

1. JOINT PANEL COVID-19

Title: ‘The Covid-19 pandemic across Europe: responses, challenges and lessons (learned)’

Convenors: The German Politics, Greek Politics, French Politics, Italian Politics, Nordic Politics and Turkish Politics Specialist Groups of the PSA

Panel chairs: Stella Ladi and Athanassios Gouglas

Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic found Europe still recovering from a decade of crisis including the Eurozone crisis, the migration crisis and Brexit. Governments across Europe reacted in different ways to the pandemic, but they were all challenged on multiple fronts: public health and health systems, the lockdown of economic, social and cultural life, new on-line working patterns and on-line education, restriction of civil liberties, and closure of borders are just a few examples. In this Joint Panel the German Politics, Greek Politics, French Politics, Italian Politics, Nordic Politics and Turkish Politics Specialist Groups of the PSA will host four papers that seek to explore the first reactions to the economic and political challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic by governments across Europe. The papers discuss policies across Europe in response to the Covid-19 emergency and their implementation. What lessons can be learned about crisis management from the different national responses? What has been the role of experts and of evidence informed policymaking? How has the political landscape of different countries been affected by the new crisis? What future avenues for research has this universal crisis opened-up for political science?

The panel hosts four papers covering France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, the Nordics, Turkey and the UK.

- Stella Ladi and Angelos Angelou will present the Greek case in a paper titled ‘Regaining Trust: evidence-informed policy making during the Covid crisis in Greece’.
- Frands Pedersen will present the Nordic cases in a paper titled ‘#The Nordic Countries’ Covid19-Response’
- Rabia Karakaya Polat will present the Turkish and British cases in a paper titled ‘Policy responses to Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey and the UK: What role for local government?’
- Davide Vampa will discuss Italy, Spain, Germany, France and the UK in a paper titled ‘Regional authority, territorial policy dynamics and the impact of COVID-19: comparing five European countries’.

PAPER # 1

Title: Regaining Trust: evidence-informed policy making during the Covid crisis in Greece

Authors: Stella Ladi (s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk), Aggelos Angelou (A.Angelou@lse.ac.uk) and Dimitra Panagiotatou (d.panagiotatou@qmul.ac.uk)

Greece has managed the first wave of the Covid-19 emergency, better than the EU average and better than even its citizens would have thought. This article discusses the measures put in place in Greece for the management of the Covid-19 crisis and attempts to explain the reasons for this success. The Greek health system had suffered significant cuts in personnel, infrastructure and equipment during the 10-years financial crisis but has coped with the first wave of the virus. The notoriously slow and inefficient public administration has speeded up and new e-services have been put in place within weeks to alleviate the effects of the lockdown in citizen's everyday lives. The article argues that three main reasons led to this result. First, the predominance of evidence-informed policy making led by strong and decisive leadership. Second, an effective communication strategy which stated that public health was a priority and that the economy would have to come second. Third, an acceptance by the public of the imposed measures which led to a rise of the levels of trust towards the government.

PAPER # 2

Title: The Nordic Countries' Covid19-Response

Author: Dr Frands Pedersen, University of Westminster

Abstract

The exceptionality of the Nordic countries, which was once illustrated by the so-called 'Nordic Model', has long been questioned. Nevertheless, all are liberal democratic states with open export oriented economies and relatively expansive welfare states and a relatively high degree of popular trust in the political class. Covid-19 has challenged this perception and introduced a new parameter, the Covid19-response, to the intra-Nordic contest for a position towards the top of top of the GDP/capita, taxation, equality, happiness and well-being league tables. Covid19 has put the spotlight on a number of key differences in the countries' responses. This paper will explore and discuss the role of historical, cultural, political and institutional differentiating factors in determining each country's policy measures and their relative effectiveness.

PAPER #3

Title: Policy responses to Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey and the UK: What role for local government?

Authors: Prof. Rabia Karakaya Polat, Işık University, Department of International Relations

rabia.polat@isikun.edu.tr

Abstract

The pandemic has exposed the fragile nature of our governance institutions. Local government is one of them. From a public policy perspective, it is important to analyse how different models of central-local relationships impact upon varying responses to the pandemic. Many governments increased their powers with certain measures in a bid to fight against the pandemic more effectively. However, there is still variation between different countries in relation to the role of local government in this endeavour.

Turkey has a highly centralised political system. Coupled with the current backsliding in democracy, this has enabled the national government to shape policies without any involvement of local actors. UK, on the other hand, has been going through a devolution process which enabled the four nations to adopt distinct policies. However, in both countries, councils and municipalities have largely been ignored in decision-making processes. In both Turkey and the UK, local authorities also suffer from soaring costs and lost income during the pandemic.

This paper has two purposes. First, it analyses how different traditions of central-local relationships shape the pandemic policies in both countries. Second, the paper explores the ways in which local authorities challenge these traditions and develop creative and local responses.

PAPER #4

Title: Regional authority, territorial policy dynamics and the impact of COVID-19: comparing five European countries

Authors: Davide Vampa, Aston University, Birmingham, UK d.vampa@aston.ac.uk

Abstract

This article seeks to assess the initial impact of the recent coronavirus pandemic in five European countries – Italy, Spain, Germany, France and the UK –, which varied in terms of territorial spread and mortality of the virus. The crisis has clearly highlighted well-known differences between centralized and decentralized systems. Yet focusing on this dichotomy is not sufficient. It is suggested that while the distribution of authority between central and regional governments matters, policy *dynamics* – that is, how different territorial levels *interact* in policy-making processes – are even more important in explaining multi-level responses to the crisis. It is shown that a federation where political and institutional mechanisms facilitate *coordination* between central authorities and powerful regions – and also *among* regions – (Germany) is more effective in dealing with an external shock than both centralized/hierarchical systems (France and, to a certain extent, the UK) and *competitive* decentralized systems (Italy and Spain).

Keywords: COVID-19; Territorial Politics; Policy Dynamics; Western Europe

2. Book launch

Title: Capitalising on Constraint: Bailout Politics in Eurozone Countries. Book Launch

Panel chair: Athanassios Gouglas

Abstract

This panel will launch the recently published book by Moury, C., Ladi, S, Cardoso, D. and Gago, A. (2020), titled *Capitalising on Constraint: Bailout Politics in Eurozone Countries* by Manchester University Press. The panel will feature a conversation between the four book authors and three key note discussants: Dimitris Papadimitriou, Manos Matsaganis and Claudio Radaelli.

In the last decade, five Eurozone governments in economic difficulty received assistance from international lenders on condition that certain policies specified in the Memoranda of Understanding were implemented. How did negotiations take place in this context? What room of manoeuvre did the governments of these countries have? After conditionality, to what extent were governments willing and able to roll back changes imposed on them by the international lenders? Do we find variation across governments, and if so, why?

This book addresses those questions. It explores the constraints on national executives in the five bailed out countries of the Eurozone during and beyond the crisis (2008-2019).

The book's principal idea is that, despite international market pressure and creditors' conditionality, governments had some room for manoeuvre during a bail out and were able to advocate, resist, shape or roll back some of the policies demanded by external actors. Under certain circumstances, domestic actors were also able to exploit the constraint of conditionality to their own advantage. The book additionally shows that after a bail-out programme governments could use their discretion to revert the measures which bring the greatest benefits at a lower cost. It finally explores the determinants of bargaining leverage - and stresses the importance of credibility.

Relying on in-depth description of negotiations between the domestic and external actors; and on the coding of all-important policies adopted under conditionality, this book is an essential analysis of what really happens behind closed doors during and after a bail out. It provides an insight on the potential but also on the limits of conditionality which can inform the design of international and European lending during future crises.

Author and discussant contacts

Book Authors

- Catherine Moury, NOVA University, Portugal, catherine.moury@fcsh.unl.pt
- Stella Ladi, Queen Mary University of London and Panteion University, s.ladi@qmul.ac.uk
- Daniel Cardoso, Autonomous University of Lisbon (UAL), daniel.oliveira.cardoso@gmail.com
- Angie Gago, University of Lausanne, angie.gago@unil.ch

Book discussants

- Dimitris Papadimitriou, University of Manchester, Dimitris.Papadimitriou@manchester.ac.uk
- Manos Matsaganis, Polytechnic University of Milan, emmanuel.matsaganis@polimi.it
- Claudio Radaelli, European University Institute, claudio.radaelli@eui.eu

3. COVID-19 Greece

Title: Greek Responses to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Chairs: Stella Ladi and Athanassios Gouglas

Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic found Greece still recovering from a decade of economic and political crisis. As the country was taking its first step outside the economic adjustment programmes it found itself facing a new grand challenge. How did Greece respond to the COVID-19 challenge? Three papers throw light into different aspects of the management of the pandemic by Greece.

- Nikolaos Bounakis and Georgia Dimari focus on ‘The Greek Management of Covid-19: A Nation Branding Discourse Analysis-Oriented Investigation’.
- Georgia Dimari looks into the new security apparatus with a paper titled ‘Towards a New Security *Apparatus* in Greece: Refugees, Covid-19 and Securitization of ‘Peoples’.
- George Kordas focuses on church and government relations in a paper titled ‘COVID-19 in Greece: The Government’s Clash with the Greek Church’.

PAPER #1

Title: The Greek Management of Covid-19: A Nation Branding Discourse Analysis-Oriented Investigation

Authors

- **Nikolaos Bounakis**, PhD Candidate, Department of Communication, Open University of Cyprus Email: nbounakis@gmail.com; info@proactive.com.gr Tel: 00306977437825
- **Dr. Georgia Dimari (presenter)**, Researcher at the Center of Human Rights, Department of Political Science, University of Crete Email: zeta_dim@hotmail.com Tel: 00306984067068

Abstract

Amidst the global crisis of Covid-19, efforts from governments all over the world to manage this situation have either reinforced or damaged their international reputation. As far as Greece is concerned, preliminary discourse analysis in international newspapers (Bloomberg, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, CNN, The Financial Times, The Economic Times, Deutsche Welle, The Guardian) suggests that the corona virus crisis altered the image of Greece positively. An important question that arises thus is: how could Greece capitalize on the international impact its covid-19 management had in terms of attractiveness of inward and outward investments?

In this context, the proposed paper has a threefold goal. The first is to map international media responses to the management of Covid-19 from Greece from March to June 2020. The second is to identify the underlying factors that contributed in the depiction of the covid-19 management

from Greece as a success story in the international media. The third is to explore whether and how could Greece capitalize on its international reputation and attract inward and outward investment.

Discourse analysis will be conducted to selected international newspapers (Bloomberg, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, CNN, The Financial Times, The Economic Times, Deutsche Welle, The Guardian) for the period March to June 2020 (first covid-19 phase in Greece).

PAPER #2

Title: Towards a New Security *Apparatus* in Greece: Refugees, Covid-19 and Securitization of ‘Peoples’

Authors: Dr. Georgia Dimari, Researcher at the Center of Human Rights, Department of Political Science, University of Crete, Email: zeta_dim@hotmail.com Tel: 00306984067068

Abstract

The 2015 refugee crisis in Greece marked the beginning of a new security era for its policy making toward refugees. On top of that, a new security *apparatus* emerged as a result of the appearance of Covid-19 which, according to preliminary research, seems to have had serious repercussions on the already securitized refugees in Greece. Preliminary research suggests that in the Greek case of the management of the Covid-19, the measures taken in Reception and Identification Centers (RICs) and the general refugee population were stricter than for the Greek citizens. Therefore the aim of this paper is twofold. The first is to explore whether there has emerged new security apparatus in Greece prior and during the appearance of Covid-19 and how can this new security apparatus inform contemporary security understandings. The second aim of the paper is to explore in what way has this new *apparatus* impacted refugees in Greece.

The research method is qualitative. Discourse analysis will be conducted to speech acts of government political elites and legal texts on the management of Covid-19. The timeframe of the research is from 26.02.2020 to 15.06.2020 (first Covid-19 management phase in Greece).

PAPER #3

Title: COVID-19 in Greece: The Government’s Clash with the Greek Church

Author: George Kordas, PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, E-mail: g.kordas@kpe-panteion.gr, giwkordas@hotmail.com Phone Number: 2107667095, 6955687453

Abstract

By March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic had reached Greece, forcing the Greek government to enforce lockdown for two months. While governmental measures included banning citizens’ mobility except for a six-bullets catalogue, the Church was excluded, remaining open for its

believers. That resulted in an official clash, having on the one side the State and the scientists, while on the other was the official Church. Attempting to manage a balance between its historical relationships with the Greek Church and its responsibilities, the Greek government reached an agreement, closing the churches until further notice.

Having the current crisis in mind, and acknowledging the rising interference of the Greek Church in the political life during the last 20 years, in the current research we will attempt to answer the following question: How the pandemic crisis transformed the relationship between the Greek government and the Greek Church?

To answer our research question, we will emphasise on the period between March 2020 until September 2020, as a second lockdown is being discussed. Our data will be collected from the official announcements of the Church and the Greek government during the examined period. Except for that, it is of our interest how scientists discussed Church's stand, and how other political parties attempted to benefit from that clash.

4. Nationalism and anti-establishment parties in Greece

Title: Nationalism and anti-establishment parties in Greece

Chairs: Stella Ladi and Athanassios Gouglas

Abstract

In the last decade Greece has witnessed the rise of anti-establishment politics and a new wave of nationalism taking different forms: left-national populism, the rise of anti-establishment parties and especially of radical, xeno-phobic and anti-democratic right parties. For a decade Greece appeared consumed by nationalism and anti-establishment politics. Yet, the recent general election and most importantly the landmark Supreme Court ruling against the radical right party Golden Dawn, showed the resilience of democratic institutions as well as that in face of crucial societal challenges there is hope. Yet, important challenges remain both with respect to nationalism and anti-establishment politics. Which ones are they and how does Greece respond to them? Four papers attempt to throw light into these questions

- Emre Metin Bilginer examines 'The Impact of the Evolution of Nationalism on the Recent Rise of the Radical Right within the European Context: The Case of Golden Dawn'.
- Vasili Poula examines Greece's secularism in a paper titled Greece's Secularism On The Stand
- Angelos Nastoulis explores the case of Konstantinos Katsifas in a paper titled 'Between shame and violence: Konstantinos Katsifas and the transformations of victim's identity'.
- Vasiliki Georgiadou and Jenny Mavropoulou explore 'Anti-establishment parties in Southern Europe's coalition governments: still challenging the status-quo?'

PAPER #1

Title: The Impact of the Evolution of Nationalism on the Recent Rise of the Radical Right within the European Context: The Case of Golden Dawn

Authors: Emre Metin Bilginer, Ph.D International Relations Kadir Has University, Istanbul, +905353546277, bilgineremre@gmail.com, No institutional affiliation

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse one of the recent debates on the rise of the radical right movements related to the Greek case through the use of theoretical approach. The debate, the paper will deal with, was escalated by the criminal accusations towards the Greek Neo Nazi party Golden Dawn. Being a highly sensitive issue among the public and politicians alike, nationalist movements became a matter of lively debate in Europe recent years especially after start of the refugee influx in Europe. In the Greek case, Golden Dawn's entry to Greek parliament in 2012 came into prominence with the aftermath of the economic crisis.

The recent rise of the radical right is deeply rooted to Europe's historical evolution of nationalism rather than linked to a single case such as economic recession or refugee influx. Revealing the correlation between the emergence of nationalism and the rise of the radical right will help us understand the Greek case in depth. Golden Dawn's sudden prominence should be examined considering the historical background of nationalism in Europe and specifically in Greece. This study intends to cover major arguments regarding the topic in its theoretical aspects and assemble different major perspectives including Anderson's imagined communities, Hobsbawm's invention of traditions, Smith's Ethno-symbolism, while examining the particular Golden Dawn case rather than discussing primordial or perennial aspects. Identifying the organizational structure of radical right politics within the context of a theoretical framework is significant to comprehend the country specific factors in nationalism studies.

One can see that there was a simultaneous emergence of radical movements all over Europe. This study drives upon the causes of the radical right appearance. It adopts the impact of globalization on nationalism as a framework and it analyses the current situation primarily through Ernest Gellner's functionalist perspective. The global impact of nationalism on the radical movements is a stubborn fact since the radical right movements tend to have a contagious effect especially over the last two centuries. This paper aims to reveal that nationalism and relevant radical right movements are renewable materials and they might emerge under the proper context.

PAPER # 2

Title: Greece's Secularism On The Stand

Author: Vasiliki Poula

Affiliation:

LL.B. candidate, Department of Law, London School of Economics

Research assistant, Greek Diaspora Project, South Eastern European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX)

Research assistant, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

Contact Details:

V.Poula@lse.ac.uk

+44 (0)7502238181

Room 08.19, LSE Northumberland House, WC2N 5BY, London, UK

Abstract

Recently, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) found Greece – after many years – to have violated Article 9 of the European Convention of Human Rights, i.e. the right to freedom of religion.

Specifically, in the judgment of *Stavropoulos and Others v Greece*, the applicants submitted that the public servants of the registry office had added the handwritten note “onomatodosia” on the child’s birth certificate, next to her first name, implying that she had not been christened. The ECtHR agreed with the applicants that the note had a particular connotation and given that it was neither necessary nor prescribed by law, they found that its inclusion on a public and frequently used document constituted an interference with their right not to be obliged to manifest their beliefs.

Having as a springboard this case, the article:

- a. Examines the false, albeit widely held belief of and practice by certain Greek registries that there are two alternative procedures to acquire a name, by christening and by naming, and that only those who are not christened need to be named.
- b. Compares the judicial treatment of this belief by domestic and European courts
- c. Explores the instrumentalization of this belief for political purposes by parties and members of the Parliament
- d. Frames those instances of religious bias in the public service in the wider debate on the extent to which Greece could be described as secular.

PAPER # 3

Title: Between shame and violence: Konstantinos Katsifas and the transformations of victim’s identity

Author: Nastoulis Angelos, PhD Candidate in Political Science and Sociology,
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Email: angelnast@hotmail.com
Phone number: +30 6948323938

Abstract

Konstantinos Katsifas, a member of the legally recognized Greek minority in Albania, was murdered by the Albanian police on the Greek National Day of the October 28th in 2018 in Albanian territory. His excessive zeal for promoting his national identity was challenged by the Albanian police, and clashes between police and Katsifas led to the incident that resulted in his assassination.

The news of his assassination was mediated in the Greek public sphere under strict political terms. The meanings of Katsifas' assassination were shrunk in Greek public discourse and became part of the sharp political controversy between left and right that emerged during the period of the economic crisis. Thus his victim identity obscured.

This presentation will focus on the derivatives of murder on two levels: first, based on psychiatrist James Gilligan's theory about shame that leads to violence, it will attempt to trace the sense of shame within the Greek minority in Albania, and explore whether it became a cause or motive in this episode. Secondly, on a macro level, it will examine the reception of the episode by the Greek society and the Greek political scene.

Did Konstantinos Katsifas act out by the far-right ideology? Or did he act through the transcendental identity of a member of the Greek minority, whose core is the suffering experiences? Whom does the Greek society characterize as a victim? What is the relationship between Greek society and the Greek minority and how does the Greek state mediate this relationship? Ultimately, through these questions this proposal will seek to highlight the fine line between shame and violence and the importance of national identities and their transformations in the contemporary environment of liquidity.

PAPER # 4

Title: Anti-establishment parties in Southern Europe's coalition governments: still challenging the status-quo?

Authors:

- Vasiliki Georgiadou Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, 136 Syngrou Ave. 17671, Athens, Greece. Email: vgeorg@panteion.gr
- Jenny Mavropoulou Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, 136 Syngrou Ave. 17671, Athens, Greece. Email: j.mavropoulou@panteion.gr

Abstract

During the last decades, anti-establishment parties of different ideological shades have evolved into notable players in party competition. The Greek and the Italian party system could both be considered as critical case-studies for the rise of parties that were against the Establishment. First, our research scope enquires into the factors that contributed to the paradoxical governing

symbiosis of SYRIZA and ANEL in Greece, as well as of M5S and Lega in Italy, two pairs of anti-establishment parties that are ideologically divergent. Focusing on the programmatic stances and policy positions of anti-establishment parties that are partners in anti-establishment ruling coalitions, we examine whether and to what extent anti-establishment parties preserve their own ideological identity during their participation in the government or are infused with policy positions of their coalition partners. We aim to expand the spectrum of the analysis for anti-establishment parties, test for any interaction within and among anti-establishment parties along a range of policy dimensions and look for explanations concerning the parties' impact on each other. Moreover, the consolidation of anti-establishment parties in Western European party systems, their participation in governments with mainstream parties or the creation of coalition governments formed exclusively by anti-establishment parties raise questions about whether and to what extent anti-establishment parties preserve their anti-establishment identity. Therefore, we are interested in investigating the intensity of anti-establishment status once anti-establishment parties take office and serve as part of the political establishment.

5. Global challenges, Europe and Greece

Title: Global Challenges, Europe and Greece

Chair: Athanassios Gouglas & Stella Ladi

Abstract

Greece, like any other European Union member, is facing challenges that are both global and Europe specific. Climate change, managing pandemics, economic and financial stability, digital transformation, managing migration flows in a way that is compatible with both security and human rights are some of the challenges addressed by both global governance systems and Europe as a regional organization embedded within these systems. The panel maps certain key global and European challenges for Greece in the 21st century and analyses responses to them. Two papers are presented

- Valia Aranitou and Milena Panagiotopoulou look into 'The Rising Platform economy world. Shifting social and political power structures'
- Georgios Maris and Floros Flouros explore the climate change challenge in a paper titled 'Europeanization, Green Deal and the National Energy and Climate Plans in the European Union: The Case of Greece'

PAPER #1

Title: The Rising Platform economy world. Shifting social and political power structures

Authors:

- Valia Aranitou; Associate professor, University of Crete

- Milena Panagiotopoulou; PhD candidate, University of Crete

Abstract

A few years ago, it would have been considered as a science fiction scenario if someone was claiming that a purchase could be done via smartphone, on social media, or even through livestreaming apps like InstaLive, Tik Tok or WeChat. Few could have imagined that the purchase of a product and even the wish to have it would one day depend on an algorithm. Fewer could have also believed that they could one day design the product they desire with the support of a digital assistant. Nor that wearable devices (eg. smart watches or fitness trackers) and other connected consumer devices could be used in the smart home context and constantly collect a huge amount of data.

Data feeds artificial intelligence and it is transformed to a source of power. Although technology has “democratized” the distribution of information, Manuel Castells (2011) highlights that in a networked society the power holders are those who have access and the ability to understand and interpret data. Thus, the power distribution proves to be asymmetrical.

This paper aims at contributing to the literature related to the digital-powered transformation of capitalism and its impact to society. The main research questions that will be analyzed refers therefore a) to the power relations fueled by data in the context of platform economy and b) how will Greek society manage this new reality that overturn the given social relations? To what extent can Greek society with a large share of micro-entrepreneurship and self-employment prove to be more resilient?

PAPER #2

Title: Europeanization, Green Deal and the National Energy and Climate Plans in the European Union: The Case of Greece

Authors:

- **Dr. Georgios Maris**, Associate Professor, Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean, Email. gmaris@aegean.gr
- **Dr. Floros Flouros**, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean, Email. flourosf@yahoo.com

Abstract

The European Commission decided in 2020 to move forward with an unprecedented step that will lead to a so-called “zero-carbon” economy. In this direction, the European Commission initiated the National Energy and Climate Plans (NECPs) as mid-term planning tools that Member States had to prepare in view of the implementation of the Energy Union objectives, and the agreed EU 2030 energy and climate targets. Using Tania’s Borzel theoretical framework regarding Europeanization, this paper examines the response and compliance of Greece with the required targets and objectives. What is the Greek response to the European Commission’s objectives? How

much aligned is Greece with the NECPs given the general directions? Which are the limitations related to the compliance for Greece?

Key words: Greece, Green Deal, Compliance, Energy, Climate, European Union