

**7<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference**  
Sciences Po Bordeaux, Domaine universitaire,  
11 allée Ausone, 33607 Pessac Cedex/ FRANCE  
4 - 7 September 2013

## **The ECPR Standing Group on Southern European Politics**

### **Section 50** **The Consequences of Crisis for Southern Europe**

Many thanks to our sponsors:

- The Betiko Foundation
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THE ECPR STANDING GROUP ON SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS  
THE CONSEQUENCES OF CRISIS FOR SOUTHERN EUROPE  
Sciences Po Bordeaux, 4-7 September 2013

Programme

**WEDNESDAY 4 SEPTEMBER**

- 15:00-20:00** General Conference Registration; Book exhibition;  
Information Desk
- 18:00-20:00** General Conference Exhibitors' Reception

**THURSDAY 5 SEPTEMBER**

*Concurrent panels:*

- 09:00-10.40** **Bad Times to Win: Elections in Southern Europe in Times of Crisis** (Chair: Irene Martin)  
*and*  
**The Impacts of the Global Crisis on South European Environmental Politics** (Chair: Maria Kousis)
- 10.40-11:00** Coffee break
- 11:00-12:40** **Crisis and Welfare Retrenchment: A View from the South**  
(Chair: Filipe Carreira da Silva, Co-chair: Mónica Brito Vieira)  
*and*  
**Varieties of Capitalism in Southern Europe since the Crisis**  
(Chair: Boyka Stefanova)
- 12:40-14:00** Lunch break
- 14:00-15:40** **Facing the Crisis in Southern Europe: Civil Society and Social-Protest Movements** (Chair: Rafael Vasquez)
- 15:40-16:00** Coffee break
- 16:00-17:40** **Gender and the Economic Crisis in Southern Europe**  
(Chair: Yota Papageorgiou)
- 18:30-19:30** ***General Conference Plenary Session***
- 19:30-20:30** ***General Conference Reception***

## FRIDAY 6 SEPTEMBER

09:00-10:40	Media Representations of the EU Crisis: Stereotypes, Prejudices and Emotions in Southern Europe
10:40-11:00	Coffee break
11:00-12:40	Party Politics in a ‘Crisis’ Zone: Party System Change in Southern Europe (Chair: Marco Lisi)
12:40-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-15:40	<i>General Conference Round Table</i>
15:30-15:50	Coffee break
15:50-17:30	Protest in the Age of Austerity: Democracy, Legitimacy and Mobilisation in Southern Europe (Chair: Pedro Ramos Pinto, Co-chair: John Karamichas)
17:40-19:00	Southern European Labour Contention: New and Old Repertoires, Social Alliances, and Party Relations (Chair: Noëlle Burgi)
19:00-20:00	‘A Glass of Bordeaux in Bordeaux’ Business Meeting of the ECPR Standing Group on Southern European Politics Reception, Co-sponsored by Routledge

## SATURDAY 7 SEPTEMBER

09:00-10:40	The Crisis and the Welfare State: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective (Chair: Manos Matsaganis, Co-chair: Dimitris Sotiropoulos)
10:40-11:00	Coffee break
11:00-12:40	The Crisis’ Impact on the State Apparatus of Southern Europe: National and Comparative Studies (Chair: Minas Samatas)
12:40-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-15:30	<i>General Conference Round Table</i>
15:30-15:50	Coffee break

15:50-17:30	The End of the EU as Modernising Vincolo Esterno? Differentiated Integration in Southern Europe ( <i>Chair: Jose Magone, Co-chair: Patricia Calca</i> )
17:30	Close of academic programme

*For analytical programme with papers, see next page*

**THE CONSEQUENCES OF CRISIS FOR SOUTHERN EUROPE**  
**Programme with Papers**

**Thursday 5 September**  
**Panel 1**  
**Session 1: 09:00-10:40**

**Bad Times to Win: Elections in Southern Europe in Times of Crisis**

Chair: Irene Martín, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, [irene.martin@uam.es](mailto:irene.martin@uam.es)

Discussant: Elias Dinas, University of Nottingham, [elias.dinas@nottingham.ac.uk](mailto:elias.dinas@nottingham.ac.uk)

*Economic Voting in a Nationally Complex Setting: The 2012 Catalan Election*

Agustí Bosch, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, [agusti.bosch@uab.cat](mailto:agusti.bosch@uab.cat)

Lluís Orriols, University of Oxford, [lluis.orriols@nuffield.ox.ac.uk](mailto:lluis.orriols@nuffield.ox.ac.uk)

*Hard Times to Win: Explaining the Rise of the Radical Left in the Last Elections in Greece*

Paraskevi Spyropoulou, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Athens),  
[vivspir@gmail.com](mailto:vivspir@gmail.com)

*Not With My Vote. Turnout and Economic Crisis in Italy.*

Gianluca Passarelli, Università di Roma La Sapienza, [gianluca.passarelli@uniroma1.it](mailto:gianluca.passarelli@uniroma1.it)

Dario Tuorto, Università di Bologna, [dario.tuorto@gmail.com](mailto:dario.tuorto@gmail.com)

*When responsibility is blurred. Italian national elections in times of economic crisis, technocratic government, and ever-growing populism*

Monica Poletti, Università Degli Studi di Milano, [monica.poletti@unimi.it](mailto:monica.poletti@unimi.it)

Federico Vegetti, Universität Mannheim, [fede.vegetti@gmail.com](mailto:fede.vegetti@gmail.com)

Paolo Segatti, Università Degli Studi di Milano, [paolo.segatti@unimi.it](mailto:paolo.segatti@unimi.it)

*The Role of Voters' Economic Evaluations in February 2013 Presidential Elections in the Republic of Cyprus*

Direnç Kanol, Universit Degli Studi di Siena, [direda@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:direda@yahoo.co.uk)

George Pirishis, Universit Degli Studi di Siena, [george.pirishis@gmail.com](mailto:george.pirishis@gmail.com)

**Thursday 5 September**  
**Panel 2**  
**Session 1: 09:00-10:40**

**The Impacts of the Global Crisis on South European Environmental Politics**

Chair: Maria Kousis, University of Crete, [kousis.m@uoc.gr](mailto:kousis.m@uoc.gr)

Discussant: Inaki Barcena Hinojal, University of the Basque Country, Euskadi  
[inaki.barcena@ehu.es](mailto:inaki.barcena@ehu.es)

*Connections Between the Financial and the Environmental Crisis in the Communication Campaigns and Advocacy Efforts of Italian Environmental Groups*  
Carlo Ruzza, Universita Degli Studi di Trento, [carlo.ruzza@unitn.it](mailto:carlo.ruzza@unitn.it)

*Environmental Contention in a South European Region Under Crisis*  
Maria Kousis, University of Crete, [kousis.m@uoc.gr](mailto:kousis.m@uoc.gr)

*The Global Crisis as an Impediment to the Ecological Modernisation of Greece*  
John Karamichas, Queen's University Belfast, [j.karamichas@qub.ac.uk](mailto:j.karamichas@qub.ac.uk)

**Thursday 5 September**  
**Panel 3**  
**Session 2: 11:00-12:40**

**Crisis and Welfare Retrenchment: A View from the South**

Chair: Filipe Carreira Da Silva, University of Lisbon, [fcs23@cam.ac.uk](mailto:fcs23@cam.ac.uk)  
Co-Chair: Mónica Brito Vieira, University of York, [monica.vieira@ics.ul.pt](mailto:monica.vieira@ics.ul.pt),  
[mab54@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mab54@cam.ac.uk)

*The Grapes of Wrath: Welfare Attitudes in Bailed-out Portugal*  
Filipe Carreira da Silva, [fcs23@cam.ac.uk](mailto:fcs23@cam.ac.uk)  
Mónica Brito Vieira, [monica.britovieira@york.ac.uk](mailto:monica.britovieira@york.ac.uk)

*South European Welfare States at the Crossroads: Dynamics of a Three-player Game*  
Marc Smyrl, [marcsmmyrl@yahoo.com](mailto:marcsmmyrl@yahoo.com)

*Reforms and Retrenchment of Spanish Welfare State: some political-economic prospective beyond the crisis*  
Maria Belén Martin Castro, [mbmartin@ugr.es](mailto:mbmartin@ugr.es)

*Who deserves what and why. Public perceptions of welfare deservingness in Portugal*  
Laura Valadez, University of Lisbon, [laura.valadez@ics.ul.pt](mailto:laura.valadez@ics.ul.pt)

**Thursday 5 September**  
**Panel 4**  
**Session 2: 11:00-12.40**

**Varieties of Capitalism in Southern Europe since the Crisis**

Chair: Boyka Stefanova, University of Texas at San Antonio,

[Boyka.Stefanova@utsa.edu](mailto:Boyka.Stefanova@utsa.edu)

Panel Discussant: Stella Ladi, University of London, Queen Mary, [s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk)

*'Fast-Forward' Europeanization and Welfare State Reform in Greece and Italy in Light of the Eurozone Crisis*

Stella Ladi, University of London, Queen Mary, [s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk)

Paolo Graziano, Bocconi University, [paolo.graziano@unibocconi.it](mailto:paolo.graziano@unibocconi.it)

*Revisiting Institutional Arrangements in National Political Economy: Government Responses to the Banking Crisis in Greece, Italy, and Spain*

Boyka Stefanova, University of Texas at San Antonio, [Boyka.stefanova@utsa.edu](mailto:Boyka.stefanova@utsa.edu)

**Thursday 5 September**  
**Panel 5**  
**Session 3: 14:00-15:40**

**Facing the Crisis in Southern Europe: Civil Society and Social-Protest Movements**

Chair: Rafael Vazquez, Universidad de Granada, [r.vazquez@ugr.es](mailto:r.vazquez@ugr.es)

*Cycles of Protests and the Rise of the Extremes\_Political Violence in Greece in the Time of the Economic Crisis*

Sotirios Karampampas, University of Sheffield, [s.karampampas@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:s.karampampas@sheffield.ac.uk)

*Economic Crisis, Immigration Policy and Social Demobilisation: The Non EU Immigrant Population in Spain*

Nieves Ortega-Pérez, Universidad de Granada, [ortega@ugr.es](mailto:ortega@ugr.es)

Antonio Robles-Egea, Universidad de Granada, [aroblese@ugr.es](mailto:aroblese@ugr.es)

Luis Triguero-Martínez, Universidad de Granada, [ltriguero@ugr.es](mailto:ltriguero@ugr.es)

*How Does the 'Crisis Generation' Relate to Politics?*

Gema Garcia Albacete, Universidad Autònoma de Madrid, [gema.garciaa@uam.es](mailto:gema.garciaa@uam.es)

Irene Martin, Universidad Autònoma de Madrid, [irene.martin@uam.es](mailto:irene.martin@uam.es)

Javier Lorente Fontaneda, Universidad Autònoma de Madrid, [javier.lorente@uam.es](mailto:javier.lorente@uam.es)

*Spanish civil society as a democratic mediator with the European Union?*

Luis Bouza, University of East Anglia, [luisbouzagarcia@yahoo.es](mailto:luisbouzagarcia@yahoo.es)

**Thursday 5 September**

**Panel 6**  
**Session 4: 16:00-17:40**

**Gender and the Economic Crisis in Southern Europe**

Chair: Yota Papageorgiou, University of Crete, [papageo@social.soc.uoc.gr](mailto:papageo@social.soc.uoc.gr)  
[yotanick@gmail.com](mailto:yotanick@gmail.com)

*Could the Crisis Lead to Backtracking on Gender Equality in Southern Europe?*  
Antigone Lyberaki, University of Piraeus, [antiglib@gmail.com](mailto:antiglib@gmail.com)  
Platon Tinios, University of Piraeus, [ptinios@gmail.com](mailto:ptinios@gmail.com)

*Gender in Times of Crises: The Case of Cyprus*  
Maria Hatzipavlou, University of Cyprus, [mariat@ucy.ac.cy](mailto:mariat@ucy.ac.cy)

*Neoliberal Transformation and the Politics of Reproduction in Turkey*  
Müjde Erdinç Kliem, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK.

**Friday 6 September**  
**Panel 7**  
**Session 5: 09:00-10:40**

**Media Representations of the EU Crisis: Stereotypes, Prejudices and Emotions in Southern Europe**

Convenor: Nicolas Demertzis, University of Athens, [ndemert@media.uoa.gr](mailto:ndemert@media.uoa.gr)  
Chair: Theofanis Exadaktylos, University of Surrey

*The Public Sphere in the Euro-crisis: media and policy agendas in Greece, Italy and Turkey*  
Cristiano Bee, University of Surrey, [c.bee@surrey.ac.uk](mailto:c.bee@surrey.ac.uk)  
Stavroula Chrona, University of Surrey, [s.chrona@surrey.ac.uk](mailto:s.chrona@surrey.ac.uk)

*Framing PIGS to clean their own stable*  
Jonas Van Vossole Ghent University, Centro De Estudos Sociais,  
[jonas.vanvossole@ugent.be](mailto:jonas.vanvossole@ugent.be)

*Presenting the EU Crisis to Portuguese public opinion: a study on media coverage*  
Susana Santos, Centro De Investigação E Estudos De Sociologia (CIES), [salcs@iscte.pt](mailto:salcs@iscte.pt)

*'The good, the bad and the ugly': stereotypes, prejudices and emotions on Greek media representation of the EU financial crisis*  
Theofanis Exadaktylos, University of Surrey, [t.exadaktylos@surrey.ac.uk](mailto:t.exadaktylos@surrey.ac.uk)  
Tereza Capelos, University of Surrey, [t.capelos@surrey.ac.uk](mailto:t.capelos@surrey.ac.uk)

**Friday 6 September**  
**Panel 8**  
**Session 6: 11:00-12:40**

**Party Politics in a ‘Crisis Zone’: Party System Change in Southern Europe**

Chair: Marco Lisi, Nova University of Lisbon, [marcolisi@fcsh.unl.pt](mailto:marcolisi@fcsh.unl.pt)

Discussant: Carlos Jalali, University of Aveiro, [cjalali@ua.pt](mailto:cjalali@ua.pt)

*Party Cartels under stress: downsizing Parliament as an adaptation strategy to the effects of the economic crisis.*

Lidia Núñez, Université Libre de Bruxelles, [Lidia.Nunez.Lopez@ulb.ac.be](mailto:Lidia.Nunez.Lopez@ulb.ac.be)

*Did the Conditions of Party Government Accountability Survive to the Financial Crisis? A Comparative Analysis Among the Southern Europeans PIGS*

Stefano Rombi, Università degli studi di Pavia, [stefano.rombi@hotmail.it](mailto:stefano.rombi@hotmail.it)

*Political or Economic Crisis: Quid Prius? Continuity and Change in the Italian Party System (2008-2013)*

Eugenio Pizzimenti, Università di Pisa, [eugenio.pizzimenti@sp.unipi.it](mailto:eugenio.pizzimenti@sp.unipi.it)

Luciano Bardi, Università di Pisa, [luciano.bardi@iol.it](mailto:luciano.bardi@iol.it)

*The resilience of the South European Party System: between economic crisis and euroscepticism*

Madalena Meyer Resende, Nova University of Lisbon,  
[madalena.resende@fcsh.unl.pt](mailto:madalena.resende@fcsh.unl.pt)

**Friday 6 September**  
**Panel 9**  
**Session 7: 15:50-17:30**

**Protest in the Age of Austerity: Democracy, Legitimacy and Mobilisation in Southern Europe**

Chair: Pedro Ramos Pinto, University of Manchester,  
[pedro.ramospinto@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:pedro.ramospinto@manchester.ac.uk)

Co-Chair: John Karamichas, Queen's University of Belfast, [j.karamichas@qub.ac.uk](mailto:j.karamichas@qub.ac.uk)

Discussant: Irene Martin, Universidad Autònoma de Madrid, [irene.martin@uam.es](mailto:irene.martin@uam.es)

*‘Mild Mannered’? Protest and Mobilisation in Portugal in Times of Crisis*

Guya Accornero, Centro De Investigação E Estudos De Sociologia (CIES) – Lisbon

University Institute, [guyaaccornero@hotmail.com](mailto:guyaaccornero@hotmail.com)

Pedro Ramos Pinto, University of Manchester, [pedro.ramospinto@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:pedro.ramospinto@manchester.ac.uk)

*Continuities and Discontinuities of 'Old' and 'New' Forms of Anti-Capitalist Protest*

Mattias Wahlström, Göteborgs Universitet, [mattias.wahlstrom@gu.se](mailto:mattias.wahlstrom@gu.se)

Magnus Wennerhag, Södertörns Högskola University College,  
[magnus.wennerhag@sh.se](mailto:magnus.wennerhag@sh.se)

Abby Peterson, Göteborgs Universitet, [abby.peterson@sociology.gu.se](mailto:abby.peterson@sociology.gu.se)

*Protesting in Time of Austerity. Micro, Meso and Macro Mobilisation Variation in Protesters' Framing, Trust and Sense of Efficacy.*

Lorenzo Bosi, European University Institute, [Lorenzo.Bosi@EUI.eu](mailto:Lorenzo.Bosi@EUI.eu)

Donatella Della Porta, European University Institute, [donatella.dellaporta@eui.eu](mailto:donatella.dellaporta@eui.eu)

*The Drivers of Anti-Austerity Protest in Greece*

Wolfgang Rüdig, University of Strathclyde, [w.rudig@strath.ac.uk](mailto:w.rudig@strath.ac.uk)

Georgios Karyotis, University of Strathclyde, [g.karyotis@strath.ac.uk](mailto:g.karyotis@strath.ac.uk)

**Friday 6 September**

**Panel 10**

**Session 8: 17:40-19:00**

**Southern European Labour Contention: New and Old Repertoires, Social Alliances, and Party Relations**

Chair: Noëlle Burgi, Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), [golub@univ-paris1.fr](mailto:golub@univ-paris1.fr)

Discussant: Antonina Gentile, Università Degli Studi di Milano,  
[antonina.gentile@unimi.it](mailto:antonina.gentile@unimi.it)

*Development trends in the politics of Italian labour market reforms: between continuity and discontinuity*

Patrik Vesani, University of Valle d'Aosta, [p.vesani@univda.it](mailto:p.vesani@univda.it)

*Labor conflicts in the Italian crisis. The case of the occupied factories*

Loris Caruso, [loris.caruso@unimib.it](mailto:loris.caruso@unimib.it) Università Degli Studi di Milano - Bicocca

*Between Social Pacts and General Strikes: Spanish Unions and Government in Times of Crisis*

Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida, [Kerstin.Hamann@ucf.edu](mailto:Kerstin.Hamann@ucf.edu)

*Labor Unions confronting Unprecedented Austerity in Greece, 2010-2013*

Maria Kousis, University of Crete, [kousis.m@uoc.gr](mailto:kousis.m@uoc.gr)

Christina Karakioulafi, University of Crete, [karakichr@social.soc.uoc.gr](mailto:karakichr@social.soc.uoc.gr)

**Saturday 7 September**  
**Panel 11**  
**Session 9: 09:00-10:40**

**The Crisis and the Welfare State: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective**

Chair: Manos Matsaganis, Athens University of Economics and Business,  
[manos@aueb.gr](mailto:manos@aueb.gr)

Co-Chair & Discussant: Dimitris Sotiropoulos, University of Athens,  
[dsotiro@pspa.uoa.gr](mailto:dsotiro@pspa.uoa.gr)

*Fair or Foul? Comply and Reform! The New Politics of Soft Economic Conditionality in the EU and its Hard Impacts on Domestic Policymaking: Evidence from the Italian Case*

Stefano Sacchi, Università Degli Studi di Milano, [stefano.sacchi@unimi.it](mailto:stefano.sacchi@unimi.it)  
Matteo Jessoula, Università Degli Studi di Milano, [matteo.jessoula@unimi.it](mailto:matteo.jessoula@unimi.it)

*Is Social Protection a Means of Production During Crisis? The Role of Prior Social Protection Reforms in Economic Performance in the EU Bailout Countries*  
Platon Tinios, University of Piraeus, [ptinios@gmail.com](mailto:ptinios@gmail.com)

*Minimum Income Schemes in Europe: Paying the Price?*  
Sarah Marchal, University of Antwerp  
Natascha Van Mechelen, University of Antwerp, [natascha.vanmechelen@ua.ac.be](mailto:natascha.vanmechelen@ua.ac.be)  
Ive Marx, University of Antwerp, [ive.marx@ua.ac.be](mailto:ive.marx@ua.ac.be)

*Retrenching and new distributive patterns in Europe. A comparison of CEE and Southern Europe*  
Serena Romano, Universita' di Napoli Federico II, [romano.se@gmail.com](mailto:romano.se@gmail.com)

**Saturday 7 September**  
**Panel 12**  
**Session 10: 11:00-12:40**

**The Crisis Impact on the State Apparatus of Southern Europe: National and Comparative Studies**

Chair: Minas Samatas, University of Crete, [samatasm@uoc.gr](mailto:samatasm@uoc.gr)

*State Administrative reforms under the austerity programme in Greece: The question of an enforced and disciplinary state modernization*  
Minas Samatas, University of Crete, [samatasm@social.soc.uoc.gr](mailto:samatasm@social.soc.uoc.gr)

*On (il)legality, anomia and violence in contemporary Greece*  
Anastasia Tsoukala, University Paris 11& 5-Sorbonne,  
[tsoukala.anastassia@gmail.com](mailto:tsoukala.anastassia@gmail.com)

*Policies, Practices and Everyday Insecurity in Contemporary Portugal*  
Catarina Frois, Antropologia Cultural e Social no Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal, [catarina.frois@netcabo.pt](mailto:catarina.frois@netcabo.pt)

**Saturday 7 September**  
**Panel 13**  
**Session 11: 15:50-17:30**

**The End of the EU as Modernising Vincolo Esterno? Differentiated Integration in Southern Europe**

Chair: Jose Magone, [jose.magone@hwr-berlin.de](mailto:jose.magone@hwr-berlin.de)  
Co-Chair: Patrícia Calca, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciencias Sociais,  
[patricia.calca@ics.ul.pt](mailto:patricia.calca@ics.ul.pt) [patriciacalca@gmail.com](mailto:patriciacalca@gmail.com)  
Discussant: Jose Magone, [jose.magone@hwr-berlin.de](mailto:jose.magone@hwr-berlin.de)

*Europeanization in Turkey: In Search of a New Paradigm of Modernization*  
Alper Kaliber, Istanbul Bilgi University, [alper.kaliber@bilgi.edu.tr](mailto:alper.kaliber@bilgi.edu.tr)

*If PIIGS Could Fly: Italy and the (Limited) Transformative Power of Europe*  
Vincent Della Sala, Universita Degli Studi di Trento, [vincenzo.dellasala@unitn.it](mailto:vincenzo.dellasala@unitn.it)  
Marco Brunazzo, Universita Degli Studi di Trento, [marco.brunazzo@unitn.it](mailto:marco.brunazzo@unitn.it)

*It is the 'Vincolo Esterno', Stupid! What Does the Portugal and United Kingdom's Media Agenda Reveal?*  
Célia Belim Rodrigues, Technical School of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP),  
[celiabelim@gmail.com](mailto:celiabelim@gmail.com)

*The Ultra-Peripheral Cleavage as a Regional Paradigm of Development – Evidences from the Atlantic Islands (Azores and Madeira)*  
Manuel Meirinho, Martins Technical School of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP),  
[presidencia@iscsp.utl.pt](mailto:presidencia@iscsp.utl.pt)  
Teresa Ruel, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciencias Sociais,  
[teresaruel@hotmail.com](mailto:teresaruel@hotmail.com)

*Time and Issue: Transposition and Legislative Strategies in Times of Crisis*  
Patrícia Calca, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciencias Sociais,  
[patriciacalca@gmail.com](mailto:patriciacalca@gmail.com)  
António Marques Bessa, Technical School of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP),  
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