

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 Example of advertisement for participants: Oxford

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
University of Oxford



Participants required  
for a research project

Citizens Talking  
Pay: £40

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a  
group discussion of social issues.  
Sessions will be held **between now and 8 April**  
(exact dates and times to be confirmed).

You must be **over 18**, of **British** citizenship.  
Sorry – **no students**.

Location: Manor Road Building, (near High Street,  
Queen's Lane bus stop)

**No previous knowledge required.**  
**Anonymity of participants is guaranteed.**

Duration of the session: approx. **3 hours**, incl. breaks and refreshments.  
Payment in cash at the end of the session.

If you are interested, please contact **Firstname Lastname:**  
By email: **firstname.lastname@abcdefg.hi.jk**  
By phone: **0123456789** (if unavailable, please leave a message)  
By text message: Text the word "Study" followed by your phone number or  
email address to **0123456789**

## Appendix 2 Questionnaires (Oxford)

### A. Initial telephone questionnaire for all candidates

<b>Candidate number :</b>	<b>INITIAL TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE</b>
<b>Pseudonym :</b>	
Good morning/afternoon	
You've applied to participate in our group discussions. Are there any questions you would like to ask me about it? ( <i>record all questions asked</i> )	
Before we invite you to participate, we'd like to ask you a few questions about your work and your life, and to get your opinions about some matters.	
Do you have ten minutes now? Is it OK with you for us to do this?	
<i>If yes, date and start time:</i> .....	
<i>If not, when can I call you back?</i> .....	
In this research, we are guaranteeing participants' anonymity. People can be called by nicknames throughout the process. Would you like to choose a name to call yourself?	
<b>Chosen pseudonym:</b>	.....

We are now going to ask some questions which will enable us to decide whether you should be invited to join one of the groups:

Are you:

Male	
Female	

What is your exact age? .....|\_\_|\_\_| years

Are you:

- married	
- widowed	
- divorced	
- separated	
- single	
- co-habiting	

At what age did you leave full-time education? |\_\_|\_\_| years

**Are you now:**

– in full-time employment (at least 35 hours a week)	
– in part-time employment (between 15 and 35 hours a week)	
– employed for less than 15 hours per week	
– working for a family member	
– unemployed	
– in full-time education or training	
– retired	
– home maker	
– disabled	
– other	

**If you are employed (or have been employed) what is your profession or job (or, what was the last profession or job you worked at)?**

*Thank the respondent for giving the most detailed and accurate description of their work, and for answering further questions about it:*

**Are you or have you been:**

– self-employed, or employer of others	
– in a salaried post in a private company	
– in a salaried post in the public sector	

**When you were 15 years old, what job did your father do?**

*Record as much detail as possible; please don't use abbreviations*

**When you were 15 years old, what did your mother do?**

*Record as much detail as possible; please don't use abbreviations*

**In politics, people talk about left and right. Where would you put yourself, on a scale which goes from 1 to 10, where 1 is the most to the left, and 10 the most to the right?,**

Left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Right
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Don't know	
Won't answer	

**Did you vote in the General Election of May 2005?**

Yes	
No	

1. *If yes, how did you vote?*

Conservative	
Liberal Democrat	
Labour	
Green	
SNP/Plaid Cymru	
SDLP	
UKIP	
BNP	
Other: -----	
Don't know	
Won't say	

**If you were able to vote in a referendum regarding the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, would you:**

Vote	
Not vote	

*If you would vote would you vote:*

Yes	
No	
Don't know	
Won't answer	

Thank you very much. We are going to look at the responses, and we will contact you to let you know whether you have been selected. Please, can you let me have your contact details?

Last name .....  
 First name .....  
 Address .....  
 Telephone : .....  
 Mobile .....  
 Email .....

Just before we finish, can I check your availability on some possible dates? Can you tell me whether you would be able to come, and if you can make a day, what time would suit you?

Date	NO	Yes, which time?
Thu March 23		
Fri March 24		
Sat March 25		
Tues March 28		
Wed March 29		
Thu March 30		
Fri March 31		
Mon April 3		
Tues April 4		
Thu April 6		
Fri April 7		

Thank you very much. You will be hearing from us shortly.

End time : .....

Post-interview notes:

2. total time taken for interview:
3. estimate of competence (ease of comprehension of the questions):  
very easy /\_1\_/ \_2\_/ \_3\_/ \_4\_/ \_5\_/ very difficult
4. cooperation:  
very cooperative /\_1\_/ \_2\_/ \_3\_/ \_4\_/ \_5\_/ not at all cooperative
5. sympathetic and friendly attitude:  
very sympathetic/\_1\_/ \_2\_/ \_3\_/ \_4\_/ \_5\_/ hostile
6. confidence:  
very confident /\_1\_/ \_2\_/ \_3\_/ \_4\_/ \_5\_/ lack of confidence
7. tendency to domination during the interview:  
interviewee dominant /\_1\_/ \_2\_/ \_3\_/ \_4\_/ \_5\_/ interviewer dominant
8. number of calls necessary to complete the questionnaire:

**B. Questionnaire for selected participants (to be filled by telephone or face to face before the beginning of the session)**

Good morning/afternoon/evening.

In advance of the discussion session you have agreed to participate in, we want to ask you, and the other participants, some questions that will be helpful when we analyse the way the discussion goes. This is going to take about 15 minutes. Thank you very much for the time.

Contact no :

Research name :

Are you:

Male	
Female	

What is your exact age? .....|\_\_|\_\_| years

Are you:

- married	
- widowed	
- divorced	
- separated	
- single	
- co-habiting	

At what age did you leave full-time education? |\_\_|\_\_| years

Are you now:

- in full-time employment (at least 35 hours a week)	
- in part-time employment (between 15 and 35 hours a week)	
- employed for less than 15 hours per week	
- working for a family member	
- unemployed	
- in full-time education or training	
- retired	
- home maker	
- disabled	
- other	

If you are employed (or have been employed) what is your profession or job (or, what was the last profession or job you worked at)?

*Thank the respondent for giving the most detailed and accurate description of their work, and for answering further questions about it:*

Are you or have you been:

- self-employed, or employer of others	
- in a salaried post in a private company	
- in a salaried post in the public sector	

**When you were 15 years old, what job did your father do?**

*Record as much detail as possible; please don't use abbreviations*

**When you were 15 years old, what did your mother do?**

*Record as much detail as possible; please don't use abbreviations*

**Are you are a home owner? if yes do you have just one or more than one properties? own home? second home? a property that is rented?**

**How many children under the age of 18 do you have?**

None	
One	
More than one	

*(Include children of your partner, and/or adopted or fostered children)*  
 |\_|\_| children

**Could you tell me your religion, if you have one?**

- Catholic	
- Jewish	
- Muslim	
- Orthodox	
- Protestant/Church of England	
- Other: which?	
- None	
- Don't know/not answered	

*If has a religion* **Would you say you are:**

Practicing	
Non-practicing	

**In our society, there are some groups who are more or less at the top of the society, and others who are nearer the bottom. If ten is at the top and one at the bottom, where would you say you are ?**

Top	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

	6
	7
	8
	9
Bottom	10

Can you tell me to which party or political organisation you feel the closest to, or anyway, the least distant from?

- Extreme left	
- Communist	
- Socialist	
- Green/Environmentalist	
- Conservative	
- Nationalist	
- Extreme right	
- Other: which? _____	
- None	
- No answer/don't know	

In politics, people talk about left and right. Where would you put yourself, on a scale which goes from 1 to 10, where 1 is the most to the left, and 10 the most to the right?,

Left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Right
------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	-------

Don't know	
Won't answer	

Did you vote in the General Election of May 2005?

Yes	
No	

If yes, how did you vote?

Conservative	
Liberal Democrat	
Labour	
Green	
UKIP	
Other: -----	



**When you are with friends, do you discuss political issues, frequently, sometimes, or never?**

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Never	

**When you have an opinion about something that you feel very strongly about, do you typically try to convince your friends, colleagues or family to adopt your opinion?**

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

**How do you keep up with news and current affairs?**

Newspapers and magazines:

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

If yes, can you tell me the titles of newspapers and magazines that you read regularly?

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Television:

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

If yes, can you tell me what TV channels you usually watch?

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Radio:

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

If yes, can you tell me which radio stations you usually listen to?

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Internet:

Frequently	
Sometimes	
Rarely	
Never	

If yes, can you tell me which sites you usually visit?

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**In general, do you think that Britain's membership of the European Union is a good thing, or a bad thing?**

A good thing	
A bad thing	

**Do you think of yourself mostly as:**

English	
Welsh	
Scots	
Irish/Northern Irish	
British	

**In the future, do you think you will feel yourself to be English/Scots/Welsh/British only, English/Scots/Welsh/British and European, European and English/Scots/Welsh/British, or European only.**

British	
... and European	
European and .....	
European only	

**Would you say that you are very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all to be British?**

Very proud	
Quite proud	
Not very proud	
Not at all proud	

**Would you say that you are very proud, proud, not very proud, or not proud at all, to be European?**

Very proud	
Quite proud	
Not very proud	
Not at all proud	

**For each of the following issues, do you think decisions should be made by the British government, or do you think they should be made together by the members of the European Union?**

	British government	European Union	Don't Know
Defence			
Environment			
Employment and unemployment			
Agriculture, fishing and food			
Education			
Culture			
Immigration			

**Which of the following two opinions do you most agree: 'the welfare state makes our society more just' or 'the welfare state reduces the desire to work'?**

The welfare state makes our society more just	
The welfare state reduces the desire to work	

**Do you believe that homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children?**

Should be allowed	
Should not be allowed	

**In general, what do you think about people who live in Britain but who are not citizens of the European Union: are there too many of them? Or are there too few?**

Too many	
Not too many	
Too few	

### Appendix 3 Participants (pseudonyms) by group, with principal characteristics

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
<b>PARIS</b>										
<b>Paris workers 1</b>										
Albert	M	42	Brevet/BEPC	Naturopath (unemployed)	5	NV	NV	G	World	White
Ghislaine	F	26	Brevet/BEPC	Care assistant	4	L. Jospin	NV	G	NE	Afro- Caribbean
Geoffrey	M	33	CAP ou BEP	Print worker	5	NV	N	NGNB	NE	White
Lionel	M	42	Brevet/BEPC	Security officer	DK	O. Besancenot	N	G	EN	White
Yasmina	F	35	Brevet/BEPC	Homemaker	DK	NV	NV	B	NE	Maghreb
Habiba	F	41	Bac général	Homemaker (and secretarial work for family business)	4	L. Jospin	No	NGNB	Other	Maghreb
<b>Paris workers 2</b>										
Jean-Marie	M	53	Brevet/BEPC	Auto mechanic (unemployed)	DK	C. Lepage	No	NGNB	NE	White
Cédric	M	38	Bac général	Charge nurse	DK	L. Jospin	Nul	NGNB	NE	White
Jeannette	F	25	Brevet/BEPC	Care worker in training (numerous jobs)	6	NV	NV	G	Other	Africa

Zahoua	F	45	Brevet/BEPC	Medical secretary (unemployed)	1	NV	NV	NGNB	N	Maghreb
Margot	F	40	CAP ou BEP	Lorry driver	DK	C. Lepage	NA	B	N	White
Gérald	M	37	CAP ou BEP	Heating engineer	DN	NV	NV	G	N	Other European
<b>Paris employees 1</b>										
Laetitia	F	23	Bac +2	Sales engineer	6	J. Chirac	NV	B	N	White
Magali	F	28	Bac +2	Receptionist/ telemarketing	DK	J. Chirac	NA	NGNB	NE	White
Victor	M	30	Bac +2	Higher technician, logistics	2	N. Mamère	N	G	E	White
Patrice	M	33	Bac tech/pro.	Butler	DK	NV	NV	NGNB	NE	White
Hadia	F	36	Bac +3 à +5	Project leader, advertisement (unemployed)	3	NV	NV	G	NE	Maghreb
Clelia	F	24	Bac+2	Receptionist/ illustrator	5,5	NA	NV	?	?	White

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
<b>Paris employees 2</b>										
Paul	H	35	Bac +2	Pharmaceutical sales representative	5	NA	No	B	NE	White
Pablo	M	43	Bac tech/pro.	Secretarial work (unemployed)	7	J. Chirac	No	G	N	Other European
Samira	F	26	Bac +2	Restaurant manager	5	L. Jospin	No	B	N	Maghreb
Aline	F	41	Bac +2	Sales engineer (unemployed)	6	J. Chirac	NV	B	E	White
Martin	M	46	Bac+2	Graphic designer (unemployed)	3	L. Jospin	Y	G	NE	White
<b>Paris managers 1</b>										
Francis	M	30	Bac +3 à +5	IT professional	7	J. Chirac	Y	G	EN	White
Inès	F	39	Bac +2	Fashion designer	7	J. Chirac	N	G	NE	White
Fabienne	F	26	Doctorat	Doctoral student	3	M.-G. Buffet	N	B	World	White
Gabriel	M	59	Bac +3 à +5	Printing advisor	3	L. Jospin	Y	G	NE	White
Toufik	M	24	Bac +3 à +5	Engineer	4	NV	NV	G	NE	Maghreb
Serge	M	42	Bac +3 à +5	Chartered accountant	5	L. Jospin	N	B	EN	White
Céline	F	31	Bac +3 à +5	Translator	4	NV	N	G	NE	White

**Paris managers 2**

François	M	42	Bac +3 à +5	Computer/ logistics manager	9	J. Chirac	Y	G	NE	White
Michel	M	46	Bac +3 à +5	Management controller	6	J. Chirac	N	NGNB	EN	White
Patrick	M	38	Bac +3 à +5	Tax law specialist, civil servant	DK	J. Chirac	Y	G	EN	White
Jean-Paul	M	60	Doctorat	Math professor, university	6	NV	Y	NGNB	NE	White
Louis	M	49	Bac +3 à +5	Teacher/ photographer (ex marine officer)	3	L. Jospin	N	NGNB	E	White
Stanislas	M	50	Bac +3 à +5	Information officer (medical)	5	J. Chirac	Nul	G	NE	White
<b>Paris activists 1</b>										
César	M	35	Bac +3 à +5	Lawyer (unemployed)	6	J. Chirac	Y	NGNB	Other	Afro- Caribbean
Karl	M	21	Bac +3 à +5	Student (engineer)	8	NV	N	G	NE	White

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
Cheik	M	40	Bac tech/pro	Municipal agent	6	J. Chirac	NV	G	NE	Maghreb
Pierre-Antoine	M	23	Bac +3 à +5	Communications manager (party)	4	F. Bayrou	Y	G	NE	White
Déborah	F	30	Doctorat	Doctoral student	5	L. Jospin	Y	G	EN	White
Guy	M	59	Bac +3 à +5	Coach personal development / finance expert	2	N. Mère	N	G	N	White
Dimitri	M	48	Bac +3 à +5	Principal private secretary (arrondissement mayor)	3	L. Jospin	Y	G	NE	White
<b>Paris activists 2</b>										
Norbert	M	65	Bac +2	Journalist (retired)	10	J.-M. Le Pen	N	B	NE	White
Jules	M	46	Brevet/BEP	Photographer	3	R. Hue	N	NGNB	World	White
Adrien	M	32	Bac +3 à +5	Editor/temporary teacher	2	N. Mère	N	G	NE	White
Bertrand	M	47	Bac +3 à +5	Communications adviser	5	J.-M. Le Pen	N	B	N	White
Pascal	M	41	Bac +3 à +5	Engineer (researcher)	2	R. Hue	N	NGNB	NE	White
Emmanuelle	F	29	Bac +3 à +5	NGO manager	8	J. Chirac	O	G	NE	White



## BRUXELLES

## Brussels workers 1

Justine	F	38	Humanités sup gén	Accountant (unemployed)	10	NV	DK	G	NE	Africa
Rose	F	27	In training (adverstise- ment)	Receptionist	5	Cdh	DK	G	NE	White
Sidi	M	27	Humanités inf	Working man	4	Ecolo	DK	G	E	Maghreb
Marco	M	43	Humanités inf	Temp	6	NV	DK	NGNB	NE	White
Saïd	M	24	Humanités sup gén	Youth activity worker	NA	PS	Y	G	N	Maghreb
Ali	M	32	Graduat	(unemployed) Care worker	2	PS	N	G	NE	Maghreb
<b>Brussels workers 2</b>										
Christophe	M	24	Humanités sup	Working man (unemployed)	5	MR	N	G	NE	White
Farouk	M	28	pro/techn. Humanités sup	Security guard	4	PS	N	NGNB	NE	Maghreb
			pro/techn.							

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
André	M	35	Humanités sup gén	Woodworker (black market)	5	NV	N	NGNB	World	Other European
Dona	F	56	Humanités sup	Caretaker	7	MR	DK	G	NE	Other European
Ming	F	24	pro/techn. Graduat	Waitress	3	PS	N	G	EN	Asia
<b>Brussels employees 1</b>										
Faissal	M	27	Licences/ Master	Temp/ unemployed graphic designer	5	Ecolo	Y	G	EN	Maghreb
David	M	24	Humanités sup	Sergeant	4	PS	Y	G	EN	White
Victor	M	28	pro/techn. Humanités sup gén	Office worker	NA	Other	DK	G	N	White
Fabien	M	26	Licences/ Master	IT adviser	7	MR	Y	NGNB	EN	White
<b>Brussels employees 2</b>										
Michèle	F	26	Humanités sup gén	Temp food industry	7	MR	NV	G	NE	White
Jonathan	M	29	Humanités sup gén	Computer technician	6	DK	Y	G	E	White
Tina	F	32	Humanités sup gén	Sales assistant (unemployed)	5	PS/MR	Y	G	World	Maghreb

Maria	F	40	Humanités sup gén	Office worker (television)	3	NV	Y	G	NE	Other European NA
Pierre	M	54	Humanités sup gén	Foreman	3	Cdh	N	B	N	
<b>Brussels managers 1</b>										
Alban	M	28	Licences/ Master	Engineer nuclear industry	8	MR	DK	G	N	White
Roger	M	59	NA	Executive electronics	4	PS	Y	G	EN	White
JF	M	29	Licences/ Master	NGO manager	3	Ecolo	Y	G	EN	White
Claire	F	51	Doctorat	General practitioner	7	Cdh	DK	G	EN	White
Franck	M	40	Humanités inf	Restaurant and shop manager	7	Ecolo	DK	G	NE	White
Valérie	F	45	Licences/ Master	Journalist and researcher	6	Cdh	Y	G	NE	White
<b>Brussels managers 2</b>										
Bruno	M	29	Licences/ Master	Human resources manager	5	PS	N	G	NE	White

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
Fabio	M	26	Licences/ Master	Translator (unemployed)	2	Ecolo	N	G	EN	White
Judith	F	44	Licences/ Master	Human resources manager	4	Ecolo	N	G	EN	Africa
Gaston	M	60	Humanités sup pro/techn.	Self-employed	7	MR	N	B	N	White
<b>Brussels activists 1</b>										
Aurélien	M	28	Licences/ Master	Parliamentary attaché	8	MR	Y	G	NE	White
Stéphane	M	30	Licences/ Master	Parliamentary attaché	7	MR	Y	G	NE	Asia
Clément	M	33	Candidatures	General practitioner	6	Cdh	Y	G	NE	White
Maxime	M	25	Licences/ Master	Teacher	2	Ecolo	N	G	World	Maghreb
Simon	M	30	Licences/ Master	Relations officer (party)	2	PS	N	G	NE	White
Romain	M	20	Humanités sup gén	Student	1	PS	Y	G	NE	White
<b>Brussels activists 2</b>										
Gérard	M	26	Licences/ Master	Shopkeeper	5	MR	Y	G	NE	White
Brandon	M	27	Licences/ Master	Musician	2	PS	N	G	EN	Other European

Ludovic Viviane	M F	25 29	Graduat Doctorat	Secretary Elected representative	NA 3	PTB-UA Ecolo	N N	G G	World Other	NA Asia
Charles-Henri	M	26	Licences/ Master	Legal adviser	5	Cdh	Y	G	NE	White
<b>OXFORD</b>										
<b>Oxford workers 1</b>										
Mina	F	48	A-Level, AS-Level	Private care assistant	7	Labour	DK	NGNB	World	Black Asian White
Robert	M	32	GCSE or O'Level	Tankdriver (disabled)	7	NV	Y	G	NE	
Ron	M	31	VCE, AVCE, NVQ L3	Technician (car industry)	5,5	Labour	DK	NGNB	N	Black Asian White
Mary	F	54	GCSE or O'Level	School cleaner	7	Ind.	Y	NGNB	N	
Brenda	F	37	GCSE or O'Level	Post person and receptionist	DK	NV	N	NGNB	N	White
<b>Oxford workers 2</b>										
Vicas	M	29	VCE, AVCE, NVQ L3	Forklift driver	DK	NA	DK	NGNB	N	Black Asian

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
Esther	F	32	GCSE or O'Level	Kitchen assist, catering, cleaning (unemployed)	3,5	NV	DK	NGNB	N	White
Ruth	F	48	GCSE or O'Level	Care assistant, office worker (unemployed)	8	Cons.	DK	NGNB	N	White
Bridget	F	52	GCSE or O'Level	Receptionist (unemployed)	9,5	NV	DK	NGNB	N	White
Anthony	M	53	GCSE or O'Level	Working man (early retired)	5,5	LibDem	DK	G	NE	White
<b>Oxford employees 1</b>										
Nina	F	31	Foundation d°, NVQ L4	Care support worker	3	Labour	Y	G	EN	White
Pat	F	37	A-Level, AS-Level	Admin/secretarial work	4,5	Labour	DK	G	N	Black
Mel	F	51	A-Level, AS-Level	Receptionist (part time)	5,5	DK	DK	G	NE	White
Kenneth	M	51	A-Level, AS-Level	Office support worker	5,5	LibDem	Y	G	NE	White
Mike	M	45	A-Level, AS-Level	Office manager	6	NV	N	B	NE	White
Kamal	M	24	BA, BSc, degree	Team leader in catering business	5	Ind	N	G	N	Black Asian
<b>Oxford employees 2</b>										
Stephanie	F	33	VCE, AVCE, NVQ L3...	IT trainer	5	Cons	N	G	N	White

Kylie	F	33	BA, BSc, degree	Office worker (unemployed)	2	Ind	DK	NGNB	N	White
Lily	F	37	BA, BSc, degree	Homemaker (former HR manager)	5	Labour	Y	G	NE	White
George	M	22	BA, BSc, degree	Temp, office worker	3	LibDem	Y	G	EN	White
Emily	F	82	VCE, AVCE, NVQ L3...	Clerical work (retired)	1	Labour	DK	G	NE	White
Jeremy	M	67	Foundation d°, NVQ L4	Director in engineering sector (retired)	5,5	LibDem	DK	G	N	White
<b>Oxford managers 1</b>										
Sundai	M	36	BA, BSc degree	Store manager	7	Labour	Y	G	NE	Black
Alexander	M	39	A-Level, AS-Level	Bank manager	8	Cons	N	NGNB	N	White
Derek	M	37	PhD or Dphil	Lecturer and researcher	3	Cons	DK	NGNB	NE	White
Ian	M	38	BA, BSc degree	Salesman	7	Cons	N	NGNB	N	White
Bansuri	F	42	VCE, AVCE, NVQ L3	Personal development trainer	5,5	NV	N	NGNB	N	Black Asian

(Continued)

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Education	Profession	Left right	Vote	Referendum	EU belonging	Identity	Origin
<b>Oxford managers 2</b>										
Sanjay	M	24	BA, BSc, degree	Accountant	6	LibDem	DK	NGNB	N	Black Asian
Joe	M	27	BA, BSc, degree	Fundraising	3	Labour	DK	G	N	White
Alya	F	23	BA, BSc, degree	Office manager	3,5	NV	Nul	G	N	NA
William	M	67	Master degrees	IT consultant (retired)	3	Labour	Y	G	NE	White
Rebecca	F	52	BA, BSc, degree	School teacher (unemployed)	6,5	LibDem	DK	NGNB	N	White
Rachel	F	28	BA, BSc, degree	Human resources manager	5	NV	Y	G	EN	White
<b>Oxford activists 1</b>										
Bethany	F	79	Foundation d°, NVQ L4	Councillor	5	Labour	Y	NGNB	NE	White
Allison	F	57	Primary school	Housewife and volunteer	4	LibDem	Y	G	NE	White
Charles	M	71	A-Level, AS-Level	District councillor (ex IT consultant and finance advisor)	6	Cons	Y	B	N	White
Annabel	F	26	BA, BSc, degree	Campaign manager	3,5	Labour	Y	NA	NA	White
James	M	61	Master degrees	Company director	8	Cons	N	B	Other	White



Lewis	M	70	PhD or Dphil	County councillor (ex health advocacy)	1	Green	N	DK	World	White
<b>Oxford activists 2</b>										
Kevin	M	20	A-Level, AS-Level	Student	3	Labour	Y	G	NE	White
Ben	M	19	A-Level, AS-Level	Student	5,5	Cons	N	B	N	White
Tim	M	23	BA, BSc, degree	Production editor	4	LibDem	Y	G	NE	White
Nick	M	21	A-Level, AS-Level	Student	6	Cons	N	G	NE	White

**Pseudonym:** name chosen by participant, or allocated by researcher in later anonymisation process.

**Education:** categories correspond to national qualifications.

**Profession:** as declared by participant.

**Left/right:** Politically, people speak of left and right. On a scale of 1–10, where 1 is extreme left and 10 is extreme right, where would you put yourself?

**Vote:** did you vote at the last general elections? (List of candidates or parties provided) NV: no, DK: don't know, NA: no answer.

**Referendum:** For the French: Did you vote in the referendum of ratification of the Treaty establishing a constitution for Europe on the 29 May 2005? Yes, no, did not vote, refuse to answer. For the others: If you had to vote in a referendum would you vote...

**EU belonging:** In general, do you think that Britain's membership of the European Union is a good thing, or a bad thing? G: good thing; B: bad thing. NGNB: neither good nor bad. DK: don't know. NA: no answer.

**Identity:** In the future, do you think you will feel yourself to be (nationality) only, (nationality) and European, European and (nationality), or European only? N: National only; NE: national and European; EN: European and national; E: European only; World: citizen of the world (spontaneous – that is, not offered by us as an option).

**Origin:** for the French and Belgian, researchers' evaluation. For the British, question asked.

## **Appendix 4 Focus group discussion schedule**

Presentation of the session (moderator):

Discussion falls into two parts – first session of about an hour and a quarter, then a break for some food, drink and social talk, then a second session of just over an hour.

We are hoping that the discussion will just roll on, but there are some particular rules to help it go well:

First, the discussion will be recorded in writing, on these cards, and they will be put up on the board in front of you so that everyone can see everything that has been said;

Second, no contribution should be more than thirty seconds;

Third, if you object to or want to question or argue with anything anyone says, do feel free to speak; but rather than interrupting someone when they are talking, make a sign to me, and I will signal that you want to say something, with a flash. That is, when I put up a card with something on it that you want to talk about more, that is the time for you to speak up and I will mark it with a flash. Then, we will make sure we go back to all the flashes, and make sure that you have a chance to say what you want to say.

And now we are going to start. Today we are talking about Europe.

5 MINUTES

*What does it mean to be European?*

We are going to talk about Europe during this session – talking about different questions. Here's the first to get us going. So, over to you.

30 MINUTES

*How should power be distributed in Europe?*

Of course, Europe is complicated. We can say that there are different places or people with power in Europe: the nations, MPs, experts or the market.

We'd like you to think about each of these, and say what are the advantages and disadvantages of them having power in Europe. We'll take them one by one. Which one would you like to start with?

35 MINUTES

*If no choice made...*

OK, let's start with the nations. Why is it good, and why is it bad, for the nations to decide matters in Europe?

45 MINUTES

Next, MPs. Why is it good for MPs to have power, and why bad?

55 MINUTES

Let's pass to the experts. Why good, and why bad, for experts to have power?

65 MINUTES

And finally, the market. In what way is it good for the market to govern what happens in Europe, and in what way bad?

Thanks. And now before the break there's a final task for you to do. I'm going to give you each six stickers, and ask you to imagine that it's up to you to say what the European institutions should be like. Think about the advantages and disadvantages of the nations, MPs, the experts, and the market as the sites of power in Europe; and we want you to make a choice. You have six stickers, six votes, which you can distribute among these four cards: nations, MPs, experts, market. You could put them all on one card, or divide them out any other way. Think for a moment, and then we want you all to vote together.

*Count.*

Is that the result you expected? Is there anything else you want to say about this, before we break?

70 MINUTES

OK, we'll break now. Please help yourself with drink and food...

Break

95 MINUTES

*Who profits from Europe?*

We want you to get together in twos or threes and come up with some ideas about who benefits from Europe. Please write about six answers using the cards.

*Hand out 6 cards, pens*

105–110 MINUTES

*Take and shuffle the cards. Read them out. Put the first one up in the centre of the board. For following ones ask where on the board it should go.*

130 MINUTES

*For or against Turkey's entry into the European Union?*

We are going to begin this one with a vote. I am going to give each of you one sticker – please all together come up to the board and stick it either on the ‘for’ or the ‘against’ card.

*Take vote*

135 MINUTES

Now, let's discuss the reasons you have for voting as you did. We'll start with the arguments for the losing decision:

Why did you vote this way?

145 MINUTES

Now, what are the arguments for voting with the winners [*for/against*]?

160 MINUTES

*In favour or not of Turkey's entry into the European Union? Political parties . . .*

It's the same question but this time we're going to look at what you think different political parties think about this question and why they think what they think or why they think what you think they think. Which party do you want to begin with?

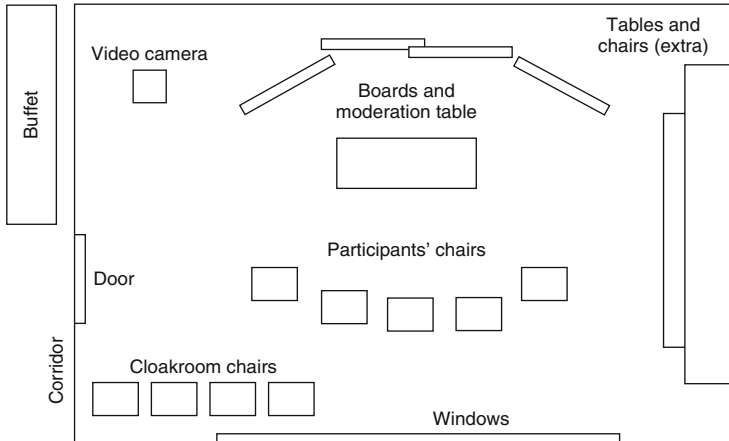
*Presents cards representing each major party (logo and leader picture), asking where on the board they should go.*

180 MINUTES

End

Thank you very much for your attention; that's the end of our discussion session today.

### Appendix 5 Diagram of Room Layout (Brussels)





## Appendix 7 Responses (coded) to Q3: 'Who Profits from Europe?' by group

(See Table 3.2 for frequencies of codes)

CARDS by group	Code
MANAGERS BRUSSELS Set 1	N = 15
A nous-jeunes	CIT
Citoyens	CIT
Travailleurs	CIT
ca profite à l'économie	ECO
aux pays autour de l'Europe	EXT
les marges de l'Europe	EXT
aux gros industriels, aux multinationales	LIB
aux étudiants	MOB
voyageurs, mobilité des personnes	MOB
aide développement régions riches régions pauvres	NOUV
développement pays les plus pauvres en Europe	NOUV
les régions défavorisées subsides	NOUV
les nouveaux pays membres	NOUV
l'URSS	PAY
moins de nivellement des richesses	XXX
MANAGERS BRUSSELS Set 2	N = 16
Agriculteurs	AGRI
Aux citoyens	CIT
Européen	CIT
Aux Etats membres	CIT
Aux citoyens	CIT
Défense euro frontière unique	DEF
Aux hommes d'affaires	LIB
Aux marché et multinationales	LIB
Multinationales	LIB
Aux groupes religieux	NEG
Chômage	NEG
Nouveaux membres	NOUV
Aux politiques	POL
Aux experts	TECH
Aux USA	USA
Culture et valeurs	VAL
MANAGERS OXFORD Set 1	N = 10
People, lower taxes	CIT
Corporations	ECO
Companies	ECO
Cheap labour	LIB
European tourists	MOB
Poor countries, benefit not profit	PAUV

(Continued)

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Political leaders	POL
Rich countries	RICH
USA	USA
Peace	VAL
MANAGERS OXFORD Set 2	N = 18
Farmers	AGRI
Financiers	BANK
Workers	CIT
States (economically)	ECO
Companies	ECO
EU business	ECO
Foreign policy beneficiaries	EXT
Big multinationals	LIB
All do freedom of travel	MOB
Tourists	MOB
Footballers (Freddie Flintoff)	MOB
Under 26s, young people	MOB
Heads of state (political)	POL
Lawyers	TECH
Everyone, re civil liberties and human rights	VAL
Sharing info + experiences + ressources	VAL
the environment, wildlife	VAL
Nation States	XXX
MANAGERS PARIS Set 1	N = 14
aux banques	BANK
à tous	CIT
Aux européens	CIT
au reste du monde	EXT
A l'immigration intra-européenne	IMM
Aux entreprises qui délocalisent	LIB
Aux lobbies	LOB
aux interprètes	MOB
Aux ex-pays d'Europe les moins développés;	NOUV
aux pays pauvres	PAUV
Aux pays riches Allemagne France Angleterre	PAY
aux riches	RICH
à la compréhension des peuples	VAL
à la paix	VAL
MANAGERS PARIS Set 2	N = 22
les anciens (agriculteurs, pays fondateurs)	AGRI
aux banques de financement	BANK
aux Européens	CIT
au business, le marché, les experts	ECO
aux non-européens	EXT
l'Eurocratie – petits pays (Irlande, Espagne, Pays Baltes) – immigration	IMM



L'Oréal	LIB
aux multinationales	LIB
Pfizer	LIB
aux grands groupes (économiques et financiers), grands médias, opérateurs téléphoniques	LIB
Nomenklatura politico-financière. Gérontocratie	NEG
les nouveaux entrants, secteurs de pointe, régions en voie de développement	NOUV
l'Eurocratie – petits pays (Irlande, Espagne, Pays Baltes) – immigration	PAY
chaque chef d'Etat dira à ses citoyens : on a gagné	POL
les élus	POL
Nomenklatura politico-financière. Gérontocratie	POL
aux élus (nantis)	POL
au business, le marché, les experts	TECH
l'Eurocratie – petits pays (Irlande, Espagne, Pays Baltes) – immigration	TECH
aux USA	USA
ca dépend pour qui	XXX
comment on va leur dire	XXX
EMPLOYEES BRUSSELS Set 1	N = 10
a qui ca ne profite pas?	CIT
à nos générations futures l'Europe profite	CIT
à l'égalité entre nous Européens	CIT
ca profite à nous	CIT
à des pays étrangers qui veulent se désolidariser des USA	EXT
ca profite au monde non européen à l'Afrique aux pays ex-colonisés	EXT
ca profite pas aux agriculteurs	NEG
ca profite au monde non européen à l'Afrique aux pays ex-colonisés	PAUV
aux politiciens	POL
aux chercheurs	RECH
EMPLOYEES BRUSSELS Set 2	N = 11
Aux investisseurs	BANK
Profite aux sociétés à but lucratif	LIB
Profite au système capital	LIB
Aux gérants de l'économie mondiale	LIB
Aux gros groupes financiers	LIB
Personnes qui voyagent	MOB
A nous ??? DEVRAIT profiter au citoyen	NEG
Pays économiquement plus faibles	PAUV
Aux politiciens	POL
Aux fonctionnaires européens	TECH
Aux bénéficiaires de l'aide européenne	XXX
EMPLOYEES OXFORD Set 1	N = 23
community groups eg Blackbird Leys	CIT
Citizens	CIT

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(Continued)

People	CIT
Consumers	CIT
criminals, money laundering, drugs, prostitution	CRIM
extremist organisations	CRIM
local black markets	CRIM
breaking down of borders makes international crime easier, criminals	CRIM
companies that work under EC contracts	ECO
organisations [businesses]	ECO
companies within the EU who trade	ECO
Polish people	IMM
labour shortage and skills market	LIB
holiday makers	MOB
Eurostar	MOB
international workers	MOB
countries whose industries benefit from subsidies	NEG
profits???	NEG
poorer smaller countries	PAUV
Governments	POL
richer, wealthier countries	RICH
the bureaucrats	TECH
lawyers, translators, medical experts	TECH
EMPLOYEES OXFORD Set 2	N = 11
Asylum seekers	IMM
Disney (possibly)	LIB
Large manufacturers	LIB
Freight	MOB
Tourism	MOB
Smaller European nations	NOUV
MEPs	POL
Lawyers	TECH
European language experts	TECH
French farmers	XXX
Smaller political parties	XXX
EMPLOYEES PARIS Set 1	N = 14
A tous les membres de l'UE (une force contre les USA)	CIT
aux entrepreneurs, aux commerciaux (plus de pouvoir, opportunité, main d'oeuvre, expansion)	ECO
marché / économie plus vaste extériorisée;	ECO
aux pays extérieurs à l'Europe;	EXT
aux pays pauvres ?, immigration	IMM
aux multinationales délocalisations, main d'oeuvre moins chère, moins de taxes	LIB
aux industriels investissements à l'étranger à mondres couts; avantages fiscaux	LIB
aux habitants des pays les moins riches car ouverture des frontières pour le travail	MOB

aux pays européens qui ont un faible pouvoir d'achat (salaire minimum inférieur au notre)	PAUV
aux habitants des pays les moins riches car ouverture des frontières pour le travail	PAUV
aux élus plus au pouvoir	POL
à la recherche; regroupement des impôts [infos] des recherches et des chercheurs;	RECH
aux associations et organisations; droit aux animaux	VAL
protection consommateur plus environnement;	
aux pays extérieurs à l'Europe; populations pauvres ou riches; frontières	XXX
EMPLOYEES PARIS Set 2	N = 17
à l'agriculture des pays émergents	AGRI
profite aux grands groupes bancaires	BANK
en principe à tous	CIT
au développement économique de chacun	ECO
aux grands groupes économiques EDF/GDF/TF1	LIB
aux voyageurs – tourisme	MOB
intégration des citoyens dans les autres pays	MOB
aux nouveaux arrivants (pays de l'est) et aux pays émergents (Allemagne)	NOUV
plutôt aux pays pauvres aujourd'hui	PAUV
aux politiques, qui gouvernent autrement	POL
ouverture science technologie	RECH
aux chercheurs – à vous mesdames	RECH
à l'enrichissement culturel	VAL
aux échanges culturels, (linguistic)	VAL
échange politique, idées	VAL
profite à l'évolution des mœurs	VAL
à la mixité entre les populations	VAL
WORKERS BRUSSELS Set 1	N = 15
les capitaux, les lobbys	BANK
les entreprises	ECO
les pays d'Extreme-Orient, l'importation commerciale	EXT
suivant le quota sur notre pouvoir d'achat	
certain émigrants/immigrants	IMM
les pays d'Extreme-Orient, l'importation commerciale	LIB
suivant le quota sur notre pouvoir d'achat	
les capitaux, les lobbys	LOB
à nous aussi voyages plus faciles	MOB
un cycle vicieux qui devrait se compenser avec le temps	NEG
les pays pauvres, les nouveaux pays	NOUV
les pays rentrants européens	NOUV
Pays du Tiers monde, coopération au développement	PAUV
les pays pauvres, les nouveaux pays	PAUV
les chefs d'État	POL
les décideurs	TECH

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(Continued)

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Les proprios	XXX
WORKERS BRUSSELS Set 2	N = 9
Européens	CIT
Complexe militaire	DEF
Entreprise	ECO
Patronat	LIB
Les médias – désinformation	NEG
Nouveaux membres européens	NOUV
Institutions scientifiques	RECH
A la culture	VAL
Institutions culturelles	VAL
WORKERS OXFORD Set 1	N = 6
Businesses	ECO
Everyone but us	NEG
Tradesmen from poorer countries	PAUV
MPs	POL
Governments from bigger countries	RICH
Bigger countries	RICH
WORKERS OXFORD Set 2	N = 9
People	CIT
Businesses	ECO
Industries	ECO
All countries	EXT
MPs	POL
Lawyers	TECH
Commission	TECH
Environment	VAL
Countries	XXX
WORKERS PARIS Set 1	N = 18
aux banques	BANK
aux financiers, aux banques	BANK
Argent, économie	BANK
a la mafia	CRIM
les sociétés secrètes	CRIM
aux industriels	ECO
textile	ECO
Aux industries	ECO
Argent, économie	ECO
les étrangers	IMM
les grandes entreprises	LIB
je sais pas	NEG
aux pays pauvres de l'Europe	PAUV
aux hommes politiques	POL
le président, les hommes politiques	POL
Aux riches, pas aux pauvres	RICH

aux USA	USA
les Etats-Unis	USA
WORKERS PARIS Set 2	N = 19
elle favorise les richesses économiques et l'outil agricole	AGRI
l'agriculture	AGRI
marchés boursiers	BANK
aux populations	CIT
elle sert à la défense des pays	DEF
Import/Export. Profit pour l'économie européenne	ECO
elle favorise les richesses économiques et l'outil agricole	ECO
Elle sert au marché mondial	LIB
marchés mondiaux	LIB
aux voyages	MOB
pas à moi	NEG
aux derniers arrivants, les plus pauvres	NOUV
Aux nouveaux entrants dans l'Europe	NOUV
aux pays du Tiers monde	PAUV
aux pays du Tiers monde	PAUV
aux pays les plus pauvres. Par exemple l'Afrique pour le pétrole, le café, le cacao	PAUV
aux Anglais	PAY
aux hommes politiques	POL
aux riches	RICH
ACTIVISTS BRUSSELS Set 1	N = 13
aux agriculteurs	AGRI
au citoyen	CIT
aux corporates	ECO
à l'économie de marché	LIB
aux grands entreprises	LIB
les lobbyistes	LOB
aux touristes	MOB
aux étudiants	MOB
aux parlementaires	POL
aux chercheurs, par exemple UCL	RECH
les USA	USA
aux droits de l'Homme	VAL
les medias	XXX
ACTIVISTS BRUSSELS Set 2	N = 12
Déteneurs du capital international	BANK
Bruxelles	BXL
Européens / Citoyens	CIT
Entreprises (PME)	ECO
Extra européens = 1er coopérateur	EXT
Classe politique qui représente les intérêts des multinationales	LIB
Erasmus	MOB
Classe politique qui représente les intérêts des multinationales	POL

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(Continued)

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Chercheurs (connaissance)	RECH
Environnement	VAL
Diversité culture	VAL
Renforcement des mouvements sociaux	XXX
ACTIVISTS OXFORD Set 1	N = 17
Citizens of Brussels	BXL
Employees, perhaps not as much as we would like	CIT
Citizens	CIT
Manufacturers	ECO
Commerce	ECO
Owners of capital, businesses	LIB
Holiday makers	MOB
Travel industry	MOB
Travel industry [encore]	MOB
Employees, perhaps not as much as we would like	NEG
Major centres of existing power – who benefits?	NEG
Vulnerable people, people from poorer countries	PAUV
People from poorer countries and regions	PAUV
Major centres of existing power – who benefits?	RICH
Environment	VAL
Minorities via the Council of Europe and the Human Rights Act	VAL
Education	VAL
ACTIVISTS OXFORD Set 2	N = 21
Farmers	AGRI
Workers	CIT
Consumers	CIT
Retailers	ECO
Intra European trading	ECO
Accession candidates	EXT
Non EU immigrants or migrants	IMM
Pressure Groups	LOB
Lobbyists	LOB
Tourists	MOB
Brussels hoteliers	MOB
Budget airlines	MOB
French farmers and Spanish farmers	NEG
Poorer countries former soviet states	NOUV
Impoverished area	PAUV
Ireland	PAY
MEPs	POL
Bureaucrats	TECH
Lawyers	TECH
environment issues	VAL
Eurovision	XXX

ACTIVISTS PARIS Set 1	N = 19
aux agriculteurs	AGRI
aux financiers	BANK
aux Européens, paix, pouvoir d'achat, liberté	CIT
aux citoyens (santé, environnement)	CIT
aux entreprises – marché unique	ECO
pas au minima sociaux	LIB
au capitalisme	LIB
aux pays privilégiant le model libéral anglo-saxon	LIB
aux étudiants (Erasmus)	MOB
pas aux citoyens	NEG
pas aux pays pauvres	NEG
aux territoires – pour le développement	NOUV
aux régions – fonds structurels	NOUV
aux élus (privilèges, intérêts professionnels, décharge les gouvernements de leur inaction)	POL
experts, fonctionnaires, européen lobbies, ONG;	TECH
aux technocrates	TECH
Etats-Unis, Otan, division des européens	USA
aux citoyens (santé, environnement)	VAL
aux socialistes, aux centristes à Guy qui ont le pouvoir depuis des années et qui ne font rien	XXX
ACTIVISTS PARIS Set 2	N = 14
Agriculture	AGRI
le Hamas	CRIM
aux multinationales et à l'eurocratie	LIB
grands groupes agro-alimentaires	LIB
aux libéraux	LIB
World compagnie	LIB
Environnement. Des directives plus exigeantes que le droit français. Mais les lobbies industriels les édulcorent	NEG
aux pays européens pauvres (Espagne, Portugal, Irlande. Fonds structurels)	PAUV
Régions sous-développées. Certains Etats, provisoirement	PAUV
aux technocrates	TECH
aux multinationales et à l'eurocratie	TECH
aux anglo-saxons	USA
à la paix à l'intérieur de l'Europe	VAL
Environnement. Des directives plus exigeantes que le droit français. Mais les lobbies industriels les édulcorent	VAL

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# Notes

## 1 Concepts and Theory: Political Sociology and European Studies

1. Eurobarometer website at [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm), accessed 2 January 2011.
2. Unification: In general, are you for or against efforts being made to unify Western Europe? Are you for – very much, for – to some extent, against – to some extent, against – very much, Don't Know; Membership: Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad, Don't Know?; Dissolution: If you were told tomorrow that the European Community (Common Market) – EU – had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?; Benefit: Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?
3. In your opinion, how is the European Community or European Unification advancing nowadays? Please look at these people (show card) Number 1 is standing still, Number 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the European Community or European Unification. And which corresponds best with what you would like?
4. Do you sometimes think of yourself not only as a (nationality) citizen but also as a European citizen? Does it happen often, sometimes or never?
5. Also Belot (2000).
6. Two major European journals dedicated special issues to euroscepticism: *European Union politics* (Vol. 8, no. 1, March 2007) and *Acta Politica* (Vol. 42, no. 3, September 2007); an issue of *Revue internationale de politique comparée* deals with resistance to European integration (Vol. 15, no. 4, 2008).
7. The five former stages are: state building, capitalist development, nation building, democratisation and welfare-state development.
8. Medrano has recently revisited his interviews and published an analysis that is perhaps more critical of mainstream European public opinion analysis in so far as it questions the notion of European identity (Diez Medrano, 2010).
9. First published in French in 2010: *L'Europe des Européens. Enquête comparative sur les perceptions de l'Europe* (Paris: Economica).
10. An observation very similar to Diez Medrano (2010).
11. See, in particular, Dakowska and Hubé Ch. 5: 'For or against the EU? Ambivalent Attitudes and Varied Arguments towards Europe'. The literal translation of the French (*Le public européen ne se divise pas en deux catégories*) would be 'The European public does not divide itself into two'.



12. Oddly, however, the chapter dedicated to sophistication (or, in French, *compétence politique*) – Lehingue, Ch. 8 – is not based on the same series of interviews as the rest of the book.
13. White’s interview design is based on cognitive frames research: he used 17 cards naming different issues, which the taxi drivers were asked to sort and label. Methodological issues are rigorously discussed.
14. We have chosen to focus on White and Gaxie, as they are so different in their research designs and are published as books. See also, Duchesne et al. (2010); EURONAT (2005); Favell (2010); Jamieson and Grundy (2007); Reungoat (2010); Weill (2010) – qualitative analyses that converge on the same results.
15. Not always the case; in his last book Risse, for example, takes into account only those results that corroborate the thesis of growing polarisation (Risse, 2010).
16. The 2011 Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, USA, included several contributions on this question: it was the focus of de Vries’s contribution to the roundtable ‘Theorizing EU Politics’, and of papers by Stoeckel (Stoeckel, 2011), Van Ingelgom (Van Ingelgom, 2010), Arnold and Hosli.
17. For an account of this theme in political theory see Frazer (2008).
18. Analysis based on Duchesne and Haegel (2004a); in political theory terms there is convergence with the ‘agonistic’ strain associated with, for example Mouffe (1993, 2005), Rancière (1999) and Honig (1993).

## 2 National Frames: Reactions to a Multi-Level World

1. This French computer package has been used in some research published in English: see Brugidou (2003), Bara, Weale & Biquelet (2007). The Alceste analysis reported in this chapter has been carried out by Sophie Duchesne, whom Florence Haegel wishes to thank.
2. These basic analytic units are called Elementary Context Units in the jargon of the Alceste programme; we refer to them here and in the figures as ‘units of analysis’.

## 3 Social Gap: The Double Meaning of ‘Overlooking’

1. Fligstein uses a variety of data, but Chapter 5 is based on Eurobarometer; Hooghe & Marks (2009) quote extensively from work based on Eurobarometer; Hooghe & Marks (2004) is a Eurobarometer analysis.
2. Gamson’s focus groups were organised in participants’ houses, with acquaintances, so mimicked a natural setting.
3. Principal components analysis was conducted using the computer programme SPAD. As a robustness check, a second analysis, omitting codes that seem to play an important role but have only a small number of cases (e.g. USA, RICH, EXT, IMM) was run; the general configuration hardly changes.
4. On gender relationships in interviews and focus groups, Wilkinson (1998).

5. The full answer is ‘new entering countries, leading sectors, developing countries’ (*les nouveaux entrants, secteurs de pointe, régions en voie de développement*). Patrick and Michel ignored the rule: one card, one answer.
6. *Les élus* is a generic term for any kind of elected person.
7. He chose to use a pseudonym, as all participants might, although few did in Brussels, none in Paris.
8. In the correspondence analysis of the ‘who profits’ cards, this group emerges as the one which contributes most to Factor 1 at the ‘profit’ rather than ‘benefit’ end.
9. Confirmed by Kuhn 15 years later. The lower one’s satisfaction with national politics, the greater the likelihood to say one’s country membership is a bad thing (Kuhn, 2011: 826)
10. See, in particular, Diez Medrano, Throssel & Weill (2010).

#### **4 When Ambivalence Meets Indifference**

1. Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY)’s membership of the EU is ... A good thing – A bad thing – Neither good nor bad?
2. Exceptions include Franklin, Marsh & McLaren (1994); Sauger, Brouard & Grossman (2007); Verney (2011).
3. Standard Eurobarometer for spring 2011, three years on from the economic crisis, indicates 23% in Belgium, 33% in France, 37% in UK and 31% for the EU (European Commission, 2011).
4. Membership question was only asked in the second questionnaire, for participants. However, we also asked applicants, potential participants, a question about the constitutional referendum; although it had different meanings in the three countries (the question was hypothetical for the Belgian and British cases,) we did use it as a selection criterion – see Appendix 2, and Chapter 6.
5. Our analysis is distinct from that of ambivalence as response variation, initiated by Steenbergen and De Vries (Stoeckel, 2011); it is also different from that developed by Haegel & Garcia (2011).
6. On the difficulty of interpretive coding of affect and evaluation, Duchesne & Van Ingelgom (2008).
7. Compare with White (2010b: 1037).
8. For overviews of this White (2008, 2010a) and de Wilde (2011).

#### **5 Representation and Legitimation**

1. Examples include Beetham & Lord (1998); Bellamy & Castiglione (2003); Ehin (2008); Obradovic (1996); Scharpf (1999); Quermonne (2001); Van Ingelgom (2010).
2. Notably, though, for both Rawls and Habermas there is a subjective, agent-centred, element to the objective, philosophical, construction of justice; Rawls’ theories of reflective equilibrium and the overlapping consensus can be read this way; Habermas explicitly emphasises the necessary endorsement of (ideal) interlocutors in any construction of justice.

3. Lipset (1959) emphasises the necessary economic and welfare conditions that could generate stable and widespread beliefs in the legitimacy of the governmental regime.
4. For Schmidt (2012) notably, the binary scheme is inadequate, and we must add the third category of ‘throughput’. We do not dissent, but our simplified scheme here includes throughput processes in the input category.
5. This group is younger than the norm and dominated by students who we suspect had an academic understanding of subsidiarity. This is why this group is in Set 2 and not in our main comparatively well-matched Set 1.
6. There were two decidedly eurosceptic members of this group. For the left-wing eurosceptic, markets are illegitimate sources of power, and the EU is illegitimate because it is centred on markets (and their corresponding bureaucracy). For the right-wing eurosceptic markets (and individuals) are the only source of legitimate power; sovereign governments should be confined to safeguarding them.
7. Van Ingelgom (2010: Chapter 4) finds the same result using a systematic codification of the complete 24 focus group transcripts: 186 out of 918 quotes related to Europe were on the themes of governance and democratic deficit.
8. Mansbridge’s account sets out to review and refine the various typologies of the relationships between representative and represented in Pitkin (1967), Mansbridge (1999), Young (2000).
9. cf. Arendt (1968: 241–2), on the necessarily representative quality of all political speech.
10. The Set 1 Oxford Activists were an exception: they discussed whether the exercise required them to disclose or to keep concealed their party affiliations.

## 6 Reflections on Design and Implementation

1. ‘Do you ever think of yourself as not only (nationality) but also European? Does this happen often, sometimes or never?’
2. ‘Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefitted or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?’
3. ‘Generally speaking, do you think that (your country’s) membership of the European Community (Common Market) is a good thing, a bad thing or neither good nor bad thing?’
4. In Paris, Guillaume Garcia; in Brussels, Virginie Van Ingelgom and in Oxford, Linda Pialek.
5. The unemployed are systematically over-represented among our applicants; notably at the time of the research unemployment rates were 20% of the working population in Brussels, about 10% Paris and about 3% Oxford.
6. Possible explanations include the sexual division in Internet use; we also wonder whether (young) men were attracted by the first name ‘Virginie’ shown on the advert with a mobile telephone number.
7. Also included in the ‘workers’ category were farmers; no participant had this profession but some had parents who were farmers.

8. The multiple correspondence analysis, carried out by V. Van Ingelgom using the computer package SPAD, is described in greater detail in Garcia & Van Ingelgom (2010). Readers familiar with this package will notice that in our figures we have altered SPAD's output, in the interests of legibility.

### **Post Script: Searching for the Grail**

1. Van Ingelgom (2010) for statistical re-analysis of Eurobarometer data over the long term, revealing the extent of indifference in relation to Europe.

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