

***Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration***  
**forthcoming with Oxford University Press, February 2018.**

**Advanced Praise**

‘Catherine De Vries carefully crafts a provocative argument in her book, *Euroscepticism and the Future of European Integration*. Rejecting conventional mono-dimensional conceptualizations of Euroscepticism, this book makes two fresh claims. First, that Euroscepticism is multidimensional: it can target the European Union as a producer of public goods or as a regime. Second, Euroscepticism is relational: it takes shape in conversation with one’s reference point—is there a viable alternative to EU membership? This elegant two-by-two typology is tremendously powerful in illuminating ambivalence about Europe. Only a very small minority are leavers, but it is the soft and broad underbelly of ambivalence that is of political consequence. This book examines these consequences: what distinguishes types of skeptics, what do they stand for and who do they vote for, how does this explain Brexit or other exits, and what lines in the sand do these skeptics draw on Europe? This is a superbly written, wonderfully perceptive, book, which will move the posts in the field of public opinion. De Vries’ analysis brings order to the cacophony of public opinion on Europe. This does not make the task of policy makers any easier, but it clears up the fog that has been hanging over Europe.’

*Liesbet Hooghe, W. R. Kenan Distinguished Professor at UNC-Chapel Hill and Robert Schuman Fellow, EUI*

‘This is an impressive book, and its timing couldn’t be better. The question of what fuels Euroscepticism and why it seems to vary across and within countries is central to domestic politics in the EU and to the future of EU itself. In this book, Catherine De Vries develops a creative, original and insightful explanation for how the national context shapes Euroscepticism. The empirical analyses are superb both in characterizing public opinion and in the messy business of untangling what causes what. The findings are sure to provide valuable grist for the mill for politicians, EU officials, and journalist interested in making sense of, addressing, and perhaps even exploiting contemporary public resistance to the EU.’

*Matthew Gabel, Professor of Political Science, Washington University St Louis*

There is nothing more important for the sustainable future of Europe than to come to grips with what Euroscepticism is really all about. In her new book, Catherine De Vries has managed the ultimate scholarly feat: to do justice to the complex multifaceted nature of the skeptic tribes while at the very same time leaving the reader with a simple message. And the message is this: all is relative! The more one

feels confident about one's country ability to cope alone, the more one can afford to diss the EU.

*Kalypto Nicolaidis, Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford*

'This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the timely issue of Euroscepticism and the challenges facing the European Union. De Vries presents a compelling new theory of Euroscepticism, arguing that national institutions and policies provide an essential benchmark for citizens' views on the EU. She presents a wealth of empirical evidence supporting her arguments. This book will surely become the new benchmark for any future work on public attitudes towards the EU.'

*Professor Sara B. Hobolt, Sutherland Chair in European Institutions, London School of Economics*

## **Abstract**

The European Union (EU) is facing one of the rockiest periods in its existence. No time in its history has it looked so economically fragile, so insecure about how to protect its borders, so divided over how to tackle the crisis of legitimacy facing its institutions, and so under assault of Eurosceptic parties. The unprecedented levels of integration in recent decades has led to increased public contestation, yet at the same the EU is more reliant on public support for its continued legitimacy than ever before. Catherine E. De Vries in this book examines the role of public opinion in the European integration process. She develops a novel theory and typology of public opinion that stresses the deep interconnectedness between people's views about European and national politics. This book suggests that public opinion cannot be characterized as either Eurosceptic or not, but rather consists of different types. Euroscepticism is such a diverse phenomenon because the Eurozone crisis has exacerbated the structural imbalances within the EU. As the economic and political fates of member states diverged, people's experiences with the EU also grew further apart. The distinction between different types of Euroscepticism is important because this book demonstrates that certain types may threaten the EU's existence because of their close links to preferences for secession and support for hard Eurosceptic parties, and that the heterogeneity in preferences among these types makes a one-size-fits-all approach to addressing Euroscepticism likely to be unsuccessful. The way forward for the EU, this book suggests, is to fully embrace the diversity within its borders and develop a more flexible approach to integration.