

Institution: University of Sheffield		
Unit of Assessment: D-28 History		
Title of case study: Changing public and educational perceptions on the nature of threat of nuclear war during the Cold War and the value of protest in Southern Europe		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2017–2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Eirini Karamouzi	Senior Lecturer in Contemporary History	2014–present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2017–2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
<p>1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>In 2020, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists warned that the world is sleepwalking its way to a nuclear catastrophe. With an estimated 14,000 nuclear weapons and the collapse of Cold War nuclear treaties, the study of anti-nuclear activism is more relevant than ever. By translating her work on anti-nuclear protest into an innovative, educational public free exhibit accompanied by a bilingual catalogue, Dr Karamouzi has changed how Southern European people think about nuclear activism. Her collaboration with the Hellenic Parliament Foundation has altered its exhibition and educational policy and influenced how these subjects are taught to secondary and undergraduate students.</p>		
<p>2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)</p> <p>Nature of the research and approach</p> <p>The peace protests of the 1980s against the Euromissiles constituted one of the most popular mobilisations of the entire Cold War period, with approximately five million people globally participating in nuclear disarmament demonstrations. Dr Karamouzi's research on the Southern European protests examined the mass peace movement in the recently democratised Greece and Spain and politically unstable Italy, so far neglected in scholarship. It sought to answer for the first time the following questions: What mobilised these activists? How did they frame the notion of peace and how did they imagine a nuclear war? What were the political conditions under which the discourse of peace became powerful? The research commenced at the University of Sheffield in January 2017 funded by a Max Batley Fund for Peace Studies award, with Karamouzi as PI (along with Co-Is Professor Benjamin Ziemann, a leading expert on peace studies, and Professor Maria Grasso, a renowned political scientist who extensively works on new social movements). With the support of the postdoctoral fellow Dr Giulia Quaggio, a Spanish cultural historian, the team set out to understand the rising popularity of the peace message through a reading of global, regional, and domestic political and cultural developments as well as high politics. Karamouzi and her team utilised for the first time an ambitious interdisciplinary and multi-archival approach that included national and local press, photos, governmental archives, campaign material, literature, films, music, interviews with activists and Eurobarometer polling in order to reconstruct properly the multi-layered phenomenon of the protest culture (R4). Karamouzi also drew on theoretical perspectives of the recent social</p>		

movement literature that focus on ideology, frame analysis and cultural memory. This methodological plurality allowed her to forge a dialogue between different localities, across different academic disciplines and diversify the history of mobilisation, hence unveiling the complex morphology of these protests in Southern Europe (R4).

Key research findings

In her article in *Cold War History*, and her chapter in the edited volume (R1; R3) Karamouzi showed that there was a strong interplay between government, nuclear strategy, and peace movement mobilization. Analysis of global peace projects such as the Six Nation Initiative (R3) speaks to scholars' call to bring into fruitful conversation the global history of advocacy groups with the state-based story of non-proliferation for a better coverage of nuclear history. Despite the peace movements' sceptical view of political leaders, Karamouzi's research illustrates how some politicians managed to be key players in rallying support for the peace cause. Moreover, while acknowledging the merit of transnational approaches, Karamouzi contextualized the cycles of protest mobilization and highlighted the role of national identity and how a notion of a 'Southern European' experience emerged that transcended the dominant Cold War narratives (R2; R4). The research unearthed how the concepts of peace and disarmament were historically and culturally bounded and that the popularity of the peace message needs to be understood through these national lenses. The Greek, Italian and Spanish protesters reframed and reconfigured the Cold War narrative, emphasizing their own national needs and resorting to local vernaculars to bring their message home. These original findings enriched not only the literature on Cold War history that tends to neglect the agency of small countries and its people (R5), but also the contemporary social and political histories of Greece, Spain, and Italy.

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- R1. Karamouzi, E., & Chourchoulis, D. (2018).** Troublemaker or peacemaker? Andreas Papandreou, the Euromissile Crisis, and the policy of peace, 1981–86. *Cold War History*, 19(1), 39–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2018.1497014>
- R2. Karamouzi, E. (2020).** 'Out With the Bases of Death': Civil Society and Peace Mobilization in Greece During the 1980s. *Journal of Contemporary History*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009420918921>
- R3. Karamouzi, E. (2019).** 'At last, our voice is heard in the world'. Greece and the Six Nation Initiative during the Euromissile crisis' in Crump, L. & Erlandsson, S. (eds.) *Margins for Manoeuvre in Cold War Europe: The Influence of Smaller Powers*. Routledge. Available on request.
- R4. Karamouzi, E. (2018).** *Fighting for Peace: Greece-Italy-Spain in the 1980s* (Athens, 2018) – Exhibition catalogue in English and Greek. Available on request.
- R5. Karamouzi, E. (2019).** 'What is interesting about the Cold War?' in Reinisch, J. & Brydan, D. (eds.) *Exploring and Teaching Twentieth-Century History*. Historical Association. Available on request.

Grants and Fellowships:

- 2017-2019: Max Batley Peace Studies Fund (£93,000) for 'Project as Democratic Practice: Peace Movements in Southern Europe, 1975-1990 (Principal Investigator)
- 2017-2018: Early Career Fellowship, British School at Athens

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)**Influencing the direction of Hellenic Parliament Foundation's exhibition and educational policy**

After hearing Karamouzi present on her research findings at [the British School of Athens](#) (R1, R2, R3), the Hellenic Parliament Foundation (HPF) was impressed by the contemporary relevance of the topic and the importance of peace mobilisation in understanding Greek and Southern European societal transformation, that they invited her to curate a free public exhibition and head a series of educational programmes for schools on the theme 'Fighting for Peace: Greece, Italy, Spain in the 1980s'. Unlike previous HPF programmes, developed by in-house researchers, this was the first time that the HPF collaborated with an external partner. Karamouzi shaped the main themes of the exhibition and authored the catalogue around her own research (R1, R2, R3). The head of exhibitions at the HPF noted "*Dr Karamouzi's expertise was crucial in making sure the exhibition would be properly contextualised*" [S1]. Besides their usual educational programmes for schools, HPF targeted- for the first time- universities and convinced six across the country to add the catalogue as a compulsory item on university curricula, "*we decided because of the nature of Dr Karamouzi's research and contemporary appeal to widen the dissemination and, as a result alter our exhibitions strategy [...] We mean to continue this strategy, including undergraduate or postgraduate students of different majors in the future*" [S1].

Changing how the general public thinks about the Cold War and peaceful protest

'Fighting for Peace' was inaugurated in November 2018 in the presence of the President of the Greek Parliament, politicians across all parties, and the general public, and was covered extensively by all the mainstream media. In his television address, the President commented "*that the present exhibition allows us to experience first-hand...the anti-war movement in Southern Europe, and its impact on policymaking, society and culture*" [S2]. Displayed in Athens until November 2019, it was HPF's longest-running exhibition. The exhibition and associated educational programmes have been one of the most successful HPF programmes to date in terms of attendance, drawing a total of 2,192 students and 190 teachers from secondary schools across Greece, 150 undergraduate students, and 2,800 individual visitors in Athens. A version of the exhibition was also transferred to the 16th International Book Fair of Thessaloniki in May 2019, which was attended [by more than 50,000 people](#). Greek and international visitors from as far away as Israel, Northern Ireland, and the USA expressed their feelings about the exhibition in comments left in the visitors' book. The response was overwhelmingly positive, with 98% of the comments offering praise for the exhibition: "*Lots of material that we can learn from, to build a peaceful future*", "*a punch to the stomach to wake up and act now*" [S3].

Influencing how subjects of nuclear war and protest are taught**a) In universities**

The popularity of the exhibition was confirmed by the fact that a version of the exhibition went on tour in universities across the country (Peloponnese – 21 Jan 2020, Crete – 17 Feb 2020, the Aegean – 20 Jun 2020). The University of Peloponnese and Crete will keep the exhibition permanently and plan to include it in all their relevant courses with more than 1,000 students annually [S4]. Academics in the University of Athens, Panteion, American College of Greece found that the catalogue filled a gap in available literature on the topic, *“This book...is one of the most effective resources that I have found... to approach the student audience”* [S4]. The bilingual (Greek/English) exhibition catalogue was distributed widely (3,000 copies to date) and was an important tool in the HPF university programme. Its circulation moved beyond Greece, with universities in the UK, Italy and Spain commenting on its educational value, *“It helped me change my approach to teaching the macro perspective of political participation [... it] is one of the most interesting and effective resources a teacher can use to teach protest and political participation”* [S4].

b) In schools

The exhibition's relevance to modern issues also motivated secondary school teachers to attend with their students. 53% had never brought their students to an HPF exhibition before [S5]. Although peaceful protest during the Cold War is a subject barely covered in the Greek national curriculum, 89% of the surveyed teachers revisited the exhibit's topics through general class discussions, curriculum changes, articles in the school newspaper, and creating a database of student interviews on protest culture. Teachers commented that their students' participation in the programme was crucial in altering their view on the role of civil society in fighting for peace and the perils of the nuclear arms race [S1, S5]. Of the 2,192 secondary school students who participated in the educational programmes, 72% now think that nuclear war is a possibility today [S6]. Students further expressed their thoughts through post-it notes left at the exhibition [S7], posters [S8], and blogs [S9] indicating strongly that the exhibition made them seriously reconsider the seriousness of a nuclear war. 61% of teachers who attended reported a similar change of feelings, *“I got affected positively. I think that I got motivated to become a supporter of the anti-nuclear movement”* [S5].

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

- S1.** Statements from the Hellenic Parliament Foundation: Anna Enepekidou, Head of Exhibitions Department; Christos Christidis, Co-Curator, Exhibitions Department; Flora Spyrou, Head of Educational Programs.
- S2.** Πολεμώντας για την Ειρήνη: Ελλάδα–Ιταλία–Ισπανία στη δεκαετία του '80 ('Fighting for Peace: Greece-Italy-Spain in the 1980s'). News coverage from exhibition inauguration, including address by President of the Parliament.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sythtrUoebE> (15 November 2018) (in Greek).
- S3.** Visitor book (in multiple languages).
- S4.** University staff testimonials from Greece, Spain, Italy and the UK: Professor, Post War History, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens (31 May 2019); Lecturer in Politics, University of Exeter (12 September 2019); Professor of History and Political Science, The

American College of Greece (31 May, 2019); Assistant Professor in Diplomacy and International Organisation, University of Peloponnese (19 February 2020); Professor of International History, Roma Tre (30 November 2020); Professor of Contemporary History, Complutense University of Madrid (28 November 2020)

- S5.** Teacher feedback forms and emails. Nov 2018-Nov 2019 (in Greek).
- S6.** Question to students. December 2018-April 2019.
- S7.** Student post-it responses (in Greek).
- S8.** Student posters (in Greek).
- S9.** Student blogs (in Greek).