

Dr Georgios Samaras

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Research Interests

Primary	Political Communication, Far-right Politics, Mobilisation
Secondary	Political Violence, Media Policy, Comparative Politics

Employment

2023 -	King's College London Assistant Professor (Lecturer) of Public Policy School for Government, The Policy Institute
2022 - 2023	King's College London Assistant Professor (Lecturer) of Political Economy (Fixed) Department of Political Economy
2022	Fordham University Adjunct Professor of Communication Department of Communication and Culture

Education

2019 - 2022	King's College London PhD Political Science Thesis: <i>Opening the Floodgates of Hate: An Investigation into Golden Dawn's Online Extremism</i> Committee: Nick Anstead (London School of Economics), Eugenia Siapera (University College Dublin)
2017 - 2018	King's College London MA Education Policy Thesis: <i>Investigating the Internal Impact of the Fiscal Crisis on Greek Tertiary Education</i>
2009 - 2014	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki BA German Language and Literature Thesis: <i>An Exploration of Populism and Greek Language</i>

Publications

Samaras, G. (2025). **Weaponising Religion in Greece Post Economic Crisis: An Analysis of Far-Right Political Discourse from 2019 to 2024.** *Journal of Empirical Theology*, 38 (1). DOI: 10.1163/15709256-20240018

Samaras, G. (2025). **Decoding the Symbolic Storm Fuelling Greek Far-Right Politics: a Visual Essay.** *Visual Studies*, 40 (2). DOI: 10.1080/1472586X.2025.2483230

Samaras, G. (2025). **Hide and Seek: Extreme-Right Leadership and Communication Tactics Behind Bars in Greece.** *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 26 (2). DOI: 10.1080/1600910X.2025.2487790

Samaras, G. (2025). **Demokratia dismantled.** *Index on Censorship*, 54 (1). DOI: 10.1177/03064220251332621

Samaras, G. (2025). **Battleground Europe: The Rise of Anti-Woke Movements and Their Threat to Democratic Values.** *Frontiers in Political Science*, 7. DOI: 10.3389/fpos.2025.1568816

Samaras, G. (2025). **Misuse, Mislabelling, and the Broken Path of the “Hard-Right”:** Accepted in *European Political Science*.

Samaras, G. (2025). **Derailing Truth: Tripartite Discourse and Public Outrage over Greece’s Tempe Valley Disaster.** Accepted in *Contingencies and Crisis Management*.

Samaras, G. (2025). **Masculinity Under Pressure: Economic Crisis and the Radicalisation of Greek Far-Right Voters.** Forthcoming. 10.2139/ssrn.5219765

Monograph

Samaras, G. (2025). **Who Rules the Land of Denial?** Book Project under contract with Palgrave Macmillan and Springer Nature. *New Perspectives on South-East Europe Series*. Forthcoming.

Samaras, G. (2026). **Democratorship.** Book Project under contract with Lynne Rienner Publishers. Forthcoming.

Papers under Review

The Digital Ethnonation: Multimodal Extreme-Right Propaganda and National Identity on YouTube. Working Paper. Under Review in *Mediterranean Politics* - available upon request.

This article examines how the Greek extreme-right party Golden Dawn harnessed YouTube to promote nationalist propaganda through multimodal strategies encompassing text, imagery, and audio. By blending long-standing nationalist narratives with the distinctive affordances of digital platforms, Golden Dawn’s video content reflects the resilience and adaptability of extreme-right movements operating within contemporary media ecologies

Ten Years After Syriza's Victory - The Rise, Reign, and Ruin of Greece’s Left. Working Paper. Under Review in *Journal of Political Ideologies* - available upon request.

The paper outlines the rise and fall of SYRIZA, the left-wing political party in Greece. Initially propelled to power in 2015 on an anti-austerity platform, the party’s ascent reflected public

discontent with neoliberal policies. However, SYRIZA's subsequent compromises, including agreeing to austerity measures it once opposed, led to its political marginalisation.

A Visual Narrative of German Memory, Youth, and the Far-Right. Working Paper. Under Review in *Language and Communication* - available upon request.

This visual essay explores how far-right visual campaigns reshape collective memory and national identity in contemporary Germany. Through photographic fieldwork in Munich and Karlsruhe, the study examines the visual rhetoric of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) campaign, highlighting themes of reclaimed freedom, leadership, and remigration.

Elon Musk, Far-right Conspiracy Theories, and Memes in the 2024 US Presidential Election: a Visual Essay. Working Paper. Under Consideration in *Journal of Visual Culture* - available upon request.

Could a single meme significantly reshape political discussion? This essay argues that under Elon Musk's X ownership, memes and AI-generated imagery act as "viral affordances" that normalise extremist narratives widely. By combining digital media studies, conspiracy research and platform governance theory, this essay advances understanding of online propaganda in the multimodal age.

Woke Weaponry and the Culture-War Playbooks of the European Conservatives and Reformists, and Patriots for Europe. Working Paper w/ Billy Tsagkronis.

Framed as a political weapon, "woke" discourse by Patriots for Europe harnesses moral panic to undermine EU policies on LGBTQ+ rights, migration and climate, while the ECR deploys subtler critiques to advance fiscal sovereignty, digital censorship and tighter borders. A concise, comparative thematic analysis of MEP speeches and social-media posts reveals how both groups recast nuanced policy debates as binary struggles between a putative majority and an alleged ideological elite.

Gendered Authoritarianism. Working Paper. Under Consideration in *Political Quarterly* - available upon request.

How have mainstream parties in European democracies adopted far-right gender rhetoric and to what democratic effect? This article introduces the concept of "gendered authoritarianism"—the strategic mobilisation of gender debates by centre-left and centre-right actors to counter far-right challengers—and argues that it represents a novel form of democratic sabotage.

Book Reviews

Samaras, G. (2024). The Politics of Memory in the Italian Populist Radical Right. ***LSE Review of Books***.

Samaras, G. (2023). Populism in Power: Discourse and Performativity in SYRIZA and Donald Trump. ***LSE Review of Books***.

Samaras, G. (2023). The Capitol Riots. Digital Media, Disinformation, and Democracy Under Attack. ***International Journal of Press-Politics***. DOI: 10.1177/19401612231172315

Samaras, G. (2023). The culture of democracy—a sociological approach to civil society: edited by Bin Xu, Cambridge, Polity, 2022. **Democratization**. ISBN 1509543988. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2022.2142209

Samaras, G. (2022). Rise of the Extreme Right: A Lowy Institute Paper: edited by Lydia Khalil, Melbourne, Penguin, 2022, ISBN 1761046357. **Politics, Religion & Ideology**. DOI: 10.1080/21567689.2022.2146283

Research Grants

ETERON Institute. Study into Policy Responses in Greek Society (£200,000)

ETERON Institute. Gender Divide: Study into Greek Voting Behaviour (£20,000)

King's College London. School of Politics and Economics Education Award (£2,000)

King's College London. Postgraduate Research Bursary Grant (£1,000)

King's College London. Social Sciences and Public Policy Bursary Grant (£1,000)

Onassis Foundation. Three Year Doctoral Scholarship (£48,000)

Recent Talks and Workshops

Greece's Gender Divide: Unmasking the Crisis of Femicides. June 05, 2025. **The Hellenic Centre**. London, United Kingdom.

Delphi Economic Forum X. April 09-12, 2025. **Delphi**, Greece.

The Future of Democracy Across the West - Extremism and Emotionality. February 05, 2025. **University College London**.

A discussion on the gender divides in Greece - Panel Discussion w/ ETERON. January 27, 2025. **King's College London**.

ENA Institute Conference. November 16, 2024. **ENA Institute**. Athens, Greece.

Jersey Civil Service - Politics of Survival. November 12, 2024. **King's College London**.

Workshop Movement Parties and Backlash Politics. October 14-15, 2024. **Berlin Sozial Center**.

Gender Divide Panel Discussion. September 27, 2024. **ETERON Institute**, Athens, Greece.

Understanding the Rise of Far-right Populism. September 24, 2024. **Ministry of Defence**. London, United Kingdom.

European effects of Populism. September 09, 2024. **University of Groningen**. Groningen, Netherlands.

Delphi Economic Forum IX. April 10-13, 2024. **Delphi**, Greece.

Democracy and the Role of Wiretapping in Modern Europe. March 18, 2024. **King's College London**.

The Persistence of Democratic Authoritarianism. January 22, 2024. **Aristotle University of Thessaloniki**.

Affiliation & External Roles

ETERON Institute. Advisory Board.

ETERON Research Cluster, Co-founder.

Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics. Senior Research Associate.

EKKE. Member of the Scientific Committee of the Greek Review of Social Research.

International Research Collaborator. University of Crete.

ENA Institute. Research Associate

Brigham Young University. Team Populism Fellow.

Conferences and Seminars

ECPR General Conference 2025. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

ECPR General Conference 2023. Charles University. Prague, Czech Republic.

ECPR General Conference 2022. University of Innsbruck. Innsbruck, Austria.

European Political Science Association 2022. Prague, Czech Republic.

Political Studies Association 2022 Annual Conference. University of York. York, United Kingdom.

Political Studies Association of Ireland 2021. University. College Dublin. Dublin, Ireland.

Forget Open Society 2021. Critical Conversations on a Contested Concept. OSRP. Oslo, Norway.

Common Ground, Common Future 2021. University of Oslo. Oslo, Norway.

Political Studies Association 2021: Random Access Memories. Online.

School of Politics and Economics PGR Series 2021, King's College London. London, UK.

A New Politics of Populism? Democracy in the 21st Century. De Montfort University. Leicester, UK.

South by Southwest (SXSW) 2014. Austin, Texas.

Selected Bylines & Opinion

Even if Nigel Farage did become Britain's next PM, it won't be for long – here's why. ***The Independent***.

Trump is on a quest to poison global political culture. ***POLITICO***.

France's left is celebrating Le Pen's conviction. But gloating will make it harder to beat the far right. ***The Guardian***.

Elon Musk has designs on the whole of Europe. ***The New Statesman***.

What a second Trump presidency would mean for the European far-right. **King's College London**.

AfD Germany is a sign its young men driving the rise of the far right across Europe. ***The Independent***.

How the European left can take on the far right. ***The New Statesman***.

The battle for the future of France is only beginning. ***Al Jazeera***.

Europe's Centre Right Is Enabling the Authoritarian Turn. ***Jacobin***.

Britain's Riots Are Designed to Terrorize Muslims. ***Jacobin***.

The Death of the Greek Left: A Political Tragedy. ***Verso***.

The Greek Left: Into the Ice Age? ***El Pais***.

The New Ursula: How von der Leyen learned to stop worrying and love Meloni. **Euronews**.

The Greek far-right – a rising threat in the EU election storm. ***Kathimerini***.

Greece's 'Watergate' explained. **The Conversation**.

Selected Media Engagement

Trump has a plan for revenge – and some willing volunteers. ***The Telegraph***.

Allying with Europe's far right. **Al Jazeera**.

World leaders react as President Trump makes big moves on Day 1 of his second term. **CBS News**.

Political Instability in Canada and beyond. **Sky News**.

Austria: Freedom Party path to power may boost EU far right. **DW News**.

Austrian election projection: Far right in first place. **BBC News**.

How the Trump Shooting Reflects Growing Danger Among World Leaders. ***TIME Magazine***.

Austria entering uncharted territory with far-right party's vote gains. **ABC News**.

What do we know about Donald Trump's top team? ***iNews***.

European right-wing politicians call for 'preserving nation-state in Europe. **Voice of America**.

On holiday with Europe's right-wingers. ***POLITICO Europe***.

Ali Miraj Show. **LBC News**.

Why do voters swing to the far-right? **BBC Radio Scotland**.

The Far-Right Just Made a Shock Comeback in Greece. **VICE News**.

Far-right victories in Greece highlight trend across Europe. **NBC News**.

Academic Service

Into Academia Tutor. King's College London.

Senior Tutor. King's College London.

King's 100. King's College London.

Accreditation & Membership

Advance HE Fellow of Higher Education (PR214272).

Reviewing Experience

Nations and Nationalism, Media & Society, Populism, Journal of Modern Greek Studies, UK Research and Innovation Fellowships, Mediterranean Politics, Distinktion.

Other Information

Language Skills: English, German, Greek, Dutch

Software: R, Stata, MAX, MSP

Nationality: Greek

Miscellaneous

For the past decade, I have been creating music under my artistic name, *Plastic Flowers*, both recording and performing. Besides my solo music projects, I frequently collaborate with Jazz bands and create mixtapes, including the *Onassis Foundation*.

Academic References

Sofia Vasilopoulou
Professor of European Politics
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