

**HIST 354 | UNDER WESTERN EYES: A DECOLONIAL HISTORY OF MODERN GREECE
Spring 2025**

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Course Description

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 by the appropriation of “ancient Greece” by the West, in its effort to delineate a distinctive and cohesive Western identity. To what extent the legacy of “ancient Greece” is a precious heritage only and when does it become a yardstick to model and measure national history, the urban landscape and collective identity? Being “Western” has been perceived as a marker of progress and modernity and as an advanced stage in the developmental course of history, while the “Orient”, or the “East”, has been associated with exoticism but also perceptions about tradition, under-development, or even backwardness. Situated at geographical cross-roads Greece is perhaps an ideal example of the multiple ways this dilemma - between the East and the West, between tradition and modernity, between Europe and the Orient – has shaped modern Greek national identity, local mentalities, the perception of the Greek self and the gaze of the West on Greece. This course will examine such issues by canvassing modern and contemporary Greek history from the eve of the national revolution to the recent financial and refugee crises, which have brought Greece to the centre-stage of global political developments.

In this perspective we will examine:

- the way modern Greece negotiated its relationship with its ancient past, and by extension, how a typically “Eastern” region which belonged to the Ottoman Empire became the “cradle of Western civilization”, in contrast to the rest of the area (e.g. the Balkans, the Near East, the Middle East, Northern Africa), as well as why and how such inclusions and exclusions took place.
- the making of a “western” modern nation-state, the fate of “eastern” traditional multiculturalism, and the rise of the question of linguistic, cultural, and religious minorities in the twentieth century in Greece, but also in the other nation-states that emerged out of the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. By the same token, we will examine the real and imaginary relationship between Greece and its neighbours and the shared cultural stereotypes across borders.
- the legacies of collective trauma associated with the rise of interwar authoritarianism, the Second World War, the Holocaust and the Civil War, and the way these experiences reconfigured local, ethnic, social or religious divisions into political ones.
- the recent crises, riots, and revolts, which swept Southern Europe, including Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, and were often coated in the language of the “North versus the South”, while Northern Africa and the Middle East were shook by the Arab Spring, which was also largely framed by the language of the “West versus Islam”.
- the migration and refugee crises, which brought Greece to the forefront of global political development, the identity and trajectories of refugees and migrants, the recent policies, and the controversies around the issue.
- tourism and the reconfiguration of cultural identities for consumption: the projection of Greece and the Mediterranean as a holiday paradise produced its own ramifications, from the shortage of residential space for locals and the gentrification of neighbourhoods, to the “touristification” of whole areas around important cultural sites, in order to meet expectations about an imaginary Greece (or Italy, Spain, Egypt, Turkey etc.) which never existed as such.

Course Approach

To investigate these questions, we will read and interpret texts, analyze audiovisual material (clips and videos), work in groups to present arguments and debate issues across a range of positions, develop research and writing skills as well as evidence/data collections skills via relevant field trips.

More specifically with regards to each of these modes of learning:

Reading: we will read a wide variety of texts, which are specified below in the weekly class schedule.

Analyzing and interpreting: along with key texts, we will analyze audiovisual material – films and videos – related to the topics examined by the course. The use of audiovisual material will allow students to use the analytical tools acquired

through the course to dissect and interpret the phenomena in question.

Group work: teamwork will enhance the culture of collaboration and exchanging of views. Team work also allows for experiencing the difficulties of allocating tasks but also the joys of working together towards a common goal.

Writing: this course involves a substantial amount of writing of different kinds: you will be required to produce creatively apply theoretical concepts to relevant cases/examples and to keep fieldwork notes for use in class; most significantly, the course requires the submission of a 2500-word research essay on one of the key topics addressed throughout the semester.

Oral presentation: class debates and oral presentations are designed to allow you to present your ideas with confidence, to engage in arguments in a structured way, and to convey information in a concise and clear manner.

Learning Objectives

Upon successful completion of the course, students will have:

- developed a nuanced and multi-disciplinary understanding of the social processes that shaped Greece as a modern European country.
- critically reflected on the categories of East and West and the way they produce cultural understandings of the world and hierarchizations of societies and cultures.
- critically reflected on the global resonance of Ancient Greece as an idea and its significance for the construction of Greek national identity.
- related concepts and historical events to the urban space of contemporary Athens and reflected on the relationship between space and time.
- acquired a solid grasp of the broader system of Mediterranean and Balkan cultures, their interactions and the way they shape the past and present of Greece specifically, and the neighboring countries more generally.

Course Requirements

- Class attendance and participation: active participation the questions provided on the weekly class schedule.
- Creation of a poster (group assignment).
- Midterm report of 800-1000 (individual assignment)
- Debate (group assignment)
- Research paper of 2500 words on one of the themes addressed by the course
- Final exam

Evaluation and Grading

Your grade for this course will be based on the following distribution:

- Class attendance and participation: 20%

Class participation includes participation in class discussions, informed contributions with evidence of awareness of the required readings, applications of theory as requested (instructions will be given in class)

- Class debate: 10%
- Creation of a poster: 10%
- Midterm report: 10%
- Research paper or project: 25%
- Presentation of the research paper or project: 25%

Evaluation Criteria - Course Assignments 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, expanding the class's perspective, appropriately challenging assumptions and perspectives. Class participation also includes applications of theory, namely exercises designed to hone your sociological skills and allow you to apply theoretical concepts to sociological realities.

Poster (group work)

This group exercise aims to enhance the skills required for collective work, to develop the ability to apply the theoretical insights discussed throughout the course in an innovative manner, and to hone students' sociological imagination.

Midterm report

Part of your midterm grade is the submission of a report of 800-1000 words You will have to produce a report of the sources used for the creation of the poster (this must be related to your individual contribution towards the creation of

the midterm poster).

Debate (group work)

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.

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).

Final exam

You will have to answer two out of five questions offered to you. You will need to develop a short essay of 500-800 words for each of the two topics you choose to develop. The exam duration is 150 minutes.

CYA Regulations and Accommodations Attendance Policy

CYA regards attendance in class and on-site (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 e 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.

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 Accommodation for Students with Disabilities

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

Class Day	Day/Date	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due
1	WEEK 1	<p>Greece and the Age of Revolutions</p> <p><i>Description</i> This introductory session will discuss basic concepts with regards to the rise of nationalism and the formation of nation-states in the nineteenth century.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Padelis Lekas (2005), "The Greek War of Independence from the Perspective of Historical Sociology". <i>The Historical Review</i>, II, pp. 161-183.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Benedict Anderson (2006), <i>Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism</i>, Verso: London, pp. 9-36 and 67-82. Eric Hobsbawm (1992), <i>Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-9.</p>
2	WEEK 1	<p>"Athens shall rise again:" the Burden of Antiquity</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will focus on neoclassicism and its impact on formation of the modern Greek state and will discuss its impact on the ideology, politics, art, and the self- understanding of modern Greek identity.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Yiannis Hamilakis (2007), <i>The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 57-123 ("From Western to Indigenous Hellenism: Antiquity, Archaeology and the Invention of Modern Greece").</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Antonis Liakos (2008), "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece. Time, Language, Space," in Katerina Zacharia (ed.) <i>Hellenisms. Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity</i>, Routledge, pp. 201-236.</p>
3	WEEK 2	<p>Walking seminar: Neoclassical Athens</p> <p><i>Description</i> The learning objective of this seminar is to visualize the effect of the legacy of "ancient Greece" on the urban landscape of Athens. We will focus on neo-classicism, state-formation and the efforts to form a modern Greek identity. Indicative sites: Syntagma Square, the Parliament, the University, the National Library, the Old Parliament Building, the National Garden, the National Bank.</p>
4	WEEK 2	<p>Philhellenes and the emergence of the "East vs. West" identitarian dilemma</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will look at the phenomenon of philhellenism in the nineteenth century and its relationship with the creation of public sphere and global causes in the nineteenth century. It will also look at the "East vs. West" debate and the ways it has been framing political and cultural discussion in Greece up to today.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> William St. Clair (2008), "The Cause of Greece, the Cause of Europe" in <i>That Greece Might Still Be Free/. The Philhellenes in the War of Independence</i>. Edition 1. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Open Book Publishers, pp. 51-65.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Paschalis M. Kitromilides (2009), "The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition", <i>Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, Greece</i>, 3 July 2009.</p>

5	WEEK 3	<p>Language, Religion, History: Minorities in Greece</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will address the question of minorities – ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural – and their fate in the process of nation-state formation. It will raise questions of multiculturalism and the ways national homogeneity has been achieved in Greece and the Balkans, as a result of the Balkan Wars, WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Philip Carabott (1997), "The politics of integration and assimilation vis-à-vis the Slavo-Macedonian Minority of inter-war Greece", in Peter Mackridge & Eleni Yannakakis (eds.), <i>Ourselves and Others. The Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity since 1912</i>, Oxford: Berg: pp. 59-78.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Anastassia Karakasidou (1997), <i>Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870-1990</i>, University of Chicago Press, pp. 54-76 and 218-227.</p>
6	WEEK 3	<p>Authoritarianism and Antiquity: cultural appropriations of the ancient past</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will look at the rise of interwar authoritarianism and will examine the instrumental uses of Antiquity and Byzantium in the attempt to create a "new" unified national Greek history, while also examining the ideological and political profile of the Metaxas regime in Greece.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Yiannis Hamilakis (2007), <i>The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 169-204 ("Spartan Visions: Antiquity and the Metaxas Dictatorship").</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Aristotle, Kallis (2007), "Fascism and Religion: The Metaxas Regime in Greece and the 'Third Hellenic Civilisation'. Some Theoretical Observations on 'Fascism', 'Political Religion' and 'Clerical Fascism'", <i>Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions</i> 8(2), pp. 229-246.</p>
7	WEEK 4	<p>Visit The National Resistance and the Civil War</p> <p><i>Description</i> The learning objective of this visit is to assess the significance of the collective memory of the Resistance on contemporary political identifications and divisions. Perceptions of heroism – from ancient and modern Greece – will also be addressed as part of the seminar. Site: National Resistance Museum, Ilioupoli</p>
8	WEEK 4	<p>Collective memory and collective trauma: from Resistance to Civil War</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will look at the Civil War which erupted in Greece at the end of WWII. It will address questions of collective memory and collective trauma and will discuss many ramifications of this historical experience in the formation of political identities in postwar Greece.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Loring Danforth & Riki van Boeschoten (2012), <i>Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory</i>. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 1-6, 23-42 and 117-136.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Loring M. Danforth (2000), "How can a woman give birth to one Greek and one Macedonian?". The construction of national identity among immigrants to Australia from Northern Greece', in Jane K. Cowan (ed.), <i>Macedonia: the politics of identity and difference</i>, London, Pluto Press, pp. 85-103.</p>

9	WEEK 5	<p>Un-Greeks: political dissent in the Cold War</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will look at Cold War politics in Greece, the fate of political dissenters and the peculiarities of the Greek political scene from the end of the Civil War to the imposition of the Colonels' Dictatorship in 1967.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Alexander Kazamias (2022) "The Visual Politics of Fear: Anti-Communist Imagery in Postwar Greece", <i>Journal of Contemporary History</i> 57(4), pp. 997–1028.</p> <p><i>Optional reading</i> Despina Lalaki (2012), "On the Social Construction of Hellenism. Cold War Narratives of Modernity, Development and Democracy for Greece." <i>The Journal of Historical Sociology</i> 25(4), pp. 552-577.</p>
10	WEEK 5	<p>Walking seminar: "Bread, Education, Freedom"</p> <p><i>Description</i> In this walking session we will visit the Polytechnic School and the surrounding area to discuss the period of the Colonels' Dictatorship (1967-1974), commonly known in Greece as "the junta" and the forms of resistance that led to the collapse of the regime and the institution of the Third Greek Republic.</p>
11	WEEK 6	<p>Poster presentations (au lieu of midterm exam)</p> <p>Group work, presentation of posters on any of the topics addressed by the course so far.</p>
12	WEEK 6	<p>Who is A Greek? Migrants, refugees and the politics of national identity in modern Greece</p> <p><i>Description</i> In this session we will discuss the transformation of Greece from a sending country to a receiving country, as well as the political, legal and cultural challenges of migration.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Dimitris Christopoulos (2013), <i>Country Report: Greece</i>. EUDO Citizenship Observatory, pp. 1-18.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Konstantinos Tsitselikis (2007), "Citizenship in Greece: Present challenges for future changes", in Deborah Kalekin-Fishman and Pirkko Pitkanen (eds.) <i>Multiple citizenship as a challenge to European nation-states</i>, Brill, pp. 145-170.</p>
13	WEEK 7	<p>Greece and its neighbors I: stereotyping and othering across the borders</p> <p><i>Description</i> This session will look at Greece's relationship with its neighbors, and in particular the way surrounding the representation of the relationship with Turkey and vice versa and will dissect the shared stereotypes across the country's eastern borders.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Alexis Heraclides (2012), "'What will become of us without barbarians?' The enduring Greek-Turkish rivalry as an identity-based conflict". <i>Southeast European and Black Sea Studies</i>.12:1, pp. 115-134.</p> <p><i>Optional reading</i> Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (2006), "Introduction: The 'Turks' in the Imagination of the 'Greeks'", <i>South European Society & Politics</i>, 11(1), pp. 1-32.</p>
14	WEEK 7	<p>Greece and its neighbors II: stereotyping and othering across the borders</p> <p><i>Description</i> In this session we will continue the examination of Greece's relationship with its neighbors by way of looking at the "name issue" and the disputes with North Macedonia, and the shared stereotypes across the country's northern borders.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Matthew Nimetz (2020), "The Macedonian 'Name' Dispute: The Macedonian Question—Resolved?", <i>Nationalities Papers</i>, 48: 2, 205–214.</p> <p><i>Optional reading</i> Ioannis Armakolas and George Siakas (2002) "'Why did It take so long?' Exploring Greek public opinion as an obstacle to the settlement of the Macedonia name dispute", <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 50(3), pp. 569-588.</p>

15	WEEK 8	Diaspora, Migration and Returning Home
		<p><i>Description</i> In this session we will look at the Greek diaspora and the ways collective identity is reproduced outside the initial cultural context while canvassing the dilemmas of second and third generation migrants with regards to "homecoming".</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Anastasia Christou and Russell King (2006) "Migrants Encounter Migrants in the City: the Changing Context of 'Home' for Second-Generation Greek-American Return Migrants", <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i> 30(4), pp. 816-835.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Russell King and Anastasia Christou (2008), "Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home'", <i>Sussex Migration Working Paper No 45</i>, pp. 1-30.</p>
16	WEEK 8	Yiannis Antetokounmpo: the paradoxes of Greekness
		<p><i>Description</i> This session will focus on the debate about second generation migrants and the debates around citizenship and the tensions surrounding the identity of "new" Greeks, that is the communities of migrant background that have been formed in Greece since the 1990s.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Elisabeth Kirtsoglou and Giorgos Tsimouris (2018) "Migration, crisis, liberalism: the cultural and racial politics of Islamophobia and 'radical alterity' in modern Greece", <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> 41(10), pp. 1874–1892.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Irimi Kadianaki and Eleni Andreouli (2015), "Essentialism in Social Representations of Citizenship: An Analysis of Greeks' and Migrants' Discourse", <i>Political Psychology</i> 38(5), pp. 833-848.</p>
17	WEEK 9	"You will never become a Greek, you Albanian!": national identity and the rise of the far right
		<p><i>Description</i> This session will look at the rise of Far Right in Greece and will discuss the ideology and politics of Greek far-right formation with regards to the issue of migration and multiculturalism.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Alexandra Koronaiou and Alexandros Sakellariou (2013) "Reflections on 'Golden Dawn', community organizing and nationalist solidarity: helping (only) Greeks", <i>Community Development Journal</i> 48(2): 332–338.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Panagiotis Sotiris (2015) "Political crisis and the Rise of the Far Right in Greece. Racism, nationalism, authoritarianism and conservatism in the discourse of Golden Dawn", <i>Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict</i>, 3(1), pp. 173–199.</p>
18	WEEK 9	Debate
		<p><i>Description</i> Debate in groups on issues of citizenship and the integration of migrants.</p>
19	WEEK 10	Between the economic and the refugee crisis
		<p><i>Description</i> This session will address the twin crisis that hit Greece in the 2010s and will look at its many political and social ramifications.</p> <p><i>Required reading</i> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos and Dimitris Bourikos (2014), "Economic Crisis, Social Solidarity and the Voluntary Sector in Greece", <i>Journal of Power, Politics & Governance</i> 2(2), pp. 33-53.</p> <p><i>Optional bibliography</i> Olga Lafazani (2018), "Challenging the Border between Host and Hosted", <i>The South Atlantic Quarterly</i> 117(3), pp. 896-904.</p>

20 WEEK 10

Greek/European: dual identity

Description

This session will address Greece's relationship with the European Union, the rise of Euroscepticism and the reconfiguration of the old dilemma "East vs. West" in recent years.

Required reading

Asimina Michailidou (2017) "'The Germans are back': Euroscepticism and anti-Germanism in crisis-stricken Greece", *National Identities*, 19:1, 91- 108.

Optional bibliography

Ioannis Balampanidis (2019), "The Abduction of Europa: Europeanism and Euroscepticism in Greece, 1974–2015", *Rethinking Democratisation in Spain, Greece and Portugal*, pp. 91-121.

21 WEEK 11

Archaeopolitics in Greece

Description

This session will discuss the "burden of Antiquity" in contemporary Greek political life and will focus on the various ways the representation of the "glorious ancestors" dictates cultural politics in Greece today.

Required reading

Marc Mazower (2008), "Archaeology, nationalism and the land in modern Greece. In Inter-War Greece," in Damaskos, Dimitris and Dimitris Plantzos (Eds). 2008. *Singular Antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-century Greece*. Athens: Benaki Museum, pp. 33-41.

Optional bibliography

Yannis Hamilakis (2016), "Some Debts Can Never be Repaid: The Archaeo-politics of the Crisis," *Journal of the Modern Greek Studies*, 34, pp. 227- 264.

22 WEEK 11

"Live your myth in Greece": Tourism and the promotion of Greece as a holiday destination

Description

This session will discuss tourism in Greece and its profound impact on the cultural landscape of the country as well as contemporary issues, such as over-tourism and touristification.

Required reading

Helena Gonzales-Vaquerizo (2017), "'Visit Greece and Live Your Myth'. The use of Classical Antiquity by the Greek National Tourism Organization in: F. Carlà-Uhink / M. García Morcillo and C. Walde (eds.), *Advertising Antiquity*, *theses* 6, pp. 241-303.

Optional bibliography

Dimitris Pettas, Vasilis Avdikos, Eirini Iliopoulou, and Ioanna Karavasili, (2021). "Insurrection is not a spectacle": experiencing and contesting touristification in Exarcheia, Athens, *Urban Geography*, 43(7), pp. 984–1006.

23 WEEK 12

Walking seminar: Tourism and the negotiation between cultural identity and cultural appropriation

Description

The learning objective of this walking seminar is the discussion of the cultural drawbacks of the intensification of tourism along with the sea-change in tourist attitudes and expectations brought about by new technologies and social media.

Indicative sites: Monastiraki square, Psyri, Plaka.

24 WEEK 12

REVISION

Description

In this session we will revise all the topics addressed by the course in preparation for the final exam.

Course Bibliography

- Anderson, B. (2006), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso: London, pp. 9-36 and 67-82.
- Armakolas, I. and Siakas, G. (2002) "Why did It take so long?' Exploring Greek public opinion as an obstacle to the settlement of the Macedonia name dispute", *Nationalities Papers*, 50(3), pp. 569-588.
- Balampanidis, I. (2019), "The Abduction of Europa: Europeanism and Euroscepticism in Greece, 1974–2015", *Rethinking Democratisation in Spain, Greece and Portugal*, pp. 91-121.
- Carabott, P. (1997), "The politics of integration and assimilation vis-à-vis the Slavo-Macedonian Minority of inter-war Greece", in Peter Mackridge & Eleni Yannakakis (eds.), *Ourselves and Others. The Development of a Greek Macedonian Cultural Identity since 1912*, Oxford: Berg: pp. 59-78.
- Christopoulos, D. (2013), *Country Report: Greece*. EUDO Citizenship Observatory, pp. 1-18.
- Christou, A. and King, R. (2006) "Migrants Encounter Migrants in the City: the Changing Context of 'Home' for Second-Generation Greek-American Return Migrants", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(4): 816-835.
- Danforth, L. & van Boeschoten, R. (2012), *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 1-6, 23-42 and 117-136.
- Danforth, L. M. (2000), "How can a woman give birth to one Greek and one Macedonian?". The construction of national identity among immigrants to Australia from Northern Greece', in Jane K. Cowan (ed.), *Macedonia: the politics of identity and difference*, London, Pluto Press, pp. 85-103.
- Gonzales-Vaquerizo, H. (2017), "'Visit Greece and Live Your Myth'. The use of Classical Antiquity by the Greek National Tourism Organization in: F. Carlà-Uhink / M. García Morcillo and C. Walde (eds.), *Advertising Antiquity*, *theses* 6, pp. 241-303.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2007), *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 57-123 ("From Western to Indigenous Hellenism: Antiquity, Archaeology and the Invention of Modern Greece")
- Hamilakis, Y. (2007), *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 169-204 ("Spartan Visions: Antiquity and the Metaxas Dictatorship").
- Hamilakis, Y. (2016), "Some Debts Can Never be Repaid: The Archaeo-politics of the Crisis," *Journal of the Modern Greek Studies*, 34, pp. 227-264.
- Heraclides, A. (2012), "'What will become of us without barbarians?' The enduring Greek–Turkish rivalry as an identity-based conflict". *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*.12:1, pp. 115-134.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-9.
- Kadianaki, I and Andreouli, E. (2015), "Essentialism in Social Representations of Citizenship: An Analysis of Greeks' and Migrants' Discourse", *Political Psychology*, 38(5), pp. 833-848.
- Kallis, A. (2007), "Fascism and Religion: The Metaxas Regime in Greece and the 'Third Hellenic Civilisation'. Some Theoretical Observations on 'Fascism', 'Political Religion' and 'Clerical Fascism'", *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8(2): 229-246.
- Karakasidou, A. (1997), *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870- 1990*, University of Chicago Press, pp. 54-76 and 218-227.
- Kazamias, A. (2022) "The Visual Politics of Fear: Anti-Communist Imagery in Postwar Greece", *Journal of Contemporary History* 57(4): 997–1028.
- King, R. and Christou, A. (2008), "Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: The Second Generation Returns 'Home', *Sussex Migration Working Paper*, 45, pp.1-30.
- Kirtsoglou, E. and Tsimouris, G. (2018) "Migration, crisis, liberalism: the cultural and racial politics of Islam- ophobia and 'radical alterity' in modern Greece", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(10): pp. 1874–1892.
- Kitromilides, P. M., (2009), "The Enlightenment and the Greek cultural tradition", *Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, Greece*, 3 July 2009.
- Koronaïou, A. and Sakellariou, A. (2013) "Reflections on 'Golden Dawn', community organizing and nationalist solidarity: helping (only) Greeks", *Community Development Journal* 48(2), pp. 332–338.
- Lafazani, O. (2018), "Challenging the Border between Host and Hosted", *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 117(3), pp.896-904.
- Lalaki, D. (2012), "On the Social Construction of Hellenism. Cold War Narratives of Modernity, Development and Democracy for Greece." *The Journal of Historical Sociology* 25(4), pp. 552-577.
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- Liakos, A. "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece. Time, Language, Space," in Katerina Zacharia (ed.) *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, Routledge, 2008, pp. 201-236.
- Mazower, M. (2008), "Archaeology, nationalism and the land in modern Greece." in Damaskos, Dimitris and Dimitris Plantzos (Eds). 2008. *Singular Antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-century Greece*. Athens: Benaki Museum, pp. 33-41.
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