

ECPR General Conference  
Charles University in Prague, Prague  
7 - 10 September 2016

**ecpr** Standing Group on  
Southern European Politics

# Reconfiguring Southern Europe

***General Conference Section***  
***(10 panels)***

## SECTION CONVENORS

**Georgios Karyotis, *University of Glasgow***  
**Susannah Verney, *University of Athens & University of Glasgow***

## SECTION OVERVIEW

**ALL our panels will take place in the same room (thank you, ECPR!!)**

**Faculty of Arts, Floor 3, Room FA 300**

### **Thursday 8 September**

- 09:00-10:40      Are Social Movements Changing Political Landscapes  
in Southern Europe
- 11:00-12:40      Challenger Parties and Party System Change  
in Southern Europe

### **Friday 9 September**

- 09:00-10:40      Democracy in Southern Europe in Times of Crisis:  
Power and Discourse in a Three-level Game
- 11:00-12:40      Crisis Narratives and their Consequences:  
The South European Experience
- 14:00-15:40      Re-reading Richard Katz:  
Labour and the Crisis of 'Party Democracy' in Southern Europe
- 17:40-19:20      Reshaping Civil Society in Southern Europe

### **Saturday 10 September**

- 09:00-10:40      Representation in Southern Europe:  
Views and Performance in Times of Economic Crisis
- 11:00-12:40      Rethinking Relations between Southern Europe and the EU
- 14:00-15:40      The Old is New? Party-Group Relations  
in Southern Europe in the Age of Crisis
- 16:00-17:40      Rewriting the Policy Agenda?  
Party Pledges, Issue Prioritisation and Policy-making

## PROGRAMME WITH PANELS AND PAPERS

### DAY 1: THURSDAY 8 SEPTEMBER

Thursday 8 September, 09:00-10:40

#### **ARE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPES IN SOUTHERN EUROPE?**

**Chair & Discussant: Marilena Simiti** (University of Piraeus)

Explaining Electoral Reorganization in Spain (2010-2015):

15-M, Mareas and the Uprising of New Parties

**María Luisa Revilla-Blanco** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

& **Carlos Molina** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Mirroring the Authoritarian Face of Power:

The Gezi Protests and the AKP Government

**Hayriye Özen** (Atılım University)

Re-conceptualising the Greek Cycle of Protest: December 2008

as a Transformative Event and its Effect on the Development of Collective Action

**Andreas Dafnos** (University of Sheffield)

& **Sotirios Karampampas** (University of Sheffield)

The Three Waves of Anti-Austerity Protest in Greece, 2010-2015

**Georgios Karyotis** (University of Glasgow)

& **Wolfgang Rüdiger** (University of Strathclyde)

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Thursday 8 September, 11:00-12:40

#### **CHALLENGER PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEM CHANGE IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**

**Chair: Andre Freire** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia)

**Discussant: Costas Eleftheriou** (University of Athens)

Institutional Aspects and Social Bases of Populism in Greece Since the 1980s

**Eftychia Teperoglou** (CIES-IUL, Lisbon)

**Ioannis Andreadis** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

& **Emmanouil Tsatsanis** (CIES-IUL)

The Economic Bases of the Emergence of New Parties:

The Case of Podemos and Ciudadanos in the Spanish 2015 General Election

**Agusti Bosch** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

& **Ivan M Duran** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

The Five Star Movement and its Role in (Post) Crisis Italian Politics

**Martin Mejstrik** (Charles University in Prague)

The Fragmentation of the Greek Right, 2009-2015

**Angelos-Stylianos Chrysosgelos** (London School of Economics & Political Science)

The Hay Age: Explaining SYRIZA's Re-election in September 2015

**Argyrios Altiparmakis**, European University Institute

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## **DAY 2: FRIDAY 9 SEPTEMBER**

**Friday 9 September, 09:00-10:40**

### **DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHERN EUROPE IN TIMES OF CRISIS: POWER AND DISCOURSE IN A THREE-LEVEL GAME**

**Chair: Catherine Moury** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia)

**Co-chair & Discussant: Stella Ladi** (Queen Mary University of London)

'Aren't there any alternatives'? Power and Discourse in Portuguese Austerity Politics

**Catherine Moury** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia  
& **Adam Standing** (University of York)

"One Symptom, One Diagnosis, One Treatment"? The Naturalization of Economic Decisions in Mario Monti's, José Luis Zapatero's and Mariano Rajoy's Narrative of the Eurozone crisis

**Arthur Borriello** (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Spanish and Italian Trade unions Facing EU Conditionality  
During the Great Recession

**Angie Gago** (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Taking or Shaping? Fiscal Policies between European Integration and National Autonomy: An Analysis of Democratic Government in Times of Constrained Choice

**Juliane Sophie Stein-Zalai** (Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Three Roads to Austerity. A Comparative Analysis  
of Portugal, Italy, Germany and Switzerland

**Stefano Sacchi** (Università degli Studi di Milano)  
& **Klaus Armingeon** (Universität Bern)

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**Friday 9 September, 11:00-12:40**

**CRISIS NARRATIVES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES:  
THE SOUTH EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE**

**Chair: Georgios Karyotis** (University of Glasgow)

**Discussant: Asimina Michailidou** (ARENA, University of Oslo)

#Thisisacoup: Portuguese Democracy under Austerity

**Isabel David** (Technical School of Social and Political Sciences – ISCSP)

International Elites during Crisis and the Quest for Democracy: A Case Study of the Interventions of International Elites in the Function of the Greek State

**Stamatis Poulakidakos** (University of Athens)

& **Gerasimos Karoulas** (University of Athens)

Narratives of Crisis: Sustaining Austerity Policy in Southern Europe

**Amelie Kutter** (Europa-Universität Viadrina)

The Media Campaign of the Greek Referendum of July 5th:

Was it Really a Biased Campaign?

**Dimitra Milioni** (Cyprus University of Technology)

& **Vasiliki (Vicky) Triga** (University of Cyprus)

What can Aristotle's "Poetics" Teach us about the Southern European Crisis?

**Tiago Ramalho** (Sciences Po Paris)

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**Friday 9 September, 14:00-15:40**

**RE-READING RICHARD KATZ:**

**LABOUR AND THE 'CRISIS OF PARTY DEMOCRACY' IN  
SOUTHERN EUROPE**

**Chair: Noëlle Burgi** (Université de Paris I)

**Co-Chair: Antonina Gentile** (Università degli Studi di Milano)

**Discussant: Dick Katz** (Johns Hopkins University)

Policy Content, Party Cartelization and Social Protest:

Preliminary Conclusions from the Greek Contentious Cycle (2009-2016)

**Seraphim Seferiades** (Panteion University)

& **Loukia Kotronaki** (Panteion University)

The EU, Cartel Parties and Cartel Capitalism: The Case of Troika and Greece

**Patricia Springborg** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The US Hegemonic Origins of the Cartel Party: The South European Cauldron

**Antonina Gentile** (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Trajectories of Trade Union-Political Party Relationships in Portugal under Democracy

**Alan Stoleroff** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia)

Weak or No Ties? The Relationship between the Party in Government and the unions in Italy

**Domenico Carrieri** (Sapienza University of Roma)

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**Friday 9 September, 17:40-19:20**

**RESHAPING CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTH EUROPE**

**Chair: Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos** (University of Athens)

**Discussant: Isabel David** (ISCSP, Lisbon)

Southern European Civil Societies during the Crisis: Dense and Weak?

**Marilena Simiti** (University of Piraeus)

Interest Groups in Spain: What's New?

**Iván Medina** (University of Valencia);

**Luz Munoz** (Universitat de Barcelona)

**& Joaquim Molins** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Something More than Offering Help! Exploring the Links between Solidarity and Social Movement Initiatives in Greece in Times of Economic Crisis

**Angelos Loukakis** (University of Geneva)

Still Lacking Quality? Europeanisation and the Challenge to Improve Civil Society Participation in Policy Processes in Turkey

**Cristiano Bee** (Istanbul Bilgi University)

The Symbolic and Political Dimension of Societal Accountability in Grassroots Struggles against Corruption. A Cross-Country Comparison in Southern and Central Europe

**Andrea L. P. Pirro**, (Scuola Normale Superiore)

**Donatella Della Porta** (European University Institute)

**Alice Mattoni** (Scuola Normale Superiore)

**& Loris Caruso** (Università degli Studi di Milano – Bicocca)

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**DAY 3: SATURDAY 10 SEPTEMBER**

**Saturday 10 September, 09:00-10:40**

**REPRESENTATION IN SOUTHERN EUROPE:  
VIEWS AND PERFORMANCE IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS**

**Chair: Pablo Onate** (University of Valencia)

**Co-Chair: Ana Belchior** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia)

**Discussant: Beatriz Camacho** (University of Valencia)

Focus and Style of Representation in Portugal and Spain:  
Exploring the Consequences of the Economic Crisis

**Ana Belchior** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia),  
**Beatriz Camacho** (University of Valencia)  
& **Pablo Onate** (University of Valencia)

Political parties and Democratic Representation in the Era of Crisis:  
Mapping Changes and Functions in the Composition of the Greek Political Elites

**Gerasimos Karoulas** (University of Athens)

The Electoral Consequences of Political Disaffection in Southern Europe

**Javier Lorente Fontaneda** (Universidad Autonoma de Madrid)  
& **Irene Sanchez Vitores** (European University Institute)

The Condition of Portuguese Democracy during the Troika's Intervention, 2011-15:  
Government-Opposition, Regime Support & Political Trust

**André Freire**, (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia – CIES-IUL)

Visual Representation of Politicians' and Parties' Performance in Times of Crisis:  
A Comparative Analysis with Particular Reference to Spain, Portugal and Greece

**Karin Liebhart** (University of Vienna)

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#### **PANEL 8**

**Saturday 11 September, 11:00-12:40**

#### **RETHINKING RELATIONS**

#### **BETWEEN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND THE EU**

**Chair: Myrto Tsakatika** (University of Glasgow)

Bailout Elections in a Changing Europe:

Euroscepticism and Eurosceptics in Italy and Greece

**Roberto De Rosa**, (Sapienza University of Roma)  
& **Dario Quattromani** (Sapienza University of Roma)

Reconfiguring Popular Attitudes towards European Integration in Southern Europe

**Susannah Verney** (University of Athens)

Reimagining Europe: Southern European Radical Left Parties Post-crisis

**Myrto Tsakatika** (University of Glasgow)

Rethinking the relationship with the EU:

Greece, Italy, Spain and the Choice for Europe since Maastricht

**Cecilia Emma Sottilotta** (LUISS University)

Voting in European Parliament Elections in Southern Europe:

Still Second Order or "Issue Voting"?

**Ilke Toygur** (Universidad Autonoma de Madrid)

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**PANEL 10**

**Saturday 10 September, 14:00-15:40**

**THE OLD IS NEW? PARTY-GROUP RELATIONS  
IN SOUTHERN EUROPE IN THE AGE OF CRISIS**

**Chair and Discussant: Marco Lisi** (Centro de História da Cultura, FCSH-UNL)

Assessing the Identity Politics Hypothesis:

Political Parties and Interest Groups Linkages in the case of Catalan Junts pel Sí

**Iván Medina** (University of Valencia)

**Juan Rodriguez Teruel** (University of Valencia)

& **Astrid Barrio** (University of Valencia)

Linkage Strategies during the Greek Crisis:

The case of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) (2010-2014)

**Costas Eleftheriou** (University of Athens)

New Parties in Spain: A Typology and Some Explanations

**Juan Rodriguez Teruel** (University of Valencia)

**Oscar Barbera** (University of Valencia)

& **Astrid Barrio** (University of Valencia)

Political Party-Interest Group Linkages in Greece (2010-2015)

**Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos** (University of Athens)

The Organisational Dimension

of the Party-Interest Group Linkage in Portugal (2000-2015)

**Filipa Raimundo** (University of Utrecht)

& **Isabella Razzuoli** (Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciências Sociais)

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**Saturday 10 September, 16:00-17:40**

**REWRITING THE POLICY AGENDA:  
PARTY PLEDGES, ISSUE PRIORITISATION AND POLICY-MAKING**

**Chair: Nicolò Conti** (Sapienza University of Roma)

**Co-Chair: Federico Russo** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

**Discussant: Catherine Moury** (Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia)

Blame Shifting Strategies in Multilevel Systems of Governance:

Some Lessons from Italy and Spain

**Laura Chaques Bonafont** (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals – IBEI)



Decision-Making Capacity and Policy Innovation:  
Three Italian governments in comparative perspective

**Andrea Pritoni** (Scuola Normale Superiore)  
& **Gilberto Capano** (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Economic Crisis and Lawmaking.  
The Impact of Crisis on the Legislative Agenda in Italy (2008-2013)

**Luca Pinto** (Scuola Normale Superiore)  
**Andrea Pedrazzani** (Università di Bologna)  
& **Alessandro Pellegata** (Università degli Studi di Siena)

Parties in Southern Europe during the Crisis: Free from Election Pledges?

**Andrea Pedrazzani** (Università di Bologna)  
**Nicolò Conti** (Sapienza University of Roma)  
& **Federico Russo** (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna)

Structural Reform and New Policy Agendas:  
Political and Social Responses to the Economic Adjustment Programme in Cyprus  
**Odysseas Christou** (University of Nicosia)

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