

# Duty to Revolt

*Transnational and Commemorative  
Aspects of Revolution*



**EDITORS**

*George Souvlis and Athina Karatzogianni*

**DIGITAL ACTIVISM AND SOCIETY**



# **Duty to Revolt**

# Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication

The *Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication* series focuses on the political use of digital everyday-networked media by corporations, governments, international organisations (Digital Politics), as well as civil society actors, NGOs, activists, social movements and dissidents (Digital Activism) attempting to recruit, organise and fund their operations, through information communication technologies.

This series publishes books on theories and empirical case studies of digital politics and activism in the specific context of communication networks. Topics covered by this series include, but are not limited to

- the different theoretical and analytical approaches of political communication in digital networks;
- studies of sociopolitical media movements and activism (and ‘hactivism’);
- transformations of older topics such as inequality, gender, class, power, identity and group belonging;
- strengths and vulnerabilities of social networks.

## Series Editor

Professor Athina Karatzogianni

## About the Series Editor

**Athina Karatzogianni** is Professor at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research focuses on the intersections between digital media theory and political economy, in order to study the use of digital technologies by new sociopolitical formations.

## Published Books in This Series

*Digital Materialism: Origins, Philosophies, Prospects* by Baruch Gottlieb

*Nirbhaya, New Media and Digital Gender Activism* by Adrija Dey

*Digital Life on Instagram: New Social Communication of Photography* by Elisa Serafinelli

*Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World* by Nikos Smyrniaios

*Digital Activism and Cyberconflicts in Nigeria: Occupy Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND* by Shola A. Olabode

*Platform Economics: Rhetoric and Reality in the 'Sharing Economy'* by Cristiano Codagnone

*Communication as Gesture: Media(tion), Meaning, & Movement* by Michael Schandorf

*Chinese Social Media: Face, Sociality, and Civility* by Shuhan Chen and Peter Lunt

*Posthumanism in Digital Culture: Cyborgs, Gods and Fandom* by Callum T.F. McMillan

*Media, Technology and Education in a Post-Truth Society: From Fake News, Datafication and Mass Surveillance to the Death of Trust* by Alex Grech

*3D Printing Cultures, Politics and Hackerspaces* by Leandros Savvides

*Environmental Security in Greece: Perceptions From Industry, Government, NGOs and the Public* by Charis(Harris) Gerosideris

*Fantasy, Neoliberalism and Precariousness: Coping Strategies in the Cultural Industries* by Jérémy Vachet

*Crisis Communication in China: Strategies Taken by the Chinese Government and Online Public Opinion* by Wei Cui

*Digital Politics, Digital Histories, Digital Futures: New Approaches for Historicising, Politicising and Imagining the Digital* by Adi Kuntsman and Liu Xin

## **Forthcoming Titles**

*Digital Memory in Brazil: A Fragmented and Elastic Negationist Remembrance of the Dictatorship* by Leda Albino

*Algorithmic Governance: Institutional Design and Organisational Innovations* by Ioannis Avramopoulos

*Fractal Leadership: Ideologisation from the 1960s to Contemporary Social Movements* by Athina Karatzogianni and Jacob Matthews

*Massively Marginal: Kuaishou as China's Subaltern Platform* by Dino Ge Zhang, Jian Xu and Gabriele de Seta

This page intentionally left blank

# **Duty to Revolt: Transnational and Commemorative Aspects of Revolution**

EDITED BY

**GEORGE SOUVLIS**

*University of Ioannina, Greece*

AND

**ATHINA KARATZOGIANNI**

*University of Leicester, UK*



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited  
Emerald Publishing, Floor 5, Northspring, 21-23 Wellington Street, Leeds LS1 4DL

First edition 2024

Editorial Matter and Selection © 2024 George Souvlis and Athina Karatzogianni.

Individual chapters 1-14 © 2024 The authors.

Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited with the exception of chapter 15,  
Discussing with Roger Hallam, Environmental Revolutionary and co-Founder of Extinction  
Rebellion © méta via metacpc.org.

#### **Reprints and permissions service**

Contact: [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com)

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

#### **British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80382-316-4 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-80382-315-7 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-80382-317-1 (Epub)



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

*To Roger Hallam, co-founder of Extinction Rebellion.*

This page intentionally left blank

# Contents

About the Contributors	<i>xiii</i>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction: Duty to Revolt – Transnational and Commemorative Aspects of Revolution</b>	<i>1</i>
<i>Athina Karatzogianni and George Souvlis</i>	
<b>Part 1: Historical Focus</b>	
<b>Chapter 2 Colonising the Past: The Greek Revolution as an Archetypal Instance of Cultural Imperialism</b>	<i>15</i>
<i>Rosa Vasilaki</i>	
<b>Chapter 3 Revolutions and Constitutionalism in Africa: The Duty to Revolt in the Sudanese and Congolese Constitutions</b>	<i>29</i>
<i>Dunia P. Zongwe</i>	
<b>Chapter 4 Anti-colonialist Memory, Culture and Politics in Ireland</b>	<i>49</i>
<i>Niamh Kirk and Seamus Farrell</i>	
<b>Chapter 5 Building the New Person: The Greek Revolution in the Mountain Readers</b>	<i>65</i>
<i>Eleftheria Papastefanaki, Christos Papathanasiou and Nikos Vafeas</i>	

## Part 2: Commemorative Focus

- Chapter 6 The Revolutionary Subject and Its Affective Modalities: Love-Duty, Sacrifice and the Heroic** 89  
*Panos Kompatsiaris*
- Chapter 7 Herstories: Activism, Detention and Torture** 99  
*Bev Orton and Alexander D. Ornella*
- Chapter 8 Commemorating the Revolution as a Duty to Obey: From the Rehabilitation of Gregory the V to ‘Greece 2021’ and the ‘Do-It-Yourself’ Bi-centenary** 111  
*Tassos Kostopoulos*
- Chapter 9 1821 Tweets: Networks and Ideological Discourse Around the Greek Revolution Bicentenary** 129  
*Panos Tsimpoukis and Nikos Smyrnaiois*
- Chapter 10 Digital Storytelling From Below: Revolutionary Athens Through a Kaleidoscope** 145  
*Andromache Gazi, Theodoros Giannakis, Ilias Marmaras, Yiannis Skoulidas, Yannis Stoyannidis, Foteini Venieri and Stewart Ziff*

## Part 3: Contemporary Focus

- Chapter 11 Firefund.net: An ‘Online Translocal Connection’ of Anarchist(ic) Social Movements** 161  
*Stamatis Poulakidakos*
- Chapter 12 From Anti-Gentrification to Fab Lab Community: Spatialisation of Conflicts, Contentious Politics and the Limits of Techno-Politics in Urban Areas** 181  
*Leandros Savvides*
- Chapter 13 Depictions of Emotions in News Media’s Visual Framing of Small-Scale Protests in Greece** 203  
*Anastasia Veneti*

<b>Chapter 14 From Duty to Impulsion: Obstacles to Organising Future Revolutions</b>	217
<i>Robert Latham</i>	
<b>Chapter 15 Discussing With Roger Hallam, Environmental Revolutionary and Co-Founder of Extinction Rebellion</b>	227
<i>Athina Karatzogianni and Jacob Matthews</i>	
Index	253

This page intentionally left blank

## About the Contributors

**Seamus Farrell** holds a PhD from Dublin City University (DCU) on the topic of ‘A Political Economy of Radical Media’. In addition to research on radical media and politics, Seamus is interested in critical perspectives on Irish development, having worked on the Repast: Conflict in Europe Project.

**Andromache Gazi** is a Professor of Museology at the Department of Communication, Media and Culture, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens. Her research interests include the ideological manipulation of the Greek past in museums and beyond, museum history, the theory and practice of exhibitions, museum text, memory studies, oral history, public history and public archaeology. Publications include the edited volumes *National Museums in Southern Europe. History and Perspectives*, Athens 2012 (with Alexandra Bounia) and *Oral History in Museums and Education*, Athens 2015 (with Irene Nakou).

**Theodoros Giannakis** has studied painting, sculpture and new media at the Athens School of Fine Arts. He has graduated from the MFA programme in Digital Media Management at London Metropolitan University in London. Since 2017, he has been working on a doctoral thesis at the Department of Visual Arts of the Athens School of Fine Arts. Alongside his artistic and curatorial practices, he has acted as a visual artist, game designer and art director in independent video game productions, television and cinematographic productions.

**Athina Karatzogianni** is a scholar who specialises in critical theory, digital media and political communication. She is currently a Professor in Media and Communication at the University of Leicester. Karatzogianni has published extensively on a range of topics related to digital media and activism, including the relationship between social media and political change, the rise of digital populism, and the ethics of online communication. She is a leader in the field of digital media and activism, and her work has contributed significantly to the understanding of the relationship between technology, politics and social change. *This bio was produced by Open AI's ChatGPT.*

**Niamh Kirk** is a Lecturer in Data Journalism and Social Media and Course Director of MA in Journalism at the University of Limerick. Her research interests are at the intersection of digital media, regulation and sociopolitics.

**Panos Kompatsiaris** teaches cultural and media theory at HSE University in Moscow and is a research fellow in media sociology at IULM in Milan. He is the

author of *The Politics of Contemporary Art Biennials* (2017) as well as of several articles on art, theory and cultural politics.

**Tasos Kostopoulos** holds a PhD in Modern History at the University of the Aegean. He is currently working in the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, as Principal Investigator of the ERC-funded programme *MACAUTH. Screening Souls, Building Nations. Macedonia(s) as a Laboratory for Balkan-wide Authoritarianism*. As journalist by profession for almost four decades, he has published seven books on history, all of them in Greek, and 38 scientific articles or book chapters in Greek, English or French. His interests evolve around the questions of nationalism as a sociopolitical project, social movements and conflicts, minority assimilation and ethnic cleansing, political violence and 'deep state' politics.

**Robert Latham** teaches in the Department of Politics at York University, Toronto. His recent publications include *Organizing 'Anti-Capitalist Internationalism in Contemporary and Historical Perspective'* (in *Rethinking Marxism*); *Challenging the Right, Augmenting the Left: Recasting Leftist Imagination* (co-edited); *'Neoliberalism's Zeitgeist: The Untethered Disposition of Capitalism'*, (in *New Political Science*); *'Contemporary capitalism, uneven development, and the arc of anti-capitalism'* (in *Global Discourse*); and *The Radical Left and Social Transformation: Strategies of Augmentation and Reorganization* (co-edited).

**Ilias Marmaras** is a media artist born in Athens. He studied Plastic Arts, Urbanism and Philosophy at the university Paris VIII. He is a co-founder of the Media Arts collective Personal Cinema (<http://personalcinema.org/>). He works as documentary director, game designer and researcher.

**Jacob Matthews** is a Professor of Information and Communication Sciences at the Culture and Communication department of Paris VIII University. Former Director of the Cempti lab, founded by Armand Mattelart in 2000, he is now a researcher at the Labsic team of Sorbonne Paris Nord University. He has specialised for the last 15 years in the socio-economics of the web and culture industries. His research also covers the following fields: analysis of web discourses and practices, ideological production and leadership, star system and the industrialisation of culture and communication.

**Alexander Darius Ornella** is a Senior Lecturer in Religion at the University of Hull. In his research, he is interested in the complex relationship between religious language, iconography and practice and socio-cultural-political narratives. He recently published a paper on the practice of sport as political practice of remembrance and how the religious dimensions of such practice can foster or prevent political debate and political critique.

**Bev Orton** is a Lecturer at the University of Hull. She was the expert consultant on GlobalGrace <https://www.globalgrace.net/> working with sex workers in Cape Town, South Africa, Yaliwe Clarke and Sara Matchett, at the University of Cape Town and with the Sex Workers Advocacy and Education Task Force (SWEAT).

**Eleftheria Papastefanaki** teaches and works as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Crete. She received her BA in Philology from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and she completed her postgraduate and doctoral studies at the Department of Philosophy and Social Studies of the University of Crete. Her research interests focus on history of educational ideas (19th–20th), history of women’s education, women’s movement and political activities, history of socialism and communism (the movement of ideas) and social history of Greek civil war (1946–1949).

**Christos Papathanasiou** is PhD Student in History of Education at the University of Ioannina. His research interests focus on the depth analysis of the Greek school textbooks of primary Education. In particular, he has been engaged in the study of the school textbooks of the Regime of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1940) and broadly into the period of Inter-war in Greece (1919–1940). He has also involved with the exhibition of the Hellenic Parliament ‘Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831): his course in time’.

**Stamatis Poulakidakos** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Communication and Digital Media, University of Western Macedonia (UOWM). He specialises in media monitoring, propaganda and quantitative content analysis. He has authored the book ‘Propaganda and Public Discourse. The presentation of the MoU by the Greek Media’ (Athens: DaVinci Books) and co-edited ‘Media events’ A critical contemporary approach (London: Palgrave-McMillan). He has published papers on political communication/political marketing, propaganda, refugees/immigrants, social media and social movements.

**Nikos Smyrniaios** is a Professor at the University of Toulouse, France where he teaches theory, history, sociology and economics of the media and the internet. He has published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals and book chapters in English, French and Greek and has presented at international conferences on the political economy of communication, digital journalism and the political use of social media. He is the author of *Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World*, 2018, Emerald.

**Leandros Savvides** (PhD Critical Management Studies, Leicester, 2019) is currently a special teaching staff at the Cyprus University of Technology, at the Department of Communication and Internet Studies. His primary research interests are theory of science and technology, cultural politics, the emergence of citizen science and civil society interventions in shaping technology and vice versa. His book ‘3D Printing Cultures, Politics and Hackerspaces’ (2021, Emerald Publishing Ltd) is an ethnographic study that examines the burgeoning 3D printing culture (narratives, grassroots innovation, urban techno-politics) outside the professional lab in Hackerspaces, Makerspaces and Fab Labs.

**Yiannis Skoulidas** is a programmer and game developer with vast professional experience in computer software and hardware (since 1986), multimedia, audio, video, website and book production (since 1995) and 3D game development (since 2003). Notable projects include: RevAthens 1821 ([revathens.transludic.net](http://revathens.transludic.net)) 3D

Mobile app. AthensVirtual ([athensvirtual.gr](http://athensvirtual.gr)) 3D Game Space. SmartHotelRoom ([deplaced.gr/immersive-locality](http://deplaced.gr/immersive-locality)) Augmented Reality 3D Space. CARGONAUTS ([cargonauts.net](http://cargonauts.net)) for Western Sydney University. BANOPTIKON ([banoptikon.mignetproject.eu](http://banoptikon.mignetproject.eu)) for the European research programme MIG@NET.

**George Souvlis** is an Adjunct Lecturer in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Ioannina, Greece, and a postdoctoral researcher in the Department of Sociology at the University of Crete, Greece. He is the Co-director of the Seminar Series Politics of Liberation. He is editor of the book, *Voices on the Left (Red Marks)* and the co-editor of the volumes *Back to the 30s? Crisis, Repetition and Transition in the 20th and 21st centuries* (Palgrave) and *Radical Journalism Resurgence, Reform, Reaction* (Routledge) and of the special issue of *Re-assessing the Metaxas Dictatorship (1936–1941) – Greek Fascism or Old-Style Authoritarianism* published in the *Journal of Fascism*.

**Yannis Stoyannidis** is a historian. He teaches as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Archival, Library and Information Studies in the University of West Attica. He graduated from the University of Thessaly and the University of South Wales (UK). He has participated in research programs concerning social and modern history, industrial heritage and archives management. His publications discuss the management of cultural remnants and archives, modern history, urban heritage and social history of medicine.

**Panos Tsimpoukis** has a Masters Degree in Biology from the University of Ioannina Greece. He has worked as a scientific journalist for the Greek press for several years. Currently he is a PhD candidate in the University of Toulouse, France, where he studies social media debates and press coverage of controversies around technologies such as Artificial Intelligence.

**Nikos Vafeas** was born in Athens in 1970. He studied Sociology at Panteion University and then followed postgraduate studies in History at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris. He received his PhD from the European University Institute of Florence in 1998 (Dissertation topic: ‘Pouvoir et conflits dans l’ Empire ottoman: La révolte de 1849–1850 dans la Principauté de Samos’). He is currently an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of Crete, where he teaches Historical and Political Sociology.

**Rosa Vasilaki** holds a PhD in History from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and a PhD in Sociology from the University of Bristol. She is the founder and co-coordinator of DISSENSUS-social research group which produced large-scale research on the Far Right, published in 2021 as ‘Mainstreaming the Far Right in Greece: Gender, Media, Armed Forces and the Church’ with the support of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung – Greece Office. She is also the co-coordinator of the global seminar ‘Politics of Liberation’, also supported by the RLS.

**Anastasia Veneti** is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Media and Communication, Bournemouth University (UK). Her research lays at the

intersection of media and politics, including political communication, digital political campaigning, media framing, protests and social movements, visual communication and photojournalism. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6449-9830>.

**Foteini Venieri** is a museum studies researcher with a focus on museum theatre and the promotion of performing arts in the interpretation of cultural heritage. She holds a PhD on museum theatre, and has conducted postdoctoral research on the concept of dialogue in museums. She has designed and performed museum theatre performances, and has taught modules on museum theory, museum learning and museum theatre at several universities.

**Stewart Ziff** is a new media theorist, practitioner and educator. He is a Game developer and Founding member of the media arts collective Personal Cinema. He has held professional appointments in academia and industry, as an Associate Professor of New and Emerging Media at Georgia State University, as graduate faculty at Parsons School of Design (The New School) and the School of Visual Arts, New York, as Systems Architect for the new Hayden Planetarium (American Museum of Natural History) and as technical Director at the DTV R&D lab at MTV.

**Dunia Prince Zongwe** is an Associate Professor at the School of Law, Alliance University, India; and an Adjunct Associate Professor at Walter Sisulu University, South Africa. As an author, an academic, and a consultant, Dunia specialises in human rights, development and international law, focusing on Africa and the Global South. He has published four books and about 62 research outputs, consulted for many organisations, presented lectures at more than 70 conferences and received several merit awards. He earned his doctorate in law at Cornell University.

This page intentionally left blank

## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Duty to Revolt – Transnational and Commemorative Aspects of Revolution

*Athina Karatzogianni and George Souvlis*

This edited book collection engages leading and emerging scholars from history, political science, sociology, and media and communication to investigate transnational, commemorative and contemporary communication aspects of revolutions in various countries around the world. It is a book of 15 chapters providing an interdisciplinary, and comprehensive contribution to the study of historical revolutions and their commemoration, as well as contemporary protests and uprisings and how they are communicated today in everyday networked media. It is the first of its kind in the English-speaking world taking this interdisciplinary approach across historical time on this subject, because it brings together leading and emerging scholars in several fields in history and political science, as well as digital media and communication studies. It involves collaboration across disciplines as it engages scholars from across the social sciences, arts and humanities. These researchers use diverse techniques from ethnography to archive to communication, sociological (interviews), cultural and visual analysis, as well as digital methods (data analytics, digital game production).

The project comes out of ‘The Duty to Revolt’ conference held online over two full days on 25–26 March 2021, on the bicentenary of the Greek Revolution of 1821. The Duty to Revolt conference was organised by Athina Karatzogianni, Raul Carstocea (University of Leicester), Ioanna Ferra National Research (University Higher School of Economics, Russia), Christos Kostopoulos (Curtin University, Malaysia) and George Souvlis (University of Ioannina, Greece).

We were excited to kick-start the conference with a revolutionary greeting from Roger Hallam (co-founder of Extinction Rebellion). Additionally, to our wonderful contributors to this volume, we are grateful for the intellectual exchange to the following conference participants who presented their work: Andreas Lyberatos (Panteion University & Institute of Mediterranean Studies/FORTH, Greece); John Christopher Kern (Independent Researcher, USA); Noel O’Sullivan (University of Hull, UK); Andrei-Dan Sorescu (UCL School of

---

**Duty to Revolt, 1–11**

**Copyright © 2024 Athina Karatzogianni and George Souvlis**

**Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited**

**doi:10.1108/978-1-80382-315-720231001**

Slavonic and East European Studies, UK); Tanja Nijmeijer (ex-FARC combatant, Colombia); Zakiya Shiraz (Leiden University, Netherlands); Eugenia Siapera (University College Dublin, Ireland); Yiannis Mylonas (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia).

Throughout the nineteenth century, revolutionary movements united intellectuals, artists, dissidents and significant segments of the population in joint crusades in the name of justice or liberation, against empires and aristocratic elites, often across class, religious, race and national lines. The wave of revolutions that kicked off with the American and French revolutions continued in Haiti, and with the decolonisation of South America, eventually reached the Balkans with the Serbian revolution(s) of 1804–1815, and the Greek Revolution of 1821. This book takes the bicentenary of the Greek Revolution as a foundational historical departure point to investigate historical continuities and discontinuities in transnational and commemorative aspects of revolutionary wars.

In the case of the Greek Revolution, both popular romantic support for a ‘just cause’ associated with a Christian population and its imaginary civilisational connection to Ancient Greece, and elite anxiety about the destabilisation of the Ottoman Empire occurred simultaneously in France, Russia, Germany and England. Pro-Greek foreign fighters from different parts of Europe arrived in Greece embracing the ‘Freedom or Death’ call of the revolution – or what was partly, but not exclusively a revolution – importing the new discourse for equality, liberty and universal rights of the Enlightenment: a grandmaster discourse at the heart of global ideological critique wars even today.

Concomitantly, the Greek revolution witnessed the transition to political modernity, as well as imperialist and anti-imperialist interventions for nation-state-building, the latter still, in functioning terms, an ongoing struggle in contemporary Greece 200 years later. The historical event itself reverberated through the Balkan region and influenced the development of nationalisms far and wide in the European context and beyond.

Commemorating any revolution of this kind is likely to encourage nationalist, populist reactions and attempts at recuperating the radical subversive nature of every revolution – whether bourgeois or stemming from ‘the wretched of the earth’ – so that it serves contemporary state-boosting communication strategies.

With the Greek revolution as an inspirational conatus, however not limited to it, our contributors in this book are academic colleagues, artists and practitioners who engage with the following themes in a broader discussion of how the duty to revolt reverberates and is romanticised transnationally, and subsequently how revolutions are commemorated and constructed for public consumption today:

- (1) Transnationalisation of revolutions: The ideological conflict between radical supporters of revolutions and conservatives opposing revolutions in the name of preserving the status quo often results in opposing transnational networks organising and mobilising activists across ethnic, national, class and race lines. In this respect, the Greek Revolution and other ‘nationalist’ liberation

movements included a significant social component, and other emancipatory agendas, often obscured by the focus on nationalism and statehood.

- (2) Romanticisation of revolutions: The materialisation of ideological support when foreign fighters feel the duty to revolt and travel to a country undergoing revolution is a phenomenon witnessed throughout history. Historical experience of this phenomenon is extensive and truly international, and yet it is rarely given sufficient attention.
- (3) Communication and commemoration of revolutions: Transnational communication networks create possibilities both for emancipatory movements and nationalist resurgence, with the boundaries between the two often blurred. Furthermore, the audiovisual and artistic commemoration of revolutions is a thematic of great interest, especially in periods of global crisis and national uncertainty.

For the first two parts the volume engages with scholarship by historians, political scientists and sociologists, while the third part involves scholarship by political communication and digital social researchers.

## Summary of Contributing Chapters

The first part of the book, Part I: Historical Focus, starts with Rosa Vasilaki and her chapter 'Colonising the Past: The Greek Revolution as an Archetypal Instance of Cultural Imperialism'. She argues that 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. Yet, Vasilaki asks: How are we to understand this persisting invocation of the past in the era of revolutions, the era of national self-determination, of print capitalism, of the Gnostic Revolt brought about by the forces of the Enlightenment? Why did the break with the 'barbaric' past (the existing tradition of the Ottoman reality) in the name of a 'civilised' future (the 'Hellenic' tradition to be constructed) necessitate legitimation by a kind of 'enlightened' past, that is, the one represented by the 'glorious Greek Antiquity'? How can we make sense of such contradiction and what made it so efficient in concealing its antinomic character and exercising its persuasive power? Vasilaki puts the thesis forward that the Greek Revolution – as a symbol of both this antinomy as well as its resolution – was made possible because of a peculiar ideological operationalisation of the ancient past: in fact, via its *colonisation*. Not only this, but Vasilaki believes that we can use Greece as an entry point to examine this peculiar kind of colonisation, namely the colonisation of the past, as an archetype to construe the mechanics of western cultural imperialism and its dominance across the modern world.

Dunia P. Zongwe in his chapter ‘Revolution and Constitutionalism in Africa: The Duty to Revolt in the Sudanese and Congolese Constitutions’ appraises the principle that every citizen has a duty to revolt against individuals who seek to access power by force or to exercise it in violation of the constitution. Because the prospect of people exercising this duty of revolution (DoR) may constrain a government from using its powers to coerce people in a manner that jeopardises their rights and interests, the DoR can fulfil the goals of constitutionalism. Nonetheless, Zongwe argues that the contents and contours of the DoR remain so vague that invoking it in the specific context of Africa can further destabilise a continent that already shelters some of the world’s most unstable countries, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and South Sudan. If not tightly circumscribed, the DoR can even – and ironically – serve opportunists as a pretext to topple a democratically elected though ineffective government for their own, selfish purposes. Realising that the DoR can lend itself to abuse and that it can cause tremendous – if not permanent – instability in conflict-prone countries, this chapter pays rapt attention to and strives to identify the circumstances where such duty should arise. To specify the events that should trigger the DoR, Zongwe’s work illustrates the governance problems that plague fragile states like the DRC and South Sudan, and that pave the way for individuals to attempt to access power by force or exercise it unconstitutionally. Moreover, it dissects the DoR and elaborates on it by studying the DoR enshrined in the constitutions of the DRC and South Sudan, reflecting on the rationale of the DoR by comparing it to that of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience. Lastly, Zongwe’s work thinks the DoR through a number of scenarios where people can invoke that duty legitimately.

Niamh Kirk and Seamus Farrell in their chapter ‘Anti-colonialist Memory, Culture and Politics in Ireland’ investigate controversial aspects of Ireland’s ‘Black and Tans’ commemoration on Twitter, focusing on contemporary anti-colonial discourse in protest against state narratives of inclusion. ‘Decade of Centenaries’ refers to 10 years of commemorative events spanning Ireland’s Rising against the British [Empire \(1916\)](#) to the formation of the Irish and Northern Irish states (1926). Part of the official approach by both states to the ‘centenary commemorations programme’ is to focus on inclusivity and recognition of shared experiences of the conflicts by various communities on the island. However, there was intensive and pervasive public criticism of the inclusion of an event to mark the Royal Irish Constabulary, part of which were the ‘Black and Tans’, a British military force whose brutality to civilians and Irish revolutionary fighters was infamous. Over two weeks social media users debated and discussed Irish colonialism explicitly and the dominance of the criticism resulted in the withdrawal of the ‘Black and Tans’ commemoration. Niamh Kirk and Seamus Farrell ask: Given the focus on peace, reconciliation and cooperation following the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, why was there such a backlash to the suggestion of a common commemoration event? The Irish public’s reaction to the inclusion of a colonial force in commemorations suggests that the experience of colonial violence may have been forgiven, but not forgotten, and the appropriate response is not neutral but overtly anti-colonial. This chapter explores

anti-colonial discourse around the ‘Black and Tans’ controversy that explicitly rejected official state revisionist narratives of ‘inclusion’. Using data derived from Twitter, it explores the emergence of contemporary anticolonial discourse in protest against state narratives of hospitality. It undertakes an in-depth analysis of some of the key themes emerging, including the representations of family experiences in historical memory, as well as of colonial forces, together with self-reflection on the role of Irish people in empire building. Kirk and Farrell argue that this commemorative controversy involves anti-colonialism as an ideological position which goes beyond resisting and rejecting colonialism, because it activates de-colonialism and public contestation in Irish political culture.

Eleftheria Papastefanaki, Christos Papathanasiou and Nikos Vafeas (‘Building the New Person: the 1821 Greek Revolution in the Mountain Readers’) focus on the way the presentation of the 1821 Greek Revolution in the Mountain Readers sought to forge students’ identity, so as to meet the WWII Greek resistance coalition, known as the National Liberation Front (EAM)’s dual objectives: the liberation of Greece from the Axis occupation and socialist transformation. The Greek Revolution is one of the key thematic units of the readers in which the EAM-led resistance is often presented as a revival of the 1821 struggle and in a manner internally linked with the formulation of an alternative national narrative that sought to combine reference to the nation with the idea of social change from a socialist perspective. This, in turn, reflected, by and large, the Third International’s analysis about the transitory stages of social transformation and the dynamic of WWII resistance movements. In this context, the need to legitimate and justify their own contemporary political choices led to an ideological use of history and to the reconceptualisation of the nation’s building blocks. National Resistance, qua ‘New Greek Revolution’, provided a vantage point of looking at history that broke away from the interwar perspectives of Left historiography. During the 1940s, the Greek Revolution was attributed exclusively to the lower strata who had revolted against the Ottomans, on the one hand, and the Kotsabasides and the compromised bourgeoisie, on the other. The ‘people’ and no longer social class became the key explanatory category for its interpretation. Papastefanaki et al. demonstrate in this chapter that The Greek Revolution and EAM-led resistance became the two moments of a national narrative, which, bypassing the intermediate ‘hateful history’, ran like a red thread through the Mountain Readers and constituted the axis around which the past was incorporated in children’s national and political socialisation. The first part of the chapter sets the historical context of the Readers’ writing and briefly presents the official Party historiography developed in the 1930s and 1940s. Then, it explores the way the Greek Revolution appears in the Readers, and in relation to the official Party historiography and the corresponding Left historiographical production of the time that sought to account for the development of the Greek social formation. On this basis, it identifies the attempt, manifested in the Readers, to construct a new person who, both heavily draws upon the legacy of the Greek Revolution – the crown of national narrative – and adopts radical and emancipating positions that overcome the boundaries of dominant national ideology.

Part II: Commemorative Focus begins with Panos Kompatsiaris and his chapter 'The Revolutionary Subject and Its Affective Modalities: Love-Duty, Sacrifice and the Heroic' explores what he calls the 'affective modalities' of the revolutionary subject, namely the investments in revolutionary affects, involving love as duty to a higher vision, the sacrifice for this higher vision and the moment of the heroic as a constellation of intransigent actualities and mnemonic topoi. Revolutions, whether big or small, progressive or reactionary, customarily emerge in response to social, economic and political crises; crises are moments when 'strong' collective affects, such as disgust, anger or humiliation, are channelled into political narratives, potentially repositioning political belonging. From the point of view of revolutionary modalities, crises are then the ideal battlegrounds for crafting affective investments to this or that cause. Crises bring violence, destitution and fear; they demoralise, dehumanise and diminish bios to bare life. Every crisis, however, is also a temporal conjunction in which feelings and emotional states are sharpened to unimaginable degrees; as such, crises and their narratives cultivate bonds and mnemonic topoi that can be used to exercise future visions. Thinking through the affective dimensions of political belonging and revolting, Kompatsiaris takes on board Kollontai's idea of love as a duty to the collective and as a higher revolutionary vision contrasting it to commodified notions of love as an individual path. The chapter investigates the modalities of sacrifice and the heroic as vehicles for combating oppressive structures from an internationalist perspective and identifies examples related to historical socialism and the revolutionary imagination arising as responses to social and economic crises, as well as examples from the current Russian war against Ukraine where the heroic has been mostly mobilised to enable state-sanctioned narratives. Kompatsiaris argues that an internationalist socialist viewpoint should assess the affective substratum of the revolutionary subject that cultivates bonds, affinities and visions of political mobilisation.

Bev Orton and Alexander Ornella in their chapter 'Herstories: Activism, Detention and Torture' investigate the 'herstory' of Black women as one of sexualised forms of political violence which was used by the apartheid government in South Africa to control women: A herstory of violence, oppression, exploitation, victimisation, imprisonment and police brutality against women. Orton and Ornella argue that there is a need to reassess the cultural politics of commemoration in relation to women's activism during apartheid and their conflicting identities as women, mothers and political activists. Joining nationalist struggles enabled women to question gender roles, hoping to gain personal as well their country's liberation. Multi-disciplinary women-led activist communities and organisations provided a space of protest and refuge. Theatre is a key forum to realise women's contribution to the struggle against apartheid and 'a space to speak'. Theatre enables communicating the 'herstory' of apartheid activism, by not only acting as a form to document the reality of women's experiences, but also acting as a means to imagine different realities, their subjugation by oppressive political and societal conditions as well as demonstrating their ingenuity and agency in surviving detention and torture. The Apartheid Museum in Guateng is well-known, highly visible, whilst the public memorial to the memory of women's

role in the struggle, the Monument to the Women of South Africa, Imbokodo, is located at the Union Buildings in Pretoria and is invisible to the public, because of the inaccessibility of the Union Buildings, trivialising and erasing women's political legacy and agency in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Tasos Kostopoulos in his chapter 'Commemorating the Revolution as a Duty to Obey: From the Rehabilitation of Gregory the V to "Greece 2021" and the "Do-It-Yourself" Bicentenary' argues that although fairly emblematic as a reflection of the successive mutations underwent by Greek nationalism since the creation of a Greek nation-state, quinquagenaries and centenaries of the 1821 Greek Revolution have in fact been celebrated not as official tributes to a revolutionary event (i.e. to a victorious mobilisation of the subaltern in order to change their fate by recourse to the most radical means), but as opportunities for a symbolic confirmation of the established order and social hierarchies. In 1871, the pompous translation of Gregory the V's relics from Odessa to Athens marked the end of an era, when Greek irredentism was understood as a process of social emancipation, and the beginning of Hellenism's identification with the counter-revolutionary breed of 'Greek-Ottomanism', i.e., a 'temporary' defence of the Empire's upper classes against the social threat incarnated by the emancipation of the Balkan Slav peasantry. In 1921, the centenary of the Greek revolution was celebrated with the filming of the unfinished semi-documentary 'The Greek Miracle', funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where 1821 and the ongoing Asia Minor Campaign were projected as constituent parts of an eternal fight of Greek Christendom to reclaim the *Lebensraum* and the resources necessary for its elevation to the status of a European power; the sole mention to 'revolt' in the film's script referred to the Turkish national movement. A militarist approach was also discernible in the 1930 centenary, when a 'Book of Sacrifices' was published with the names of soldiers and officers of the standard Army – not revolutionaries of any kind – who had been killed on duty since the creation of the Greek nation-state. In 1971, commemoration of 1821 was amalgamated with the celebration of the 1967 military coup, ostensibly also a 'revolution'. In 2021, the initial proclamation of the Mitsotakis government for a 'development of national narrative leading to a unified image of the country' and a comprehensible 're-branding of the Greek state' suffered a severe blow from the COVID-19 epidemic and subsequent lack of public funds. The solution finally advanced, of a 'do-it-yourself' commemoration delegated mostly to local mayors and associations looking to upgrade the position of their hometown in the national Pantheon, led to a conformist re-enactment of the Greek Revolution as a mythical non-political event, defined by a 'racial' temperament that has more to do with Zorba the Greek than with any kind of social, political or intellectual upheaval.

Panos Tsimpoukis and Nikos Smyrnaiois in '1821 Tweets: Networks and Discourses around the Greek Revolution Bicentenary' examine the reproduction of a polarised political culture in the digital public sphere. In order to best celebrate the momentous occasion, a special committee called 'Greece 2021' was formed to organise the national festivities to commemorate the Greek Revolution in March 2021. The bicentenary celebrations took place amidst restrictions due to the pandemic, criticism of government manipulations and specific media practices

in their attempt to associate the heroes of the revolution with figures of the contemporary political scene. The present chapter demonstrates that the Twitter platform functioned as an arena where users, attempting to impose their own reading of reality, highlighted that there is a clash within the ruling elite and its supporters between ‘liberals’ and ‘conservatives’, ‘cosmopolitans’ and ‘nationalists’. Overall, Tsimboukis and Smyrnaiois find that the network analysis highlights a double polarisation among Greek Twitter users who posted about 1821. On the one hand, a large pole on the Right of the political spectrum that represents more than half of their sample. This pole comprises three main sub poles: an international-official sub pole, a neoliberal sub pole and a nationalist-conservative sub pole with close connections to the xenophobic far-right. On the other hand, there is a much smaller leftist pole. The discussion about the bicentenary that took place on Twitter was characterised both by presentism, that is determined by social and political issues of the present time, as well as ‘ideological battles’ around historiography that express political divisions that run through Greek society. The study confirms that 200 years after the 1821 revolution, Greece is still a divided country: the divisions are political (between nationalist conservatives and cosmopolitan progressives), but also cultural (East/West, US and Europe/Balkans and Orient).

Andromache Gazi, Thodoris Giannakis, Ilias Marmaras, Yiannis Skoulidas, Yannis Stoyannidis, Foteini Venieri and Stewart Ziff, in their chapter ‘Digital Storytelling From Below: Revolutionary Athens Through a Kaleidoscope’, provide the theoretical and design background to the REVAthens project, which was developed to create an encounter between today’s visitors and the life of unknown Athenian residents of the time of the Greek Revolution. The Revolution of 1821 was a milestone in the formation of the Greek nation-state and the subsequent construction of the official national narrative and identity. Traditionally, historical biographies of the period constitute in their vast majority an image of unreal heroes, an image of emblematic and timeless figures of the Greek nation that the biographers do not integrate organically into the society of their time and as such, they have become ‘heroes’ with non-historical characteristics. In the context of ‘history from below’ and the turn towards a more inclusive history, REVAthens, funded by the Hellenic Foundation for Research & Innovation (ELIDEK), creates an encounter between today’s visitors and the life of unknown Athenian residents of the time. Scenes from the everyday life of people living in Athens during that time are activated on the visitors’ mobile devices through geolocation. Social history, museum theatre, game elements, environmental art and 3D reconstructions are combined in the form of a ‘digital pocket theatre’ offering customised visitor experiences and alternative readings of the era. The outlines the design process focussing on the construction of historical subjective narratives.

In the third and final part of the book, Part III: Contemporary Focus, Stamatis Poulakidakos in his chapter ‘Firefund.net: An “Online Translocal Connection” of Anarchist(ic) Social Movements’ analyses the crowdfunding platform [firefund.net](#). Crowdfunding has emerged in the last decade as one of the most successful ways to support financially a wide range of projects. Apart from its already proven usefulness in a wide variety of profit-driven projects, crowdfunding has