



ANGIE GAGO

PhD Political Science

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Employment history

- June 2023-present Senior Researcher and Lecturer (Oberassistentin)
Department of Sociology, Social Policy, and Social Work
University of Fribourg
- Nov 2018 – Nov 2022 Post-doctoral researcher SNSF, Fellow member of the NCCR
on the move-Migration and Mobility nexus
Centre of Comparative, European and International Law (CDCEI)
University of Lausanne
- Sep 2016 - Nov 2018 Research assistant
Portuguese Institute of International Relations (IPRI)
FCSH-NOVA University of Lisbon

Education

- Jan 2014- March 2018 PhD with Excellence in Political Studies
Department of Social and Political Sciences
University of Milan
- Sep 2008 - Sep 2012 Master of Arts in Politics and Democracy
Faculty of Political Science and Sociology
National University of Distance Education
- Sep 2004 - March
2006 Master of Arts in International Relations
Faculty of Law, Governance and International Relations
London Metropolitan University
- Sep 1998 – Jun 2004 Degree of Journalism
Faculty of Communication,
University of Seville

Methods courses

Jan 2023	Advanced Qualitative Data Analysis ECPR Winter School in Methods and Techniques
Aug 2015	Process Tracing II - Evidence and Empirical Testing in Practice ECPR Summer School in Methods and Techniques
July – Aug 2014	Process Tracing Methodology I – Foundations and Design ECPR Summer School in Methods and Techniques
June 2014	Research Strategies in Public Policies “Gauging causality” Summer School ReSPoS 2014

Teaching

Jun 2023-present	Lecturer Department of Sociology, Social Policy, and Social Work University of Fribourg BA: Sozialstaat und Wohlfahrtsregime, Sozialpolitik, Organisationen und Gesellschaft, Neuer Institutionalismus (in German) MA: Differenze und Konflikte
Sep 2020 – Dec 2020	Guest Professor of « Internationalisation des politiques publiques » MA in Public Administration (in French) Swiss Graduate School of Public Administration (IDHEAP)
Feb 2018 – July 2018	Guest Professor of European Politics MA in European Studies (in Portuguese) FCSH-NOVA University of Lisbon

Selected guest lectures

23 October 2024	Guest lecturer MA in European Studies University of Fribourg
27 Oct 2020	Guest Lecturer
3 Dec 2019	MA in Sociology University of Liège

17 Oct 2018 Guest Lecturer
8 Nov 2017 MA in European Institutions
 FCSH-NOVA University of Lisbon

Supervision of junior researchers

June 2023-Present Co-supervisor of master's thesis
 (MA in Soziologie, Sozialpolitik, Sozialarbeit, University of Fribourg)
 Current: Berufliche Integration und Familienbedingungen:
 Herausforderungen und Bedürfnisse alleinerziehender Geflüchteter
 im Kanton Tessin (Lisa Studer)
 Ein kritischer Blick auf staatliches Handeln beim Verdacht
 auf eine Eheschliessung zur Umgehung des Ausländerrechts (Menga Thoma)

July 2020 – Dec 2022 Mentor of Aurèlie Pont, PhD Student at the University of Geneva
 Mentorship programme of the NCCR-on the move

July 2018 – Sep 2018 Mentor of Francesco Maria Morettini (Oxford University)
 Programme 'Erasmus traineeship for 2017/18 academic year'
 FCSH-NOVA University of Lisbon

March – July 2018 Co-supervision of the final master's thesis
 MA in Political Science and International Relations
 Student: Ana Leite
 FCSH-NOVA University of Lisbon

Active memberships

- Laboratory for Analysis of Governance and Public Policy in Europe (UNIL)
- Swiss Political Science Association (SPSA)
- The European Communities Studies Association (ECSA Switzerland)

Organisation of conferences

- Member of the organisation committee of the Neuchâtel Graduate Conference of Migration and Mobility Studies (1-2 July 2021)

Editorial participation

- Member of the editorial team of journal-socialpolicy.ch
- Individual scientific Reviewing: European Political Science Review, Comparative Migration Studies, Social inclusion

Prizes

- JESP/ESPanet Researcher Prize 2018
- Collaborative Research Award Santander Totta / NOVA 2017

Language skills

- Spanish: Mother tongue
- English: Proficient
- French: Fluent
- German: Intermediate
- Catalan, Portuguese and Italian: Conversant

Outreach

Gago, A (2023): "Niemand migriert wegen grosszügigeren Sozialversicherungen"
Interview at swisinfo.ch (23.02.2023).

Gago, A. (2021) "Why has the European Court of Justice shifted toward a more restrictive position on access to welfare in member states?" (With Maiani, F.)
The Loop. ECPR Political Science Blog.

Gago, A. (2020) "Coronavirus recovery – lessons from the eurozone crisis" (With Ladi, S, Moury, S and Cardoso, D). *The Conversation.*

Gago A. (2016) "The European Semester and the social partners: Any chance of friendship?" Focus. *EuVisions.*

Gago, A. (2016) "Crisis y revitalización sindical".
Ahora semanal.

Selected conference presentations

08-09/02/2024: Annual Congress of the Swiss Political Science Association (University of St. Gallen). "The domestic politics of Swiss-EU negotiations on the IFA (and beyond)"

02-03/02/2023: Annual Congress of the Swiss Political Science Association (University of Basel). "Why did the Swiss-EU negotiations on IFA fail? A closer look at the domestic process of preference formation"

04-05/02/2021: Annual Congress of the Swiss Political Science Association (University of Bern, online event). “The legal uncertainty on EU migrants’ social rights in Germany: only the EU rules to blame?”

04-07/09/2019: ECPR General Conference 2019 (Wroclaw). “Fears of social tourism and welfare closure after the EU enlargement: social assistance benefits for EU jobseekers in UK, Germany and Switzerland” (with Maiani, F)

27-29/06/2019: SASE Conference 2019 (New York). “The equal treatment principle challenged? The access of EU migrants to job seeking allowances in the UK and Germany” (with Maiani, F)

14-16/ 09/2017: Espanet Europe Conference (ISCSP-Lisboa). “The discursive deconstruction of the Irish social partnership model during the Eurozone crisis”

12-14/ 07/ 2017: CES Conference (Glasgow). “Making and justifying impossible choices: Trade unions and Three-Level games in Ireland and Portugal” (with Moury, C.)

7-10/ 09/2016: ECPR General Conference 2016 (Prague). “Neoliberal Intergovernmentalism: Southern European trade unions facing EU conditionality during the Eurozone crisis”

Description of research projects

University of Fribourg, Habilitation project: “Customised Social Europe: Swiss contestation against European social policies in comparative perspective” (June 2023-present)

Abstract: This project analyses the causes of domestic resistance to the adoption of European social policies and examines domestic preferences and coalitions. The empirical analysis is mainly based on the case of Switzerland in the context of the Bilateral Agreements III. The project also adopts a comparative perspective, comparing Switzerland with other EU member and non-member states. Finally, attention is paid to European policy-making processes in order to understand which EU social policies are more or less supported than others and the processes through which these policies are finally adopted at the EU level.

Published article: The domestic politics of the Swiss-EU negotiations on the Institutional Framework Agreement (and beyond). *Swiss Political Science Review*.

Working paper 1: Goodness of fit or domestic veto players? The relationship between the EU Posting of Workers directive(s) and the Swiss flanking measures.

Working paper 2: Why not a directive this time? The EU Recommendation on an Adequate Minimum Income (with Ronchi. S.)

Swiss National Science Foundation, NCCR "On the Move", Postdoctoral Project: Free Movement and National Welfare Systems (PI Francesco Maiani, November 2018-December 2022)

Abstract: This project analysed EU legislation on access to social benefits and its impact on Member States' social policies. It examined the extent to which EU law on free movement has 'opened up' access to social benefits and how national legislation has adapted to this. The project also looked at how this legislation has been influenced by Member States' responses.

Published article 1: The persistence of legal uncertainty on EU citizens' access to social benefits in Germany (with Hruschka, C.). *Journal of European Social Policy*.

Published article 2: 'Pushing the boundaries': a dialogical account of the evolution of European case-law on access to welfare (with Maiani. F.). *Journal of European Intergration*.

ERC Advanced Grant/NASP, Project: Reconciling Economic and Social Europe (PI Maurizio Ferrera, February 2014-March 2018).

Abstract: This project analysed the tensions between the EU and national welfare states. The project purpose was to develop a new theory on the genetic roots of such tensions, their temporal swings, the possible institutional solutions and their political pre-conditions. The project focused on the intellectual and political dynamics of both welfare state-building and EU-building.

Output: Doctoral thesis. EU Ordoliberal Intergovernmentalism and the Transformation of National Political Opportunities during the Eurozone crisis.

Published article: Crisis, EU transformation and union strategies: The impact of conditionality on the strategic repertoire of Spanish trade unions during the Eurozone crisis. *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*.

Portuguese Foundation of Science and Technology (FCT), Project: Democracy in times of crisis: Power and Discourse in a three-level game (PI Catherine Moury, September 2016-October 2018).

Abstract: This project examined the constraints on national executives in the five bailed-out eurozone countries during and after the crisis, from 2008 to 2019. It examined whether, despite international market pressures and creditor conditionality, governments

had some room for manoeuvre during a bailout and were able to advocate, resist, shape or roll back some of the policies demanded by external actors.

Published book: Capitalising on constraint: Bailout politics in Eurozone countries. Manchester University Press. (with Moury, C. Ladi, S and Cardoso, D).

Published article 1: Power and ideas: the legitimisation of the end of the Irish social partnership model during the Eurozone crisis. *Irish Political Studies*.

Published article 2: When the lenders leave town: veto players, electoral calculations and vested interests as determinants of policy reversals in Spain and Portugal. *South European Society and Politics*. (with Moury, C. and Cardoso, D).

Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. Project: Capacidad y Estrategias de Reforma frente a la Crisis Fiscal en los Sectores Públicos y las Políticas de Bienestar Autonómicos: Condicionantes y Trayectorias de Cambio (PI, Eloisa del Pino, September 2014-September 2016)

Abstract: This project studied the responsiveness of the governments of the Spanish Autonomous Communities (ACs) to the Eurozone crisis and the strategies they used in order to achieve fiscal consolidation through measures and reforms in their administrations and public policies. The main research question was: under what conditions, when, how and with what success, different regional governments undertake different types of measures or reforms of the public sector and social policies, largely unpopular and costly, to face the situation of aggravated austerity that their treasuries are experiencing.

Published book chapter: Los Estados del Bienestar europeos: ¿convergencia o divergencia en el contenido y resultados de sus políticas sociales? (with Del Pino, Eloisa).

List of Publications

Journal articles

Gago, A. (2024). The domestic politics of the Swiss-EU negotiations on the Institutional Framework Agreement (and beyond). *Swiss Political Science Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12623>

Gago, A. (2024). Social Policies as a Tool of Migration Control: the case of Switzerland. *sozialpolitik. ch*, (1/2024), 1-3. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18753/2297-8224-4440>

Gago, A. and Hruschka, C. (2022) “The persistence of legal uncertainty on EU citizens’ access to social benefits in Germany” *Journal of European Social Policy* DOI: 10.1177/09589287221095028

Gago, A. and Maiani, F. (2021) “‘Pushing the boundaries’: a dialogical account of the evolution of European case-law on access to welfare” *Journal of European Integration* <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2021.1887860>

Gago, A. (2021) “Power and ideas: the legitimisation of the end of the Irish social partnership model during the Eurozone crisis”, *Irish Political Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2021.1880392>

Moury, C., Cardoso, D. and Gago, A. (2019) “When the Lenders Leave Town: Veto Players, Electoral Calculations and Vested Interests as Determinants of Policy Reversals in Spain and Portugal”. *South European Society and Politics*, 24 (2): 177-204 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2019.1642622>

Gago, A. (2016) “Crisis, cambio en la UE y estrategias sindicales: el impacto de la condicionalidad en el repertorio estratégico de los sindicatos españoles durante la crisis de la eurozona” *Revista Española de Ciencia Política*, 42, 45-68. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21308/recp.42.02>

Gago, A. (2012) “Los sindicatos mayoritarios españoles, CCOO y UGT, ante la crisis económica: ¿declive o revitalización?”, *Anuari del conflicte social 2012*. pp. 1075-1105. ISSN-e 2014-6760

Books

Moury, C., Ladi, S., Cardoso, D. and Gago, A. (2021) *Capitalising on Constraint: Bailout Politics in Eurozone Countries*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Book chapters

Tassinari, A., Bulfone, F. and Gago, A. (2024) “Labour market policies in Southern Europe” in Clegg, D. and Durazzi, N (Eds) *Handbook of Labour Market Policy in Rich Democracies*. Edward Elgar.

Gago, A. (2021) “All of the same type? The use of fears of welfare tourism to limit the access of EU migrants to social benefits in the UK and Germany” in Pomati, M, Jolly, A and Rees, J (Eds.) *Social policy review 33: analysis and debate in social policy*, 2021. Policy Press. pp. 209-228.

Del Pino, E., and Gago, A. (2019) “Los Estados del Bienestar europeos: ¿convergencia o divergencia en el contenido y resultados de sus políticas sociales?” In Ares, C and

Bouza, L (Eds.) *Política de la Unión Europea. Crisis y continuidad*. Centro de investigaciones sociológicas. pp. 307-333.

Del Pino, E. and Gago, A. (2015) “Los desafíos del sistema de protección por desempleo en España”, in Moreno Fuentes, F. J. and Del Pino Matute, E. (Coord.) *Desafíos del Estado de Bienestar en Noruega y España*. Editorial Tecnos. pp. 149-170.

Working papers

Gago, A. (2023) The ‘migranticisation’ of EU free movement: Analysing the policies to control intra-EU migration in Germany and the UK. Working paper #34. NCCR on the move.

Moury, C., Ladi, S., Cardoso, D. and Gago, A. (2020) “Capitalising on external constraint: six things you should know about eurozone bailouts”, Working paper EUI RSCAS; 2020/95. European University Institute.

Moury, C., Cardoso, D. and Gago, A. (2019) “When the Lenders Leave Town: Veto Players, Electoral Calculations and Vested Interests as Determinants of Policy Reversals in Spain and Portugal”, IPRI Working Paper n. ° 58/2019 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23906/wp58/2019>

Del Pino, E. and Gago, A. (2017) “Las reformas del Bienestar en Europa y su impacto” (with Del Pino, E) Instituto de Políticas Públicas (IPP). WP 2017/02.

Del Pino, E. and Gago, A. (2015) “Challenges of Unemployment Protection and Active Policies in Spain”, GIGAPP. WP-2015-07.