

The Political Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic: The State in the World of Corona

الآثار السياسية لجائحة كوفيد-١٩ : الدولة في عالم الكورونا

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has reshaped the world in a lot, if not all, domains; the epidemic has put the nations and peoples of the world facing unprecedented challenges, which in turn have led to many economic, social and even political impacts and repercussions. In literature, these economic and social impacts are extensively discussed; however, there is no detailed discussion available on how the pandemic influenced the politics at all levels. Therefore, this study aimed to highlight the political impacts of the COVID-19 at the international as well as the domestic level and specifically discuss to what extent the state has been affected by all this internal and external challenges, with a quick glimpse of these impacts in European case, as an example of the regions that were politically affected by the pandemic. The study concluded that the COVID-19 created several global and local political implications; both the international system and international cooperation have been affected, and relations between States and among regional alliances have been affected also. Coronavirus affected all aspects of life, but perhaps most importantly, it affected the idea of liberalism. The pandemic extremely hurt globalization and led to the decline of neoliberalism as a global political and economic orientation. On the other hand, the pandemic has contributed to the rise of nationalism, which was clearly appearing in the European case, which has affected significantly by the crisis and its internal and external political repercussions. The pandemic has also contributed to the revival of the nation-state and state's return to the forefront of the political landscape; it seemed clearly, not only developing but also developed, countries expand their economic and social affairs to meet their needs and protect their citizens compared to before the pandemic.

Keywords: COVID-19 Pandemic, The State, Globalization, Nationalism, Europe.

المستخلص

أعدت جائحة كوفيد-١٩ تشكيل العالم في كثير إن لم يكن في كل المجالات، فلقد وضع الوباء دول وشعوب العالم أمام تحديات غير مسبوقة، أدت بدورها إلى العديد من الآثار والتداعيات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية بل والسياسية، وبالرغم من استفاضة الأدبيات في مناقشة الآثار الاقتصادية والاجتماعية على نطاق واسع، إلا انه لا يوجد نقاش تفصيلي لتأثير الجائحة على السياسة بكل مستوياتها. لذلك تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تسليط الضوء على الآثار السياسية المترتبة على كوفيد-١٩، ومناقشة مدى تأثر الدولة خاصة بكل تلك التحديات الداخلية والخارجية، مع لمحة سريعة لتلك الآثار في الحالة الأوروبية، كمثال على المناطق التي تأثرت سياسيا بالجائحة. خلصت الدراسة إلى وجود العديد من الآثار السياسية العالمية والمحلية المترتبة على كوفيد-١٩، فلقد تأثر كلا من النظام الدولي والتعاون الدولي، كما تأثرت العلاقات بين الدول والتحالفات الإقليمية. أثر فيروس كورونا على جميع جوانب الحياة ، ولكن ربما الأهم، أنه أثر على فكرة الليبرالية، فلقد أضرت الجائحة بالعملة بشدة، وأدت إلى تراجع النيوليبرالية كتوجه سياسي واقتصادي عالمي. من ناحية أخرى، ساهمت الجائحة في صعود القومية، التي ظهرت بوضوح في الحالة الأوروبية، التي تأثرت بشكل كبير بالأزمة وتداعياتها السياسية الداخلية والخارجية. كما ساهمت الجائحة أيضًا في إحياء الدولة القومية وعودة الدولة إلى صدارة المشهد السياسي، وبدا واضحًا توسع الدول - ليس فقط النامية بل والمتقدمة- في إدارة شؤونها الاقتصادية والاجتماعية لتلبية احتياجاتها وحماية مواطنيها مقارنة بما قبل الجائحة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: جائحة كوفيد-١٩، الدولة، العملة، القومية، أوروبا.

Introduction

The coronavirus (COVID-19) originated in Wuhan city of China in December 2019 and forced billions of people into lockdown. So far, more than 6 million people have died from this virus¹. The rapid spread of COVID-19 impacted all walks of life and shook the poor and rich, small and large enterprises, developing and developed countries alike, and in all fields².

As stated by (Fukuyama,2020) “Major crises have major consequences, usually unforeseen”, just like what happened with the major international crises; the Great

Depression, World War II, the events of September 2001 and the 2008 financial crisis, Covid -19 will have repercussions that affect the world history³.

First of all, COVID-19 directly hit the public health, becoming a serious health concern when the hospital capacities were reached⁴. It did not just affect the people physically but mentally too, as the frustration, anxiety, and poor mental health issues rapidly increased⁵.

Secondly, the coronavirus extremely damaged the national and global economy and caused the worst economic recession since World War II⁶. Although all types of industries and enterprises were affected badly, small and medium-sized industries nearly lost their business because of less experience and insufficient financial and human resources⁷. The economic situation of countries that are heavily dependent on trade and tourism has been weak. As a whole, around 11 million people were added to the poverty index⁸. In South Asia, the economic performance reached on worst condition in 40 years, while the economic performance of Sub-Saharan Africa was the lowest on record in the year 2020⁹.

Overall, the global recession turndown the world economy as the unemployment ratio reached the highest level¹⁰. In the only USA, 35 million people became jobless during the first two months of the pandemic¹¹. The closer of factories reduced the supply and demand for all raw and other materials and caused the large-scale cancellation of the order and transportation disruptions¹². The government banned or reduced more than 50% of air flights, and vehicle oil consumption was reduced by 80%, which indicates the dramatic decreases in business activities all over the world¹³. In comparison to the adverse economic impacts of the pandemic, the technological implications of COVID-19 were positive¹⁴. One remarkable effect that was observed during the pandemic was the sudden change in the behavior of people toward technology¹⁵. Technology supported industries in running their businesses while following the precautionary measures and let people effectively communicate with each other¹⁶. Even states used artificial intelligence, robots and other modern technologies in their administrative procedures¹⁷. However, despite the positive impact of the pandemic in terms of technology adaption both at individual and state levels, the pandemic is one of the worst disasters that led to many social and economic adversaries. Therefore, the social, economic and technological

implications of the pandemic are well-documented, and there is a large volume of research still on-going to address the long-term impacts on these aspects.

However, the political implications of the pandemic are worth studying, too, governments face many challenges when they try to control the pandemic as the states' leaders have the responsibility to minimize and control the epidemic impacts in all other sectors. States must create more secure jobs, motivate people toward new dimensional jobs and enterprises, and develop a strong industrial position for the future¹⁸. The state's involvement in the economy can support existing sectors and develop new sectors. To address these issues effectively, they have to change their political approach to governance and transform the political and social landscape¹⁹. However, these political implications of the pandemic are not extensively discussed in the existing literature, along with several national and international political changes that coronavirus created. For instance, a set of world leaders exist who see the pandemic as an opportunity to get political benefits by inflaming tension and creating new political and blaming issues²⁰. To fill this gap, the current paper aims to elaborate on the political condition and implications of COVID-19 at the international and national levels.

Questions and methodology of the study

The main purpose of this study is to explore the political impacts of the covid-19 pandemic, it sought to explore the impacts that covid-19 pandemic has had on the economic and social life and how these led, in turn, to political implications on more than one level. The main question is; what are the most important global, international and national political impacts of the pandemic? The study also asked questions such as: Has the pandemic affected globalization and liberalism as a global political orientation? Has the pandemic affected the nationalist approach? Have the relations between countries affected subjected to global uncertainty created by the pandemic? What about the state and its roles during the pandemic? Has the state been affected by these changes? What is the future of the state in the post-corona world? How the COVID-19 pandemic affected the Europe politically?

This study is a qualitative study, seeks to answer all this questions based on the analytical descriptive approach, which is concentrate on studying of political reality and describing it. The study is divided as follows; first section investigates the global

implication, and what is the relationship between the globalization and covid-19, which one affected the other? Second present how the pandemic influenced the politics at the international relationship and international cooperation. The third section concentrates on the economic and social changes and how it led to many challenges for governments on the domestic level. The fourth section discusses to what extent the state has been affected by the pandemic, and the future of the nation-states, while the fifth section provides a quick glimpse of the political impacts of the Corona virus in European case, as an example of the regions that were politically affected by the pandemic.

First: The Global Political impacts of Covid-19

Throughout history, liberalism has played a crucial role in the development of globalization, which has become one of the most significant themes of our day²¹. Despite the fact that it is not a new notion, it is nonetheless a complex one that must be thoroughly examined in order to comprehend its different manifestations. It was during the 1980s, according to Briggs et al., that the term "globalization" became popular²². In this context, it can refer to a variety of elements such as interactions between markets and finance, dissemination of information, and the integration of multiple sectors²³. This was accompanied politically by a gradual decline in the authority and the role of the state.

With globalization, it has become easier for states to learn from other states and adopt successful strategies for crisis management. The development of cities and the integration of the world economy have made it easier for people worldwide to connect²⁴. However, trade and travel, two essential parts of globalization, also play a significant role in spreading diseases. Pandemics have happened all over the world because humans have moved and communicated. The virus started to spread in China in early 2020, and by the end of March 2020, the world was ringed by people who did not know how to deal with a new problem. So, it's clear that a single place with poor health regulation can quickly and easily lead to a global health crisis, and it is essential to look for places where risk factors are most densely clustered²⁵. Globalization has made it easier for diseases to spread worldwide, and economic integration has become an important way for diseases –such as corona virus- to spread in modern times²⁶. The virus has shown that globalization is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it has made it possible for developed countries to provide

assistance to developing countries. On the other hand, it has also made it possible for the virus to spread quickly around the world²⁷.

- *Globalization vs. Nationalism*

Most countries' preventive and protective actions to limit the virus significantly impact international trade and globalization²⁸. The situation also led to the debate on whether or not to move decision-making to the global level and private health governance in a time of crisis. It is argued that if public health and economics are the fundamental aspects of a state, the public authorities should be transferred through subsidiarity²⁹. Distributing power in the right way is called "subsidiarity." It is based on the idea that power should be distributed at the lowest level possible unless it is more efficient³⁰.

As a whole, COVID-19 has affected the global political orientation and economy as well as globalization³¹. The attitude and role of world-leading economies and international organizations made globalization questionable. The so-called advocates of globalization show a nationalist approach during the pandemic, and they left alone the developing and other survival countries. The ex-president of the US, Donald Trump, loudly stated: "America First", COVID-19 affected the global economy by restricting travelling. The international organizations and world economies banded on global trade, travelling and transportation to prevent the spread out of the virus³². On the other hand, many governments provided funds to local industries to increase the productivity and supply chain to fulfill the local need for local production. This attitude may affect the international market and supply chain³³.

Hence, the global political orientation and economy were severally affected by COVID-19; as well the global political orientation and economy depend on the global political system. COVID-19 extremely hurt and destroyed globalization. Similarly, the nation-states have proved their position and credibility³⁴. In recent decades, the history of political and economic philosophy has been expanded by the inclusion of diverse facets of the family, international markets, and human rights in its considerations³⁵. There has been much effort put into tracking down and understanding the conceptual underpinnings of this movement. According to Duncan, the very existence of neoliberalism has been called into doubt³⁶. The

banking crisis increased the possibility of a policy paradigm change, which may result in the emergence of monetarist beliefs for a small period of time after it occurred. Because of the way the banking crisis was reported, it quickly became a contentious subject³⁷. It was portrayed as an emergency or a war, which gave officials carte blanche to do whatever they wanted in order to protect the status quo in the country³⁸. Scholars have also begun to cast doubt on the very existence of neoliberalism. The movement has been variously referred to as zombie neoliberalism, post-neoliberalism, or even a version of the movement³⁹. During the decade of the 2010s, the rise of populist parties and individuals was regarded as a rejection of the neoliberal economic agenda⁴⁰.

It is also argued that neoliberalism has taken on additional traits such as authoritarianism, anti-democratic tendencies, and liberal tendencies⁴¹. This has been a fine-grained historical history of the movement for quite some time. Whether or not this is still the case, however, is still debatable⁴². In the meanwhile, the nature of the link between neoliberalism and society remains a matter of debate.

Neoliberalism, despite the different kinds of criticism and debate regarding its existence, continues to be an important instrument for comprehending contemporary political economy and society⁴³. It is believed by some that the growing number of countervailing tendencies against the movement represents an indicator of its inevitability as an end-of-movement catastrophe. Despite the fact that post-neoliberalism is not a substitute for neoliberalism, it is nonetheless a collection of reforms and rationalities that have emerged from the numerous strands within the movement

- ***The decline of Neoliberalism and the Rise of Nationalism during COVID-19***

Over 30 years ago Fukuyama, whose name is almost synonymous with liberal ideology, was proclaiming history's "end." Adopting Hegel's historical teleology, Fukuyama famously argued in 1992 that the fall of the Soviet Union marked the ultimate "end point of mankind's ideology and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government"⁴⁴. Now he stated in his new book, "Liberalism and its Discontents" that "liberalism is in a state of crisis, and under severe threat around the world today." Fukuyama illustrates how classical

liberalism has come under pressure, and how economic liberalism evolved into the more extreme form of neoliberalism and provoked strong opposition and discontent with capitalism itself⁴⁵. He stated that liberalism has faced numerous critiques and challenges, and appears to many people as an old and worn-out ideology that fails to face the challenges of the times⁴⁶. Of course the coronavirus and its health, economic, social impacts among most important these challenges.

Several infectious diseases, including SARS, Ebola, and COVID-19, have been linked to the growth of neoliberalism, which has been identified as one of the causes contributing to their spread⁴⁷. Another aspect that has been identified as a contributing cause to the pandemic is the mix of social austerity and deregulation of capital and labor markets. This was possible because the nature of these epidemics, which were not nearly as severe as those that ravaged other continents, was such that they received widespread media attention. Two of these initiatives stood out as particularly significant⁴⁸. Another is the deregulation of the capital and labor markets, which has resulted in a wide range of worldwide options for consumers and workers, as well as for businesses.

According to the original plan of government agencies all over the world, countries would implement a herd immunity approach, which badly infected the population. In response to mounting criticism from the scientific community and the media, the US government decided to impose a complete state of emergency on March 23⁴⁹. It was also disclosed that the chief scientific adviser had also recommended that the government begin implementing the restrictions on March 16, which was later confirmed.

It has been estimated that the delay in introducing lockdowns resulted in around 20,000 deaths in the United States. Also likely is that the government's early reluctance to implement limits was influenced by the ideas of neoliberal economists⁵⁰. This notion is known as "responsibilization", and it refers to the expectation that the government will shift the duty for managing an outbreak on the individuals themselves rather than on the state⁵¹. Because of this, regulations that were congruent with this approach began to emerge almost immediately after the lockdown was removed.

Since the outbreak of the current epidemic, nations have been compelled to implement austerity measures and reduce social expenditure, which has further aggravated the situation. Consequently, liberal democracy is under pressure, and its long-term viability is doubtful as the state's ability to care for its population becomes harder to sustain. In response, many people are turning to authoritarianism and populism, which will almost certainly result in the further downfall of the liberal democratic system in the future. As a result of the worldwide epidemic caused by Covid-19, liberal democracy is now experiencing a period of crisis⁵². It can be said attacks on the liberal world order have been increasing for years, and that trend will only be accelerated by the pandemic⁵³.

The inability of the neoliberals to handle the public health issue has revealed the true nature of their economic policies to the public. This failure should be considered a launching pad for the construction of a viable democracy in the United States⁵⁴. The working class and the most vulnerable elements of society have been the most adversely affected by the epidemic, owing to the intensity of the outbreak and the large number of people who have lost their employment as a result of it. During the stagflation crisis of 1975, 2.24 million workers lost their jobs in the United States. Approximately 2.64 million people lost their jobs as a result of the Great Recession in 2009. A total of more than 22 million people claimed unemployment benefits during the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 virus has wreaked havoc on the capitalist system, causing it to collapse completely⁵⁵. This is due to the fact that the economy was already in a state of recession when the outbreak happened.

Through the efforts of political parties, the burden of the pandemic's consequences will be transferred to the general public. The COVID-19 pandemic can potentially be used as a springboard for the construction of a more sustainable capitalism system if it is handled properly⁵⁶. It has the potential to revolutionize society by inspiring individuals to resist. Following the outbreak of the pandemic, a number of social movements have called for a nationwide demonstration in support of social democracy. Protests should be held in nations where social democrats are active rather than in other countries. Also appropriate are slogans that are associated with the concepts of sustainable development and universal health coverage. In particular, the rise of populism and nationalism is a direct response to the failure of liberal democracy to address the needs of ordinary people. If liberal democracy is to survive, it must find a way to address the concerns of those who feel left behind by

globalization and neoliberalism⁵⁷. For example, it must create jobs and reduce inequality. The future of liberal democracy depends on its ability to do so. Otherwise, it will give rise to authoritarianism and the decline of freedom and liberty.

Second: The International Political impacts of Covid-19

The coronavirus pandemic has affected politics in many respects, including international relations. Some researchers argue that Corona is one of the great events the world has witnessed, such as World War I and II, which have greatly affected international system and international relations because of its political, economic and social repercussions⁵⁸.

The Impact of Coronavirus on International Relations

The pandemic has affected many relations and interactions, not only among individuals but also between countries; the relationship between the states has suffered during the pandemic which caused diplomatic tension between countries. Some governments have been criticized by others for its handling of the pandemic, and also some regional alliances have been criticized for their weak cooperation during the crisis.

Since the outbreak's commencement, China has been recognized as the epicenter of the pandemic. The development of COVID-19 by the country has provided it with a competitive edge in terms of establishing itself as crisis management and humanitarian organization in the region⁵⁹. However, it has also placed it at a competitive disadvantage when it comes to positioning itself as a strategic partner in the future. Chinese officials have been chastised for failing to communicate effectively with the World Health Organization (WHO) and for politicizing the matter ever since the outbreak was first discovered there⁶⁰. Additionally, additional issues such as the disruption of its supply lines have contributed to the complexity of the situation.

Instead of pursuing its regular policy of interacting with the World Health Organization, China initiated a campaign to combat the epidemic. According to Rankin and Karabulut et al., such an approach has had only a modest influence on the country's relations with the United States, but it has had a detrimental impact on the country's relations with the European Union as well⁶¹.

Before the epidemic struck, relations between China and the European Union were a delicate balancing act of competing interests. This already precarious position has been made even more precarious as a result of a number of pandemic-related developments: China's posture, combined with the country's exposed supply chain dependence (particularly in the area of medical supplies), has resulted in a significantly negative perception of the country in Europe⁶². While the epidemic may have contributed to the continuation of a pattern of animosity between China and the United States, it also heralded the beginning of a new diplomatic age between China and the European Union, which was not always inevitable⁶³. Because of the pandemic, discussions that had previously been focused on constructive topics such as commerce and collaboration on issues such as climate change have become significantly negative and critical in nature⁶⁴. For the European Parliament, this means that it can no longer see China exclusively through a human rights lens. A far more strategic and long-term approach will be necessary, rather than a more tactical approach. China's active use of investments to advance its global ambitions will also be required in order for this to be accomplished.

President Donald Trump accused the EU of failing to take the same measures when it comes to protecting the US. The US move to impose travel restrictions on people from the European Union was criticized as being made without consultation⁶⁵. The relations between China and US became on the hotline, and both countries were blaming each other instead of playing their role in reducing the world crisis during the COVID-19. COVID-19 affected the geopolitical situation of the world, especially concerning the US and China's approach to finding advantages in geopolitical and international politics.

The pandemic also dramatically increased the political tension between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. Although both countries were striving to overcome the crisis of COVID-19 and rescue their citizen and the situation of India was vulnerable⁶⁶. It is also assumed that Indian politicians inflamed the tension to convert and divert the mind of the public from the pandemic crises. European Union also used the pandemic in its favor and agreed with the members on adopting new policies such as the economic recovery plan of 2020⁶⁷. Although there was a serious tension among a few businesses, such as farmers' demand for foreign workers migrant labor, and a few EU leaders and members were in favor of restrictions on immigration⁶⁸.

Similarly, the politicians of the UK tried to use the pandemic situation for their political gain regarding the Brexit negotiation between the UK and the EU. The local political issues were exposed regarding COVID-19 and health concerns⁶⁹. Few politicians criticized the government's steps and initiatives regarding COVID-19 and misled the public regarding the wearing of protection masks⁷⁰. This kind of debate seems to other countries, too. The cause of these debates was the pre-existing political issues, tensions among the political parties and disagreements between local /regional/ state/ province and federal governments.

Another challenge to state stability due to political violence was also Davies & Wenham, observed during the COVID-19⁷¹. The armed conflicts within the state led to the state's failure. The militant and rebel groups seemed the pandemic as an opportunity to expand their control on the state and prove their capability to govern⁷². The same condition was observed in some parts of armed militant operated southwest Colombia, where the curfew violators were treated as military targets. The international political experts anticipated that the Islamic State, The Taliban and similar militant groups also used the COVID-19 in their favor⁷³.

- *International cooperation during the pandemic*

International cooperation is essential to containing the pandemic and mitigating its impact. However, it has been hampered by the fact that different countries have different approaches to the problem. Besides this, the role of the US, regional alliances such as the EU and international organizations like IMF and WHO were also questionable during the pandemic.

As well, the role of the European Union was also doubtful. The EU can't manage the crisis well, and the EU didn't help its member countries, such as Italy, Spain and France, which were seriously surviving the pandemic. The dispiriting role of the EU makes a negative impact on the vision EU, and most analysts stated that the EU collapsed its integrity and position. Some scholars have argued that the relative lack of international health cooperation during the COVID-19 pandemic, which necessitates a rethinking of existing approaches to international relations and health diplomacy⁷⁴.

Developed countries have been more focused on economic stimulus, while developing countries have been more focused on public health. While the developed

world has been largely successful in containing the virus, this is not true of the developing world. The pandemic has demonstrated the need for a coordinated global response to health crises⁷⁵. This is not something that can be done by one country alone. It requires cooperation among all countries, rich and poor. For example, the United States had been able to contain the virus, but India had not. In that case, the virus would eventually make its way back to the United States, and the cycle would continue. International cooperation is essential to containing pandemics and protecting humanity.

However, the pandemic has exposed the weaknesses of neoliberalism and globalization at the same time. Neoliberalism is the dominant ideology, and it has led to a number of problems. One is the rise of China as an economic power. This has led to a decline in living standards for many workers in developed countries. Another problem is the increasing inequality between the rich and the poor. This has led to social unrest and the rise of populism.

The current pandemic has shown that neoliberalism is unable to protect the global economy from shocks, which has led to a change in the features of the international system. As stated by (Ahmed, 2020), the pandemic has affected international relations in many ways: it has led to the restoration of the national state as a major actor in international relations after the decline of its role in recent decades for other actors. Beside the decline in the concept of international solidarity, the pandemic will lead to a clear change in the structure of the international system, where the crisis will accelerate from a unipolar to a multi-polar international system⁷⁶.

Third: The national Political impacts of Covid-19

COVID-19 is an excellent example of how a global health crisis can cause large scale changes in all other sectors of life⁷⁷. Inevitable consequences, like the slowdown in the economy, are now visible, along with the adverse impact on people's overall and socioeconomic well-being⁷⁸; the sweeping socioeconomic impacts of the corona virus have the power to make political changes and implications, as explained in the following section.

- **Economic and Social impacts of Covid-19; as a Sudden Challenges for national Governments**

The virus caused unprecedented economic uncertainty globally, which has also slowed down a quick and complete recovery⁷⁹. Situations such as multiple supply chain disruptions caused by confinement and less public demand for products and services make it very difficult for businesses to get back on their feet after COVID-19⁸⁰. On the administration level, the trade-off between money and health has triggered a lively debate about the best ways to fight the pandemic. Governments' ability to respond and their vulnerability to viral are linked to differences in their economic strengths. Also, Governments that are better at managing crises are expected to do better economically, so effective pandemic health management is considered very useful for both society and the economy⁸¹.

During the Great Depression, unemployment increased at an unprecedented level. However, in the first two quarters of 2020, the economy shrank faster than during the Great Recession in 2008-2009⁸². With a 21% drop, global stock markets had their worst quarter since the financial crisis of 2008⁸³. Oil prices have plummeted to their lowest levels in 18 years, partly owing to the sharpest drop in demand in history. Companies "hoarded the currency as revenues dropped," causing emerging market currencies to crash. Because the social safety net was eroding, millions of families battled to make ends meet without paid sick/family leave or health insurance. This led governments in many countries to pass extensive stimulus programs⁸⁴. However, Gender, race or ethnicity, education, and job title have all had different effects on "social distance," "distant work," and the difference between "essential" and "non-essential" workers. Low-wage workers faced the most severe health risks despite also being exposed to financial risks. They were more likely to be laid off for good, or their reemployment was even less certain than high-wage workers in other fields⁸⁵. In such circumstances, political leaders need to be more responsive and implement reasonable governance measures⁸⁶.

Social life was also extremely affected by a coronavirus⁸⁷. The loss of loved ones, restrictions on social activities, and uncertain conditions made the people hopeless and helpless⁸⁸, leading to many emotional and behavioral changes⁸⁹. The closer of educational and other learning institutes highly affected the social and mental condition of youth⁹⁰. Similarly, COVID-19 exceptionally destroyed the social life of

healthcare workers⁹¹. This situation created an internal challenge to overcome the public stress and uplift their mental health. There was an explicit threat of public protest against the government policies⁹². To address this issue, governments launched an awareness campaign by using all types of media to calm people and decrease their stress levels⁹³.

Governments face many challenges when they try to control the epidemic, including people not knowing how bad the pandemic will be for them⁹⁴. In this way, the challenges of pandemic governance are not just technical. They also have to do with social and political issues and how the media portrays the events. In today's society, a logical scientific approach to pandemic management is not enough, and public health policy needs to be made with the help of science, culture, and public opinion⁹⁵. It takes a government-wide approach to pandemic management that considers the unique nature of the events. This includes epidemiology, public health, and socioeconomic factors, where trust in governance, leadership, and institutions can all play a role⁹⁶. Thus as a whole governments face a variety of challenges on various level which also initiated their differentiated response.

- **public Administration challenges**

The COVID19 pandemic has put a burden on both the governments and the resources available to them. Policies in the United States, where local and state governments have the greatest ability to restrict the spread of the illness, have had success in putting in place a variety of interventions at different times. Various interventions aimed at reducing the number of people infected with COVID19 began in March 2020 and will continue until the virus is eradicated. Shelter-in-place orders and social separation measures were among the options available. These attempts were targeted at slowing the virus's reproduction rate in order to give researchers more time to discover new pharmacological treatments for the disease. The pandemic progressed, and as a result, several governments began experimenting with less-stringent regulations in an effort to encourage economic activity.

As stated by (Dryhurst et al., 2020), the public's risk perception of covid-19, in general, has caused many individuals to lose trust in the public healthcare system and governmental institutions⁹⁷. Risk perception is one of the most important variables that people take into consideration when it comes to the government's role

in resolving security issues, according to recent studies⁹⁸. The likelihood of persons supporting action increases as their level of concern about the situation increases. The implication of risk perception is that if the general populace assumes the threat of the covid-19 to be minor in a certain sense, then, as pointed out by Dryhurst et al. (2020), individuals are more likely to not follow along with pandemic-based restrictions such as wearing a mask at all times in public and social distancing. It is to note that the US and most European agencies may have swiftly imposed travel bans which for the time being had given rise to negative public perception towards the administration⁹⁹.

The pandemic showed that Politicians are compelled to innovate to increase efficiency, given the public sector's limited economic resources and residents' aspirations for high-quality health care. From this perspective, traditional management has been contrasted with new public management, with no significant differences¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, numerous studies have demonstrated that public health administration is more efficient than private management. For example, private healthcare centers in Spain and Germany are less efficient, partly because patients spend more time at these centers than at public ones¹⁰¹. Overall, the state sovereignty has been threatened since Corona. It was clear that countries were surprised by Corona and that their financial capabilities were not commensurate with their sovereign size or low, which is why some countries had to resort to major economic powers to secure loans or facilities. This is a great challenge for weak states on the one hand, and for strong states on the other hand. It is true that Corona shook state sovereignty, but it also revealed its strengths as well as its weaknesses and clarified how much it needs to develop its capabilities so that it does not succumb again if a similar event occurs¹⁰².

- *Elections and political costs for COVID-19*

In addition to all this economic and administrative challenges, many national governments faced another political challenge, they found themselves with no other choice but to postpone or cancel democratic elections at both presidential and legislative level. The recent outbreak of the coronavirus has prompted concerns about the ability of several countries to organize free and fair elections in the wake of the virus's spread. It has also brought with it a slew of issues, including the eroding of democratic institutions and the propagation of the disease¹⁰³. As a result of the

COVID-19, at least 70 countries and territories have decided to postpone their national and regional elections until after the elections¹⁰⁴. However, several countries and territories held their national or regional elections, in spite of the varied concerns about impending elections that have been voiced worldwide. The referendums or national elections in 28 of these countries have already taken place¹⁰⁵. A total of over 50 countries and territories participated in the elections, which had been initially postponed owing to the coronavirus outbreak. Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and Jordan are among the other countries on this list, which also include the United Kingdom. There are also 25 states in the United States, as well as 28 countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. It is to note that the covid-19 mishandling could also be a major contributor to elections that were held in the United States in 2020. It was noted that journalists of the far right had claimed the weakening of the Trump administration on the abrupt situation of the novel virus¹⁰⁶.

Besides, there was another political cost to the pandemic, a number of countries have proclaimed states of emergency in order to halt the spread of the virus, which leading to fears about misuse of power. In the same time the sentiment of the public and their perception of governmental agencies were altered towards adversity due to mishandling and abrupt pandemic-imposed restrictions and, more recently, increased surveillance. There has been an increase in the use of surveillance equipment to track the transmission of the virus, which is a positive development¹⁰⁷. On the one hand, this technique has the advantage of notifying persons who have come into touch with an infected person as soon as possible, allowing them to be tested and remain in self-quarantine until the situation is resolved¹⁰⁸. On the other hand, because authorities are able to monitor political opponents and their movements, this method has the potential to impinge on citizens' privacy, which affected human rights and civil liberties negatively. Thus, Covid-19 has risen to the level of a major public health danger while also having the potential to result in severe restrictions on individuals' privacy and freedom of movement at the same time¹⁰⁹.

As a whole, COVID-19 also left a significant political and legal impact in the immediate future. The European Court of Human Rights and the United States' immigration courts were shut down¹¹⁰, and as a result, many international accords were broken or put on hold—under international law's state of need or force majeure.

Most countries closed their borders to protect public health, which appears to be a significant step toward nationalization. Such closures violated international law and contributed to fragmentation, resulting in further fragmentation of globalization and cosmopolitanism¹¹¹. This rise of the nation- state is discussed in the next section.

Fourth: The State in the time of corona

The globalization of economies and the rise of neoliberalism have led to a decline in the role of the state in many areas. In particular, the state has been less able to intervene in and regulate the economy and has instead been forced to compete in global markets. Because of this, the welfare state has deteriorated, and inequality has increased, particularly since the 1980s¹¹².

In contrast, the pandemic has contributed to the revival of the nation- state. The state has been able to use the pandemic as an opportunity to assert its authority and control over society. This has been done in a number of ways, such as through the implementation of lockdown measures, the restriction of travel, and the censorship of information. The state has also been able to use the pandemic to increase its surveillance of citizens. All of these things have contributed to the revival of the nation- state. Especially, civil society and regional organizations were unable to play their role under the pandemic compared to their prosperity in the age of globalization.

Even liberals admitted that; “it’s nothing makes the universalism of liberalism incompatible with a world of nation- state”, Fukuyama explained there is no conflict between the goals of liberalism and nationalism; the goals are entirely compatible with world divided into nation- state, and emphasized all societies need to powerful state protect their citizens internal and external; therefore states remain critical political actors because they are the only ones able to exercise a legitimate use of force¹¹³, Which is really happened during this pandemic, and led in turn to a review of liberal statements about the state and its role and the recognition that the existence of the state is inescapable¹¹⁴.

The Role of the state during and post- covid-19 pandemic

As the world emerges from the Covid-19 pandemic, the role of the state as an actor in transformation in a post- corona world will be critical. While many governments

have spent decades shrinking their states, this crisis has shown that strong public institutions and investment in public capacity are essential. They provide health care, social protection and education for their populations. They provide the fiscal space for economic recovery and for targeted investments to drive long-term development outcomes. However, the state is not a monolithic entity. It contains various institutions with different motivations, capabilities and resources, which can be accessed by citizens or other actors with their agendas. The state is not only about the provision of public goods and services to citizens by the government. It is also about how power relationships between different state institutions are managed and how these influence policymaking processes.

The state must work through various agencies performing different roles: policymaking, resource generation; service delivery; regulation; monitoring and evaluation. There is also a wide range of private actors, who often play a role in service delivery or in influencing policymaking processes, but may benefit their interests at the expense of others (such as providers of unregistered health products or child labor).

In the context of the Corona crisis and the accompanying economic recession, social security systems have become a necessity to protect the most vulnerable groups and mitigate the effects of the pandemic. In the last two decades of globalization with its various manifestations, the state has moved away from its social, economic and security functions, especially in developing countries. In some countries, this retreat was due to the pressure of international financial institutions. In others, it came within the framework of economic liberalization policies that were based on reducing public spending and narrowing social protection programs and relying on private sector initiatives to provide economical services and employment opportunities for citizens¹¹⁵. Many states that were not ready for such a crisis have now returned to their social and security functions to confront this crisis through various measures aimed at mitigating its impact on societies during this period.

Other than that, the developed nations have to play a major role in economic and social restructuring as their resources in a globalized, interconnected world are linked with developing nations¹¹⁶. Hence the role of established economies is of paramount importance. The utilization of IMF, World Bank, and other financial institutions can certainly transform the economies of developing nations such as

South Asian countries. Sri Lanka, for example, is going through the worst financial crisis and apart from political decisions pandemic has a major role in its downfall¹¹⁷. In such a situation, the economic and operational aid can stabilize the region which is necessary for global economic stability. Although, the state can help foster international cooperation: it helped design and implement vaccines that have saved millions of lives. It can also help ensure that citizens are protected against economic devastation: governments have implemented historic levels of fiscal stimulus to prevent depression¹¹⁸, but there is a lot to be done to secure the future of the planet as the pandemic is still not eliminated yet.

The pandemic has revealed the weaknesses of globalization and its negative impact on states. It also revealed how much the state is necessary for the protection of its citizens' health internally and externally. Its role increased regarding security and internal peace ... And external security, which has sometimes reached the closure of airports, as well as its role in the economic file, whether through providing assistance to citizens who lost their jobs or providing them with cash. The state has become more present than ever during this period in all aspects of life¹¹⁹. As for security, this is what characterized this period, especially after decisions were made to impose a curfew and prevent people from moving between regions; so there were armed clashes between security forces and civilians in India, France and Pakistan, as well as demonstrations and protests against government restrictions in many countries. And when the military intervened in some countries such as Hong Kong, Italy and Greece, they found that they could not impose strict quarantine measures on people if there were no explicit legal texts from the legislative authority (the parliament) in this regard¹²⁰. The social dimension related to housing and food aid also increased to protect citizens whose income was affected by lockdowns¹²¹.

The communication function of the state in the pandemic has increased, especially since the pandemic forced everyone to use technology, especially in the field of education and banking. However, this process was insufficient because of the weakness of telecommunications infrastructure in most countries, which made it imperative for governments to support this infrastructure¹²². In addition, governments have been forced to provide direct assistance to citizens in various ways such as opening food banks or issuing financial aid. The pandemic has also pushed some governments to develop new housing projects through state-run banks and organizations that serve a large segment of society that cannot afford housing

loans under normal conditions¹²³. On the other hand, there was a decline in the developmental role of the state in the period of the various. There will be a boom in the role of the development in the next phase to reform what was corrupted by the corona, and the accompanying interruption of many development projects, especially in developing countries. The state will have to take exceptional measures to restore what was corrupted by Corona and get out of this crisis and face its repercussions¹²⁴.

The role of the state after the corona pandemic depends on the time period of this epidemic, the longer the period the greater the magnitude of the repercussions and the state's continued dominance. In general, there is more than one future scenario. The first scenario is that the situation will be back exactly it was before the pandemic where there will be a decline of the role of the state in the economy and the public sphere for the benefit of other players such as international organizations and the private sector. The second scenario is the continuation of state control over all social and economic areas, as in the time of the Corona with a weak partnership of private sector institutions and civil society. The third Scenario is that state's role will increase with a strong partnership with private sector institutions and international and local organizations. This is what we see as the closest to the occurrence on the ground at least in the near and medium term, because of the great need of many countries to rebuild their economies which requires the mutual efforts of private sector and civil society as well as the state institutions.

The Pandemic has created an opportunity for states to intervene in order to promote economic justice, only by doing so will liberal democracy be able to regain the trust of its citizens. Liberal democracy should not be abandoned; it should be reformed¹²⁵. For example, states should invest in social welfare and public goods. They should also use taxation and regulation to create a level playing field. This will require a significant change in the way that liberal democracies operate. But it is necessary to preserve the values of liberty, equality, and solidarity. Covid-19 challenges all aspects of society, but perhaps most importantly, it challenges the very idea of liberalism, and the solution lies in radical reform.

Overall a lot of countries have begun to expand their economic and social roles to secure and protect their citizens, which providing an opportunity for many states to strengthen their political legitimacy and regain their social position, at a time when

no one has been able to compete it. However, that reality has been accompanied by many economic, political and human rights challenges, and the greatest challenge: the ability of economic States to continue to present social policies that improving the quality of life of their citizens without harming or compromising their public rights and freedoms.

Nationalist Approach to Developing and Developed Countries

Developed countries like the US and European countries have responded to the pandemic with a number of different policies. The United States has enacted a series of stimulus measures in an attempt to boost the economy. These include tax cuts, increased government spending, and targeted relief programs. While these measures have been helpful, they have also been criticized for being insufficient and for benefiting the wealthy more than the poor. European countries, on the other hand, have focused more on public health measures such as restrictions on travel and social distancing. While these measures have been effective in slowing the spread of the virus, they have also led to economic recession.

Developing countries have responded to the pandemic in a variety of ways. Some, like China, have been able to effectively contain the virus and then begin to ease restrictions. Others, like India, have been less successful in containing the virus but have been able to provide economic relief to those who have been affected. Still, others, like Brazil, have been largely unsuccessful in both containing the virus and providing economic relief. The response of developing countries has been shaped by a variety of factors, including their level of development, their political systems, and their relations with the developed world.

The different responses of developed and developing countries to the pandemic highlight the importance of state intervention. Developed countries have been able to provide more effective relief because they have been able to rely on the state to provide it. This is not an option for developing countries, which must instead rely on private charity and international assistance. As a result, the gap between the rich and the poor is likely to widen. This is an undesirable outcome, as it will lead to increased inequality and social unrest. Since the pandemic began, there has been a rise in populists and nationalists who seek to exploit these divisions. If liberal

democracy is to survive, it must find a way to address the needs of both the rich and the poor.

Now the world is seeking the nation-state. This may feel insecure the liberal states, and liberal states might resist the nation-states. The existence and stability of states in the international system could be ensured by the strength and power of the state.

Fifth : a glimpse of the political impacts of the covid-19 in Europe

The political impacts of Corona and its repercussions have appeared in many areas such as China, Russia, Iran, Ireland, Malaysia, South Korea, Latvia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Africa and the United States of America. Europe is one of the regions that is most affected by the Covid-19 pandemic¹²⁶. The political impacts are felt in many areas such as the leader's popularity, democracy, and political discourse. The pandemic has started broader debates about political issues such as the rise of nationalism, the benefits of democracy or autocracy, how states handle crises, the politicization of information, and the ability of international frameworks to deal with such issues¹²⁷. Political implications of the pandemic can be seen in many European countries such as Hungary, Austria, Germany, Denmark, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Greece, and Cyprus¹²⁸.

In the early stages of the crisis, politics was swayed and the general public opinion supported the national governments. As the citizens were sent into internal exile, governments moved quickly to introduce emergencies to prevent the spread of diseases. The next stage of the crisis was to rebuild the economy and to do so governments had to take politics into account¹²⁹. It will require huge sums of money to fund the recovery and to do so leaders will have to use the right language and approach to win public sympathy for their policies. It has massively impacted the political hemisphere of Europe and during recent years, it has led to a massive change in public opinion¹³⁰.

How the COVID-19 pandemic affected the Nationalism in Europe?

Nationalism has always been an integral part of politics in Europe but in the post-pandemic era, support for the right-wing and populist parties has been on the rise¹³¹. Nationalism is on the rise in Europe but its rise cannot be attributed to a linear path.

It is a common perception that Nationalism is on the rise due to Euroscepticism but in reality, it has risen due to the failure of European states to help each during the crisis and the failure of global powers such as China and, America to provide aid to their allies in the time of crisis¹³². These failures have led to people believing the DIY (Do It Yourself) ideology.

This attitude is visible in elections all around Europe but it is more prevalent in countries such as France and Italy¹³³. Both of these countries have seen a rise in populist, far-right and nationalist parties. Nationalist parties have garnered more seats and votes in the elections¹³⁴. France has seen a sudden rise in nationalism and the main advocate for nationalism in France is the National Rally party. It garnered about 41.46 percent of the total votes in the recent election as compared to 33.9 percent votes in the 2017 elections¹³⁵. The leader of the National Rally party, Marine Le Pen is working to make nationalism mainstream in France. The National Rally party is opposed to the idea of a united Europe. It blames the European Union for mass immigration and it also has a voice with other nationalist and far-right parties in Europe. The National Rally party is one of the major forces in France that promotes nationalism due to the failure of the European Union and global powers to resolve the pandemic¹³⁶.

In Italy, the far-right party, the league promotes and advocates for nationalism. In the recent elections, it got 17.4 percent votes as compared to 8.8 percent in the previous elections¹³⁷. The league has a Eurosceptic approach and is leading the Italian opinion polls. It also has 28 MEPs in the EU parliament's 73-strong ID block¹³⁸.

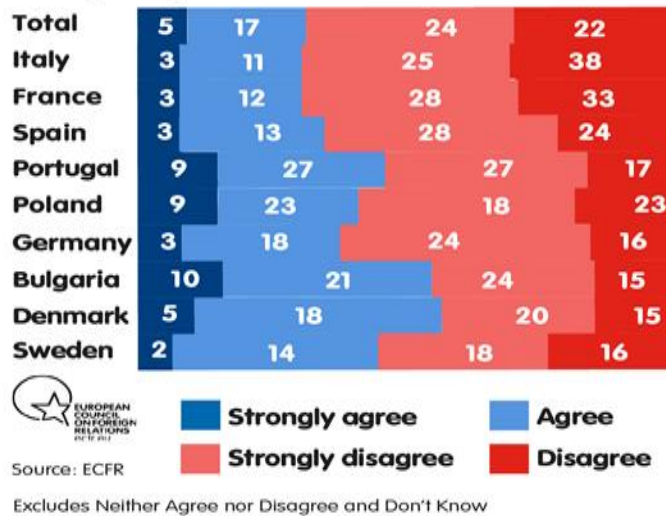
The rise of the League and the National party in Italy and France respectively shows the shift in public opinion toward nationalism. The nationalist parties are gaining popularity in the aftermath of the pandemic. This shift in public opinion is due to the failure of the European Union and global powers to manage the pandemic.

The International Cooperation and relations in Europe during the Crisis

The performance of the European Union was unsatisfactory during the crisis. The lack of crisis management was quite visible during the pandemic. The incoherence between the member states and the national retreat further worsened the situation¹³⁹. The first approach of the governments in the European Union was to introduce

border and export controls which left every country to fight for itself. It led to an increase in tension between northern and southern European Union states¹⁴⁰. This led people to believe that European Union performed adversely during the crisis, as shown in the following figure; 63 percent of people in Italy and 61 percent in France believe that the performance of the European Union during the crisis was substandard¹⁴¹.

The European Union lived up to its responsibilities during the pandemic

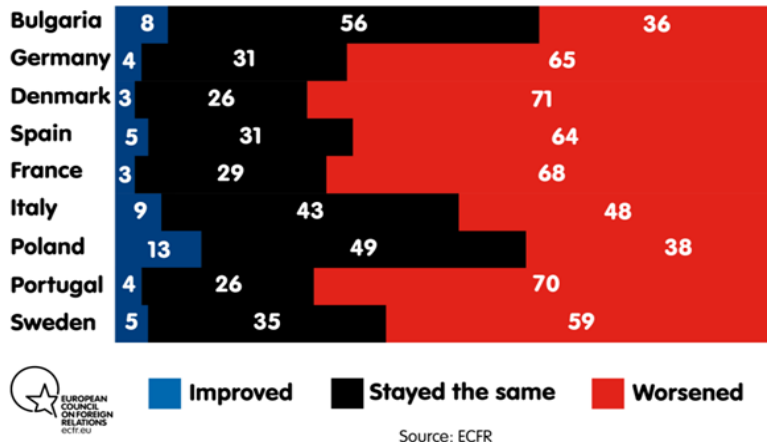


Source: ECFR

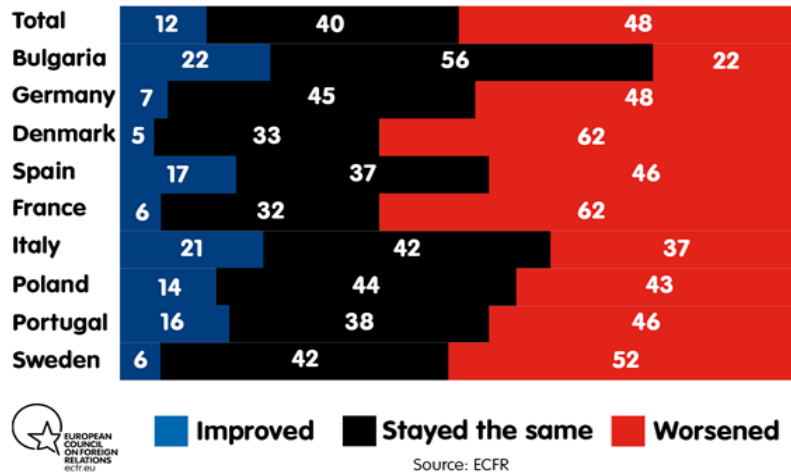
The majority of people in Italy, Spain, and France believe that their attitudes toward European Union as an institution worsened during the pandemic (58 percent, 50 percent, and 41 percent respectively)¹⁴². The more worrisome number, however, is the majority of people that believe that the European Union has been irrelevant in the context of the pandemic.

Concerning relations the crisis also seems to have inflicted lasting damage on the reputations of Europe’s two biggest economic partners: the United States and China; 65 percent of the people in Germany and 68 in France and 71 percent in Denmark believe that their country’s relations worsened with the US during the crisis¹⁴³.

How has your view of the US changed during the coronavirus crisis? (%)



Has your view of China changed during the coronavirus crisis?



Source: ECFR

Similarly, 46 percent in Spain and 62 percent of the people in France and Denmark believe that their country's relationship worsened with China¹⁴⁴. It can be attributed to US's failure to protect itself and the threats from China to withhold medical supplies¹⁴⁵. It has led people to believe that each country needs to stand up for itself and to protect its sovereignty from other countries.

The Pandemic and the State in Europe

The pandemic has had far-reaching impacts on the global economy and all the major economies in Europe (Germany, France, and Italy) are already heading toward a recession¹⁴⁶. To contain the pandemic, governments introduced stringent lockdowns

that massively impacted the livelihoods of millions of people. The pandemic is suspected to halt economic growth, inflate macroeconomic instability, decrease remittance, reduce tourism, and industries which will in turn increase poverty, unemployment, and inflation¹⁴⁷.

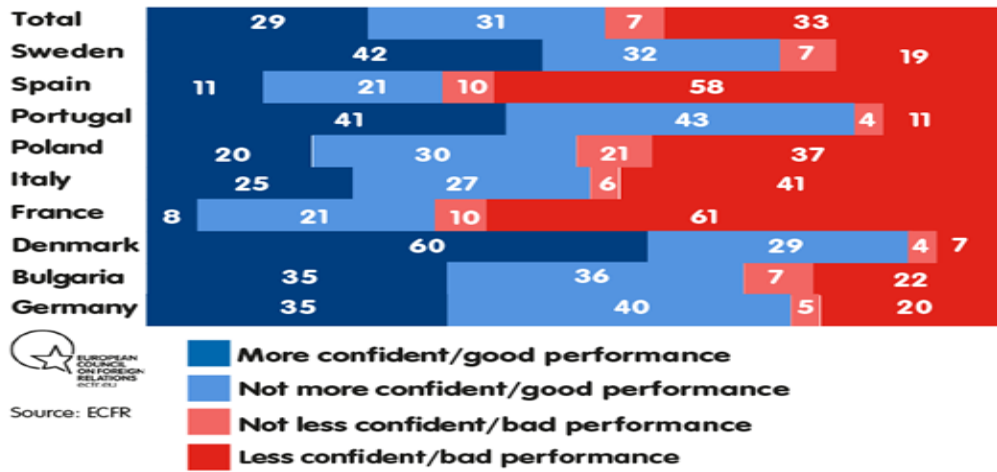
To combat the challenges, European governments took socio-economic protection and inclusion policy measures such as defending fair wages, fighting social exclusion and poverty, addressing the risk of social exclusion of particular groups, promoting equality and fairness, relaxing eligibility criteria and improving the level of benefits and job protection schemes¹⁴⁸. It was a temporary response to reduce the socioeconomic strain on poor communities. These emergency measures helped avert a social crisis but also highlighted the need to address and improve the socio-economic protection and inclusion policies.

In Italy, for example, the state has managed to transform itself from being seen as an obstacle to one that is now regarded as a partner. It has helped workers, families and businesses affected by the crisis to survive and thrive. Italians have responded by showing solidarity, sharing their wealth with those who have less and respecting and following the guidelines outlined by the government¹⁴⁹. The Italian state has also proven that it can take on debt in order to finance its interventions and that it can play a role in promoting economic development and innovation through direct intervention in research funding and public procurement processes.

The crisis has revealed existing political trends rather than fundamentally changing the political system or creating a new consensus. The idea of a greater role for the state is not backed by popular demand but rather by elites who seized new powers to control the pandemic. The number of people who have lost trust in the ability of the government to manage the crisis is larger than the number of people who believe in a greater role for the state¹⁵⁰. About 33 percent of people in Europe believe that their government acted poorly in the crisis and have lost confidence in the ability of their government to avert a crisis, While 29 percent of people who believe in a larger role for the state, do not share the same enthusiasm as shown during the nationalization of the economy in the 1920s and the 1940s¹⁵¹.

Regarding the confidence in the power of government, there are stark variations among the member states, as shown in the following figure.

Change in confidence in power of governments and perception of performance of the national government



Source: ECFR

In Denmark, 60 percent of voters believe that their government performed well while about 61 percent of voters in France believe that their government is not trustworthy¹⁵². Supporters of incumbent parties largely represent those who believe in the power of their government while supporters of opposition parties believe that the government performed poorly. When it comes to voting trends, the crisis has not fundamentally changed the basic framework. When populist voters change their vote, they vote for another populist party and when nationalist voters change their vote, they vote for another mainstream nationalist party¹⁵³. Today people regard the state as an insurance mechanism and not as a source of progress or perhaps as a backup to provide supplies, medicines, and food during the next crisis.

Overall, the pandemic had a significant effect on the political trends of Europe and its implications were seen throughout major parts of Europe. It impacted the notions of Euroscepticism and pro-Euro-federalism simultaneously. The pandemic has severe socio-economic implications and governments had to take emergency measures to reduce the impact on poor communities. Despite the rise in nationalism, the pandemic did not change the fundamentals of the political framework of Europe. The voting trends and political pathways were impacted in some manner but the overall political framework was re-established rather than being renewed.

However, these trends are yet to develop, and research suggests that the political consequences will peak approximately two years after the pandemic ends¹⁵⁴. It

remains only to conclude that the pandemic and its impacts are likely to amplify the growing political instability of recent years, we are still living through a period of transition marked by shifting needs and priorities, which requires making adjustments to governing institutions and political forces before systems settle into a new equilibrium¹⁵⁵. Not only at the level of developing countries, but also developed countries that have shown different responses to the pandemic and its challenges, depending on the strength of the economic and political system of each one.

Conclusion

COVID-19 is impacting many aspects of our lives, and politics is no exception, it reshaped the world in all domains and increased the uncertainty and feeling of insecurity globally. The relationship between individuals as well the states has been redesigned, and a new term for “new normal” has been generated to represent our world. In this constant this paper aims to investigate the political impacts of COVID-19 pandemic and it’s repercussions at the international and national levels. The study revealed several results the most important of which are; globally the COVID-19 extremely hurt globalization and led to the decline of neoliberalism as a global political and economic orientation, it has also contributed significantly to the rise of nationalism. Besides that the crisis created several international political challenges and changes; the relationship between the states has suffered during the pandemic. The international system, international politics and relations among the alliances were affected, the role of the regional alliances such as the EU and international organizations like IMF and WHO were questionable during the pandemic, which affected the concept of international cooperation and international solidarity.

On the other hand the pandemic has led to the restoration of the national state as a major actor in international relations after the decline of its role in recent decades for other actors, and it also proved that, the state is only ones able to exercise a legitimate use of force, which led in turn to a review of liberal statements about the state and its role, after the nation-states have proved their position and credibility internally and externally during the crisis.

The national interest seemed in the COVID-19; not only the developing but the developed states were emphasizing on fulfillment of their own needs to secure and

prevent their citizens. Corona crisis impacted many areas around the world, Europe is one of the regions that is most affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. The failure of cooperation among European Union-bound states and the failure of global allies to provide aid promoted the notion of every state for itself or DIY (Do It Yourself) which led to an increase in the nationalist approach. The increased nationalist approach was visible in the recent regional elections where all the major nationalist parties won more votes and seats than in previous elections. However, there is still a stark variation among the European states about the performance of their governments, which requires more research on each case separately.

The study recommends more exploratory studies that explore citizens' attitudes towards the state and its economic and social role in the post-pandemic era, and also recommend to studying the impact of the pandemic on political stability and political legitimacy, and the extent of which the crisis impact the public rights and freedoms in developing and developed countries in a comparative framework.

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