

## 1. PANEL 221: 'The Covid-19 pandemic across Europe: responses, challenges and lessons (learned)'

**Monday 29 March, 11:15-12:45 (GMT)**

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

**Panel chair:** Hartwig Pautz (University of West of Scotland) (tbc)

### **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?

- Stella Ladi (QMUL and Panteion University) and Angelos Angelou (LSE) and Dimitra Panagiotatou (QMUL), 'Regaining Trust: evidence-informed policy making during the Covid crisis in Greece'.
- Rabia Karakaya Polat (Isik University) 'Policy responses to Covid-19 Pandemic in Turkey and the UK: What role for local government?'
- Davide Vampa (Aston University) 'Regional authority, territorial policy dynamics and the impact of COVID-19: comparing five European countries'.

## 2. PANEL 913: Capitalising on Constraint: Bailout Politics in Eurozone Countries. Book Launch

**Wednesday 31, 9:00-10:30 (GMT)**

**Panel chair:** Roman Gerodimos (Bournemouth University)

### **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
- Stella Ladi, Queen Mary University of London and Panteion University

#### **Book discussants**

- Dimitris Papadimitriou, University of Manchester
- Manos Matsaganis, Polytechnic University of Milan
- Claudio Radaelli, European University Institute

## **PANEL 1023: Greek Responses to the COVID-19 pandemic**

**Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> March, 10:45-12:00 (GMT)**

**Panel Chair:** Stella Ladi (QMUL and Panteion)

### **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 Bournakis (Open University of Cyprus) and Georgia Dimari (University of Crete) ‘The Greek Management of Covid-19: A Nation Branding Discourse Analysis-Oriented Investigation’.
- Georgia Dimari (University of Crete) ‘Towards a New Security *Apparatus* in Greece: Refugees, Covid-19 and Securitization of ‘Peoples’.
- George Kordas (Panteion University) ‘COVID-19 in Greece: The Government’s Clash with the Greek Church’.

## PANEL 1123: Nationalism and anti-establishment parties in Greece

**Wednesday 31<sup>st</sup> March, 13:45-15:15 (GMT)**

**Panel Chair:** Athanassios Gouglas (Exeter University)

### **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 ‘The Impact of the Evolution of Nationalism on the Recent Rise of the Radical Right within the European Context: The Case of Golden Dawn’.
- Angelos Nastoulis (University of Athens) ‘Between shame and violence: Konstantinos Katsifas and the transformations of victim’s identity’.
- Vasiliki Georgiadou and Jenny Mavropoulou (Panteion University) ‘Anti-establishment parties in Southern Europe’s coalition governments: still challenging the status-quo?’
- Anthoula Vretti (University of Athens) ‘The Influence of Far-Right Parties on the Organization, Ideological Profile and Political Program of the Right-Wing Parties. The Case of Greece, 2007 - 2014.’
- Vasili Poula (LSE) ‘Greece’s Secularism On The Stand’

## 5. Global challenges, Europe and Greece (Ex Ordo Reference Number #1016)

**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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 (Ex Ordo Reference Number #1017)

### **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 (Ex Ordo Reference Number #1020)

**Authors:**

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