

## **Unbalanced just transition? The EU Recovery and Resilience Facility and the emergence evolution of eco-social policies in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain**

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This paper explores whether the implementation of the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) through national Recovery and Resilience Plans (RRPs) reflects the European Green Deal's strategic orientation of promoting a 'just transition'. Starting from the assumption that the effective pursuit of 'just transition' would be reflected in policy interventions explicitly integrating green and social objectives, we analyse in-depth the RRP of Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. These are four of the greatest beneficiaries of the RRF and all four have high social problem loads. The objective is to see first, whether they effectively contain measures with an explicit ambition to simultaneously promote social goals and the environmental and climate-change-related goals of the green transition – i.e., in our terminology, whether they have a socio-ecological dimension; and secondly, what role national welfare states are expected to play in this context. Our analysis suggests that this socio-ecological dimension exists in the four RRP, but it is unbalanced with regards to the functions that the welfare state is expected to play in green transition: its benchmarking and enabling functions by far prevail over its buffering and consensus building functions.