Expropriation and Extended Citizenship. The Periphalisation of Arcadia.

Chapter 4

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Et in Arcadia Ego, "Me too in Arcadia," wrote Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his travelogue on the Italian countryside in 1786.[1] In 1873, Arcadia re-emerged as a feral myth of naked Nymphs and the satyr-like god Pan in a painting by William-Adolphe Bouguereau, and as the pastoral ideal of a shepherd peacefully scooping water under the shade of a bush in the 1836 painting by Thomas Cole. The Arcadian landscapes reappear at the centre of the cosmopolitan life of late nineteenth-century Berlin on the murals of Café Bauer. In 1909, Shaftesbury Theatre London hosted the musical *The Arcadians*, introducing a metropolitan audience to a group of idyllic peasants who wished to transform the wicked metropolis into a land of truth and simplicity. [Fig. 1] Today, Arcadia is ubiquitous. Its name stands on the billboard of a university campus in Pennsylvania, a city in Los Angeles County, an immigrant's club in Brooklyn, and a hotel in the Greek mining town of Megalopolis. Heterogeneous and dispersed in space and history, how do all these "Arcadias" relate to each other? And what is the common place they recall?

This chapter examines the actual region of Arcadia, a mountainous landscape located at the core of the Peloponnese peninsula in Greece. It is a place where extended urbanisation is unfolding under a rural and bucolic backdrop, where idyllic images cloak social struggles and dispossessions, and recent economic and environmental crises are accelerating the deregulation and depopulation of peripheral areas. In contemporary Arcadia, land expropriations and the enclosure of commons and agricultural land are silently unfolding under the pretext of green development and energy transition, while a consistent policy of emptying and flattening the mountain region has been enabling regional re-articulations and the redistribution of power and wealth, allowing processes of capital to proceed. This is a tale of peripheralisation.

This chapter draws upon archival and ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the landscapes of Mount Mainalo, located at the core of "mountainous Arcadia,"[2] between 2017 and 2021. The multi-sited fieldwork took place

Fig. 1

F. 1 The "Arcadians" musical at Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 1909.

in bureaucratic and logistical spaces, olive groves, villages, pastures, and the forest. There, I collected qualitative information, including oral histories, everyday experiences, and counter cartographies that narrate an "invisible" landscape under extreme pressure for transformation.

In this chapter, I depart from the Western myth of Arcadia and unpack it as the fabrication of an imaginary "urban outside" and a spatial and temporal frontier enabling multiple extensions. I then return to the actual Arcadia, where a peripheral landscape can be understood as a contemporary urban outside. Over the last decades, the region has been drained of a permanent population and related social and economic structures. It has been systematically peripheralised, eventually becoming dependent on national and international centralities. As I narrate this history, I reconstruct its emptying in relation to a "filling-in" that manifests simultaneously elsewhere. I then examine the transformation of Greek state space, especially during the Greek debt crisis, allowing me to observe how extended urbanisation unfolded as part of a more extensive process of peripheralisation. This process currently exceeds the scale of the nation-state and the region and reclaims peripheralised territories when coupled with resistance and extended forms of citizenship. Overall, this chapter works towards developing a relational understanding of urbanisation. It focuses on processes that polarise and generate unevenness, such as inhabited and uninhabited lands, developing and left-behind places, and centres and peripheries forming relationally in different geographies and scales. The chapter suggests peripheralisation as a process of extended urbanisation, which manifests as interwoven and interdependent with processes of centralisation. Peripheralisation reinvents places as "outsides," eventually marginalising, subordinating, and enclosing them. This work mainly entails an urgent call for revisiting peripheralised and arcadised lands and their ecological margins to unveil such processes that uncontrollably occur there. It occurs to me that our generation's most crucial social and ecological struggles are staged in such peripheral lands. Thus, this work defends those fragile, socioecological fabrics that, although latent and under extreme pressure, continue to present, persist, and resist.

THE MYTH OF THE OUTSIDE

Arcadia has been constructed as a myth of an urban outside. In this view, it is an outer frontier constantly negotiated, reconceived, and reconfigured. Progressively, Arcadia has transpired in literature and arts as an imaginary trope, a spatial and temporal frontier marking the beginnings of (modern) time and (anthropogenic) culture.

ARCADIA AS A SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL FRONTIER

Pausanias, the second-century AD Greek traveller and geographer, encountered the region of Arcadia, describing it as a land far from the sea and surrounded by mountains.[3] He recounted how in the "ancient world," *Arkades*, the inhabitants of Arcadia, were believed to be the descendants of Pelasgians, the oldest clan of ancient Greece. Pausanias stated that *Arkades* were thought to have sprouted from the ground, binding Arcadia to autochthony and the idea of an archaic time.

"Sweet is the voice of the goat, sweet the shepherd's flute," wrote Theocritus, the founder of bucolic poetry, in his third-century BC oeuvre *Idylls*, celebrating for the first time in Greek poetry the everyday life of pastoralists in Sicily. Yet, his poetry was not addressed to the shepherds and landscapes it described. As a city poet, his bucolic poetry offered an idealised representation of an imaginary pastoral world for a city audience. Twentieth-century art historian Erwin Panofsky accounts how this urban myth about rural origins was translocated to Arcadia two centuries later in Latin art and literature. During the Roman Republic, pastoral poetry took further shape as a critique and a counter-narrative to corruption and vice in the city of Rome. "Blissful is the man who cultivates his land, free from city's usurers and the power of city elites," wrote Horace (30 BC).[4] However, it was Virgil, in his *Bucolics* (or *Eclogues*, 37 BC), who translocated the pastoral ideal and reinvented Arcadia, initially known in the Roman world through the narrations of the Arcadian immigrant Polybius as a remote, rocky place with "meagre goats and frugal shepherds,"[5] as a utopia with an actual topos. Synthesising the image of Sicilian pastoral landscapes (from Theocritus), with the nostalgic fascination of a distant rural homeland (from Polybius), Virgil painted an alternative: Arcadia as "a realm sufficiently remote from everyday Roman life to defy any realistic interpretation, yet sufficiently saturated with visual concreteness to appeal directly to the inner experience of the reader."[6] He opened *Bucolics* with an image of city warfare, where the Roman countryside and pastures were exhausted by the metropolis's exploitation.

Since then, Arcadia has emerged as a relational topos, an urban myth for an idealised "outer" land and a constitutive "urban other." This myth has been crafted upon the conflictual condition of the "familiar far" as a nostalgia for a place not yet reached but already experienced. In this myth, distance and groundedness matter. Locating rootedness and origins in this outside legitimises illusive rights for appropriating a shared pre-urban world. The myth of the outside lays the groundwork for possible extensions and occupations.

ARCADIA AS A COLONIAL FRONTIER

As the colonial mission approached "Port Royal" (Matavai Bay, Tahiti) in April 1769, Sir Joseph Banks noted the beauty and blissfulness of the coasts, the abundance of shade and fruits, and the welcoming kindness of the indigenous populations. As he wrote in his diary, "The image we saw was the truest picture that imagination can form of an *Arcadia* … of which *we were going to be the kings*."[7] [Fig. 2] The first French colony in Canada was officially named *Acadie* in reference to the mythical Arcadia. The Western depiction of Arcadia, often nestled within the imagery of Paradise, re-emerged as one of the foundational imaginaries promoting the colonisation of the new world.[8] Emptying the land, declaring it as *terra nullius* (nobody's land), helped metaphorically annihilate the rights of its indigenous inhabitants. This colonial gaze entails a severe provocation and an immense power of extensionality, a way to conquer by idealising or to enclose by *arcadising*. We can claim that the myth of Arcadia is a myth about extensions. To extend (εκ-τείνω) means to create distance, to create ground (έκ-ταση). An extension is relational; it implies a centre from which to come and a vector towards which to go. In this way, the myth of the outside resides in the firm belief in the eternal possibility of extending territory, and entails the acts that will enable such extensions.

Fig. 2

F. 2 Tahiti Revisited, Maitavie Bay in the Island of Otaheite, Tahiti. William Hodges, 1776.

AN ACT OF PERIPHERALISATION

Looking at Titian's 1508 painting, the *Pastoral Concert*—one of the first bucolic Renaissance paintings—it occurs to me that the Arcadian myth entails an act of abstraction. A group of bourgeois musicians and their naked female company occupy the foreground, while a shepherd and his goats fade into the background. Merged with the trees, the shepherd has become part of the landscape, an abstract pastoral world, a symbolic scenography to stage higher concepts. [Fig. 3] The fabrication of the Arcadian myth entails an act of invisibilisation and, thus, dispossession. It removes the material complexity of an actual locus to serve a more idealised depiction: the water springs, the species of Mediterranean trees, and the mythic figure of Pan and the Nymphs. Elements of ecosystems and social formations have been used but reduced, emptied of their meaning and complexity, while others remain invisible. For instance, the Arcadian painting *Pan and Syrinx* (1615) depicts a city arising in the far distance, [Fig. 4] while in *Landscape with Satyr Family* (1507), an amplified depth highlights the distance, constructing the "urban far." Thick trunks, bushes, and pronounced naturalist elements suggest the urban outside. It is a peripheral landscape, cast as an extension and experienced as a dialectical opposition through an external narrative projected from afar.
It occurs to me that the Arcadian myth itself involves a geographical act, *an act of peripheralisation*. The imaginary of Arcadia eventually extends to variegated landscapes beyond urban centres, nature reserves, rural areas, or tourist destinations, re-establishing each as "idyllic urban exteriors." What struggles, land claims, and dispossessions may lie hidden under such a frozen image of an urban outside?

PERIPHEREIA—ANATOMY OF A PERIPHERY

It is late evening on Easter Eve. We are stuck in a huge traffic jam on the outskirts of Athens. The lanes leading to the city are empty; cars are lined up in the other direction towards Peloponnese. Drivers and passengers patiently

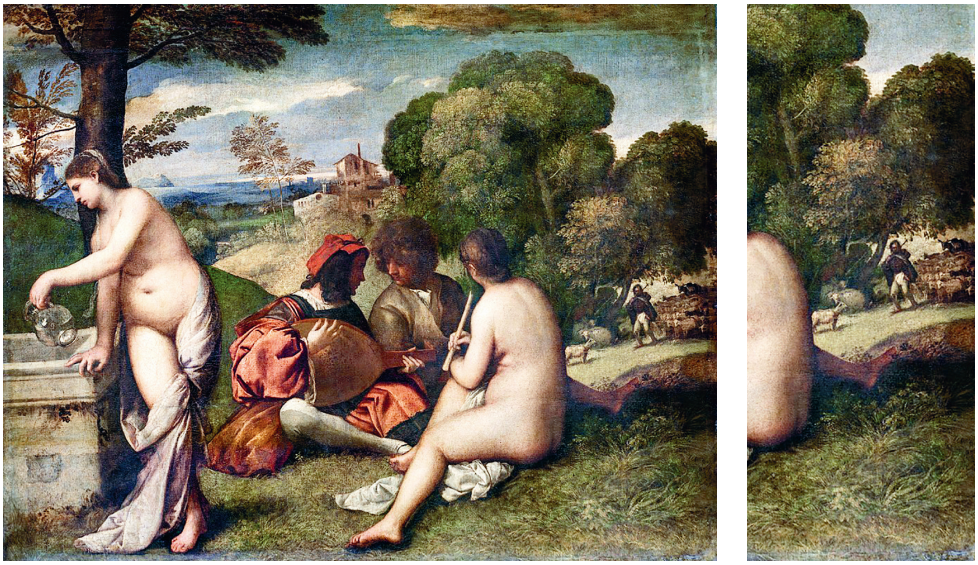


Fig. 3

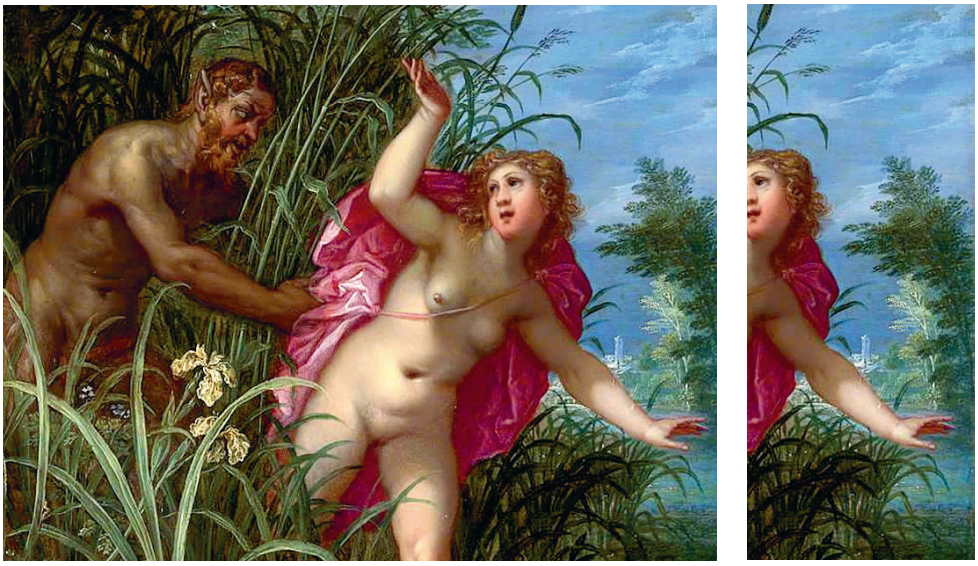


Fig. 4

F. 3 The Pastoral Concert, Giorgione and/or his disciple Titian, 1509–1510. Merged with the trees, the shepherd has become part of the landscape.

F. 4 Pan pursuing Syrinx, Hendrick van Balen the Elder and Follower of Jan Brueghel the Elder, 1615. A city arises in the distance, constructing the "urban far."

Fig. 5

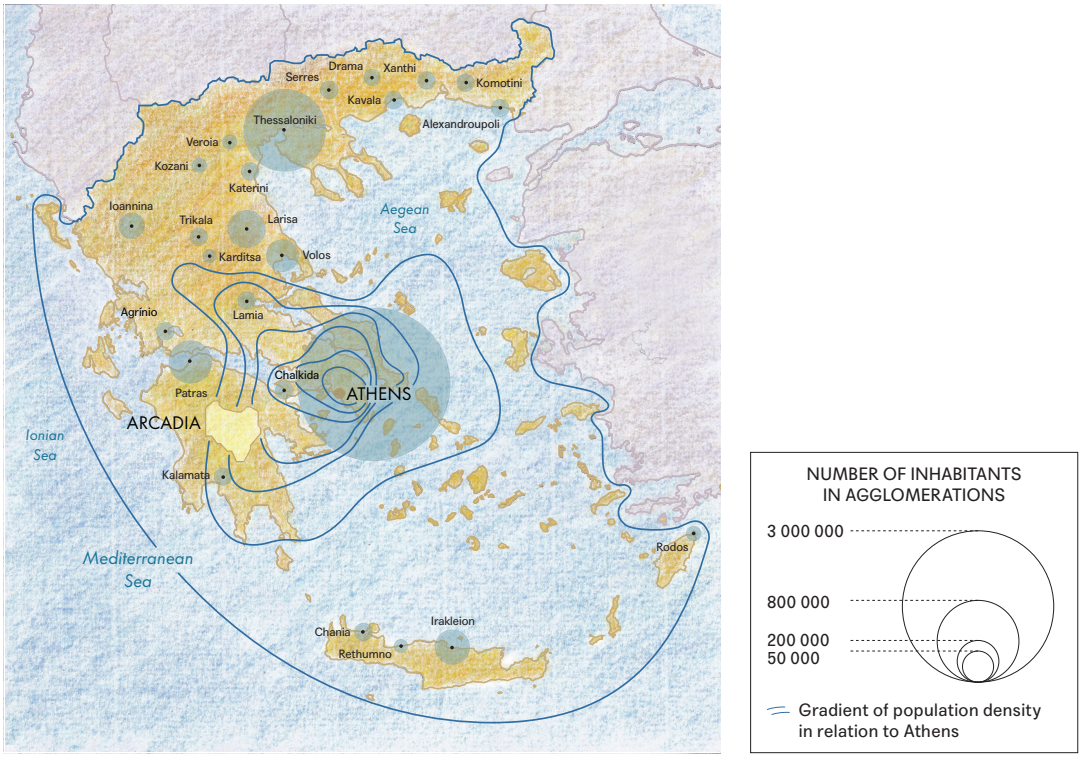
F. 5 On the highway to Peloponnese. Entering the mountain is a bodily experience.

wait with their car headlights turned on. A massive urban exodus is underway. [Fig. 5] Three hours' drive south of Athens, Arcadia is part of the *periphereia* of Greece, the urban outside. *Periphereia* and *eparchia* (province) signify "the rest of Greece." They are perceived as geographies of less privilege in a nation-state with a long-standing policy of centralisation in the capital. Through a prolonged rural exodus, especially during the 1960s and 1970s, the Athens metropolitan region grew into the Attica basin, reaching around 4 million inhabitants, a third of the country's population. In the process, it stripped the periphery of people and resources.

Today, these peripheral landscapes pulsate seasonally. Often seen as remnants of a dissolving rural world returning to the wilderness, they acquire the role of destinations for tourists and urban dwellers as lands to escape to. They tell a history of a *generalised process of peripheralisation*, which evolved alongside the growth of the capital city of Athens. Nevertheless, Athens maintains a persistent yet ambivalent link to its periphery. The Athenian peasants that once inhabited it, unable to respond to the speed of modernisation and urbanisation, have cultivated an ambiguous relationship with their rural origins, weaving complex and ambivalent links between the exploding capital and its shrinking periphery. These are the same people lining up on the highway on Easter Eve. They are not tourists but urban dwellers returning to their villages and family homes. [Fig. 6]

CONDENSED HISTORY

The highway cuts through the various strata of the urban fabric covering the Attica basin. It follows the coastline, leaving behind Athens' centre and its dense western suburbs. Industrial plants, a port, an oil refinery, electricity poles, and logistics areas mark the edge of the Thriasio Plain, the vast infrastructural backbone of Athens. On this route, thick layers of mythologies and histories unveil toponyms and archaeological spots, places known from antiquity. Elefsina reminds us of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the most famous of the secret religious rites of ancient Greece and the agrarian



WHERE IS THE PERIPHERY?:
THE ATHENS–ARCADIA DENSITY ENVELOPE
Fig. 6

myth of Persephone.[9] Kakia Skala recalls the travels of Theseus while Corinth, Argos, and Stymphalia herald the labours of Heracles. Loutro Elenis is the bath of the most beautiful woman of the ancient world. Thiva, Mycenae, Epidaurus, and Olympia will follow. As we drive down this highway through the Peloponnese, known as the origin of Greek antiquity and the foundational land of the modern nation-state, narrating these histories, we revive the imaginary of a deeper temporality that has been condensed. Yet, it is still present in contemporary landscapes.

As I perform this indigenous historiography,[10] I wonder: Whose histories do I narrate? Have they been projected onto the periphery and narrated by the urban centre? Certain histories appear more central, and some temporalities more glorified than others, such as the Greek antiquity and its national neoclassical revival. However, others have remained untold and marginal, like the long Ottoman past or contemporary urban transformations.[11] In the periphery, I need to challenge my own "cityism" and ways of seeing. I am keenly aware they were shaped in the city centres and centralised institutions of Athens and Europe. Questioning established methodologies and ways of knowledge building is imperative when encountering and analysing these other histories that have remained untold.

F. 6 The Greek "periphery", known as periphereia or eparchia in Greek, encompasses all territories laying "outside" the few main urban centres of the country. The term reflects the geography of an over centralised nation-state and a generalised process of peripheralisation.

DEEP TIME

Industrial plants, transport networks, heroes, and myths cram together at the Isthmus of Corinth, the long bridge over the artificial canal that connects the Ionian and Aegean Seas. The bridge pronounces the exodus from Attica, and after the isthmus, the highway splits. Highway 8A follows a narrow piece of land along the northern coast, forming an almost continuous extension of the metropolitan region of Athens to Patras and its international port. Highway EO65 heads south through valleys and plateaus, bypassing the mountains through an infrastructural space punctuated by local urban centralities. The mountains of the Peloponnese appear as silhouettes in the distance, behind which lies Arcadia. They are part of a broader peripheral landscape: Greece, including the islands, is mountainous. [Fig. 7]

Geologically, Greece emerged during the Alpine orogeny phase, rising as the continuous landmass of Aegis (Αιγηίδα) from the Tethys Sea. This landmass then partially sank again, with its valleys becoming the Aegean Sea and its mountaintops forming the islands. [Fig. 8] The Peloponnese emerged as part of the Alpine orogenic fold and marked the southern climax of a mountain range. Colloquially known as the *backbone of Greece*, it runs centrally from the south to the north and continues with the Pindus Hellenides in northern Greece and southern Albania and the Balkan Dinarides, outlining a transnational space with historical, cultural, and ecological links.[12] With peaks reaching 1,500 to 2,000 metres above sea level, the Peloponnese holds in its pleats, valleys, plateaus, ridges, and cliffs the rich and variegated core where Arcadia is located. Towards the south, the mountainous fold descends towards the Aegean Sea, shaping the valley of Sparta and the olive plains of Kalamata.

THE SENSORIUM OF AN IMMATERIAL URBAN FABRIC

As we follow the road south, fragments of the urban fabric mingle with agricultural fields, summer houses, vegetable stands, and billboards for provincial events. Tuning on the car radio, a competition of radio stations from Athens and the periphery produces a strange polyphony of interruptions. This interference of sounds occurs because of the refraction of radio waves in the mountainous topography: local news, folk music, classic rock, church prayers, and sudden silences blend into one another. The capital's soundscape is renegotiated and slowly fades while the surrounding agglomeration of urban fabric dissolves. All sorts of trucks pass by transporting petrol, milk, yoghurt, honey, cheese, and livestock. This landscape is fragmented yet interconnected and does not emerge as an outer land of the capital city but as a field of flows. We are crossing a space of manifold relations and re-articulations as well as a field of tensions and multiple extensions.

As we exit the highway, curling up the winding road, a warning sign informs us that sheep and goats might be crossing. We have to slow down. The landscape is changing as we approach Mount Mainalo. This name is derived from the ancient myth of μαίνος, the mythological *divine mania, the orgy, and force* that is believed to have given birth to the wilderness. Mainalo was at the heart of ancient Arcadia and was considered the mythical home of Pan, the half-human, half-goat protector of the shepherds and a lover of the Nymphs.

THE URBAN FABRIC SURROUNDING MOUNT MAINALO

Today, Mount Mainalo forms the core massif of the Peloponnese. It is bypassed by major transport arteries, and its foothills are surrounded by local centralities, urban settlements, and infrastructure. The plateau of Tripolis offers fertile agricultural plains and is located at an altitude of 600 metres. It hosts a town of approximately 30,000 inhabitants and provides a key centrality of services, such as schools, hospitals, regional administration, a logistical hub, and an infrastructural corridor. Further south, it stretches towards the plateau of Megalopolis, the "big ancient polis," where the remnants of its ancient theatre, parliament, and stadium coexist alongside a huge open-pit coal mine. The lignite extracted from this coal

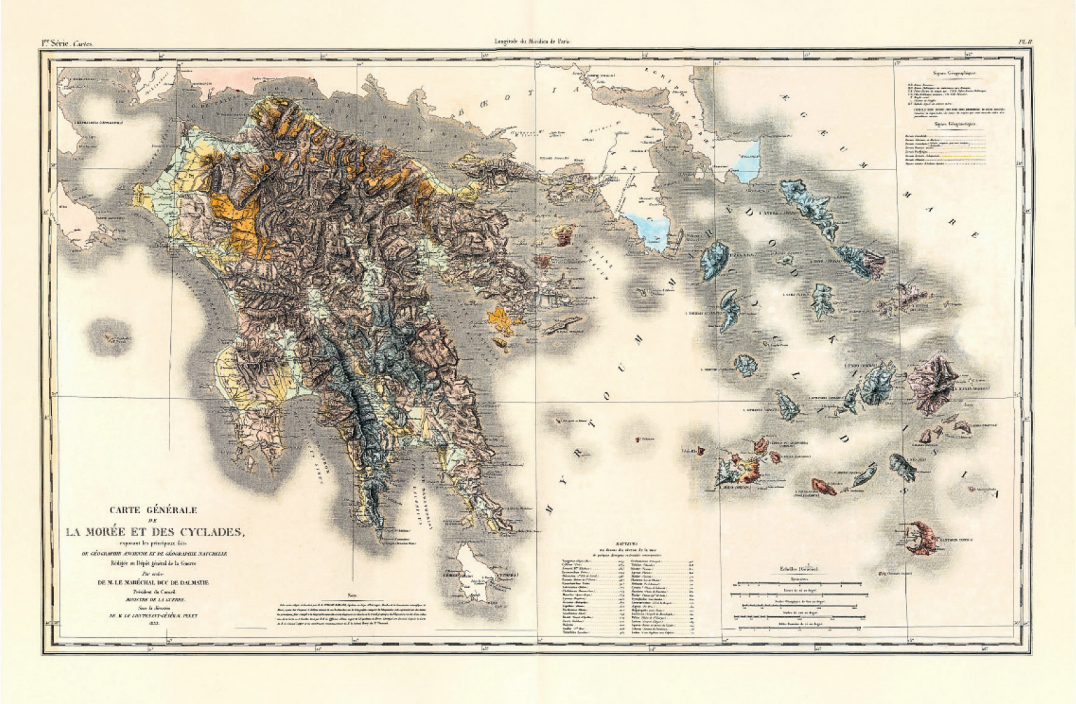


Fig. 7

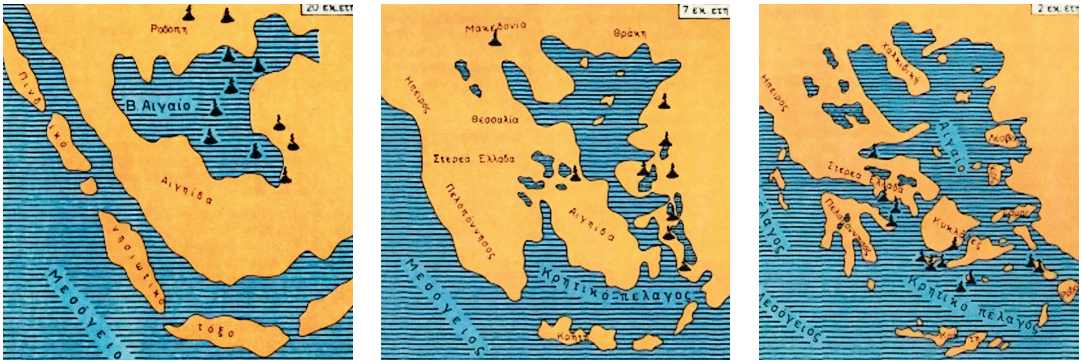


Fig. 8

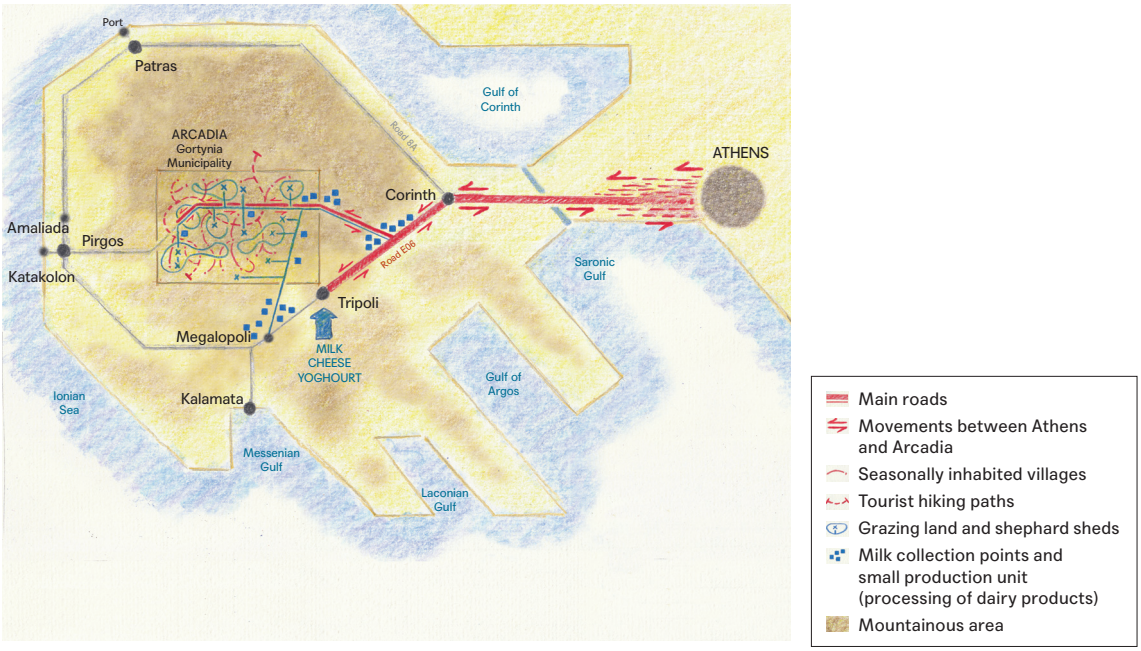
F. 7 The peripheral landscapes of Greece are mountainous: General Map of the Peloponnese and the Cycladic Islands by the French scientific-military Morée Expedition, 1828–1832.

F. 8 The geological birth of a mountainous territory. The palaeogeography of Greece from the Miocene to the present (land is depicted in orange, sea and lakes in blue).

THE URBAN FABRIC SURROUNDING
MOUNT MAINALO
Fig. 9

mine is burnt locally in Greece's second-biggest state-owned energy plant. In the south and west of Mount Mainalo, the Alfeios River collects water in Arcadia and flows to the Ionian Sea. The topography smoothens towards the extensive agricultural plains of Elia, where we find the archaeological site of Olympia. The Ionian coastal zone hosts beaches, resorts, local summer settlements, and ecological reserves. It also includes the growing provincial towns of Pyrgos and Amaliada and the cruise port of Katakolon, which is used mostly for daily tourists visiting Olympia. [Fig. 9–10]

"Entering" the mountain is a bodily experience. Bodies sway synchronised, tuning in to the tempo of this bigger geological form that now infolds, pleats, and cracks, making space for us to move through its interior. Mainalo is a dynamic karst landscape of water-soluble limestone that formed gorges, caves, springs, and still unexplored underground currents. We are not outside the mountain anymore, but in the midst of it, in the heart of an *ex*-centric territory. More than a mere "periphery of," it acquires its own complexity, temporality, and form. The road is now empty, and we drive in silence and darkness. The crowd has disappeared, spreading gradually into the villages located along the way. At times throughout the year, many of these villages are virtually empty. The smallest village has less than five permanent inhabitants, while the largest has as many as 600. But on a day like this, all the houses are full. We arrive at Stemnitsa, where a billboard at the entrance of the village reads: "Permanent inhabitants: 191. Summer months: 850."[13]



ARCADIA: A PULSATING PERIPHERAL LANDSCAPE
Fig. 10

EMPTYING: A HISTORY OF PERIPHERALISATION

"This mountain was once the centre. We were never peasants here. We were burghers [urban citizens, *astoi*]." Nena, a permanent inhabitant, proudly narrated to me at her guest house, "Belleiko" in Stemnitsa. Belleiko is her family name, referring to wealthy silversmiths, bell-makers, and later wealthy immigrants in the United States. It is now the name of her guest house, which was crafted by local stone builders who drew upon architectural influences from northern Greece and testified to a cosmopolitan culture and taste. Stemnitsa is one of the peri-forest villages located at the forest fringes of Mainalo, whose inhabitants have a history of craftsmanship and share a special relationship with the forest.

On the slopes of Mainalo, the colours start to change slightly to olive, brown, and deep green. The different colours indicate three distinct altitudinal zones and, thus, three diverse ecosystems. Olive groves grow up to 600 metres, hosting fields and agriculture. A forest of Greek firs (*Abies cephalonica*) starts at 1,000 metres and engulfs the alpine meadows. In between is an unfertile zone of steep slopes with kermes oaks and shrubs and a peri-forest zone of craft villages. Most of them flourished during the Ottoman Era, profiting from the proximity to different landscapes and resources, such as the woods, creeks, gorges, bushes, pastures, and the energy potential of the springs and mountain water streams. They developed mixed economies in which agriculture and livestock

F. 9 Mount Mainalo at the heart of Arcadia forms the core massif of the Peloponnese. It is bypassed by major transport arteries, and its foothills are surrounded by local centralities, urban settlements, and infrastructure.

F. 10 The relation of a capital-city and its periphery, depicted through movements and flows.

farming complemented proto-industrial activities, commerce, and proto-urban economies.

Unlike the lower plains, which could be tamed and exploited by the Ottoman Empire and where life was militarised and ruralised, the mountain space could retain partial autonomy. Rough, infertile, and challenging to access and discipline, the area was ruled by a taxation regime that allowed its inhabitants economic freedom "as long as they would pay taxes and would not revolt."[14] From the thirteenth century onwards, the population gradually agglomerated, and small villages emerged from a landscape of dispersed family-based transhumance settlements in the Arcadian region. By the end of the eighteenth century, these villages had prospered, and the population reached several thousands of inhabitants, each specialising in a different craft (silversmith in Stemnitsa, gunpowder in Dimitsana, leather-making in Zatouna, stonemasonry in Langadia, and so on). Some of these villages emerged as early commercial centres, concentrating local commerce and trading local products. These locales cultivated a Greek bourgeois that was distinguished in terms of their wealth, ownership, culture, and education. As the merchants and craftsmen extended their activity far beyond the montane region to the Balkans, Istanbul, and Central Europe, the villages developed a cosmopolitan culture with material and intellectual extensions. Coming in contact with advanced ideas of liberalism and nationalism cultivated in Western Europe at the time, they developed political ideals of national autonomy, freedom, and sovereignty. In 1907, the Arcadian craft villages of Mainalo (known as the region of Gortynia) had reached a population of approximately 50,000 inhabitants, holding an essential economic, political, and intellectual role for the Greek population of Ottoman Greece.

The dynamism that developed in the mountainous regions during this era would support some of the most important changes of the centuries to follow. These mountainous communities would offer the social and economic capital to support the war for national independence in the early nineteenth century. Through successive waves of migration, the same regions would later provide the human demand for the urbanisation of Athens (the new national capital), as well as for the growth of other international urban centres. They would also provide the labour for the industrialisation of the Peloponnese plains and, in a broader sense, support the industrialisation of Europe. The emptying of the mountainous landscapes occurred relationally with the same processes of accumulation, concentration, and centralisation that occurred elsewhere. Their histories illuminate that peripheralisation was not an inevitable process, but rather the result of a strategic policy with historical and political roots that can be traced back from the end of the Ottoman era to the present.

PERIPHERALISATION AS A PROJECT: A CAPITAL AND ITS PERIPHERY

The first round of peripheralisation started with the foundation of the independent Greek nation-state in 1821. The nation-building process required new geography and architecture to unify a heterogeneous territory and its multi-ethnic population under one common national narrative. It was materialised through the invention of a new capital city as a potent symbol of national unity, subordinating and homogenising all other regions as peripheries. Echoing the European intellectual elites calling for a revival of the ancient Greek world, this policy aimed at erasing traces of the "oriental" Ottoman past. The ancient cities of Athens, Sparta, and Megalopolis went from ruins and hamlets to revived, new centralities. However, the strong social and economic structures that developed in the mountain regions of the Peloponnese were not recognised. They were seen as insignificant and antagonistic traces of an Ottoman past and, therefore, potentially politically dangerous due to their partial autonomy and were pushed to the margins. In 1870, both the Peloponnese and the Greek mainland were renamed *eparchia* (province, sub-governance). In the following decades, the introduction of terms such as *peripheria*

(periphery) and *upaithros* (open-air) went hand in hand with the systematic dissolution of local authorities. The laying of train and road networks at the national scale at the end of the nineteenth century largely bypassed the montane core of the Peloponnese, assigning it as an urban "void" as part of the spatial division of labour of an emerging urban geography oriented towards the new flourishing centres.

HISTORY OF MIGRATIONS

The formation of the Greek nation-state led to the first wave of migration of mountainous populations to the plains. The transfer of Ottoman agricultural land to the ownership of the Greek nation-state as "National Lands" (Εθνικές Γαίες) opened the pathway for the valorisation of the plains and the intensification of agricultural production.[15] Simultaneously, growing links with the markets of industrialising Central Europe linked the Peloponnese with new economic geographies through the ports of Patras and Kalamata. Particularly between 1863–1890, the monoculture of olives and raisins, nicknamed "black gold," flourished in the fertile plains of north-west Peloponnese, often replacing subsistence farming. The mountainous regions provided labour for the intensification of agriculture in the plains. The seasonal movements and social networks that developed between the mountains and the plains during this period still exist today.[16] At the end of the nineteenth century, a crisis in raisin commerce triggered another large wave of migration of the mountainous population towards the United States of America. By 1922, when the United States closed its borders, imposing restrictions upon migration, about 600,000 Greeks had migrated there.[17] They were colloquially referred to as "Brooklides" due to Brooklyn being their entry port in the United States, even though the migration routes extended further, in unexpected directions, even to Cuba.[18] These diasporic communities maintained strong ties with their roots in the Greek mainland and would often repatriate after a few decades. There are historical references to a strong "bridal trade" that developed between Chicago and the Arcadian villages at the time.[19]

As critical urban historian Gewrgios M. Sariyannis accounts, the "growth and empowerment" of Athens was accompanied by the "drastic economic and political weakening of the periphery."[20] In Greece in the early nineteenth century, the political strength and the revolutionary potential of the periphery was strongly pronounced in the aftermath of the war for national independence. On the one hand, the concentration of power in Athens allowed the local governing elites to gain political control over the country. On the other hand, it facilitated foreign interference by Central European forces (particularly Germany) in gaining political control over the young Greek state. The urbanisation of Athens further intensified after World War I, when Athens absorbed the massive wave of refugees from Asia Minor following the Greco-Turkish War of 1919–1922. The Nazi occupation during World War II and the fierce civil war that followed harmed the social and material fabric of the periphery. The guerrilla war turned the Arcadian mountains into a battlefield and devastated its rural sphere. These conditions, along with the consistent centralisation policy of the coming decades—the strategic industrialisation of only a few selected centres in the country[21] and a radical change in building regulations that further pushed the urbanisation of Athens[22]—triggered a massive exodus of rural populations, especially between the 1960s and 1970s. The waves of migration further weakened the social and economic dynamics of the mountain areas.

Yet, departures were coupled with returns, embedding the mountain regions into a new geography, where movements weave an extended and trans-local territorial web of social and economic relations. One of the traces of these links can be seen in the numerous epigraphs of donors present in all villages of the mountainous region: statues, fountains, public squares, restorations of buildings carrying names of Arcadians who left, telling the long history of migration. At the same time, in Athens, Europe, and North America, migrant community clubs were

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

F.11 The famous children's novel by Zacharias Papantoniou, the High Mountains, published in 1918 as a 3rd grade reading book, recounts the experiences of a group of children who spend their summer vacation experiencing the forest and the local communities in the mountains–an example of how the mountainous agricultural hinterland of Greece became gradually the subject of a "peculiar internal orientalism" (Drinis).

F. 12 Family Giannis Giwnis at Leivadi, Arcadia, Dekapedaugoustos (15th August), ca. 1943. In contrast to the simplifications occurring in various representations, the photograph reveals the richness and socio-economic complexity present in the communities of the periphery.

emerging as the counterpart of these memorials and donations. It is apparent when standing in the Arcadian villages that an absence here meant a presence there. This highlights a spatial duality of persisting social and economic relationships challenging the notional and geographic binaries of the city and village, centre and periphery, bridging geographical distances, and generating unexpected relations and links.

"ARCADISATIONS"

The richness and complexity of this extended mountainous geography remained hidden under a narrative progressively building up in capital cities and European centres, through art and literature, often in synergy with the developing epistemes, natural sciences, archaeology, and historiography.[23] In this narrative, the mountainous Greek periphery is represented, on the one hand, as an idealised outer land, where antiquities are unearthed in the purity of the rural world as evidence of a shared European history. On the other hand, they are remnants of the Ottoman past, a decaying, recessed sphere that needs to modernise and meet the European spirit and contemporary standards. Eli Clare explains the contradiction entailed in this Western perspective. What is "natural" is seen simultaneously as an ideal and as an underdeveloped "other," trapping bodies and places in this oxymoron.[24] Gradually, the mountainous agricultural hinterland of Greece became the subject of a "peculiar internal orientalism," as Drinis explains,[25] "a virgin land to venture, explore, and conquer in quest of the origins of Greek and Western culture."[26] Representations by urban populations depicted an exotic, underdeveloped land destined for leisure and escape and its inhabitants as the "noble savages" of the European continent.[27] These narratives radically simplified these landscapes while idealising and homogenising their diverse multi-ethnic populations. [Fig. 11–12] They basically employed these myths for strategic political means and linked them to territorial claims for the young Greek nation. And perhaps more generally, for the whole Western world.

In the 1920s, tourism had already appeared as a bright prospect for the mountainous regions. In the 1950s, the montane landscape's social, economic, and productive structures gradually dissolved. In their place came a collective reinvention of the region as an ideal vacation destination for urban dwellers looking to retreat from modern life, experience nature, or gain insight into folklore and religion. In the 1990s, Arcadia was again rediscovered as a winter landscape and an alternative destination for holidays, especially the craft villages of Dimitsana, Stemnitsa, Langadia, and Vitina, which turned into new tourist centralities easily accessible from Athens. It was established as a contemporary land of urban escapism, a venture into the "wilderness and a city-fallback." In the following decades, the entanglement of Greece in global politics, economies, and markets would decompose the mountainous region's social and economic coherence, especially during the Greek debt crisis. In the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2007–2008, the Greek state faced a debt crisis. "The Crisis," as it was colloquially known, was aggravated by a series of sudden reforms and austerity measures that led to impoverishment and the loss of income and property, which created a humanitarian emergency. Overall, the Greek economy suffered the longest recession of any advanced mixed economy to date.[28] As a result, the Greek political system was upended, social exclusion increased, and hundreds of thousands of well-educated people left the country. This crisis pushed peripheralisation to new dimensions.

The urban gaze, which has idealised Arcadia and its landscape, is the same gaze that now empties it. It selectively sees the region as an untouched landscape, offering archaeological findings and folklore figures of villagers and shepherds while "invisibilising" the productive structures, conflicts, dispossessions, and less-dominant worldviews. Today, this image of Arcadia remains frozen, perceived as a stagnant rural periphery where narratives of emptiness persist. Here, peripheralisation intertwines with "arcadisation" as an act of imaginative blindness and a consequential act of reinvention in subordination.

ON PERIPHERALISATION

Periphery*, peripheria,* etymologically derives from the Greek verb *peri–pherw (περι-φέρω)*, literally meaning "to carry around," and describes a relation that unfolds around a centre. The word originated in the mathematics of antiquity, where it meant the perimeter of a circle. Later, it appeared in physics as the "turning spin."[29] In twentieth-century geography and sociology, it denoted "a radius, the fringe, or the situating at the fringe."[30] Along these lines of thought, peripherality is expressed as a distance from a centre—of power, accessibility, and economics. It establishes a relational position in an overarching system, a spatial, economic, or governmental regime. More than an absolute location, it relationally determines the outer sphere of something, which, in turn, indicates a spatial and temporal inequality or unevenness. *Peripherw, peripheromai (περιφέρομαι)* also means to roam around without a purpose, without a goal. The word hints at a condition of dependency, a process of losing narrative coherence; it describes a subject designed to gravitate around the core. Periphery is more than a place; it is an action, *to peripheralise*, and a process, *peripheralisation*.[31]

PERIPHERALISATION, A MULTIDIMENSIONAL AND MULTISCALAR PROCESS

While the process of peripheralisation has found only limited attention so far, the term periphery has been used widely within the disciplines of economy, geography, sociology, urban studies, and political science. Yet, a comparative literature review by Kühn and Bernt reveals that it lacks a universal or comprehensive definition.[32] Through the multiplicity and shared strings of this literature, one element becomes clear: It is a multidimensional phenomenon that unfolds in space and time and can only be explained relationally, with reference to the interaction of different socio-spatial dimensions (economic, social, and political) and through different scales (regional, national, and transnational).[33] In the following section,

I outline a brief literature review, which by no means aims to be conclusive but offers a broad overview for this chapter.

In economics and historical geography, the work on peripheries refers to different scales. In the 1960s, both dependency theory and world-systems theory analysed the structural position of "third-world" economies. Dependency theorists like Oswaldo Sunkel, Samir Amin, and André Gunder Frank critically interrogated the systematic relations of dominance and dependence between centres and peripheries. They conceptualised the shift from colonial to imperialist-industrial dependency. Immanuel Wallerstein's theory on the capitalist world system divided the planet into three zones—the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery.[34] The peripheral zone included countries that heavily relied upon exports of raw materials and imports of advanced machinery and technologies from the developed core countries. It was through the application of this theory in a European context that the term peripheralisation was first introduced.[35]

Nitz used the term *primary peripheralisation* in reference to the redistribution of labour and raw materials from national to international economic systems. He also coined *descending peripheralisation* to refer to how this process diminishes the influence and well-being of former core regions.[36] This definition shifts the focus from a static conceptualisation of the periphery as a geographical location to the analysis of a dynamic and contradictory economic, political, and social process. Increasing socio-spatial inequalities have led to a revival of the term peripheralisation in recent urban and regional research, particularly for the analysis of declining industrial regions in Europe and North America and sparsely populated areas in eastern and southern Europe.[37]

Radical geography developed another strand of the analysis of spatial differentiation and fragmentation. Doreen Massey interrogated the capitalist economy's fundamental tendency to produce a spatial division of labour marked by stark social inequalities between rich and poor regions.[38] Neil Smith's ground-breaking work *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*[39] conceptualised the production of spatial and temporal unevenness as a "systemic process of economic and social development, endemic to capitalism." This literature was developed further by Costis Hadjimichalis,[40] who provided important insights into the capitalist entanglement with the uneven production of trans-scalar geographies and transnational spaces.

THE PERIPHERAL TURN IN URBAN STUDIES

In recent years, Ren has observed a "peripheral turn" in urban studies, which is characterised by a deliberate spatial, social, political, and analytical shift away from the centre.[41] The relevance of the periphery has become integral to urbanisation as scholars shift their analytical lens from privileged urban centres to suburbs, small towns, sprawling hinterlands, and the global South more generally. It is especially pertinent in Latin America, where a rich scholarship in "writing urban history from the margins" has been deployed for a long time.[42] Peruvian sociologists Aníbal Quijano and John Friedmann brought forward various key concepts such as dependent urbanisation, informality, and marginality.[43] In 2017, anthropologist Teresa Caldeira introduced the concept of *peripheral urbanisation* to investigate the logics of urban production that differ from those found in the global North. Caldeira explores auto-construction processes, seeking an emancipatory potential for urban processes to occur away from the centres of control and power. She argues that "peripheral urbanisation does not simply refer to a spatial location in the city—its margins—but rather to a way of producing space that can be anywhere …"[44] What makes this process peripheral is not its physical location but rather the crucial role of residents in the production of space and how as a mode of urbanisation, it unfolds transversally in relation to official logic and amidst political contestations.[45] According to James Holston, peripheral urbanisation reveals insurgent portraits of citizenship in an era of global

urban peripheries.[46] "Periphery is everywhere," AbdouMaliq Simone contends, as he brings forward the periphery as a "platform" of "anticipatory urban politics" and its subversive ways of spatial production, movements, bodies, and spaces.[47]

THE QUESTION OF PERIPHERALISATION WITHIN EXTENDED URBANISATION

How do peripheries form? And how does urbanisation generate processes of peripheralisation? These questions of the periphery reappear with new relevancy in the analytical light of extended urbanisation. Seeing peripheralisation through the urban lens entails an immense analytical potential to bridge a fragmented discourse and open new perspectives on the very question of the periphery and of the urban more generally.

On the one hand, literature on peripheralisation has emerged in various fields, even if the term has been used in a somewhat fragmented and unsystematic manner, describing the "symptoms" of broader processes without fully deploying its important analytical potential. Some examples include the discourse on shrinking cities in Germany,[48] the revival of the terms peripheralisation and marginalisation in the discussion on the current increase in socio-spatial inequalities in Europe,[49] the analysis of the integration of Balkan countries as new members of the European Union and their new role as economic peripheries,[50] discussions on energy peripheralisation[51] and topics of environmental inequality and the formation of wastelands.[52]

On the other hand, several efforts have started to analyse processes of peripheralisation through the lens of urbanisation. Some have remained within metropolitan regions or at the fringes of the urban fabric,[53] while others have addressed heterogeneous territories engaging with the concept of extended urbanisation. In 2021, in the special issue *Engaging the Urban from the Periphery,* Gururani, Kennedy, and Sood invoked the concept of the periphery to attend to India's diverse forms of extended urbanisation that unfold not only on the edges of metropolitan regions but also in smaller towns and settlements enmeshed with agrarian and rural rhythms.[54] They pointed to crucial land and governance contestations and the need for methodological and theoretical openings to explore such territories. The recent publications *Beyond the Megacity*[55] by Lukas and Reis and *After Suburbia*[56] by Keil and Wu call for a reconceptualisation of the extant concepts of peripheral urbanisation and the suburban, respectively, in relation to the theoretical openings of planetary and extended urbanisation. These approaches have included non-city territories where the urban fabric extends in various forms: small towns, sprawling and intensifying agricultural regions, and extractive and operationalised hinterlands. Yet, the question remains: have we gone as far as we could?

The concept of peripheralisation under the light of extended urbanisation allows us much more than going beyond metropolitan edges to explore other territories of urban growth. It enables approaching territories that have so far escaped urban imaginaries and analyses but have been subsumed within the processes of peripheralisation: the mountain peaks of the Swiss Alps,[57] the transnational hinterlands of Singapore,[58] the landscapes of Arcadia in Greece,[59] and subsequently, less accessible and sparsely populated areas, depopulating mountainous and archipelagic regions, emptying forests, and diminishing seas (see Nancy Couling's chapter in this volume).

Understanding peripheralisation as a relational process of urbanisation entails immense potential. It enables the exploration of the production of space beyond the growth of the urban fabric and the operationalisation of landscapes within cycles of shrinking and degradation, and the drainage of social, economic, and cultural resources. Such moves open new fields and crucial questions: Who are the actors, and what places are involved? To what extent can we view peripheralisation as not just an economic or social process but as an ecological one involving human and non-human interactions? And how does peripheralisation open new

Fig. 13

F. 13 Arcadian villages.

alternative possibilities for processes of appropriation, interaction, and networking—can it become a socioecological project in itself? Exploring peripheralisation as a process of extended urbanisation allows the investigation of multiple scales and dimensions through a consistent relational lens. Secondly, it offers links between dissimilar fabrics that share similar experiences and relates to other urbanisation processes unfolding at the planetary scale. Lastly, and most importantly, it opens new imaginaries and a new sensorium for seeing and including the full potential and socioecological role of long-marginalised places while seeking subversive modalities and emancipatory potential.

"TO GOVERN FROM AFAR"— STATE SPACE AND NEW SCALES OF PERIPHERALITY

Vytina, November 2021. The Forestry Department of Mount Mainalo is in turmoil today. It is hosted within the former Forestry School, an impressive neoclassical building located in one of the villages at the fringes of the fir forest. "Agriculture and Forestry is the future of this country," wrote Panyotis Triantafyllidis in 1862, donating his fortune to form agricultural schools in the newly founded Greek nation-state. Today, the school stands empty, closed since the 1980s. The Triadafyllidis Fund was trimmed during the crisis, while most local youths have left for better prospects in Greek cities or abroad. The department is underequipped, its duties radically reduced during the last years of the crisis or transferred to urban services (i.e., fire protection) or left to private responsibility (i.e., wood cutting). The state has progressively abandoned its obligation to the forest. This was especially accentuated during the global pandemic. During this period, the legal framework of forest protection was radically weakened by deregulation, which "liberated" once-protected lands and invited private actors to invest under the pretext of green energy and strategic environmental importance.

The head forester is especially confused today. Her department has just been transferred

Fig. 14

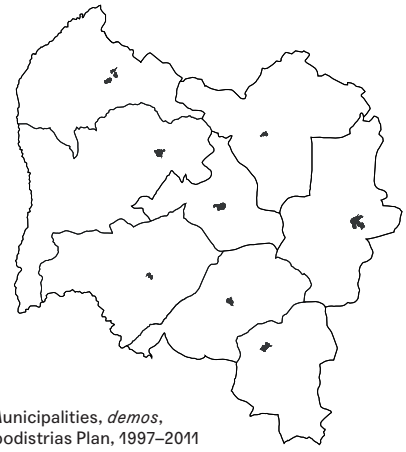
F. 14 The Mount Mainalo forest: commons, community pastures and peaks burnt in forest fires where a wind park is now planned.

from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to the new Ministry of Environment and Energy. The decision is contradictory, as Mainalo is considered one of Greece's oldest "inhabited, harvested" forests.[60] The oral testimonies I collected describe a "productive, edible" forest, offering water, grazing lands, and harvests of many kinds while still functioning as a commons. "Now, they say that the mountain is uninhabited for tourists and windmills to stroll around," and she points at a pile of papers on her desk. "Lately, there have been dozens of applications for energy operations and green investments in the forest. Water dams, wind turbines, photovoltaics. The scale is industrial. The location is random. There is no state planning, no environmental study, and no industrial zoning. Companies can choose any public land and apply for and receive EU funding for the energy transition. For wind turbines, they prefer the burnt parts of the forest. They are cheaper, and they face less resistance," she says as she points to a peak burnt in 2006. "Those peaks are naked, since. Such fir forests cannot be restored. They were created in much cooler climatic eras. Now it's over. The mountain was not uninhabited. It was emptied." I remember leaving Mainalo with a bad feeling. The forest, emptied of service structures, state care, and legal protection, was now under extreme pressure. [Fig. 14]

"HOLLOWING OUT"— THE KALLIKRATIS PLAN AND THE STREAMLINING OF THE STATE

In May 2010, at the peak of the Greek debt crisis and as the country signed the first Memoranda of Understanding with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its European Partners, the PASOK government under prime minister George Papandreou voted for a major administrative reform named the Kallikratis Plan—New Architecture of Self-administration and Decentralised Administration.[61] This was one of the most far-reaching administrative reforms in the history of the modern Greek state.[62]

Region of Gortynia, *eparchia*, village territories, *koinotites*, until 1997



8 Municipalities, *demos*, Kapodistrias Plan, 1997–2011

1 Municipality of Gortynia, *demos*, Kallikratis Plan, after 2011

MERGING MUNICIPALITIES IN ARCADIA
Fig. 15

The government presented it as a necessary remedy to the hypertrophic, over-centralised Greek nation-state and its costly public sector. It included the fusion of public services and the abolition of public schools and hospitals, particularly affecting peripheral regions. In the following years, the term *Kallikratis* became synonymous with an encompassing state policy of restructuring and peripheralisation.

Above all, the reform had massive local and governmental consequences. It radically interfered with the complexity of the extant territorial structure, merging and enlarging local administrative units. The previous structure was composed of a nested system of *koinotites* (communes) and *demos* (municipalities) as the first and second levels of governance, organised in the larger self-governed units of prefectures and provinces that had crystalised during several historical and political phases. Complex and bureaucratic, yet thick in meaning and memory, this structure provided a small-scale territorial grain, expressing nuanced differences, specificities, origins, conflicts, and polarities. The severe rural exodus of the 1970s had already challenged the scale and meaning of this system. At the same time, the entry of Greece into the EU in 1981 signalled an attempt to rationalise and align with the administrative structures of the other member states. This policy was reflected in the first administrative reform, the Kapodistrias Plan, in 1997. Under the dramatic debt crisis of 2008 and the massive political pressure of an alleged emergency situation, the Kallikratis Plan introduced more radical changes to the territorial structure and governance, drastically simplifying the previously complex yet precise territorial system.[63] Arcadia's core is overseen by the new mega-municipality of Gortynia, which includes a heterogeneous territory of 1,190 km^2, spanning an altitude of 160 to 2,000 metres. [Fig. 15] Following austerity politics, local services such as schools, post offices, healthcare facilities, and local authorities have been dramatically reduced and concentrated in a few new local centralities.[64] In contrast, other vital services, such as animal health care and agricultural departments, have been moved to Tripolis.

Large parts of the mountain region, deprived of their autonomy, increasingly depend on connections to these centralities and rely on a web of movements for survival. Cars, trucks, and buses enable interconnections and access to services, reflecting the peripheralisation of the region at a local scale. The mobility bans between regions during the two years of the global pandemic and the recent boost in fuel prices due to global instability have raised significant concerns about accessibility to services for the inhabitants of Arcadia.

The Kallikratis Plan also entailed a broader process of peripheralisation at the national level. Under the narrative and policy of correcting the hyper-trophic public sector, the plan foresaw a reduction in the state to play only a mediating role between global and local levels of governance. It abolished the self-governed prefectures and provinces and created new regions with "decentralised administrations." In synergy with other reforms, the state as a governmental entity was hollowed out and had its responsibilities for welfare and social services reduced.[65] In this sense, the Kallikratis Plan did not, as it announced, reduce centralisation in favour of the self-governance of the regions. Instead, it constructed a territorial and governmental architecture that facilitates the rearticulation of regions within broader scales of governance. Dimitropoulos explains that this policy aligns with a globally emerging governance model where nation-states participate in international formations, delegating a large part of their powers concerning policymaking, regulation, and planning to levels beyond the state.[66] In short, the reforms install an ever-growing global interventionism at the local level and a policy that attempts to build territories that can be governed from afar.

F. 15 After the Kallikratis Plan (2011), Arcadia's core is overseen by the new mega-municipality of Gortynia, which includes a heterogeneous territory of 1.190 square kilometres, spanning an altitude of 160 to 2000 metres.

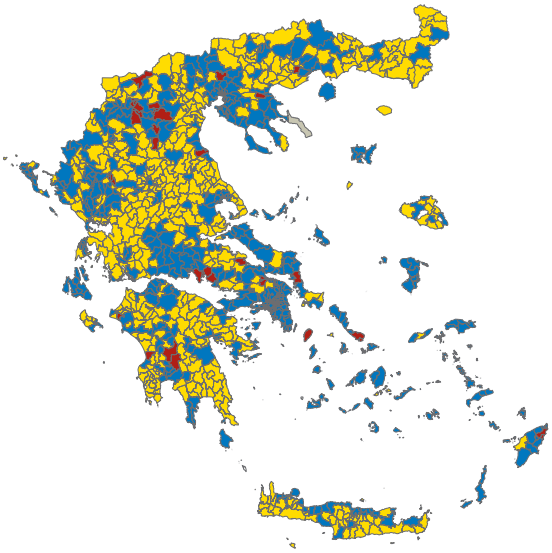
Mainalo is full of empty schools,[67] indicating the successive waves of elimination of public services in the mountainous region. The slimming of public services and the radical changes in local governance occurred as part of a broader policy of austerity. This policy eventually opened up "unused" land for private investments of global capital, revealing a new role for the state as a facilitator of commodification, often by simply retracting and abandoning and enabling de-commoning and land grabbing through new regulations. Since 2011, all high schools in Gortynia, located at the heart of Mainalo, have been merged into one. A mother of two told me in Stemnitsa: "Vytina, where the high-school students were moved to, is located on the other side of the mountain. In between so many gorges, dales, and turns. Can you imagine the conditions during winter, with snow and ice? If you measure the distance on a map with a straight line, Vytina doesn't seem so far, just 30 kilometres away, but this is where topography needs to be considered. Kallikratis turned our mountain flat."

"FLATTENING"— A STATE STRATEGY FOR MOUNTAINOUS REGIONS.

The new emerging scales of governance are accompanied by simplification and abstraction. Narratives and representations of "flatness" are used as instruments for the production of space. In the administrative definition of Kallikratis, the new municipality of Gortynia is declared rural (*agrotikos demos*) and flat (*pedinos demos*), despite its intrinsic heterogeneity and complexity. [Fig. 16–17] Almost 90% of the Greek territory, predominantly mountain areas and islands, are lumped together in the category "flat," which represents a profound distortion of the topographic image of the country.[68] According to the previous classification under the 1997 Kapodistrias Plan, 60% of Greek municipalities were declared mountainous or semi-mountainous. The problems with the new classification are obvious when considering that the term "mountain areas" *(ορεινότητα)* carries not only specific historical and social meanings but also entails specific economies and challenges that

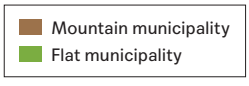
KAPODISTRIAS PLAN
1997–2011

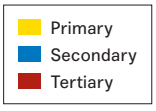
KAPODISTRIAS PLAN 1997–2011



KALLIKRATIS PLAN 2011

KALLIKRATIS PLAN 2011





MUNICIPAL CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO TOPOGRAPHY
Fig. 16

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC SECTOR
Fig. 17

require appropriate territorial strategies. Flattening, as an administrative act, erases the complexity and allows the implementation of standardised territorial strategies designed for other territories. It saves state expenses and reduces the required state support. It affects everyday life, the distribution of resources, and public services. "Sooner or later, we will need to move away for the kids to make it to school," a shepherd from Langadia recounted. It triggers dispossessions, relocations, and concentrations, eventually generating an actual geography of flatness.

"Your land is too rocky, too thorny. Pastures have to be flat and grassy," said the EU technocrats to the Arcadian shepherds, disqualifying traditional grazing slopes and invisibilising their activities, according to oral testimony from official authorities that I collected. "The Greek veterinarians presented anatomic drawings of the saliva and peptic system of the goat, yet technocrats were still not convinced." The land is now characterised as abandoned, re-wildered, and unused. Flatness as an image denotes, more broadly, the progressive dissolution of inherited coherences of the social fabric and productive structures. It constitutes an act of violent simplification of a complex, vulnerable territory, its entanglement with multiscalar geographies, the deletion of rich local narratives, and the preparation of an empty ground available to be rewritten with new, more relevant stories. Flattening is, in this sense, an act of producing *terra nullius*.

"CHARTING"—RATIONALIZING THE LAND

In the *Kafeneio* of Kapelitsa, at the west foot of Mainalo, old Greek men and immigrant workers from Albania are sitting around a table. They are talking about some of their co-villagers who moved to Athens a few years ago to find brides and are now renting their family fields to the remaining locals. Sophia, who lived half of her life in Bulgaria, and is now the wife of the owner of this *Kafeneio*, is serving coffee. Surprised and sceptical about my presence, the regulars asked me to submit their complaints to the government. They think I am a journalist or a public servant. A few days ago, another Athenian from the ministry appeared here, investigating the borders of their olive groves. He showed several satellite images and asked for plot lines and proofs of land ownership.

During my visit in 2019, agricultural land was still uncharted here. Small and dispersed micro-properties with olive trees covered extensive landscapes at the lower foot of Mainalo. [Fig. 18] The plot boundaries in this fragmented land circumscribe family trees and dowries and tell migration histories. [Fig. 19] Proofs of ownership are difficult to provide and often contested: hand-written wills, wedding contracts, and Ottoman documents. This structure of agricultural land dates back to the historical context of land acquisition under Ottoman Rule,[69] a national strategy of undefined land ownership to avoid big private concentrations (with a few exceptions) coupled with a favouring of micro-appropriations, especially prominent in the Peloponnese. By 1892, the German traveller Alfred Philipson noted that "here, almost everyone holds a small piece of land, there is no aristocracy, neither proletariat."[70] Instead, there is still today a characteristic Greek peasant family household caring for its own reproduction, performing practices that often transcend capitalist, profit-orientated logic and structures.[71] The profound socio-political extensions of these conditions were critically documented in 1855 by the Greek politician Pavlos Kalligas in the portrait of a state and of a whole society—justice and penalty, taxation and governance, corruption, power and class, the agricultural question—unfolding out of this specific and conflictual relation to land.[72]

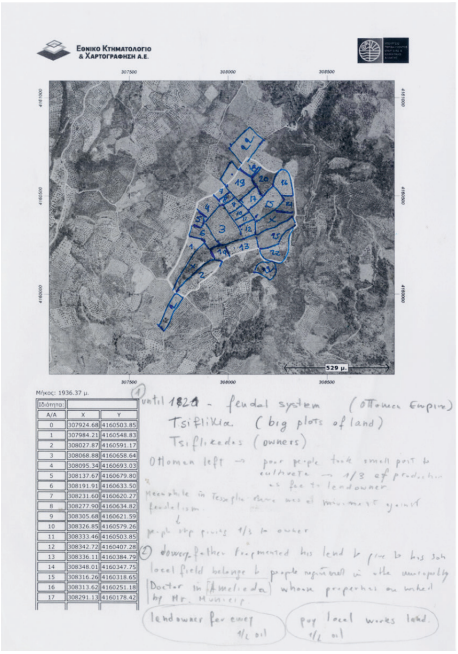
F. 16 The Kallikratis Plan has classified only 9,23% of the 325 country's municipalities as "mountainous."

F. 17 The Kallikratis Plan abstracts and simplifies regional complexities, as the previous image of a multi-occupational mosaic is replaced by a territory with few purely agricultural areas and smaller agricultural municipalities are merged with urban centralities.

Fig. 18

This is actually the third effort to establish an agricultural cadastre in the area. The official charting of lands has been a major imperative for Greece during the years of the crisis and an absolute priority of governmental policies. Per an article in the *New York Times* in May 2013, uncharted land and unresolved land claims have been a big obstacle to the "recovery" of the Greek economy. The extensive charting operation, which is still ongoing, includes the formation of an "agricultural land cadaster" and traces all micro-ownership in parallel with the formation of "forest cartas," which track state and privately owned land with traces of re-forestation after agricultural abandonment. The charting operation is expected to radically change the status quo of land ownership in Greece.

"We had no maps here. No cadastre," one of the old men tells me in the *Kafeneio* of Kapelitsa. "We did not need to measure the dimensions of the fields. We knew that from this root to this root, it belonged to my grandfather. From this stream to that big tree, it belonged to somebody else." His words exhume a different knowledge of the land: social layers, older metric perceptions, counting without plots and orientating without borders. As he sketches a diagram of local fields on paper, I understand that even with no map, the charting of this land still exists in the community, in the informal agreements between those who harvest and care for it. *Uncharted land*—chaotic at first glance and as scattered and dispersed as its community. One person is the owner, whereas another is the one who tends to it. The land here is not flat, measured, or clearly allotted. Accessible only through unpaved pathways, it remains unpredictable and slow. *Irrational land*—its absurdity does not allow someone who comes from afar to understand, to manage, to buy, and to sell it. In a strange way, this "irrationality" seems to protect it. This land remains undefined and has resisted being modernised, valorised, and commercialised.



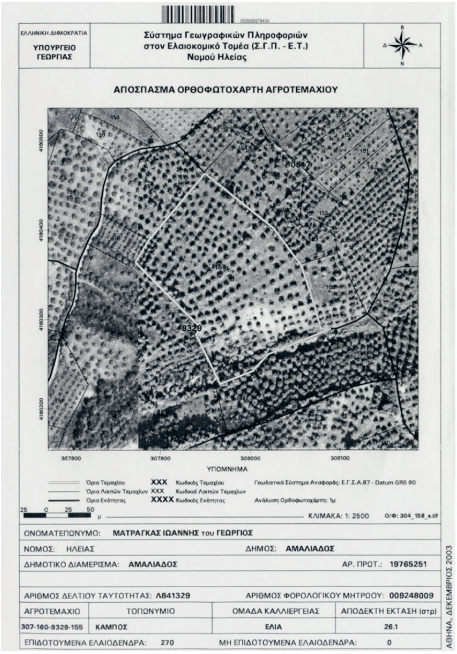


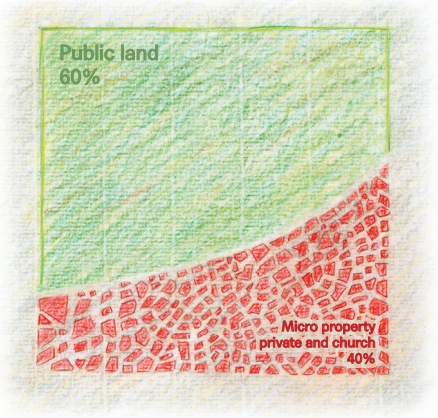
Fig. 19

"GRABBING"—SILENT LAND EXPROPRIATIONS FOR ENERGY TRANSITION

In October 2021, I returned to Kapelitsa. An uncontrollable fire during the summer devoured the olive groves, destroying their *kapeli* (local hill with ideal conditions for qualitative olive cultivation). The regulars at *Kafeneion* explain that a Spanish company attempted to buy the whole area of burnt land and create a photovoltaic park. Taking advantage of the disappointment of the villagers, they offer five times its value, but the operation remains unsure, delayed by the absence of a land register and the social complexity of land ownership. Meanwhile, in the forestry department, the applications for investments pile up as private companies gain interest in the installation of green energy plants in the forest and on public land that is amply available and offered to them for free.

In his book *Debt Crisis and Land Grabbing*, Costis Hadjimichalis points out that the Greek debt crisis coincides with increased international interest in land accumulation and land-revenue monopolies. Mainalo is no exception. Under the narrative of green development and the pretext of climate emergency, an unprecedented operation of land grabbing, enclosure, and privatisation is currently underway in the majority of Greek mountains and islands, including forests and protected areas. What is at stake is the abundant land owned and managed by the state covering most peripheral landscapes in Greece, which is rooted in the specific historical context of the land distribution of the nineteenth century. Today this land covers almost 60% of the surface of the country. [Fig. 20] State properties had already been brutally targeted in the last decade when the Greek debt crisis was used to unleash massive privatisations of state-owned resources, land,

F.18 Olive farming in Arcadia is still based on family labour.
F. 19 Land Cadaster: The ongoing formation of an agricultural land cadaster has been a major imperative for Greece during the years of the crisis.



LAND-GRABBING:
THE ABUNDANT STATE PROPERTY AT STAKE
Fig. 20

and infrastructure.[73] Today, the question of land unexpectedly intertwines with energy transition operations, requiring extensive surfaces and staged now in peripheral landscapes, which are called to acquire roles of green energy providers. Meanwhile, the electricity bill for Greek households has been rising monthly: green energy costs more, and local consumers eventually pay for its infrastructure. Is this energy truly for us, or did we just become the expensive green battery for Europe? In Arcadia, regional governance is being gradually dissolved. We experience a state space of low resolution, low governance, and low cost, a deregulated space where capital operations can now proceed less controlled and obtruded. In this space, however, moments of self-regulation and actions of resistance can also occur.

ASTOCHORIKOS: AN EXTENDED CITIZENSHIP

Mount Mainalo, 2 February 2016. Music is playing on the radio, and potatoes, tomatoes, and onions dangle as a truck follows the mountain road through snow and fog. Kostas, a travelling grocer, departs every Wednesday from Tripolis: the distances are long and services scarce. "People will complain if I don't go. Sometimes they ask for favours, bring some batteries for a watch, or fix the plumbing. They are old, you see." Kostas is a vendor on wheels and not the only one. There is a fisherman, a hairdresser, some bakers, a doctor, and a travelling priest. Vendors on wheels bind the Arcadian villages together. They replace waning services and connect to local towns. Movements emerge as an everyday practice that keeps a dispersed social fabric together. A technique for survival, especially at this time of the year, indicates that everyday mountain life depends on the extension to other localities.

Athens, 15 August, every year. The capital is hot and deserted. Bars are closed, streets are silent, and there is an abundance of free parking spots in the city centre. This is the best season for burglars of any kind. The inhabitants are all on mountains and islands, their villages of origin. The Athenian vacuum of *Dekapenaugustos* is a story of temporary flight. People will return only at the end of the summer season in early September. The absence of people indicates a presence elsewhere. Athens and its periphery form an interesting complementarity. When the one is full, the other is empty; when the one is marked by presence, the other is marked by absence. The same population inhabits both places and experiences both conditions. Rather than separate, the capital and the villages, the centre and the periphery are interwoven, extending deeply into each other in a manner that a map or a geographical model could not

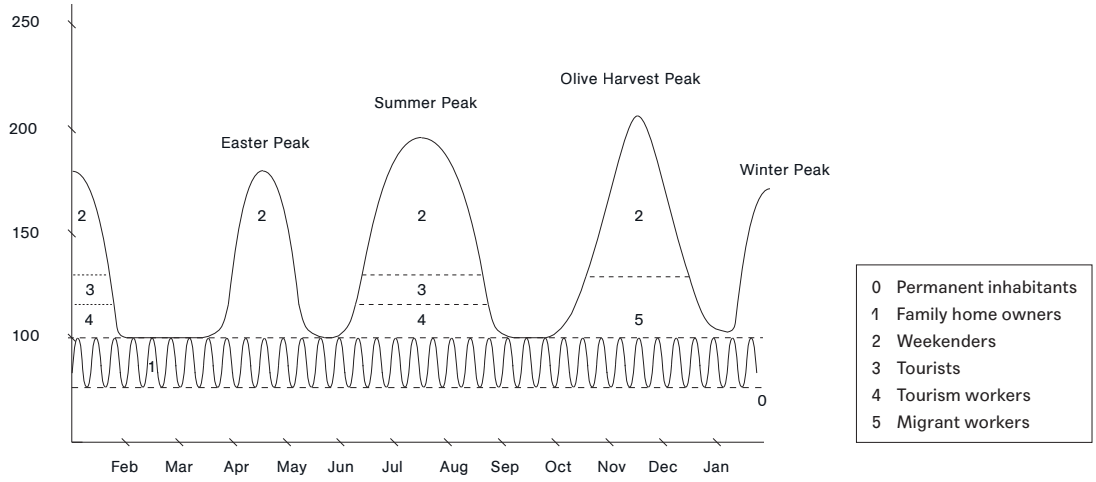
predict. They indicate a dual appearance, a double belonging enabled by a movement, a seasonal rituality of returns, and a periodic manner of inhabitation.[74]

Kapelitsa, 11 November 2016. It is already late. We are descending from Mainalo in complete darkness when, in the middle of nowhere, a luminous, vibrant space pops up. People are waiting in queues in front of piles of bags. A loud machinic sound and an acidic smell reveal the conundrum: We have arrived at an olive mill, and the luminous celebration marks the peak of the harvest season. Families from the neighbouring villages and towns, accompanied by relatives, friends, and their kids, bring the freshly picked varieties of Olympia or Koroneiki olives to the mill. It is an action required to achieve the extra-virgin type of olive oil. In the middle of the night, this generic logistic space is turned into the liveliest public space in the community. The olive harvest is a season of return, and harvesting is a family business. Such olive trees cover most of the semi-mountainous landscapes of Greece. They massively sprouted in the 1980s and 1990s, replacing subsistence cultivations rendered residual after the rural exodus. Yet, inherited land was reallotted multiple times over the generations and has been reconfigured to serve a seasonal agricultural occupation. Fragmented and dispersed like the community that harvests it, it allows city dwellers to return seasonally, remaining active in the rural sphere. Metallic buckets of extra-virgin olive oil travel to Tripolis, Athens, Zurich, and its namesake, Arcadia, in New York. This fragmented "irrational land" seems not so irrational at this time of the year. Mirroring the demographic specificity of the periphery, it enables seasonal returns and extended productive links to agricultural production. People can return and will return to inhabit, cultivate, and harvest as long as this land still belongs to them.

Contrary to what official demographics indicate, Arcadia does not remain static and depopulated throughout the year. It experiences seasonal tides that occupy and transform it instantly. In a seemingly depopulated region,

Fig. 21

F. 20 Under the narrative of green development and the pretext of climate emergency, an unprecedented operation of land grabbing, enclosure, and privatisation is currently underway in Greece.
F. 21 Sunivenstents: photovoltaic plants emerging in the olivegroves.



TIDAL INHABITATION
Fig. 22

moments of urbanity emerge, and various temporalities appear. These visitors are not tourists. They are Athenians, former immigrants, olive tree and family homeowners, seasonal migrants or regional workers who return in different rhythms to engage in social and political life. They maintain houses and productive land, participate, care, and belong as they tidally reinhabit the periphery. [Fig. 22–23]

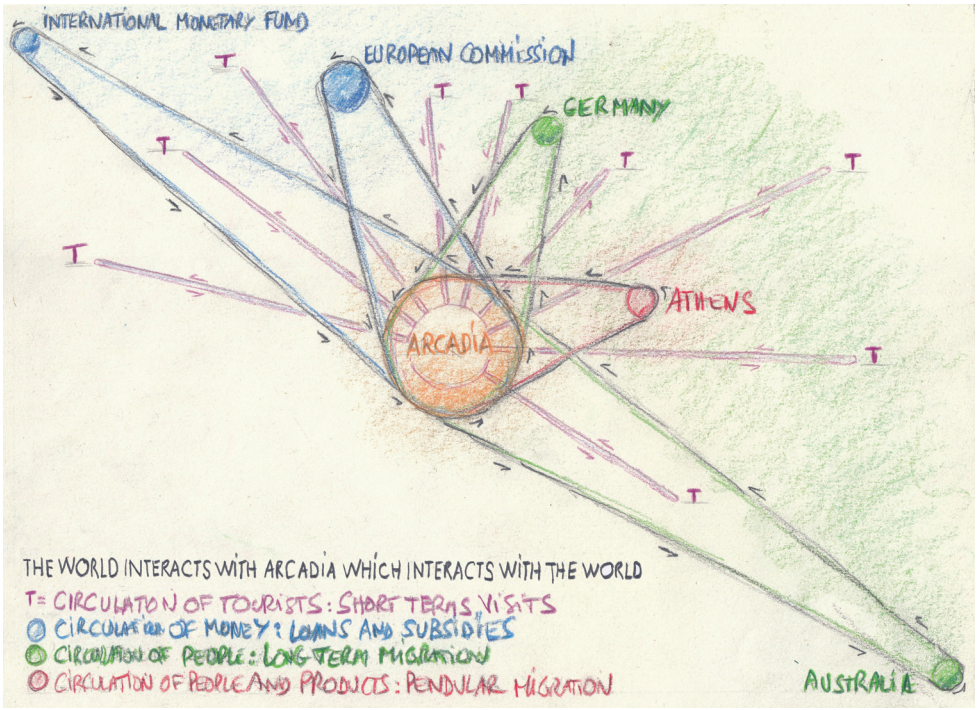
A SHARED EXTENDED SPACE

Stathis Damianakos, a prominent Marxist sociologist and researcher of agriculture life in Greece, wrote, "We are not simply dealing with a situation of 'dual' or 'secondary' residence reserved for holidays and weekend leisure. The uncertainty of allocating [to the urban or rural sphere] this fluid part of the population comes from the real equivalence that remains between two environments of social and spatial belonging that involve all the social living conditions of individuals: economic activities, political relations, sociocultural identities."[75] Analysing the demographical statistics of three mountain villages in Pindos (northern Greece) in the 1980s, he argues against the image of a static depopulating mountainous sphere painted by official demographic statistics. He asserts that the villages are inhabited in a tidal manner, painting the portrait of a hybrid citizen that he calls *Astochorikos*. *Astos* means a dweller of a city (in Greek: *asty*), but also a burgher. *Chorikos* denotes the dweller of a village (in Greek: chorio) and, more generally, of the rural sphere, the peasant. The figure of Astochorikos, the urban-rural citizen, the *villageois-citadin* in French, offers an alternative to dominant binary conceptions of urban *or* rural inhabitants.

Damianakos borrowed this term from K.D. Karavidas, a sociologist and prominent researcher of the Greek agricultural economy,

F. 22 Arcadia's seasonal tides of inhabitation, while in the background, the permanent population continues to decline.

F. 23 The world interacts with Arcadia which interacts with the world. Much more than a depopulating peripheral land, Arcadia emerges as part of a shared collective ground which stretches across an extended geography of the urban/rural sphere. It is in these extensions that a form of fluid commons emerges, and it is from the right to this extended geography that the right *to an extended citizenship* unearths.



ARCADIA AS A GLOBAL ACTOR AND PART
OF A SHARED EXTENDED SPACE
Fig. 23

who analysed this hybridity in the 1930s. In his work *Rurals (Αγροτικά),* Karavidas identified the "mixed urban-rural family" as a specific socio-economic form of the Greek peasantry amongst other pre-capitalist productive structures in the Balkans (i.e., *zadruga*, *tseligato*, *chiflik*).[76] Karavidas referred to micro land owners as those who lived in cities but still kept productive links with rural land in retaining property, cultivating it with the help of relatives or other villagers, and thus remained politically and economically active in the rural sphere. On the other hand, he observed strong social and geographical mobility, both inter- and intra-generationally, generating a variety of incomes and socio-professional statuses in the extended family. He thus stated the difficulty of classifying these families according to existing scientific categories, as their activities challenged Western imaginaries of separate and antagonistic worlds: a purely rural society, anchored in the land and sealed from modernity, and a diversified and mobile urban society orientated towards progress. Tackling this ambiguity, he introduced the figure of Astochorikos.[77] The figure of Astochorikos allows us to imagine an extended form of citizenship and outlines a space in which the rural and urban spheres permeate each other. Within this space, movement does not appear as a privilege of the urban dweller but rather as a shared social practice enabling access to a common urban-rural sphere.

MOVEMENTS

Movements are nothing new for Greece and many other places worldwide (see the chapters by Alice Hertzog and Elisa Bertuzzo in this volume). They emerge as a continuation of traditional practices developed by mountainous and insular communities. The seasonal travels of merchants, craftsmen, and shepherds, the reoccurring returns and repatriations of migrants,

Fig. 24

F. 24 "Against Nature's Looting. Fight for the Earth and Freedom." Protester's banners in the Periseri-Lakmos, Epirus region, Greece, June 2020. Social movements and portraits of an extended insurgent citizenship emerging in the "uninhabited" mountains.

and various forms of circular migration structured the traditional economies. They created a particular geography in which movement bridged realms traditionally understood as contrasting or even oppositional. These societies developed an economy that took advantage of broader territorial networks but, at the same time, was also grounded on the stability of families and villages in the rural sphere, securing social reproduction and serving as points of reference and return. What is intriguing in these traditional communities is that, like in many other places globally, movements do not appear as an antagonistic condition. What makes them different from nomadic societies is that they experience a double presence, a double belonging. The figure of Astochorikos helps grasp such historical practices but also demystifies movements occurring in contemporary peripheral landscapes. It is interesting to observe the persisting, inherited characteristics of movements in Arcadia. Although many other structures and productive processes shrink and decrease, the practice of movement sustains, becoming a dominant process. It is a different kind of inhabitation, extended and tidal;[78] networks and flows still enable relationality and extensions in a productive sense, generating a different type of citizenship and hybrid subjectivities that claim rights by participating in the production and reproduction of these landscapes. As a regular at the Kafeneion of Stemnitsa pointed out: "Can you imagine what would happen if the returns were to stop? Only the ice cream truck would remain, bringing ice cream to tourists in a thematised, empty mountain park." Movements are thus essential for the production of the peripheral region as a social space.

Since 2019, pressure for the enclosure of depopulating mountainous regions has been gradually increasing, while the legal framework of environmental protection has been radically weakening. At this critical moment, hybrid communities have unexpectedly surfaced. Groups that still use the land as commons, hikers, scientists, and archaeologists have formed to understand, inform, and support local communities, organise themselves in more extensive networks and stop dispossession and commodification. They have developed a language in which land and nature acquire a political meaning. "We walked to the tops. We defended our rights to free the mountains, land, and nature. We met virtually over Zoom when physical gatherings were banned during the pandemic. We filed legal objections against the installation of wind turbine parks on mountaintops and uninhabited islands. We sometimes stopped them," a participant in the movement said.[79] Such struggles share features of urban struggles and resistances against the enclosure of commons. It is unclear to me where these people come from, how they gathered, and how long they will resist. They have emerged as citizens of an extended territory to join and support these local struggles. [Fig. 24]

PERIPHERALISATION, AN ORDINARY PROCESS OF EXTENDED URBANISATION

The people of Arcadia and other depopulating landscapes share a collective ground, stretching across an extended geography of the urban/rural sphere. The city is commons, and commons are the practices of commoning, explains Stavros Stavrides.[80] Therefore, we can imagine this extended ground as composed of a specific form of commons, produced, maintained, and shared by different social networks, enabled by the synergy of conditions that are usually antagonistic. Urban yet rural, moving yet fixed, remote yet connected, each manifests an extended territory that enables exchange and mutuality, movement and participation. They empower links to both cities and peripheral lands, extended forms of dwelling and belonging. They challenge official demographics and the idea of depopulation generated by a purely quantitative calculation of permanent inhabitants. They are presenting an alternative to the narrative of emptied—and now uninhabited—peripheral lands, and they reveal fragile and neglected social and territorial structures that enable relationality and extension in a productive sense. These fluid commons offer the right to transcend dualisms. They uncover a space to defend a claim to the rights to both the city and the countryside. It is from the right to extended geography that the right *to extended citizenship* emerged.

This text could have very well concluded in 2019, when it was first drafted, by marking the officially pronounced end of the Greek debt crisis. The change to an even more neoliberal government, the outbreak of the global pandemic and health crisis in 2020, and the occurrence of extreme wildfires in the summer of 2021 as part of the aggravating climate crisis accelerated latent processes and phenomena. The demand for green energy regimes led to the enclosure of public land while the "uninhabited" narrative was instrumentalised for dispossessions in various Greek islands and mountain areas, making the full extent of ongoing peripheralisation processes visible. These observations advocate for a radical reconceptualisation of the experience of the periphery at various spatial scales. Peripheralisation is not a static spatial condition but emerges as a dynamic, multidimensional, and trans-scalar process that generates geographies of uneven development.

To extend means to govern from afar. Learning from the Arcadia case, peripheralisation entails processes of hollowing out, emptying, and flattening, which violently shape unevenness and dependencies at multiple scales. It operates entangled with the fabrication of imaginaries, acts of abstraction and invisibilisation. It intertwines with narratives of emptiness and the imaginary production of idyllic outsides. Consequently, peripheralisation creates conditions for other processes of extended urbanisation, such as the enclosure of commons and the operationalisation of landscapes (see the chapters by Nitin Bathla, Nancy Couling, and Nikos Katsikis in this volume). In this sense, different processes of extended urbanisation coexist and unfold in relation to each other.

The production of these territories is put forward through moments of crisis (financial, ecological, health, etc.), offering the pretext for the politics of exception to unfold and eventually fixating and installing a permanent context of deregulation.[81] In this process, the state emerges as a crucial actor, and the reorganisation of state space plays a key role. It retracts the responsibility of care and governance and mediates to enable local access to global stakes.

Yet, *to extend does not always mean to expand and dominate. It may also mean to de-centre, to relate, and to touch.* "Invisible things are not necessarily not-there; a void may be empty, but it is not a vacuum. Certain absences are so stressed, they call for attention," Toni Morrison argues.[82] Parallel to dominant forces that peripheralise, disarticulate, and subordinate, the periphery reveals itself as a field of knowledge, extensions, relations, and re-articulations that require a different way of thinking about continuities and on notional, bodily, and interspecies extensions.

On my journey to Arcadia, I noticed that the locals knew little about the idealised Arcadia

of the West. They spoke of other myths connected to their place and the land. Geomythologies about ancient water creatures illustrating the mountain hydrogeology; stories about a Mycenaean censer found buried in a field; about the acorn-eating inhabitants of the Arcadian forest; about the local olive fruit which, when hand-picked, is the healthiest in the world; myths re-engaging human bodies to land histories, ecologies, and multi-species metabolisms. Which are ultimately the stories we want to share about peripheral lands? Perhaps those stories narrate *how to extend* tales otherwise latent in the everyday practices and self-narratives of mountainous regions that persist outside existing classifications. Ex-centric territories entail an immense liberating potential when seeing the periphery as *a space of de-centring, not knowing, and unlearning*[83] to re-narrate possible relationships between places, people, and the rest of nature. As contemporary social and ecological challenges brutally unfold, increasingly staged on the fragile ecologies of peripheralised landscapes, Arcadia, and to a great extent all territories under processes of extended urbanisation, testifies that alternatives persist. It narrates ways to resist and means for working towards socioecological repair. Is there anything left from Arcadia that still nourishes our urban imaginary and that could be a tale of a different kind? One of extended insurgent citizenship, of contested fluid commons, of urban innovation that emerges from "uninhabited" peripheral lands, and of uncanny ways of seeing that allow us to *mountanise mountains* and *islandise*[84] *islands* as *ex*-centric counterparts of a shared extended urban space.

ENDNOTES

1 Von Goethe, *Italian Journey*.
2 Unlike ancient Arcadia, which was located solely at the mountainous core of Peloponnese, the contemporary regional unit of Arcadia spans the eastern Aegean coasts of Peloponnese. It consists of the "mountainous Arcadia" (ορεινή Αρκαδία) and the "coastal Arcadia," including five heterogeneous municipalities. In this text, I use the word Arcadia to refer to mountainous Arcadia, where ancient Arcadia was located and I focus on its core massive, namely Mount Mainalo and the municipality of Gortynia.
3 Pausanias, *ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΑ* is one of his ten travelogue books *Description of Greece* (Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, *Hellados Periegesis*).
4 Horace, "Epode 2." Translation mine.
5 Olalla, *Eudaimon Arcadia*.
6 Panofsky, *Et in Arcadia Ego*.
7 Banks, "1769 April 13. Arrival Port Royal Bay." Emphasis mine.
8 Marx, *The Machine in the Garden.*
9 The Eleusinian Mysteries were initiations held every year at the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Elefsina in ancient Greece, based on an old agrarian cult, rooted in religious practices of the Mycenean period. The mysteries represented the myth of Persephone, daughter of Demeter, goddess of Earth, who was abducted in winter by Hades to the underworld and returned to the earth in spring.
10 In reference to Watkins, *Indigenous Archaeology*.
11 For more on this discourse, see also Hamilakis, "Indigenous Hellenisms/Indigenous Modernities"; Hamilakis, "Decolonizing Greek Archaeology"; Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins*; Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States*.
12 For the historical and cultural continuities of the Balkan's mountainous space, see also Nitsiakos, Ο Ορεινός Χώρος της Βαλκανικής.
13 The billboard was found at the Arcadian village Raptis: "Permanent inhabitants: 192. Summer months: 850." For the narrative purposes of this chapter, it is freely attributed to the village Stemnitsa with adjusted numbers.
14 Oral testimony (nn) in ERT, "Παραδοσιακά Επαγγέλματα στη Γορτυνία," 1989, 09:52.

15 After Greek National Independence, the land of the Ottoman State, institutions and big land owners were transferred to the ownership of the new Greek state. Nevertheless, it was not directly distributed to the farmers, due to political concerns of land concentration in the hands of a few families and the creation of a land-oligarchy. Furthermore, the promise of land distribution to the peasants acted as an incentive to support the central government, at the same time that the land had been encroached upon by them and cultivated illegally. The first agricultural reform happened in 1871 and the second in 1881. For the question of National Lands, see also Psychogios, *Το Ζήτημα Των Εθνικών Γαιών*.

16 Drinis, "Μετασχηματισμοί Και Αναπαραστάσεις."

17 Drinis, 215.

18 Drinis, 215, footnote 219.

19 Psychogios, *Προίκες, Φόροι, Σταφίδα και Ψωμί*, 165.

20 Sariyannis, *Athens 1830–2000*, 13.

21 Sariyannis.

22 Issaias, "The Absence of a Plan as a Project."

23 Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States*; Raffestin, "The Rural Origins of European Culture."

24 Clare, "Notes on Natural Worlds."

25 Drinis, "Μετασχηματισμοί Και Αναπαραστάσεις," 208.

26 Raffestin, "The Rural Origins of European Culture."

27 Drinis, "Μετασχηματισμοί Και Αναπαραστάσεις," 208.

28 Oxenford and Chryssogelos, "Greek Bailout."

29 Vogt, "Ubi Leones/Wo Nichts."

30 Kühn and Bernt, "Peripheralization and Power."

31 Schmid and Markaki, "Peripheralisation."

32 Kühn and Bernt, "Peripheralization and Power."

33 Kühn, "Peripheralization."

34 Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*.

35 Nolte, *Europäische Innere Peripherien.*

36 Nitz, "Der Beitrag Der Historischen Geographie."

37 For example, see Copus, "From Core-Periphery"; Herrschel, "Regional Development, Peripheralisation"; Sassen, "Recomposition and Peripheralization"; on East Germany, see note 48; on Balkan regions, see note 50.

38 Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour*.

39 Smith, *Uneven Development*.

40 Hadjimichalis, *Uneven Development and Regionalism*.

41 Ren, "The Peripheral Turn."

42 For more on the Latin American discourse, see also Reis and Lukas, *Beyond the Megacity*.

43 Quijano, *Los Movimientos Campesinos Contemporáneos*; Castells, *The Urban Question*; Kentor, "Structural Determinants of Peripheral Urbanization"; Friedmann, "The Future of Urbanization in Latin America"; Jaramillo González, "Heterogeneidad Estructural En El Capitalismo"; Duhau, "La Investigación Urbana y Las Metrópolis Latinoamericanas."

44 "[…] nor does peripheral refer to macro relations of uneven development, as in world system theory."

45 Caldeira, "Peripheral Urbanisation."

46 Holston, "Insurgent Citizenship."

47 Simone, "People as Infrastructure"; Simone, "Ritornello."

48 Lang, "Shrinkage, Metropolization and Peripheralization in East Germany"; Naumann and Fischer-Tahir, *Peripheralization*; Kühn, Bernt, and Colini, "Power, Politics and Peripheralization"; Bernt and Colini, "Exclusion, Marginalization and Peripheralization"; Leibert and Golinski, "Peripheralisation."

49 Kühn, "Peripheralization."

50 Lang et al., *Understanding Geographies of Polarization and Peripheralization*; Ehrlich, Kriszan, and Lang, "Urban Development in Central and Eastern Europe."

51 O'Sullivan, Golubchikov, and Mehmood, "Uneven Energy Transitions."

52 Blowers and Leroy, "Power, Politics and Environmental Inequality."

53 Howe, "Processes of Peripheralisation"; Kockelkorn et al., "Peripheralization through Mass Housing."

54 Gururani, Kennedy, and Sood, "Engaging the Urban from the Periphery."

55 Reis and Lukas, *Beyond the Megacity*.

56 Keil and Wu, *After Suburbia*.

57 Diener et al., *Switzerland–An Urban Portrait*.

58 Topalović, "Hinterland."

59 Topalović et al., *ARCADIA*; Markaki, "Arcadia."

60 Pausanias, *ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΑ*.

61 Law 3852/2010, ΦΕΚ 87 A/7 June 2010.

62 For more on Kallikratis Plan, see also Υπ. Εσωτερικών, "Νομοσχέδιο" and "Αιτιολογική Έκθεση"; Υπ. Οικονομίας και Οικονομικών, "Επικαιροποιημένο Πρόγραμμα Σταθερότητας και Ανάπτυξης."

63 The Kallikratis Plan entirely abolished the institution of *communities* at the first level of local government and reduced 1,034 municipalities to 325.

64 Namely at the villages of Dimitsana, Langadia, Vitina, and Tropaia.

65 Konstantatos, Spourdalakis, and Hadjimichalis, "Στη Συγκυρία της Κρίσης."

66 Akrivopoulou, Dimitropoulos, and Koutnatzis, "The Kallikratis Program."

67 Zacharopoulos, *Από το Κρυφό Σχολειό στο Ολοήμερο Σχολείο*.

68 Kyriakopoulou, "Από Τον Καποδίστρια Στον Καλλικράτη."

69 For the question of National Lands, see note 15.

70 Tsoukalas *Ἐξάρτηση καὶ Ἀναπαραγωγή*, 79.

71 Drinis, "Μετασχηματισμοί Και Αναπαραστάσεις," 179. He cites Karavidas, *Αγροτικά*; Psychogios, *ροίκες, Φόροι, Σταφίδα και Ψωμί*; Petmezas, *Η Ελληνική Αγροτική Οικονομία,* 41.

72 Kalligas, *Θάνος Βλέκας*.

73 The privatisation of Greek public state-owned assets has been prescribed via the memoranda of agreement signed between the Greek state, the International Monetary Fund, and the European partners. It was carried through the constitution of the "Hellenic Republic Asset Development Fund (TAIPED)," following the model of "Treuhandanstalt," implemented for the privatisation of public assets of East Germany in the 1990s.

74 Damianakos, *Villageois et Citadins de Grèce*, 199.

75 Damianakos, "Les équivoques de la statistique." Translation mine.

76 Karavidas, *Αγροτικά*.

77 Although Karavidas' work on Greek rural spaces had been commissioned by the Greek Ministry of Agriculture, it was persistently neglected and eventually accidentally lost. Karavidas published the work at his own expense but with no effect on the official planning and agricultural policy of the Greek state.

78 Topalović et al., *ARCADIA*.

79 Oral testimony (nn). My interview on 26 April 2021.

80 Stavrides, *Common Space*.

81 Schmid and Markaki,

"Peripheralisation."

82 Morrison, "Unspeakable Things Unspoken."

83 Martínez, Di Puppo, and Frederiksen, *Peripheral Methodologies*.

84 The term "islandisation (*νησιωτικοποίηση*)" was introduced as a critical concept against the touristification of the Greek Aegean islands. See Lykourioti Iris, "Κριτικό πνεύμα: Γιατί χρειαζόμαστε τη νησιωτικοποίηση," in TA NEA, 21 August 2022; Kallis, "Islandizing the City," in *In Defense of Degrowth,* 211.

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