

**ECPR STANDING GROUP
SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS
Section
THE CONSEQUENCES OF CRISIS FOR SOUTHERN EUROPE
ECPR GENERAL CONFERENCE
Sciences Po, Bordeaux
4-7 September 2013**

Section Report

The Section organised by the Standing Group on Southern European Politics was the largest themed section at the 7th General Conference, consisting of 13 individual panels. For more details, please see the collected panel reports below.

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Panel

Crisis and Welfare Retrenchment: A View from the South

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

Papers presented

The Grapes of Wrath: Welfare Attitudes in Bailed-out Portugal

Filipe Carreira da Silva, University of Cambridge, fcs23@cam.ac.uk

Mónica Brito Vieira, monica.britovieira@york.ac.uk

South European Welfare States at the Crossroads: Dynamics of a Three-player Game

Marc Smyrl, marcsmyrl@yahoo.com

Reforms and Retrenchment of Spanish Welfare State: some political-economic prospective beyond the crisis

Maria Belén Martin Castro, 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

Panel Conclusions

1. Generalised preference for higher governmental involvement in welfare provision in Southern Europe.

“Citizens of more vulnerable societies typically expect significantly larger state intervention” (Bartha, 2013).

“Our data [for Portugal] shows that the welfare retrenchment rhetoric and policy agenda of the Troika has had at least one major unintended consequence: a very significant increase in the popular support for the welfare state” (Silva, Valadez and Vieira, 2013).

2. Polarisation of society in terms of welfare preferences.

“The indicators of polarization in welfare attitudes follow the dominant pattern: more vulnerable countries are typically more polarized as well, though we can detect a statistically significant difference only concerning the polarization in perceived benefits of welfare provisions” (Bartha, 2013).

“Between 2008 and 2013, welfare attitudes become more polarized and more clearly differentiated along occupational and sociocultural lines” (Silva, Valadez and Vieira, 2013).

“A good proportion of people (around 28% of the sample) think that all citizens deserve access to education, health, social security, and housing, regardless of need or contributions. However, around 15% of the sample argued that only health should be guaranteed to everybody; around 10% argued that both social security and health should be guaranteed to everybody; another 13% stated that education and health should be guaranteed to everybody.” (Valadez and Silva, 2013).

3. Welfare outcomes are shaped by national, European, and international actors.

“In the contemporary European context, finally, social policy decisions are no longer a purely national matter. The international and supra-national settings, moreover, are not simply a set of passive constraints. Whether through explicit “bail-out” packages or the more diffuse influence of international “best practices,” decisions taken in Brussels, Frankfurt, or Washington have a direct impact on national policy making in Southern Europe” (Smyrl, 2013).

“All of them [social policy changes in Spain] developed inside a double process of Europeanization and decentralization becoming a multilevel government. (...) So the prominence of the different public and social partners with respect to citizens’ welfare is shifting, although the family networks retain their role for support, particularly in times of recession.” (Castro, 2013).

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Panel

Varieties of Capitalism in Southern Europe since the Crisis

Chair: Boyka Stefanova, University of Texas at San Antonio, Boyka.Stefanova@utsa.edu

Discussant: Stella Ladi, University of London, Queen Mary, 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

Paolo Graziano, Bocconi University, 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

The objective of this panel was to develop fine-grained analyses of the relative distinctiveness, convergence, and capacity for transformation of the institutions of political economy in Southern Europe due to domestic and external pressures. As anticipated by the varieties of capitalism literature, the main focus of the panel was on establishing the relative resilience of the national institutional foundations of political economy in Southern Europe, their potential convergence and/or transformation due to requirements for structural reform, liberalization and deregulation, repositioning among the social partners, change in the standards of corporate governance, and evolution of traditional policy paradigms. The presented papers examined the capacity for structural change in the institutional configurations of the Southern European countries in light of the increased EU pressures for change due to the Eurozone sovereign debt crisis. Collectively, the papers presented a comparative examination of parameters of change in select policy systems in Greece, Italy, and Spain and reflected on the impact of the renewed top-down pressures for welfare state reform in the EU member states and the persisting institutional complementarities of the varieties of Southern European capitalism. Following the review by discussant Stella Ladi and comments and questions from the audience, the concluding discussion elaborated on the analytical utility of the concepts of Europeanisation and the varieties of capitalism framework to provide a better understanding of the mechanisms of European governance in times of crisis and of policy change itself.

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Panel

The Impacts of the Global Crisis on South European Environmental Politics

Chair: Maria Kousis, University of Crete, kousis.m@uoc.gr

Discussant: Inaki Barcena Hinojal, University of the Basque Country,
inaki.barcena@ehu.es

Papers presented

Connections Between the Financial and the Environmental Crisis in the Communication Campaigns and Advocacy Efforts of Italian Environmental Groups
Carlo Ruzza, Università Degli Studi di Trento, carlo.ruzza@unitn.it

Environmental Contention in a South European Region Under Crisis
Maria Kousis, University of Crete, kousis.m@uoc.gr

The Global Crisis as an Impediment to the Ecological Modernisation of Greece
John Karamichas, Queen's University of Belfast, j.karamichas@qub.ac.uk

In the first paper presented, Carlo Ruzza argued that even though the financial crisis has led to conventional actors stressing economy related issues, it has also resulted in a new focus of the Italian environmental movement on issues of social justice and sustainable development. According to John Karamichas, the obstacles to ecological modernization in Greece exist, with or without the global economic crisis, due to the perennial failure of the country to escape the dominant characteristics that keep it far from an ecologically oriented growth. The third paper, by Maria Kousis, highlighted the importance of environmental repertoires of

claims and actions by professional environmental organizations as well as grassroots activists under the crisis of the past three years in Greece. These civil society groups voice grave concerns related to the endangerment of the environment under austerity, structural adjustment and neo-liberal policies. The discussant, Inaki Barcena, stressed the need to view the economic crisis as an opportunity to move towards real change through sustainable ways of living and producing.

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Panel

Gender and the Economic Crisis in Southern Europe

Chair: Yota Papageorgiou, University of Crete, papageo@social.soc.uoc.gr
yotanick@gmail.com

Could the Crisis Lead to Backtracking on Gender Equality in Southern Europe?

Antigone Lyberaki, University of Piraeus, antiglib@gmail.com

Platon Tinios, University of Piraeus, ptinios@gmail.com

Gender in Times of Crises: The Case of Cyprus

Maria Hatzipavlou, University of Cyprus, mariat@ucy.ac.cy

Neoliberal Transformation and the Politics of Reproduction in Turkey

Müjde Erdinç Kliem, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK.

The papers and the ensuing discussion touched upon the different effects of the economic crisis and reached the consensus that the influence of the present economic crisis on the Southern countries was obvious to women of all social strata. Thus, Lyberaki and Tinios addressed the economic crisis as a challenging issue where the outcome in Southern Europe could create either an equalising impetus or backtracking. Erdinç-Kliem examined the issue of abortion connecting it with the neoliberal economic restructuring of the society that has been taking place hand in hand with religious conservatism and state patriarchy for some time. Hatzipavlou claimed that the issue of equality has lost its vigour as a social and political goal in Cyprus, due not only to the economic crisis but also to the unresolved ethno/national conflict. The discussion tried to place all the presentations in a coherent context regarding the nature, causes and effects of the economic crisis in all Southern European countries. Finally, the panel unanimously concluded that gender issues are neglected willingly or otherwise by governments in terms of national priorities and this is a critical point that women should be aware of it, and find ways to address these grievances to their respective governments.

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

Chair: Marco Lisi, Nova University of Lisbon, marcolisi@fcs.unl.pt

Discussant: Carlos Jalali, University of Aveiro, 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

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

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

Luciano Bardi, Università di Pisa, 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@fcs.unl.pt

The papers offered a number of interesting insights on how the economic crisis is contributing to reshaping party politics in this region. Madalena Meyer Resende analysed several dimensions of party system change in Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) and considered distinct hypotheses to interpret why some countries – namely Greece and Italy – have been more sensitive to the effects of the economic crisis. Stefano Rombi also adopted a comparative perspective to examine one specific aspect of party government, namely the patterns of electoral accountability. The relationship between electoral volatility and the impact of economic performance was the main topic explored by Pablo Simón and Jorge Galindo. Eugenio Pizzimenti and Luciano Bardi focused on the Italian case, linking party system change to the change of party organisations during the so-called “Second Republic”. Finally, Lidia Núñez investigated how electoral reforms may benefit the main governing parties by excluding potential challengers, focussing on the Spanish case.

The panel offered interesting insights into the different ways in which the main political actors have reacted to external and internal challenges, especially after the emergence of the economic crisis. All papers raised interesting questions from both a theoretical and empirical point of view. Some of them, for example, linked their analysis to the cartel party debate, while others emphasised the importance of economic conditions on electoral volatility and the performance of the main political parties. Other topics discussed included euroscepticism, the change of party organisations and the emergence of new actors. Overall, the studies adopted a longitudinal approach in order to examine both continuities and discontinuities in Southern Europe’s political systems. The papers boosted the debate on important topics such as the change of party-voter alignments, intra-party conflicts, the adoption of organizational innovations and the emergence of new institutional dynamics. The discussion also

emphasised the need to refine methodological and theoretical tools for examining the consequences of this ongoing process.

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Panel

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

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

Discussant: Irene Martin, Universidad Autònoma de Madrid, 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

Pedro Ramos Pinto, University of Manchester, 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

Magnus Wennerhag, Södertörns Högskola University College, magnus.wennerhag@sh.se

Abby Peterson, Göteborgs Universitet, 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

Donatella Della Porta, European University Institute, donatella.dellaporta@eui.eu

The Drivers of Anti-Austerity Protest in Greece

Wolfgang Rüdiger, University of Strathclyde, w.rudig@strath.ac.uk

Georgios Karyotis, University of Strathclyde, g.karyotis@strath.ac.uk

'Protest in the Age of Austerity' produced a very well attended and vibrant discussion of the dynamics of the on-going protest cycle in Southern Europe and beyond. While the majority of existing studies of anti-austerity protest have focused on novel forms of mobilisation and emerging SMOs such as indignados, the papers in this panel sought to contextualise and examine such acts of protest. A running thread across the four presentations was the question of identifying more precisely not only the novel aspects of such movements, but also to ask how they interact with more traditional forms of political expression, from labour movements to electoral politics.

Using surveys of participants in protest events, two of the papers (Bosi/Della Porta and Wahlström/Peterson/Wennerhag) explored the motivations and attitudes of participants in anti-austerity protest. The innovative questions about the relationship between trust and self-efficacy in the first paper challenge assumptions of a 'Mediterranean syndrome of distrust', revealing instead an important number of 'critical citizens' in those countries: rightfully wary of underperforming institutions, but trustful in their capacity to bring about change through political action. In this vein, Wahlström et al show that there is less dividing the 'new' and the 'old' activism than media reports would lead us to believe. Their surveys of protestors show the importance of material demands in mobilising activism, and find little to distinguish

in terms of attitudes between participants in ‘new new’ movements such as Occupy, and more traditional union-led protests.

Building on a different methodology, Accornero and Ramos Pinto’s PEA reconstruction of the protest cycle in one country also echoes the findings of the other papers, highlighting the leading role played by labour in contesting austerity, and noting the emerging synergies between unions and ‘new new’ movements, with both seemingly influencing each other’s strategies. Similarly, Rüdig and Karyotis also find a significant influence of union membership in predicting participation in anti-austerity protests in Greece, but also warn that panel data suggests worsening economic conditions seem to depress the likelihood of a continued engagement in protest activities.

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Panel

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
Discussant: Antonina Gentile, Università Degli Studi di Milano, antonina.gentile@unimi.it

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

Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida, Kerstin.Hamann@ucf.edu

Labor Unions confronting Unprecedented Austerity in Greece, 2010-2013

Maria Kousis, University of Crete, kousis.m@uoc.gr

Christina Karakioulafi, University of Crete, karakichr@social.soc.uoc.gr

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

Patrik Vesan, University of Valle d’Aosta, p.vesan@univda.it

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

Loris Caruso, loris.caruso@unimib.it Università Degli Studi di Milano - Bicocca

The aim of our panel was to explore the current cycles of popular contention in Southern Europe, and more specifically the social alliances and new and old repertoires mobilised by workers and other parts of civil societies in response to the acute austerity policies imposed upon them, threatening social and political rights, living and working conditions, the human dignity and even people’s lives. It was conceived as a first step to promoting a historically sensitive re-theorisation of labour contention in Europe from the perspective of Southern Europe. Three national-scale studies (Spain, Italy, Greece) were presented and one micro case study (on factory occupations in Italy) marrying various literatures (Contentious Politics, Industrial Relations, and Social Policy, and Welfare State), all of them situating the national/local case studies within a (more or less) broader historical context. The discussant, Antonina Gentile, had prepared an in-depth and very helpful discussion of all four papers.

The general observation is that the significant wave of protests in the three countries, which draws on various old and new or renewed repertoires, has the following essential features: (1)

workers and the rest of civil societies are facing a significantly strengthened political power and governments ready to act alone rather than seek the cooperation of trade unions and/or the rest of society; (2) trade unions are weakened although they still have an important organisational capacity which is precious for the broader oppositional movement in society but the unions seem to have a hard time building alliances with the rest of civil society and (re)inventing *efficient* repertoires of contention and other forms of collective action; (3) the same weakness applies to the rest of civil society in the context of the deinstitutionalisation of the social realm and the delegitimation of political parties; (4) Memoranda-linked political devices seem to always be immediately followed by general strikes or mass demonstrations, with no other result than a new round of (new and harsher) austerity measures and new protest movements.

Government - trade union relations were one of the important issues raised. The collapse of the social bargaining / “social dialogue” processes (in Spain, but this is also true in Greece, Italy and Portugal) and the new wave of general strikes and mass demonstrations contradicts the institutionalization thesis that social pacts had become an institutionalized and regular feature of Spanish politics and a strategy of negotiating a way out of the crisis. Rather, it indicates that the role of unions in formulating policies is subject to governmental volition, and where no agreement can be reached, governments continue to act alone (Hamann). The same conclusion is drawn from Vesán’s analysis of the Italian Labour market and its transformation over the last two decades. On the one hand, Italian governments have clearly become pivotal actors in labour market policy and the current reinforcement of the government’s actions does not appear to be the result of the institutionalisation of social concertation or the consolidation of a majoritarian, bipolar dynamic. Rather, the empowerment of the Italian executive in the domestic arena seems to be derived from an emergency situation where the government has clearly abdicated its agenda setting power to some external actors (in particular EU institutions). On the other hand, while the influence of political parties, which were already suffering from a deep legitimacy crisis, has been significantly reduced — leading them to adopt a defensive attitude in the context of bipartisan support for a technocratic cabinet, and to using their resources to adjust some specific aspects of the “reforms”, whose content has been largely dictated by the government and by international institutions —, trade union power and influence on policy making has also been gradually reduced before, and sharply after the economic crisis. In the case of Greece, the weakening of trade unions happened particularly abruptly since 2010 given a previous political context (linked to the history of the Greek political system and economic development) that was favourable to them, with analogous results (growing political authoritarianism and the total collapse of the Greek national “free collective bargaining” system).

The enhanced authority of the State and the collapse of social pacts and “social dialogues” coupled with a wave of general strikes and mass demonstrations also indicate that unions have transferred some of the militancy lost in workplace to the political realm (Hamann). Despite their weakened position, trade unions still have a strong capacity to mobilize their members, namely in Greece (this is an important observation that needs more research and is just mentioned but not demonstrated in Kousi’s & Karakioulafi’s paper). However, despite their organisational capacities, it seems that trade unions have a hard time (re)inventing *efficient* repertoires of contention and other forms of collective action and building alliances with the rest of civil society. The same applies to initiatives in which other segments of the civil society (defined here in Margaret Somer’s perspective as “a ‘third sphere’ in between both state and market, constantly engaged in resisting the imperial designs of the market no less than those of the state”) may have taken the initiative (among others the widely spread

Occupy form of contention movements) that seem to be out of breath. The protest event analysis presented by the Greek paper givers is extremely interesting in that respect, as it showed how the enactment of Memoranda-linked political devices provoked immediate general strikes or mass demonstrations, only to be followed by new and harsher austerity measures and new protest movements (on the same lines there has been a presentation in another panel of the Portuguese case).

This underscores the fact that much of the remaining barrier between unprotected citizens and full exposure to market fundamentalism (the drive to subject all of social life and the public sphere to market mechanisms) has been removed in the countries examined (and in many others too). In his empirical study on the occupation of a factory illustrating a specific form of protest against the closure of production activities in Italy, Loris Caruso unfolds an interesting red thread, which is to compare the Marxian (class conflict) and Polanyian (commodification) paradigms. He arrives at the conclusion, which might be interesting to develop, that this type of conflict is closer to the Polanyian paradigm, and that the traditional labour conflict does not disappear, but is encompassed in new political and cultural orientations.

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

Chair: Manos Matsaganis, Athens University of Economics and Business,
manos@aueb.gr

Co-Chair & Discussant: Dimitris Sotiropoulos, University of Athens, dsotirop@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

Matteo Jessoula, Università Degli Studi di Milano, 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

Minimum Income Schemes in Europe: Paying the Price?

Sarah Marchal, University of Antwerp

Natascha Van Mechelen, University of Antwerp, natascha.vanmechelen@ua.ac.be

Ive Marx, University of Antwerp, ive.marx@ua.ac.be

Retrenching and new distributive patterns in Europe. A comparison of CEE and Southern Europe

Serena Romano, Università di Napoli Federico II, romano.se@gmail.com

Discussion in this session evolved around a number of issues: 1) the problem of preserving living standards under crisis, given the variable levels and effectiveness of social assistance measures, including minimum income schemes; 2) the problem of lack of recent data on social protection at a time period in which basic variables, such as unemployment and poverty rates, undergo substantial and rapid shifts; 3) the problem of comparing welfare state

developments across countries which have been under economic crisis since 2009, albeit under different types of crisis, originating in a variety of causes, as well as comparing countries which have been subjected to different kinds of treatment (e.g., countries under a “programme” or memorandum vs. the rest); and 4) the changing patterns of welfare policy making, including the involvement of international organizations in the domestic affairs and squabbles among national social policy decision makers, as the latter seek to adapt social policy to the evolution of national economies, to out bid their political opponents and to ally with or challenge representatives of international organizations and international creditors.

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Panel

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

Chair: Minas Samatas, University of Crete, 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, samatas@social.soc.uoc.gr

On (il)legality, anomia and violence in contemporary Greece

Anastasia Tsoukala, University Paris 11& 5-Sorbonne, 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

This panel aimed to examine comparatively the impact of the current economic crisis on the structure and function of the state apparatus in the southern member – states of the European Union (EU). This aim was mostly fulfilled because the presentation of two papers on the Greek state and one on Portugal were enough to underline the recurrence of “authoritarian statism” in these and also in all “post-authoritarian” Southern European societies under the impact of the economic crisis and the subsequent austerity policies. Both Anastassia Tsoukala and Catarina Frois analysed indicative cases, incidents and policies of the expanding “coercive, right hand” of the state apparatus in Greece and Portugal at the expense of its “welfare, left hand”. Minas Samatas reinforced this argument through an analysis of the “enforced and disciplinary state modernization in Greece implemented by the ‘state of Memorandum’ and the coalition “party of Memorandum” under the Troika and German tutelage. The following discussion further clarified certain coercive policy aspects in Greece and Portugal and focused on the audience question, “what is the prime task of social scientists during such an emergency crisis situation: to make theoretical or social work?” The session closed with the panellists agreeing with the audience that these tasks are not incompatible but supplementary.

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Panel Session

The End of the EU as Modernising Vincolo Esterno?

Differentiated Integration in Southern Europe

Chair and discussant: Jose Magone, jose.magone@hwr-berlin.de

Co-Chair: Patrícia Calca, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciências Sociais,

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Europeanization in Turkey: In Search of a New Paradigm of Modernization

Alper Kaliber, Istanbul Bilgi University, alper.kaliber@bilgi.edu.tr

If PIIGS Could Fly: Italy and the (Limited) Transformative Power of Europe

Vincent Della Sala, Università Degli Studi di Trento, vincenzo.dellasala@unitn.it

Marco Brunazzo, Università Degli Studi di Trento, 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),
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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),
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Teresa Ruel, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciências Sociais,
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Time and Issue: Transposition and Legislative Strategies in Times of Crisis

Patrícia Calca, Universidade de Lisboa Instituto de Ciências Sociais,
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António Marques Bessa, Technical School of Social and Political Sciences (ISCSP),
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In 1996, in one of the first issues of *South European Society and Politics*, Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone argued that Italy used the European Union (EU) as an external link (*vincolo esterno*) in order to modernize and change the negative aspects of the Italian political system. Concretely, they analysed the process towards membership of the third stage of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Such a thesis has been also presented and extended to other southern European countries. The EU's recent change from a benevolent to a disciplinarian mode has been a quite surprising turn in a reality which has been taken for granted. This panel attempted to cast some light onto this relationship between the EU and southern Europe. The main thesis of Brunazzo and Vincent Della Sala was that in spite of Italy being a founder member with over 60 years participation in European integration, the struggle between the inefficient public policy system and the modernising effects of a technocratic transformative continue to persist. While there have been changes, these did not contribute considerably to a reform of the political and economic system. The paper offered a holistic assessment of different aspects of Italian political economy, including the Italian model of capitalism, industrial relations, and fiscal policies.

Alper Kaliber presented a very thorough analysis of the Europeanization concept and applied it to Turkey, focusing on how political elites and subcultures inside Turkish society and political parties are mediators, but also creators of Europeanization. The paper showed that

any European integration contents transferred to Turkey are repackaged and interpreted anew to fit national debates and needs. Elites play a role in reframing many technocratic aspects originating from the EU. Célia Belim presented data on how newspapers report on the finance and Eurocrisis. The contrast between the UK, an eurosceptic country, and Portugal, traditionally europhile, but quite eurosceptic since the crisis started, helped to understand how perceptions of the external link can change in one of the countries in which a troika programme is being implemented. Patricia Calca's contribution focused on investigating whether the financial crisis had any major effects on the transposition of EU law in the Portuguese case. The presentation of the papers was followed by a lively discussion.

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The Section also included the following panels:

Panel

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

Chair: Irene Martín, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, irene.martin@uam.es

Discussant: Elias Dinas, University of Nottingham, elias.dinas@nottingham.ac.uk

Papers presented

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

Agusti Bosch, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, agusti.bosch@uab.cat

Lluís Orriols, University of Oxford, lluis.oriols@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

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

Gianluca Passarelli, Università di Roma La Sapienza, gianluca.passarelli@uniroma1.it

Dario Tuorto, Università di Bologna, 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

Federico Vegetti, Universität Mannheim, fede.vegetti@gmail.com

Paolo Segatti, Università Degli Studi di Milano, paolo.segatti@unimi.it

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

Direnç Kanol, Università Degli Studi di Siena, direda@yahoo.co.uk

George Pirishis, Università Degli Studi di Siena, george.pirishis@gmail.com

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Panel

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

Chair: Rafael Vazquez, Universidad de Granada, rvazquez@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

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

Nieves Ortega-Pérez, Universidad de Granada, ortega@ugr.es

Antonio Robles-Egea, Universidad de Granada, aroblese@ugr.es

Luis Triguero-Martínez, Universidad de Granada, ltriguero@ugr.es

How Does the 'Crisis Generation' Relate to Politics?

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

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Panel

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

Convenor: Nicolas Demertzis, University of Athens, 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

Stavroula Chrona, University of Surrey, s.chrona@surrey.ac.uk

Framing PIGS to clean their own stable

Jonas Van Vossole Ghent University, Centro De Estudos Sociais,
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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

'The good, the bad and the ugly': stereotypes, prejudices and emotions on Greek media representation of the EU financial crisis

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