

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	xv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xix

## Part I. Public Opinion and European Integration

Introduction: Losing Hearts and Minds? Taking Stock of EU Public Opinion	3
0.1 Key Questions	4
0.2 What Lies Ahead	7
1. What Is the Matter with Europe? The Puzzles of Euroscepticism	13
1.1 The Puzzling Rise of Euroscepticism	14
1.2 Benchmarks as a Crucial Piece of the Puzzle	23
1.3 Relationship to Existing Approaches	26

## Part II. The Nature of Support and Scepticism

2. In or Out? A Benchmark Theory of Support and Scepticism	33
2.1 The Nature of Support and Scepticism	35
2.2 A Benchmark Theory of Support and Scepticism	36
2.3 The Importance of Regime and Policy Evaluations	42
2.4 Measuring People’s Regime and Policy Evaluations	45
2.5 Summary	55
3. Kicking Up a Fuss? From Permissive to Responsive Support and Scepticism	56
3.1 Public Responsiveness to Real-World Conditions	59
3.2 A Survey Experiment on Public Responsiveness	66
3.3 The Role of Political Sophistication	70
3.4 Summary	72



**Part III. A Typology of Support and Scepticism**

4. A Divided Public? Types of Support and Scepticism	77
4.1 Four Types of Support and Scepticism	78
4.2 Country Level Variation	83
4.3 Individual Level Variation	93
4.4 The Importance of Proximate Responsibility Attribution	95
4.5 Summary	101
5. Common People? Who Are Supporters and Sceptics and What Do They Want?	103
5.1 The Demographic Profile of Supporters and Sceptics	105
5.2 The Issue Priorities of Supporters and Sceptics	116
5.3 The Issue Positions of Supporters and Sceptics	121
5.4 Summary and Implications	126

**Part IV. The Consequences of Support and Scepticism**

6. Going Hard or Soft? Party Choice among Supporters and Sceptics	129
6.1 The Importance of Supply and Demand	131
6.2 Support for Eurosceptic Parties	139
6.3 Do Issue Positions Matter?	146
6.4 Summary and Implications	150
7. Brexit and Beyond: Leave and Remain Preferences among Supporters and Sceptics	153
7.1 The Brexit Vote	156
7.2 Remain and Leave Support in the EU	161
7.3 The Importance of Issue Priorities and Positions	163
7.4 Remain and Leave Support Post-Brexit	171
7.5 Summary and Implications	176

**Part V. Public Opinion and The Future of European Integration**

8. Change or Die? EU Reform Preferences among Supporters and Sceptics	183
8.1 Measuring the Reform Preferences of Supporters and Sceptics	186
8.2 Support for EU Reform Proposals	189
8.3 Eurozone Reform Preferences	196
8.4 Summary and Implications	202



9. Conclusion: A Divided Public, a Divided Union: Where Do We Go from Here?	204
9.1 The Main Contributions of the Book	205
9.2 A Divided Public: So What?	209
9.3 Can the Grand Theories of European Integration Provide Insights?	211
9.4 Can Supranational Reform Solutions Help?	214
9.5 Flexible Integration as a Way Forward	217
 <i>Appendix</i>	 223
<i>Bibliography</i>	227
<i>Index</i>	243