HIS365 "WHO IS A GREEK?" THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MODERN GREECE

Semester or Session/ Year and Location(s): TBC
Course Instructor: Rosa Vasilaki
CYA Email(s): TBC
Class Times (days, hours): TBC
(Office) Hours Available: TBC

Course Description
"Who Is a Greek?" In different times Greece has offered conflicting responses to this simple, yet perplexed, question. The revolutionary constitutions of the 19th century, following the War of Independence, placed emphasis on religion, whereas gradually Greek nationality law was based on a single principle: origin, or in legal terms *ius sanguinis*. This principle reflected the desire of the newfound Modern Greek state to embody the legacy of the past and to position itself as the sole heir of classical antiquity. The recurring theme of being on the margin between the West and the East and the geographical expansion of Greece in the early 20th century added additional layers of complexities. Throughout the 20th century the question of “who is a Greek” became intertwined with the forced assimilation and/or expulsion of minority groups, the future of the multiethnic communities of the late Ottoman Empire, the handling of Orthodox populations arriving in Greece, and the withdrawal of citizenship as a penalty for political dissent. In recent years, following the mass arrival of immigrants and refugees, the question has risen once again: is one born a Greek or one can become a Greek?

This course aims to explore the historical trajectory of this question illustrating how political and social priorities shaped diverse responses over time. The main goal is to understand that being a Greek, and the criteria that confirmed this over time, is not a strict legal category, but rather a flexible ideological concept. Therefore, it aims to discuss Greece as a thought-provoking paradigm where national identity is conflated with perceptions of the ancient past, novel challenges and shifting geopolitical and social realities. The overall goal is to provide students with a deep understanding of the politics of identity and citizenship in modernity and allow them to rethink on how we conceptualize social, political and cultural transformations over time. In order to do so the course is designed to encompass readings on theories of nationalism and identity, sources relating to Modern Greek history, and activities (walking seminars, discussions, exercises, guided visits etc.) that illustrate how the contemporary debate regarding the future of European nation-states is interrelated with historical legacies.

This is not solely a Greek story. The course will address the downfall of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire, the rise of nationalism, the border realignments in the Balkans and their impact on minority populations and multiethnic communities. Moreover, we will discuss the perceptions of Greek identity across Europe and the role of 19th century Western intellectuals and scholars in the formation of national identity. In a similar context we will discuss the construction and evolution of national consciousness, the effort of the Greek state to achieve linguistic and religious homogeneity, the interplay between political dissent and the politics of un-Greekness. The course will also address the population movements that have shaped Greece from the mass population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s to the recent arrival of immigrants and refugees, as well as the political reactions to the new multicultural reality in Greece. Finally, we will also look at the different recent understandings of “Greekness” via the prism of the economic crisis and the lens of touristification of culture, as well as the future of a shared European identity.

Course Approach
The multifaceted dimensions of this course require active participation and teamwork. Readings will allow us to explore and historicize the different and diverse responses to the core question of “who is a Greek”. In addition to this the course includes a number of activities that offer insights in contemporary issues surrounding the theme of national identity, such as the migrant and refugee crisis, the return of nationalism, the cultural appropriation and commodification of antiquity, and the future of Greek/European citizenship in the 21st century.

The scheduled walking seminars in different Athenian neighborhoods will help us discover and explore the city’s multifaceted ethnic and social fabric. In this context, the tours will illustrate the living presence of historical events, such as the mass arrival of refugees in the 1920s, and the spatial marks of the turbulent 1940s on the city landscape.
Organized debates around recent controversies will allow students to practically apply the knowledge gained by the course.

Film screenings will allow students to explore the way contemporary Greek art production engaged with the tension around issues of national identity, cultural anxiety and the rise of xenophobia in recent years.

Learning Objectives
By the end of the course, students should be able to:
1) Discuss different theories about the emergence of nationalism and the way it shaped the historical reality of Greece and of the Balkans more broadly.
2) Think critically about the politics of identity and citizenship in modernity and understand how social, political and cultural transformations were conceptualized over time.
3) Compare and contrast the Greek case to other examples of national identity building and identify similarities and differences across a wide historical and geographical spectrum.
4) Understand the contemporary controversies and dilemmas with regards to national identity and citizenship, in the context of today’s complex, multicultural societies.
5) Comprehend “national culture” as a malleable ideological contract and reflect on its transformations and uses over time.

Course Requirements
• Class attendance and participation: active participation the questions provided on the weekly class schedule
• Preparation for and participation in class debates (group assignment)
• Maps and facts (group assignment)
• Reflection exercise (individual assignment)
• Research paper or project of 2500 words on one of the themes addressed by the course (specific topics to be discussed at the beginning of the semester with the course instructor – individual or group assignment after discussion with the tutor)

Class Attendance and Participation
Class attendance is compulsory and your active participation in all class activities and class discussion is key for the successful completion of the course. Participation is evaluated on the basis of raising thoughtful questions, analyzing relevant issues, building on others’ ideas, synthesizing across readings and discussions, expanding the class’ perspective, appropriately challenging assumptions and perspectives. A question for discussion is provided for each class session (see below).

Class Debates
Debates in the class around controversies aim to enhance the students’ ability to construct arguments and position themselves vis-à-vis controversies in a structured and measured manner as well as promote the values of dialogue and consensus.

Maps and facts
The purpose of this group exercise is to learn interactively about the historical continuum in the lands where Greece is situated today, along with the history and changes in geographical boundaries in the broader region (the Balkans, the Near and the Middle East and Northern Africa). Besides gaining historical and geographical knowledge, this exercise will develop a better understanding of the concept of historical periodization and the idea of borders across centuries.

Reflexivity exercise
The objective of this exercise of 1.000 words is to develop skills of reflexivity, that is to examine and acknowledge the assumptions and preconceptions we bring into understanding and evaluating the others’ history and culture. It aims to help you hone your analytical skills by creating an interpretative lens to understand modern history and its relationship to the formation of national identity in Greece and beyond. The pieces will be submitted to the instructor but will also form the basis of a discussion during the last session of the course.
**Research Paper or Project**
You must produce and submit one research paper or project of 2,500 words on one of the core issues linked to the course. The precise topic will be discussed with the course instructor at the beginning of the semester. You should make an argument and support your position based on the bibliography provided by the course but also on research conducted by you. This can be a theoretical piece, a piece based on bibliography or secondary sources or an empirical project based on primary data or sources that you will collect. It can be an individual or a group assignment (with word limit adjusted accordingly).

**Evaluation and Grading**
Your grade for this course will be based on the following distribution:

- Class attendance and participation: 10%
- Class debates: 20%
- Maps and facts: 20%
- Reflexivity exercise: 20%
- Research paper or project: 30%

**Evaluation Criteria - Course Assignments**

Assignment 1: Class debates
- Evaluation criteria: organization, evidence of group cooperation, equal participation of all group members, relevance of arguments, depth and accuracy of content, use of language.

Assignment 2: Maps and facts
- Evaluation criteria: accuracy of information, visualization, use of data, comparative dimension, ability to convey information clearly.

Assignment 3: Reflexivity exercise
- Evaluation criteria: understanding of theoretical concepts, critical thinking, evidence of intercultural understanding, ability to link material from the course to personal experience.

Assignment 4: Research paper or project
- Evaluation Criteria: coherent structure and argument, understanding of key concepts, range of material employed, integration of evidence and argument, quality of analysis, referencing and clarity of expression.

**CYA Regulations and Accommodations**

**Attendance Policy**
CYA regards attendance in class and onsite (in Athens or during field study trips) as essential. Absences are recorded and have consequences. Illness or other such compelling reasons which result in absences should be reported immediately to the Student Affairs Office.

**Academic Accommodations**

**Policy on Original Work**
Unless otherwise specified, all submitted work must be your own original work. Any ideas taken from the work of others must be clearly identified as quotations, paraphrases, summaries, figures etc., and accurate internal citations and/or captions (for visuals) as well as an accompanying bibliography must be provided (Check the Student Handbook, pg. 7).
Use of Laptops
In-class or onsite use of laptops and other devices is permitted if this facilitates course-related activities such as note-taking, looking up references, etc. Laptop or other device privileges will be suspended if devices are not used for class-related work.

Use of Laptops and Accommodation for Students
If you are a registered (with your home institution) student with a disability and you are entitled to learning accommodation, please inform the Director of Academic Affairs and make sure that your school forwards the necessary documentation.

Etiquette
Food consumption is forbidden in class.

Class Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Day</th>
<th>Week/Date</th>
<th>Topic / Readings / Assignments Due</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>WEEK 1</td>
<td><strong>Nations and Nationalism</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>This introductory session will discuss the theories of nationalism and the emergence of nation states placing particular emphasis on the role of historical legacies, religion and language in the rise of nationalism in the 19th century.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Required reading</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Question for discussion</strong></td>
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<td>What is a nation? Is it possible to identify a set of “typical” characteristics?</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>WEEK 1</td>
<td><strong>Nations and Nationalism</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
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<td>This session will continue the examination of the theories of nationalism, the advent of the “Age of Revolutions” and will situate the Greek War of Independence in the historical and cultural context shaped by the double legacy of the Enlightenment and the French revolution.</td>
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<td><strong>Required reading</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Optional bibliography</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Question for discussion
- Is tradition always invented?

WEEK 2
- **Group exercise: Maps and Facts**

*Description*
In groups of 3 or 4, you will create and present in class a presentation of maps along with relevant facts (dates, historical facts, cultural elements, etc.) of the different historical periods in Greece and the regions in the vicinity (the Balkans, the Near and the Middle East, Northern Africa). This exercise will allow you to get a sense of the historical continuum, the cultural and political characteristics of different eras as well as an in-depth understanding of the idea and transformations of borders over time.

4 WEEK 2
- «Athens shall rise again»: the burden of antiquity

*Description*
This session will look at the way modern national identities evoke the past to construct a sense of continuity, uniqueness and purpose to their contemporary citizens. Greece is perhaps one of the most telling instances where representations and perceptions of the past have overdetermined the way modern Greece sees itself and is seen by others. These perceptions of the "glorious ancient past" have not been shaped by Greeks only, but also through the appropriation of Antiquity by the West, in its effort to delineate a distinctive and cohesive Western identity.

*Required reading*

*Optional bibliography*

Question for discussion
- Is Antiquity is a precious heritage only and when does it become a yardstick to model and measure national history and national identity?

5 WEEK 3
- «Athens shall rise again»: the burden of antiquity

*Description*
This session will continue the discussion about the role and symbolic capital of classical Antiquity. It will examine how particular perceptions of the "glorious ancient past" have not been shaped by Greeks only, but also through the appropriation of Antiquity by the West, in its effort to delineate a distinctive and cohesive Western identity.

*Required reading*

*Optional bibliography*
Question for discussion
- Why does Ancient Greece hold such symbolic significance for "Europe" or the "West"?

6 WEEK 3
- The Byzantine legacy: questioning Westernization, reconciling with the past, constructing continuity

Description
This week will look at the role of religion and the role of the Greek Orthodox Church—by definition at odds with the legacy of classical Antiquity—in shaping national identity in Greece during the nineteenth century. We will follow the emergence of a persistent dilemma in the Greek political and public sphere, namely "East or West?", and the ideological different attempts to reconcile the two trends.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- What is the role of categories like "East" or "West" in shaping cultural hierarchies and binaries like, "civilizations vs. barbarity", or "backwardness vs. progress"?

7 WEEK 4
- Minorities and national belonging: becoming a Greek

Description
This week will discuss the concept of minority: we will look at the relationship of minorities with the nation-states, at the national politics (and tragedies) of politics of national homogeneity, at the traumas of forced assimilation and we will map the reality of minorities in Greece.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- Why are minorities seen as a "threat" in the era of nation-state formation?

8 WEEK 4
- Minorities and national belonging: becoming a Greek

Description
This meeting will be devoted to the efforts of the Greek state to achieve linguistic and ethnic homogeneity in Macedonia and Thrace following the Balkan Wars and the final realignment of borders in the region. We will discuss the impact of these policies in the
every-day life of minority groups, and the importance of language, religion and history in the Greek national project.

**Required reading**


**Optional bibliography**


**Question for discussion**

- Assimilation, integration or multiculturalism? Discuss the drawbacks of each of these policies/stances.

### WEEK 5

#### Changing Places: Greek-Turkish exchange of populations

**Description**

The Asia Minor Expedition (1919-1922) marked the terminal defeat of the Greek nationalist project and signaled a new period in Greek-Turkish relations. The outcome was an unprecedented organized exchange of population between the two countries and the arrival of one million refugees in Greece.

**Required reading**


**Optional bibliography**


**Question for discussion**

- How did the refugees from Asia Minor reproduce their identity and what strategies they employed to overcome the refugee stigma at the time?

### WEEK 5

#### Walking seminar

**Description**

In this session we will visit Nea Philadelphia, one of the areas where refugees from Asia Minor settled after their arrival in Greece, as well as the Museum of Hellenism of Asia Minor "Filio Chaidemenou". This walking seminar will allow us to visualize the refugee experience and the unthinkable by today's standards exchange of populations in the name of national homogeneity.

### WEEK 6

#### The Greek–Turkish rivalry as an identity-based conflict

**Description**

This session will look at how national identity is contracted as the antithesis of the "Other". Greek-Turkish rivalry has been a permanent feature in the construction of Greek national identity, permeating foreign relations, historical narratives, popular mentalities, cultural representations, football matches, media reports and so on. His-
historical memories and traumas, real or perceived as such, stereotypes, myths and legends are intertwined in the construction of respective national narratives and national identities, which above all, demonize their respective “Other”.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
• How are Greek and Turkish national identities constructed and perceived in their respective national contexts?

12 WEEK 6 • The "Third Hellenic Civilization": interwar Greece and the rise of authoritarianism

Description
The interwar years were marked by a turn to authoritarianism in Europe and Greece was no exception to that trend. From 1936 to 1941 Greece experience its own version of fascism under the dictatorial regime of Metaxas. In the context of the crisis of modernization, idealization of the “past” and quest of national specificity which marked the rise of authoritarianism in Europe, the regime also sought to redefine Greekness. How was authoritarianism legitimized on the basis of ancient Greece?

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
• How was the concept of "Third Hellenic Civilization" used to legitimize authoritarianism as “authentically Greek”?

13 WEEK 7 • Walking seminar

Description
This week will visit the shooting range of Kaisariani, where around 600 people were executed by the Wehrnacht, 200 of them alone on May 1, 1944. Since then, the shooting range has become a symbol of resistance. In this walking tour we will examine Greece’s involvement in the Second World War, the Occupation, the National Resistance, and the narratives of heroism and patriotism associated with this historical period.

14 WEEK 7 • Un-Greeks: political dissent in the Cold War

Description
The end of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) was marked by a conscious project of the Greek State to withdraw the nationality of communists and to label political dissent as un-Greek. We will discuss the internal mechanisms of this process and its repercussions in the shaping of postwar Greece.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- What was the political, historical and ideological contexts within which the evacuation of children from Northern Greece took place?

15  WEEK 7  Diaspora, Migration and Greeks abroad

Description
In this meeting we will address the politics of identity concerning Greeks abroad: migrant and diasporic communities were perceived as integral parts of the Greek nation, but at the same time their members were confronted with assimilation in the national context of their respective countries.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- How is diasporic identity constructed with regards to ethnic, regional and national belonging?

16  WEEK 7  Diaspora, Migration and Returning Home

Description
In this session we will discuss the politics of identity of diasporic Greeks returning to their parents’ homeland. Migrant and diasporic communities were perceived as integral parts of the Greek nation and their communities abroad have gone to great lengths to preserve their Greekness for several decades and across generations. How does “home” feel upon return and does Greece live up to their ideals?

Required reading
Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- What are the reasons some second-generation Greeks from diaspora return to “home” and how do they see contemporary Greece?

17 WEEK 8 • Born in Greece: immigrants and refugees (1990-2020)

Description
The downfall of the Berlin Wall had an unprecedented impact on Greece: for the first time in its modern history the country received thousands of financial immigrants from the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. We will discuss how their arrival transformed the debate over “Who is a Greek”, the politics of the Greek state and their struggles for social and political rights.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
- What may be the historical and political reasons for the Greek state’s insistence on ius sanguinis?

18 WEEK 8 • Class debate

Description
You will work in groups of 3 or 4 and you will address the following questions:
Teams 1 & 2: Is Greece (and Europe) right or wrong in their efforts to limit migration/refugee waves?
Teams 3 & 4: Should migrants/refugees have the right to nationality/citizenship?

19 WEEK 9 Guided visit: AntetokounBros Academy

Description
The principle of origin (ius sanguinis) in the Greek nationality law meant for thousands of young people born in Greece that they did not enjoy equal political and social rights. The case of Yannis Antetokounmpo became a seminal example of a young man born in Greece who had no travel documents and political rights. How was it possible for Yannis to play for Milwaukee Bucks? We will visit the AntetokounBros Academy, an innovative initiative which provides community-based programs to help young people from disadvantage groups to reach their potential and we will discuss with them the barriers to integration, the paradoxes of Greekness and the efforts to build a more inclusive society.

Video
Do people of migrant background feel Greek? Do they feel integrated? Do
they experience racism and how? Watch this documentary made by Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality & Diversity, which is a nonprofit organization consisted of young people – second generation migrants in Greece - working together to promote equal participation. The setting of the documentary is the annual New Generation Got Game intercultural basketball tournament; it focuses on the lives of youngsters with immigrant origins, who were born or/and raised in Greece. The camera follows the tournament and zooms in to the meaning of basketball in the everyday lives of these youngsters speak on camera about basketball, racism and their experiences from the tournament.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=541&v=ft-U-d-MjPQ&feature=emb_logo

20 WEEK 9

"You will never become a Greek, you Albanian!": national identity and the rise of the far right

Description
Recent migration as well as the intertwined financial and refugee crisis were marked by an unprecedented rise of the far-right in Greek politics. A key feature of the far right's ideology and a main reason for its popularity was its "tough", uncompromised stance of "who is a Greek?" in the context of an increasingly multicultural and globalized social and economic reality.

Required reading

Optional bibliography

Question for discussion
• Who is a Greek for the far-right? And why has the far-right's perception of “Greekness” rose in prominence in recent years?
WEEK 11

**Film: Amerika Square (2017)**

*Description*

Summary: A fast paced triptych revealing the opposing forces of humanitarian challenges in Athens today. Nakos, a banal racist, had enough of the thousands of refugees in his neighborhood, Amerika Square in the center of Athens. Tarek, a Syrian ex-Military doctor is looking for a deal to smuggle out of Greece with his daughter. Billy a tattoo artist falls in love with Tereza, an African singer who is also looking for an escape by the sea. The three stories merge when Nako’s malicious acts stop Tereza’s and Tarek’s smuggler Hassan.

*Question for discussion*

- How is contemporary Greek reality depicted in the film? How are questions of nationality, migration, racism and solidarity addressed?

22 WEEK 11

**Greek/European: dual identity**

*Description*

In this session we will address the future of national identities within the shifting landscape of border realignments, supra-national structures, and significant population movements. The European Union case provides a springboard for discussion: how did the European nations tried to overcome divisions of the past, how did the E.U. strive to promote a common European identity and where do we stand right now?

*Required reading*


*Optional bibliography*


*Question for discussion*

- What are the causes of Eurosceptism in Greece?

23 WEEK 12

**Crisis, Tourism and neo-Orientalism in Greece**

*Description*

The recent economic crisis had resulted in a number of stereotypical and Orientalizing discourses about Greece, Greek and Greekness. Simultaneously, the sharp intensification and massification of tourism brought Greece to the epicenter of processes of cultural appropriation and created opposite, yet equally stereotypical images of Greece, Greeks and Greekness. We will discuss the construction of national stereotypes in Greece and abroad and the extent to which they shape the Greeks’ ideas about their own country.

*Required reading*

Gonzales-Vaquerizo, Helena. 2017. “’Visit Greece and Live Your Myth’. The use of Classical Antiquity by the Greek National Tourism Organization in: F. Carlà-
Syllabus


Optional reading

Question for discussion
• How is the image of Greece abroad constructed?

24 WEEK 12 Reflection: In the end, who is really a Greek?

Description
This last session will be dedicated to the discussion of individual exercises of reflexivity, addressing the question "What I thought Greece, Greeks and Greekness were before arriving in Greece and what I think now". These exercises (1000 words) must also be submitted to the course on this final day (before or after the session).

N.B.: The course schedule, in terms of subjects and readings, may be subject to change to benefit student learning and to keep up to date with current research.

Course Bibliography


