



centre on  
social movement  
studies



# **LIVEWHAT SUMMER SCHOOL CITIZENS' RESILIENCE IN TIMES OF CRISES**

## **PARTICIPANTS' HANDBOOK**



**Scuola Normale Superiore,  
Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, Italy  
July 5-11, 2015**

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# INTRODUCTION



LIVEWHAT is a research project that brings together research partners and an international advisory board of leading scientists from nine European countries – France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom.

During the LIVEWHAT Summer School, we want to address fundamental issues such as:

- How do people respond to crises in general and to the current economic crisis in particular?
- What strategies are develop to cope with the crisis in the public and in the private domain, collectively and individually, and through policies, protests and individual behaviors?
- What forms of resilience does society show in hard times?

Participants investigating the dynamics linking crises, policy responses, and citizens' resilience will focus on mobilization and alternative forms of action in times of economic crises. More generally, the Summer School aims to offer analytical and methodological tools to investigate how citizens respond to the social and political consequences of economic crises either individually or collectively, privately or publicly, politically or non-politically. This will include responses such as changing attitudes and behaviors; engaging in collective action; adapting lifestyles; expressing discontent in the media; voting for a populist party; and broadening social ties.

We are very much looking forward to welcoming all of you to Florence and to the vibrant academic debates and inspiring exchanges that lie ahead.

Best wishes,  
Lorenzo Bosi and Lorenzo Zamponi

# WELCOME TO FLORENCE



The Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences is the outcome of the merging between the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (SNS) and the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane (SUM). It promotes advanced study in the fields of human and social sciences through the the PhD courses in Political Science and Sociology and Renaissance Studies.

A doctoral and post-doctoral education centre. It is one of the three branches of the Scuola Normale Superiore, a public institute of higher education with the mandate to select and train gifted students. All students are granted scholarships and offered many opportunities to train and carry out their research activity also in other top international universities and research centres. The “Classe di Scienze Umane” and the “Classe di Scienze Matematiche e Naturali”, the other branches of the Scuola Normale Superiore, are located in Pisa.



Cosmos is an international research centre affiliated with the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane at the SNS, in Florence. Focusing on social movements as part of broader contentious politics, it promotes theoretically-driven empirical analyses on the forms, dimensions, causes, and impacts of social movements, in established democracies as well as in authoritarian regimes. Building upon a cross-disciplinary tradition in social movement studies, Cosmos also aims at increased cooperation among the fields of political science and sociology, as well as anthropology, history, psychology, philosophy, law, economics and area studies. In order to strengthen synergies and networking among researchers in social movement studies, Cosmos organizes conferences, colloquia, public lectures, seminar series, and summer programs.

# DETAILED PROGRAM

*Sunday, 5<sup>th</sup> of July*

**11:30-12:30 Registration**

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**13:30-14:00 Welcome** and LIVEWHAT introduction Marco Giugni (Université de Genève and coordinator of the LIVEWHAT project)

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**14:00-16:00 Keynote:** Javier Auyero (University of Texas at Austin) “In Harm’s Way. The meanings and dynamics of violence at the urban margins”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**16:00-16:30 Coffee Break**

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Jennyfer Dagg (Maynooth University) “Longitudinal and Biographical aspects of resilience”. Discussants: Sarah Cameron, Javier Auyero and Lorenzo Bosi.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Carlotta Caciagli (Scuola Normale Superiore) “Performing the “Right to the city” through the “Free Spaces”. Practices of Resistance in Urban Social Movements in times of economic crisis.” Discussants: Caterina Froio, Jeff Goodwin and Javier Auyero

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**18:30-20:30 Social dinner**

*Monday, 6<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:30 Methodological lecture:** Manlio Cinalli (SciencesPo) and Katrin Uba (Uppsala University) How to study collective responses to the crisis: protest event and political claim analysis.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:30-11:00 Coffee Break**

**11:00-12:30 Methodological lecture:** Manlio Cinalli (SciencesPo) and Katrin Uba (Uppsala

University) How to study collective responses to the crisis: protest event and political claim analysis.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**12:30-14:00** Lunch

**14:00-16:00 Keynote:** Maria Kousis (University of Crete) “Collective responses to hard economic times in Greece: from Large Protest Events against Troika Memoranda and Austerity Policies to Alternative Forms of Resilience”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**16:00-16:30** Coffee Break

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Sabina Monza (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) “Exposure to new coverage and support for the European Union during the present economic crisis”. Discussant: Torsten Geelan, Manlio Cinalli and Maria Kousis.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Timothy Dzurilla (University of Connecticut) “Informal Security Regimes: Post-Crisis Formation of Transnational Fair Trade Networks in Nicaragua and East Timor”. Discussant: Pohl Nicholas, Jeff Goodwin and Katrin Uba

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

*Tuesday, 7<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:00 Paper presentation:** Christian Kalbassi (University of Lausanne) “Toward an Integral Crisis Assessment Framework” Discussants: Bjorn Bremer, Maria Kousis, and Lorenzo Zamponi.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:00-10:30** Coffee break

**10:30-12:30 Keynote:** Jeff Goodwin (New York University) “Political Responses to the Great Recession in the United States”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**12:30-14:00** Lunch

**14:00-15:00 Paper presentation:** Martin Portos (European University Institute) “Taking to the squares, taking to the streets in Spain. Individual-level subjective grievances and protesters’ profile in times of hardship: 15-M mobilizations and beyond” Discussants: Jordi Carcia Muniesa,

Luke A. Temple and Jordi Muñoz.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**15:00-16:00 Paper presentation:** Caterina Froio (SciencesPo) and Pietro Castelli (European University Institute) “Dynamics of extreme right mobilization in times of crisis: mapping the repertoire of action of different extreme right organizations in France and Italy” Discussants: Sofia Tipaldou, Javier Auyero and Didier Chabanet

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**16:00-16:30** Coffee Break

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Jordi Garcia Muniesa (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) “Does an increase in perceived income inequality lead to changes in citizens’ attitudes towards redistribution and the Welfare State?” Discussants Eric Turner, Jeff Goodwin and Katrin Uba.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Sarah Cameron (The Australian National University) “Civic Engagement in Times of Economic Crisis” Discussants: Endre Borbath, Luke A Temple and Jordi Muñoz

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

*Wednesday, 8<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:30 Methodological lecture:** Jordi Munoz (University of Barcelona) and Luke A. Temple (Sheffield University) How to study individual responses to the crisis: survey and experimental designs.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:30-11:00** Coffee Break

**11:00-12:30 Methodological lecture:** Jordi Munoz (University of Barcelona) and Luke A. Temple (Sheffield University) How to study individual responses to the crisis: survey and experimental designs.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**12:30-14:00** Lunch

**14:00-16:00 Keynote:** Hanspeter Kriesi (European University Institute) “Mobilizing of protest in the age of austerity”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**16:00-16:30** Coffee Break

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Daniel Bischof (University of Leicester) “Are Parties Responsive to Protest? A Comparative Analysis in 12 Western Democracies” Discussants: Katya Dunajeva, Hanspeter Kriesi and Katrin Uba.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Gemma McNulty (Dublin City University) “Movement matter: The role of social movements in electoral politics in times of crisis” Discussants: Christian Kalbassi, Hanspeter Kriesi and Marco Giugni.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

*Thursday, 9<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:00 Paper presentation:** Endre Borbath (European University Institute) “The influence of economic recession on Romanian electoral behavior” Discussants: Timothy Dzurilla, Marco Giugni, Camillo Cristacho.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:00-11:00 Paper presentation:** Eric Turner (University of New Mexico) “Understanding repression in the Occupy movement” Discussants: Jennifer Dagg, Camillo Cristancho and Donatella Della Porta.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**11:00-11:30** Coffee break

**11:30-12:30 Paper presentation:** Pohl Nicholas (University of Lausanne) “Continuity and change in strike activity during the recent economic crisis: a study of the Spanish case for the period from 2000 to 2013” Discussants: Gemma McNulty, Donatella Della Porta and Christian Lahusen

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**12:30-14:00** Lunch

**14:00-16:00 Keynote:** Donatella Della Porta (Scuola Normale Superiore / European University Institute) “Social Movements in Times of Austerity”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**16:00-16:30** Coffee Break

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Torsten Gaelan (Cambridge University) “David and Goliath:



collective political responses to austerity during the great recession”

Discussants: Sabina Monza, Camillo Cristancho and Marco Giugni.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Roser Rifa Jane (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) “Blame attribution and political trust change in times of crisis. An experimental approach” Discussants: Daniel Bischof, Marco Giugni and Lorenzo Zamponi

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

*Friday, 10<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:30 Methodological lecture:** Lorenzo Bosi (Scuola Normale Superiore) and Christian Lahusen (University of Siegen) How to study collective responses to the crisis: qualitative interviews.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:30-11:00** Coffee Break

**11:00-12:30 Methodological lecture:** Lorenzo Bosi (Scuola Normale Superiore) and Christian Lahusen (University of Siegen) How to study collective responses to the crisis: qualitative interviews.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**12:30-14:00** Lunch

**14:00-16:00 Keynote:** Magda Osman (Queen Mary University of London) “Controlling uncertainty: The psychology of decision-making in complex dynamic real world situations”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

**16:00-16:30** Coffee Break

**16:30-17:30 Paper presentation:** Pedro Esteveao (University Institute of Lisbon) “Social resilience of vulnerable families: the role of the welfare state and social economy” Discussants: Roser Rifa Jane, Magda Osman and Christian Lahusen.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**17:30-18:30 Paper presentation:** Katya Dunajeva (University of Oregon) “Roma in Post-Socialist Hungary: coping during political economic crises” Discussants: Pedro Esteveao, Magda Osman and Caterina Froio.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**20:00-22:30** Social dinner

*Saturday, 11<sup>th</sup> of July*

**9:00-10:00 Paper presentation:** Bjorn Bremer (European University Institute) “The missing left? Understanding left-right politics in Western Europe during the great recession” Discussants: Martin Portos, Marco Giugni, Christian Lahusen.

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**10:00-11:00 Paper presentation:** Sofia Tipaldou (Autonomous University of Barcelona) “The rise of the far right in Western Europe: a grassroots response to the economic crisis?” Discussants: Pietro Castelli, Lorenzo Zamponi and Christian Lahusen

(Room: “Simone del Pollaiolo”)

**11:00-11:30** Coffee break

**11:30-13:00 Keynote:** Marco Giugni (Université de Genève) “Collective responses to the economic crisis and austerity: the return of grievances?”

(Room: Conference hall “l’Altana”)

### **Conference classes**

The meeting rooms are equipped with a laptop and a projector for the presentations. Please let us know in advance if you need to show video/audio materials during your presentation.

### **Internet and wi-fi**

Internet access through wi-fi is included in the Summer School fee. You will find your username and password in the registration package you will receive the first day of the Summer School.

# KEYNOTE LECTURES AND EXPERTS

**Professor Javier Auyero**  
Sunday 5<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-16:00, l'Altana

*In Harm's Way. The meanings and dynamics of violence at the urban margins*

Drawing on more than two years of intensive fieldwork in an Argentine shantytown, this presentation examines the sources, uses, and forms of interpersonal violence among the urban poor. I will argue that physical aggression has become a habitual way of acting in poor and marginalized communities, and that violence is routine and carries across various domains of public and private life. The presentation will trace how different types of violence—be it criminal, drug related, sexual, or domestic—overlap, intersect, and blur together. It will also show how the state is complicit in the production of harm, and describe the routines and relationships that endangered residents, particularly children, establish to cope with and respond to the constant risk that besieges them and their loved ones.

Javier Auyero is the Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long in Latin American Sociology at the University of Texas-Austin. His main areas of research, writing and teaching are urban poverty, political ethnography, and collective violence. He is the author of *Poor People's Politics* (Duke University Press, 2000) [New England Council of Latin American Studies Best Book Award], *Contentious Lives* (Duke University Press, 2003), *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) [Book Award for Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship from the Political Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association], *Patients of the State* (Duke University Press, 2012), and, together with Débora Swistun, *Flammable. Environmental Suffering in an Argentine Shantytown* (Oxford University Press, 2009). *Flammable* received the Charles Tilly Best Book Award from the American Sociological Association (Collective Behavior/Social Movements Section), the Robert E. Park Best Book Award from the American Sociological Association (Urban Sociology/Community Section), the Mirra Komarovsky Best Book Award from the Eastern Sociological Society, and the Best Book Award Association for Humanist Sociology. Javier was the editor of the journal *Qualitative Sociology* from 2005 to 2010. His research has been funded by the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Science Foundation, and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation.

**Professor Maria Kousis**  
Monday 6<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-16:00, L'Altana

*Collective responses to hard economic times in Greece: from Large Protest Events against Troika  
Memoranda and Austerity Policies to Alternative Forms of Resilience*

The presentation aims to address theoretical issues related to two basic strategic approaches through which collective bodies outside the government organized their resources and extended their network and support structures in order to confront unprecedented austerity policies and hard economic times in crisis-stricken Greece, since 2010. It will draw upon, i) a recent data set of the largest protest events in Greece during the current crisis, as well as, ii) a fresh data set of alternative action groups, initiatives and networks in Greece, produced in the context of the LIVEWHAT project. The findings will be discussed in a comparative perspective, highlighting similarities and differences with current and former austerity contexts beyond Greece.

Maria Kousis is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Research and Studies at the University of Crete. She was coordinator or partner in EC projects such as “Grassroots Environmental Action & Sustainable Development in Southern Europe”, TEA, PAGANINI, and MEDVOICES. Publications include 11 edited volumes/books/special issues, and 61 articles/book chapters; e.g. *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective* (co-edited with Charles Tilly; Paradigm, 2005). Her research is focused on Social Change, Contentious Politics, Environmental Politics, Bioethics and Southern Europe. Her current work centers on the socio-economic and political dimensions of the crisis, especially in the context of the GGCRISI, LIVEWHAT and TransSOL projects.

**Professor Jeff Goodwin**  
Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup>, 10:30-12:30, l'Altana

*Political Responses to the Great Recession in the United States*

This presentation examines the consequences of the Great Recession in the U.S. for both institutionalized and noninstitutionalized politics. The key puzzle it examines is why the recession—unlike the Great Depression of the 1930s—failed to shift politics in the U.S. decisively to the left. The recession did initially seem to help the fortunes of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, but a reaction spurred in part by the corporate-sponsored Tea Party movement led to “gridlock” in Washington and attacks on public-sector unions in several states. This led in turn to a popular movement in Wisconsin and the Occupy Wall Street movement, which briefly seemed to herald the birth of a new anti-corporate politics. But the Occupy movement collapsed fairly rapidly and failed to invigorate the trade union movement, despite the fact that some Occupy activists played a role in organizing low-wage workers and agitating for a higher minimum wage. Today, Republicans control both houses of Congress for the first time since the recession, and the labor movement is weaker than at any time since the 1930s.

Jeff Goodwin's research interests include social movements, revolutions, and terrorism. He has conducted research in Central America, the Philippines, South Africa, and Ireland as well as in the United States. He earned his BA (1980, Social Studies), Ma (1983, Sociology), and PhD (1988, Sociology) at Harvard University.

**Professor Hanspeter Kriesi**  
Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-16:00, l'Altana

*Mobilizing of protest in the age of austerity*

The presentation starts from McAdam and Tilly's observation that the inattention to the connection between elections and social movements was a 'serious lacuna' of their Dynamics of Contention and discusses the relationship between the mobilization by parties on the one hand, and social movements on the other hand. Next, it introduces some concepts and theoretical expectations about the mobilization in the electoral and the protest channel in the Great Recession and how they relate to each other, distinguishing between a short-term and a long-term perspective. Third, using the examples of the US, Greece and Spain, it illustrates how these concepts might be used for the empirical analysis, and how the expectations might hold up. The three cases are quite different from each other, but they have in common that the key impact of protest mobilization on the politics of their country has been a transformation of the party system.

Hanspeter Kriesi holds the Stein Rokkan Chair in Comparative Politics at the European University Institute in Florence. Previously, he has been teaching at the universities of Amsterdam, Geneva and Zurich. He was the director of a Swiss national research program on the “Challenges to democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” from 2005-2012.

**Professor Donatella Della Porta**  
Thursday 9<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-16:00, l'Altana

*Social Movements in Times of Austerity*

Recent years have seen an enormous increase in protests across the world in which citizens have challenged what they see as a deterioration of democratic institutions and the very civil, political and social rights that form the basis of democratic life. Beginning with Iceland in 2008, and then forcefully in Egypt, Tunisia, Spain, Greece and Portugal, or more recently in Peru, Brazil, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Ukraine, people have taken to the streets against what they perceive as a rampant and dangerous corruption of democracy, with a distinct focus on inequality and suffering. This paper addresses the anti-austerity social movements of which these protests form part, mobilizing in the context of a crisis of neoliberalism. It shows that, in order to understand their main facets in terms of social basis, strategy, and identity and organizational structures, we should look at the specific characteristics of the socioeconomic, cultural and political context in which they developed.

Professor della Porta has worked on social movements, civil society, policing, political parties, political corruption, and methodology of the social sciences. She has published 72 books, including monographs and edited volumes; 113 articles in scientific journals; and 101 contributions to edited volumes. She has also authored nine reports for major institutions (including the European Commission and the United Nations). Her work has appeared in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Slovenian, Catalan, Finnish, and Polish. She is co-editor of a major international journal and a member of another 23 editorial boards of journals and foundations. She has supervised 66 PhD students, 34 of whom have successfully defended their theses, as well as 24 post-doctoral fellows. She has organized ten conferences and participated as an invited speaker in 90. She is the recipient of the Mattei Dogan Prize for Political Sociology and of a PhD Honoris Causa from the University of Lausanne.

**Dr. Magda Osman**  
**Friday 10<sup>th</sup>, 14:00-16:00, l'Altana**

*Controlling uncertainty: The psychology of decision-making in complex dynamic real world situations*

Many of our day to day decision making concerns situations which are highly uncertain, and often dynamic. That is, we have to make multiple repeated decisions in which what we do will effect events around us, and in turn the events around us will change regardless of what we do. This means that we face uncertainty with regards to the effectiveness of our decisions, and the extent to which we can control events around us. The focus of this talk is to present insights from psychological evidence when making decisions in dynamic contexts, the way this type of decision-making is studied in the lab, and the key theoretical claims concerning the mechanisms that underpin dynamic decision-making under extreme uncertainty.

Dr Magda Osman is head of the Dynamic learning and Decision making lab ([www.magdaosman.co.uk](http://www.magdaosman.co.uk)) in which the main focus of research is examining the processes that underpin the way we make decision, learn, reason and problem solve in situations of uncertainty. She is currently a Senior Lecturer in Experimental Psychology at Queen Mary University of London, and an honorary research fellow at University College London. She is an associate editor of Experimental psychology, and Plos One, and has sat on several funding panels. She has also published two books (Controlling Uncertainty, Future-minded), an edited a volume 'New approaches in reasoning research', and over 50 research articles on subjects that range from control, agency, behavioral economics, morality, learning, decision-making, unconscious processing, priming, reasoning and problem solving.



**Professor Marco Giugni**  
Saturday 11<sup>th</sup>, 11:30-13:00, l'Altana

*Collective responses to the economic crisis and austerity: the return of grievances?*

This paper addresses the relationship between economic crisis, austerity policies, and the collective mobilizations in the public domain. We are interested in assessing the extent to which organized citizens respond to the crisis as well as to austerity policies. Theoretically, we engage in the debate about the role of grievances for social movements and protest behavior. Has the economic crisis brought grievances back into social movement theory? More generally, are grievances more important than both resource mobilization theory and political opportunity theory have assumed? Empirically, the analysis is based on a random sample of political claims in nine countries (Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland covering 10 years (2005-2014). These countries have been affected differently by the economic crisis and differ also to some extent with regard to the political responses in terms of austerity policies implemented by the respective governments. Political claims include both verbal statements and protest actions. This allows us to measure how different collective actors have responded to the economic crisis and austerity as well as how such responses vary across countries. In addition, we use a number of aggregate levels indicators allowing us to measure the extent of the crisis as well as variations in the policy responses to the crisis. These indicators will then be related to the protest and claims data in order to examine if and how grievances help explain both the form and content of protest as well as variations across countries.

Marco Giugni Marco Giugni ([marco.giugni@unige.ch](mailto:marco.giugni@unige.ch)) is the principal investigator of the Swiss team and the Coordinator of the LIVEWHAT project. He is a Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations and Director of the [Institute of Citizenship Studies \(InCite\)](#) at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. His research interests focus on social movements and protest, but he has also published widely on social exclusion and the participation of disadvantaged and discriminated groups such as the unemployed and immigrants. He has participated and coordinated numerous research projects, funded by the Swiss national funding agency and the European Commission, including the Swiss case of the Caught in the Act of Protest research project, see: [www.protestsurvey.eu](http://www.protestsurvey.eu). Publications include 9 books, 10 edited collections, and more than 100 journal articles and book chapters. His books were published, among others, by Ashgate, Palgrave, Rowman & Littlefield, and the University of Minnesota Press. In addition, he has edited or co-edited a number of special issues for scholarly journals such as Swiss Journal of Sociology (editor, 2004), Mobilization (editor, 2008), Revue Suisse de Travail Social (editor, 2011), Ethnicities (co-editor, 2013), International Journal of Social Welfare (co-editor, 2013). He is also European Editor of Mobilization, a leading international journal focusing on social movements and protest and as such has a wealth of practical experience in publishing and editing.

# LESSONS AND TEACHERS

How to study collective responses to the crisis: protest event and  
political claim analysis.

Monday 6<sup>th</sup>, 9-12:30, Simone del Pollaiuolo

Manlio Cinalli and Katrin Uba

## READINGS

Accornero, G. and P. R. Pinto. 2014. "‘Mild Mannered’? Protest and Mobilisation in Portugal under Austerity, 2010–2013." *West European Politics*: 1-25.

Cinalli, M. and M. Giugni. 2013. "Political opportunities, citizenship models and political claim-making over Islam." *Ethnicities* 13(2): 147-164.

Earl, J., A. Martin, J. D. McCarthy and S. Soule. 2004. "The use of newspaper data in the study of collective action." *Annual Review of Sociology*: 65-80.

Koopmans, R. and D. Rucht. 2002. "Protest event analysis". In: B. Klandermans and S. Staggenborg (eds), *Methods of Social Movement Research*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. 231-59.

Koopmans, R. and P. Statham. 1999. "Political claims analysis: integrating protest event and political discourse approaches". *Mobilization: an international quarterly* 4(2): 203-221.

Manlio Cinalli is Research Director at Sciences Po (CEVIPOF) and principal investigator of the Italian team in LIVEWHAT. He also worked at the University of Geneva, Columbia University, the University of Oxford, and the University of Leeds. He was Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute and holds a PhD in Political Science from the Queen’s University of Belfast. Drawing upon comparative and multi-methods research, his publications include work on comparative political behaviour, the politics of ethnic relations and integration, citizenship, exclusion, network analysis, unemployment, welfare and multi-level public policies. He has delivered scholarly work under a number of large comparative projects such as UNEMPOL (EU FP5), ASYPOL (UK ESRC), DELIBNET (British Academia), LOCALMULTIDEM (EU FP6), YOUNEX (EU FP7) and EURISLAM (EU FP7). He is currently directing the French projects for LIVEWHAT (EU FP7) and PATHWAYS (ORA ANR) as well as the Network for Citizenships Studies (together with Marco Giugni).

Katrin Uba is the principal investigator of the Swedish team. She received her Ph.D. in political science in 2007 from Uppsala University. Her thesis examined the impact of anti-privatization protests on privatization policies in developing countries. Her post-doctoral research has focused on the

formulation of renewable energy policies in the EU (Sweden, Spain) and the mobilisation of protests against the EU-policies in the EU member-states. Results of these projects have been published in international peer-reviewed journals. Currently, she is finalizing a project that examines how protests against school-closures affect the attitudes of the political elites, as well as the decisions about the school-closures in Sweden; and she is also in charge of a large project for setting up a Swedish Protest Database 1980-2011.

How to study individual responses to the crisis: survey and experimental designs.  
Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup>, 9-12:30, Simone del Pollaiolo

Jordi Munoz and Luke A. Temple

## READINGS

Chong, A., O. De La, L. Ana, D. Karlan, and L. Wantchekon. 2011. *Looking beyond the incumbent: The effects of exposing corruption on electoral outcomes* (No. w17679). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Esarey, J., T. Salmon and C. Barrilleaux. 2011. "Social insurance and income redistribution in a laboratory experiment." *Political Research Quarterly*.

Gosling, S. D., S. Vazire, S. Srivastava and O. P. John. 2004. "Should we trust web-based studies? A comparative analysis of six preconceptions about internet questionnaires." *The American Psychologist*, 59(2): 93–104

Clark, T. and A. Heath. *Hard Times* (particularly chapter 5 "Anxious individuals, unhappy homes").....

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Jordi Muñoz is a 'Juan de la Cierva' postdoctoral researcher at the Political Science department of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona since september 2009. He works at the research group "Democracy, elections and citizenship". He got his PhD in political science from the Political and Social Science department, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, where he was a teaching assistant and lecturer until 2009. He has also been at the University of Gothenburg as a visiting scholar (2012), at Yale University as a visiting assistant in research (2007-08) thanks to a fellowship from 'Obra Social la Caixa' and at the Essex Summer School on Social Science Data Analysis and Collection, where he was a teaching assistant in 2005. His research interests are mainly related to the empirical study of political attitudes and preferences. Currently his research is concentrated on the mechanisms that explain the low levels of electoral punishment of corruption, as well as on the consequences of the economic crisis on political involvement and attitudes. His dissertation explored the political determinants and mechanisms of change in Spanish national identity since the transition to democracy. He teaches electoral analysis at the undergraduate level, as well as quantitative research techniques at the masters level. He has also taught at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (2003-2009) and at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals.

Luke Temple is employed as the Research Assistant for the UK team and is a member of staff of the Department of Politics. He holds a BA in Politics and Geography (First Class Honours, 2008) and received funding to complete an MSc in Social and Spatial Inequalities (Distinction, 2010) from the Department of Geography, University of Sheffield. In 2010 he was awarded an ESRC +3 Studentship Award to undertake his PhD, which is planned for completion in June 2014. The thesis takes a multinational comparative approach to examine how ordinary citizens understand the concept of

democracy and uses the World Values Survey and multi-level regression techniques, undertaken in STATA. Luke's interests lie in comparative politics, democratization, political participation and quantitative methods. During his PhD candidacy he has completed an ESRC-funded internship at the Scottish Government in the Strategic Research team, and a 6-month position as a Teaching Associate in Quantitative Human Geography. He is co-ordinator of the Policy, Governance and Place Research Group in the Department of Geography.

How to study collective responses to the crisis: qualitative interviews.  
Monday 6<sup>th</sup>, 9-12:30, Simone del Pollaiuolo

Lorenzo Bosi and Christian Lahusen

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Lorenzo Bosi is Assistant Professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS). From December 2013 he is research leader for the Italian part of the project "Living with Hard Times: Economic Crisis, Policy Responses, and Citizens Resilience in Europe" (LIVEWHAT, funded under the EU FP7). He holds a B. A. (2000) and a Ph.D. (2005) respectively from the Faculty of Political Science at the Università degli Studi di Bologna and from the School of Politics and International Relations at Queen's University, Belfast. His academic work earned him three very prestigious successive international postdoctoral fellowships in social science and sociology departments, one at the University of Kent (ESRC) and two at the European University Institute (Jean Monnet and Marie Curie). Dr Bosi's main research interests are in political sociology and historical sociology. His academic work deals primarily with qualitative research of social movements and political violence. He has published in international peer-reviewed scientific journals and articles in books. His publications include over 40 articles and chapters, 1 monograph, 4 co-edited books and 4 special issues in peer-reviewed scientific journals. He is chair of the standing group on Political Violence of the European Consortium of Political Research.

Professor Christian Lahusen is the principal investigator of the German team. He holds a Chair of Sociology at the Faculty of Arts. He studied in Düsseldorf and Madrid, received his PhD from the European University Institute (Florence), and received his habilitation from the University of Bamberg. His research interests include political sociology, European studies, labor markets and social exclusion. He has directed and participated in a number of national and international research projects on topics relating to contentious politics, civil society and social exclusion, most of them with a European and comparative perspective. His research has been funded by the German Research Council, the German

Academic Exchange Program, the Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society, and the Ministry for Science and Education of North-Rhine Westphalia, among others. He was responsible for the German case study in the UNEMPOL project (EU FP5) and the YOUNEX project (EU FP7), and participated in the management committee. Publications include 12 books and edited collections, and more than 70 articles and book chapters.

# LISTS OF PARTICIPANTS



## DANIEL BISCHOF

Daniel Bischof is a PhD candidate at the University of Leicester, undertaking his PhD studies within Laura Morales' ResponsiveGov project. From December 2014 to June 2015 he was a visitor at UC San Diego, where he worked together with Kaare Strøm. Currently he is writing up his PhD thesis which investigates how protest and public opinion affect party rhetoric in comparative perspective. Before joining the University of Leicester, he graduated in political science from the university of Bamberg. He is broadly interested in comparative politics. His work scrutinizes questions of political representation, political parties, protest, repression and quantitative methods. He has published with Thomas Saalfeld in Parliamentary Affairs and has several working papers under review.



### *Do Parties Adapt To Protest? The Impact of Protest on Issue Salience in Party Manifestos*

Previous research on political responsiveness is largely constrained to the link between public opinion on the one side and politics and policies on the other side (Adams et al. 2006; Wlezien 1995; Miller and Stokes 1963). Yet, the public does not only share its preferences on policy making via surveys, but also by taking to the streets. In the last decade social science has started to pay more attention to the effect of protests on policy making. Research shows that protests play a crucial role as an resource of information for parties' policy making efforts (Agnone 2007; Amenta et al. 2010; Giugni 2004, 2007; Soule and Olzak 2004). Yet, studies directly seeking to analyze how protest affects debates in the political arena are scarce (but see: Walgrave and Vliegthart 2012; Koopmans and Statham 1999). Thus, the means and reasons of how and when parties represent publicly expressed demands brought up in demonstrations are yet to be discovered.

The paper attempts to address this gap by examine the impact of protest and public opinion on party manifestos. Investigating a period of recession, high unemployment, excessive political reforms and social change throughout Advanced Western democracies (1980 - 1995), the paper scrutinizes the capability of protest to influence party competition. I argue that especially parties located at the periphery of party systems during the early 1980s not only profited from popular upheaval, but understood protest as means to shape the political agenda beneficial for their policy-seeking goals. In contrast, governmental parties and parties with extended office experience were reluctant to adapt their manifestos towards protesters' claims in an effort to ensure their vote-seeking goals. Combining data of party manifestos (MARPOR), protest event data (European Protest & Coercion Data) and public opinion data (Eurobarometer), I run several time-series-cross-sectional models to test my analytical framework across more than 50 elections in 18 Advanced Democracies.

## ENDRE BORBÁTH



Endre Borbáth is currently a PhD student at the European University Institute and member of the “Political Conflict in Europe in the Shadow of the Great Recession” (POLCON) research team. He graduated from the Political Science MA program of the Central European University with a certificate in electoral politics. He earned his BA in political science and philosophy from the Babes-Bolyai University in Romania.

In his doctoral studies at the EUI and in the framework of the POLCON project, Endre Borbáth proposes to study the changes induced by the Great Recession on the party systems of Central and Eastern Europe. His focus is on the extent to which the economic crisis is related to the political crisis and on the extent to which it had different consequences for the political left

and right. His research interests include parties and party systems, voting behavior, post-communist studies, and political economy.

### *Romanian Electoral Behavior in the Shadow of the Great Recession*

One of the challenges in tracing the electoral consequences of the Great Recession in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is linked to the general political instability in the region.

There is an emerging scholarly consensus on the far less-institutionalized nature of the CEE party systems, which are seen to be linked to a highly volatile electorate. In addition to the general volatility of both the supply and the demand sides of politics, in several cases the economic recession coincide with a wider political crisis. Therefore, the effects of the Great Recession on CEE politics remain a puzzle as in many cases the political crisis took the blame for what might have been the consequence of the unprecedented economic downturn.

Due to high political volatility, the application of the theory of economic voting in the context of CEE is contested. Although, economic voting constitutes the principle theoretical framework on which the field of voting behavior relies in order to assess the impact of economic fluctuations, it assumes a clear chain of accountability of incumbent governments. The theory of economic voting predicts a positive correlation between the vote share of incumbent governments and voters perception of the state of the economy. In case the electorate is satisfied with the performance of the economy they reward the incumbent government, while in the opposite scenario they are expected to use the elections to "throw the rascals out".

In order to disentangle the effects of the economic and the political crises and to test the theory of economic voting, the current paper relies on the analysis of the typical case of the 2012 Romanian parliamentary elections. These elections are particularly interesting for two reasons. On the one hand, it illustrates the dynamic in a context of blurred incumbency: although by the time of the elections, as a result of a successful motion of no confidence, the new Social-Liberal government has been in office for seven months, the elections were the first time the electorate could voice their disapproval with the austerity policies of the previous center-right government. On the other hand, during their seven months in office, the new government initiated the impeachment of the incumbent president (a champion of the previous austerity policies), which – although eventually failed to materialize – resulted in a quasi political crisis.

Therefore, these elections provide the optimal context to examine the theory of economic voting coupled with the role of political crisis for the electoral consequences of the Great Recession. From a theoretical perspective, the paper aims to add to the literature on economic voting by challenging the direct link between the state of the economy and the vote share of incumbent parties and by introducing the concept of blurred incumbency. The Romanian case shows the extent to which a government in office can avoid taking the blame for the recession by channeling economic grievances into wider discontent with political representation. One important individual level variable which potentially explain which parties voters' decide to punish and on what basis (to what extent they rely on instrumental rationality to vote on the basis of economic performance) is factual political knowledge. The current paper examines the panel survey data of the 2012 Romanian Parliamentary Election Studies to assess the above mechanism and estimate the extent to which the Great Recession affected the Romanian electorate's decision who to vote for.

## **BJORN BREMER**

Björn Bremer is currently a doctoral researcher in the POLCON ERC Advanced Grant at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. His doctoral research focuses on the response of social democratic parties to the Great Recession and attempts to explain the acceptance of austerity by these parties.

He obtained his Bachelor in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) from the University of Oxford. Afterwards he pursued a Master's degree in International Relations and International Economics at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at the Johns Hopkins University. For his Master's, he concentrated in European Studies and worked towards a specialisation in Economic Theory and Quantitative Methods. His main research interests include comparative politics, political economy, the politics of economic crises and financial markets, political parties, and public opinion.



### *The Missing Left? Understanding Left-Right Politics in Western Europe during the Great Recession*

Contrary to prior expectations, the Great Recession has also caused a crisis of social democracy. After a brief period of ‘emergency Keynesianism’ in the immediate aftermath of the financial crisis in 2008, social democratic parties have accepted austerity as the dogma of the day since 2010. Despite their electoral weakness across most of Europe, these parties have proposed and implemented macroeconomic policies that are contrary to the general ideology of social democracy. To understand this puzzling response, this paper attempts to theorise about the mobilisation potentials of social democratic parties in Western Europe. It will argue that the nature of domestic economic conflict has fundamentally changed in Western Europe. The traditional left-right cleavage, built around a conflict between labour and capital, had already lost salience before the Great Recession due to socio-economic changes and the building of the welfare state in Europe. Instead, the rise of ‘finance capitalism’ has created a new and more diffuse cleavage between creditor and debtors.

Traditional left-wing parties are not equipped to politicise this conflict domestically because their natural electoral coalition is split in, at least, “two lefts” (Lipset 1980), who have diverging interests in the financial system. To the extent that their constituency is dominated by socio-cultural professionals, who have an interest in the existing financial systems due to their mortgages, savings and investments, they represent the interest of creditors over debtors and favour austerity over traditional Keynesian demand management policies.

## SARAH CAMERON



Sarah Cameron is a PhD Candidate in Political Science at the Australian National University. In 2015 she is based at Harvard University as a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Government. Sarah's dissertation investigates the impact of the Global Financial Crisis on political behaviour and values. With data from the World Values Survey and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, her research explores how the recent economic crisis has affected trends in voting behavior, civic engagement, political protest, and democratic support, in a comparative study of 15 countries. Sarah also works on electoral politics in Australia and is the co-author of Trends in Australian Political Opinion: Results from the Australian

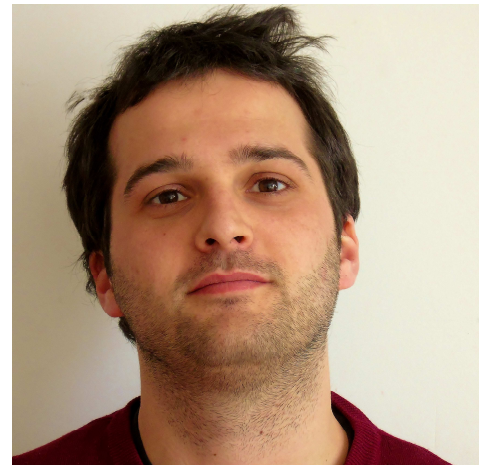
Election Study, 1987-2013. Sarah has Master's degrees from Ashridge Business School and the Australian National University.

### *Civic Engagement in Times of Economic Crisis*

The recent global financial crisis, or great recession, is widely considered the greatest economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930s. This provides a unique opportunity to examine citizens' political responses to a major financial crisis. In this paper I investigate how the financial crisis has affected civic engagement, including participation in labour unions, environmental groups, political parties, and other civic groups. I test two competing hypotheses about how citizens might respond to economic downturn. A mobilization hypothesis suggests that as dissatisfaction increases more citizens are mobilised to participate in civic organisations. Alternatively, a retreat hypothesis suggests that as people turn their focus to meeting material needs, the time and resources available for civic activity decreases, leading to a drop in participation. Recent research investigating the impact of the financial crisis on other areas of political participation, such as voting, lends more support for the retreat hypothesis. This paper tests another dimension of participation, looking at the impact of the crisis on civic engagement. I investigate this question in cross-national comparative perspective, with World Values Survey data from before and after the crisis in 15 countries.

## PIETRO CASTELLI GATTINARA

Pietro Castelli Gattinara is research associate at the Centre for Social Movement Studies (COSMOS) at the European University Institute. He is currently involved in a comparative research project on the Charlie Hebdo attacks, focusing on deliberation and polarization processes in the public sphere after critical junctures. His interest lies especially in the politics of immigration, political communication and extreme right mobilization. In 2014, he obtained his PhD at the European University Institute, with a dissertation on the framing of immigration debates in Italy. Earlier that year, he had joined the department of Politics of the University of Leicester, where he was working on governmental responsiveness to public opinion and protest (ResponsiveGov project), and on the political participation of migrants (Localmultidem). In the previous years he was teaching fellow of comparative and European politics at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris. Since 2012, he is coordinating a mixed-methods research project on extreme-right and neo-Fascist social movements in Italy and France. His most recent publications on this subject are: "Discourse and Practice of Violence in the Italian Extreme Right: Frames, Symbols, and Identity-Building in CasaPound Italia" (with Caterina Froio). *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 8(1), 2014, pp. 155-170; and "The appeal of Neo-Fascism in times of crisis: the experience of CasaPound Italia" (with Caterina Froio and Matteo Albanese). *Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies*, N. 2, 2013, Vol.2, pp. 234-258.



### *The conditional agenda-setting power of the extreme right: protest and media logics in Italian and French right-wing movements*

Although researchers on extreme right politics focus overwhelmingly on political parties, social movement research has recently started analysing the street mobilization and protest activities of extreme right groups. On the one hand, this helped acknowledging that the extreme right is much less of a united family than traditionally assumed, recognizing that this milieu is populated by numerous, more or less influential, actors and groupuscular organizations which do not necessarily consider electoral politics their primary arena for contention. On the other, the uncovering of the 'social movement' dimension of the extreme right responds to the increasing openness of radical right parties towards contentious and street-based mobilization. The extreme right arena in Europe seems today increasingly oriented towards protest politics, so that groupuscular organizations of this area have the opportunity of becoming strategic partners of more institutionalized parties in their political, cultural and identity projects. This paper investigates the agenda setting potential of extreme right organizations, focusing on their media attractiveness as the main element contributing to the development of strategic alliances between them and extreme right parties.

To this goal, we introduce the concept of 'protest agendas' of far right social movements, e.g. the protest actions that organizations report on their online archives. We then compare this with the coverage of these groups' activities on national quality newspapers, investigating the conditions under which the protest agenda of the far-right achieves media visibility. We focus on two countries characterized by different opportunity structures for far right movements with respect to the possibility of finding institutional allies: France and Italy. For Italy, we consider CasaPound Italia which has recently signed an electoral alliance with the ethnocentric populist party Lega Nord. For France, we

consider the Bloc Identitaire, which is the main grassroots organization excluded from Marine Le Pen's network of actors, parties and personalities of the Rassemblement Bleu Marine. Using data from content analyses of news media coverage and press releases and public statements promoted by the two groups, this paper considers the visibility of extreme right movements in the media as dependent variables and investigates the factors that influence their presence in mainstream media and the frequency by which journalists pick up on their activities.

By reconstructing the political history of the two movements throughout Europe's democratic and economic crisis, the paper sheds a light on the increasing attractiveness of groupuscular extreme-right movements for the mass media. We illustrate that the agenda power of far right movements is related to the type of issue over which these actors mobilize, the resonance of these issues in broader national debates, and the repertoires of protest actions employed. Hence, our results indicate that extreme right actors are well aware of the logics of news value and newsworthiness, suggesting that the outsized exposure of extreme right social movements in the mass media is not only related to the resonance of their issue priorities with media agendas, but also to the strategic construction of protest agendas to address specific issue fields and grievances.



## CARLOTTA CACIAGLI



I am Carlotta Caciagli, a second year PhD student at the Sns. I hold a BA and a MA in Philosophy at the University of Pisa. In 2012 I spent 6 months in Paris collaborating with the interdisciplinary research group 'Sophiapol' of University Paris X-Nanterre. Actually I'm working, under the supervision of professor Donatella Della Porta, on the practices of resistance enacted by the current urban social movements in the neighbourhoods of Paris and Rome.

*Performing the "Right to the city" through the "Free Spaces".  
Practices of Resistance in Urban Social Movements*

Over the last twenty years the process of globalisation and interurban competition radically transformed cities, modifying public space, services and opportunities. The hegemonic trend in urban restructuring, based on profit-oriented changes and on neoliberal individualistic ideas, has been heavily criticised by grassroots organisations in different cities in Europe and in recent times of crisis. While dealing with particularly located struggles, on a transversal level, urban social movements enact the urgency to give the community decisional power reclaiming also a different spatiality of the urban fabric. Against the dominant way of experiencing the city, urban social movements are dealing with social actors' participation in the urbanisation processes, namely, what LeFebvre (1996) termed the "right to the city".

My PhD research inquires into different practices of resistance performed by urban social movements, in the post-crisis period, in their reclaiming the "right to the city". In particular, my project focuses on the practices of resistance that current urban movements enact creating "free spaces" (Polletta: 1999) inside the controlled and hegemonic urban fabric. The challenge of distribution and reproduction of the space results to be the main goal of urban movements but also the condition that shapes their features. The first descriptive part of the work wants to provide an inventory of the main actors and contents of the contemporaneous battles active in urban challenges. The second and explanatory one aims to investigate the link between these performances and the socio-spatial configuration of the environment in which they take place. My research will be conducted at the neighbourhood level of two European cities: Paris and Rome. Approaching these phenomena with an interdisciplinary perspective, I use different methods for this cross-national and in-depth analysis. Regarding the methods in use, I will combine "content analysis" with "protest event analysis", "network analysis" and "structured and semi structured interviews". I will also explore the potentialities of the new "geo-spatial analysis".

Keywords: Resistance, Urban Social Movements, Space, Right to the City



## JENNIFER DAGG



Jennifer Dagg is postdoctoral researcher for FP7 “RESCuE: Patterns of resilience during socioeconomic crises amongst households in Europe” at Maynooth University, Ireland. The Irish team are in charge of the biographical and longitudinal aspects of resilience within the project. Her research to date has primarily focused on the dynamics and operativity of power relations within social structures, with particular interest in agency. Her doctoral research examined the role of power in the refugee recognition process in Ireland, developing a critical examination that combined an analytics of government with performativity. Her specific research interests include power, governmentality, subjectification, ontology, performativity, along with interpretative and qualitative methods. More broadly, she is interested in social/sociological theory, political sociology, visual sociology, sociology and politics of Ireland.

### *Longitudinal and biographical aspects of resilience*

This paper argues that the life course perspective in sociology provides many of the conceptual and analytical tools necessary for understanding resilience as a process that develops within and across multiple levels of analysis, including individuals, households and communities. Resilience is both processual and developmental (in the sense of being cumulative across individual lives and generations).

Developing a life course perspective on resilience is essential at the present juncture, because it is already clear that the crisis has varying consequences for individuals at different stages of the life course. For example, young adults have suffered disproportionately in terms of access to the labour market, and these experiences are likely to have consequences for society into the future as this cohort grows older (Blanchflower etc.). It will be important to identify the factors that may give rise to resilience amongst them. On the other hand, individuals and their families may vary in their capacity for resilience in the present according to how they experienced different life-stages and transitions in earlier periods. Understanding these processes also requires an appreciation of how individuals and families move through time in interaction with personal communities and social institutions. This paper will provide an overview of what we know about longitudinal and biographical aspects of resilience from existing scholarship, and identify how the life course approach enhances our understanding and provides tools for further analysis. It will also identify some of the challenges associated with adopting a life course perspective, specifically in relation to linking longitudinal processes that operate at different levels of analysis (such as individual and household levels).

## KATYA DUNAJEVA

Katya received her PhD from the University of Oregon, department of Political Science in September 2014. Her dissertation examined Roma identity formation in Hungary and Russia, and built on extensive fieldwork in both countries. Currently, Katya teaches at Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest, Hungary. While Katya is actively engaged in scholarly pursuits, she firmly believes in bridging academia with public policy; she served for two years on Open Society Foundation Youth Initiative's Advisory Board and currently works as a political analyst at Political Capital – Policy Research and Consulting Institute.



### *Negotiating Identity and Belonging: Roma in Hungary during Political and Economic Crises*

Nationhood and belonging are rooted in dominant political ideologies. Times of political and economic crises or upheavals, consequently, are critical junctures that allow reconceptualization of nationhood, redefining who belongs and who does not. Those who don't, are the scapegoats, marginalized, or excluded groups. Academic scholarship lacks a robust examination of collective response from such groups and assessment of changing social dynamics during these times. In addition, today there are powerful non-state institutions, which often recognize and join the struggle of the powerless, altering the institutional and political landscape in the given country. This paper considers the case of Roma in Hungary, whose struggle evolves in this very context. I distinguish two consecutive phases of economic and political upheavals in Hungary: regime change and the latest economic crisis that hit Europe (c. 2008). I argue that the time of regime change broadened the political arena to give space to (1) resurgence of nationalism, that manifested in support for far-right parties (i.e., Jobbik) whose political rhetoric is based on scapegoating and vilifying Roma; (2) non-state and EU-level organizations that joined the fight of Roma to offset the consequences of Roma exclusion, and empowered by European ideals of citizenship and belonging, strive to create a proud Roma nation as an integral part of the European community. Both sides maintain a different conceptualization of belonging and citizenship, and the ideological struggle intensified with the latest economic recession. In the context of these changes, building on a theoretical framework of Roma identity-formation and sense of belonging, I examine new coping mechanisms and adaptation to the challenging economic climate, as well as the accompanying social changes, especially the relationship of Roma with non-Roma, in-group solidarity, and allegiance with the state. Based on fieldwork data collected in 2012-13, my paper advances the following argument: while the intolerant political rhetoric promotes a negative image of Roma ("bad Gypsies" discourse), portraying them as "undeserved favorites" benefitting from scarce economic assistance at a time of recession, non-state actors attempt to empower Roma and solidify a cohesive, politically mobilized nation ("good Roma" discourse). As a consequence of this discrepancy and the resulting crisis of identity and belonging, I assess how Roma change their coping mechanisms to the new wave of hostility, directly related to economic recession and political turmoil. I pay special attention to potential changes in Roma identity and in-group coherence, and (re)definition of citizenship and belonging as a result of economic and political crises in the country.

## TIMOTHY DZURILLA



I am currently a PhD candidate researching post-conflict economic development strategies. This builds on over ten years of development work using engaged-research practices and community-based development from Medellin, Colombia to Chiapas, Mexico to Worcester, MA.

I try to incorporate these same democratic practices into my teaching and believe my job is to facilitate learning and skill-building rather than 'profess' information. This has led to a lot of awkward moments in the classroom as my students and I try to reimagine our roles.

My objective is to democratize processes of development and learning to better enable diverse groups of participants to collaboratively address the complex challenges of the 21st century.

### *Informal Security Regimes: Post-Crisis Formation of Transnational Fair Trade Networks in Nicaragua and East Timor*

This paper outlines an analytical framework which measures the social and economic development outcomes of Fair Trade organizations in two post-conflict nations and attempts to explain variation in outcomes through a comparative analysis of the historical development of transnational Fair Trade networks. In both Nicaragua and East Timor, Fair Trade cooperatives were established as ways for local and international partners to deal with economic and political crises. By examining the impact of Fair Trade on producer organizations at the national and regional levels, I aim to show how early efforts by transnational NGO networks and local citizens to address economic and political crises lead to long-term socio-economic institutions.

Economic and political crises provide critical junctures during which transnational advocacy and trade networks (re)form to address perceived structural and institutional failures. During these crises, civil society makes moves to create policy protections against the exploitative nature of unfettered capitalism to create semi-rigid political economic institutions (Polanyi 1957). Networks of local, national, and international organizations form to provide the social and economic protections for citizens where the state and formal markets have failed. Increasingly, activists, policy-makers, and entrepreneurs are turning to the development of social and solidarity economies as a means of addressing economic crises. The implementation of these economic innovations during times of crisis do not produce uniform outcomes and have lasting impact on long-term political and economic development. Scholars have used the comparative approach to explain different “world's of capitalism” (Esping-Anderson 1990) and ways social security and welfare cluster into classifiable regime types.

Understanding the provision of social protections in weak or failed states requires theoretical models which incorporate local and international actors working with and/or parallel to the state. Gough and Wood (2004) propose a framework for informal security regimes in which social security is dependent upon non-governmental, community, and family institutions incorporating a multilayered understanding of social welfare and human security. They argue these regimes include both domestic and international actors within state, market, community, and family institutions that together form a security matrix. This social arrangement requires a focus on meso-level institutions through which poor

people relate to larger institutions.

My analysis draws on the framework set forth by Gough and Wood through a two-phase approach whereby I first classify Fair Trade Organizations into these four categories by placing them within a two-dimensional square. One dimension represents the centrality of organizational decision-making/production. The second dimension represents access and distribution of organizational goods and services. These four types embody four distinct value-systems. For the second phase of the analysis, I use discrete measures to evaluate some of these outcomes including social welfare provision, production capacities, and member perceptions of 'fair trade' and 'producer influence on policy'. I demonstrate that 1) post-crisis networks form into regimes with particular political and economic trajectories which become somewhat fixed; and 2) social and economic outcomes of each type of regime cluster within unique types. I conclude that the characteristics of the international network have a more significant impact on the local-term socio-economic outcomes of an organization rather than the stated missions of local groups.

## PEDRO ESTEVAO

Pedro Estêvão was born in 1975 in Lisbon, Portugal. He has a degree in Sociology and two post-graduations in Statistics, as well as professional training in mediation and conflict resolution. He has worked as assistant researcher on various projects on education, the diffusion of the Portuguese language in the world and on poverty and economic crisis. Pedro published a book chapter on the heuristics of decision of football referees and co-authored articles on early school leaving and on the role of national stereotypes in the legitimization of austerity policies. He is currently developing his PhD project on the role of the Welfare State and Social Economy in the responses of families to economic crisis. His research interests include economic sociology, sociology of labour and poverty and social inequalities.



### *Social resilience of vulnerable families: the role of the Welfare State and Social Economy*

The combined effects of economic recession in the aftermath of 2007-8 global financial crisis and the adoption of austerity policies in Europe after 2010 had a profound impact on peripheral countries such as Portugal and Ireland, leading to significant drops in household income and increasing vulnerability. Even in countries where economic recovery was faster, like Germany, trends of rising inequality in income distribution and increasing poverty levels have long been detected and are being compounded by long-term slow economic growth prospects. This situation is concomitant with a trend for structural weakening of wage labour, stemming from: (i) the transition to a neo-Hayekian political economy of democratic capitalism where the crucial welfare state functions of redistribution and regulation of labour relations are severely curtailed and (ii) the ensuing increase in disparity between growing capital returns and decreasing economic growth levels in Europe. Studies pointing to the consequences of the crisis for households have been mainly based on extensive methods and are often restricted to a single country. Work with qualitative data on how households cope with the effects of crisis is very scarce as is the study of different configurations of welfare state and social economy institutions in those efforts – and even more so on a comparative perspective. Suppression of this gap is paramount given the stressing by political and media discourses on the role of and voluntarism and self-reliance as a means for individuals and households to address economic adversity.

The concept of resilience will thus be of central importance in the project. Resilience will be understood here as a process of active reconstruction of the ways of life in which traditional and newly vulnerable families engage when faced with continuous and systematic external stresses. This process comprises two major dimensions: mobilization and use of social and natural resources; and transferring of risks and vulnerabilities to other social actors and to the social and natural environment. Resilience processes are a feature of social structures, being strongly affected by phenomena such as inequality in access to material and symbolic resources or the dimension of social networks in which agents are involved. Crucially, this article will explore the role of two elements that have been so far neglected on studies on resilience: the welfare state; and social economy institutional fabric. The assessment of these elements and their interplay will be made through the analysis of qualitative data on vulnerable

families in Germany, Ireland and Portugal, which were gathered for the Patterns of Resilience during Socio-Economic Crisis among Households in Europe (RESCuE) project. Materials analysed include non-participant observation notes, semi-directive interviews of a sample and photographic material produced by the interviewees themselves on the experience of the crisis.



## CATERINA FROIO



Caterina Froio is currently CERSA-CNRS post-doctoral fellow at the University of Paris 2, Panthéon-Assas, and teaching fellow at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris. Her research is comparative and it develops two main lines. The first deals with issues related to party government and agenda-setting, and the second deals with extreme-right organizations focused on militancy trajectories, agenda-setting and repertoire of action. Earlier in 2015, she obtained her PhD in political and social sciences from the European University Institute of Florence, with a dissertation focusing on the composition of government agendas, aiming at assessing the agenda-setting power of parties 'electoral promises in a comparative perspective. Previously, she worked as a Research Associate on the ANR-funded French Policy Agendas project at the Centre d'Etudes Européennes of Sciences Po-Paris. At CERSA, she is currently involved in the SOG-

PRO project studying the Structure and Organisation of Government in France. In parallel, she is developing a comparative project on extreme-right mobilization in Europe, analyzing the discursive strategies, repertoires of protest and agenda-setting capacity of radical right parties and social movements. Among her recent publications: "Neo-Fascist mobilization in contemporary Italy: Ideology and repertoire of action of CasaPound Italia" (with Pietro Castelli Gattinara), *Journal of Deradicalization*, forthcoming; and "What is left for parties? An overview of party mandate in France 1981-2009" *French Politics*, 11(1), 2013, pp. 98-116.

### *The conditional agenda-setting power of the extreme right: protest and media logics in Italian and French right-wing movements*

Although researchers on extreme right politics focus overwhelmingly on political parties, social movement research has recently started analysing the street mobilization and protest activities of extreme right groups. On the one hand, this helped acknowledging that the extreme right is much less of a united family than traditionally assumed, recognizing that this milieu is populated by numerous, more or less influential, actors and groupuscular organizations which do not necessarily consider electoral politics their primary arena for contention. On the other, the uncovering of the 'social movement' dimension of the extreme right responds to the increasing openness of radical right parties towards contentious and street-based mobilization. The extreme right arena in Europe seems today increasingly oriented towards protest politics, so that groupuscular organizations of this area have the opportunity of becoming strategic partners of more institutionalized parties in their political, cultural and identity projects. This paper investigates the agenda setting potential of extreme right organizations, focusing on their media attractiveness as the main element contributing to the development of strategic alliances between them and extreme right parties.

To this goal, we introduce the concept of 'protest agendas' of far right social movements, e.g. the protest actions that organizations report on their online archives. We then compare this with the coverage of these groups' activities on national quality newspapers, investigating the conditions under which the protest agenda of the far-right achieves media visibility. We focus on two countries characterized by different opportunity structures for far right movements with respect to the possibility of finding institutional allies: France and Italy. For Italy, we consider CasaPound Italia which has recently signed an electoral alliance with the ethnocentric populist party Lega Nord. For France, we

consider the Bloc Identitaire, which is the main grassroots organization excluded from Marine Le Pen's network of actors, parties and personalities of the Rassemblement Bleu Marine. Using data from content analyses of news media coverage and press releases and public statements promoted by the two groups, this paper considers the visibility of extreme right movements in the media as dependent variables and investigates the factors that influence their presence in mainstream media and the frequency by which journalists pick up on their activities.

By reconstructing the political history of the two movements throughout Europe's democratic and economic crisis, the paper sheds a light on the increasing attractiveness of groupuscular extreme-right movements for the mass media. We illustrate that the agenda power of far right movements is related to the type of issue over which these actors mobilize, the resonance of these issues in broader national debates, and the repertoires of protest actions employed. Hence, our results indicate that extreme right actors are well aware of the logics of news value and newsworthiness, suggesting that the outsized exposure of extreme right social movements in the mass media is not only related to the resonance of their issue priorities with media agendas, but also to the strategic construction of protest agendas to address specific issue fields and grievances.



## JORDI GARCIA MUNIESA

PhD candidate in Political Science at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He holds a BA in Sociology from the same university and a MSc in Political Sociology from the London School of Economics. His main research interests are citizens' attitudes towards redistribution and the use of experimental methods in political science. His PhD research is focussed on citizens' attitudes towards redistribution via taxation.



### *Inequality, self-interest, fairness considerations and support for redistribution*

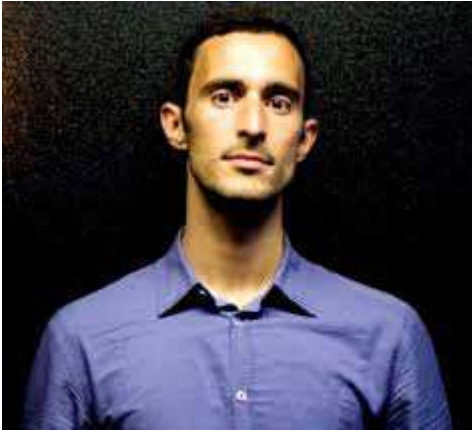
One of the main consequences of the current economic crisis has been an increase of income inequality. Previous research has shown that income inequality affects attitudes towards redistribution. The effect can be due to self-interest or to fairness considerations, and can take different directions, fostering or hindering the support for redistributive measures. In increased inequality settings, some of the models based on the role of self-interest predict that middle-class citizens will support redistribution to increase the share of the state revenue paid by the high-income groups. However, other models predict that the middle-class will oppose redistribution to avoid the worst-off taking advantage of their contributions. Additionally, relevant literature assigns an important role to the perceived fairness of the initial inequality. When the initial inequality is regarded as unfair there is an increase in the levels of support for redistribution.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of robust empirical research isolating the causal effect of these factors on citizens' attitudes towards redistribution. Most of the existing literature relies on observational data. These studies struggle to isolate the effects of inequality and its' source as there are many other factors influencing the attitudes towards redistribution, ranging from cultural norms and institutional designs to political actors' framing effects.

In this paper we aim to address two questions. Firstly, which is the impact of the level of income inequality and its' source on citizens' preferences for redistribution? Secondly, do these factors trigger self-interest, fairness considerations or both? To answer these questions I will conduct a lab experiment to measure the impact of the level of inequality and its' source –luck, merit or unfair social circumstances– on people's demand for redistribution on one hand, and to what extent this preferences are demand is based on self-interest or on fairness considerations on the other. The use of experimental methods can contribute by isolating the effect of the level of inequality and of its origin.

In the experiment, participants will receive different initial endowments depending on a variety of assignation criteria reproducing luck, merit and social circumstances. They will be asked to choose a preferred tax rate under different possible scenarios. In all cases they will know that their choice may affect their and the rest of participants' payoff. Thus it will be possible to measure the impact of each factor and to what extent participants' decisions are based on their self-interest or on fairness considerations.

## TORSTEN GEELAN



Torsten Rosenvold Geelan is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology and a member of Darwin College at the University of Cambridge. Torsten works under the supervision of Professor William Brown and Dr. Brendan Burchell. His research focuses on the relationship between one of the largest collective political actors – trade unions – and the media. Using a new analytical framework that draws on theories of power from industrial relations and the sociology of media and social movements, he examines contentious politics in Denmark and the United Kingdom within the context of the Great Recession. In what ways do trade unions engage with the mass media? How do varying political and discursive opportunity structures shape the

nature and extent of this engagement? Are unions they able to influence public opinion or public policy? The sample of organisations includes the three largest union actors in the private and public sector of each country and data is gathered using a case study and mixed methods approach (interviews, political claims analysis of newspapers, public opinion polls and documentary analysis). He also has a long standing interest in labour market change within advanced capitalist economies.

### *David and Goliath:*

#### *Collective Political Responses to Austerity during the Great Recession*

The North Atlantic financial crisis has had a dramatic impact on labour markets across Europe: stagnant or declining wages, high levels of unemployment and increasingly precarious employment, especially among young people, with economic inequality continuing to widen. The policy response has been dominated by the political consensus of austerity, with welfare retrenchment and supply-side labour market reforms often exacerbating the situation. Unsurprisingly the survey data reveals a pervading sense of insecurity among citizens – for one's job, for one's future. Whether real or imagined, the health consequences are well documented. This sombre state of affairs is one which has afflicted most of the countries in the Eurozone; the severity depending on each countries' economic, political and institutional configurations, and their place within the European Union and the global economy. Citizens have sought to cope with these hard times in a variety of ways.

This paper presents a cross-national study of collective political responses by labour unions in Denmark and the United Kingdom within the context of the crisis. By extending theories of trade union power to include the media I examine how unions have engaged in the process of contentious politics on the issue of cuts to unemployment benefits and the related debate about austerity between 2010 and 2014. Analytically I examine the relationship between the organisational level (the types of organisational resources and strategies employed) and the mass media (the types of arguments and frames disseminated through newspapers), taking tentative steps towards understanding the impact of union campaigns on the political agenda.

The sample of organisations includes the three largest labour union organisations in the private and public sector and the largest confederations: in Denmark, the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), the Danish Union of Public Employees (FOA), and the Union Federation of Danish Workers (3F); and in the UK, the British Trade Union Congress (TUC), Unite the Union, and the Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS). Data was gathered over a two year period used a mixed-methods approach: 23 semi-structured interviews with senior union officials in the communication and

organisation departments; a political claims analysis of 2,256 newspaper articles from the five largest newspapers in each country and Reuters (using NVivo and digital archives); and documentary analysis. In short, the findings provide a nuanced perspective on the different narrative resources labour unions use and how these have changed over time under varying political and discursive opportunity structures. In terms of impact, Danish unions have been able to extract concessions through sophisticated media campaigns highlighting the social impact of the cuts and its threat to the 'Danish model' - using their exceptional capacity for news production (the four largest union actors produce 10% of all news in the country) - and lobbying of the social democratic-led coalition government. The range of actors involved, however, was entirely homogenous with little involvement of other social movements. In contrast, the British unions have been relatively ineffectual in their attempts to reverse cuts to unemployment benefits and shift the tide of public opinion against austerity due to in part to their limited resources, unfavourable opportunity structures and a tougher discursive environment. The Danish unions may have been more effective during the time period in question; but the non-institutionalized British unions are now innovating out of necessity, forging ties with other social movements through the People's Assembly against Austerity in an attempt to leverage their collective power and renew their discursive resources.

The paper concludes by reflecting on the theoretical and methodological approach and explores the future prospects of labour union coalitions with other social movement actors as a mechanism through which to tackle the social and political consequences of the crisis.

## CHRISTIAN KALBASSI



Christian Kalbassi wrote his Master's Thesis at the University of Berne, where he investigated 3 recently appeared crisis events in Switzerland: The UBS financial market crisis, the UBS release from bank secrecy and the Libya conflict related to the arrest of Hannibal Ghaddafi. After his master thesis in 2011 he worked for the Federal Crisis Management Training of the Swiss Government as research associate, where he analyzed the governments behavior in 66 Swiss cases. In 2012 he started a PhD project at the University of Lausanne, in which he tries to identify and evaluate relevant influencing variables of an already erupted crisis as well as to find correlations between the variables and threat patterns. The project shall contribute to improve crisis assessment methods and optimize crisis response and crisis mitigation measures for governmental administrations. Currently he works for the Post and Telecommunications Surveillance Service of the Swiss Government, where he is responsible for the Business Continuity Management (BCM) and crisis response strategies.

### *Towards an Integral Crisis Assessment framework*

There is a gap in crisis management literature related to the provision of structuring models for crisis threat assessment. On the basis of existing theory in the context of crisis definitions, crisis classifications and crisis assessment tools, this exploratory paper identifies significant variables for crisis threat assessment. The study should contribute to a consolidation and specification of crisis assessment literature and therefore rebalance the scattering of the academic field with a more integral approach. For the practical implication, an outline of a crisis assessment framework for the Swiss federal authorities is provided.

## GEMMA MCNULTY

Dr. Gemma Mc Nulty is Lecturer in Latin American Politics at Dublin City University (DCU), Ireland. Her PhD thesis explored the role of indigenous social movement mobilisation in the electoral success of the left in Latin America, and was funded by the prestigious Irish Research Council (IRC). Her current work is primarily concerned with movement-party alliances, and their impact on electoral politics within Latin America, Europe and the United States. She has several articles under review with high-ranking journals including *Latin American Politics and Society*, and *Politics and Society*. She is also a research fellow on the Policy, Sentiment and Financial Markets Project (POLSENT) project at Dublin City University and is working collegially on a number of other papers on issues such as the variation in political dynasties, and the relationship between women and corruption in business.



### *Movements Matter: The Role of Social Movements in Electoral Politics at times of Crisis*

The paper illustrates how social movements can play a role in electoral politics, particularly at times of political and economic crisis. It is argued that by entering into a political alliance with parties, social movements mobilise support within their bases for the party which can contribute to the electoral success of that party. This is particularly pertinent at times of financial and political crisis when trust in political parties is low. In these cases, movements are perceived as more trustworthy because they operate outside the institutionalised realm and so can potentially mobilise a substantial base of support for a party by entering into a political alliance, thus legitimising the party. In return, the party promises prospective compensation to the movement in the form of policy change if elected. It is also argued that social movements are likely to ally with opposition parties rather than incumbents given the typically contentious relationship between movements and incumbents. Therefore it is argued that one response to crisis by citizens is to mobilise their respective movements, and to then participate in a political alliance with the opposition in order to oust the incumbents that caused the crisis, or indeed the government pursuing austerity measures.

Using empirical evidence from Latin America the paper demonstrates the theory in action. Specifically, using original interview data from the field, the paper illustrates the political alliance between left wing parties and indigenous social movements in the aftermath of the collapse of neoliberalism there. There are parallels between the collapse of neoliberalism, and the 'lost decade' in Latin America and the Eurozone Crisis and ensuing austerity. These parallels can be examined by exploring movement-party relations in Europe. Therefore I apply my theory of movement-party alliances to the cases of Spain and Ireland to demonstrate the nature of movement-party alliances in the context of the Eurozone Crisis and austerity. Although the support by movements in Latin America does not exclusively explain the emergence of the parties studied here, it was nonetheless an important contribution to their success. The paper details the specific ways in which the movements mobilised their bases for the respective parties in the region and uses this to examine the cases of Spain and Ireland. The implication of the paper is that it demonstrates the role that social movements can play in the electoral success of parties at times of crises, thereby challenging traditional assumptions within social movement theory (movements operate within a non-party space) and electoral politics (movements do no matter).



## SABINA MONZA



Sabina Monza is currently a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, where she develops her thesis on “The impact of the austerity policies upon EU citizens’ support for the European Union, 2008-2014”, under the supervision of Dr. Eva Anduiza, and participated in the Livewhat project-Spain. Her main interests are public opinion and political attitudes. She holds a master degree in Research in Journalism and Communications by the UAB, a diploma by the London College of Communication and a degree in Graphic Design by the University of Buenos Aires. She has worked in communication strategies and brand identity for international newspapers and magazines, private companies and public institutions. In parallel to her professional work, she has always

been teaching in higher education. In 2006 she became head of the Department of Graphic Design and Postgraduate courses at IDEP Barcelona, and in 2010 — already a mother of twins — she accepted a full-time placement teaching at Eina-UAB Barcelona. She is currently developing the syllabus of the BA in Design at LCI Education Network-Australia.

### *Political Claims in the National Media and Support for the European Union*

This paper addresses the relationship between the economic crisis, the austerity policies and the EU as it has been presented in the political claims published by the main national newspapers. It builds upon the literature on public opinion that highlights the importance of context in opinion formation, and stresses the difficulties of issue knowledge and responsibility assignment in the EU. Citizens are exposed to particular information available through the media but they also experience first-hand the economic impact of the crisis. I examine the case of Spain and inquire whether the assignment of responsibilities and blame attribution has been addressed to the EU for its performance during the economic crisis. How have the political claims published in the main newspapers depicted the development of events in terms of responsibility assignment? Have they mirrored reality and matched citizens’ concerns? Firstly, I analyse the political claims that comprise the EU when referring to the economic crisis and the implementation of austerity measures. Thereafter, I depict this information within the country’s most outstanding economic and political events of the same period, citizens’ attitudes towards the EU and their main economic or social concerns. Following that news coverage peaks around important events, I expect more EU visibility at critical EU interventions and when the emerging consequences of the economic crisis become more evident. Greater visibility is expected to lead to better knowledge and, hence, exposure to specific claims should help improve citizens’ ability to assign responsibility accordingly. The analysis is based on claims of the main Spanish newspapers during the period 2005-2014 and other aggregate and individual-level data.

## NICHOLAS POHL

Grown up near Fribourg, a bilingual town on the French-German language border in Switzerland, he has completed a bachelor's degree in political science at the University of Bern and a master's degree in political sociology at the University of Lausanne. He has written his bachelor's thesis on the Spanish Civil War and his master's thesis on internal democracy within a Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union. Having been confronted with the profound negative impacts of the recent economic crisis during the fieldwork for his master's thesis, he decided to make out of this his Ph.D. topic. Based on a mixed methods study of the Spanish case, he will investigate the multiple and diverse processes through which the economic crisis affects political attitudes and behaviors. He is currently working as a research assistant at the University of Lausanne and will begin his doctorate this summer.



### *Continuity and change in strike activity during the recent economic crisis: A study of the Spanish case between 2000-2013*

As the current economic crisis unfolded, an increasing number of scholars began to dedicate their work to its economic, social and political consequences. With respect to collective responses to the crisis, many works have been published on new social movements that emerged in the course of the crisis – such as the “Occupy” movement in the U.S. or the “Indignados” in Spain. In comparison with these highly media covered social movements, industrial conflict has received relatively little attention so far. Yet, as different means of expression of political and social discontent are likely to be interconnected, it appears crucial to take into account the sphere of work when investigating people's responses to the economic crisis.

This paper will contribute to fill this gap by investigating continuity and change in strike activity in Spain during the recent economic crisis. Its aim is to provide a better understanding first, of why some segments of workers (can) make use of strike actions more frequently than others and second, of how the recent economic crisis has altered this propensity to participate in strike actions. By examining macroeconomic data from the Spanish Statistical Office for the period between 2000-2013, I will analyze how various forms of strikes have evolved in different economic sectors (agriculture, industry, construction, services) and how the respective composition of each sector (age, ethnicity, gender) as well as its union density affect incidences of strike action. Regarding the service sector, special attention will be paid to differences between private companies on the one hand and public administration or public enterprises on the other. In order to understand the relation between strike activity and economic downturn, I will articulate the evolution of strikes with the relative impact of the economic crisis on different sectors (measured by the evolution of median income levels, unemployment rates and the occurrence of temporary employment contracts). In a second step I will investigate whether the obtained results at a national level equally account for regional differences in strike activity.

After having examined the occurrence of strike actions on a macrological level I will investigate micrological explanations for participation in strike actions. For this purpose, I will compare the results of three representative surveys carried out by the “Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas” in 2006, 2010 and 2012. This analysis will provide a better understanding of individual factors (e.g. personal

living conditions, political convictions, people's subjective appreciation of the economic situation) accounting for participation in strike actions. In a last step, I will put into relation both macrological and micrological findings and discuss the consistencies and the discrepancies between the two.



## MARTIN PORTOS GARCIA



Martín Portos G. is a Salvador de Madariaga PhD researcher at the European University Institute, Florence, working on anti-austerity protests in Southern Europe. He holds a BA (Hons) in Political Science from the University of Santiago de Compostela (best performance in all disciplines in Spain, 2011), a MSc Politics Research from Oxford University and a MRes from the EUI. Among others, he has been awarded the Fundación Caja Madrid, Obra Social La Caixa, and Linares Rivas (Oxford University) postgraduate scholarships.

*Taking to the squares, taking to the streets in Spain. Individual-level subjective grievances and protesters' profile in times of hardship: 15-M mobilizations and beyond*

What is the profile of Spanish challengers in times of austerity? This study deals with individual-level motivations for protest participation in the shadow of the Great Recession, combining ESS-6 (2012) data for Spain and the novel CIS-INJUVE (2012) survey. I argue participation in different forms of extra-conventional behavior, both in traditional demonstrations and indignados-type activities (like occupations, gatherings, assemblies, and escraches in the framework of the 15-M campaign) is explained by similar factors, provided these mobilizations take place in a recession-dominated context. The key overall argument is that activists, both 2012 overall demonstrators and participants in various 15-M activities during 2011, are more politically and economically aggrieved in attitudinal terms than the overall population. Unlike traditional breakdown approaches, where the objective-structural dimension of grievances prevails, the importance of the interpretative-ideational component of grievances for mobilization is emphasized throughout.

Multiple logit model specifications displayed show there are hardly any objective grievances and biographical availability-related factors that account for protest participation. Moreover, analyses conducted show overall demonstrations and 15-M engagement in a recession-driven scenario are not merely the expression of a precarious generation.

Besides some network-based features (e.g. political party membership), I find that differential factors for recruitment are mostly ideational: subjective grievances, in terms of political trust and socioeconomic-political satisfaction, along with some political engagement factors, like social ideology and level of political interest, determine who de facto mobilizes.

## ROSER RIFA JANÉ

Ph.D Candidate in the Department of Political Science at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). She holds a bachelor's degree in Political Science (UAB) and a master's degree of Research in Political Science (UPF). She worked as a junior researcher at the Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials (ICPS), in Barcelona. Her research deals with political attitudes change in times of crisis, and she is specially focused on the study of political trust change by considering intra-individual change.



### *Blame attribution and political trust' change in times of crisis. An experimental approach*

Blame attribution is concerned with how individuals interpret events and how this interpretation affects their attitudes and behaviour. People try to understand others by collecting information until they reach a reasonable conclusion, explanation or cause. When talking about politics, we as citizens rely on political institutions as one of the main objects of credit and blame attribution.

To understand to what extent individuals attribute responsibilities for the political outcomes to the political institutions is a core point in political science research today. McGraw (1990) argues that it is so because of evidence that such attributions of responsibility work as mediators of political evaluations. Precisely, I focus on whether political trust' change is mediated by blame attribution and how the mediation works. To which extent blame attribution affects trust in political institutions in a context of economic crisis? Does the perceived improvement or worsening of the economic crisis have an impact on the level of trust towards the political institutions?

Attitude change experiments in political science have become a popular research method, and probably it is because of the capability of this research tool for addressing influences of some types of messages on political attitudes and political behaviour. In this paper, I pursue to give an answer to the questions above using a pretest-posttest experiment design conducted last May 2014 in Spain. The pretest-posttest experimental designs are frequently used for comparing groups and measuring change as a result from experimental treatments.

The country of study, Spain, is one of the Western countries in which the economic crisis has impacted deeply among citizens. Indicators of the national economic situation –and also indicators about personal economic grievances– are quite explanatory of how deep the crisis is in this country. Furthermore, this situation has consequences not only for the economic sphere of the national economy; obviously it affects citizens' personal, social and political spheres.

My expectations are twofold. On one hand, I work with the hypothesis that to receive a stimulus by which an institution is responsible of the correct/incorrect functioning of a public policy or the economy –that is, to give credit to or, contrarily, to blame for– will be translated into a change of political trust (higher or lower trust), in a way that if responsibility is attributed and the outcome is positive (credit), the higher the trust. And the reverse when the perceived outcome is negative (blame). On the other hand, I hypothesise that the impact of a stimulus on the level of trust would be higher when there is a reference of a specific public institution involved in the functioning of the economic crisis; that is, when individuals have a referent to which attribute blame about a given situation.

Very first results confirm that, as hypothesised, blame attribution acts as a mediator for political trust change under some critic circumstances.

## ERIC TURNER

Eric Turner is from Turin, Italy but has been based in the United Kingdom and the United States for the last decade. In the UK he completed a BA from the University of Essex as well as an MA in Comparative Politics from the University of York and a Graduate Diploma in Law at the University of East London. Currently he is a Sociology PhD Candidate at the University of New Mexico, and is expecting to graduate from the program in August 2016. His current research focuses on differences in mobilization and repression in the Occupy Movement in the US. He has also published several articles which analyze the history and the use of blogging technology in the 5 Star Movement in Italy. He also has several years' worth of teaching experience, having taught undergraduate courses in Sociological Theory and Social Movements.



### *Understanding repression in the Occupy movement*

Past research on social movement repression has paid attention to the role of political elites, police and other potential opponents, and the level of threat posed by the movement in explaining the presence of various forms of social control. In recent years, scholars have also focused on the role that media coverage may play in shaping the likelihood of movements facing opposition by repressive agencies.

This paper attempts to further our understanding of how the behavior and characteristics of local elites affects repression, by looking at one of the most recent cases of widespread movement repression- the Occupy Movement in the US. I focus on variation in repression across a representative sample of 74 US cities in November 2011, a month during which the police evicted a large part of the movement's encampments.

Using survey data drawn from activists, newspaper records and data published by activists, I account for the overall numbers of arrests of Occupy activists in November, and the intensity of repression. Independent variables include extensive measures of movement characteristics, interaction between local movements and local opponents and allies, the quality and quantity of media coverage, data on electoral behavior and political parties of mayors, police survey data on law enforcement agency characteristics and newspaper and activist-collected data on instances of police brutality. I estimate negative binomial regression models, with population specified as the exposure to analyze differences in arrests between cities and binary logistic models to analyze differences between cities in which law enforcement carried out violent repression (including batons, tear gas, pepper spray and other forms of violence) from cities in which this form of protest control was absent. Findings confirm the importance of various city law enforcement characteristics, media and threat in shaping repression. I find that movements in cities with higher rates of crime and police use of lethal force, as well as low levels of police funding, were more likely to experience mass arrests. However these factors were not significant in explaining the presence of more violent forms of repression. These findings confirm previous observations on how police forces with low levels of preparedness and a history of violent interactions with the public have been more likely to adopt more repressive tactics. This is especially true for forms of repression, like mass arrests, which require collective decision-making by police forces. My findings also add to the literature by arguing for the role of high crime rates in predicting greater levels of repression.

The overall amount of coverage that movements received was positively correlated with arrests,

however it mattered less for predicting more violent forms of repression than the quality (understood as different typologies of movement criticism and praise) of the coverage. Specifically, instances of violent repression were highly and positively correlated to instances of media criticism and reports of cost of protest to the taxpayer, however reports of peaceful protests moderated these relationships. Reports of movement violence were also highly correlated with instances of violent repression. Although political indicators had a limited effect net of other controls, elite opponents' criticism of protesters in the media predicted arrests. On the whole, this paper calls for more attention on the nature of media discourse and the role of law enforcement agency characteristics in shaping repression.

## SOFIA TIPALDOU



Sofia is a PhD candidate on International relations and European Integration at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Her PhD thesis researches the causes for the emergence of the contemporary Russian nationalist movement and focuses on the role of leadership. Her research interests include social movements, nationalism, and the far right in post-communist settings and in crisis-ridden Western European environments.

### *The rise of the far-right in Western Europe: A grassroots response to the economic crisis?*

The 2014 European Parliament election resulted to the rise of xenophobic, anti-immigration, revanchist, and anti-Semite parties that belong to the broader category of the far-right in many European countries, i.e. the French National Front, the Hungarian Jobbik, the Austrian Freedom Party, and the German National Democratic Party. A dominant approach in the study of the far right tries to connect high levels of unemployment and political dissatisfaction with the electoral success of populist radical right parties at the national level. This paper will explore the extent to which crisis theories can explain the rise of far right organizations within the EU. To this extent, I will draw on examples from two similar crisis-ridden environments of Southern Europe, Greece and Spain, which present opposing trends of popular support for far right organizations. In Greece, the neo-Nazi movement Golden Dawn became the fifth biggest force, marking an impressive electoral turn in the Greek parliamentary election of 2012 (from 0.29 to almost 7 per cent of the vote). In Spain, on the other hand, no far right formation of similar characteristics has managed to create a solid electoral base at the national level and regional far right parties have only scored limited electoral success, i.e. Platform for Catalonia (PxC) or the Valencian Espanya 2000. Both countries account for the highest unemployment—particularly youth unemployment—percentage in the EU.

Furthermore, both countries receive a big number of illegal immigrants, have a dictatorial experience, and have been shaken by immense popular protests during the last years. I argue that a convincing explanation for the variation on each country's far right electoral success can be found in country-specific characteristics. My research will be centered around macro-level supply-side explanations, i.e. the confined opportunities that national far-right organizations confront by secession movements in Spain and the role of the media in Greece in setting a favorable public agenda for the Golden Dawn, as well as internal supply-side theories that refer to the far right organizations' strategies, i.e. their ideology, image, leadership, and organization. By doing so, this research aims to make a contribution to the ongoing debate on the role of economic crises on the rise of far right organizations with empirical results from the ongoing EU crisis and on the potential indirect threat that economic crises pose to democracy.

## ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Lorenzo Bosi is Assistant Professor at the Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS). From December 2013 he is research leader for the Italian part of the project “Living with Hard Times: Economic Crisis, Policy Responses, and Citizens Resilience in Europe” (LIVEWHAT, funded under the EU FP7). He holds a B.A. (2000) and a Ph.D. (2005) respectively from the Faculty of Political Science at the Università degli Studi di Bologna and from the School of Politics and International Relations at Queen’s University, Belfast. His academic work earned him three very prestigious successive international postdoctoral fellowships in social science and sociology departments, one at the University of Kent (ESRC) and two at the European University Institute (Jean Monnet and Marie Curie). Dr Bosi’s main research interests are in political sociology and historical sociology. His academic work deals primarily with qualitative research of social movements and political violence. He has published in international peer-reviewed scientific journals and articles in books. His publications include over 40 articles and chapters, 1 monograph, 4 co-edited books and 4 special issues in peer-reviewed scientific journals. He is chair of the standing group on Political Violence of the European Consortium of Political Research.  
Email: [lorenzo.bosi@sns.it](mailto:lorenzo.bosi@sns.it)

Lorenzo Zamponi is a researcher in Department of Political and Social Sciences of the European University Institute and in the LIVEWHAT Project. His research interests include collective memory, contentious politics, student movements, anti-austerity activism and media analysis. Among his publications: (2012) "Why don't Italians occupy?" Hypotheses on a failed mobilisation. *Social Movement Studies* 11(3-4); (2013, with D. della Porta) Protest and policing on October 15th, global day of action: the Italian case. *Policing and Society* 23(1); (2015, with L. Bosi) Direct Social Action and Economic Crises. The relationship between forms of action and socio-economic context in Italy. *Partecipazione e Conflitto* 8(2).  
Email: [lorenzo.zamponi@eui.eu](mailto:lorenzo.zamponi@eui.eu)

# DIRECTIONS TO FLORENCE

## To/From Airports

The two nearest airport are the airport of Florence “Amerigo Vespucci” (25 min by bus) and Pisa “Galileo Galilei” (approx. 1h by train or bus). Another relatively close airport is located in Bologna.

For Airport shuttle timetables please check the airports’ websites:

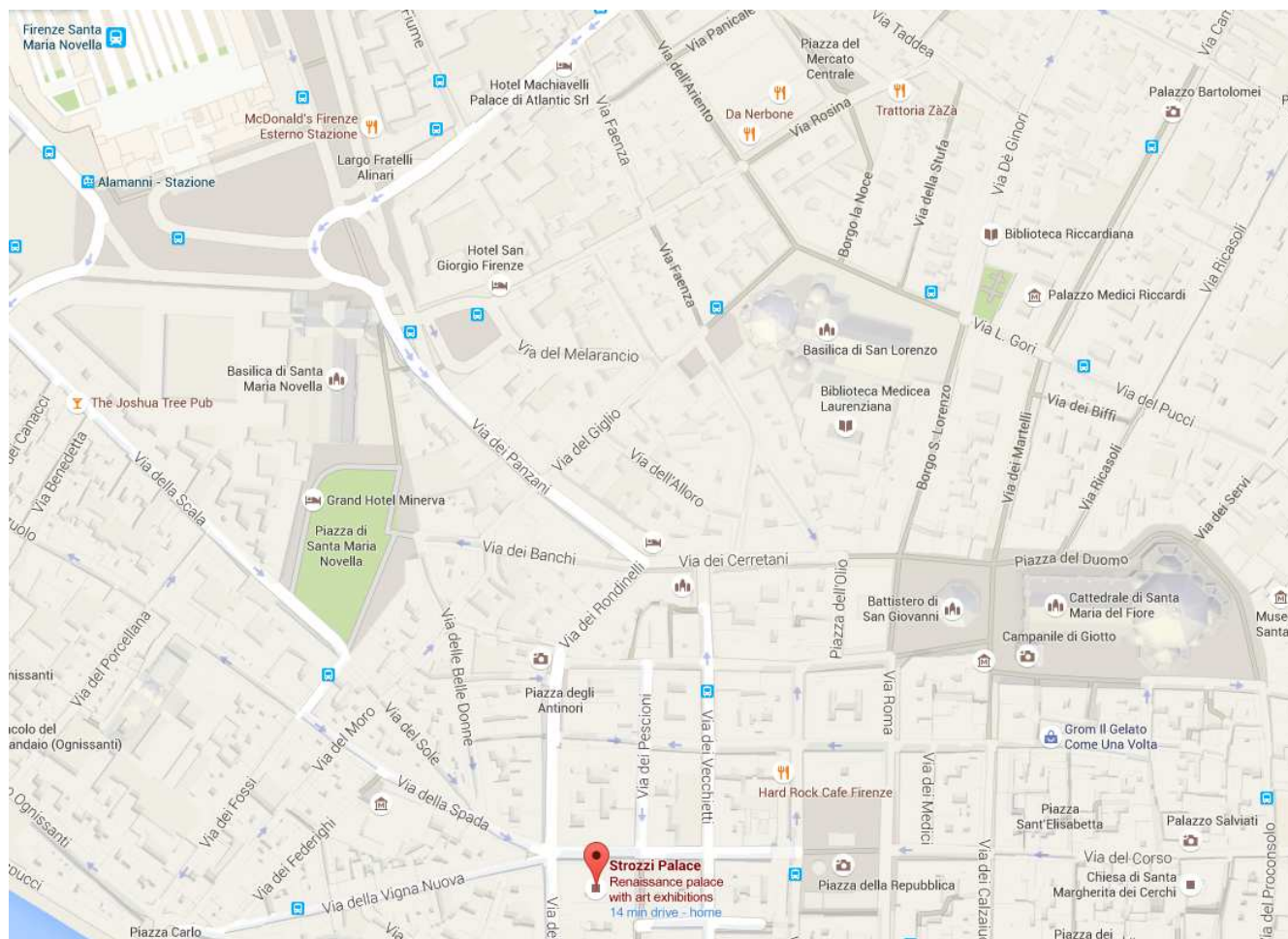
FLR: [www.aeroporto.firenze.it](http://www.aeroporto.firenze.it) ; PSA [www.pisa-airport.com](http://www.pisa-airport.com) ; BLQ [www.bologna-airport.it](http://www.bologna-airport.it) Public Transportation in Florence □ ATAF website: [www.ataf.net](http://www.ataf.net)



# DIRECTIONS IN FLORENCE

## Venue

The Summer School will take place at the Scuola Normale Superiore, at Palazzo Strozzi (in Piazza degli Strozzi), in the very centre of Florence, 5 minutes walking distance from the main train station (Firenze Santa Maria Novella).



## Residence

Attendants who have required accommodation will be hosted in the University Residence of the Scuola Normale Superiore (Viale Corsica 100, 35 minutes walking distance from Palazzo Strozzi, 20 minutes by bus). Attendants can take bus number 23 at the Massaio-Corsica stop (at the intersection between Via Il Massaio and Viale Corsica) until the Stazione Valfonda stop (in front of the main train station), or bus number 14 at the Corridoni 04-Aci Rifredi stop (in Via Corridoni) until the Stazione Valfonda stop. Buses usually run every 15-20 minutes. More precise information is available at [www.ataf.net](http://www.ataf.net).



## Social events

The LIVEWHAT project invites the attendants of the summer school to two social events.

A welcome aperitivo will take place on the 5<sup>th</sup> July at 6.30 pm in the city centre (the location will be confirmed in the next couple of weeks).

A social dinner will follow on Friday 11<sup>th</sup> July at 8.30 pm at the Antico Ristoro di' Cambi, in Via S.Onofrio 1R, near Porta San Frediano, in the Oltrarno district.

