Contents

| List of Figures and Tables | viii |
|---|----------|
| Acknowledgements | ix |
| List of Abbreviations | Х |
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1 Why Euroscepticism Matters | 12 |
| Eurosceptics: channels of influence in the EU | 13 |
| Euroscepticism and the evolution of EU gover | nance: |
| towards a less supranational Union? | 24 |
| Euroscepticism outside the EU: implications for | or |
| international relations | 33 |
| Euroscepticism: a welcome thorn in the EU's s | |
| Conclusion | 42 |
| 2 Varieties of Euroscepticism | 43 |
| Euroscepticism across time: a historical overvi | iew 43 |
| Utilitarian Euroscepticism | 46 |
| Political Euroscepticism | 50 |
| Value-based Euroscepticism | 57 |
| Cultural anti-Europeanism | 61 |
| Conclusion | 66 |
| 3 A Geography of Euroscepticism | 68 |
| Different countries, different Euroscepticism(s | 69 |
| Accession processes and seniority as an EU me | |
| Collective utilitarian assessment of EU membe | |
| Degree of fit between the EU and national | |
| institutions | 79 |
| Reference to 'Europe' in nation-building proce | esses 83 |
| Strength and sense of national identity | 90 |
| Euroscepticism at regional level | 94 |
| Conclusion | 99 |

| 4 | Political Elites Elites' conversion to 'Europe': 'limited, short-ranged | 100 |
|---|---|-----|
| | and tactical' (Haas 1958) | 101 |
| | Explaining party-based Euroscepticism | 101 |
| | Parties of government: a mainstreaming of | 100 |
| | Euroscepticism? | 113 |
| | Political elites in the European Parliament: | 110 |
| | enthusiastic Europeans? | 128 |
| | Conclusion | 133 |
| | | |
| 5 | National Institutions | 135 |
| | The compliance problem: Euroscepticism through | |
| | the back door? | 137 |
| | Administrations, courts and parliaments: loyal | |
| | applicants of EU law? | 143 |
| | Member states and the European Court of Justice: | |
| | towards a more tense relationship | 151 |
| | Conclusion | 160 |
| | | |
| 6 | Popular Euroscepticism | 161 |
| | Patterns of support before Maastricht: an ambiguous | , |
| | public opinion | 162 |
| | Post-Maastricht Euroscepticism: symptom of a | |
| | national democratic malaise | 167 |
| | Utilitarian scepticism and concerns over the | |
| | redistributive consequences of integration | 173 |
| | Identity-related concerns | 180 |
| | Exclusive understandings of national identity | 184 |
| | Conclusion | 189 |
| _ | | 101 |
| 7 | The Media | 191 |
| | The media and the EU: from pro-EC militancy to | 102 |
| | critical investigation | 192 |
| | The Europhilia of established media: some nuances | 195 |
| | The tabloid press and the new media | 201 |
| | National media versus European public sphere? | 209 |
| | Conclusion | 218 |
| 8 | Civil Society | 219 |
| 0 | The EU: empowering or weakening civil society? | 219 |
| | Churches: a pro-European commitment under stress | 220 |
| | onatenes, a pro European communent under stress | 440 |

| | Trade unions: disillusionment with 'social Europe' Social mobilizations and new social movements: | 227 |
|------|--|-----|
| | alter- or anti-European? | 235 |
| | Conclusion | 244 |
| 9 | Understanding Euroscepticism The dimensions of Euroscepticism: scepticism about | 246 |
| | the EU | 246 |
| | Specific or diffuse: what kind of support for the EU? | 249 |
| | Utilitarian, normative and identity-based scepticism | 251 |
| | Implications for the study of international governance | 256 |
| | Conclusion | 258 |
| 10 | Conclusion: The Future of Euroscepticism and the | |
| | Future of the EU | 260 |
| | The future of Euroscepticism: three scenarios How can the EU respond to Euroscepticism?: | 261 |
| | three options | 264 |
| | New meta-narratives or back to functional legitimacy? | 272 |
| Furi | ther Reading | 276 |
| Bibl | liography | 279 |
| Inde | 2x | 305 |
| | | |