

## ***Leveraging, Capture and Resistance: Local Adaptation of the Discourse on European Cohesion Policies in Italian Regions***

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### **Abstract**

Cohesion policy accounts for more than one third of the budget of the European Union, but research mostly focuses on economic aspects. In this paper we tackle the discursive dimension of cohesion policy, and in particular, we address the debate on newspapers at national and regional level. As regions can be deemed as the product of struggle over meaning, and as discourses are able to mould and change reality and how we perceive it, we explore the topics used by media when dealing with Cohesion Policy, and in particular we address to what extent national and regional debate differ, also considering regions that differ according to the effectiveness of funds' management. We performed a topic model on newspapers articles, and we also collected economic data through Eurispes. Our findings point at three processes, which we called leverage, capture, and resistance, which define the local (regional) adaptation of national discourses on cohesion policy. These processes reflect entrenched power relations and depend on the specific context of programming periods, on contingent events, and on structural factors pertaining to regions' history of economic and social development.

### **1. Introduction**

Cohesion Policy accounts for more than one third of the budget of the European Union<sup>1</sup>, and aims at facilitating the converge of economic development of European regions. While the economic dimension of Cohesion Policy (i.e., the rate of absorption by different regions) is tackled by academic literature, the discursive dimension of Cohesion Policy remains overlooked. This is particularly relevant, as regions can be conceived as the result of struggles over symbolic meanings in different social field (Passi, 2001). Several scholars emphasise the relationship between power and discourse (i.e., Foucault, 1972; Bourdieu, 1991, Habermas, 1981): although they do not agree on the freedom of strategic action for the social agents, there is agreement on the fact that discourses are endowed with the performative power to define and change reality. Therefore, discourses around regions impact the same definition of regions. We are particularly interested in how discourses about regions and cohesion policy change by shifting from lower to higher levels of locality. Cohesion Policy are particularly interesting, as: first, they are defined centrally, at the level of European Commission, and implemented locally, at the level of European regions. This structure creates a complex political field that extend from Brussels to national governments, to local administrations in

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<sup>1</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/en/policy/what/investment-policy/](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/what/investment-policy/)

regional areas. Within this layered structure, Brussels bears the budgetary costs of cohesion policies and local administrations are responsible for their implementation. Second, cohesion policies represent valuable economic opportunities for regions, and funds allocation to regions may influence local interests and mobilise specific interest groups. A question emerges on whether the mobilisation of economic interests influences local discourses.

European Public Sphere refers to the idea that the same issues are debated at the same time, in different European countries, through the same categories. But many scholars suggest (Risse, 2003; 2009) that a proper European Public Sphere is still underdeveloped or populated solely by European political, economic and intellectual elites. Thus, the discourse on the policies of the European Union is especially limited to a cosmopolitan, elitist arena. National media differ according to the way they treat European issue, which usually are not relevant for European voters (Moravcsik, 2002); these issues tend to interact with local issues and local discourses. This consideration leads us to our research questions: *What are the topics used by media when dealing with Cohesion Policy? And to what extent do national and regional debate differ, also considering regions that differ according to the effectiveness of funds' management?*

To address these questions, we performed topic modelling on journal articles in a sample of regions in which the implementation of cohesion policies yielded different results. In particular, we focus on the Italian case as our empirical context, as Italian regions differ according to the effectiveness of implementation and communication of Cohesion Policy, and as Italian regions are differently categorised as convergence or competition regions. We inspected one journal, *La Repubblica*, and we compared the national edition and the local editions to address the different layers of debate. We selected a journal that is widely diffused in Italy, and that publishes a good number of high-quality local editions.

We address the attempt of local political discourses to maintain their autonomy within larger discourses. In particular, our findings point at how local discourses may be captured and moulded by three groups of elements that reflect entrenched power relations. First, we looked at factors connected to the specific context of programming periods – transparency and effectiveness of local authorities in managing local funds –. Second, we considered contingent events taking place in the programming periods (cases of frauds, natural plagues or other salient events). Finally, we contemplated structural factors pertaining to regions' history of economic and social development as crystallised by the classification as convergence or competition objectives.

Theoretically, our research is new as, whereas previous studies on European political discourse addressed the adaptation of European issue fields into national mass media (Adam, 2007), we go further by analysing how regional media adapt to nationally covered European issues. The paper is structured as follows: the next three paragraphs review the concepts of power and discourse, the relevance of mass media within the European Public Sphere, and present the context of Cohesion Policy. Then we present method and data. Results on both discursive and contextual dimension of Cohesion Policy lead to the discussion and, finally, to the conclusion.

## **2. Discourse, power and regions as social constructs**

According to Foucault, discourse is the locus of power (Foucault, 1972): discourse assigns power, and subject positions reveals power relations. Also, in Bourdieu (1986, 1990, 1991),

discourses provide the arena in which power relations emerge. In his work, the very measure of power – symbolic power – is the power defining the legitimation to speak. The concept of symbolic capital is the central point of Bourdieu's analysis of power: symbolic power grants the power to nominate or the monopoly of legitimate naming, that is, the power to create the world through naming. (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, symbolic capital endows with a sort of "performative magic" (Bourdieu, 1991: 106): the world designed by a legitimate discourse is not only expressed, but authorised and legitimised. Agents endowed with symbolic capital can exert symbolic power, which is a power of constructing reality. "In the struggle to impose legitimate vision, agents possess power in proportion to their symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1991: 106), which is in proportion to the recognition they receive from agents of the field.

Taking a discursive perspective, we can consider regions as social constructs (Allen *et al.*, 1998) that reveal a struggle over the meanings associated with space, borders and regional institutions. In Bourdesian terms, regions "may also be the results of struggle over symbolic capital in different social fields" (Passi, 2001: 13). This relationship between discourse and power is largely recognised in social constructivism in social sciences; more specifically, as for the discourse on European politics, which is the main focus of this article, discursive practices establish power relationships in the sense that they make us "understand certain problems in certain ways, and pose questions accordingly" (Diez, 2001: 90). In studies of discursive approaches to the analysis of European institution building, more oriented by the Habermasian theory of communicative action (Habermas, 1981), European institutions are discourses rather than bargaining arenas (Risse, 2009). This shift from Foucauldian to Bourdesian and Habermasian informed points of view on discourse implies that actors have at least the possibility of acting strategically by shaping their position in relation to a given discursive structure and by attempting to modify the discursive structure itself (Weaver, 2009: 165). Indeed, as Passi (2001: 14) suggests "the language of regionalism (and its capacity to fetishize space and territory) has always been an important strategy for nationalists and regionalists in constructing spatial oppositions, and it is the key medium when the spatialities of power are hidden in rhetoric". From this perspective, discursive strategies can both preserve power, or function as tools to resist to hegemonic processes (De Cillia *et al.*, 1999); therefore, forms of resistance may emerge in the persistence of local idiosyncratic discourses that are embedded and partially segregated from hegemonic national or supra-national discourses.

### 3. The fragmentation of European political discourse

As regions can be conceived as social constructs constituted through discourses, to analyse discourses regarding cohesion policies, we shall focus on two relevant issues, which are *where* and *how* relevant political discourses are produced.

The first issue concerns the locus where discourses are produced. A public sphere is a mechanism that links politics to citizens. It is an arena in which political issues and positions are discussed and citizens are mobilised (Adam, 2007, 2009). The European Public Sphere is a concept describing a situation where the same issues are debated in different European national contexts with reference to similar meaning structures (Risse, 2009; Kanter, 2015; Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2017). Several authors focused on how an European Public Sphere can emerge (Koopmans and Erbe, 2004), and described the positions of the different streams of research regarding this issue (De Vreese, 2007), but scholars agree on the actual lack of a

real European Public Sphere, with debates fragmented at national level (Risse, 2003; 2009, Triga, and Vadratsikas, 2018).

A second issue is how discourses are produced. In mass democracies, mass media are the most important mechanism to maintain public sphere alive (Adam, 2009). Scholars of politics of the European Union suggest that, by selecting and emphasising issues, actors and frames, mass media actively construct reality (Trenz, 2008: 303). Mass media, however, are likely to produce discourses segregated at national level due to the absence of a common language (Grimm 1995: 294), and this does not contribute to the building of a European public sphere. As Adam notes, media such as Financial Times, The Economist, Le Monde Diplomatique, and TV programs like ARTE and Euronews are read and viewed across European border, but they remain dedicated to elite audiences (2009: 10). Moreover, EU policies generally “lack salience in the minds of European voters” (Moravcsik, 2002: 615), therefore national and regional media are likely to cover EU-related issues only if filtered by, and connected to, local issues and local discourses. A consequence is that for analysing cohesion policy related discourses, which help constructing meaning regarding and around regions, we must focus on national public spheres.

#### 4. Research context: cohesion policies

Cohesion policies are designed to reduce economic disparities between European regions in terms of economic development. More specifically, EU uses specifically allocated funds that are labelled *structural funds*: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund<sup>2</sup>. Three are the aims of cohesion policies (Lelieveldt and Princen, 2011: 186-187): first, structural funds are allocated to economically weaker European regions in order to reduce disparities among regions. Second, funds are allocated to regions that do not fall under the convergence objective in order to strengthen their competitiveness. Finally, funds are allocated to European regions in order to facilitate their territorial cooperation (e.g., funds may be allocated for projects such as the building of a bridge, or a road, that connects border regions in different member states).

Cohesion policies are particularly adequate for investigating power dynamics among different layers of policymaking. Despite nations play a key role when funds are allocated to regions within the EU Council, implementation of policies is delegated to regions and local managing authorities. Indeed, the implementation of cohesion policies is oriented by the ‘partnership principle’, according to which the “planning, decision-making and implementation of cohesion policy must be made in close consultation with subnational authorities” (Yesilkagit and Blom-Hansen, 2007: 503).

It was the analysis of such fragmented policy-making process that gave rise to the *multi-governance* perspective to the analysis of EU politics. According to this perspective, EU is a “one-of-a-kind” political system (Lelieveldt and Princen, 2011: 41) characterised by decision-making authority dispersed over several level of governance (supranational, national and regional) and in which national governments are no longer the dominant players in EU policymaking. European institutions, subnational authorities and states participate in making

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<sup>2</sup> Cohesion Fund applies to EU Member States which have a GDP lower than 90% of the EU-27 average, Croatia not taken into account.

decisions, and “the three parties are in a relationship of mutual dependency rather than hierarchy” (Hooge and Marks, 2001: 86). On similar lines, Yesilkagit and Blom-Hansen (2007) suggest that the allocation of power in cohesion studies calls for the analysis of the entire network of implementation. As the two authors suggest (Yesilkagit and Blom-Hansen, 2007: 504):

EU cohesion policy operates in areas where the member states have had their own national cohesion policies – national labour market policies and regional development policies – for much longer than the EU cohesion policy has been in existence.

Therefore, we expect that the implementation of cohesion policies provides a well suited context to analyse how regions emerge as battle fields of meanings, in which pre-existing national policies compete with European cohesion policies and the principle of partnership between states and regions is a contested issue. As Hooge (1996) suggests, the partnership principle created the ground on which the hegemony of national executives is challenged by subnational authorities.

## 5. Method and data

As we aimed at studying the relationship between cohesion policy implementation and media discourse around cohesion policy, we collected both textual data to elicit meanings, and absorption rates to distinguish between different regions. In particular, being cohesion policy organised in programs of seven years, we focused on the period 2007–2013.

In order to analyse media debate around cohesion policy, we focused on newspapers’ articles. The study of language permits to investigate phenomena otherwise hard to analyse (Rhodes and Brown, 2005). Words, in general, have the power to shape thoughts and action (Czarniawska, 1997; Hardy *et al.*, 2000, Hendry, 2000, Phillips *et al.*, 2004). Vocabularies constitute discourses (Loewenstein *et al.*, 2012, Ocasio & Joseph, 2005), that have the performative power of constructing reality (Bourdieu, 1991). Newspapers’ articles, in particular, are a worthy source of data, as they provide information regarding what elite are doing, as newspapers covers issues when legitimised institutional actors pay attention to them, or when political actors are proposing debate or legislative decree (Janssen *et al.*, 2008; Molotch and Lester, 1974; Reese, 1991). Moreover, journalists usually build stories around quotes or direct paraphrase of legitimate actors, leveraging assumptions and narratives that “those authorized speakers use to frame the topic at hand” (Di Maggio *et al.*, 2013: 573). Finally, newspapers’ articles influence the ideas of the audience (Di Maggio *et al.*, 2013).

In order to reconstruct meanings molded in the public debate (Meyer and Hoellerer, 2010) we relied on Topic Modelling (TM), which is a technique to automatically extract meanings from a corpus of texts (Blei *et al.*, 2003). Topic modelling codes words within texts into a set of ‘topics’, that are containers of meaningful words (Mohr and Bogdanov, 2013): “topic modeling provides a valuable method for identifying the linguistic context that surrounds social institutions” (Di Maggio *et. al.*, 2013: 570). In particular, Topic Modelling was recently used to analyse the communication of Cohesion Policy on social media (Barberio *et al.*, 2020)

Topics are set of words that co-occur together or co-occur in similar ways. Topic modelling has several good features: the first one is that data, that are topics, are explicit and other

researchers may reproduce the analysis. Second, meaning extraction is automated, and thus topic modelling can analyse large corpora of texts impossible to deal with for a human being. Third, inductive nature of the research is preserved, and topics permit to discover unexpected results, as they do not need the imposition of *a priori* categories. Induction is postponed to topic interpretation, where researchers must dig deep into data and use their knowledge of the field in order to make sense of results. Fourth, topic modelling recognises the relationality of meanings, as it treats terms as varying in meaning across different contexts and recognises that the meaning of a word depends on the surrounding words (DiMaggio *et al.*, 2013). Topic Modelling is gaining legitimation in management studies (Hannigan *et al.*, 2019), and was already widely used in sociological studies dealing with meanings. In example, it was used to make sense of societal issues (Miller, 2013), to analyse media attention for terrorist alert (Bonilla and Grimmer, 2013), and to analyse the ‘grammar of motives’ in National Security Strategies (Mohr *et al.*, 2013).

There are several algorithms to perform TM: the most diffused one requires no *a priori* impositions and is thus the most inductive, as it develops topics without any supervision. This algorithm is called Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA, Blei *et al.*, 2003), and is based on Bayesian statistics. There are, however, two decisions that the researcher should take before running the model. The first one regards the number of topics that the model should produce. The second concerns whether topics should contain an equal number of words or not. The main output of the algorithm consists of (i) a set of topics, each one described by a list of the most important words that constitute it; (ii) statistics regarding how each article in the sample is composed by the different topics; and (iii) the description of how each word in the corpus was coded.

Our data consists of a collection of 414 newspapers’ articles from 2007 to 2015, that we extracted from *La Repubblica*, which is the second most important Italian journal. We selected this outlet, as it has a national edition, together with several regional editions. This feature permitted us to analyse variations in national/local discourses. Also, while we focus on the programming period 2007–2013, we sampled articles for two more years to be sure to capture also the ‘tail’ of the media discourse, as it just does not end at the end of the programming period. In order to avoid collecting articles that did not deal with Regional and Cohesion Policies, we selected all the articles containing exactly the words ‘European Union’<sup>3</sup> and one among the following expressions:

- ‘Cohesion Policies’ (*politiche di coesione*’);
- ‘Regional Policies’ (*politiche regionali*’);
- ‘Structural Funds’ (*fondi strutturali*’);
- ‘Nuts’ (*Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics*);
- ‘European Social Fund’ (*fondo sociale europeo*’);
- ‘European Regional Development Fund’ (*fondo europeo di sviluppo regionale*’).

We ended up conducting the textual search asking for the exact matching of the sentence, as without double quotes the number of articles not really dealing with Regional and Cohesion Policies was far too high. As our aim is analysing the specificities of the national and regional discourses, we collected both articles from the national edition of the newspaper and from the regional editions. In particular, we collected articles from all the nine regional editions:

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<sup>3</sup> Indeed, we searched for ‘Unione Europea’, as the articles were written in Italian and referring to this country. In this article, though, we will try to present both the Italian words and the English translation.

Campania, Puglia, Sicilia, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardia, Piemonte, Toscana. and the nine regions included differ along two dimensions: first, sampled regions are characterised by different structural/historical traits. We focused on the different economic development of Italian regions, as this issue is relevant for Cohesion Policy, Indeed, in relation to their different economic development, European regions are differently classified in terms of the objectives of the European cohesion policies. As for the 2007–2013 programming period, Calabria, Campania, Puglia e Sicilia were classified under the ‘Convergence’ objective and Emilia Romagna, Piemonte, Lombardia, Lazio, Liguria, and Toscana were included into the ‘Competition’ objective. ‘Convergence’ objective includes regions that have a per capita GDP of less than 75 % of the EU-27 average and are considered as less developed in terms of economic growth. Allocation of structural funds are aimed at supporting the catch up by these less developed regions in order to promote the economic convergence among European regions. The ‘Convergence’ objective is financed by the ERDF and the ESF as well as the Cohesion Fund. The regional ‘competitiveness’ and employment objective covers all the areas of the European Union not eligible for the convergence objective. It aims to reinforce the regions’ competitiveness and attractiveness as well as employment, by anticipating economic and social changes, and it is as well funded by the ERDF and the ESF. To perform the TM we used Mallet (McCallum, 2002), an open-source software developed by University of Massachusetts Amherst. Before analysing data we developed a stop-word list, which is the list of the word that the software has to ignore. This list usually includes articles, prepositions, adverbs and words, which meaning does not add anything to a topic. Actual number of words analysed, words in stop-word list excluded, is 149.475

Topics are ontologically different, if compared to each other, and the researcher must analyse them, going back and forth from the list of words to the original data, in order to grasp the meaning of each set of words. Topics can be themes, discourse, or “[...] may be viewed as frames (semantic contexts that prime particular associations or interpretations of a phenomenon in a reader) and employed accordingly” (DiMaggio *et al.*, 2013: 578). Some other topics are simply residual, as they collect words that fill up wider discourse. Discourses and frames shares the ‘performative magic’ of being able to construct reality (Bourdieu, 1991:106). Indeed, discourse has a performative power (Phillips *et al.*, 2004) as it “[...] ‘rules in’ certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write and conduct oneself, and also ‘rules out’, limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it” (Hall, 2001: 71). Discourses, thus, “[...] do not just describe things, they do things” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987: 6). This is the dimension of discourse that “[...] shapes the nature of the discursive practice and the constitutive/constructive effects of discourse” (Fairclough, 1992: 4). On the other hand, frames, that are “knowledge structure that can help individual to organize and interpret incoming perceptual information” (Cornelissen and Werner, 2014: 187), as they are schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space. (Goffman, 1974; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Conflicting frames may struggle in discursive spaces (Meyer and Hoellerer, 2010; Hardy and Maguire, 2010), and challenging frames may substitute the dominant ones as institutionalised frames (Lounsbury *et al.*, 2003; Cornelissen and Werner, 2014), of taken for granted schemata of interpretation of reality, thus changing interpretation of reality by agents of the fields. This, in turns, changes reality itself.

As for the absorption rate, we used it to characterise regions, as we sampled regions that show different contextual conditions in which cohesion policies are managed. More specifically, we selected regions that show different capabilities in managing structural funds. The more evident measure of such architectural capability is the rate of absorption of funds, which is the percentage paid to each Region compared to total available budget. Regions with higher absorption rates are better able to use all the available budget allocated from the EU. For this purpose, we relied on data from Eurispes focusing on the 2007–2013 programming period.

## 6. Results

Our first results regard absorption rates. Table 6.1 presents data regarding funds allocation and utilisation in Italian convergence regions programming period 2007–2013 for three regions that we selected, as *La Repubblica* has a local edition. These regions are Campania, Puglia, and Sicilia. We present data regarding both European Social Fund (ESF), and European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Table 6.2 presents the percentage utilisation of these funds in the abovementioned regions. Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 presents similar data for six competition regions that we selected, as in these regions we have a local edition of *La Repubblica*. The regions selected are Emilia Romagna, Lazio, Liguria, Lombardia, Piemonte, and Toscana

Region	ERDF		ESF		TOTAL	
	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised
Campania	3,432.40	2,289.41	559.0	228.63	3,991.40	2,518.04
Puglia	2,619.02	1,063.32	639.6	243.05	3,258.62	1,306.37
Sicilia	3,269.80	1,945.53	1,042.15	454.38	4,311.95	2,399.91

Table 6.1. Funds allocation and utilisation in Italian convergence regions programming period 2007–2013 (Mil €) [Source: Eurispes].

Region	ERDF	ESF	TOTAL
Campania	33%	59%	37%
Puglia	59%	62%	60%
Sicilia	41%	56%	44%

Table 6.2. Percentage utilisation in Italian convergence regions programming period 2007–2013 (%) [Source: our elaboration on data from Eurispes].

Region	ERDF		ESF		TOTAL	
	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised
Emilia Romagna	142.73	39.11	313.50	93.11	456.23	132.22
Lazio	368.47	142.97	365.25	131.49	733.72	274.46



Region	ERDF		ESF		TOTAL	
	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised	Funds allocated	Funds not utilised
Liguria	166.76	55.36	146.34	103.31	313.1	158.67
Lombardia	210.74	66.59	337.25	115	547.99	181.59
Piemonte	422.87	141.66	394.62	109.7	817.49	251.36
Toscana	338.47	124.89	310.65	86.05	649.12	210.94

Table 6.3. Funds allocation and utilisation in Italian competition regions programming period 2007–2013 (Mil €) [Source: Eurispes].

Region	ERDF	ESF	TOTAL
Emilia Romagna	73%	70%	71%
Lazio	61%	64%	63%
Liguria	67%	29%	49%
Lombardia	68%	66%	67%
Piemonte	67%	72%	69%
Toscana	63%	72%	68%

Table 6.4. Percentage utilisation in Italian competition regions programming period 2007–2013 (%) [Source: our elaboration on data from Eurispes].

As for the results of textual analysis, in order to grasp meaning from the articles constituting our sample, we performed several cycles of the process that starts by eliciting topics and ends by analysing them in order to select the solution that best describe our object of analysis (Di Maggio *et al.*, 2013). After several attempts, we finally opted for a solution composed of 15 topics containing the same number of words.<sup>4</sup>

Appendix A presents a list of the 40 most important words for each of the 15 topics (topic ID from 0 to 25), both in Italian and in English. The first word in each column is the more most important one to grasp the meaning of the topic. One word can appear in different columns, as the same word can have different meanings in different contexts: the algorithm is able to discriminate the difference in meaning (polysemy). The following Table 6.5 presents and inductively developed label for each of the fifteen topics, together with a short description. To understand the meaning of each topic, we analysed the most important words both alone and in their context. We mean that beyond analysing the lists of words, for each topic we read the articles that were mostly coded at that topic. We went back and forth from the results of Topic Modelling to the original articles until our tentative description of each topic became more

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<sup>4</sup> Topics can be composed by the same or a different number of words. Generally speaking, if one allows the existence of topics containing a different number of words, he will end up with few very ‘big’ topics, that capture the more relevant issue in the debate, and several smaller topics that deal with the nuances. Forcing the existence of topics of the same dimensions breaks the main issue of the debate in its constituting themes. In order to choose, one must try several solutions and select the most informative one.

refined, and until authors reach an agreement on the meaning of each topic. It is worth noting that topic order has no relevance.

Topic	Label	Meaning
0	National Institutions and European Funds	Is composed by words that deal with national institutions, such as government, president, minister, premier and by words that refer to European budget and European funds.
1	Frauds & Corruption	This topic is used for articles that deal with misuse and illegal use of Regional and Cohesion Policies' funds. We have words such as court, controls, damage, frauds, corruption, prosecutor. Moreover, we have words that deal with the specific cases where funds were misused. In example, the word 'education', as several articles constituted by this topic deal with an organisation who was supposed to give classes to unemployed students, and thus received money from the EU. Yet the classes were a fake.
2	Jobs & Development	Is used for dealing with development and the creation of jobs through European funds. We have words as jobs, government, growth, reforms, resources.
3	Local institutions	This topic especially refers to cities and districts ( <i>province</i> ) and on the effects of European Funds on these local institutions. We have words as cities, districts, projects, municipality
4	Regional policies of southern regions	This topic is similar to topic 3, as it is used to convey an emphasis on local institutions. Yet, in this case, the focus is on institutions from Southern Italy: in particular, here we have names of the governors of Puglia and Campania, two very important regions from southern Italy. The names are Emiliano and Caldoro. Then we have the same words Campania and Puglia, together with South and <i>Mezzogiorno</i> , and Italian expression for south.
5	Budget of European Institutions	The words in this topic are used to refer to the budget of European Institution, and, in particular, the Commission, that is the second most important word of this topic. Then we have names of European Politicians: Juncker, Barroso. Indeed, when dealing with budget, this topic provides the words for describing the bargaining process between European Institutions and Italian Government
6	Education	This topic refers to the use of European Funds to provide better education for young unemployed. We have words such as young, job, school, skills, problems, results.
7	Music Festival	Topic 7 deals with several musical festivals, that were organised in Bari, in the region Puglia, thanks to European Funds. Thus, we have several words related to music, programs and tickets
8	European Funds	This topic is especially focused on European Funds. We have the words funds, million, euros, region, trillion, projects, development, social, commission. This topic, that is the bigger one, contains most of the technical jargon related to European funds.

Topic	Label	Meaning
9	Theatrical Festivals	This topic contains words that refer to theatrical festival organised, mainly in northern Italy, thanks to European Funds. We thus have words such as tickets, ticket office, subscription, festival, prose.
10	Theatrical Classes	This topic contains words that refer to theatrical classes for children organised thanks to European Funds. We have words such as classes, children, kids, courses, age.
11	Emergency	Topic 11 contains all the words that refers to the use of European funds for emergencies such as earthquakes, problematic disposal of rubbish, natural calamities. We have indeed words as rubbish, emergency, civil protection, municipality, district, city, solidarity, reconstruction, and earthquake.
12	Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship	In this topic we find words that refer to research and development to foster entrepreneurship, thank to European funds. We have words as enterprises, research, development, innovation, investments, firms, infrastructures, economy.
13	Macroeconomics	Topics 13 is used in articles, that are mainly opinion articles, which explore the relationship between European Fund and Macroeconomic European Policy. We thus have the names of some States: Greece and Germany. Then we have names of politicians: Merkel, Hollande. Then we have words as growth, reforms, banks, market, unemployment, recession.
14	Invitations to tender	This topic is mostly used for creating articles that deal with invitation to tender for processes or projects funded by EU. Most of these projects deals with cultural and creative industries: we have words as tender, projects, Pompei, cultural.

Table 6.5. Topics' labels and description.

A general and expected result (Di Maggio *et al.*, 2013) is that topics are ontologically different: some of them are used for wider discourses, whereas other topics just refer to smaller themes. Due to space reasons, it is not possible to analyse in detail all the topics: while in the next section we will focus on the topics that are more relevant for our research question, here we provide some descriptive data regarding all the elicited topics.

Table 6.6 presents data regarding how topics are used in our corpus. The first two columns are topic number and label. For each topic, then, the third column highlights how many times that topic constituted more than 50% of an article (out of the 414 articles in our dataset). The fourth column has the same information, but in percentage. The fifth column highlights how many times each topic was the most important one in constituting an article, and the sixth column reports the same information, in percentage. Finally, the seventh column portrays the average usage of each topic in our dataset. As we have 15 topics, if topics constituted articles equally, each topic would have an average use of 6.7% and would be the most important topic for an article about the 6.7% of times<sup>5</sup>. As actual data differ from casual ones, we can draw

<sup>5</sup> As  $100/15=6.7\%$ .

some conclusions. In example, we labelled Topic 14 as ‘invitation to tender’: this topic has an average use of 4.1%, which is below the average. This is thus a small topic. Moreover, this topic is the most important for 2.7% of the articles only, and constitutes more than 50% of an article only 16 times, out of 414 articles (2.7%). Following literature on Topic Modelling (Ferri *et al.*, 2018), we can assume that this topic is not characterising articles, as it rarely provides the main meaning to an article. Yet, it is used several times, when an invitation to tender is cited in an article<sup>6</sup>.

Topic	Label	Times more 50%		Times most important topic		average use
		number	%	number	%	
0	National Institutions and European Funds	5	1.2%	16	3.9%	6.6%
1	Frauds & Corruption	14	3.4%	25	6.0%	5.9%
2	Jobs & development	7	1.7%	28	6.8%	7.4%
3	Local institutions	13	3.1%	18	4.3%	5.2%
4	Regional policies of southern regions	18	4.3%	36	8.7%	7.0%
5	Budget of European Institutions	11	2.7%	28	6.8%	6.7%
6	Education	12	2.9%	13	3.1%	5.2%
7	Music Festival	12	2.9%	7	1.7%	2.5%
8	European Funds	26	6.3%	84	20.3%	16.6%
9	Theatrical Festivals	42	10.1%	40	9.7%	8.5%
10	Theatrical Classes	33	8.0%	23	5.6%	6.5%
11	Emergency	16	3.9%	21	5.1%	3.7%
12	Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship	25	6.0%	41	9.9%	8.7%
13	Macroeconomics	19	4.6%	23	5.6%	5.0%
14	Invitations to tender	16	3.9%	11	2.7%	4.1%

Table 6.6. Topics and prevalence.

From Table 6.6 we can draw some conclusion regard topics:

- Topic 0, National Institutions and European Funds, is a gregarious topic, as it has an average use of 6.6%, but is the most important topic only 3.9% of times

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<sup>6</sup> We said that topics have the same dimension. Now we add that some of them are used more than others. These two facts are not at odds: dimension refer to the number of words, usage to the actual use of those words. So, two topics may have the same number of words, but the words pertaining to a topic may be used more.

- Topic 1, Frauds & Corruption, has a balanced use, and is a bit smaller than the expected average
- Topic 2, Jobs & development, has an average use above the expected average. It characterises several articles, but it is used even when it is not the most important topic
- Topic 3, Local institutions, is small (5.2% average use) and dispersed (only 4.3% as more important)
- Topic 4, Regional policies of southern regions, is bigger than average (7% of average use) and concentrated in few articles, as it is the most important topic 8.7% of times. This means that in articles when this topic is not the most important one, it is not used a lot.
- Topic 5, Budget of European Institutions, has both an average use (6.7%), and the use as most important topic (6.8%) on average.
- Topic 6, Education, is small and rarely and dispersed, as rarely is the most important topic (3.1%)
- Topic 7, Music Festival, is the smaller one (2.5% average use) and very disperse (only 1.7% times as most important)
- Topic 8, European Funds, is the biggest topic, as it constitutes on average 16.6% of the articles in our dataset. Moreover, it is the most important topic for 20.3% of articles.
- Topic 9, Theatrical Festivals, is big (8.5% mean use) and concentrated (9.7% of times most important topic)
- Topic 10, Theatrical Classes, has a medium dimension (6.5%) but is more dispersed (5.6% times first)
- Topic 11, Emergency, is small, as it accounts for only 3.7% of the dataset. Yet, it is very important in the articles that deal with emergency, as it is the most important topic for 5.1% articles.
- Topic 12, Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship, is big (8.7%) and important for a relevant number of articles (9.9%)
- Topic 13, Macroeconomics, has a use a bit below average (5.0%) and is the most important 5.6% of times.
- Topic 14, Invitations to tender, as we saw, is small and dispersed.

Table 6.7 describes the different usage of topics for the different sections of the newspaper. There are no topics, which use is balanced between national and regional sections: we only have topics that are prevalent in national section (i.e., Topic 2, Topic 5, Topic 6, Topic 9, Topic 10, Topic 12, and Topic 13), and topics that are prevalent in local sections (i.e., Topic 0, Topic 1, Topic 3, Topic 4, Topic 7, Topic 8, Topic 11, and Topic 14). In some cases, the disequilibrium is quite impressive: Topic 9, in example, constitutes 9.2% of articles in national sections, whereas it constitutes only 0.2% of articles in regional sections. Topic 1, on the contrary, which is about fraud and corruption, has an average use in regional sections that is more than double than the one in national sections. These data permit us to draw conclusions on the different themes that are treated in national of local debate, as we will do in the next section.

topic		use on sections	
		national	regional
0	National Institutions and European Funds	6.2%	10.0%
1	Frauds & Corruption	5.1%	12.5%
2	Jobs & development	7.6%	6.4%
3	Local institutions	5.1%	6.6%
4	Regional policies of southern regions	6.7%	9.9%
5	Budget of European Institutions	7.0%	4.5%
6	Education	5.3%	4.5%
7	Music Festival	2.3%	4.6%
8	European Funds	16.1%	21.2%
9	Theatrical Festivals	9.4%	0.2%
10	Theatrical Classes	7.2%	0.3%
11	Emergency	3.6%	4.5%
12	Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship	9.0%	6.3%
13	Macroeconomics	5.4%	1.9%
14	Invitations to tender	3.8%	6.6%

Table 6.7. Usage of topics in national and regional section.

Table 6.8, finally, tackles how different regional editions of *La Repubblica* are constituted differently by topics. In particular, differences between convergence and competition regions are highlighted. In example, articles from the regional section of Bologna that deal with European Regional and Cohesion Policies, deals especially with European Funds in general (Topic 8, 21.4%). The second topic is the number 11, emergency, with 17.3%. This result make sense, as in 2012 the region was hit by a severe earthquake. Then we have jobs and development (Topic 2, 12.1%), cohesion policies for entrepreneurship and Local institutions. These data permit us to disentangle the local public debate in its component, as we will do in the next section.

topic		regional sections								
		convergence regions			competition regions					
		Napoli Campania	Bari Puglia	Palermo Sicilia	Bologna Emilia Romagna	Roma Lazio	Genova Liguria	Milano Lombardia	Torino Piemonte	Firenze Toscana
0	National Institutions and European Funds	9.4%	13.4%	11.1%	7.9%	6.1%	18.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.5%
1	Frauds & Corruption	7.1%	3.0%	31.9%	2.7%	8.9%	2.8%	63.0%	0.2%	17.5%
2	Jobs & development	6.1%	5.1%	5.2%	12.1%	5.2%	17.6%	8.3%	1.9%	3.1%
3	Local institutions	4.1%	3.4%	10.5%	10.1%	0.3%	4.8%	0.2%	63.7%	1.4%
4	Regional policies of southern regions	20.2%	12.0%	2.7%	3.9%	9.9%	2.5%	0.2%	0.7%	0.5%
5	Budget of European Institutions	7.3%	3.5%	3.5%	3.1%	3.4%	2.4%	0.2%	9.2%	4.0%
6	Education	4.8%	3.9%	4.8%	7.4%	2.2%	7.3%	1.7%	0.2%	4.0%
7	Music Festival	0.3%	15.3%	0.3%	1.4%	0.3%	4.0%	1.7%	0.2%	4.6%
8	European Funds	20.6%	24.4%	15.7%	21.4%	32.9%	23.2%	21.4%	12.0%	16.4%
9	Theatrical Festivals	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	1.4%
10	Theatrical Classes	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
11	Emergency	2.1%	4.6%	1.7%	17.3%	9.7%	5.0%	0.2%	0.2%	7.4%
12	Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship	4.5%	7.7%	4.2%	10.4%	10.1%	6.2%	0.2%	8.6%	8.0%
13	Macroeconomics	0.9%	1.9%	2.3%	1.6%	3.8%	5.0%	0.2%	2.4%	0.2%
14	Invitations to tender	12.1%	1.3%	5.7%	0.2%	6.7%	0.4%	1.7%	0.2%	31.0%

Table 6.8. Usage of topics in regional sections.

## 7. Discussion

A first consideration regards the presence of the debate on structural funds on regional newspapers. It seems that the issue of structural funds and cohesion policies is salient in convergence objective regions, more than in competition regions. In our sample we retrieved articles that are mostly published in local sections of regions that are in the convergence objective. In regions with high GDP per capita, discourse on cohesion policies is virtually absent in the local sections of newspaper (for example, in our sample, we were able to include only one article for Piemonte and Lombardia). A first explanation is the fact that the amount of funds directed to these regions is much lower than the amount of funds for convergence regions (compare Table 6.1 and Table 6.3) and, therefore, the theme of cohesion policies is less salient. Saliency, of course, may temporarily be connected to specific events. For example, in the local edition of Milano (Lombardia) the discourse on cohesion policies is mainly connected to Topic 1, which addresses the mismanagement of structural funds. The temporary saliency of cohesion policies in local public opinion is connected to a specific case of corruption or fraud in connection of the management of structural funds.

A second consideration concerns at what level – national or regional – the topics are more frequently debated. This consideration leads to the question of why specific topics are differently relevant at national and regional level. Or how the discourse on cohesion policies gets organised along the dimension national-local. As shown in Table 7, within the discourse on cohesion policies, Topic 2, Topic 5, Topic 6 (partially), Topic 12, and Topic 13 are mainly located at national level whereas Topic 0, Topic 1, Topic 3, Topic 4, Topic 8, and Topic 11 coalesce at regional level. As expected, topics that are located at national level are permeated by a macro-economic scope and address themes that are relevant at the national and international levels. For example, they speak to issues such as labour in the context of regional economic policies (Topic 2); financial and budgetary analysis of the relationships between Italy and the EU (Topic 5); the role of cohesion policies within the framework of industrial policies and entrepreneurship (Topic 12); and the role of cohesion policies in the context of the macro-economic concern for growth and financial debt of EU countries (Topic 13). On the other hand, topics located at regional level take issue with local problems such as waste disposal or recovery from natural disasters (Topic 11), regional policies of southern regions (Topic 4) or problems of local administration (Topic 3).

Interestingly, Topic 6, which spans over national and local public opinion, addresses the national issue of using structural funds to support regional educational programmes and the issue of the hierarchical level at which education policies need to be managed. For example, the words ‘competenza’ and ‘livello’ recur. In Italian, they respectively refer to the attribution of the subject that bears the responsibility and the authority connected to a specific task or objective, and the hierarchical level at which the authority and responsibility is located. In addition, the word ‘crisi’ (crisis) and ‘problema’ or ‘problemi’ (problem or problems) emphasise a tension that revolves around the issue of subsidiarity, that is, the extent to which authority to implement cohesion policies should be assigned to national and local authorities. This topic reveals the latent tension that is at the centre of the *multi-governance* perspective to the analysis of EU politics (Hooge and Marks, 2001). The dispersion of authority over several level of governance (supranational, national and regional) (Lelieveldt and Princen, 2011) triggers a conflict of attribution that is a struggle for legitimacy, resources and hegemony. The



struggle takes place in an extended public sphere that almost equally involve national and regional levels (see Table 6.7 and Table 6.8) and that equally involve sampled regions, independently of geographical location (North/South), economic development (objective convergence/competition) and absorption performances (low performers/high performers) (see Table 6.2 and Table 6.4).

On the other hand, when we analyse the topics that are unambiguously located at regional level, the tension between local and national hierarchical and administrative levels materialises in local discourses that address the issue of cohesion policies, and the connected hegemonic struggle, by recasting the discourse in a local versions that build on specific interpretations of, often problematised, local identities. In such local discourses, a key issue regards how European cohesion policy is reinterpreted in the light of both contingent facts and identity traits of regions. This localised discourse reinforces power relations among regions, and between regions and national administration. To make an example, Topic 3 addresses the relations between national and local administration of cohesion funds. Here, the theme focuses on the role of provinces ('provincia' and 'province'), municipalities ('comune') and chambers of commerce ('camere di commercio'). The role of these local entities is legitimised by referring to a connection between glorious past ('passato') and bright future ('future'). These two dimensions are typical tools of *temporalisation* to build and consolidate identities. As Passi (2001: 20) suggests, "territorial identity discourses include the temporalisation of the community, that is the narratives and memories of the past, images of the present and often utopias of the future". Here, interestingly, the region that has more voice is Toscana. This region has a relatively good performance in its track-record of absorption rate (Table 6.4) and is a relatively rich region that is not included into the convergence objective. In this context, the role of local authorities in managing cohesion funds is salient.

On the other hand, regions plagued by corruption and frauds cases, or specific events that interact with structural funds allocation, are forced to address the national-local power discursive struggle from different, often weaker, positions. For example, in Topic 1, the local management of cohesion funds is treated. As mentioned, the topic revolves around the problems related to corruption and frauds. As expected, the topic is particularly salient in regions in which cases of corruption and frauds took place. It is interesting to mention that for a region as Sicilia<sup>7</sup> the discourse on cohesion policies is attracted by this topic. The emerging of cases of corruption redirected the discourse on national-local management so that this is reshaped into the issue of wasted taxpayers' money and the opportunity to let local authorities managing funds.

Similarly, in Topic 11 the issue of cohesion funds is mentioned in connection with specific emergencies. For example, in Emilia-Romagna the use of European funds is addressed in connection to the earthquake that plagued the regions in 2012. However, Topic 11 again reveals the localisation of discursive struggle: most of the topic is connected to the use that Campania region and Napoli made of European funds to address long-standing problem in waste-disposal. Here, again, the national-local struggle refocuses on the stigmatisation of mismanagement of European structural funds by local administrations. Differently from the case of Sicilia, however, despite the fact that the case of Campania and Napoli's waste-disposal

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<sup>7</sup> Despite the fact that Lombardia is present in Topic 1 as well as Sicilia, we focus on Sicilia because the data are more reliable. On the other hand, as for Lombardia, the presence in Topic 1 is the consequence of only one article, which happens to report a case of frauds that attracted public attention.

recur in local newspapers articles in many regions, this topic is not salient and particularly present in the local discourse in Campania region itself. Campania, on the contrary, is concentrated mostly on Topic 8, which addresses the national-local struggle in terms of relative redistribution of funds among regions. The topic is mainly located at regional level and focuses on the way in which funds are redistributed among regions and the magnitude of funds allocated to Italian regions. In other words, whereas in other regions mass-media framed discourse on cohesion funds in relation to waste-management inefficiencies in Campania, in this region this topic is not salient in the discourse on cohesion policies. Despite this region is a convergence region (revealing a weak economic development), was not among the most efficient users of structural funds (see Table 6.2) and was plagued by contingent emergencies connected to the use of structural funds, the discourse addressed the national-local struggle in terms of relative redistribution of funds among regions (Topic 8).

What emerges from our analysis is that power struggle does not manifest itself in the discourse in a homogenous way; rather it adapts, or tries to adapt, to idiosyncratic characteristics of specific segments of the public sphere. More specifically we analysed three groups of characteristics: structural/historical, contextual and contingent. Structural/historical elements were operationalised as the level of economic development of each region as captured by the inclusion in either convergence or competition objective. Contextual elements were operationalised as the effectiveness of a specific local managing authority to use allocated structural funds as measured by absorption rate. Finally, we considered contingent elements as those salient events that attract public opinion (cases of corruption or frauds, natural plagues such as the earthquake in Emilia Romagna and the boosting of problems such as waste-disposal systems and waste accumulation in cities such as Napoli and Roma).

We found that the power struggles that involves the national and the local level in the management of the European cohesion policies and structural funds adapts to local public sphere. At the local level, structural/historical, contextual and contingent elements may contribute to strive local discourse and, in doing so, to influence power relations. More precisely, we noted three different processes that are captured by looking at how topics emerge, locate in national/local public sphere and attract attention of local media. First, we found a process of *leverage* when in a local public sphere discourse leverages structural/historical, contextual or contingent elements. For example, in Toscana, local discourse leveraged its track-record of absorption rate and its position within those regions that receive funds for increasing their competitiveness rather than for catching up. Indeed, in the period analysed, local discourse was mainly concentrated on Topic 3 and revolved around the need for greater autonomy.

A second process is one of *capture*. In this case, public opinion and local discourse is captured by structural/historical, contextual or contingent elements. These elements mould local discourse. In this way, power struggle is reframed into specific local context. This was the case of Sicilia and Topic 1. Here, contingent elements, such as the occurring of episodes of corruption or frauds captured local discourse on cohesion policies. These contingent elements were amplified and blended with by contextual elements (low absorption rate) and historical/structural elements (need for fund to catch up economic development of other

Italian and European regions). Most of articles combine ineffective public administration<sup>8</sup> with the cases of corruption and bribery to explain the failure in using European funds and the region's economic backwardness. In this case, the local discourse highlighted the weaknesses of the Sicilia region and reproduced power relations between the national and local levels.

Finally, we identified a process of *resistance* in the analysis of the Campania region. Here, salient contingent elements (waste-management crisis), historical/structural elements (need for structural funds to achieve convergence) and contextual elements (low absorption rated) all conjured up to capture local discourse on cohesion policies. Intriguingly, the waste-management problems emerged in Campania was a salient theme connected to Topic 11 in the local discourse on cohesion policies in other regions, not in Campania. Local discourse on cohesion funds was only marginally attracted by Topic 11. Rather, much of local discourse in Campania was centred on Topic 8.

## 8. Conclusions

In conclusion, local discourse both reveals and reinforces power relations. Factors connected to the specific context of programming periods – transparency and effectiveness of local authorities in managing local funds –, contingent events taking place in the programming periods (cases of frauds, natural plagues or other salient events) and structural factors pertaining to regions' history of economic and social development – as crystallised by the classification as convergence or competition objectives – affects the way in which cohesion policies are treated in the local media. This, however, involves the reallocation of power between national and local managing authorities in the European multi-level governance of cohesion funds.

While we carefully analysed the Italian case, we must acknowledge that both the implementation and the discourses around Cohesion Policy are largely dependent by the national context, which includes both institutional elements, such as the level of decentralisation of the State, the authorities in charge for implementation and communication of cohesion policy, and the degree of autonomy of such institutions. The local context is particularly relevant for the meaning structures around cohesion policy, to the extent that policymakers must communicate cohesion policy by (Mollona *et al.*, 2019: 15):

[...] appropriately selecting the key messages to be communicated, policy-makers should elicit local “discursive opportunity structures”. This endeavour, we advocate, aims at drawing out idiosyncratic, deep-seated, hot, emotional and sensitive topics that emerge locally.

Therefore, our results cannot be simply extended to other countries, as more research is needed to inquiry the meaning structures around cohesion policy in other European countries and regions. To overcome this limitation, further works will enlarge the analysis in three

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<sup>8</sup> For example, in one of the analysed article it is claimed that organisational units responsible for the management of funding requests by enterprises operating in the area of photovoltaic and wind-power were 'fuori da ogni controllo' (out of control) and no protocol existed to manage the priority order of requests ('Non c'era un protocollo per stabilire l'ordine delle domande').

directions. First, it would be interesting to include more than one journal for each country. Of course, this will bring about the problem of journal selection. A second avenue for exploration is the inclusion of foreign newspapers in the sample, in order to repeat this analysis in several European countries and regions. The aim would be to assess the impact of different institutional arrangements and meaning structures on the local adaptations of the discourse around cohesion policy. Finally, a look at informative documents produced directly by the European commission could be included in the analysis. Such a look at supranational sources of information could be useful to elicit a more complete articulation of the evolution of the discourse on European policies when moving from supranational, national and regional levels.

### Keywords

cohesion policy; topic modelling; discourses; public sphere; local adaptation; Italy

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## Appendix A

40 most important words for each topic

0		1		2		3		4	
National Institutions and European Funds		Frauds & Corruption		Jobs & Development		Local institutions		Regional policies of southern regions	
presidente	president	euro	euros	lavoro	work	anni	years	fondi	funds
governo	government	formazione	training	governo	government	così	so	campania	campania
ministro	minister	milioni	millions	più	more	città	city	sud	south
consiglio	council	regione	region	legge	law	più	more	regioni	regions
europea	European	corte	court	pubblica	public	provincia	province	più	more
premier	premier	corsi	courses	crescita	growth	presidente	president	mezzogiorno	south
strutturali	structural	enti	agencies	fiscale	fiscal	mondo	world	caldoro	Caldoro
monti	monti	dirigente	leader	pubblico	public	pubblici	public	presidente	president
bilancio	balance	assessore	assessor	interventi	interventions	centro	center	europei	Europeans
sarà	will	regionale	regional	sociali	social	progetto	project	napoli	Naples
imprese	companies	conti	accounts	tempo	time	maggiore	greater	città	city
maggioranza	majority	finanziamenti	funding	rapporto	report	commercio	business	puglia	Puglia
patto	pact	anni	years	risorse	resources	camera	Parliament	europea	European
lombardo	Lombard	giunta	council	politiche	policies	inizio	Start	regionali	regional
ministri	Ministers	controlli	controls	riforma	reform	attività	activities	coesione	cohesion
settimana	week	dipartimento	department	locali	locals	stati	States	perché	why
incontro	meeting	danno	damage	sociale	social	europa	Europe	commissario	commissioner
già	already	settore	sector	mesi	months	comune	common	regione	region
stato	state	dipendenti	employees	può	can	sarà	will	ministro	minister
fondo	fund	guardia	guard	servizi	services	dare	give	politiche	policies



0		1		2		3		4	
National Institutions and European Funds		Frauds & Corruption		Jobs & Development		Local institutions		Regional policies of southern regions	
conferenza	conference	mesi	months	obiettivi	targets	ruolo	role	sindaco	mayor
presidenza	presidency	sistema	system	nazionale	national	può	can	sviluppo	development
tavolo	meeting	finanza	finance	politica	policy	cura	care	progetti	projects
tempo	time	crocetta	crocetta	amministrato ne	administratio n	messa	done	calabria	calabria
stabilità	stability	corso	course	necessario	necessary	centrale	central	roma	Rome
misure	measures	palazzo	palace	riduzione	reduction	contro	versus	meridionali	southern
contro	versus	anno	year	misure	measures	ricerca	Research	bari	bari
riunione	meeting	atti	proceedings	lavoratori	workers	palazzo	palace	politica	policy
libera	free	ciapi	CIAPI	aree	areas	agenzia	agency	governo	government
giugno	June	frodi	fraud	conti	accounts	futuro	future	patto	pact
documento	document	stati	States	mercato	market	conto	bill	programmi	programs
c'è	there is	generale	general	effetti	effects	legalità	legality	sindaci	mayors
parti	partners	stato	state	livelli	levels	luoghi	places	territoriale	territorial
leader	leader	corruzione	corruption	finanziaria	financial	storia	history	johannes	johannes
fine	end	russo	Russian	paese	country	priorità	priority	riservata	reserved
stampa	press	governatore	governor	economica	economic	migliaia	thousand	aree	areas
occupazione	occupation	procura	attorney	situazione	situation	istituzioni	institutions	strategico	strategic
palazzo	palace	deputato	deputy	attenzione	caution	grandi	great	riproduzione	reproduction
nuovo	new	capo	boss	donne	women	patrimonio	heritage	capacità	capacity
berlusconi	berlusconi	amministrato ne	administratio n	risultati	results	enti	agencies	importante	important

5		6		7		8		9	
Budget of European Institutions		Education		Music Festival		European Funds		Theatrical Festivals	
europea	European	più	more	info	info	fondi	funds	stagione	season
commissione	commission	perché	why	bari	bari	milioni	millions	torino	turin
più	more	formazione	training	musica	music	euro	EUR	biglietteria	ticket office
europeo	European	lavoro	work	mitosettembre musica	mitosettembre musica	europea	European	tel	tel
l'italia	Italy	giovani	Young people	scena	scene	spesa	expense	biglietti	tickets
bilancio	balance	scuola	school	rassegna	review	fondo	fund	abbonamenti	subscriptions
paesi	countries	europea	European	serie	series	regione	region	cartelloni	billboards
miliardi	billion	sistema	system	programma	program	miliardi	billion	vendita	sale
stati	States	attraverso	through	libero	free	progetti	projects	corso	course
l'europa	europe	scuole	schools	direttore	director	già	already	festival	festival
europa	Europe	legge	law	settembre	september	risorse	resources	piemonte	piedmont
italia	Italy	italia	Italy	vittoria	victory	regionale	regional	singoli	single
bruxelles	Brussels	competenze	skills	spettacolo	show	europeo	European	prosa	prose
membri	membership	livello	level	già	already	anni	years	formazione	training
paese	country	nazionale	national	settembremusic a	SettembreMusi ca	europei	Europeans	solferino	solferino
francia	France	crisi	crisis	disponibili	available	sicilia	sicily	castello	castle
juncker	Juncker	centri	centers	laboratori	workshops	sviluppo	development	presso	At
europee	European	centro	center	orchestra	orchestra	programmazio ne	programming	fiore	flower
c'è	there is	valutazione	rating	over	over	più	more	verdi	verdi
sarà	will be	istruzione	instruction	cittadini	citizens	sociale	social	riapertura	reopening
parlamento	parliament	italiana	Italian	sede	seat	stati	States	scena	scene
programmi	programs	regione	region	rosa	rose	commissione	commission	cultura	culture

5		6		7		8		9	
Budget of European Institutions		Education		Music Festival		European Funds		Theatrical Festivals	
dell'unione	union	qualità	quality	appuntamento	appointment	unione	Union	classica	classical
governi	governments	sociale	social	nizza	nice	lavoro	work	stabile	stable
europei	Europeans	problemi	problems	musicale	musical	finanziamenti	funding	all'occhiello	button-hole
nazionali	national	risultati	results	edizione	edition	strutturali	structural	compagnia	company
commissario	commissioner	obiettivo	target	iscrizioni	inscriptions	soldi	money	scadenza	deadline
stato	state	società	society	oro	gold	anno	year	verde	green
l'unione	the Union	regioni	regions	auditorium	auditorium	gestione	management	ven	Friday
coesione	cohesion	locale	local	gramsci	gramsci	bruxelles	Brussels	rinnovi	renewals
vertice	summit	problema	problem	aldo	aldo	regioni	regions	teatrostabiletorino	teatrostabiletorino
renzi	Renzi	importanti	important	auditorium	auditorium	stato	state	prelazione	priority
periodo	period	economico	cheap	artisti	artists	grandi	great	scelta	choice
stabilità	stability	anno	year	famiglie	families	rischio	risk	orario	schedule
barroso	barroso	italiani	Italian	iniziative	initiatives	finanziamento	financing	santibriganti	santibriganti
investimenti	investments	europeo	European	iore	iore	regionali	regional	aperta	open
strutturali	structural	famiglie	families	infonica	infonica	politiche	policies	riposo	rest
posto	place	tempo	time	rai	rai	fine	end	corsi	courses
dell'europa	europe	nuove	new	teatromonteros a	teatromonteros a	destinati	intended	guardie	guards
nuovo	new	scolastico	school	ribalta	limelight	però	However	tst	tst

10		11		12		13		14	
Theatrical Classes		Emergency		Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship		Macroeconomics		Invitations to tender	
corso	course	rifiuti	waste	più	more	crescita	growth	euro	euros

10		11		12		13		14	
Theatrical Classes		Emergency		Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship		Macroeconomics		Invitations to tender	
stagione	season	protezione	protection	imprese	companies	più	more	progetto	project
vendita	sale	civile	civil	puglia	Puglia	crisi	crisis	stato	state
abbonamenti	subscriptions	cittadini	citizens	sviluppo	development	miliardi	billion	lavori	works
ragazzi	boys	solidarietà	solidarity	ricerca	Research	debito	debt	bando	ban
rassegna	review	impianti	installations	anni	years	riforme	reforms	pompei	pompei
corsi	courses	comuni	common	sistema	system	paesi	countries	gara	bid
aperte	open	regione	region	perché	why	banche	banks	sarà	will
bambini	children	situazione	situation	settore	sector	grece	Greece	realizzazione	realization
tst	tst	emergenza	emergency	crisi	crisis	investimenti	investments	generale	general
scelta	choice	provincia	province	aziende	companies	germania	Germany	sito	place
biglietti	tickets	discariche	landfill	investimenti	investments	politica	policy	ministero	ministry
biglietteria	ticket office	sindaco	mayor	innovazione	innovation	banca	bank	direzione	direction
tel	tel	strade	roads	energia	power	economica	economic	bandi	auction
anni	years	danni	damage	regione	region	merkel	merkel	società	society
verdi	verdi	perché	why	più	more	stato	state	opere	works
p.za	p.za	napoli	Naples	regionale	regional	mercati	markets	culturali	cultural
carignano	carignano	territorio	territory	italia	Italy	paese	country	opera	Opera
vedi	you see	napolitano	napolitano	sarà	will	bisogno	need	area	area
scuola	school	commissario	commissioner	settori	sectors	euro	EUR	personale	staff
campagna	campaign	centro	center	infrastrutture	infrastructure	disoccupazione	unemployment	rete	network
festival	festival	colpite	affected	piccole	small	comune	common	responsabile	responsible
adulti	adults	tonnellate	tons	economia	economy	politiche	policies	sicurezza	safety
castello	castle	ambiente	environment	però	However	mercato	market	entro	within

10		11		12		13		14	
Theatrical Classes		Emergency		Cohesion policies for entrepreneurship		Macroeconomics		Invitations to tender	
piemontese	piedmontese	ricostruzione	reconstruction	problema	problem	competitività	competitiveness	gestione	management
www.teatrosta biletorino.it	www.teatrosta biletorino.it	politica	policy	presidente	president	pubblici	public	corso	course
scena	scene	assessore	assessor	stato	state	unione	Union	attività	activities
torino	turin	propria	own	produzione	production	rigore	strictness	soggetti	subjects
torinodanza	Torinodanza	potere	power	creare	create	europei	Europeans	direttore	director
iscrizioni	inscriptions	chilometri	kilometres	ciò	it	fine	end	servizi	services
spettacolo	show	voglia	wish	territorio	territory	misure	measures	napoli	Naples
formazione	training	casa	home	industriale	industrial	bei	beautiful	beni	goods
abbonamento	subscription	raccolta	collection	mondo	world	recessione	recession	mostra	exhibition
moncalieri	moncalieri	campania	campania	progetto	project	finanziaria	financial	bagnoli	bagnoli
singoli	single	zona	area	economico	cheap	investitori	investors	anni	years
anno	year	popolazioni	populations	qualità	quality	capitale	capital	conclusione	conclusion
libero	free	nessuno	nobody	strutturali	structural	finanze	finances	speciale	special
presentazione	presentation	antonio	antonio	nuove	new	stati	States	partecipazione	participation
domani	tomorrow	sociale	social	attività	activities	tedesca	German	presentazione	presentation
piemonte	piedmont	anni	years	piemonte	piedmont	finanziarie	financial	ferroviaria	train