

# **Citizens' attitudes and reactions to European integration**

SciencesPo Bordeaux

2017

Prof Virginie Van Ingelgom  
Research Associate Professor F.R.S. – FNRS  
Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium  
[virginie.vanigelgom@uclouvain.be](mailto:virginie.vanigelgom@uclouvain.be)

## **Course Outline**

For decades, European studies mainly focused on factors explaining the dynamics of regional integration from the point of view of political actors (institutional and economic actors). The difficult ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and the failure of the Constitutional Treaty put European citizens on stage, while the recent Euro crisis reflects existing resistances facing the creation of new solidarity mechanisms. To understand the reactions of ordinary citizens towards European integration, and in addition to the existing explanatory strands focusing on interests and institutions, the political sociology of the EU questions the weight of socio-political variables that hinder or favour the Europeanization of European societies.

Beyond the study of structures and institutions, the seminar aims to understand whether and the ways in which European integration has affected European citizens, their identities, their resistance and collective representations. The course analyses the construction of the European Union as a community and as a political order with particular emphasis on its social and political dimensions. Topics under scrutiny include: the modes of interaction between elites and masses at EU level; citizen identifications' levels and models to understand their attitudes towards European integration; the process of (de-) politicization of European integration; the impact of Europeanisation (mainly in terms of public policies) on European public opinion.

By questioning the capacity of political sociology - and in particular the study of citizens' attitudes – to study in a rigorous way the reactions of ordinary citizens, this course aims to familiarize students with empirical analysis. A series of themes and journal articles that address, in a diversified manner, classical objects of political sociology at the European level will be studied. At stake is for students to identify and discuss the approach taken by the authors and thereby for students to use the theoretical and empirical tools to replicate these analyses on other objects and in other contexts.

## **Course organization**

There is no textbook required for this course. The material used consists in peer-review journal articles. For each session, the reading of one article will be compulsory. Other readings will be suggested for those who feel inclined to have some further readings. The reading for each week must be completed before the class meets. As you read, try to think of questions about the topic that you can answer in your reading. The success of this course depends upon your active participation in class. Therefore, having read all the material before each class and having thought about the readings is crucial to having a meaningful conversation. Readings will be made available to students from Course

2 on on Moodle. The syllabus may be slightly modified to take into account specific demands of the students. Two hands-on sessions will be organized in order to provide students with practical access to data that could be used for reanalysis – either quantitative data from surveys or qualitative data from focus groups.

## **Assessment**

The course will be assessed through:

**1. Readings and participation.** From Course 2 on, readings (typically published articles or book chapter) are proposed for every session and must be done. Participation is encouraged. Participation will count for 20% of the final grade.

**2. A written essay** (4 pages). The essay topic must be validated by the instructor. The paper is typically related to issues of the course sessions and will be encouraged to use empirical data, either analysed by the student or coming from published papers. The use of surveys (like Eurobarometers, European Social Survey) is most welcomed as is the (re-)analysis of qualitative data. This written essay will represent 80% of the final grade. The essay should be quite synthetic. For the structure of your text, you can rely on the articles presented in the course.

NB: + overall “bonus” for originality: testing some particularly original hypotheses, linking up different theories, exploiting original data, gathering extra evidence (e.g. primary sources, interview).

## **Preliminary course outline**

The course consists of 12 in-class hours (8 x 1.5 hour). The course is divided into four parts, as follows:

- I. Part 1 – Citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration : theories
- II. Part 2 – The individual determinants of citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration
- III. Part 3 – The contextual determinants of citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration
- IV. Part 4 – Europe’s ‘crises’, politicization and the future of European integration

### **Part 1 – Citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration: a political sociology of the EU?**

This first part of the course covers the main theories related to citizens’ reactions to European integration. It will focus on presenting the main analytical framework that are currently mobilized to explain citizens’ attitudes towards European integration in order to introduce also what can be learned by anchoring analyses of citizens’ reactions to European integration in what has been called a political sociology of the EU.

## **Session 1 – Introduction to the course and to each other**

## **Session 2 – Citizens’ reactions to European integration: concepts and theories**

Duchesne, Sophie, Frazer, Elizabeth, Haegel, Florence, Van Ingelgom, Virginie. (2013). Concepts and Theory: Political Sociology and European Study. In Duchesne, & S., Frazer, E., Haegel, F. & Van Ingelgom, V., *Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared. Overlooking Europe* (pp. 6-33). Palgrave MacMillan.

Hobolt, S. and De Vries, C. (2016) Public Support for European Integration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 413–32.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2008). A Post Functionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, 1-23.

## **Part 2 – The individual determinants of citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration**

The purpose of this second part is to understand why some European citizens are broadly in favour of the EU and the integration process and why other citizens are opposed to it. The session teases out the extent to which Euro-scepticism and Euro-enthusiasm are driven by citizens’ economic situation and/or by citizens’ sense of national identity. Identification – both at the European and national levels – is indeed a classical question when studying the individual determinants of citizens’ reactions to European integration.

## **Session 3 – The individual determinants of citizens’ attitudes to EU integration: Economics or Identity?**

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2004). Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration. *Political Science and Politics*, 37(3), 415-420.

Duchesne, S. (2013). Social Gap: The Double Meaning of ‘Overlooking’. In Duchesne, & S., Frazer, E., Haegel, F. & Van Ingelgom, V., *Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared. Overlooking Europe* (pp. 65-95). Palgrave MacMillan.

## **Session 4 – European identity as a social identity?**

Diez Medrano, J. (2010). Unpacking European identity. *Politique européenne*, 30,(1), 45-66.

Favell, A. (2010). European Identity and European Citizenship in Three 'Eurocities': A Sociological Approach to the European Union. *Politique européenne*, 30, 187-224.

Kuhn, T. (2012). Why Educational Exchange Programmes Miss Their Mark: Cross-Border Mobility, Education and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(6), 994-1010.

## **First hands-on session**

### **Part 3 – The contextual determinants of citizens’ attitudes and reactions to European integration**

The factors framing citizens’ representations on EU integration may vary across citizens depending on the economic context of the citizen (e.g. whether the citizen lives in a rich country or a poor country). But the economical differences are far the only one that needs to be considered in order to understand the national differences in terms of support or resistance towards European integration. This session explores the influence that context can have on citizens’ EU views.

#### **Session 5 – The contextual determinants of citizens’ attitudes to European integration:**

Anderson, C. J. (1998). When in Doubt, Use Proxies: Attitudes toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(5), 569-601.

Haegel F. (2013). National Frames: Reactions to a Multi-Level World. In Duchesne, & S., Frazer, E., Haegel, F. & Van Ingelgom, V., *Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared*. Overlooking Europe (pp. 34-64). Palgrave MacMillan.

#### **Session 6 – The contextual determinants of citizens’ attitudes to EU integration: When the context matters**

Berezin, M., & Díez-Medrano, J. (2008). Distance Matters: Place, Political Legitimacy and Popular Support for European Integration. *Comparative European Politics*, 6(1), 1-32.

Duchesne, S., & Frogner, A.-P. (2008). National and European Identifications: A Dual Relationship. *Comparative European Politics*, 6, 143-168.

McLaren, L. (2002). Opposition to European integration and fear of lost of national identity: debunking a basic assumption regarding hostility to the integration project. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(6), 895-911.

#### **Second hands-on session**

### **Part 4 – Europe’s ‘crises’, politicization and the future of European integration**

Have European citizens become increasingly Eurosceptic over the last two decades, turning their backs on European integration? Recent events such as the non-ratification of the Constitutional Treaty or more recently to Brexit vote point to evident resistances to European integration process. These resistances need to be understood. However, though many journalists, politicians and academics argue that most European citizens have become more Eurosceptic, this session suggests that reactions to European integration cannot be reduced uniquely to a rise in Euroscepticism, but that indifference and ambivalence need also to be brought into the picture when studying EU legitimacy and its politicisation.

## **Session 7 – The politicization of European Integration**

Rose, R., Borz, G. (2016). Static and Dynamic Views of European Integration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54: 370–387.

Van Ingelgom, V. (2013). When Ambivalence meets Indifference. In Duchesne, & S., Frazer, E., Haegel, F. & Van Ingelgom, V., *Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared. Overlooking Europe* (pp. 96-133). Palgrave MacMillan.

## **Session 8 – Europe's 'crises' and the future of European integration**

Baglioni S, Hurrelmann A. (2016). The Eurozone crisis and citizen engagement in EU affairs. *West European Politics*, 39 (1), 104-124.

Beaudonnet, L. (2013). Preferences for European Social Policy in Times of Crisis. *Politique européenne*. 42 (4), 96-123

Hobolt S. (2016). The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23 (9), 1259-1277.

## **Summary and Conclusion – Validation of topics**

## **Main references on the Sociology of the EU**

Favell, Adrian, and Virginie Guiraudon, eds. 2011. *Sociology of the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2009. "The Sociology of the European Union: An Agenda." *European Union Politics* 10: 550-76.

Guiraudon, Virginie. 2006. "The Eu through European's Eyes: Political Sociology and Eu Studies." *EUSA Review* 19: 1-7.

Saurugger, Sabine. 2008. "Une Sociologie De L'intégration Européenne ?". *Politique européenne* 2: 5-22.

Saurugger, Sabine, and Frédéric Mérand. 2010. "Does European Integration Theory Need Sociology?". *Comparative European Politics* 8: 1-18.

## **Additional references**

Aldrin, P. (2010). L'invention de l'opinion publique européenne: Genèse intellectuelle et politique de l'Eurobaromètre (1950–1973). *Politix*, 89, 79–101.

Anderson, C. J. (1998). When in Doubt, Use Proxies: Attitudes toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(5), 569-601.

Anderson, C. J., & Kaltenhaler, K. (1996). The Dynamics of Public Opinion toward European Integration, 1973-1993. *The Journal of International Relations*, 2(2), 175-199.

Anderson, C. J., & Reichert, S. (1995). Economic Benefits and Support for Membership in the EU: A Cross-National Analysis *Journal of Public Policy*, 15(3), 231-249.

Bartolini, S. (2005). *Restructuring Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beaudonnet, L. (2013). Preferences for European Social Policy in Times of Crisis. *Politique européenne*. 42 (4), 96-123.

- Beetham, D, Lord, C. (1998). *Legitimacy and the EU*. London: Longman.
- Belot, C. (2002). Les logiques sociologiques de soutien au processus d'intégration européenne: Éléments d'interprétation. *Revue internationale de Politique comparée*, 9(1): 11–29.
- Belot, C. (2010). Le tournant identitaire des études consacrées aux attitudes à l'égard de l'Europe. Genèse, apports, limites. *Politique européenne*, 30(1), 17-44.
- Belot, C., & Cautrès, B. (2008). Opinion publique. In J. Lacroix, P. Magnette & S. Saurugger (Eds.), *Science politique de l'Union européenne* (pp. 153-168). Paris: Economica.
- Belot, C., Bruno C., & Strudel S. (2013). ‘L’Europe comme enjeu clivant: Ses effets perturbateurs sur l’offre électorale et les orientations de vote lors de l’élection présidentielle de 2012. *Revue Française De Science Politique*, 63:6, 1081–1111.
- Belot, C. & Guinaudeau, I. (2017). ). Instrumental Political Support: Bringing policy preferences back into explanations of EU support. *West European Politics*, 40 (4), 763-790.
- Belot, C., & Van Ingelgom, V. (2015). Les attitudes européennes ont-elles enfin joué un rôle dans les élections au Parlement européen ?. *European Journal of Social Science*, 53, 1, 49-78.
- Belot, C. & Van Ingelgom, V. (2017), « La réanalyse à l'épreuve d'une comparaison qualitative diachronique: Stabilités et évolutions dans les perceptions citoyennes de l'Europe en 1995-96 et 2005-06 ». *Recherche qualitative*, 21.
- Berezin, M., & Díez-Medrano, J. (2008). Distance Matters: Place, Political Legitimacy and Popular Support for European integration. *Comparative European Politics*, 6(1), 1-32.
- Brigenar, A.& Jolly, S. (2005). Location, Location, Location. National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration', *European Union Politics*, 6(2): 155–180.
- Brouard, S.& Tiberj, V. (2006), The French Referendum: The Not So Simple Act of Saying Nay. PS: *Political Science and Politics*, 39(2): 261–268.
- Bruter, M. (2005). *Citizens of Europe? The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carey, S. (2002). Undivided Loyalties: Is national Identity an Obstacle to European integration? *European Union Politics*, 3(4), 387-413.
- Cautrès, B.& Grunberg, G. (2007). Position sociale, identité nationale et attitudes à l'égard de l'Europe: La construction européenne souffre-t-elle d'un biais élitiste?' in O. Costa and P. Magnette (eds.) *Une Europe des élites? Réflexions sur la fracture démocratique de l'Union Européenne*. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 11–35.
- Cinnirella, M. (1997). Towards a European identity? Interactions between the national and European social identities manifested by university students in Britain and Italy. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 36(1), 19-31.
- Citrin, J. & Sides, J. (2004). More than Nationals: How Identity Choices Matters in the New Europe. In R.K. Hermann, T. Risse and M. Brewer (eds.) *Transnational Identities Becoming European in the EU*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 161–185.
- Dakowska, D. & Hubé, N. (2011). For or Against the EU? Ambivalent Attitudes and Varied Arguments towards Europe. In D. Gaxie, N. Hubé and J. Rowell (eds.) *Perceptions of Europe: A Comparative Sociology of European Attitudes*. Colchester: ECPR Press, 85–100.
- Delanty, R. (2006). Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure', *Comparative European Politics*, 4(2–3): 183–202.
- Deutsch K. (1969). *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- de Vries, C. (2013). Ambivalent Europeans? Public Support for European Integration in East and West. *Government and Opposition*, 48(03), 434-461.
- de Vries, C., & Arnold, C. (2011). Making the Polity: Exploring the Link between Public Opinion and European Elites Preferences for European Union Public Policy. In D. Fuchs & H.-D. Klingemann (Eds.), *Cultural Diversity, European Identity and the Legitimacy of the EU*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- de vries, C. E. (2007). Sleeping Giant: Fact or Fairytale? How European Integration Affects Vote Choice in National Elections. *European Union Politics*, 8(3), 363-385.
- De Vries, C. E., Van der Brug, W., Van Egmond, M. H., & Van der Eijk, C. (2011). Individual and contextual variation in EU issue voting: The role of political information. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1), 16-28.

- De Wilde, P. (2011). No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration. *Journal of European Integration*, 33(5), 559-575.
- De Wilde, P., & Zürn, M. (2012). 'Can the Politicisation of European Integration Be Reversed?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:S1, 137-153.
- De Wilde, P., Leupold, A. & Schmidtke, H. (2015). Introduction: The Differentiated Politicisation of European Governance. *West European Politics*, 39:1,
- Diez Medrano, J. (2003) *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press).
- Diez Medrano, J. (2010). Unpacking European Identity. *Politique européenne*, 30(1), 45-66.
- Diez Medrano, J. & Gutierrez, P. (2001). Nested Identities: National and European Identities in Spain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(5): 753-778.
- Down, I., & Wilson, C. J. (2008). From 'permissive consensus' to 'constraining dissensus': A polarizing union?. *Acta Politica*, 43(1), 26-49.
- Duchesne, S. (2008). Waiting for a European Identity . . . Reflections on the Process of Identification with Europe. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 9(4): 397-410.
- Duchesne, S., Frazer, E., Haegel, F., & Van Ingelgom, V. (Eds.). (2013). *Citizens' Reactions to European Integration Compared Overlooking Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duchesne, S. & Frogner, A.-P. (1994) 'Is there a European Identity?', in O. Niedermayer and R. Sinnott (eds.) *Public Opinion and the International Governance: Beliefs in Government Series*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 193-226.
- Duchesne & Frogner, A.-P. (2002) 'Sur les Dynamiques sociologiques et politiques de l'identification à l'Europe', *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 52(4): 355-373.
- Duchesne, S., & Frogner, A.-P. (2008). National and European Identifications: A Dual Relationship. *Comparative European Politics*, 6, 143-168.
- Duchesne, S., & Van Ingelgom, V. (2008). L'indifférence des Français et des Belges (francophones) pour leurs voisins Européens : une pièce de plus au dossier de l'absence de communauté politique européenne ?. *Politique européenne*, 26, 143-164.
- Duchesne, S., Haegel, F., Frazer, E., Van Ingelgom, V., Garcia, G., & Frogner, A.-P. (2010). Europe Between Integration and Globalisation Social Differences and National Frames in the Analysis of Focus Groups Conducted in France, Francophone Belgium and the United Kingdom. *Politique européenne*, 30(1), 67-106.
- Duchesne, S., & Van Ingelgom, V. (2015). Is there a European Legitimacy ? 20 ans plus tard, l'aventure continue.... In Rihoux, Benoit, Van Ingelgom, Virginie, & Defacqz Samuel, *La légitimité de la science politique. Construire une discipline, au-delà des clivages* (pp. 51-70). Presses universitaires de Louvain.
- Dufour, P., (2010) "The Mobilization Against the 2005 Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe: A French Mobilization for Another Europe." *Social Movement Studies* 9(4): 425-441.
- Dupuy, C. & Van Ingelgom, V. (2017), « Comment l'Union européenne fabrique (ou pas) sa propre légitimité. Les politiques européennes et leurs effets-retours sur les citoyens », *Politique européenne*, 54, 152-187.
- Easton, D. (1975). A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435-457.
- Eichenberg, R. C., & Dalton, R. J. (1993). Europeans and the European Community: the Dynamics of Public Support for European integration. *International Organization*, 47(4), 507-534.
- Eichenberg, R. C., & Dalton, R. J. (2007). Post-Maastricht Blues: The Transformation of Citizen Support for European Integration, 1973-2004. *Acta Politica*, 42, 128-152.
- Ehin, P. (2008). Competing Models of EU Legitimacy: The Test of Popular Expectations. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(3): 619-640.
- Favell A. (2008). *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Favell, A. (2010). European Identity and European Citizenship in Three 'Eurocities': A Sociological Approach to the European Union. *Politique européenne*, 30, 187-224.
- Fligstein, N. (2008). *Euroclash. The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Foret, F. (2008). *Légitimer l'Europe: Pouvoir et symbolique à l'ère de la gouvernance*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Franklin, M., Marsch, M., & McLaren, L. (1994). Uncorking the Bottle: Popular Opposition to European Unification in the Wake of Maastricht. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32(4), 455-472.
- Gabel, M. (1998). Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories. *Journal of Politics*, 60(2), 333-354.
- Gabel, M., & Palmer, H. (1995). Understanding Variation in Public Support for European Integration. *European Journal of Political Research*, 27, 3-19.
- Gaxie, D., Hubé, N., & Rowell, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Perceptions of Europe. A comparative sociology of European attitudes*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Garcia, G., & Van Ingelgom, V. (2010). Etudier les rapports ordinaires à l'Europe à partir de focus groups : une illustration des problèmes du comparatisme national en méthodologie qualitative. *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, 17, 131 - 163.
- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hix, S., & Bartolini, S. (2006). La politisation de l'Union européenne: remède ou poison ? *Notre Europe. Etudes et recherches, Policy paper n°19*.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2009). *Europe in Question: Referendums on European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2012). Public Opinion and Integration. In E. Jones, A. Menon & S. Weatherill (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (pp. 716-733). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobolt, S. B., & Brouard, S. (2011). Contesting the European Union? Why the Dutch and the French Rejected the European Constitution. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2), 309-322.
- Hooghe, L. (2003). Europe Divided?: Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration. *European Union Politics*, 4(3), 281-304. doi: 10.1177/14651165030043002
- Hooghe, L. (2007). What Drives Euroscepticism? Party-Public Cuing, Ideology and Strategic Opportunity. *European Union Politics*, 8(1), 5-12.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2004). Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration. *Political Science and Politics*, 37(3), 415-420.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(4), 419-443. doi: 10.1177/1465116505057816
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2008). A Post Functionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, 1-23.
- Hurrelmann, A., Gora, A., & Wagner, A. (2013). The Politicization of European Integration: More than a Elite Affair ? *Political Studies*.
- Inglehart, R. F. (1970a). Cognitive Mobilization and European Identity. *Comparative Politics*, 3(1), 45-70.
- Inglehart, R. F. (1970b). Public Opinion and Regional Integration. *International Organisation*, 24(4), 764-795.
- Inglehart, R. F. (1977). Long Term Trends in Mass Support for European Unification. *Government and Opposition*, 12(2), 150-177.
- Janssen, J. (1991). Postmaterialism, Cognitive Mobilization and Public Support for European Integration. *British Journal of Political Science*, 21(4): 443-468.
- Kelbel, C., Van Ingelgom, V., Verhaegen, S. (2016). « Looking for the European voter: Split-ticket voting in the Belgian regional and EP elections of 2009 and 2014 ». *Politics and Governance*, 4, 1, 116-129.
- Kelbel, C., Van Ingelgom, V., Verhaegen, S. (2015). À la recherche de l'électeur européen considérations de second-ordre et motivations européennes du vote lors du scrutin de 2014. In Deschouwer, K., & alii, *Décrypter l'électeur. Le comportement électoral et les motivations de vote* (pp. 193-213). LannooCampus : Leuven.
- Kriesi, H. (2012). The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe: Electoral Punishment and Popular Protest. *Swiss Journal of Political Science*, 18:4, 518-522.



- Kuhn, T. (2011), Individual transnationalism, globalisation and euroscepticism: An empirical test of Deutsch's transactionalist theory. *European Journal of Political Research*, 50: 811–837.
- Kuhn, T., & Stoeckel, F. (2014). When European integration becomes costly: the euro crisis and public support for European economic governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(4), 624-641.
- Lindberg, L., & Scheingold, S. (1970). *Europe's Would-be Polity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- McLaren, L. (2002). Opposition to European integration and fear of lost of national identity: debunking a basic assumption regarding hostility to the integration project. *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(6), 895-911.
- McLaren, L. (2007). Explaining Mass-Level Euroscepticism: Identity, Interests and Institutional Distrust. *Acta Politica*, 42, 233-251.
- Medrano J. D., (2010) “Unpacking European identity”, *Politique européenne* (30):45-66.
- Ray, L. (2006). Public Opinion, Socialization and Political Communication. In K. E. Jorgensen, M. A. Pollack & B. Rosamond (Eds.), *Handbook of European Union Politics* (pp. 263-281). London: Sage.
- Risse, T. (2014). No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis. *Journal Of Common Market Studies*, 52(6), 1207-1215.
- Ross, G. (2011). The European Union and its crises: through the eyes of the Brussels' elite. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 6 “Bringing the people with us”, pp: 93-108.
- Smith, A. (1999). L'espace public européen”: une vue (trop) aérienne. *Critique internationale* 1(2): 169–80.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2014). ‘European Integration in the Euro Crisis: The Limits of Postfunctionalism. *Journal of European Integration*, 36:3, 321–337.
- Statham, P. & Trezn, H.-J. (2013). *The Politicisation of Europe: Contesting the Constitution in the Mass Media*. London: Routledge.
- Statham, P. & Trezn, H. (2015). Understanding the Mechanisms of EU Politicisation: Lessons from the Eurozone Crisis. *Comparative European Politics*, 13:3, 287–306.
- Stoeckel, F. (2013). Ambivalent or Indifferent? Reconsidering the Structure of EU Public Opinion. *European Union Politics*, 14:1, 23–45.
- Steenbergen, M., Edwards, E., & De Vries, C. (2007). Who's cuing whom? Mass-elite linkages and the future of European integration. *European Union Politics*, 8(1), 13-35.
- Taggart, Paul. (1998). “A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems.” *European Journal of Political Research* 33(3): 363–388.
- Tucker, J. A., Pacek, A. C., & Berinsky, A. J. (2002). Transitional winners and losers: attitudes toward EU membership in post-communist countries. *American Journal of Political Science*, 557-571.
- van der Eijk, C., & Franklin, M. N. (2004). Potential for Contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe. In G. Marks & M. Steenbergen (Eds.), *European Integration and Political Conflict* (pp. 33-50). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Ingelgom, V. (2012). Mesurer l'indifférence. *Intégration européenne et attitudes des citoyens*. . *Sociologie*, 1(3), 1-20.
- Van Ingelgom, V. (2014). *Integrating Indifference. A Comparative, Qualitative, and Quantitative Approach to the Legitimacy of European Integration*: ECPR Press.
- Van Ingelgom, V. (2015). Citizens' Legitimation discourses on European Regional Integration. In Hurrelmann, A. & Schneider, S., *The Legitimacy of Regional Integration in Europe and the Americas*. (pp. 135-158). Palgrave Mc Millan.
- Vasilopoulou, S. (2013). Continuity and change in the study of euroscepticism: plus ça change?’, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(1): 153–68
- White, J. (2010). Europe in the Political Imagination. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4), 1015-1038.
- White, J. (2011). *Political allegiance after European integration*. Basingstoke.