

Latent versus Open Perception of Globalization as a Cultural Threat: Experimental Study from Slovakia

Pavol Baboš, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, pavol.babos@uniba.sk

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Abstract:

After recent elections in Europe and the United States, globalization has become one of the most highlighted factors in the media post-election analyses. It is assumed that globalization had contributed to frustration that had subsequently led voters to cast their votes for political forces against the status quo or reversing the achievements of economic and political integration of the democratic West. The term globalization is so much present in the daily discourse of the media, and also social science that nobody would probably challenge its existence. However, in the 1990s there was still an academic debate on whether globalization existed. Currently the term globalization is used in almost every area of human activity; ranging from communication, the media, politics, environmental protection, culture, the entertainment industry and sport. In the academic literature the most developed research stream concerns the economic understanding of globalization when connected to international trade. The key object of interest is the movement of products, services and capital in relatively high intensity, over long distance and in a relatively short time. This study accepts the conceptual definition suggested by Brady, Beckfield and Zhao (2007) who argue that globalization should be perceived as a multi-dimensional process that establishes international networks. This definition has two advantages. First, it acknowledges the existence of several dimensions of globalization, which is already used in empirical studies worldwide. Accepting dimensionality thus allows us to speak of globalization in relation to themes such as culture and gastronomy, as well as the economy. The second advantage is that the network metaphor enables the inclusion into analysis of both actors (people, firms and states) and the relationships between them (trade exchange, investments and migration). Researchers focusing on various aspects of globalization thus can bring up the operationalization of indicators that follows their dimension the best.

This study follows Dreher's work based on research in more than 120 countries over more than three decades which resulted in the identification of three globalization dimensions: economic, political, and social. Globalization is mostly perceived as a economic threat to the majority of society, but in recent years there is increasingly more people perceiving it a cultural threat as well. Higher intensity of travelling and international exchange of ideas may lead many people to experience simultaneously both traditional and modern culture, and also culture coming from various geographic regions to be present in one place. In the Slovakian cultural space the trend is visible; for instance, in commercialization of foreign holidays, entertainment, the food industry, etc. As a consequence, many people may have the feeling that an increasing pervasive modern lifestyle is pushing out what they considered traditional, rooted in values that are culturally stable. This study aims to contribute to this debate by studying negative attitudes towards globalization as a cultural threat, and compares the latent perception with open and clearly articulated attitudes.

This study employs experimental methods; more precisely the *list* experiment which is typical for latent perception research. Participants were recruited among the students of the Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University in Bratislava. Participation was voluntary and students were offered the ECTS credits for their participation. 88 students took part, and they were randomly assigned to the control and experimental groups. Data collection was conducted simultaneously in separated spaces so that there were several barriers between the groups to prevent any communication about the course of the experiment. The participants in both groups had to answer how many of the items in the list they agreed with. Both groups were shown the following three items: Dumplings with cottage cheese is part of Slovakian typical cuisine; The High Tatras belong to the most beautiful natural phenomenon in Slovakia; P. O. Hviezdoslav is one of the most important Slovak poets. The experimental group list, however, listed an additional item: Slovakian culture needs to be protected against external forces.

The analysis was based on the linear regression analysis, which puts the answer on the number of agreed items on the left-hand side of the equation. Control variables, such as demographics, socio-economics, and other factors previously linked to the globalization attitudes (such as the EU attitudes), are on the right-hand side of the equation. The main limitation might lie in the use of student sample. This study argues that use of student samples is appropriate especially if there is no specific target population. Several studies are reviewed that support the student samples in voting experiments or research using framing experiments. The author of this study admits that generalization is only viable if we accept the assumption that the cognitive processes of sampled students are not different from the general population. In addition to this assumption, there are studies and simulations showing that the effects found in the experimental studies are similar, whether the sample is based on students or the general adult population. The findings reveal 48% of the participants implicitly perceives globalization as a cultural threat. In order to meaningfully interpret this number for the real world, the author compared how many people within the same sample also articulated this opinion openly. Approximately one month prior to the experiment the participants filled out a questionnaire including an item on globalization perception. Approximately 39% of the participants, (the same students who participated in the experiment) agreed with this claim. But latently, globalization is perceived as a threat by 48% of the participants. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the latent perception of globalization as a cultural threat is about a quarter higher than the open, explicit admission of this threat.

Keywords:

Globalization. Experimental research. Cultural threat. Latent attitudes.

Introduction

Several international surveys have showed recently that the amount of people who believe to have been hurt by globalization is rather high. The Ipsos agency, in a survey for the International Republican Institute, found that almost half of the Central European countries' population think that globalization has harmed their families. According to the European Commission (EC), on average 45% of Europeans in 2016 considered globalization an economic threat, and 53% of Europeans thought it is a cultural threat (European Commission 2017). Globalization as a social phenomenon is making its way into the societal discourse in Slovakia.

The situation is more complicated by the fact that the globalizing processes are still deepening in the European Union (EU). The EU has been removing barriers of trade for more than two decades now, and still increasing the degree of freedom of movement of people, capital, products and services, but also information and ideas – consider, for example, the ban on roaming fees that took effect in June 2017. With about half of the EU citizens believing this process is hurting them (economically and/or culturally), this must have its behavioral consequences impacting on politics and economy. The reason is that globalization today is interconnected with several political and social aspects in the public sphere, although it may have been perceived as purely economic issue for a longer while. The quoted figures present open, articulated attitudes towards globalization. However, it is likely that implicit and latent negative feelings towards globalization are more widespread.

The aim of this paper is to study the latent perception of globalization as a threat and compare the latent perception with explicitly articulated attitudes. The study employs an experimental approach and departs from the assumption that there is a difference between the share of population that expresses their negative attitudes towards globalization openly, and, on the other hand, the share of people who may not articulate it openly yet still have latent negative feelings towards the same subject.

The following section reviews the relevant literature and empirical research in relation to globalization attitudes. It also shows how the perception of globalization shifted from the 1990s. What follows is a section describing how Slovakia has been globalizing, especially in three

dimensions: political, social and economic. The methodology section introduces the experiment and explains its design and analytical approach, the findings are then presented, and before concluding I discuss the limitations of this study.

Globalization as a social phenomenon

The term globalization is so much present in the daily discourse of the media, but also social science that nobody would probably challenge its presence. However, in the 1990s there was still an academic debate on whether globalization existed (for further details on this debate see for example Sutcliffe, Glyn, 1999). The fact remains that before any analysis of globalization's effects it is necessary to define the concept and operationalize indicators so that scientists can proceed to measure it.

Currently the term globalization is used in almost every area of human activity, ranging from communication, media, politics, environmental protection, culture, entertainment industry and sport. In the academic literature the most developed research stream concerns an economic understanding of globalization, connected to international trade. The key object of interest is the movement of products, services and capital in relatively high intensity, over a long distance and in a relatively short time.

Keohane and Nye pointed out that the globalization definition should be narrower, as many of the temporary definitions would also encompass diseases spread, such as smallpox or black death, which appeared first on one continent (smallpox in Egypt around 1350 B.C., the Black Death in Asia), and only later they spread to two other continents. While neither of the two diseases first broke out in Europe, both of them had significant consequences after reaching Europe.

As Clark argues, research nowadays should not put limits on globalization research in a way that captures just the economic side of it. He suggests understanding globalization as a process that increases "networks of connections among actors (state and non-states) at multi-continental distances, mediated through an open-ended variety of flows including people, information and ideas, force, capital, goods, and materials." (Clark, 2000, 86).

This study accepts the conceptual definition suggested by Brady, Beckfield and Zhao (2007). The authors argue that globalization should be perceived as multi-dimensional process that establishes international networks. This definition has two advantages. First, it acknowledges the existence of several dimensions of globalization, which is already used in empirical studies worldwide. Accepting dimensionality thus allows us to speak of globalization in relation to culture (for example the Hollywood movies penetrating European markets), gastronomy (Vietnamese restaurant in almost every district of Slovakia), as well as economy. Second advantage is that the network metaphor enables to include into analysis both actors (people, firms and states) and relationships between them (trade exchange, investments and migration). Researchers focusing on various aspects of globalization thus can bring up the operationalization of indicators that follows their dimension the best.

Empirical studies of globalization effects have focused so far mostly on economic consequences. Dreher (2006) has investigated 123 countries in the world between 1970 and 2000 to conclude that more intense globalization is clearly contributing to countries' economic growth. Brady et al. (2007) provided a thorough review of literature studying globalization's effect on welfare state and civil societies. The authors admit that there are rather good arguments for both the retrenchment and growth of the welfare state, but it is difficult to make a final conclusion. They point out that the globalization processes can have a rather strong indirect effect if the political

elites abuse the globalization arguments in order to support more effective public policies; which means public finance cuts. Potrafke (2015) provides a meta-analysis of globalization effects on various economic issues such as fiscal policies, economic growth, redistribution policies and also human rights and gender equality. Potrafke concludes that globalization did not pose a threat to welfare states, did not lower the tax revenues and also did not limit government spending. On the other hand, due to the intensified trade exchange in 1980s the share of people living in absolute poverty has decreased, according to Chen et al. (2007).

Inglehart and Norris (2016) analysed the rather distinct impact of globalization, the political support for political promises reversing it, made either by Donald Trump or the Brexit proponents. The authors pointed out that cultural factors play no less a role than the economic ones.

Globalization may thus be perceived as an economic threat, but in the recent years there has been increasingly more people perceiving it as a cultural threat (European Commission 2017). Several scholars pointed out that higher intensity of travelling and international exchange of ideas may lead many people to experience simultaneously both traditional and modern culture, and also culture coming from various geographic regions to be present in one place (Giddens, 1985; Castells, 1998). In the Slovakian cultural space the trend is visible, for instance, in commercialization of foreign holidays, entertainment, food industry, etc.). As a consequence, many people may have the feeling that the relatively fast-changing of modern lifestyles is pushing out what they considered traditional, rooted in values, and culturally stable. According to some scholars (Yang et al. 2011, Kashima et al. 2009), people are usually convinced that their country is undergoing a process of modernization that shifts the society from low skills and high morality into a state with high skills but low morality. This process is often linked with globalization and could potentially explain the relationship between the perceived threat feelings and preferences for traditional values (Conversi 2014, McLaren 2002, Held et al. 2000).

Globalizing Slovakia

The question whether Slovakia is globalizing might be trivial and even unnecessary. However, in order to treat it scientifically, it is important to define globalization and identify indicators that measure its presence and intensity.

Since globalization became the subject of social science research in the 1990s, there has been many definitions and conceptualisations of the phenomenon, and this can result in some difficulty in getting oriented when considering this amount of definitions and indicators. This study has already noted that the conceptualization by Brady et al. (2007) will be the departing point for this research. Brady et al. (2007) writes about multidimensional networks of actors.

Considering the empirical face of the globalization research, we follow Dreher's definition of globalization's dimensions and indicators. As Dreher's work was later developed by the KOF Institute and has been since a dominant source for empirical study, we will follow its example. This section thus describes Slovakia in regard to three dimensions, and their operationalization as developed by Dreher et al. (2008): economic, political and social globalization.

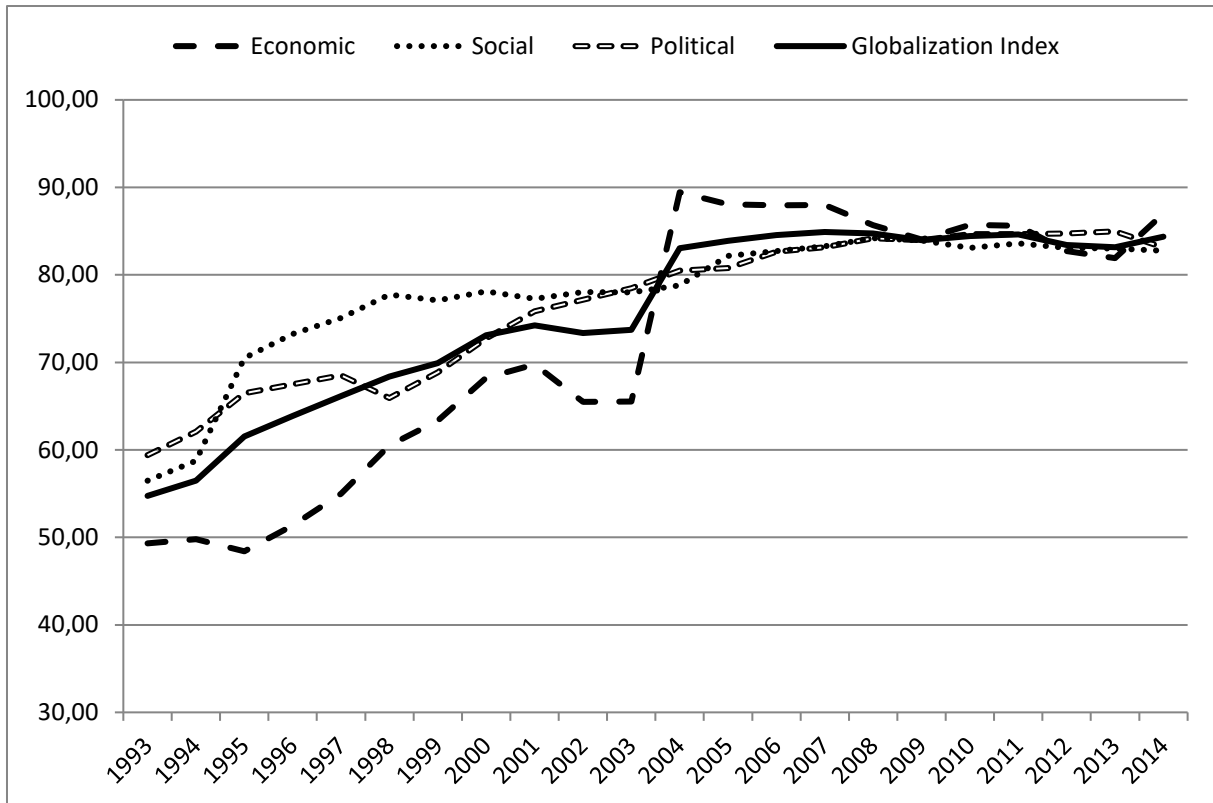
An increasingly intensified flow of products, capital and services over a long distance (usually internationally or between continents) is typical for economic globalization. An important part of the flow is also the exchange of information and perception of the traded subjects which usually accompanies market-based trade. Subsequently, as pointed out by Keohane and Nye (2000), the production processes adapt to the needs of economic globalization. In Slovakia the example would be foreign investments in the automotive industry – with its main exporting

market to Germany – but also in the amount of people working in the shared services centres providing support services to customers all over the world.

The second dimension is political globalization. A typical feature of this dimension is a diffusion of power and policy-making among several, mostly international and supra-national institutions. This means that the national authorities are not the only and exclusive holders of political power and legislative competencies but are nestled partly outside the national arenas. In Slovakia and also other post-communist countries of Central Europe the political globalization can be traced to the 1990s when various international treaties and agreements were signed and Slovakia became a member of several organizations, such as International Labor Organization, World Trade Organization, and others. The most important one regarding political globalization, however, became the accession to the European Union in 2004. This will be clear from data presented below.

Before presenting the data, however, the third dimension of globalization should be described. The social dimension of globalization captures the flow of ideas, information, audio-visual products and people who serve as the carriers of the ideas and information (although it is important to note the rapid growth of internet services make the flow relatively easy without the actual movement of people). Social globalization also includes the international transfer of scientific knowledge, and also establishing the habits of one culture in another, geographically distant place. In Slovakia one can observe this phenomenon, for instance, in commercial marketing of celebrations like Halloween or St. Valentine's Day that are not inherent to Slovakian cultural tradition. According to many scholars, the third dimension of globalization is the most difficult to operationalize and measure, nevertheless, it has become simultaneously the most intensive form of globalization in recent years.

Dreher (2006, 2008) developed operationalization of the three globalization's dimensions based on various indicators such as foreign direct investments, income of foreign citizens in a country, level of restrictions of international trade and capital flow, number of embassies in a country, international tourism, share of internet users, etc. Detailed description including the dataset are available on the website of the KOF Swiss Economic Institute.



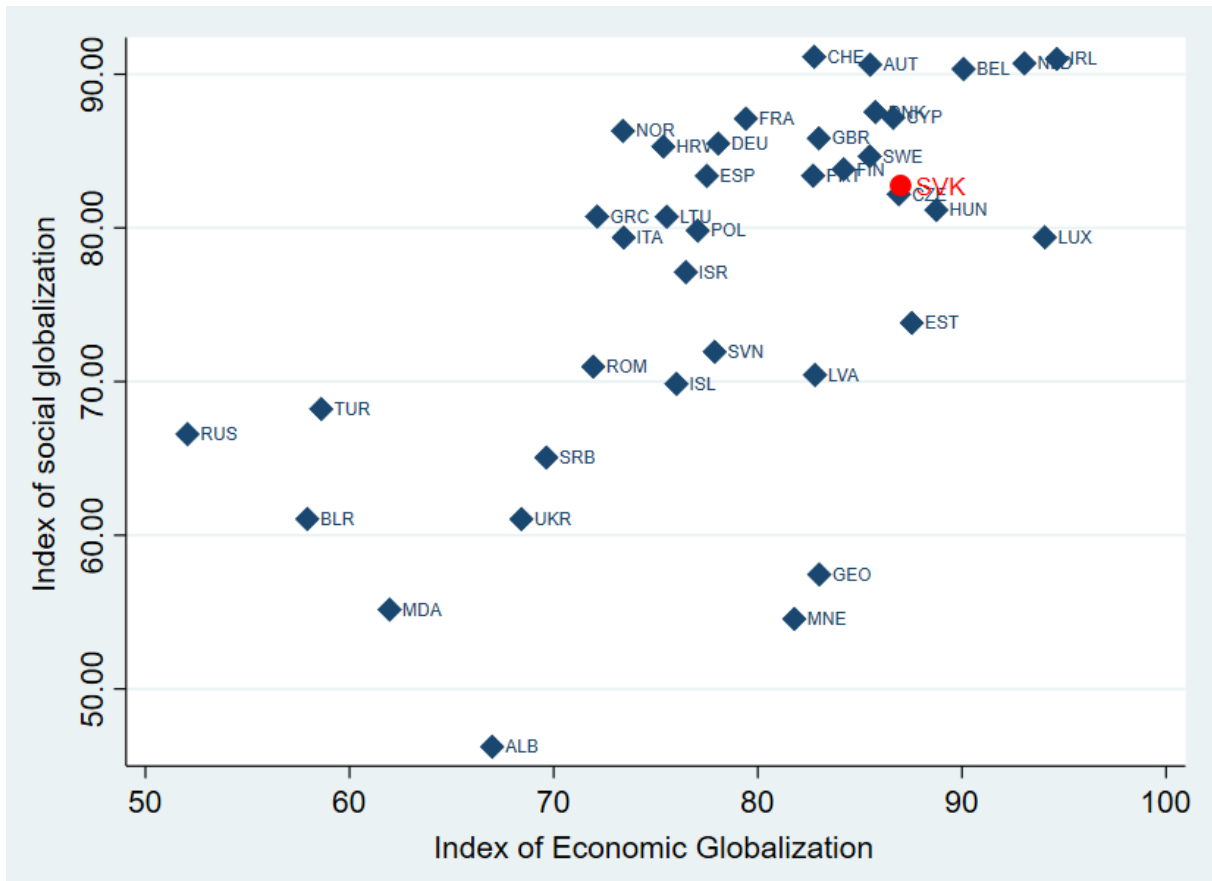
Source: KOF Globalization Index 2017, Dreher (2006), updated in Dreher, Gaston and Martens (2008)

Figure 1: Globalization of Slovakia including all three dimensions

Figure 1 shows the globalization indicators in all three dimensions covered by the KOF Globalization Index, as well as the overall index development since 1993. The most globalized dimension in 1993 was the political one, at a level of 59.40%, and the least globalized was the economic dimension at a level of 49.33%. Overall, the Globalization index had the value of 56.49% in Slovakia in 1993. Over time the social dimension is growing in strength and in 1995 becomes the dimension with the highest score. It remained the most globalized dimension until 2002; although the political dimension was not far behind, especially in the pre-accession period. Before Slovakia entered the EU the overall Globalization index was at the level of 73.70%.

Slovakia's accession to the EU resulted in removing barriers of trade and capital flows, which subsequently shaped the economic globalization of the country, and mirrored in the economic dimension of globalization index. The economic area thus became the most globalized until the global financial crises of 2007/2008. During the last years of the data availability (2010-2014) all three dimensions were showing rather similar values, which is also contributing to the overall globalization index oscillating between 84 and 85 % in the corresponding period.

Figure 2 shows Slovakia in a European, comparative perspective. First, it is important to note that there is a strong correlation between the economic and social dimension of globalization (Pearson correlation coefficient at the level of 0.776). However, the correlation is not absolutely determining in the sense that on the one hand, there are countries strongly globalized in economic dimension and relatively weakly globalized in a social dimension (i.e. Georgia). On the other hand, countries such as Norway and Greece are strongly globalized in the social dimension while relatively weakly globalized in the economic dimension.



Source: KOF Globalization Index 2017

Figure 2: Economic and Social Globalization in Europe, 2014

Considering the economic and social globalization, Slovakia is relatively strongly globalized. Admittedly, the index is naturally higher in the EU member states than in countries outside the EU, such as Russia, Ukraine, Serbia or Israel. The level of economic and social globalization of Slovakia is rather similar to its neighbours, the Czech Republic and Hungary, but also countries such as Portugal, Finland or Sweden. On the other hand, Poland is relatively less globalized in the economic dimension. A possible reason is that Poland is the biggest and least open economy among the Visegrad countries. The economies of the other three Visegrad countries have been more dependent on foreign direct investments and international trade.

Table 1 shows the strength of relationship among the three dimensions of globalization index, as well as the overall index. Correlations are calculated using the latest available data (2014) at the time of writing. The correlation coefficients indicate that the economic and social dimensions are closely related, while the political dimension is relatively independent from the economic one. The relationship between political dimension and social dimension is only medium strong.

Table 1: Correlation coefficients among the KOF Globalization Index and its dimensions

Globalization Dimensions	Economic	Social	Political	KOF Globalization Index
Economic	1	0,776	0,167	0,839
Social	0,776	1	0,417	0,953
Political	0,167	0,417	1	0,584
KOF Globalization Index	0,839	0,953	0,584	1

Source: KOF Globalization Index 2017, author

Correlations in Table 1 indicate that a country can be relatively strongly globalized in the economic dimension without necessarily losing the political sovereignty. Despite this, current social discourse treats globalization as a factor contributing to the rise of popularity of nationalistic, far-right or extremist political forces, and thus implicitly linking globalization to negative political consequences. Academic literature links globalization mostly with negative consequences in terms of threat to social status and increasing social inequalities. It has been shown that in post-communist Europe, also due to the economic transformation in 1990s, new groups of citizens arose; some of them benefitting from the globalization (economically and politically) and others finding themselves on the losing side (Kitschelt, 1995; Mateju, 1996; Parysek, Wdowicka, 2002).

Labour migration presents another source of feelings of threat when linked to globalization. On the one hand, increased mobility provides opportunities to people who are skilled enough so that they can travel and seek out better working conditions. On the other hand, part of the population might have the feeling that the opposite flow of labour migration, incoming people from less developed countries, are a threat because they may steal jobs from nationals.

Globalization attitudes became part of the international comparative surveys which nowadays allow researchers to compare populations in Europe in how negatively they view globalization. Table 3 shows some of the findings of the International Republican Institute's survey in Central Europe. Among others, the question was asked whether globalization had (very much or somewhat) hurt respondents and their families, or whether they benefitted (very much or somewhat). Negative views predominated in Hungary (56%), followed by the Czech Republic and Slovakia (both 46%) and then Poland (31%).

Table 2: Attitudes towards Globalization in the V4 Countries.

	Slovakia	Czech Republic	Poland	Hungary
Very much hurt	8%	8%	6%	11%
Somewhat hurt	38%	38%	25%	43%
Somewhat benefitted	48%	48%	37%	41%
Very much benefitted	6%	6%	5%	5%

Source: International Republican Institute 2017

Comment: The values of individual columns may not sum up to 100%, the rest are „don't know“ answers.

This section of the paper described three main globalization dimensions and showed that Slovakia is significantly influenced by the openness of its economy and the EU membership in the degree to which it is globalized. This is, most probably, part of the reason why part of Slovakian society perceives globalization as a threat, and can explicitly articulate this opinion. However, it is also likely that part of population perceives some aspects of globalization (whether economic, social or political) as a threat only in an implicit way, and cannot openly

state it. The aim of this study is to investigate what portion of society can latently feel globalization as threatening. The next section introduces the experimental design of this study, which focused on the cultural dimension of the negative perception of globalization.

Methodology

The research of latent attitudes is typical for issues that are linked to various forms of stigmatization or taboos. In such cases the respondents easily realise that certain types of answers are socially desirable, while others are not. Usually, racism is listed as a textbook example of such issues. Imagine the survey research asking openly if respondents consider themselves to be racists. It is highly probable that such a survey would identify zero share of racists in the country. In political science it has been shown that particularly sensitive issues include vote buying (Gonzalez-Ocantos et al., 2012) or support for the NATO presence and/or intervention (Blair, Imai, Lyall, 2014).

The experiment took the form of the so-called list experiment. Participants were recruited among the students of Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University in Bratislava. The students' participation was voluntary and students were offered the ECTS credits for their participation. Together there were 88 students participating. These were randomly assigned to the control and experimental groups. Data collection was conducted simultaneously, in separated spaces, so that there were several barriers between the groups to prevent any communication about the course of experiment.

The control group received the following instruction: "Below are several items that people usually list when discussing national symbols and cultural heritage. Some people agree with them being listed, others not. We don't want you to tell us which items you agree with or not, but tell us HOW MANY of them you do agree with." The instruction was followed by these items:

- Dumplings with cottage cheese are part of Slovakian typical cuisine.
- The High Tatras belong to the most beautiful natural phenomenon in Slovakia.
- P. O. Hviezdoslav is one of the most important Slovakian poets.

In the experimental group the instruction was the same. However, in addition to the three items, another one was added: "Slovak culture needs to be protected against external forces." Agreement with the item was considered as an indicator of the fact that the respondent considers globalization as a cultural threat. The reason is that the external forces that influences national culture are under the definition of social dimension of globalization.

The ideological attitudes were measured by the following questionnaire item: "Currently, many people talk about divisions between left and right. Where would you say you belong, if 0 means absolute left and 10 means absolute right?" The EU attitudes item read as follows: "If you think about your family and yourself, to what extent would you agree that the European integration has been beneficial for you and your family?" The scale had 5 points running from absolute disagreement to absolute agreement. Anxiety feelings were measured by the questionnaire item asking about the frequency of anxiety feelings a participant experienced during the previous week, with possible answers: almost always, quite often, sometimes and almost/never.

Until recently, the way of evaluating the experimental findings was based on the comparison of the average numbers (as answers) in the two groups. Suppose the people in general agree that the dumplings with cottage cheese is a part of national cuisine, the High Tatras mountain belong to the most beautiful natural phenomenon in Slovakia and P. O. Hviezdoslav is one of

the most important Slovak poets. In such a case the average answer in a control group would be three. Now suppose that everybody considers globalisation a cultural threat. This should translate into average answer of four in the experimental group. The difference is one, i.e. 100%.

This analysis follows a more recent approach suggested by Blair and Imai (2012). My approach is based on the linear regression analysis, which puts the answer on the number of agreed items on the left-hand side of the equation. Control variables, such as demographics, socio-economics, and other factors previously linked to the globalization attitudes (such as the EU attitudes) are on the right-hand side of the equation.

Experiment Results

This section will present the results of regression analysis and subsequently describe how to interpret the experimental findings in regard to the general population. There were 38 female and 13 male students in the experimental group, and 31 female and 19 students in the control group. The age average was the same (22) in both groups. The left-right attitudes were, on average rather similar (5.35 and 5.28 in the experimental and control group, respectively), as was the average score for the EU integration attitudes (3.40 and 3.49) and the average anxiety feelings (1.61 and 1.58).

Table 3 shows regression coefficients and p-values. The figures in the first line demonstrates that being in the experimental group is associated with an increase in the dependent variable by 0.48 point and the effect is statistically significant at 0.01 level. In other words this means that participants in the experimental group provided, on average, a 0.48 higher numerical answer, after controlling for gender, age, ideology, EU attitudes and other factors.

Table 3: Regression analysis, globalization as cultural threat

Cultural threat			
	Coefficient	p-value	Std. error
Experimental group (0=no, 1=yes)	0.480	0.003	0.163
Gender (female=0, male=1)	-0.300	0.262	0.268
Age	-0.021	0.619	0.042
Left-right self-placement	0.034	0.485	0.049
EU integration attitudes	0.104	0.241	0.090
Anxiety	0.032	0.814	0.136
Constant	2.465	0.012	0.976

Source: author

In other words, the results show that 48% of the participants implicitly perceive globalization as a cultural threat. However, this result is not in itself very interesting or important. In order to meaningfully interpret this number in a more real way, it is yet necessary to compare how many people within the same sample also articulated this opinion openly. Therefore, approximately one month prior to the experiment the participants filled out a questionnaire including an item on globalization perception. The question asked to what degree participants agree with the following statement: "Our way of life should be more protected from foreign influences."

Approximately 39% of the participants, (the same students who participated in the experiment) agreed with this claim. But latently, globalization is perceived as a threat by 48% of the participants. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the latent perception of globalization as a cultural threat is about a quarter higher than the open, explicit admission of this threat.

If we look again at the data presented at the beginning of this study, which refer to various international studies, we should be able to infer the extent to which the general population implicitly perceives globalization as a cultural threat. For example, according to the May 2017 European Commission report (2016 data), approximately 53% of people in the EU articulated an openly negative attitude towards globalization because they perceived it a cultural threat. If we accept the assumption that the latent perception of globalization as a cultural threat is about a quarter higher than open attitudes, we can assume that the latent perception of the globalization as cultural threat is at level of approximately 66%.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to study the latent perception of globalization as a cultural threat. The research departs from literature that approaches globalization as a process that leads to intensified flows of information, finances, products and people, usually over a long distance. Subsequently, this study described three dimensions of globalization as they are generally accepted in the literature: economic, political and social globalization. Threats to cultural traditions and national identity are studied as the consequences of the social globalization.

This research is explorative in its design. It aimed to reveal whether the latent perception of globalization as a cultural threat differs from the open, articulated attitudes. It used experimental methods to study latent attitudes and a sample of 88 university students. The paper shows that the latent negative perception of globalization is about 25% higher than people openly admit. However, this finding is limited to the particular issue in question, it cannot be simply generalised to other political or social issues.

This research is not without limits. Firstly, using a student sample in social science experiments is increasingly more discussed in terms of generalisability. There is a consensus in social science that student samples are acceptable under certain circumstances. Kam et al. (2007)ⁱ studied experimental articles in the top three American political science journals (*American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics*) between 1990 and 2006 and found that one quarter of articles were based on experimentation using student samples. Morton and Williams (2010) point out that student samples are even more common in political psychology. During the same timeframe, around 75% of experimental articles in the *Political Psychology* and *Political Behavior* used students as participants. Danielsohn and Holm (2007) found out that in the experimental economic research in top American journals only one in 15 articles does not use students as sample.

The use of student samples is appropriate especially if there is no specific target population, such as voting experiments (Bassi 2006, Cassela et al. 2006). Kuhberger (1998) focused on research using framing experiments. The author provides a meta-analysis of 136 empirical articles with over 30,000 participants, and points out that there was little difference between students' and non-students' samples' framing effect. Another meta-analysis of over eighty research articles was conducted by Benoit et al. (2003), who focused on the mediating effect of the sample composition. The authors found no difference in the research findings between the sample consisting only of students on the one hand, and the general population on the other hand.

The generalization is only viable if we accept the assumption that the cognitive processes of sampled students are not different from the general population. In addition to this assumption, there are studies and simulations showing that the effects found in the experimental studies are similar, whether the sample is based on students or the general adult population.

Secondly, a certain limitation lies also in that there were no variables capturing experience with foreign cultures in the past, foreign language proficiency and other potentially relevant control variables. However, the randomisation should ensure the equal influence of any confounding factors in both groups.

Globalization has been a subject of scientific inquiry for a long time. Dominant approaches in the past have focused on economic consequences, such as inequality and economic growth. This study aimed to contribute to the academic discussion in that globalization is not just economic, but to a large extent a social phenomenon that crosses borders of established scientific disciplines. Studying globalization attitudes, sources of negative globalization perception, mechanisms of the emerging feelings of threat, is all rather marginalized when compared to the economic dimension of globalization research. However, this makes other dimensions of globalization an even bigger challenge for future research.

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