

## Bibliography

- Alexander, R. J., *Maoism in the Developed World*, Praeger, Westport, 2001.
- Alexander-Collier, A., Jardim X., “La nouvelle carte électorale du conservatisme européen”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Allegrì, G., “Elezioni europee 2009 in Francia: astensionismo, consenso alla maggioranza presidenziale, sconfitta socialista e nouvelle vague verte”, in Caravita, B. (ed.), *Le elezioni del Parlamento europeo del 2009*, Jovene editore, Naples, 2009.
- Backes, U., Moreau, P. (eds.), *Communist and Post-Communist Parties in Europe*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2008.
- Balme, R., Chabanet, D., *European Governance and Democracy. Power and Protest in the EU*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, 2008.
- Bardi, L. et al., *How to Create a Transnational Party System* (European Union Democracy Observatory for the European Parliament. AFCO Committee), EUDO, Istituto Universitario Europeo, San Domenico di Fiesole, Florence, 2010.
- Batory, A., “Hungary”, in Gagatsek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Beckett Weaver, E., “The Communist Legacy? Populist but not Popular – The Foreign Policies of the Hungarian Radical Right”, in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Bell, D.S., “The Confederation Group of the United Left-Nordic Left”, in Bell, D.S., Lord, C. (eds.), *Transnational Parties in the European Union*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1998.
- Bellucci, P., Garzia, D., Rubal, M., “¿Importa Europa en las elecciones europeas? Un modelo explicativo de las elecciones del 2009 al Parlamento Europeo”, in *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, no. 137, January-March 2012.
- Benedetto, G., Quaglia, L., “The Comparative Politics of Communist Euroscepticism in France, Italy and Spain”, in *Party Politics*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2007.
- Betz, H.G., “Conditions Favouring the Success and Failure of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Contemporary Democracies”, in Mény, Y., Surel, Y. (eds.), *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*, Palgrave, London, 2002.
- Betz, H., *La droite populiste en Europe. Extrême et démocratie?*, CEVIPOF/Autrement, Paris, 2004.
- Blaise, P., Moreau, P. (dir.), *Extrême droite et national-populisme en Europe de l’Ouest. Analyse par pays et approches transversales*, CRISP, Brussels, 2004.

- Barnschier, S., “Unis contre la mondialisation? Une analyse de la convergence programmatique des partis populistes de droite européens”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2005.
- Bosco, A., *Comunisti. Trasformazioni di partito in Italia, Spagna e Portogallo*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2000.
- Botella, J., Ramiro, L. (eds.), *The crisis of communism and party change. The evolution of west European communist and post-communist parties*, ICPS, Barcelona, 2003.
- Bozóki, A., Ishiyama, J.T. (eds.), *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, 2002.
- Brack, “Quelle opposition au sein du Parlement européen?”, in Crespy, Petithomme, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Braun, D., Mikhaylou, S., Schmitt, H. (eds.), “European Parliament Election Study 2009”, in *Manifesto Study data, Advance Release*, EES, 2009 (user beware/pre-release B), 22-7-10, [www.piredu.eu.EES](http://www.piredu.eu.EES).  
*Manifesto Study Documentation Advance Release*, 2009 (user beware/pre-release B), 22-7-10, [www.piredu.eu](http://www.piredu.eu).
- Bressanelli, E., Calderaro, A., Piccio, D., Stamati, F., “Italy”, in Gagattek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Brunsbach, S., John, S., Werner, A., “Germany”, in Gagattek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Brustier, G., Huelin, J.P., *Voyage au bout de la droite. Des paniques morales à la contestation droitière*, Mille et une nuits/Fayard, Paris, 2011.
- Caravita, B. (ed.), *Le elezioni del Parlamento europeo del 2009*, Jovene editore, Naples, 2009.
- Carey, S., “Undivided Loyalties: Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2002.
- Carter, E., *The extreme right in Western Europe. Success or failure?*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005.
- Casals, X. (ed.), *Political survival on the extreme right. European movements between the inherited past and the need to adapt to the future*, ICPS, Barcelona, 2005.
- Carter, E., Loomes, G., Lundberg, T.C., “United Kingdom”, in Gagattek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Casal, F., Ferrín, M., Pardos-Prado, S., “Spain”, in Gagattek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Cassetti, L., Ricci, S., “Il Portogallo alle elezioni europee del 2009: prevale l’astensionismo”, in Caravita, *op. cit.*
- Charalambous, G., “Le Parti progressiste du peuple travailleur (AKEL)”, in De Waele, Seiler, *op. cit.*
- Chiche J., De Boissieu, L., “Dossier documentaire (Les élections européennes de juin 2009)”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Chirumbolo, A., Mayer, N., De Witte, H., “Do right-and left-wing extremists have anything in common?”, in Klände-Mans, Mayer, 2006, *op. cit.*

- Christophorou, CH., “Cyprus”, in Gagatsek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Clementi, F., “Le elezioni europee nel Regno Unito: il tracollo laburista fagocita il (già assai basso) europeismo britannico”, in Caravita, *op. cit.*
- Coosemans, T., “Les résultats des élections européennes de juin 2009 dans les États membres”, in *Courrier hebdomaire CRISP*, no. 2038, 2009a.
- Coosemans, T., “La composition du Parlement européen issu des élections de juin 2009”, in *Courrier hebdomaire CRISP*, no. 2039, 2009b.
- Coosemans, T., “La composition du Parlement Européen élu en juin 2009 et les nouveaux rapports de force entre ses groupes politiques”, in *Revue du Marché commun et de l'Union européenne*, no. 535, February 2010.
- Corbett, R., Jacobs, F., Shackleton, M., *The European Parliament*, John Harper Publishing, London, 2011.
- Cosseron, S. (dir.), *Le dictionnaire de l'extrême gauche*, Larousse, Paris, 2007.
- Costa, O., Brack, N., “The Role(s) of the Eurosceptics MEPs”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Courtois, S., Andolfatto, D., “France. The Collapse of the House of Communism”, in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Crespy, A., “La cristallisation des résistances de gauche à l'intégration européenne, les logiques de mobilisation dans la campagne référendaire française de 2005”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2008.
- Crespy, A., “Euroscepticism in the European Parliament Elections of 2009: Country Report France and Belgium”, in *RECON Work Package*, no. 5, 2009.
- Crespy, A., Petithomme, M., *L'Europe sous tensions. Appropriation et contestation de l'intégration européenne*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2009.
- Cunha, C., “Few but Pure and Good Members are Preferred to a Mass Party – The Portuguese Communist Party's Continued Orthodoxy”, in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- De Boissieu, L., “Le processus d'intégration des partis politiques français dans le système partisan européen”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- De Vries, Ch.E., Edwards, E.E., “Taking Europe to its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroscepticism”, in *Party Politics*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2009.
- De Waele, J.M., Vieira, M., “La famille de la gauche anticapitaliste en Europe occidentale. Une approche comparative (1989-2009)”, in De Waele, J.M., Seiler, D.L. (dir.), *Les partis de la gauche anticapitaliste en Europe*, Economica, Paris, 2012.
- De Wilde, P., “Euroscepticism in the European Parliament Elections of 2009: Country Report The Netherlands”, in *RECON Work Package*, no. 5, 2009.
- De Wilde, Trenz, H.-J., Michailidou, A., “Contesting EU Legitimacy. The Prominence, Content and Justification of Euroscepticism during 2009 EP Election Campaigns”, in *RECON Online Working Papers*, no. 22, 2010.

- De Winter, L., “The Vlaams Blok: the Electorally best Performing Right-extremist Party in Western Europe”, in Casals, 2005, *op. cit.*
- De Winter, Gómez-Reino, M., “Les partis autonomistes: vers la disparition de l’avantage des élections européennes”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Deloy, C., Reynié, D., “Les élections européennes confirment la suprématie de la droite dans l’Union”, Fondation pour l’Innovation Politique, in *Innovation Politique 2011*, PUF, Paris, 2010.
- Déloye, Y. (ed.), *Dictionnaire des élections européennes*, Economica, Paris, 2005.
- Delwit, P., Poirer, Ph. (dir.), *Extrême droite et pouvoir en Europe. The extreme right parties and power in Europe*, Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, Brussels, 2007.
- Dubé, S., Magni-Berton, R., “How Does Income Influence National and European Identity”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Dunphy, R., *Contesting capitalism? Left parties and European integration*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004.
- Dupoiret, E., “L’eupéanisation des élections européennes? Ce que nous apprennent les élections de juin 2009”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Eichenberg, R.C., Dalton, R.J., “Post-Maastricht Blues: The Transformation of Citizen Support for European Integration, 1973-2004”, in *Acta Politica*, vol. 42, no. 2-3, 2007.
- Ennsner, L., “The homogeneity of West European party families: The radical right in comparative perspective”, in *Party Politics*, no. 2, vol. 18, 2012.
- Ersson S., “Post-Communism and Leftists Parties in Two Scandinavian Countries after 1989 – The Cases of Denmark and Sweden”, in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Evans, J.A.J., “‘La politique du dehors avec les raisons du dedans’: Foreign and Defence Policy of the French *Front National*”, in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Fabbrizzi, F., “Europa, la strada della Turchia passa per Cipro”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Flood, C., “Euroscpticism: A Problematic Concept”, in *Paper UA-CES*, 2a Conferencia Anual y 7a Conferencia de Investigación (September), Quenn’s University, Belfast, 2002.
- Fotia, M., *Il ritorno dell’estrema destra. Il Fronte nazionale in Francia*, Ed. Lavoro, Roma, 1995.
- Franck, CH., Isnard, L., “Un vote sanction asymétrique”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Frólich-Steffen and Rensmann, L., “Conditions for failure and success of right-wing populist parties in public office in the New European Union”, in Delwit, Poirer, 2007, *op. cit.*

- Frosina, L., “Il voto europeo sanziona anche la Spagna socialista di Zapatero”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Fuchs, D., Guinaudeau, I., Schubert, S., “National Identity, European Identity and Euroscepticism”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Fuchs, D., Magni-Berton, R., Roger, A. (eds.), *Euroscepticism. Images of Europe among mass publics and political elites*, Barbara Budrich Publishers, Opladen (MI), 2009.
- Gabel, M. J., *Interest and Integration. Market liberalization, public opinion, and European Union*, Ann Arbor Press, University of Michigan, Michigan, 1998a.
- Gabel, M. J., “Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union”, in *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 42, no. 3, July 1998b.
- Gagatek, W. (ed.), *The 2009 Elections to the European Parliament. Country Reports*, EUI/IUE, Florence, 2010a.
- Gagatek, W., “Campaigning in the European Parliament elections”, in Gagatek, 2010b, *op. cit.*
- Gagatek, W., “The political composition of the new European Parliament”, in Gagatek, 2010 c, *op. cit.*
- Gagatek, W., Trechsel, H., Breuer, F., “Preface: Bringing the European Parliament election results closer to the citizens”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Gallagher, T., *Modern Romania. The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation*, New York University Press, New York, 2008.
- Gibson, R. K., *The Growth of Anti-Immigrants Parties in Western Europe*, The Edwin Mellon Press, Lewinston (NY), 2002.
- Giebler, H., Wüst, A.M., “Campaigning on an upper level? Individual campaigning in the 2009 European Parliament elections in its determinants”, in *Electoral Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, March 2011.
- Goul Anderson, J., “Nationalism, New Right, and New Cleavages in Danish People’s Party”, in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Grzymala-Busse, A., *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.
- Haesly, R., “Eurosceptics, Europhiles and Instrumental Europeans: European Attachment in Scotland and Wales”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2001.
- Hainsworth, P., *The Extreme Right in Western Europe*, Routledge, New York, 2008.
- Hainsworth, P., O’Brien, C., Mitchell, P., “Defending the nation: the politics of Euroscepticism on the French right”, in *European Studies*, no. 22, 2004.

- Halikiopoulou, D., Nanou, K., Vasilopoulou, S., “The paradox of nationalism: The common denominator of radical right and radical left euroscpticism”, in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 51, no. 4, 2012.
- Hanley, D., *Beyond the Nation State. Parties in the Era of European Integration*, Palgrave/Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008.
- Hanley, D., “Les élections européennes de juin 2009 au Royaume-Uni: des élections pas tout à fait de second ordre?”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Hanley, S., *The New Right in the New Europe. Czech transformation and right-wing politics 1989-2006*, Routledge, London, 2008b.
- Harmsen, K., Spiering, M. (eds.), *Euroscpticism: party politics, national identity and European integration*, Rodopi, Amsterdam/New York, 2004.
- Harmsen, R., “Euroscpticisme”, in Déloye, 2005, *op. cit.*
- Harrison, S., “Extrême droite en Europe”, in Déloye, 2005a, *op. cit.*
- Harrison, S., “Extrême gauche en Europe”, in Déloye, 2005b, *op. cit.*
- Hastings, M., “Les partis de la gauche radicale en Scandinavie”, in De Waele, Seiler, *op. cit.*
- Hayward, K., *Irish nationalism and European integration. The official redefinition of the island of Ireland*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009.
- Heine, S., *Une gauche contre l'Europe? Les critiques radicales et altermondialistes contre l'Union européenne en France*, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, Brussels, 2009.
- Heller, M., “Euroscpticism in the European Parliament. Elections of June 2009. Country Report: Hungary”, in *RECON-Working Paper*, no. 5, 2009.
- Hix, S., “Euroscpticism as Anti-Centralization: A Rational Choice Institutional Perspective”, in *Party Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2007.
- Hix, S., Marsh, M., “Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections”, in *Journal of Politics*, vol. 69, no. 2, 2007.
- Hloušek, V., Pšejka, P., “Europeanisation of Political Parties and the Party System in the Czech Republic”, in Haughton, T. (ed.), *Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe. Does EU Membership Matter?*, Routledge, London, 2011.
- Hobolt, S.B., Spoon, J.J., Tilly, J., “A vote against Europe? Explaining defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections”, in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2009.
- Holmes, M., *The Euroscptical Reader 2*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002.
- Hooghe, L., “What Drives Euroscpticism?: Party-Public Cueing, Ideology and Strategic Opportunity”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2007.
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., “Sources of Euroscpticism”, in *Acta Politica*, vol. 42, no. 2-3, 2007.

- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., “A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus”, in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2008.
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., Wilson, C.J., “Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?”, in *Comparative Political Studies*, no. 35, 2002.
- Hoppe, M., “The Europeanisation of Nationalist Parties?”, in Karolewski, Suszyki, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Hudson, K., *European Communism since 1989. Towards a New European Left?*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000.
- Ignazi, P., *L'estrema destra in Europa*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2000.
- Ignazi, P., *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.
- Ishiyama, J.T., “Strange bed fellows: explaining political cooperation between communist-successor parties and nationalist in Eastern Europe”, in *Nation and Nationalism*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1998.
- Ivarsflaten, E., “What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe? Re-Examining Grievance Mobilisation Models in Seven Successful Cases”, in *Comparative Political Studies*, no. 41, 2008.
- Jalaili, C., Silva, T., “Everyone Ignores Europe? Party campaigns and Media Coverage in the 2009 European parliament Elections”, in Maier, Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, *op. cit.*
- Jalali, C., Lisi, M., “Quand le changement semble dangereux: l'évolution du Parti communiste portugais”, in De Waele, Seiler, *op. cit.*
- Joensson, J., “Sweden”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Jones, C.A., “The Legal end Institutional Framework of the 2009 European Parliament Elections in the Shadow of the Lisbon Treaty”, in Maier, Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, *op. cit.*
- Kalyvas, S.N., Marantzidis, N., “The Two Paths of the Greek Communist Movement (1985-2001)”, in Botella, Ramiro, 2003, *op. cit.*
- Kárníková, A., “Czech Republic”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Karolewski, I.P., Suszyki, A.M., “Regionalism, Nationalism, and European Integration”, in Karolewski, I.P., Suszyki, A.M (eds.), *Nationalism and European Integration*, Continuum, New York/London, 2007.
- Kitschelt, H., Mc Gann, A.J., *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor (MI), 1995.
- Kitschelt, H., *et al.*, *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.
- Klandermands, B., Mayer, N. (eds.), *Extreme Right Activist in Europe. Trough the magnifying glass*, Routledge, London, 2006.

- Kopecky, P., Mudde, C., “The Two Sides of Eurocepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002.
- Krouwel, A., Abts, K., “Varieties of Eurocepticism and Populist Mobilisation: Transforming Attitudes from Mild Eurocepticism to Harsh Eurocynism”, in *Acta Politica*, vol. 42, no. 2-3, 2007.
- Kufer, A., “Images of Europe – the meaning and perception of ‘Europe’ by citizens of EU member states”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Kuhn, T., Wolkenstein, F., Perlot, F., Meyer, S., “Austria”, in Gagattek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Lacroix, J., Coman, R., *Les résistances à l’Europe: cultures nationales, idéologies et stratégies d’acteurs*, Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, Brussels, 2007.
- Ladrech, R., *Europeanisation and National Politics*, Palgrave/MacMillan, Houndsmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire, 2010.
- Laible, J., *Separatism and Sovereignty in the new Europe. Party Politics and the meanings of Statehood in a Supranational Context*, Palgrave/Macmillan, Houndsmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire, 2008.
- Landwehrlen, Th., “Die Linke. L’émérgence du nouveau parti de la gauche antilibérale allemande: une menace pour le SPD, un défi pour la gouvernabilité de la République fédérale”, in *Working Papers*, no. 289, ICPS, Barcelona, 2010.
- Landwehrlen, Th., “Die Linke” in De Waele, Seiler, *op. cit.*
- Lavelle, A., *The Death of Social Democracy. Political Consequences in the 21st Century*, Ashgate, Aldershot/Hampshire, 2008.
- Leconte, C., *L’Europe face au défi populiste*, PUF, Paris, 2005.
- Leconte, C., *Understanding Eurocepticism*, Palgrave/Macmillan, Houndsmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire, 2010.
- Lewis, R., “The Myth of Europe”, in Holmes, 2002, *op. cit.* Liang, C.C. (ed.), *Europe for the Europeans. The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Right*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007.
- Liberati, “Elezioni europee 2009 in Germania: tra aspirazioni europeiste e prove generali per le elezioni politiche interne”, in Caravita, *op. cit.*
- Lubbers, M., Scheepers, P., “Political versus Instrumental Eurocepticism: Mapping Scepticism in European Countries and Regions”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2005.
- Lubbers, M., Scheepers P., “Eurocepticism and extreme voting patterns in Europe”, in Loosveldt, G., Swyngedou, M., Cambre, B. (eds.), *Measuring meaningful data in social research*, Acco, Lovaina, 2007.
- Lubbers, M., Scheepers, P., “Divergent trends of Eurocepticism in countries and regions of the European Union”, in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 49, 2010.
- Lucardie, P., Voerman, G., “The organisational and ideological development of Green left”, in Botella, Ramiro, 2003, *op. cit.*

- Lyubenov, M., "Bulgaria", in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Maier, M., Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, L. (eds.), *Political Communication in European Parliamentary Elections*, Ashgate, Farnham/Surrey, 2011.
- Mair, P., "Political opposition and the European Union", in *Government and Opposition*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2007.
- Manners, I., "Another Europe is possible: Critical Perspectives on European Union Politics", in Jørgensen, K.E., Pollack, M.A., Rosamond, B. (eds.), *Handbook of European Union Politics*, Sage, London, 2006.
- Marantzidis, N., "The Communist Party of Greece after the Collapse of Communism (1989-2006). From Proletarian Internationalism to Ethno-Populism", in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- March, L., Mudde, C., "What's left of the radical left? The European radical left since 1989: decline and mutation", in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 1, no. 3, 2005.
- Mareš, M., "Communist and Post-Communist Parties in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia", in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Mc Donnell, D., Newell, J.L., "Outsider parties in government in Western Europe", in *Party Politics*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2011.
- Mc Elroy, G., Benoit, K., "Policy positioning in the European Parliament", in *European Union Politics*, no. 1, vol. 13, 2012.
- Mc Laren, L. M., "Opposition to European integration and fear of loss of national identity: Debunking a basic assumption regarding hostility to the integration project", in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 43, no. 6, 2004.
- Mezzanotte, P., "Svezia. Elezioni al Parlamento europeo 2009", in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Michailidiou, A., "Euroscepticism in the European Parliament Elections of 2009: Country Report. The United Kingdom", in *RECON Work Package*, no. 5, 2009.
- Milner, S., "For an alternative Europe: Euroscepticism and the French left since the Maastricht treaty", in *European Studies*, no. 20, 2004.
- Minkenberg, M., "The Renewal of Radical Right: Between Modernity and Anti-Modernity", in *Government and Opposition*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2000.
- Mößner, A., "Cognitive Mobilization, Knowledge and Efficacy as Determinants of Euroscepticism", in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Mudde, C., *Populist radical right parties in Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007.
- Munkøe, M., "Denmark", in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Nedelcheva, M., "Euroscepticism and Party System Change: Bulgaria, Romania and the Czech Republic", in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Negrine, R., Steka, V., Fialová, M., "Campaigning in but not for Europe: European campaign strategies in the UK and the Czech Republic", in Maier, Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, *op. cit.*

- Neller, K., Thaidigsmann, S.I., “Right Wing Parties and Euroscepticism in France and Germany”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Netjes, C.E., Edwards, E., “Taking Europe to its Extremes: Examining cueing effects of right-wing populist parties on public opinion regarding European integration”, (Discussion Paper SP IV), WZB, Berlin, 2005.
- Neumayer, L., “Euroscepticism as a political label: The use of European Union issues in political competition in the new member States”, in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2008.
- Neumayer, L., Roger, A., Zalawski, F. (dir.), *L'Europe contestée. Espaces en enjeux des positionnements contre l'intégration européenne*, Éditions Michel Houdiard, Paris, 2008.
- Norris, P., *Derecha radical. Votantes y partidos en el mercado electoral*, Akal, Madrid, 2009.
- OSCE, *Election to the European Parliament. Exploratory Mission Report*, OSCE/ODHIR, 2009.
- Packam, K., Klepatz, J., “Euroscepticism in the European Parliament Elections of 2009: Country Report. Germany”, in *RECON Work Package*, no. 5, 2009.
- Pancheri, G., “Per l'Ungheria, in fondo a destra”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Papadimitriou, D., Phinnemore, D., *Romania and the European Union. From marginalisation to membership*, Routledge, London, 2008.
- Pérez, I., *La oposición a la Unión Europea en el sur de Europa: los casos español, portugués, griego e italiano*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad de Barcelona, 2008.
- Perottino, M., “Le parti communiste tchèque entre continuité et rupture”, in De Waele, Seiler, *op. cit.*
- Perrineau, P. (ed.), *Les croisés de la société fremée: L'Europe des extrêmes droites*, L'Aube Essai, Paris, 2001.
- Perrineau, P., “Les élections européennes de juin 2009 en France: des élections de second ordre ou de reclassement?”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Petithomme, M., “France”, in Gagatsek, 2010.
- Poirier, Ph., “Les nouvelles droites et le régime politique de l'Union européenne de 1979 à 2004”, in Delwit, Poirer, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Raycheva, L., Róka, J., “Similarities and Differences in Transformational Democracies: EP Campaigns in Bulgaria and Hungary”, in Maier, Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, *op. cit.*
- Raniolo, F., *I partiti conservatori in Europa occidentale*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2000.
- Reif, K.H., Schmitt, H., “Nine Second-Order Elections: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results”, in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 8, no. 3-4, 1980.

- Ridola, P., “Il voto europeo del 6 e 7 giugno: la ‘sfera pubblica europea’, l’integrazione multilivello e le sfide della complessità”, in Caravita, 2009.
- Rodomonte, M. G., “La Dinamarca al voto: il Governo tiene ma avanzano le ali estreme”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Rodomonte, M. G., Rosa, G., Sterpa, A., “Italia, il bipolarismo tiene alla prova delle elezioni europee”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Rodríguez-Aguilera, C., “Partidos de ámbito no estatal e integración europea. Los casos de *Convergència i Unió*, el *Scottish National Party* y la *Lega Nord*”, in *Papers*, no. 92, 2009.
- Rodríguez Jiménez, J. L., *¿Nuevos fascismos? Extrema derecha y neofascismo en Europa y Estados Unidos*, Península, Barcelona, 1998.
- Roger, A., “The Impact of European Policies on National Political Parties: a theoretical outlook”, in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Roncarolo, F., “Mediatizing Europe while Ignoring the European Election: The Paradox of the Italian Case”, in Maier, Strömbäck, Lee Kaid, *op. cit.*
- Rovny, J., “Conceptualizing Party-Based Euroscepticism: Magnitude and Motivations”, in *Collegium* no. 29 (monogr. invierno: “Does Euroscepticism have passport?”), 2004.
- Sánchez-Cuenca, I., “The Political Basis of Support for European Integration”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2000.
- Santana Pereira, J., “Portugal” en Gagaték, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Sauger, N., “Sur la mutation contemporaine des structures de la compétition partisane en France: les partis de droite face à l’integration européenne”, in *Politique européenne*, no. 15, 2005.
- Sawiki, J., “Le elezioni europee del 2009 nella Repubblica Ceca alla ricerca della ragione nell’instabilità”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Schain, M., Zolberg, A., Hossey, P. (eds.), *Shadows over Europe: The Development and Impact of the Extreme Right in Western Europe*, Palgrave/Macmillan, New York, 2002.
- Schari Liang, C. (ed.), *Europe for the Europeans. The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, Ashgate, Aldershot/Hampshire, 2007.
- Schuck, A.R.T., Xezonakis, G., Elenbaas, M., Banduc-CI, S.A., De Vreese, C.H., “Party contestation and Europe on the news agenda: The 2009 European Parliamentary Elections”, in *Electoral Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2011.
- Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., “Introduction: Opposing Europe? The Politics of Euroscepticism in Europe” en Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P. (eds.), *Opposing Europe? The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism*, II vol., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008 I a.
- Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., “Conclusion: Opposing Europe? Three Patterns of Party Competition in Europe”, en Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., *op. cit.*, 2008 I b.

- Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., "Introduction: Researching Euro-scepticism in European Party Systems. A Comparative and Theoretical Research Agenda", in Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., *op. cit.*, 2008 II a.
- Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., "Theorising Party-Based Euro-scepticism. Problems of Definition, Measurement and Causality", in Sczerbiak, A., Taggart, P., *op. cit.*, 2008 II b.
- Seidendorf, S., "Contesting Europe: the constitutive impact of discursive dynamics on national referendum campaigns", in *European Political Science Review*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2010.
- Siegers, P., "EU Performance and Euro-scepticism", in Fuchs, Magni-Berton, Roger, *op. cit.*, 2009.
- Sigalas, E., Monkre, M., Pollak, J., Slominski, P., Batora, J., "Democracy Models and Parties at the EU Level. Empirical Evidence from the Adoption of the 2009 European Election Manifestoes", in *RECON On line Working Papers*, no. 13, 2010.
- Simmons, H. G., *The French National Front. The Extremist Challenge to Democracy*, Westview Press, Boulder (Col.), 1996.
- Simón, M.A. (ed.), *La extrema derecha en Europa desde 1945 a nuestros días*, Tecnos, Madrid, 2007.
- Sitter, N., "Opposing Europe: Euro-Scepticism, Opposition and Party Competition", in *Working Paper*, no. 56, Brighton, 2002.
- Smets, K., Van Berendoncks, K., Van Hecke, S., "Belgium", in Gagateg, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Seenberg, M.R., Scott, D.J., "Contesting Europe? The Saliency of European Integration as a Party Issue", in Marks, G., Steenbergen, M. (eds.), *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008.
- Steorgiu, A., "The Communist Party of Cyprus-AKEL", in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Sterpa, A., "Il cammino della democrazia greca verso l'alternanza politica", in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Sterpa, A., Scoppola, F., "Il nuovo Parlamento europeo tra innovazioni istituzionali e dinamiche politiche", in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Swyngedow, M., Abts, K., Van Craen, M., "Our Own People First in a Europe of peoples: The International Policy of the Vlaams Blok", in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Taggart, P., "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euro-scepticism in Contemporary West European Party Systems", in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 37, no. 33, 1998.
- Taggart, P., Sczerbiak, A., "Contemporary Euro-scepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2004.

- Tarchi, M., “Radicalismo de derecha y neofascismo en la Europa de postguerra”, in Antón Mellón, J. (ed.), *Orden, jerarquía y comunidad. Fascismos y postfascismos en la Europa contemporánea*, Tecnos, Madrid, 2002.
- Tarchi, M., “Recalcitrant Allies: The conflicting Foreign Policy Agenda of the *Alleanza Nazionale* and the *Legha Nord*”, in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Tierski, R., *Euroscepticism: A Reader*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham (MA), 2001.
- Todor, A., “Romania”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Todorov, A., “Les élections européennes de juin 2009 en Bulgarie: la confirmation de l'éclatement du système partisan”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Todorov, A., De Waele, J.-M., “Les élections européennes de juin 2009 dans les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale: des résultats moins spécifiques qu'il n'y paraît”, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2009.
- Togna, M., “Belgio: elezioni più europee in tempo di crisi e prove tecniche di astensionismo”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Torcal, M., Font, J. (eds.), *Las elecciones europeas de 2009*, CIS, Madrid, 2012.
- Trenz, H.-J., De Wilde, P., “Denouncing European Integration. Euroscepticism as Reactive Identity Formation”, in *RECON On line Working Papers*, no. 10, 2009.
- Trechsell, A. H., “How much ‘second-order’ were the European Parliament elections 2009?”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Van Der Brug, W., Fennema, M., Tillie, J., “Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: ideological or protest vote?”, in *European Journal of Political Research*, no. 37, 2000.
- Van Der Brug, W., Fennema, M., “The Support Base of Radical Right Parties in the Enlarged European Union”, in Schmitt, H. (ed.), *European Parliament Elections after Eastern Enlargement*, Routledge, London, 2010.
- Van Der Eijk, C., Franklin, M.N., *Choosing Europe?: The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*, Michigan University Press, Ann Arbor, 1996.
- Van Der Eijk, C., Franklin, M.N., “Potential for Contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe”, in Marks, G., Steenbergen, M.R. (eds.), *European Integration and Political Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2004.
- Van Ham, Smets, K., “The Netherlands”, in Gagatek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Van Hüllen, R., “Transnational cooperation of Post-Communist Parties”, in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Van Spanje, J., “Contagious Parties: Anti-Immigration Parties and their Impact on other Parties' Immigration Stances in contemporary Western Europe”, in *Party Politics*, vol. 16, no. 5, 2010.

- Van Spanje, J., De Vreese, C., “So what’s wrong with the EU? Motivations underlying the Eurosceptic vote in the 2009 European elections”, in *European Union Politics*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2011.
- Vannucci, A., “Elezioni europee in Bulgaria: GERB, una vittoria come viatico per la conquista del governo”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Vannucci, A., “In Romania sostanziale pareggio tra i partiti maggiori, vincono astensionismo ed estrema destra”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Varios, “L’extreme droite en Europe”, in *Pouvoirs*, no. 87, 1998.
- Vasiliopoulou, S., “Varieties of Euroscepticism: The case of the European Extreme Right”, in *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2008.
- Vasiliopoulou, S., “Greece”, in Gagatsek, 2010, *op. cit.*
- Villany, M.C., “Olanda: l’ascesa della estrema destra anti-islamica e anti-europeista”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*
- Virchow, F., “The Aims and Objections of the Austrian Far Right in Foreign and Military Policies”, in Schari Liang, 2007, *op. cit.*
- Verney, S., “An Exceptional Case? Party and Popular Euroscepticism in Greece, 1959-2009”, in *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2011.
- Voerman, G., “The Disappearance of Communism in the Netherlands”, in Backes, Moreau, 2008, *op. cit.*
- Wessels, B., “Discontent and European identity: Three types of Euroscepticism”, in *Acta Politica*, vol. 42, no. 2-3, 2007.
- Williams, M. H., *The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties in West European Democracies*, Palgrave/Macmillan, New York, 2006.
- Zeir, A., “Le elezioni europee 2009 in Austria”, in Caravita, 2009, *op. cit.*