



Individual Transnationalism and EU Support: An Empirical Test of Deutsch's Transactionalist Theory

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Abstract

Recent trends of euroscepticism seriously challenge Deutsch's transactionalist theory that increased transnational interactions trigger support for further political integration. While transnational interactions have indeed proliferated, EU support has diminished. This dissertation aims at solving this puzzle by arguing that transnational interaction is highly stratified across society. Its impact on EU support therefore only applies to a small portion of the public. The rest of the population not only fails to be prompted to support the integration process, but may see it as a threat to their realm. This is even more the case as parallel to European integration, global processes of transnationalisation create tensions in national societies. Consequently, the hypotheses guiding this dissertation are as follows: (1) The more transnational an individual, the more (s)he is prone to support European integration. (2) This effect is more pronounced in countries and regions that are more transnationalised. These hypotheses are tested using multilevel analyses of survey data from the Eurobarometer waves 65.1 (2006) and 67.1 (2007). The analyses show that transnational interactions and networks are concentrated among a small group of highly educated, young Europeans. Individuals highly engaged in transnational interactions and well endowed with transnational human capital are significantly more likely to support EU membership and to consider themselves as European, even more so in highly globalised countries. This relationship is weaker, however, in intra-European border regions, where transnational interaction is less stratified across society.



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Bio

Theresa Kuhn graduated from the University of Passau, Germany, in 2006. She spent the academic year 2003/2004 at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Toulouse, France, where she obtained the *Certificat d'Études Politiques*. Prior to coming to the European University Institute in 2007, Theresa worked as an external consultant to the European commission, DG Education and Culture, and at the Austrian Embassy in Madrid. Next to pursuing her PhD, Theresa Kuhn coordinated the Austrian research team of the Europe-wide voting advice application EU-Profiler. Since 2009, she has been involved in the FP-7 research project 'The Europeanisation of Everyday Life: Cross-border Practices and Transnational Identities among EU and Third-Country Citizens'. In the fall term 2010, Theresa was a visiting fellow at UC Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies. Parts of the results of Theresa's dissertation are forthcoming as single-authored articles in *European Journal of Political Research* and *European Union Politics*. In September 2011, Theresa Kuhn will take up a two-year position as a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the University of Oxford.