

Online Appendix

'The middle-class base of European integration? New class divides and attitudes towards market integration in 10 EU countries'

Appendix 1. Details on variables operationalisation

Dependent variables: wording of the survey items

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Survey item</i>
Attitudes towards European integration	Q2_2. Some say European integration should be pushed further. Others say it has already gone too far. Please indicate your views using a scale from 0 to 10, where '0' means integration "has already gone too far" and '10' means it "should be pushed further".
Concern for economic consequences of European integration	Q2_11. Some people have fears about the process of European unification. How much are you currently afraid of: _1 The loss of jobs and social security in (COUNTRY).

Appendix 2. Note on the operationalisation of 'Occupation'

Iversen and Soskice (2019: 238-239) sought to capture the division between the old and new middle classes using a number of variables: income, education, gender, area of residence (for the city-country divide), and occupation. The latter variable is the more difficult one to capture: Iversen and Soskice proposed a rather simple operationalization, which is implicitly based on a simplified version of Daniel Oesch's (2006) work on the redefinition of occupational classes in post-industrial, knowledge-based societies. In the article we use an approach similar to that by Iversen and Soskice.

Our operationalisation of the variable *occupation* is also inspired by Oesch's (2006) occupational class categories, with some modifications due to the specificities of the data source we use—the REScEU mass survey 2019 ('Reconciling Economic and Social Europe: Values, Ideas and Politics': Donati, Pellegata and Visconti, 2021). The class schema proposed by Oesch rely on the international ISCO classification. Since the CAWI-based REScEU survey does not use the ISCO classification, we simplified Oesch's categorisation by taking some assumptions on the work-logic dimension based on respondents' sector of work. In doing that, we borrowed from previous works that also used simplified occupational classes in political research (e.g. Gingrich and Häusermann, (2015); Beramendi et al., (2015)). Moreover, the question on occupation in REScEU is retrospective for those who are currently out of work (wording: '*What is your current occupation? If you are retired or currently out of work, please answer for your most recent job.*'). This allowed us to attribute an occupational class also to, for example, pensioners and the unemployed.

More specifically, we relied on the following survey items to construct the *occupation* variable: *q8_1* (current situation in labour market), *q8_2* (occupation), *q_5* (sector of work), and the level of education. Based on these variables, we came to a occupational categorization that follows Daniel Oesch's 16-class categorization as closely as possible (the reference details and scripts available at <http://people.unil.ch/danieloesch/scripts/>). Oesch 16-class categorization combines two different dimensions. The first is vertical: occupations are divided into four hierarchical levels: i. professional/managerial; ii. associate professional/associate managerial; iii. skilled working class; iv. low-skilled working class. The second dimension is horizontal and distinguishes between different work logics: i. independent work logic; ii. organizational/administrative work logic; iii. technical work logic; iv. interpersonal work logic. Since REScEU data do not rely on the specific ISCO classification on which Oesch's work is based, we had to simplify especially the 'horizontal dimension', which is however less relevant in the perspective of Iversen and Soskice (2019), and to take some assumption on the 'work logic' based on respondents' sector of work (var. *Q_5*, which was, in any case, inspired by the same ISCO classification). For example, we assume a respondent working in the 'Information services and data processing' sector to follow a technical work logic, a respondent declaring to work in 'Activities of households as employers' to follow an interpersonal work logic, and so forth.

Table A1 summarises the steps we took for the operationalisation of the variable 'occupational class'. As mentioned above, in the first step (column II in Table A1), we reconstructed baseline occupational categories bowing from Oesch's 16-class categorisation. Column III details the various jobs or activities included in each occupational category, in some cases combined with other variables (sector of employment or education). In the second step of the operationalisation, we grouped the occupational categories into a smaller number of occupational classes, by following Oesch's simplified 5-class schema, while also keeping in mind Iversen and Soskice's essential categorization and theoretical focus (explained in the article). In this way we obtain a more parsimonious independent variable that we used in the multivariate analyses whose results are shown in the article. The occupational classes are the following (column I in Table A1):

- **Business owners:** Employers and small business owners.
- **Higher-grade services:** high- and lower-grade managers, technical and sociocultural professionals, technicians, sociocultural semi-professionals, (semi-)skilled clerks and service workers.
- **Lower-grade services:** Low-/unskilled service workers
- **Manual workers:** Skilled and unskilled manual workers
- **Never worked:** full-time students, respondents who never worked.

The frequency statistics for these occupational classes are reported in Table A2 below.

Table A1. Two-step operationalisation of the variable ‘occupational class’

I. Occupational class <small>More parsimonious variable used in the analyses</small>	II. Occupational categories <small>Adjusted version of Oesch 16-class categorisation</small>	III. Jobs / activities included <small>Based on a combination of the variables q8_1 (current situation in labour market), q8_2 (occupation), q_5 (sector of work), and ‘level of education’ (low, medium, tertiary or higher) from the REScEU 2019 mass survey</small>
Business owners	Employers	Business proprietor, owner (full or partner) of a company.
	Small business owners	Owner of a shop, craftsmen.
Higher-grade services	High-grade managers	General management, director or top management (managing director, director general, other director).
	Lower-grade managers	Middle management, other management (department head, junior manager).
	Technical professionals	Self-employed and employed professionals working in technical sectors. ¹
	Technicians	Employees (working mainly at desk), employees (not at desk but travelling), casual and free-lance workers in technical sectors.
	Sociocultural professionals	University professor or lecturer; Medical or nursing professional with tertiary education; self-employed professionals not in technical sectors; employed professionals in sociocultural sectors. ²
	Sociocultural semi-professionals	Primary or secondary school teachers; Mid-skilled medical or nursing professionals; free-lance workers in sociocultural sectors; Employees (working mainly at desk or travelling) in sociocultural sectors; casual workers in sociocultural sectors.
	(Semi-)skilled clerks and service workers	Employees (working mainly at desk, not in technical nor sociocultural sectors), employees (not working at desk but travelling and not in technical nor sociocultural sectors, with tertiary education); employees with tertiary education but in service jobs (hospital, restaurant, shop, police, fireman, etc.); Free-lance workers not employed in technical nor sociocultural nor manual-work sectors. ³
Lower-grade services	Low-/Unskilled service workers	Employees (not at desk but travelling or in a service job like hospital, restaurant, shop, police, fireman, etc.) with lower-than-tertiary education; Low-skilled medical or nursing workers; Other unskilled service workers; service workers in sectors other than technical or sociocultural.
Manual workers	Skilled manual workers	Supervisors; Skilled manual workers; Farmer, forester or fisherman with at least upper-secondary education; freelance workers in manual-work sectors with at least upper-secondary education.
	Unskilled manual workers	Low-educated farmer, forester or fisherman; Other unskilled manual workers; Casual manual workers; Unskilled free-lance manual workers.
<i>Out of the labour market:</i>		
Never worked	Students	Students (var q8_1). Student-workers who reported ‘student’ as main activity are considered as such.
	Never worked	Retired, Fulfilling domestic tasks or looking after the children/family, Unemployed/in search of the first job, In permanent disability, Other inactive not seeking for a job who declared that they had never had an occupation or did not answer to q8_2; the few remaining missing cases that answered ‘never had an occupation’ to q8_2 are also grouped in the residual category ‘Never worked’ (this left us with only 467 missing values).

¹ We considered ‘Technical sectors’ the following: Software, Telecommunications, Broadcasting, Information services and data processing, Other information industry, Computer and Electronics Manufacturing, Construction (note: construction is used here to distinguish architects from other high-skilled professionals; low-skilled construction workers are not counted as technical professional nor technicians in our categorization).

² We considered ‘Sociocultural sectors’ the following: Publishing; College, University, and Adult Education; Primary/Secondary (K-12) Education; Other education industry; Human health and social work activities; Arts, entertainment and recreation, culture; Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies.

³ We considered ‘Manual-work sectors’ the following: Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; Mining and quarrying; Computer and Electronics Manufacturing; Other Manufacturing; Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; Water supply, sewerage, waste management; Construction.

Table A2. Descriptive statistics by country

	Greece	Germany	Italy	Hungary	Finland	France	Netherlands	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Total	Min	Max
Support for EU integration	6.182	5.132	6.179	6.203	4.997	4.594	4.602	6.151	7.17	4.273	5.56	0	10
Fear of loss of jobs (<i>N</i> =13,182)	.7842	.4518	.7652	.4608	.5756	.7687	.5696	.3783	.704	.517	.596	0	1
Business owners	.0827	.0417	.0633	.0573	.0466	.0263	.0786	.0522	.0474	.0319	.0528	0	1
Higher-grade service	.5835	.5921	.4346	.5004	.5335	.5185	.6113	.5219	.4594	.6159	.5372	0	1
Lower-grade service	.1346	.1354	.1257	.1712	.1342	.1734	.1187	.1014	.1263	.1302	.135	0	1
Manual workers	.1299	.1701	.2177	.2068	.2178	.1832	.1334	.2481	.2794	.1417	.1933	0	1
Never worked	.0693	.0606	.1586	.0643	.0679	.0986	.0581	.0764	.0876	.0803	.0816	0	1
Low education	.0283	.1827	.3451	.1751	.0987	.1956	.2872	.0446	.3591	.068	.1767	0	1
Mid education	.5016	.5378	.465	.5577	.4672	.4314	.3388	.6377	.2652	.4791	.4697	0	1
High education	.4701	.2795	.1899	.2672	.4341	.373	.374	.3177	.3757	.4529	.3537	0	1
Income self-placement	4.992	4.927	4.63	4.524	5.009	4.436	5.835	4.825	4.726	5.208	4.91	0	10
Urban	.511	.3567	.3038	.3447	.4073	.175	.2406	.4455	.4404	.4447	.3687	0	1
Men	.5606	.5378	.5207	.5058	.5406	.5234	.5262	.5061	.5304	.5414	.5292	0	1
Age	41.19	46.68	47.6	47.5	46.49	46.87	48.69	44.08	45.34	48.59	46.27	18	70
Left	.2969	.3213	.3249	.2533	.3204	.2892	.2889	.2632	.4901	.3219	.3168	0	1
Centre	.2677	.3291	.1553	.316	.1689	.2087	.1735	.2595	.1894	.1482	.2229	0	1
Right	.3386	.278	.3451	.299	.3962	.3607	.4452	.3699	.2518	.4889	.3565	0	1
No ideology	.0969	.0717	.1747	.1317	.1144	.1413	.0925	.1074	.0687	.041	.1037	0	1

Transnationalism	3.376	2.525	2.242	2.329	2.649	2.089	2.367	2.882	2.679	3.114	2.63	0	10
Aspiration for children	.1898	.0976	.1586	.086	.0379	.0929	.0769	.0855	.1926	.0803	.1096	0	1
No aspiration for children	.2906	.2197	.2177	.2982	.2313	.2843	.2758	.3926	.2589	.3497	.2826	0	1
No children/no opinion	.5197	.6827	.6236	.6158	.7309	.6228	.6473	.5219	.5485	.57	.6078	0	1
Permanent contract	.5118	.7307	.5477	.7607	.5762	.6836	.6547	.6218	.5454	.6904	.6325	0	1
Atypical employment	.3858	.2181	.3063	.1681	.3631	.244	.2995	.2995	.3733	.2686	.2926	0	1
Others/missing	.1024	.0512	.146	.0713	.0608	.0723	.0458	.0787	.0813	.041	.0748	0	1
Income has worsened	.3961	.2559	.3671	.2866	.3252	.3681	.234	.2398	.2612	.2482	.2976	0	1
Income will worsen	.1732	.2094	.2084	.1805	.1579	.0912	.1997	.152	.09	.2105	.167	0	1
Experienced unemployment	.5465	.1929	.3781	.2727	.3591	.2638	.243	.2678	.5099	.2572	.3292	0	1
<i>N (tot.: 12,532)</i>	1270	1270	1185	1291	1267	1217	1222	1322	1267	1221	1254	1185	1322

Note: all descriptive statistics refer to the sample used in the analyses that take 'EU integration should be pushed further' as dependent variable ($N=12,532$), except the row 'Fear of loss of jobs', for which the reference sample is the one used in the analyses on this binary dependent variable ($N=13,182$).

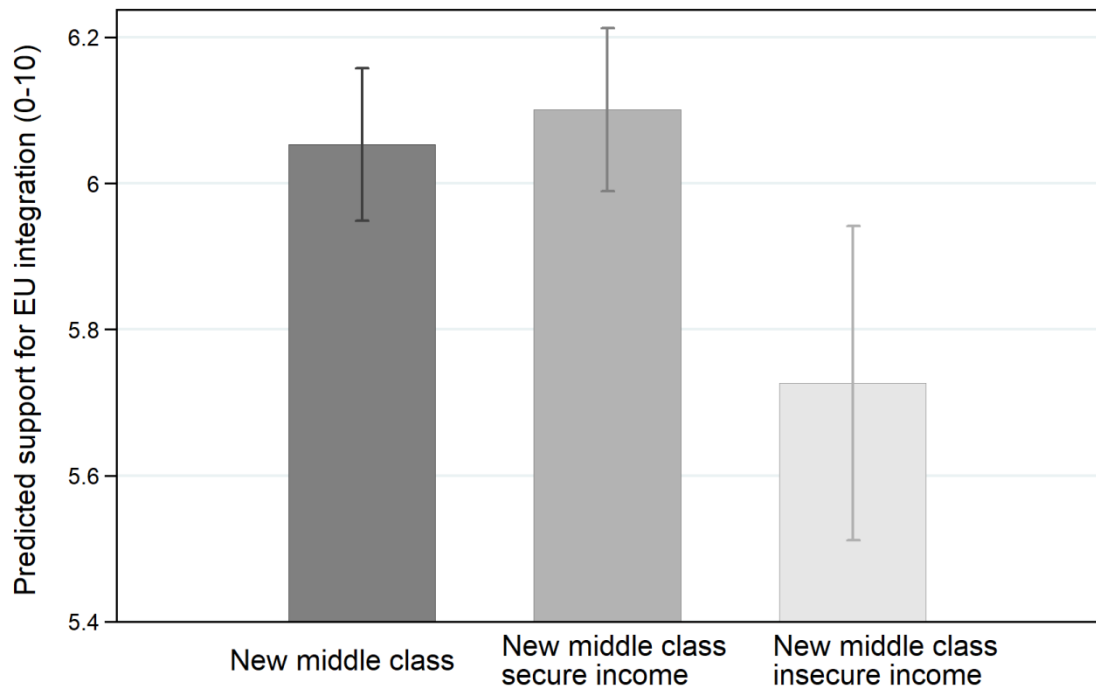
Tables A3. OLS regressions of ‘EU integration should be pushed further’ (0-10 response scale). Beta coefficients and standard errors shown.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
	<i>base</i>	<i>controls</i>	<i>children</i>	<i>atypical</i>	<i>Income past</i>	<i>Income future</i>	<i>Unempl.</i>	<i>full</i>
Occupation (ref.: High-grade service)								
Business owner	-0.15	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11	-0.11	-0.12
	0.202	0.342	0.328	0.331	0.327	0.348	0.336	0.301
Lower-grade service	-0.16	-0.17*	-0.17*	-0.16*	-0.17*	-0.17*	-0.17*	-0.17*
	0.051	0.04	0.04	0.044	0.039	0.04	0.037	0.04
Manual worker	-0.16*	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.12	-0.13	-0.12
	0.038	0.093	0.106	0.095	0.094	0.094	0.087	0.104
Never worked	0.08	0.19	0.2*	0.02	0.18	0.2*	0.18	0.03
	0.443	0.059	0.045	0.858	0.065	0.047	0.068	0.795
Education (ref.: graduate)								
Up to post-secondary	0.3***	0.23**	0.22**	0.23**	0.23**	0.23**	0.23**	0.23**
	0	0.002	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
Tertiary	0.69***	0.44***	0.44***	0.44***	0.44***	0.43***	0.44***	0.44***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Income	0.18***	0.19***	0.19***	0.19***	0.2***	0.2***	0.19***	0.2***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Urban	0.2***	0.12*	0.12*	0.12*	0.12*	0.11*	0.12*	0.12*
	0	0.03	0.027	0.03	0.03	0.033	0.03	0.028
Male		0.17**	0.17**	0.17**	0.17***	0.16**	0.17**	0.17***
		0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Age		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0.058	0.108	0.078	0.053	0.294	0.073	0.518
Ideology (ref.: centre)								
Left		0.9***	0.9***	0.9***	0.89***	0.9***	0.9***	0.9***
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Right		-0.69***	-0.69***	-0.69***	-0.69***	-0.69***	-0.69***	-0.7***
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not located		-0.4***	-0.4***	-0.4***	-0.41***	-0.41***	-0.4***	-0.41***
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transnationalism index		0.16***	0.16***	0.16***	0.16***	0.16***	0.16***	0.16***
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children will do better (ref.: unlikely)								
Likely			0.47***					0.45***
			0					0
Atypical employment				-0.03				-0.04
				0.653				0.552

Income in respect to the past (ref.: same or improved)								
Worsened						0.07		0.13*
						0.225		0.027
Future income (ref.: same or will improve)								
Will worsen						-0.34***		-0.35***
						0		0
Experienced unemployment								
							0.03	0.05
							0.572	0.38
constant	4.78***	4.38***	4.08***	4.37***	4.33***	4.37***	4.35***	3.94***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N	12532	12532	12532	12532	12532	12532	12532	12532
R ²	0.11	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.18

* p<.1; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Figure A1. Predicted support for EU integration for three different 'new' middle-class profiles: new middle-class average (first bar), and new middle-class respondents who think that their income will improve (second bar) or deteriorate (third bar) in the next five years.



Note: Estimates are based on model 8 in Table A3.

Tables A4. Logistic regressions of ‘afraid of loss of jobs and social security’ (binary yes-no). Log-odds coefficients and standard errors shown.

	Model 1 <i>base</i>	Model 2 <i>controls</i>	Model 3 <i>atypical</i>	Model 4 <i>income past</i>	Model 5 <i>income future</i>	Model 6 <i>Unempl.</i>	Model 7 <i>full</i>
Occupation (ref.: High-grade service)							
Business owner	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0	0
	0.923	0.819	0.914	0.948	0.877	0.986	0.973
Lower-grade service	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.04
	0.174	0.27	0.415	0.292	0.256	0.481	0.478
Manual worker	0.08	0.12*	0.11*	0.12*	0.13*	0.1	0.1
	0.126	0.03	0.047	0.027	0.026	0.089	0.07
Never worked	0.18*	0.06	0.18	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.17
	0.02	0.443	0.087	0.478	0.547	0.944	0.103
Education (ref.: graduate)							
Up to post-secondary	-0.23***	-0.25***	-0.25***	-0.25***	-0.25***	-0.24***	-0.24***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tertiary	-0.43***	-0.45***	-0.45***	-0.45***	-0.44***	-0.43***	-0.43***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Income							
	-0.16***	-0.17***	-0.17***	-0.15***	-0.17***	-0.16***	-0.15***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Urban	-0.12**	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.11**	-0.1*	-0.11**
	0.002	0.008	0.008	0.008	0.007	0.01	0.01
Male		-0.35***	-0.35***	-0.34***	-0.35***	-0.34***	-0.34***
		0	0	0	0	0	0
Age		-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***
		0	0	0	0	0	0
Ideology (ref.: centre)							
Left		-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.27***
		0	0	0	0	0	0
Right		0.2***	0.2***	0.2***	0.21***	0.2***	0.2***
		0	0	0	0	0	0
Not located		0.21**	0.21**	0.21**	0.21**	0.21**	0.2**
		0.003	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.004	0.005
Transnationalism index		0	0	-0.01	0	-0.01	-0.01
		0.738	0.686	0.477	0.697	0.461	0.304
Atypical employment			0.13**				0.02
			0.005				0.652
Income in respect to the past (ref.: same or improved)							
Worsened				0.25***			0.14**
				0			0.002
Future income (ref.: same or will improve)							

Will worsen					0.54***		0.49***
					0		0
Experienced unemployment						0.39***	0.36***
						0	0
constant	2.46***	3.05***	3***	2.9***	3.08***	2.7***	2.69***
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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N	13182	13182	13182	13182	13182	13182	13182
Adj. R ²	0.09	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.1	0.11

* p<.1; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table A5. Robustness checks for ‘EU integration should be pushed further’: full OLS models with the categorical specification of ‘income’ (model 1), post-stratification weights (model 2), and cluster-robust standard errors (model 3). Beta coefficients shown.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	<i>Income categorical</i>	<i>Weights</i>	<i>Cluster-robust SE</i>
Occupation (ref.: Hi-grade service)			
Business owner	-0.1	0	-0.12
Lower-grade service	-0.17**	-0.08	-0.17*
Manual worker	-0.17**	-0.09	-0.12
Never worked	0	0.18	0.03
Education (ref.: graduate)			
Up to post-secondary	0.25***	0.17*	0.23**
Tertiary	0.51***	0.39***	0.44***
Income		0.20***	0.20***
Income categorical (ref.: Living comfortably on present income)			
Coping on present income	-0.34***		
Finding it difficult on present income	-0.51***		
Finding it very difficult on present income	-0.82***		
Urban	0.15***	0.11*	0.12*
Male	0.18***	0.14**	0.17*
Age	0	0	0
Ideology (ref.: centre)			
Left	0.88***	0.97***	0.90***
Right	-0.64***	-0.64***	-0.70**
Not located	-0.36***	-0.42***	-0.41**
Transnationalism index	0.17***	0.17***	0.16***
Children will do better (ref.: unlikely)			
Likely	0.47***	0.39***	0.45**
Atypical employment	-0.06	-0.07	-0.04
Income in respect to the past (ref.: same or improved)			
Worsened	-0.01	0.19**	0.13
Future income (ref.: same or will improve)			
Will worsen	-0.24***	-0.28***	-0.35*
Experienced unemployment	0.05	0.07	0.05

constant	5.30***	4.00***	3.94***
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N	12653	12381	12532
R ²	0.17	0.17	0.18
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* p<.1; ** p<.05; *** p<.01

Table A6. Robustness checks for ‘afraid of loss of jobs and social security’: full logit models with the categorical specification of ‘income’ (model 1), post-stratification weights (model 2), and cluster-robust standard errors (model 3). Log-odds shown.

	Model 1 <i>Income categorical</i>	Model 2 <i>Weights</i>	Model 3 <i>Cluster- robust SE</i>
Occupation (ref.: Hi-grade service)			
Business owner	-0.06	-0.04	-0.01
Lower-grade service	0.04	0.05	0.04
Manual worker	0.13**	0.1	0.1
Never worked	0.17*	0.18	0.18
Education (ref.: graduate)			
Up to post-secondary	-0.26***	-0.31***	-0.24***
Tertiary	-0.46***	-0.49***	-0.44***
Income		-0.13***	-0.15***
Income categorical (ref.: Living comfortably on present income)			
Coping on present income	0.39***		
Finding it difficult on present income	0.74***		
Finding it very difficult on present income	1.05***		
Urban	-0.13***	-0.09*	-0.10***
Male	-0.34***	-0.34***	-0.33***
Age	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***
Ideology (ref.: centre)			
Left	-0.25***	-0.24***	-0.27***
Right	0.16***	0.25***	0.20**
Not located	0.18**	0.21**	0.20**
Transnationalism index	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.01
Atypical employment	0	0	0.04
Income in respect to the past (ref.: same or improved)			
Worsened	0.19***	0.19***	0.13
Future income (ref.: same or will improve)			
Will worsen	0.40***	0.51***	0.48***
Experienced unemployment	0.30***	0.39***	0.35***
constant	1.48***	2.69***	3.06***
N	13320	13182	13182

Adj. R2	0.11	0.12	0.11
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* p<.1; ** p<.05; *** p<.01