

**Regulating Social and Environmental Policy under Economic Pressure in Western Europe:
Dismantling, Compensation and Consequences (RESOLVE)**

– Final Report –

Project leader: Prof. Dr. Christoph Knill

Project ID: 57335164

I. Format

We conducted a three-day workshop between the 15th and the 17th November 2017 at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) in Barcelona, Spain. The workshop started at 2.30 pm on the 15th November and ended at 2.00 pm on the 17th November. The program included two key-note speakers, seven panels, and a 'Meet and Greet & Mentoring Session' on the second day during which early-career scholars could intensively engage with senior scholars. In addition, the different coffee-breaks allowed for an in-depth exchange between all participants. Each panel lasted for about 90 minutes so that each participant had between 30 and 45 minutes to present and receive feedback for his/her paper. This agenda allowed us to discuss the different contributions in close detail and thus to substantially increase the quality of the presented papers. Moreover, in a wrap-up session at the last day, we discussed the broader scientific and societal implications of the papers' findings and how they complete or contradict with each other as well as with previously published scholarly contributions. In total, we received over 29 submissions from about 40 scholars located in 10 countries. From these 29 submissions, we accepted 16 papers. Unfortunately, four papers could eventually not be presented as the presenters had to cancel their travel plans at short notice due to illness. For the final program please consult the appendix.

II. Research Objectives

Our workshop aimed to bring together scholars who are interested in policy-making processes in times of economic hardship. Constrained government budgets may impede policy expansion and instead promote policy dismantling and reform blockage. Moreover, economic pressure may stimulate attention shifts to economic and social issues while leaving other public problems largely disregarded. The workshop aimed to contribute to this research gap by **investigating how and to what extent conflicts between different public policy aims are resolved in times of economic pressure**. Our main hypothesis was that both **deregulation and mechanisms of policy compensation play a crucial role in resolving trade-offs and conflicts** between the different objectives of governments. All of the presented papers and key note speeches addressed this research question. We grouped the papers into seven different panels based on their theoretical approach and their empirical focus. The main theoretical approaches, concepts, methodologies and gained insights of the presented papers and key note speeches are briefly summarized in the remainder of this section.

Keynote I: Politics in Hard Times revisited: Deregulation, Compensation and Externalisation - Stephan Lessenich (LMU Munich)

The first key note speech was held by Stephan Lessenich. Lessenich is professor of Sociology at the Ludwig Maximilians University (LMU) Munich. His research focus is on the sociology of the welfare state, political sociology, and global social inequality. In his keynote speech, Stephan Lessenich elaborated on styles of policy-making in times of economic hardship. He argued that in such distinct periods of time, in particular three coping- mechanisms are applied by policy-makers. These are deregulation, compensation, and externalization. Lessenich defined the policy-making in times of crises as dependent variable and the international and domestic factors affecting crisis coping strategies as independent variable. Drawing on Gourevitch's seminal work on *Politics in Hard Times*, Lessenich argued that there are five major approaches towards policy-making in crisis times. These are Liberalism (or Neoclassicism), Socialism, Protectionism, Keynesianism, and Mercantilism. The decision to opt for either one of these coping strategies depends on both national as well as international aspects such as a country's production profile, intermediate associations, state structure, economic ideology, as well as characteristic of the international system. However,

Lessenich broadened the global dimension in Gourevitch's framework by expanding the scope of analysis beyond the relation of the observed countries and onto the whole global community. Lessenich's **central argument was that policy compensation exceedingly takes the form of externalisation.** He understands **externalisation as an exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the so-called overdeveloped countries in terms of natural resources and labour power. Predominantly western countries hence monopolise life chances and externalise the costs thereof to less developed countries at the same time.**

Panel I: SOCIAL REGULATION IN TIMES OF CRISIS

The Hidden Faces of Crises: Displacement Effects and Policy Changes in Times of Economic Hardship - Xavier Fernández-i-Marín, Steffen Hurka, Christoph Knill, and Yves Steinebach (LMU Munich)

In their paper, the authors focus on the impact of economic crises on a broad variety of policy areas ranging from environmental, social, and morality policy. The underlying argument is rooted in the punctuated equilibrium theory. Stating that economic crises require political attention at the systemic level, attention to other policy areas not directly related to the present state of crises is being deflected. Effects of crises on policy-making in non-economic areas hence is dependent on the proximity the individual policy field has to the realm of economic issues. By analysing change in policy portfolio size of the three policy areas under scrutiny, the authors draw two major conclusions. First, while **economic crises reduce significant policy changes in general, most affected by the crises induced stalemate is the area most remote to economic matters**, which in their sample is morality policy. Second, when policy change does take place in the field of social and environmental policy, **deviation from the status-quo is far more distinct than in non-crisis periods.** Their findings suggest that in the rare cases that social and environmental issues are in fact moved to the system level, they are framed as being linked to crisis resolution.

Panel II: CLIMATE CHANGE & CRISIS

The Survival of EU Climate Policy in Times of Crisis - A Conceptual Framework - Raffael Hanschmann (University of Potsdam)

In his paper, Raffael Hanschmann presents a conceptual framework for explaining the impact of the economic crisis on EU environmental policy-making. He observes that even in the immediate period after a crisis, environmental policies do not decrease in their ambition. Actors have preferences determining which coalitions are formed. However, both, preferences and coalitions are prone to change. The author argues that policy outputs thus should change in a similar manner. Starting from the assumption that new policies implicate varying costs for different actors, **entities that are affected less by this burden have a competitive advantage over actors that are more affected.** Hence, **a polarisation of a group of stakeholders in areas such as the automotive industry takes place and actors are splitting into fractions** opposing or supporting a policy measure. The author argues that polarisations within an industry spills over to the entire policy area. Member states are considered to be transmitters of the aforementioned polarisation as a result of a certain self-interest of protecting their domestic industries. Especially during crises, the role of transmitters of interests is more distinct than in non-crisis periods.

Burden-Shifting as a policy dismantling strategy in environmental policy – How the burden of sustainable development is shifted towards consumers and thus, out of focus - Jan Pollex (Presenting Author) and Andrea Lenschow (University of Osnabrück)

The paper presented by Jan Pollex analyses the EU's on sustainable consumption policy and investigated whether there is evidence for policy dismantling after the economic crisis in European environmental policy. The authors focus on two questions. First, how does the EU balances growth opportunities and environmental protection, and second, is there evidence of dismantling of sustainable consumption policy after the economic crisis. The second aspect they scrutinise is the concept of arena shifting in EU environmental policy, hence relocating decision to another arena or level. In their analysis, they focus on EU's legislative approach to sustainable consumption which represents a twofold approach. On the one hand, the EU uses hard instruments, especially in eco design policy which sets mandatory standards for the production of goods. On the other hand,

the EU's also applies soft instruments such as the eco label. In their case study, the authors focus on product groups that are being dealt with under the eco design directive of 2009. Two conclusions are reached hereby. First, **the application of the eco-design directive eco labelling tool relies increasingly on softer instruments and suffers from poor enforcement**, suggesting decreases in regulatory intensity. Second, what is being presented as an **increase in policy density turns out to be of rhetoric rather than substantial nature**. Additionally, the EU increasingly tries to influence consumers' choices rather than applying pressure on producers. The authors argue that by shifting the arena to consumers' target group of EU environmental policy the EU is creating easy opportunities for policy dismantling. Evidence from the case study hints at "hidden" dismantling since instruments remain active while the level of coercion is reduced.

Keynote II: Grassroots Economics: Meaning, Project and Practice in the pursuit of Livelihood (GRECO) - Susana Narotzky (University of Barcelona)

The second keynote speech was held by Susanna Narotzky. Susana Narotzky is Professor of Anthropology at the Universitat de Barcelona. Her research addresses working life, deindustrialization, regulation processes, and social movements. During the workshop, she presented the key insights of her latest research project examining how citizens cope with economic crises in their daily business (grassroots economic) routines. Using ethnographic material from an industrial town in Galicia (Spain), she showed that **moonlighting and the informal economy becomes increasingly important in times of crises** and that citizens become more and more **hesitant to cooperate with public official and to pay taxes**. In times of crises, the state is perceived as a driver of labor market liberalization and reduced protection and thus as the origin of all problems.

Panel III: EU POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

EU-led mechanisms of change and national policy responses in hard times: a theoretical approach towards the influence of the European Semester - Christos Louvaris Fasois (University of Milan/ University of Amsterdam)

In his paper, Christos Louvaris Fasois scrutinises the effects and causal mechanism of the European Semester. The overall aim is to create an explanatory scheme on the political economy of reforms in times of crises. He identifies and **discusses two major EU-led mechanisms of change**. These are **external pressure on the one hand, and intrinsic motivation on the other**. The first mechanism includes factors such as peer pressure, external financial support, pressure of the markets, and pressure due to public opinion. The second one focuses on aspects such as socialisation, learning, and creative appropriation. In his paper, the author tries to shed light on connection of external pressure and policy-making with regard to the European Semester.

Post-crisis Health Policy: Dismantling at the EU Level? - Eleanor Brooks (Queen Mary – University of London)

Eleanor Brooks discusses policy dismantling within the context of EU health policy. As a result of the economic crisis, the Juncker commission decided to focus on specific policy areas while reducing commitment in others which has led to a significant decline in legislative output not considered a priority. In her paper, the author draws on two exemplary fields, EU policy on alcohol and pharmaceuticals. The aforementioned development has had a considerable impact on **the area of alcohol legislation, where no noteworthy policy output can be observed here over the last years**. The EU policy on **pharmaceuticals** on the other hand follows a twofold objective, pursuing the aim of **providing a high level of public health while at the same time maintaining a viable environment for a competitive industry**. The conflict immanent in balancing those two goals however significantly narrowed down the scope in which comprehensive pharmaceutical policies can be applied. The author thus argues that in both fields policy dismantling takes place. **Failure to update and adopt policy in the realm of alcohol legislation is being interpreted as dismantling by default**. In the case of pharmaceutical policy, moving the responsibility from the health to the industry directorate is being described as dismantling by arena-shifting.

Panel IV: THE CRISIS IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

The dynamics of enforcement capacity in times of crisis: the case of the Labour Inspectorate and State Revenue Service in Latvia - Ieva Bloma (European University Institute)

The paper presented by Ieva Bloma scrutinises the effects of cuts in public expenditure as a result of crisis on behavioural change of institutions defining and implementing public policies in Latvia. In her analysis, the author focuses on two policy areas, enforcement of labour law and occupational health and safety legislation, and enforcement of tax legislation. For this purpose, the performance of two institutions, the Labour Inspectorate, and the tax administration authority are being analysed. Three working conjectures are formulated. First, **the lower the state budget, the lower are the number of its staff and inspectors**. Second, **the lower the budget of the enforcement institution, the lower is the number of monitoring/control measures it carries out**. Lastly, in the case of tax administration institution, the reduction of state budget does neither lower the number of staff or the number of inspectors, nor the number of monitoring/control measures that are carried out. Drawing on data obtained through analysis of newspaper articles and official government accounts, the first and second conjecture are being confirmed. The third conjecture however is only partially correct. While the reduction of budget does take place together with diminution of staff in general, a reduction of tax inspectors cannot be observed.

Biased accountability in turbulent environments: Institutional strategies of Mexican and Spanish S&E supervisory agencies - Fulya Apaydin, Jacint Jordana (Presenting Author), and Ixchel Pérez Durán (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

The paper presented by Jacint Jordana examines formal and informal accountability mechanisms of S&E supervisory agencies operating in times of crisis. The authors focus on a variety of accountability processes between political principals, agencies and other stakeholders in order to determine different dynamics between those actors. Additionally, the concept of “biased accountability”, hence when an agency or political principle actively meddles in processes in order to benefit a specific type of constituents and stakeholders is examined in more detail. At the centre of the analysis is the area of stock market supervisor in Spain and Mexico. The authors find clear evidence for biased accountability in both countries.

Panel V: FISCAL, TAX, AND ECONOMIC POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

***The End of Neoliberal Tax Policy? The Impact of International Co-operation on National Policies* - Thomas Rixen and Lukas Hackelberg (University of Bamberg)**

The paper presented by Thomas Rixen shows that international tax cooperation can make a crucial difference in raising governments tax returns. The paper reveals that **international cooperation against tax evasion has a causal impact on the tax rates that OECD countries impose on personal dividend income**. Since the G20 seriously pursues the objective of establishing financial transparency, the downward trend in dividend tax rates has reversed. In contrast, corporate tax rates – still subject to the pressures of tax competition, as initiatives against tax avoidance remain unsuccessful – continue to fall. As the case of the United Kingdom makes clear, international tax cooperation is an intervening variable that moderates the effect of domestic demand for higher taxes on capital on actual tax rates. Where cooperative arrangements are in place, governments regain discretion over the level of tax. Depending on budgetary needs, voter support, and political ideology both de-creases and increases are possible. Where cooperation is absent, however, these factors do not suffice to halt the downward trend in tax rates induced by tax competition. Accordingly, **a paradigm shift away from neoliberal tax policy would only be possible, if progress on financial transparency was matched by an equally effective remedy to corporate tax avoidance.**

Panel VI: ELITES AND THE PUBLIC IN CRISIS TIMES

***Legislative Agendas in Hard Times: How political parties adapt their legislative priorities across time*- Laura Chaqués Bonafont (University of Barcelona and IBEI)**

The paper presented by Laura Chaqués Bonafont indicates that economic recession does not affect the level of fragmentation of the legislative agenda. Contrary to what happens in other political activities such as in political speeches, the legislative agenda is not increasingly concentrated on a few set of issues. Her analysis of the legislative agenda in Spain shows that the legislative agenda of the government generally differs from the agenda of the members of parliament. The percentage

of governmental bills dealing with economic issues is significantly larger than in parliamentary bills. By the contrary, parliamentary groups try to push forward with more intensity legislation about welfare related issues (health, education, social policy and labor), rights, and governmental issues. Yet, the differences in issue attention declined after 2008 for all issues with the exception of governmental issues. This indicates **that issue attention in the legislative agendas of the members of parliament and of the government tend to converge during economic recession, especially for the case of economic related issues.**

Fallacious Arguments in a Three-level games: Discursive Strategies of Irish and Portuguese Executives during the Financial Crisis - Angie Gago & Catherine Moury (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

The paper presented by Angie Gago and Catherine Moury examines the discursive strategies used by governments in their interaction with trade union in a three-level games in which executives negotiate at the international level and are pressured to signal financial credibility to foreign investors. Here, the focus is on Ireland and Portugal and thus on two countries that were severally hit by the crisis in 2008. The paper shows that the governments in both countries used fallacious discursive strategies to convince trade unions to sign agreements that retroceded voters' right. Principally, they **played down their room of manoeuvre and exaggerated the constraints imposed on them by investors and international actors.** Following the same logic, they also imposed on themselves constraints that were presented as being external ones. Also, executives **confronted social actors with take-it or leave-it offers** that were used to obfuscate the range of options that were actually possible. Also, ministers explicitly **threatened actors to unilaterally implement harsher measures in case of non-agreement.** All those arguments can be considered fallacious but were pretty efficient in triggering unions to accept deals that retrocede their members' rights.

Panel VII: MECHANISMS OF POLICY COMPENSATION

Less Pensions – More Prisons? Exploring the Compensation of Welfare by Law-&-Order Policies - Helge Staff (University of Kaiserslautern)

In his paper, Helge Staff empirically tests the thesis of Loïc Wacquant concerning the dismantling of the welfare state leading to an increase in law and order policies in Western democracies. The author uses a mixed-methods design approach in order to scrutinise the relationship between policies of domestic security and social welfare. A single case study provides deeper insight into the crisis budget policy in order to identify causal mechanisms in this field. Based on the results of the analysis however, the author is able to reject Wacquant's thesis for the countries analysed. **No clear link between welfare policy and security policy can be established**, at least in the case of Europe. In the discussion, a suggestion made in order to incorporate the extend of compensation between the welfare and security area is to include the initial position, hence how hard or soft regulation already is in pre-crisis times. Based on the macro analysis, additional insights might be gained solely by mapping different strategies pursued by countries.

Summary & Key Findings

A key insight of the workshop was that **policy dismantling is indeed a key coping strategy that policy-makers use to deal with economic pressures**. Policy dismantling, however, is not a uniform activity. Rather, it takes several forms ranging from (1) **active policy dismantling** (see *Brooks above*) to more 'passive' and subtle form in which either (2) the **underling administrative capacities are cut** (see *Bloma above*) or (3) **increases in the regulatory density turn out to be only of rhetoric rather than substantial nature** (see *Pollex and Lenschow above*). Moreover, we recognized that **identifying policy compensation is a highly challenging analytical endeavour** as it requires to proof that two apparently independent policy decisions/areas are (strategically) linked with each other (see *Staff above*). Yet, what we found is that there are **unintended or neglected influences of economic crises that essentially have the same implications than policy compensation**. More precisely, we found that **economic crises bind the attention of central policy-makers at the system-level** so that they have less resources available to deal with policy issues unrelated to economic matters (see *Fernandéz-i-Marin et al.* and *Chaqués Bonafont above*).

As a result, there are some policy areas that receive a lot of attention while others – such as morality policy – are largely neglected during times of economic hardship.

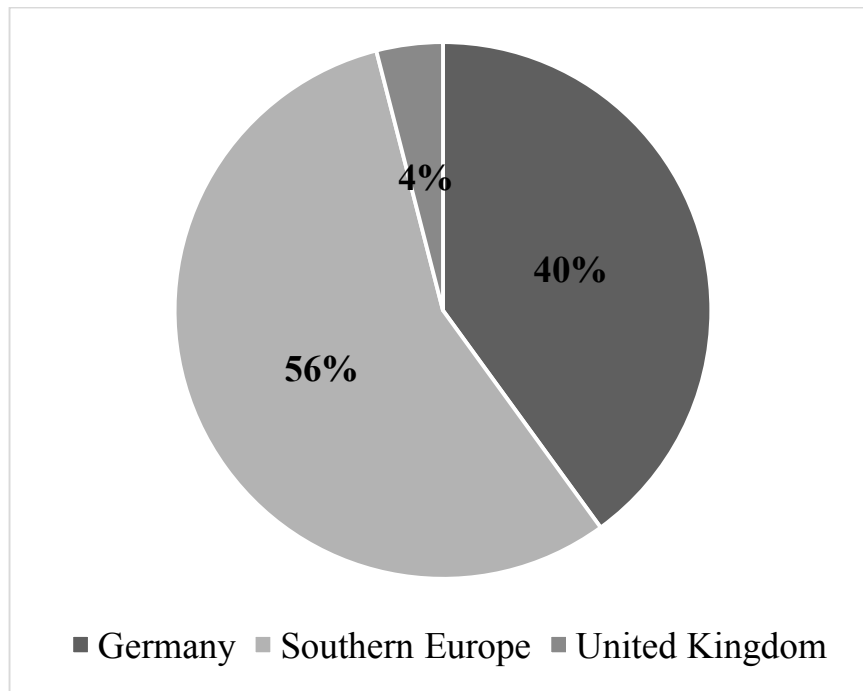
III. Additional Objectives

Besides these scientific objectives, the collaboration between the Geschwister-Scholl-Institut (GSI) (Germany) and the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) (Spain) had three additional aims. First, we wanted to offer **a forum in which Southern-European and German political scientists** specialized in environmental, social, and morality policy could work closely together. Second, the project wanted to **promote early-career scholars** from both countries and support them in **expanding their academic network**. Third, we intended to contribute to the future design of environmental, social, and morality policy by providing **recommendations to practitioners and by publishing in high-ranked academic journals**. In the remainder of this section, we reflect on the extent to which we achieved the different objectives we have set ourselves.

A forum for Scientific Exchange between Southern-Europe and Germany

As presented in *Table 1* in the Appendix, in total 25 scholars attended our workshop. Out of these 26 scholars, two gave a key note speech, 17 were involved in paper presentations, and seven attended the conference as listeners. As presented in *Figure 1*, we managed to ensure a **high and uniform level of representation of both scholars from Southern Europe and from Germany**. More precisely, 56 percent of the scholars (14) were affiliated with either an Italian, Spanish or a Portuguese university, while 42 percent of the scholars (10) were affiliated with a German University. Moreover, one scholar from the United Kingdom joined our workshop.

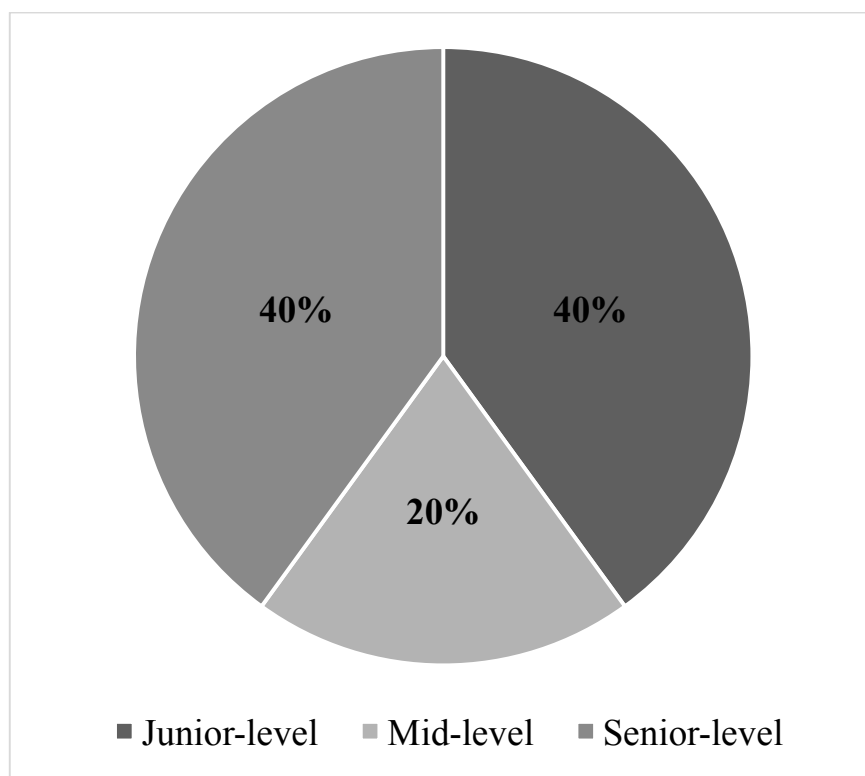
FIGURE 1: Regional Distribution of Attendants (University Affiliation).



Promote Early-career Scholars

As presented in *Figure 2*, we did not only manage to involve an almost equal share of scholars from both Southern Europe and Germany but also **from various career stages**. 40 percent were early-career scholars, i.e. doctoral students. The remaining 60 percent were either from the mid-level (20 percent), including post-doctoral fellows and assistant professors, or from the senior-level (40 percent). This **equal share of both early-career and senior scholars** allowed for a one-to-one tutoring during the ‘Meet and Greet & Mentoring Session’ that gave junior scholars the chance to raise and intensively discuss topics related to their career development.

FIGURE 2: Share of Attendants from Different Career Stages.



Publishing in High-ranked Academic Journals

Given the short period of time between the workshop and the deadline to submit the final report, we know only of few articles that are already ready for submission. Jan Pollex and Andrea Lenschow submitted their draft ‘Burden shifting in hard times? How the burden of sustainable development is shifted towards consumers and out of regulatory focus’ to **the Journal of European Public Policy (JEPP)**. Thomas Rixen and Lukas Hakelberg submitted their paper ‘The End of Neoliberal Tax Policy? The Impact of International Co-operation on National Policies’ to **International Organization (IO)**. Steffen Hurka, Yves Steinebach, Christoph Knill and Xavier Fernandez-i-Marín submitted their paper ‘Regulatory Trade-offs and Compensation Effects During and After Economic Crises’ to the **American Journal of Political Science**. All of these journals are leading journals in their respective field.

IV. Appendix

Table 1: List of Participants

Nr.	Participant	Affiliation	Mail Address
1	Bloma, Ieva	European University Institute	<i>ieva.bloma@eui.eu</i>
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Final Programme



POLICY-MAKING IN HARD TIMES: DEREGULATION, DISMANTLING AND COMPENSATION

WORKSHOP

Barcelona, 15-17 November 2017

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 15 November 2017

Auditorium Mercè Rodoreda 23 (Basement)

14:30 - 15:00 **Arrival of the Participants and Registration**

15:00 - 15:30 **Welcome**
Jacint Jordana (Universitat Pompeu Fabra and IBEI)
Christoph Knill (Ludwig-Maximilians-University (LMU))

15:30 - 17:00 **Keynote Speech**
Stephan Lessenich (Ludwig-Maximilians-University (LMU))
Politics in Hard Times, Revisited: Deregulation, Compensation – and Externalization

17:00 - 17:30 **Coffee Break**

17:30 - 19:00 **Panel I**

SOCIAL REGULATION AND EDUCATION POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Steffen Hurka, Yves Steinebach, Christoph Knill & Xavier Fernandez-i-Marin (LMU Munich)
Regulatory Trade-offs and Compensation Effects During and After Economic Crises

20:30 **Dinner**

Thursday, 16 November 2017

Auditorium Mercè Rodoreda 23 (Basement)

09:30 - 11:00 **Panel II**

CLIMATE CHANGE & CRISIS

Raffael Hanschmann (University of Potsdam)

Impact Mechanisms of Economic Shocks in EU Climate Policy-making

Ernani Contipelli (Universidade Comunitária da Região de Chapecó Santa Catarina – Brazil)

Regulation and Local Innovation on Climate Change Mitigation: The Case of Barcelona Energy Agency

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

11:30 - 13:00 **Keynote Speech**

Susana Narotzky (Universitat de Barcelona)

The 'Grassroots Economics Project': Reactions to the Breakdown of Social Reproduction and Austerity Policies in Everyday Life

13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:30 **Panel III**

EU POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Jan Pollex & Andrea Lenschow (University of Osnabrück)

Burden Shifting in Hard Times? How the Burden of Sustainable Development is Shifted Towards Consumers and Out of Regulatory Focus

Christos Louvaris Fasois (University of Amsterdam & University of Milan)

EU-led Mechanisms of Change and National Policy Responses in Hard Times: A Theoretical Approach Towards the Influence of the European Semester

Eleanor Brooks (Queen Mary – University of London)

Post-crisis Health Policy: Dismantling at the EU Level?

15:30 – 16:00 **Coffee Break**

16:00 – 17:30 **Panel IV**

THE CRISIS IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE

Kotroyannos Dimitrios, Stylianos Ioannis Tzagkarakis & Emmanouil Mavrozacharakis (University of Crete)

Dismantling welfare policies during the crisis in Southern Europe: Searching for alternatives

Ieva Bloma (European University Institute – Florence)

The impact of the economic crisis on the compliance with occupational health and safety requirements: the case of the Baltic states

Fulya Apaydin, Jacint Jordana & Ixchel Pérez Durán (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI))

Biased accountability in turbulent financial environments: Institutional strategies of Mexican and Spanish S&E supervisory agencies

17:30 – 18:00 **Break**

18:00 – 19:00 **Panel V**

FISCAL, TAX, AND ECONOMIC POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Thomas Rixen & Lukas Hakelberg (University of Bamberg)

The End of Neoliberal Tax Policy? The Impact of International Co-operation on National Policies

Matteo Laruffa (Harvard University & LUISS Guido Carli University)

Rethinking the Policy-Making in the Economic and Monetary Union: From Problems to Proposals for a More Effective Governance

19:00 **Tapas, Meet and Greet & Mentoring Sessions**

Friday, 17 November 2017

Auditorium Mercè Rodoreda 23 (Basement)

09:30 - 11:00 **Panel VI**

ELITES AND THE PUBLIC IN CRISIS TIMES

Laura Chaqués (Universitat de Barcelona and IBEI)

The Transparency Dilemma

Leire Rincón García (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI))

What Determines Policy Preferences of Elites in Times of Crisis?

Angie Gago & Catherine Moury (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Making and Justifying Impossible Choices: Trade Unions and Three-Level Games in Ireland and Portugal

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

11:30 – 12:30 **Panel VII**

MECHANISMS OF POLICY COMPENSATION

Yaacov Vertzberger (The Hebrew University – Jerusalem)

Policy Formation, Policy Resilience, Social Learning and Uncertain Reform

Helge Staff (University of Kaiserslautern)

Less Pensions – More Prisons? Exploring the Compensation of Welfare by Law-&-Order Policies

12:30 – 14:00 **Wrap-up & Outlook**

VENUE

Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI)

Auditorium Mercè Rodoreda 23 (Basement)

Ramon Trias Fargas 25-27

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