f
economic incentives, 40–2, 52–63, 55–60t, 61–2t
in Germany, 39–43
introduction to, 28–9, 37–9
methodology of study, 46
operationalizations, 45–6
survey data, 43–5
elites. see also supranational elites
administrative elites, 215
business elites, 119, 120–1, 122, 123, 125, 131–3, 136
European elites, 119, 120, 123, 124–6, 127–30, 128f, 129t, 215
global elites, 119, 120, 123, 124–6, 215
national elites, 30, 64, 120, 123, 127, 142–3, 215
elite survey, 25, 29, 30, 44, 46
employers/employers' organizations, 10, 16, 29, 45, 47, 187
enlightened communitarianism, 197
environmental problems, 71–2, 79, 80
EP. see European Parliament
epistemic communities, 22
EPP. see European People's Party
EU Council of Ministers, 176
Euro crisis, 184–5
European Central Bank (ECB), 223
European Commission/commissioners, 112, 152, 163, 185
European Council, 152
European Court of Human Rights, 176
European elites, 119, 120, 123, 124–6, 127–30, 128f, 129t, 215
European integration, 38, 63, 89, 119, 123, 184, 186, 229
European Parliament (EP)
existence and nature of globalization, 157–64, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f,
163t
international assemblies and cleavage
literature, 146, 148, 151–2, 155–6
observed patterns of international
assemblies, 164–9, 166t, 168t
European People's Party (EPP), 163, 167, 170
European polity, 192, 200
European Union (EU)
admirative elites, 215
analysis of, 24, 27, 31–2
barrier-free relocation, 41
as model for global governance, 211
protest mobilization, 2
recognition of international
authority, 8
regional integration, 200
Europe of Freedom and Direct
Democracy (EFDD) group, 164
euroscepticism, 5, 216
executive, 21, 22, 32, 185, 187, 196,
203, 215, 224, 226
expertise/experts, 23
factor analysis, 31, 45, 71, 175, 177t,
177
farmers, 32, 108, 187, 197, 199
Far Right, 167–9, 183, 185, 187, 202–3
Fidesz party, 217
first-past-the-post system, 151
Fligstein, Neil, 89
foreign direct investment (FDI), 41, 122
foreign trade, 68
framing, 96, 167, 170, 188–99, 200
France, 144, 186
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), 103
Freedom House index, 23–4
freedom of individual, 12
freedom of religion, 27, 106
Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), 2–3, 5, 188, 202, 217, 230
free trade, 89, 101, 159, 175–7, 186, 201–2, 210
frequent travellers, 21, 120
Frieden, Jeffrey A., 8
fringe parties, 166
Front National, 144, 217
full democracy, 23
functional democracy, 164
‘für sich’ class, 19
fusion cuisine, 19
G77 (Group of 77) countries, 161, 162, 170
GAL-TAN dimension of politics, 32, 202
Geert Wilders’ Freedom Party, see Partij voor de Vrijheid
gender equality, 26, 229
generality, 209
German Christian Democrats (CDU), 2–3, 104, 202, 218
German Constitutional Court, 176
German parliament, 2
Germany
catch-all parties, 218
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 39–43, 103–8, 104f
education and pro-immigration, 54, 62
elite–mass gap, 38, 47
European elites, 127–30, 128f, 129f
free trade, 186
international trade regulation, 46–52, 48f
migration issues, 97
open vs. closed borders, 180, 184
opposition to cosmopolitanism, 214–15
polarization and globalization
cleavage, 97, 98f, 99f, 102r, 109, 110–13
regional integration, 177–8
global community, 11, 192
global democracy, 220–1
global elites, 119, 120, 123, 124–6, 215
global governance, 33, 146–8, 165, 171–2, 211, 236
global inequality, 188
globalism/globalists, 3, 99–108, 109–10
globalization, see also political globalization
cleavage theory, 6–10, 208–19
contestation over, 175–9, 177f
cultural explanation of, 6, 19–21
economic explanation of, 6, 18–19
economic globalization, 41
existence and nature of, 157–64, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f, 163r
framing globalization problems, 188–99, 194–5, 198t
impact of, 207
international assemblies and, 147
introduction to, 1–6
polarization of, 157–64, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f, 163r, 200–2
political explanation of, 6, 15t, 21–3
political ideologies, 10–17
research designs, 23–8
shifts in social-structural substrate, 173
social structuration, 17–23
winners and losers of, 90, 149, 187
global justice, 11, 210, 228
global polity, 189–91
global warming, 72, 84–6, 87f, see also climate change
Goodhart, David, 21
governance
borderless governance, 228
global governance, 33, 146–8, 165, 171–2, 211, 236
supranational governance, 15, 16, 23
government, see executive
Grand Coalition, Germany, 3
Grande, Edgar, 9
Great Depression (1929), 227
Greece, 1
Greek financial system, 184–5
green/alternative/libertarian (GAL) politics, 9
Index

greenhouse gases, 27, 67, 72–3, 80, 84–6
Green parties, 2–3, 103, 167, 170, 183, 185, 202–3, 217
gross domestic product (GDP), 125
GUE-NGL. see Confederal Group of the European United Left and the Nordic Green Left

habitus, cultural, 173, 174
Haider, Jörg, 5
Heckman estimator regressions, 129, 137–8, t, 139–40t
Held, David, 210, 222
high culture, 19
Hirschman, Albert O., 174
Hollywood, 20
humanitarian intervention, 14
human rights
analysis of, 27, 68, 97–100
claims analysis, 175–8
international assemblies and, 157–69
open vs. closed borders, 180
polarization and globalization cleavage, 110–13
supranational authority, 190–1
violations, 226
Hungary, 217

ideational element of cleavage, 209–13
Identitarian Movement, 2
identity-related issues, 89, 113, 204
ideology/ideologies, 10–17, 28, 84, 197
immigrants/immigration. see also migration
analysis of, 19, 20–1
campaigns against, 111–12
elite-mass gap and, 38
policy positions, 120
preferences on, 45
supranational elites, 134–5t, 134–6, 141

Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 176

individual freedom, 12, 209
industrial revolution, 1, 7, 92
institutionalized political order, 14
intercoder reliability, 94, 95
interest groups, 22, 25, 209, 216, 233, 236

international assemblies
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 144–7, 169–72
data and methodology of study, 151–6
observed patterns, 164–9, 166t, 168t
study findings, 157–69
theory of, 147–51
internationalism, 78
internationalization of politics, 170, 227
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 227
international organizations, 23, 66, 144–6, 147–51, 154, 157, 216, 217, 221, 231
international trade
regulation of, 26, 47f, 49f
supranational elites, 131–2t, 131–4
internet, 26
inverted U-curve thesis, 186
Islam, 2, 20, 213, 217
issues
contextual determinants of, 72–86, 73t, 74f, 76f, 78t, 81t, 82f, 83t, 85f, 87f
of countries, 66–72, 67t, 70t
identity-related issues, 89
individual determinants, 73–86, 76f, 78t, 81t, 82f, 83t, 85f, 87f
migration issues, 97
Japan, 186
judiciary, 30, 105, 107, 109, 182–3, 216
Justinian Code, 222
Kaczynski, Lech, 105
Kelsen, Hans, 222
Kitschelt, Herbert, 5
Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias, 225
Kriesi, Hanspeter, 9
Kyoto Protocol, 26–7, 125

labour parties, 2
labour unions, 16, 29, 32. see also trade unions
Law and Justice (PiS) party, 105
Lefrancios, Roselyne, 154
left-right cleavage, 4–5, 54, 58
Index

legislatives, 187, 196, 226. see also parliaments
Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 5
Le Pen, Marine, 5
liberal-authoritarian, 75
liberal-communitarian republicanism, 230
liberalism, 10, 20, 231
liberal nationalism, 15, 17
liberal parties, 202–3
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 7, 236–7
Lithuania, 154
London, 17
low culture, 19
lower class, 39, 218, 233
MacIntyre, Alasdair, 211
mainstream parties, 2, 37, 165, 186, 217
Mair, Peter, 10, 209
majoritarian and non-majoritarian institutions, 21–3, 226, 230
majoritarianism, 230
Marx, Karl, 19
Marxism/Marxist theory, 10
mass-elite attitude gaps. see elite-mass divide; supranational elites
mass media, 91, 93–4, 107, 108–9, 113–14
mass publics
contextual determinants of issue data, 72, 73r, 74f
countries, issues and data, 66–72, 67t, 70t
globalization and, 86–8
individual and contextual determinants of issue data, 73–86, 76f, 78t, 81r, 82f, 83t, 85f, 87f
introduction to, 63–6
material interest. see economic interest materialism, 29
media
mass media, 91, 93–4, 107, 108–9, 113–14
news media, 29, 175, 176, 187
mediatization/mediatized, 93
membership principle, 211, 222
Merkel, Angela, 3, 107
Mexico
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 103–8, 108f
education and pro-immigration, 54, 62
elite-mass gap, 38, 47
European elites, 127–30, 128f, 129t
free trade, 186
open vs. closed borders, 180
opposition to cosmopolitanism, 214–15
polarization and globalization cleavage, 97, 98f, 99t, 102t, 109, 110–13
political globalization and, 86
regional integration, 177–8, 200
middle class, 17, 18, 174, 207, 210, 218
migration. see also immigrants
immigration analysis of, 26, 68, 76, 108–13
claimant reference, 154
claims analysis, 175–8, 191–2
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 103–8, 105f
domestic problem definitions, 189
effects of education on, 82
international assemblies and, 157–69
open vs. closed borders, 180
polarization and globalization cleavage, 110–13
salience and polarization, 97–100
Mill, John Stuart, 66
mobility, 8, 41–2, 75, 121, 173–4
mobility-rootedness, 187
Mouffe, Chantal, 233
Mugabe, Robert, 158
multiculturalism, 229
multidimensional unfolding (WMMDU), 95–6, 160–1, 161f, 162f
multinational firms, 18
NAFTA, see North American Free Trade Agreement
Nagel, Thomas, 12
national elites, 30, 64, 120, 123, 127, 142–3, 215
National Front, 2, 5
nationalism, 155, 228
national parliaments, 31, 165, 176, 203, 215, 217
© in this web service Cambridge University Press
www.cambridge.org
Index

national polity, 191–2, 199–200
national sovereignty, 3, 22, 171–2, 184–5, 200, 224, 228, 230
nation-state democracy, 228, 232
nation-state sovereignty rights, 211
Nazi regime, 215
neo-liberalism, 4, 5, 107
net emigration, 125
Netherlands, 5, 144, 188, 218, 235
The Netherlands, 218
new politics, 75
‘New Right,’ 2
news media, 29, 175, 176, 187
non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 22, 29, 90
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 3, 24, 27, 31–2, 184
NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands), 104
observed patterns of international assemblies, 164–9, 166f, 168t
open vs. closed borders, 144, 146, 179–88, 181–2t, 216
Ordered Least Squares (OLS) regressions, 46, 55–60t, 61–132t, 134–5t, 181–2t, 194–5t
organizational element of cleavage, 209, 216–19
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 67t, 67, 72, 73t, 74f, 86, 162, 170, 207
pandemics, 26
Paris Convention, 26–7
parliamentary democracies, 21 parliamentums, 2, 31, 163, 176, 203, 215, 217. see also European parliament
parochialism, 155
Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV), 2, 144, 217
party families, 160, 163–4, 166, 168t, 176, 198–9, 202
party-political polarization, 187–8
Patrictic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA), 2
People’s Home/Folkshemmet, 213, 218, 229
permeability of borders/boundaries, 45, 58, 120
permissive consensus, 184, 200
pluralist representation, 234
Podemos party, 1
Pogge, Thomas, 209, 210, 222
Poland
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 103–8, 105f
education and pro-immigration, 54, 62
elite mass gap, 38, 47
European elites, 127–30, 128f, 129t
free trade, 186
international trade regulation, 46–52, 48f
open vs. closed borders, 184
opposition to cosmopolitanism, 214–15
polarization and globalization cleavage, 97, 98f, 99t, 102t, 109, 110–13
regional integration, 177–8
polarization
analysis and findings, 96–103, 98f, 99t, 102t, 103t
comparisons, 108–13
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 101
democracy and, 232–6
differences, 110–13
discussion, 113–15
of globalization, 157–64, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f, 163t, 200–2
hypotheses of, 90–2
introduction to, 89–90
party-political polarization, 187–8
similarities, 109–10
theory and data, 92–6
political accountability, 17, 30–2, 123–4, 125, 141, 150–1, 171–2
political agenda-setting, 93
political cleavage, 7
political community, 108, 213, 228
political conflict formation, 40
political entrepreneurs, 13
political explanation of globalization, 6, 15t, 21–3
political globalization
border-crossing authority, 72, 73
as consequential, 173, 174
mass publics, 65–7, 73–86
open vs. closed borders, 179–88, 181–2
political ideology/ideologies, 10–17, 28, 197
political philosophers, 3, 11, 13, 17, 28
The Political Sociology of Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism: Representative Claims Analysis (De Wilde), 95, 153
political space, 32–3, 65–6, 96, 217, 224, 233, 234
politicization/politicized, 8, 184, 236
polity
European polity, 192, 200
global polity, 189–91
national polity, 191–2, 199–200
Polity IV index, 23–4
pollutants, 71–2, 84–6. see also greenhouse gases
populism, right-wing, 5, 9, 219, 236, 237
position variable in open/close borders, 153–4
Post Hoc Games-Howell test, 167
post-materialism, 29, 78–9, 80, 84–6, 88, 219
Prawo i Sprawiedliwoœæ (PiS) Law and Justice, Poland, 105
PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática) Party of the Democratic Revolution, Mexico, 108
preferences on immigrants, 45
pre-globalization era, 231
PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico, 108
primary socialization, 42, 142
problem load, 67, 71–2, 84–6, 88
problem scope (of claims), 103t, 153, 155, 163t, 164, 166t, 166, 167, 168t, 170, 188–99, 190t
proportional representation, 152, 166, 171
protectionism, 16, 40, 201–2
protest politics, 1, 22
public discourse, 90, 99, 110, 148–9, 210, 213, 233
public sphere, 13, 90, 92–4, 96, 113–15
PVV. see Partij voor de Vrijheid
racism, 4
radical Left, 1
Rawls, John, 12, 13
reactionary traditionalism, 231
redistribution/distributional effects, 3, 19, 210, 221
Reformation, 92
regional integration, 101, 175–8, 189, 193, 200
regionalism, 16, 188
regressions
Heckman estimators, 129, 137–8t, 139–40t
Ordered Least Squares, 46, 55–60t, 61–132t, 134–5t, 181–2t, 194–5t
reliability, intercoder, 94, 95
religious cleavage, 7
religious freedom, 27, 106
religious fundamentalism, 20
rents (housing), 19
repolarization, 233
repoliticization, 232–6
representation, pluralist, 234
representation, proportional, 152, 166, 171
Republicar People’s Party, Turkey. see CHP
Republicans/Republican Party (US), 2, 107, 111
research design, 6, 23–8, 33, 112, 147, 165, 171
rhetorical entrapment, 149
right-wing populism, 4, 5, 9, 219, 236, 237
Rogowski, Ronald, 8
Rokkan, Stein, 7, 236–7
Roman private law, 222
root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), 69
Rubio, Marco, 2
rural-urban cleavage, 7
Russia, 224
Russian Revolution, 7
Rutte, Mark, 235
Index

salience, 97–100, 157–64, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f, 163t
Sandel, Michael, 13, 211
Sanders, Bernie, 1, 2, 5
Sartori, Giovanni, 92
Schröder, Gerhard, 1
Seattle, Battle of, 2
secondary socialization, 42–3, 142
self-government, 228
skills, see education
social capital, 42, 120, 123, 213
social cleavages, 7
Social Democrats, 2–3, 103, 105, 167, 170, 185, 202–3, 218
social globalization, 66–7
Socialist party, 103
socialist theory, 10
socialization, 42–3, 121, 136, 138, 141–2, 143
social networks, 33, 52, 123
social stratification, 88
social structuration, 7, 17–23, 42
societal denationalization, 8
socio-economic inequality, 229
solidarity, 5, 14, 16, 43, 92, 149, 211, 220, 229, 231
South Korea, 186
sovereignty
allocation of authority and, 52
analysis of, 3
border controls and, 200
as deficient, 22
democracy and, 230
distribution of values, 127
established elites and, 89
Euro crisis and, 184–5
loss of, 149
migration claims and, 154
national identity and, 113, 204
national sovereignty, 22, 171–2, 184–5, 200, 224, 228, 230
promotion of, 109
transfer of nation-state rights, 211, 221, 224
as undemocratic, 14
upholding of, 14
space, political, 32–3, 65–6, 96, 217, 224, 233, 234
Spain, 1
SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), 2, 103
speech acts, 148
SPSS PreScal algorithm, 95
stakeholder democracy, 224
standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR), 69
Statham, Paul, 184
statism, 12
Stolper-Samuelson theorem, 8, 40
Strache, Heinz-Christian, 230
strong publics, 148, 151–2, 171
structural element of cleavage, 209–213
structuralism, 12
students, 18, 126, 133, 136
Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), 103
The Sun, 17–18
supranational authority, 74, 75, 78, 84, 190–1
supranational elites
climate change, 136–9, 137–8t, 141
cosmopolitan-communitarian divide, 119–20
cosmopolitanism of, 127–30, 128f, 129t
cultural capital, 123
economic incentives, 121–2
immigration and, 134–5t, 134–6, 141
international trade, 131–2t, 131–2
mass-elite gap, 119–21, 142–3
methodology of, 124–6
political accountability, 123–4
theory of, 121
variance in cosmopolitan attitudes, 130–42
supranational governance, 15, 16, 23
supranational institutions, 192–8, 200, 203, 204, 212
supranational integration, 16, 29, 30, 48f, 52, 58, 61–140t, 69, 127–30, 143, 212, 215
supranationalization, 23, 217, 221–2
survey, elite, 25, 29, 30, 44, 46
Swedish Social Democrats, 213, 229
Swiss People’s Party (SVP), 217
symbolic boundaries, 29, 38–9, 42
<p>| Symbolic Capital | 42 |
| Syriza, Greece | 1 |
| SZ. see Süddeutsche Zeitung |
| Taylor, Charles | 13, 230–1 |
| taz (Die Tageszeitung, German newspaper) | 103 |
| Technocracy, see expertise/experts |
| Terrorism | 26 |
| Third Way | Social democracy | 1, 188 |
| Tilly, Charles | 22 |
| Trade, see also international trade |
| Foreign trade | 68 |
| Free trade | 89, 101, 159, 175–7, 186, 201–2, 210 |
| International assemblies and liberalization | 40, 68, 167 |
| Trade unions | 93, 94, 131–3, 197. see also labour unions |
| Traditional/authoritarian/nationalist (TAN) politics | 9, 89 |
| Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) | 2, 5 |
| Transatlantic Trends Survey | 25, 45 |
| Transitional stakeholder democracy | 224 |
| Transnational engagement | 125 |
| Networks | 30, 39 |
| Practices | 120, 121, 123 |
| Transnational capitalist class (TCC) | 122 |
| Treaty of Lisbon | 152 |
| Trump, Donald | 2, 5, 18, 226, 228, 230, 237 |
| Turkey | 103–8, 106f |
| Cosmopolitan-communitarian divide | 106f |
| Education and pro-immigration | 54, 62 |
| Elite-mass gap | 38, 47 |
| European elites | 128, 129, 127–30 |
| Free trade | 186 |
| International trade regulation | 48, 46–52 |
| Open vs. closed borders | 180 |
| Opposion to cosmopolitanism | 214–15 |
| Polarization and globalization cleavage | 97, 98f, 99r, 102r, 109, 110–13 |
| Regional integration | 177–8, 200 |
| Tusk, Donald | 105 |
| UN High Commissioner for Refugees | 176 |
| United Kingdom (UK) | 186 |
| United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) | 2 |
| United Nations (UN) | 147–8 |
| United Nations (UN) Security Council | 8, 25 |
| United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) | 146, 148–9, 151–2, 157–69, 158f, 160f, 161f, 162f, 163r, 166r, 168r, 180 |
| United States (US) | 103–8, 107f |
| Cosmopolitan-communitarian divide | 54, 62 |
| Education and pro-immigration | 38, 47 |
| Free trade | 186 |
| International trade regulation | 46–52, 48f |
| Open vs. closed borders | 180 |
| Opposition to cosmopolitanism | 214–15 |
| Polarization and globalization cleavage | 97, 98f, 99r, 102r, 109, 110–13 |
| Regional integration | 177–8, 200 |
| Universal health insurance | 10 |
| Universalism/universalist | 4, 12, 16, 20, 209, 210, 211, 214 |
| Universality | 209 |
| UN Secretary-General | 151, 176 |
| Upper class | 39, 42, 123 |
| US-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) | 2 |
| Veil of ignorance | 13 |
| Vlaams Belang, Belgium | 89 |
| Voting patterns | 148, 151 |
| Walzer, Michael | 211 |
| Washington Consensus (1989/90) | 207 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weighted metric multidimensional unfolding (WMMDU), 95–6, 160–1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161f, 162f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westernization, 20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilders, Geert, 5, 188, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winners and losers of globalization, 90, 149, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working class, 1, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>world culture, 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>world music, 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Trade Organization (WTO), 8, 89, 144–5, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Values Survey, 25, 29, 46, 67, 68, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZB International Elite Survey, 25, 43–5, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xenophobia, 233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>