Greek-Orthodox Refugees from Anatolia in Greece: A Centennial Assessment

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Team

Data and Research

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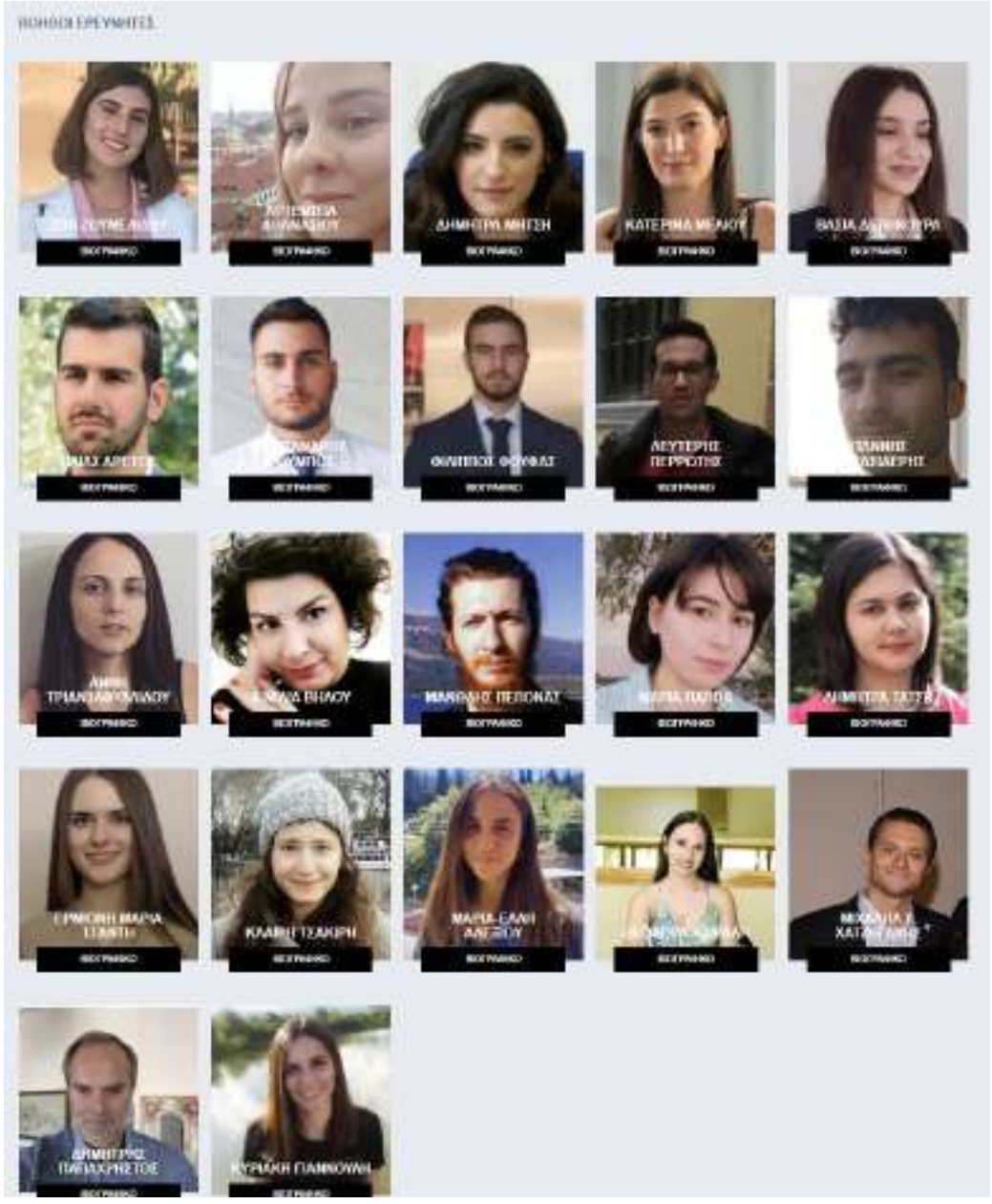
Team, cont.

Amazing Team of Young Scholars



Support, Acknowledgement

Where We Are Would Not Have Been Possible Without the Help of

- **National Science Foundation, USA**
- **London Business School and Brown University**
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- **Hellenic Bankers' Association**
- **ELSTAT. Hellenic Statistical Agency**
- **United Nations Archive, Geneva**
- **The Hellenic Agency for Local Development and Local Government**
- **Dozens of Representatives from Associations from Anatolia**

Presentation Structure

1. **Introduction, Motivation, and Literature**
2. **Historical Context**
3. **Data and Patterns**
4. **Economic Implications. Local, Economy-wide**
   - Immediate Aftermath
   - Lasting Legacy
5. **Cultural Expression. Machine Learning on Greek Songs**
6. **Political Affinities**
   - Historical Voting
   - Contemporary Electoral Outcomes
7. **Next Steps**

Motivation (1). Forced Displacement Today

UNCHR Report 2022 (end of 2021)

- **More than 100 million (89.3m) forcibly displaced due to conflict** (UNHCR 2021)
  - 43% Externally Displaced (Refugees), 57% Internally Displaced (IDPs)
  - Global problem. [Sudan, Myanmar, Yemen, Syria, DRC, Sahel]
- **Worsening Trend** UNCHR lists 16 Emergencies
  - Forcibly displaced more than doubled in the last decade
  - Share of the global poor living in fragile and conflict-affected regions is projected to reach 46% by 2030 (World Bank)
  - Africa. Sahel, Ethiopia, North Mozambique
  - Asia. Myanmar, Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria
  - Latin America. Venezuela, Central America

Forced Displacement Today, Major Crises

Ukraine Crisis and Refugees in the Mediterranean

1. **Ukraine**
   - about 8 million refugees have fled since 24 February
   - About 5 million IDPs
2. **Refugees of the Mediterranean.** Europe's Boat People
   - 131,582 arrivals just in 2022; more than half in Italy (UNCHR 6-11-2022)
   - about $2 - 2.5$ million since 2014
   - Greece, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, and Malta
   - 165,000 refugees in Italy in end of 2021 (UNCHR)

Forced Displacement

Ongoing Crises. 100m forcibly displaced individuals (UNCHR)

Motivation. Conflict and Forced Displacement
2022 Ukrainian Refugee Crisis

An additional 8 million refugees from Ukraine, plus 6 million IDPs (Jan. 31)

Motivation. Greek History

Population Exchange Defining Episode of Modern Greek State

- **Formally examine and quantify the impact of refugees**
  - economics; local and economy-wide
  - politics
  - culture

Economics Research

Recent (Historical) Works

- Jewish History [Botticini and Eckstein (2012)]
- Poland, after WWII [Becker, Grosfeld, Grosjean, Voigtlander, Zuravskaya, (2020)]
- Germany, after WWII [Peters (2022), Braun and Mahmood (2014), Ciccone and Nimczik (2022)]
- Finland after Russian invasion in 1939 [Sarvimäki et al. (2020)]
- Mozambique, during the civil war [Chiovelli, Michalopoulos, Papaioannou and Sequira (2022)]
- Reviews Becker and Ferrara (2019), Verme and Schuettler (2021), Becker (2022)

This Project (broader agenda)

Ambition

- **Research**. Big interest nowadays, ongoing multiple crises
  - Economic impact, local and economy wide
  - Political aftermath; short and long-Run.
  - Cultural impact [research on cultural economics]
- **From Case Studies to Big Data (ML)**:
- **Reexamine Greek History with Data and Credible Identification**
  - move beyond ideology
  - Complement case studies, narratives with sound empirical work
  - Songs as Cultural Heritage

This Paper. Look at One Historical Episode

Defining Episode of Greece, Our Country

Experience of Displacement and its imprint on

1. the economic behavior of the displaced over time
2. the cultural fabric of affected population, i.e., **its song production and consumption**
3. the emerging **identity** and (individual and collective) **memory**
4. **refugees' (and descendants) political leanings over time**

The Exodus

Historical Context: Refugees Arrival in Greece

Politics

- The Liberal Party favored and promoted the territorial expansion of Greece; while in power significant territorial gains during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).
- The Popular Party takes power in 1920, opposing the war in Asia Minor. But soon it reversed policy...
- In the aftermath of the *National Disaster*, the burning of Smyrna, and the arrival of refugees the King was ousted, monarchy was abolished and the Second Hellenic Republic was proclaimed (1924-1935).
- **Refugees are granted political rights upon arrival.**

Where to Host 1.5m Displaced?

The Refugees' Issue

- Relocating and supporting refugees was a huge challenge for the newly-established Greek democracy
  1. **Urban Settlements.**
  2. **Rural Settlements. land allocation**

- **Urban Refugees.** Types of Housing in Cities
  - Permanent Housing Structures
  - Renting
  - Favelas & other ways of self housing.

- **Rural Refugees.** Land Grants in Villages and the periphery of Small Towns
  - Abandoned by departing Muslims
  - nationalize large properties and some monasteries' land

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Data Sources. Part (a) District, Neighborhood, Settlement

4-year Research Programme

1. **1928 Census**.
   - Refugees and natives across about 12,000 communities [settlements, villages, towns, cities]
   - link settlements over 100 years [thousands of administrative changes; mergers, splits, new settlements]
2. **Refugee Neighborhoods in Cities**
   - League of Nations Archives in Geneva
   - Greek General State Archives
   - Secondary Sources (Books, Journals, Refugees' Descendants)
3. **General Population Censuses**.
   - Early. 1907, 1913, 1920, 1928, 1941, 1951, 1961
   - Micro-Samples starting in 1971 (10%), 1981 (10%), 1991 (25%), 2001 (25%), and 2011 (25%).

Data Sources. Part (b) Individual Records

4-year Research Programme

1. **Rural Refugee Catalogue**
   - 249,127 family names; 2,000 settlements with land grants [*full digitization*]
   - Places of Origin and where the family received a land grant
2. **Urban Refugee Catalogue**
   - 370,000 family names [*about half completed digitization*]
   - Places of origin

Data Sources. Part (c) Individual Level (selected)

4-year Research Programme

1. **Electoral Record Athens 1924**
   - $90,000$ entries
   - Names of voters (male) and native/refugee status
   - Professions, occupations
2. **Compensations (NBG)** *to be done*

Data Sources. Part (d) Various

4-year Research Programme

1. **Postal Offices 1929**
2. **Railroad network 1928**.
3. **Malaria Prevalence**
4.
5.

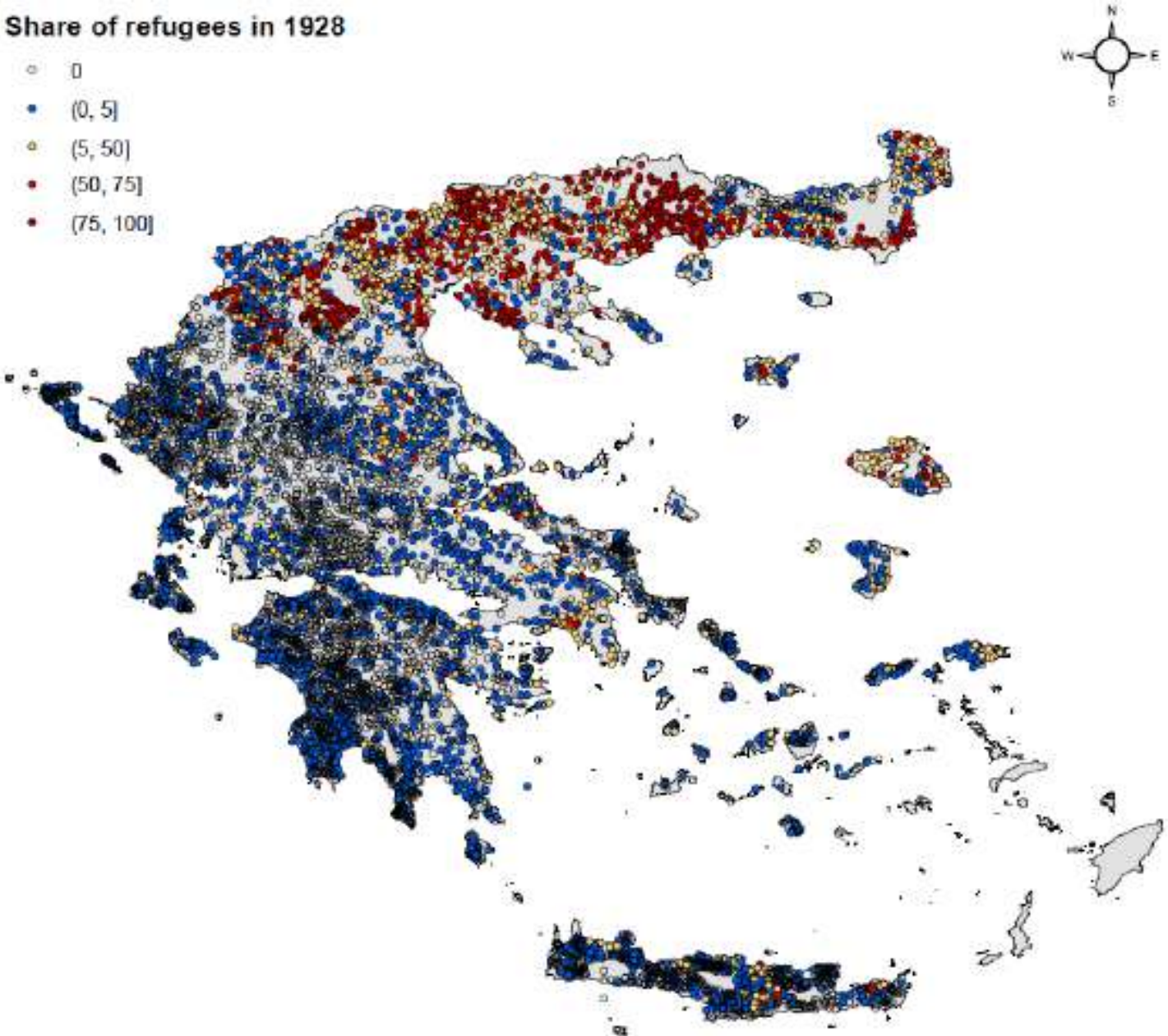
Data Sources. Part (e) Electoral Outcomes

Voting Station Level. Historical and Contemporary

- **Historical** (1932, 1958, 1977)
  - 1932: First post-refugees arrival with voting station level data.
  - 1958: The elections in which the legal arm of the Greek Communist Party (alongside non-communist Left) became major opposition. Political instability culminates with the Greek Junta of 1967-1974.
  - 1977: Competitive, free, and impartial elections after the restoration of democracy and the legalisation of the Greek Communist Party.
- **Contemporaneous Electoral Data**
  - All post 2007 (2007, 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2015a, 2015b, 2019)

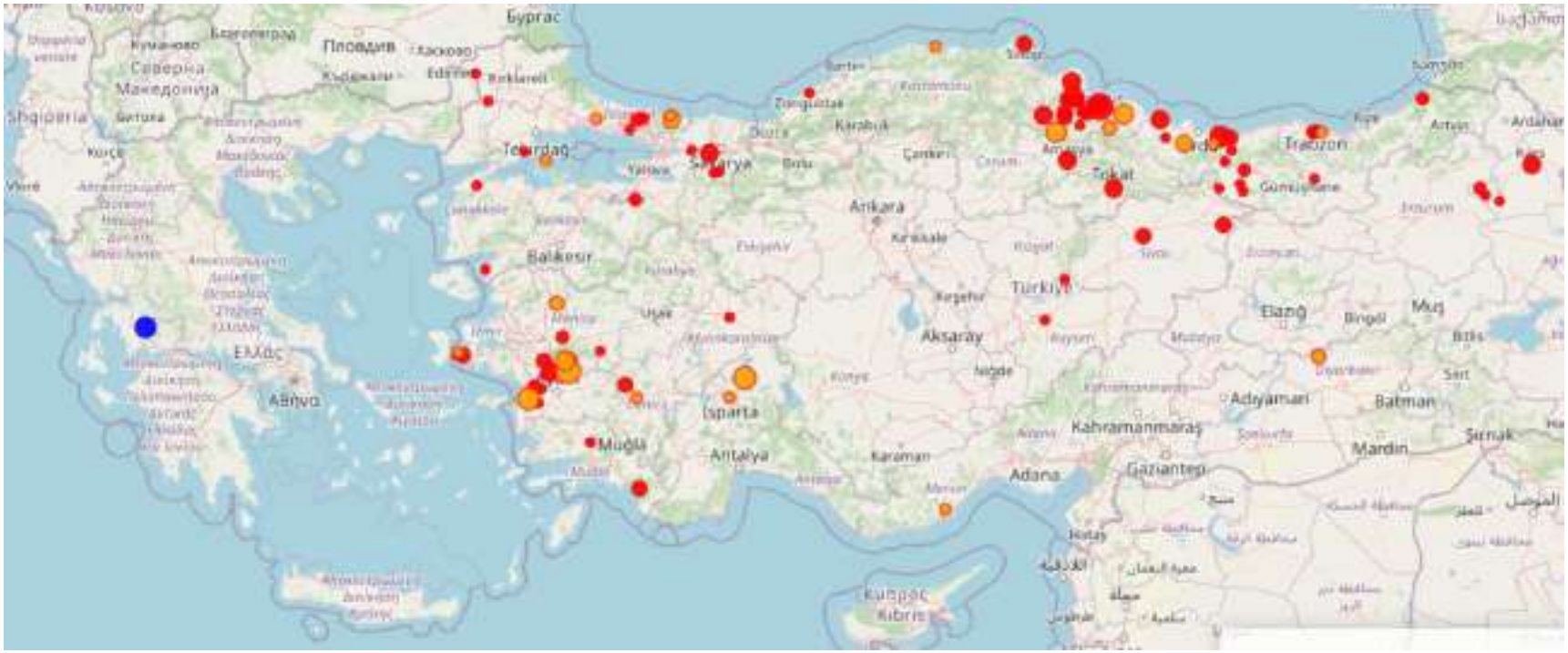
A New Reality

Greece in 1928



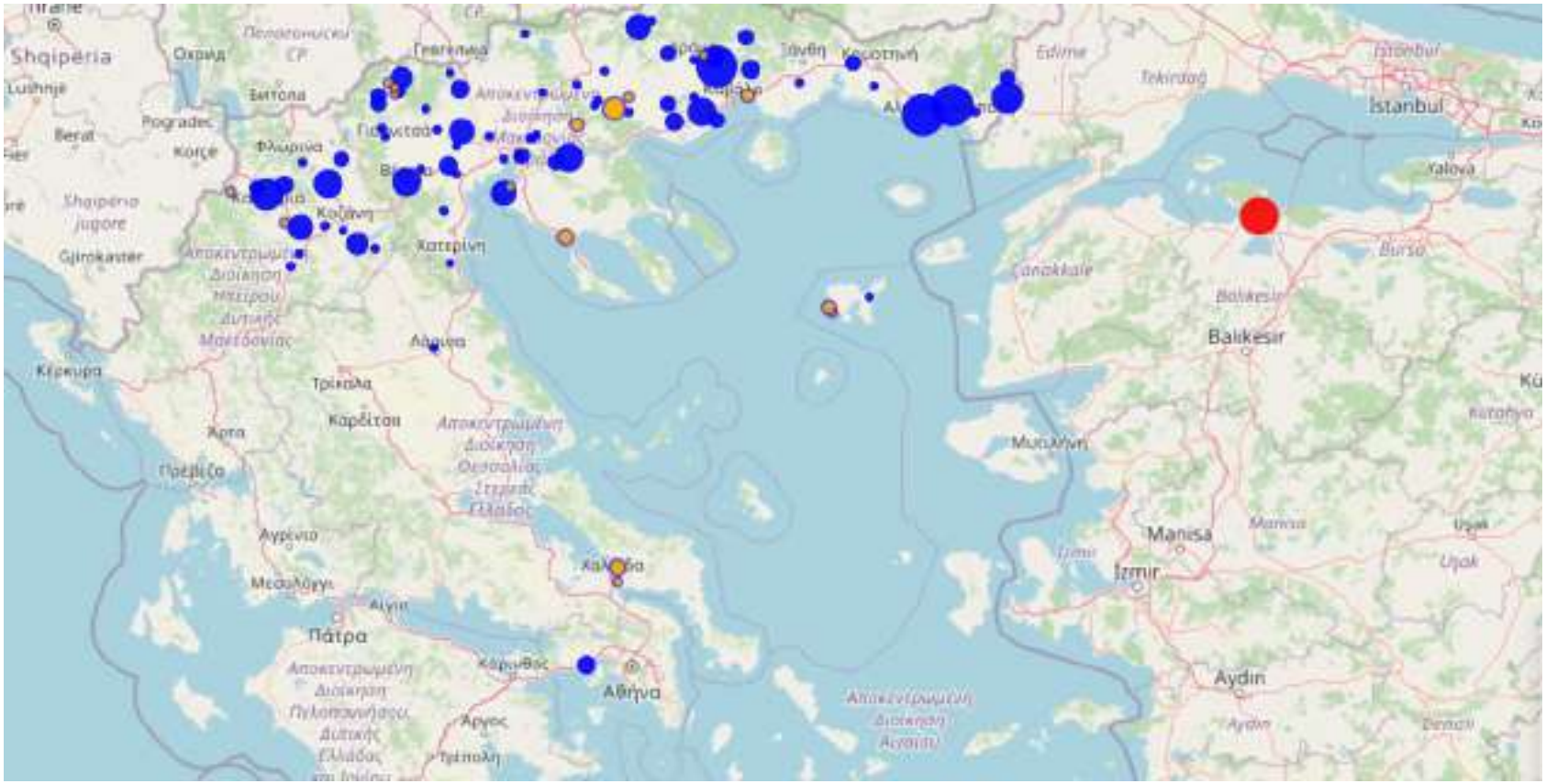
Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination

Example. Agios Konstantionos



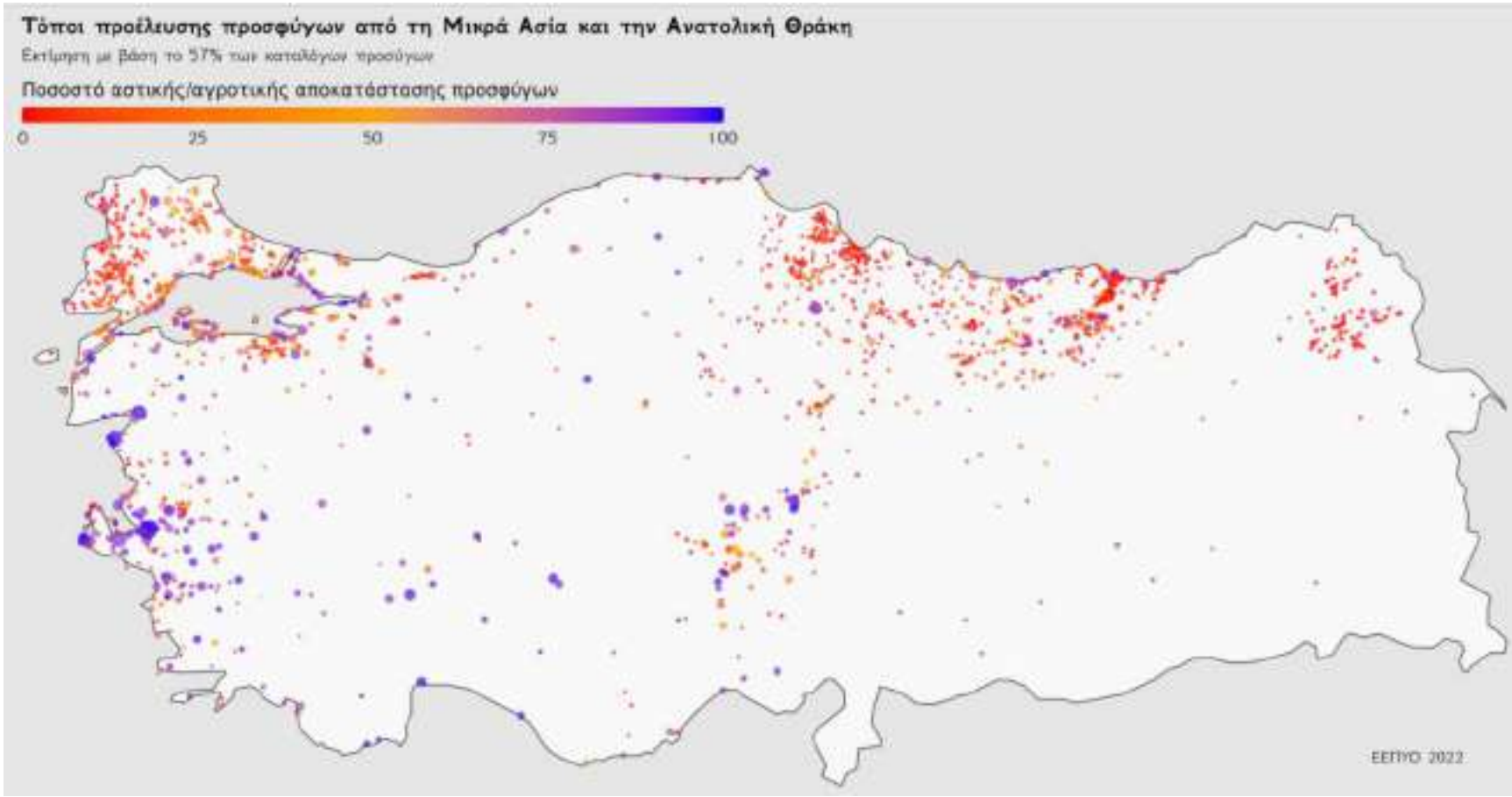
Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination

Panormos (Kiziki)



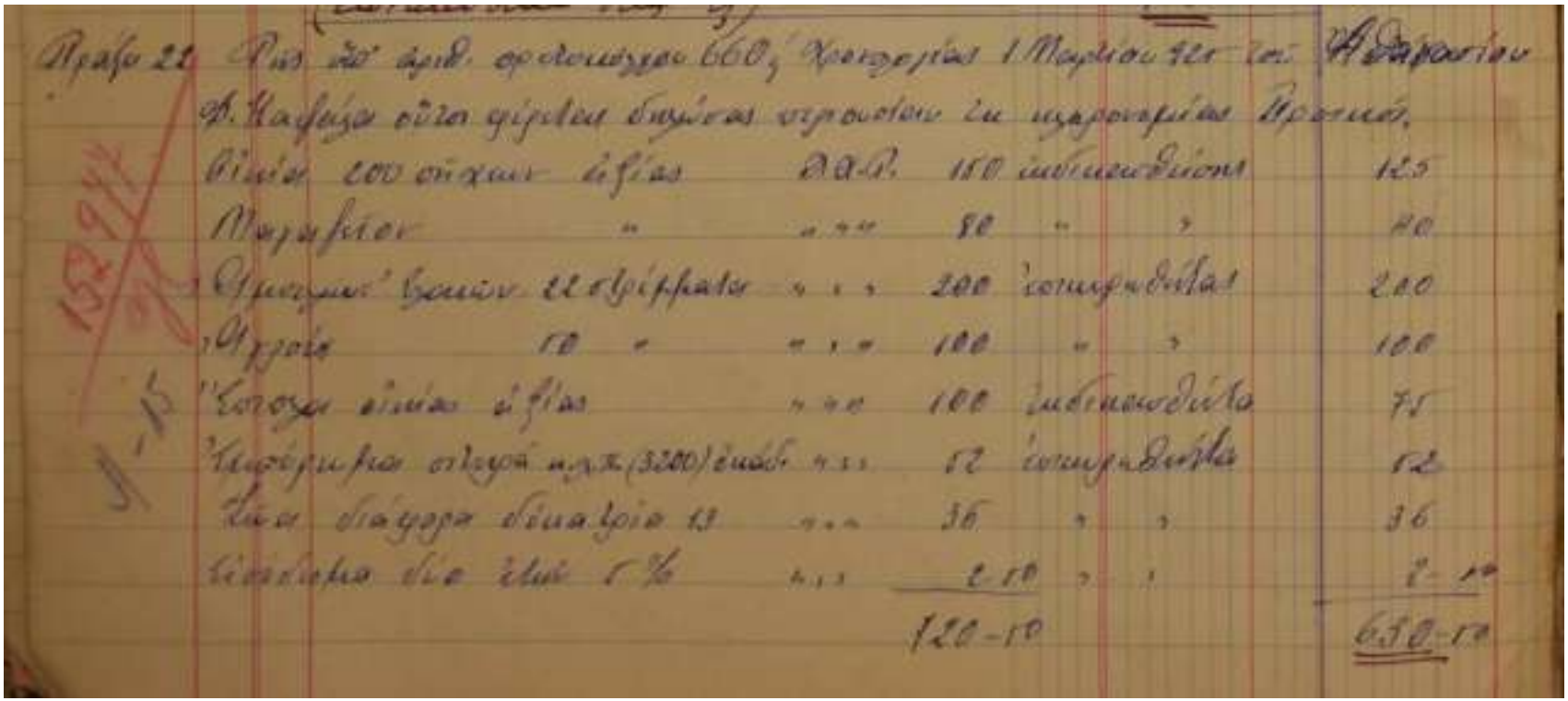
Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination

Rural (in Greece) Refugees (red); Urban (in Greece) Refugees (blue)



Land and Other Assets. Compensation

In the To-Do List. Summary and Detailed Application (funding needed)



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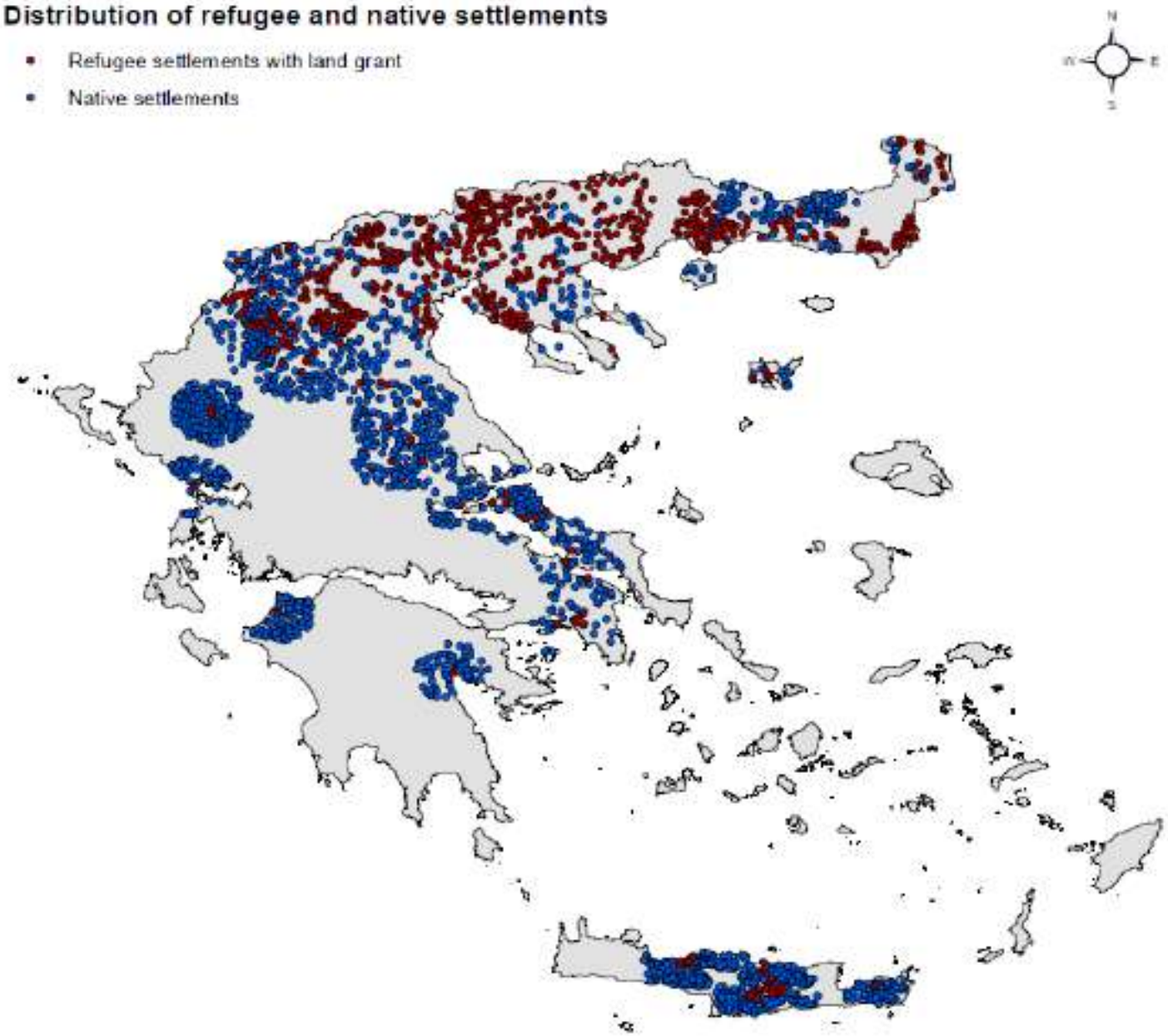
Economic Impact

Ongoing Research [Benos, Karagiannis, Michalopoulos, Murard, Papaioannou, and Sakalli (2022)]

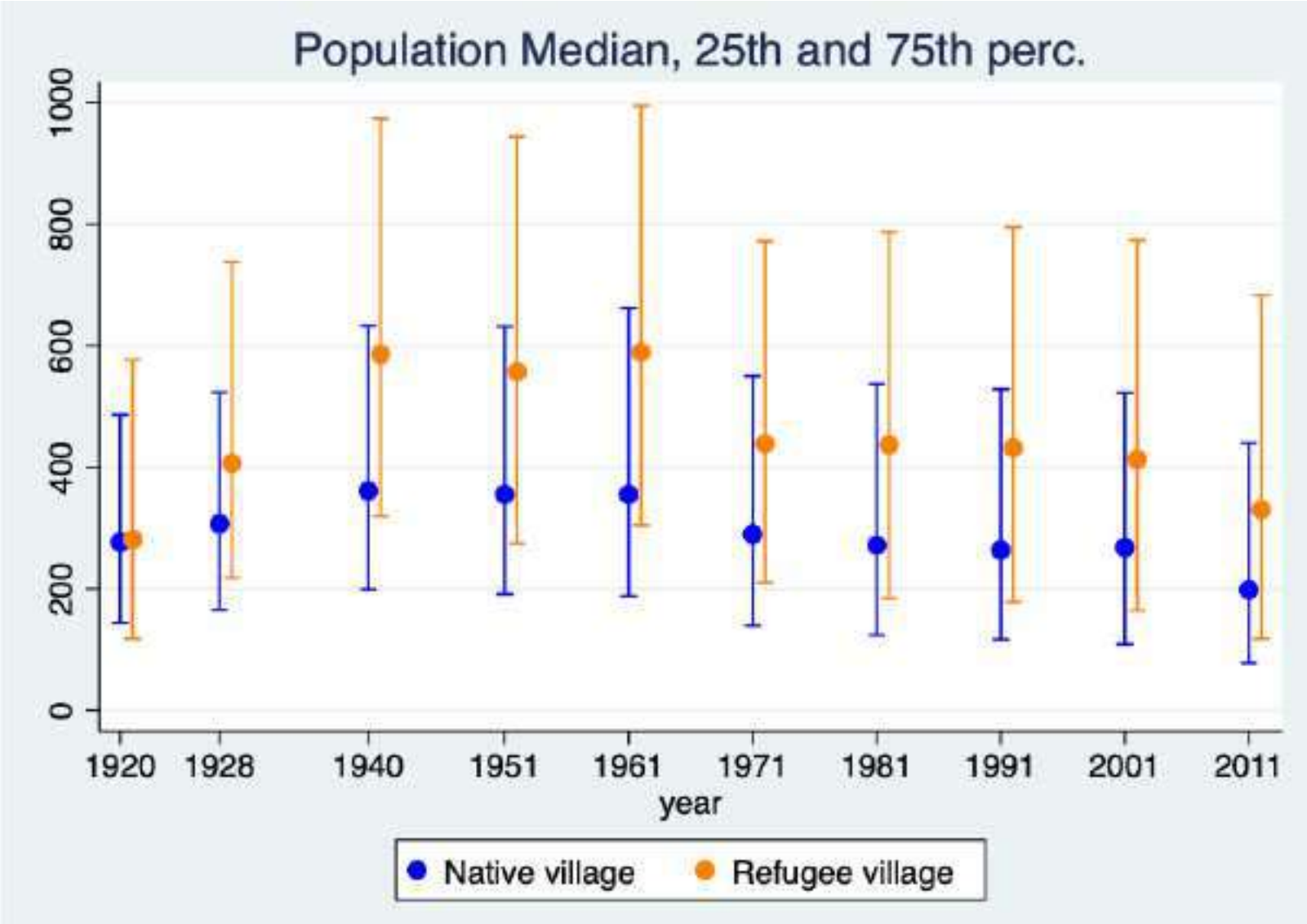
1. **Local (Static and Dynamic) effects**: Education, employment, occupational specialization
   - Compare nearby villages and small towns; predominantly refugees and predominantly natives [account for selection, unobservable features]
   - *uprootedness effects*
2. **Economy-wide implications**
   - Spatial (general equilibrium) setting
   - Mechanisms. Market size, agglomeration [demand and supply]
   - Linkages. Spatial, sectoral

Neighboring Refugee and Native Villages



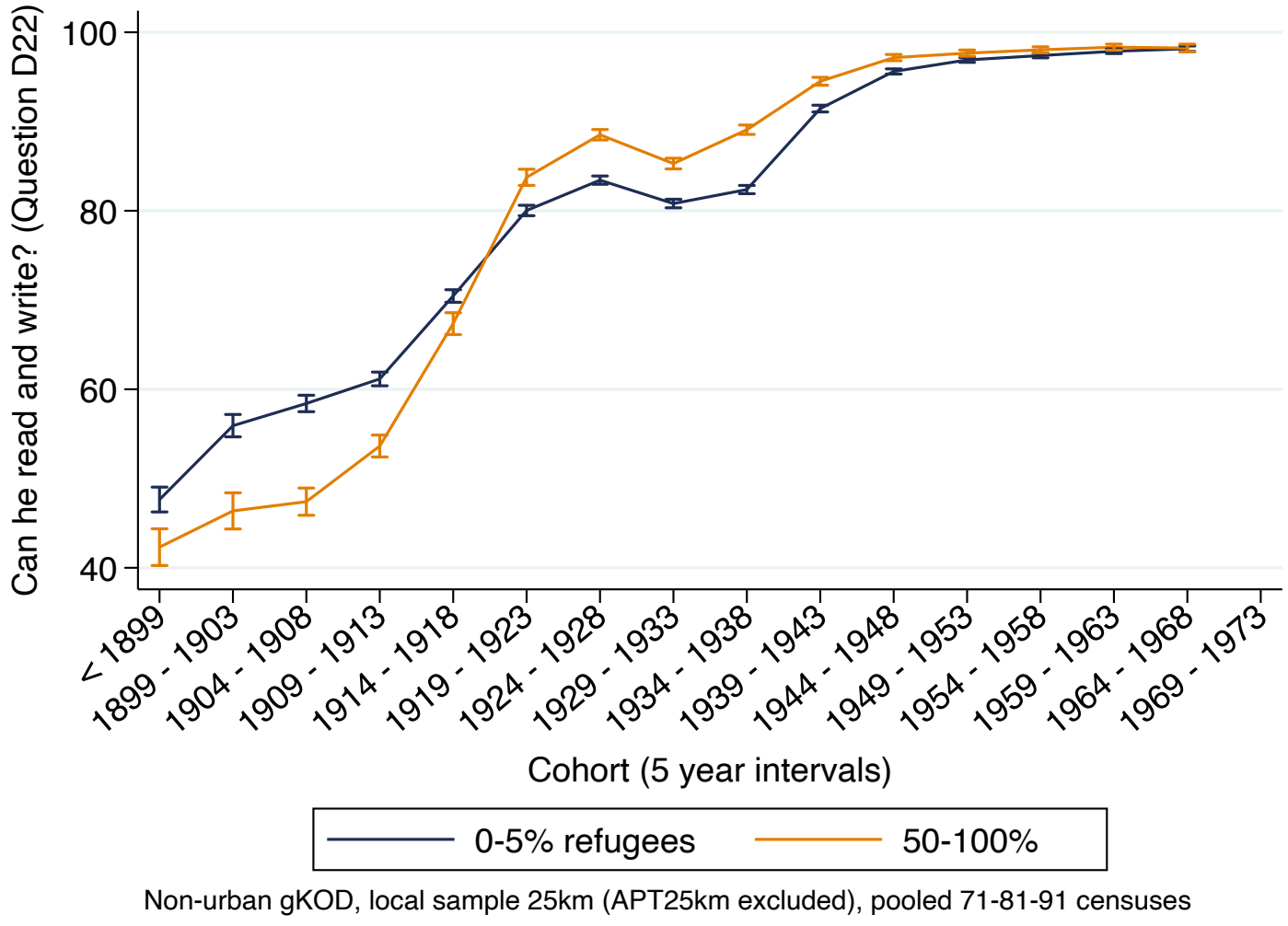
Population Dynamics across Refugee and Native Villages

Comparing Nearby Villages



Literacy Dynamics, Refugees and Natives

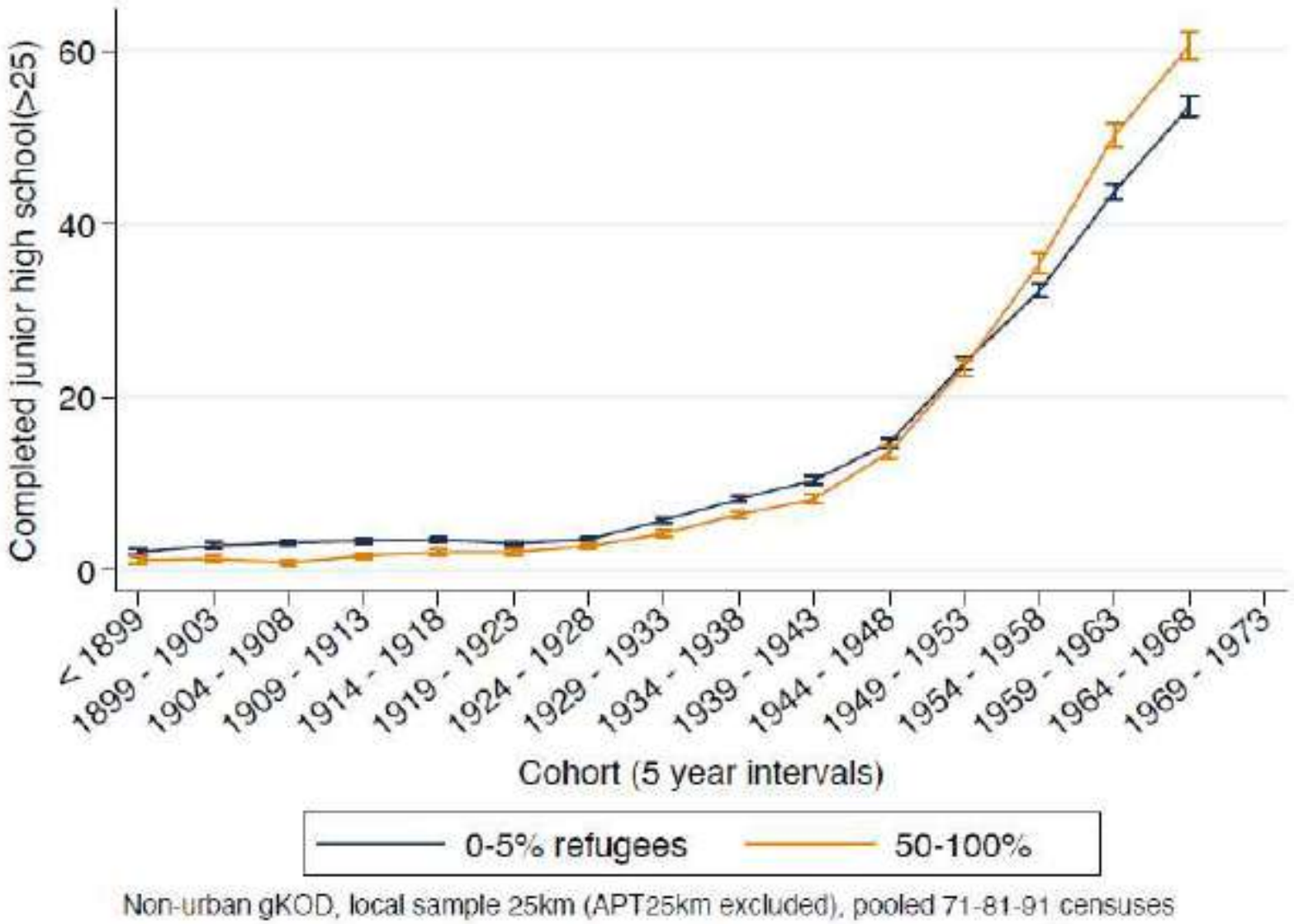
Comparing Nearby Villages



Non-urban gKOD, local sample 25km (APT25km excluded), pooled 71-81-91 censuses

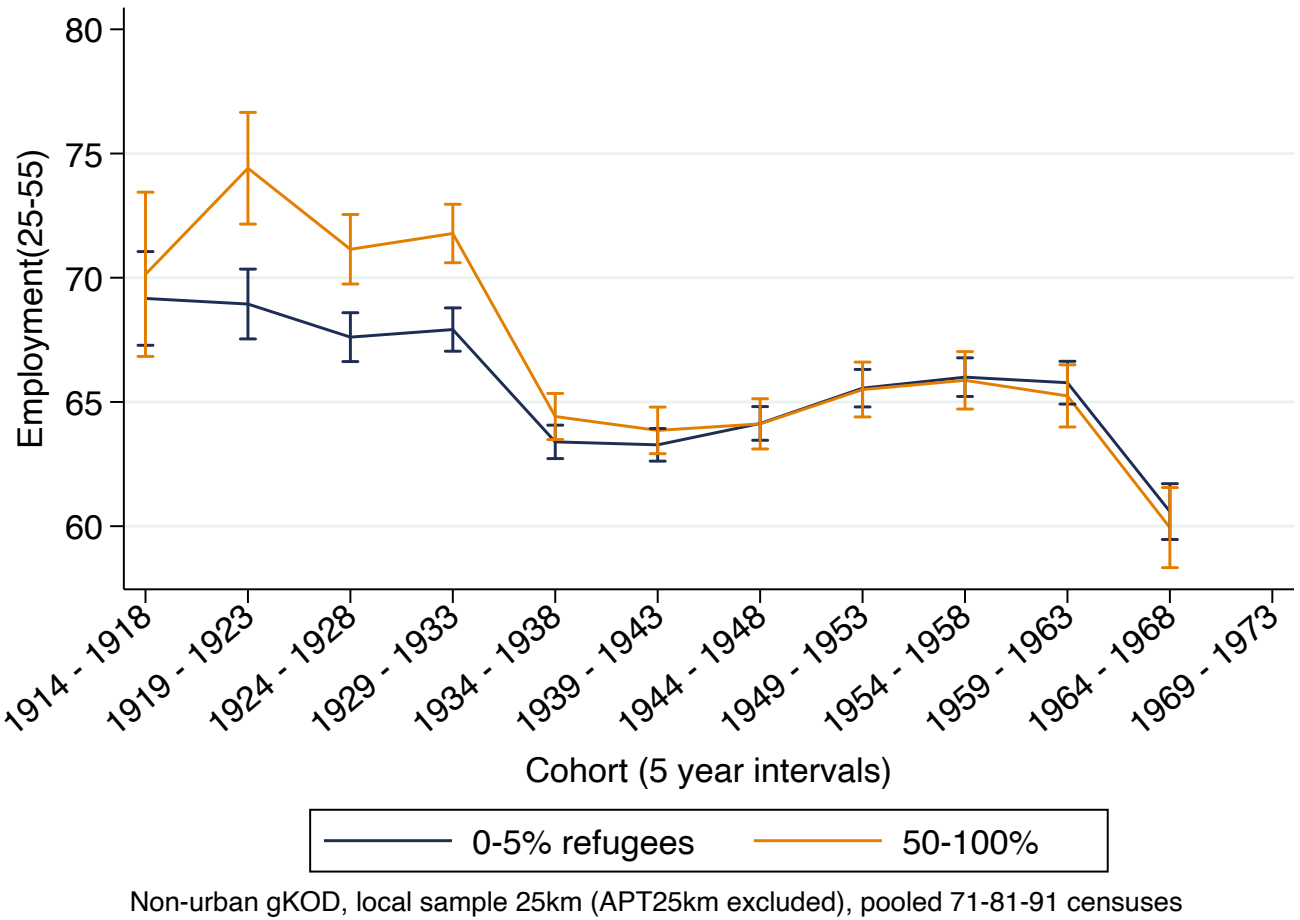
Educational Dynamics, Refugee's and Native's Villages

Comparing Nearby Villages



Dynamics Employment, Refugees and Natives

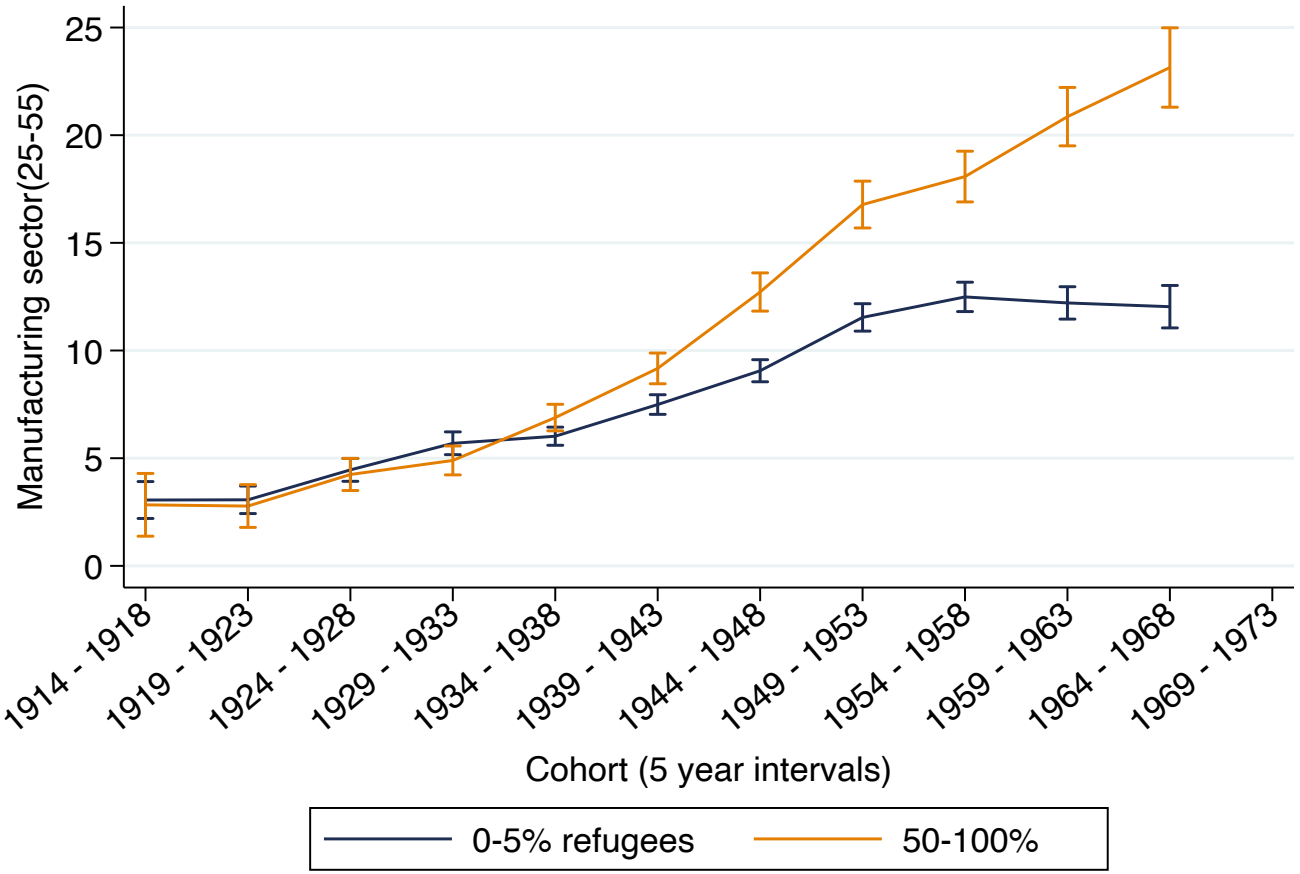
Comparing Nearby Villages



Non-urban gKOD, local sample 25km (APT25km excluded), pooled 71-81-91 censuses

Dynamics Manufacturing Empl., Refugees and Natives

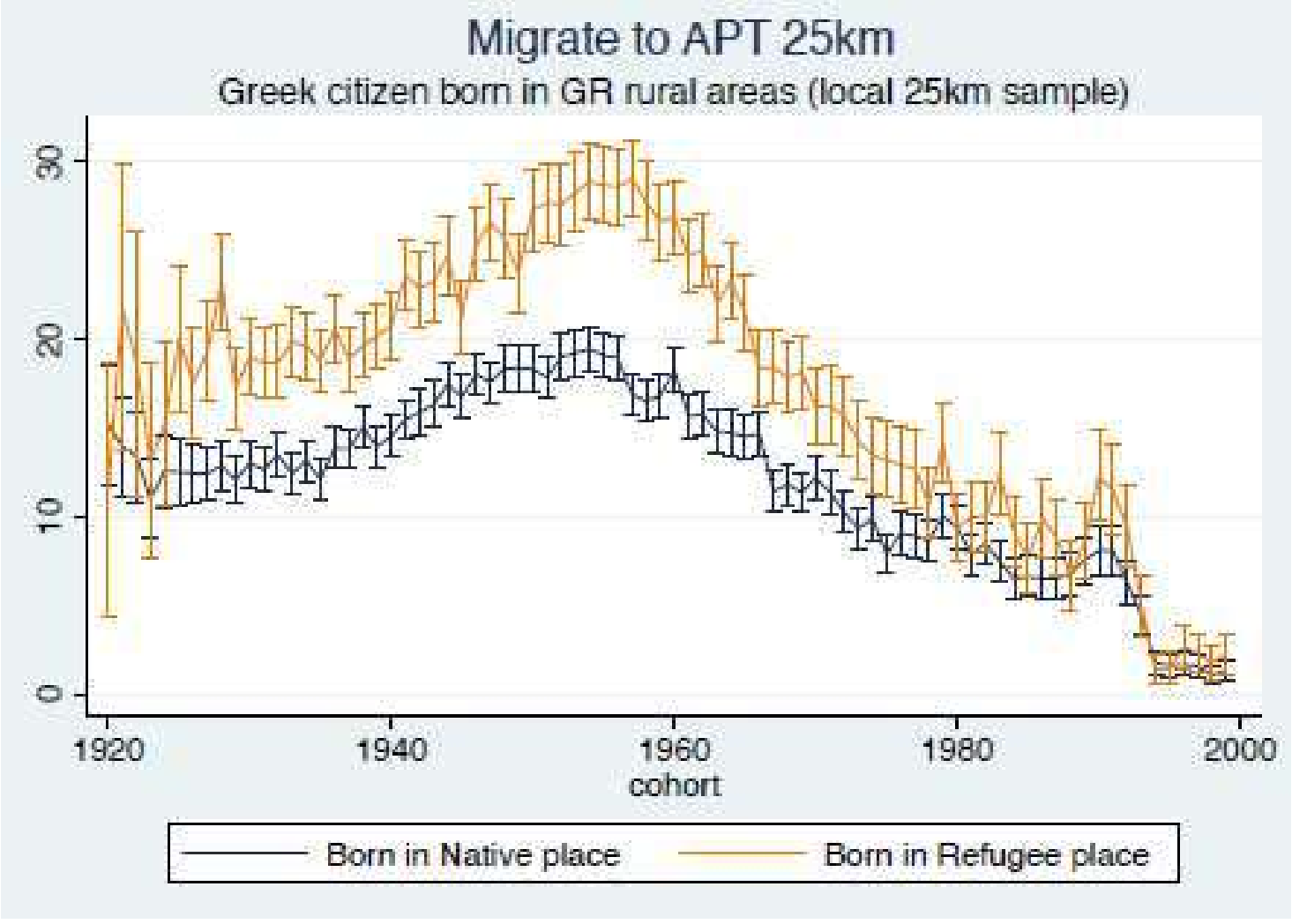
Comparing Nearby Villages



Non-urban gKOD, local sample 25km (APT25km excluded), pooled 71-81-91 censuses

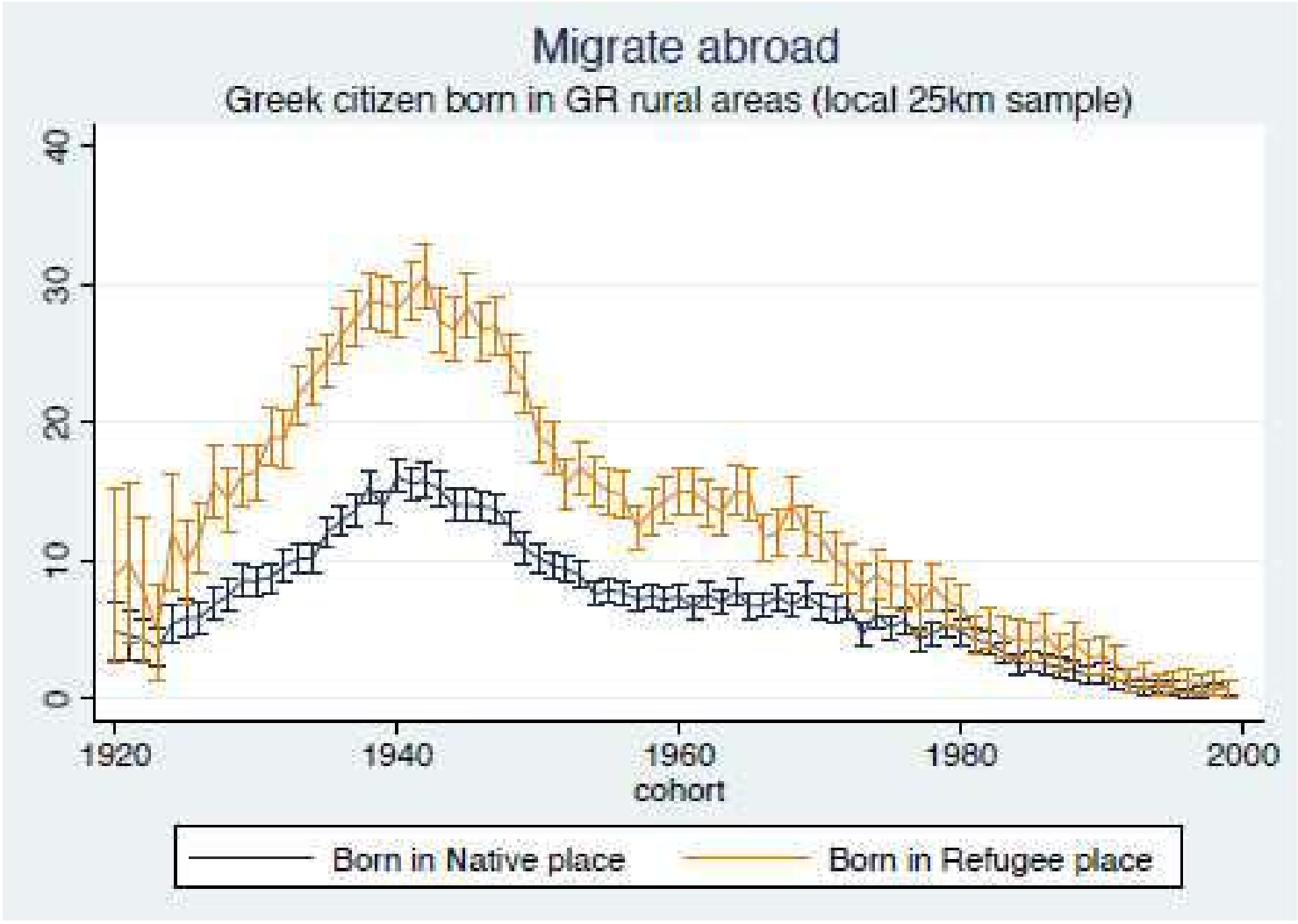
Refugees are on the Move - Towards Urban Centers

Comparing Nearby Villages



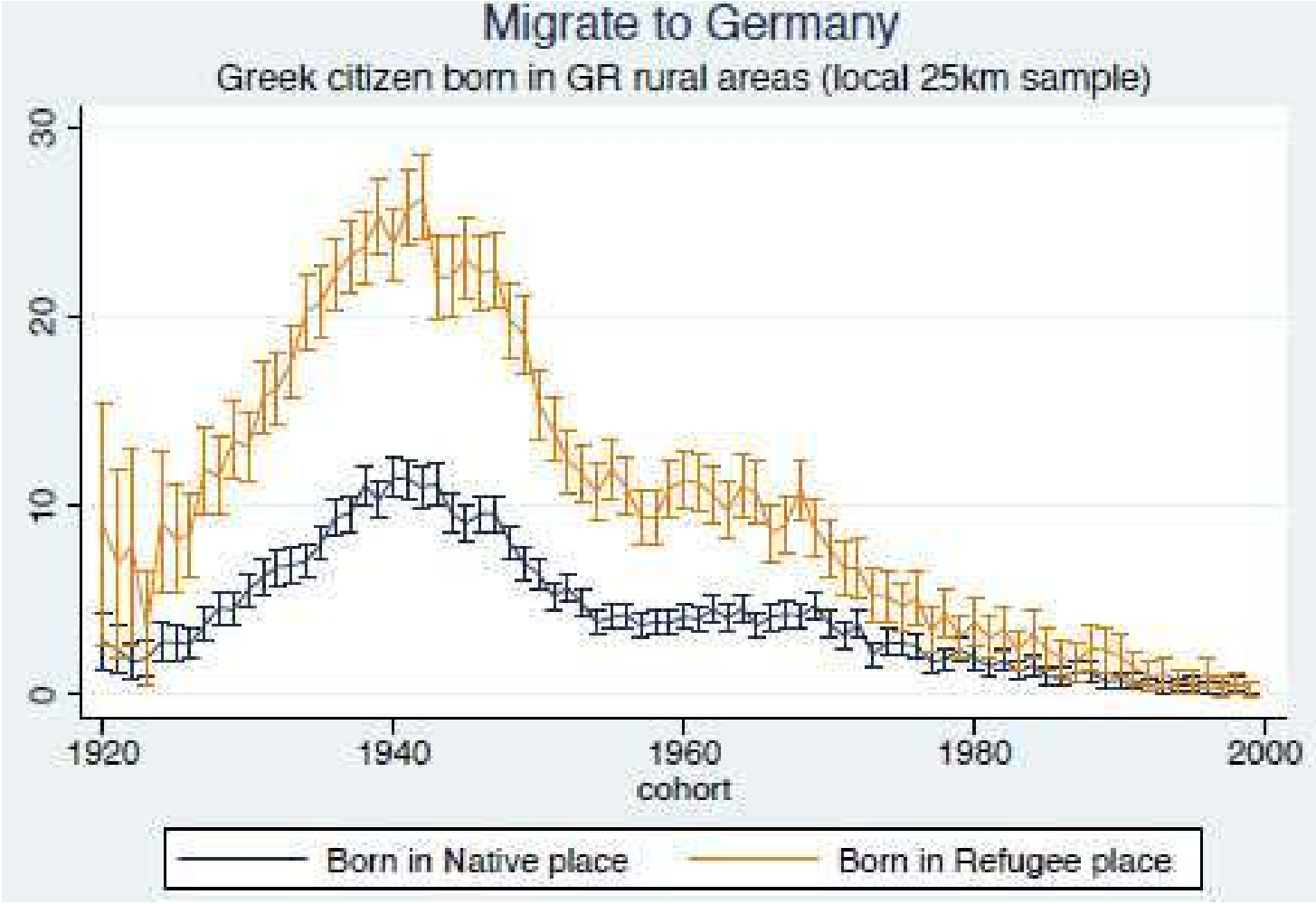
Refugees are on the Move - Go to Work Abroad

Comparing Nearby Villages



Refugees are on the Move - Mainly to Germany

Comparing Nearby Villages



Economic Implications. Summary

Preliminary Evidence. Rural-based

- Educational (literacy) gap of refugees upon arrival (vis a vis natives in the countryside)
- Very quick catch-up [educational reform 1928-1932?], despite higher employment
- Eventually refugee villages and towns higher high-school completion [uprootedness]
- Descendants of Refugees are much more mobile than natives [uprootedness]

The Incomplete Integration

- **Chapter 2.**
  - **Songs, Politics, and Identity.**

Motivation. History Matters. Why? How?

Historical Development. Mechanisms? => Culture

Historical "episodes"; slavery, epidemics, forced migrations, wars, climate shocks, technological revolutions, colonization, famines, coercion, border design, ethnic/religious mix, etc.

- Compelling evidence [reviews, Nunn (2014), Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2017, 2021), Lowes (2022), Voth (2021)]

How Does History Stay Alive?. Culture

1. These events register in the **collective memory**, i.e., stories, **songs**, myths and legends.
2. The songs' themes are **reproduced, cementing and perpetuating** a group's identity even when the original material circumstances change.
3. **Re-enforcing role of politics and culture**

Motivation. Identity, Culture, and Politics

Narratives, Songs, and Identity

- **Identity** [Akerlof and Kranton (2000)] and Political Economy [Shayo (2009)]
- **Culture and Voting** [(e.g., Norris and Inglehart (2014), Enke (2018)]. **Identity Politics**
- **Salience** [e.g., Bordalo et al. (2018, 2019, 2020)] **in Political Economy** [e.g., Gennaioli and Tabellini (2021)]
  - Narratives [Shiller (2019)]
  - Memory [Bordalo et al. (2022)]
  - Role of Songs
- **Social Identity Theory** [Tajfel and Tuner (1979)]

Cultural Implications. Machine Learning on Greek Songs

Section Structure

1. **Songs to Measure Culture** [ideology, hardship, values, attitudes]
2. **Preliminary Patterns**
3. **Culture and Politics**

Bringing Music into our Inquiry

Ethnomusicologists Meet Data Geeks and Economists

Songs: a window into how peoples' collective memories are shaped by history and evolve intergenerationally.

- **Bring Music (lyrics) into Economics Research**.
  - analogy to *Folklore* (Michalopoulos and Xue (QJE 2021))
  - Music and songs chiefly important for people
- **Songs (lyrics and music), Culture, and Political Economy**
  - **New research avenues**

Refugee Identity and Culture

Songs as Depository of Cultural Attributes

- The experience of forceful displacement and settling in a new environment, amidst adversity.

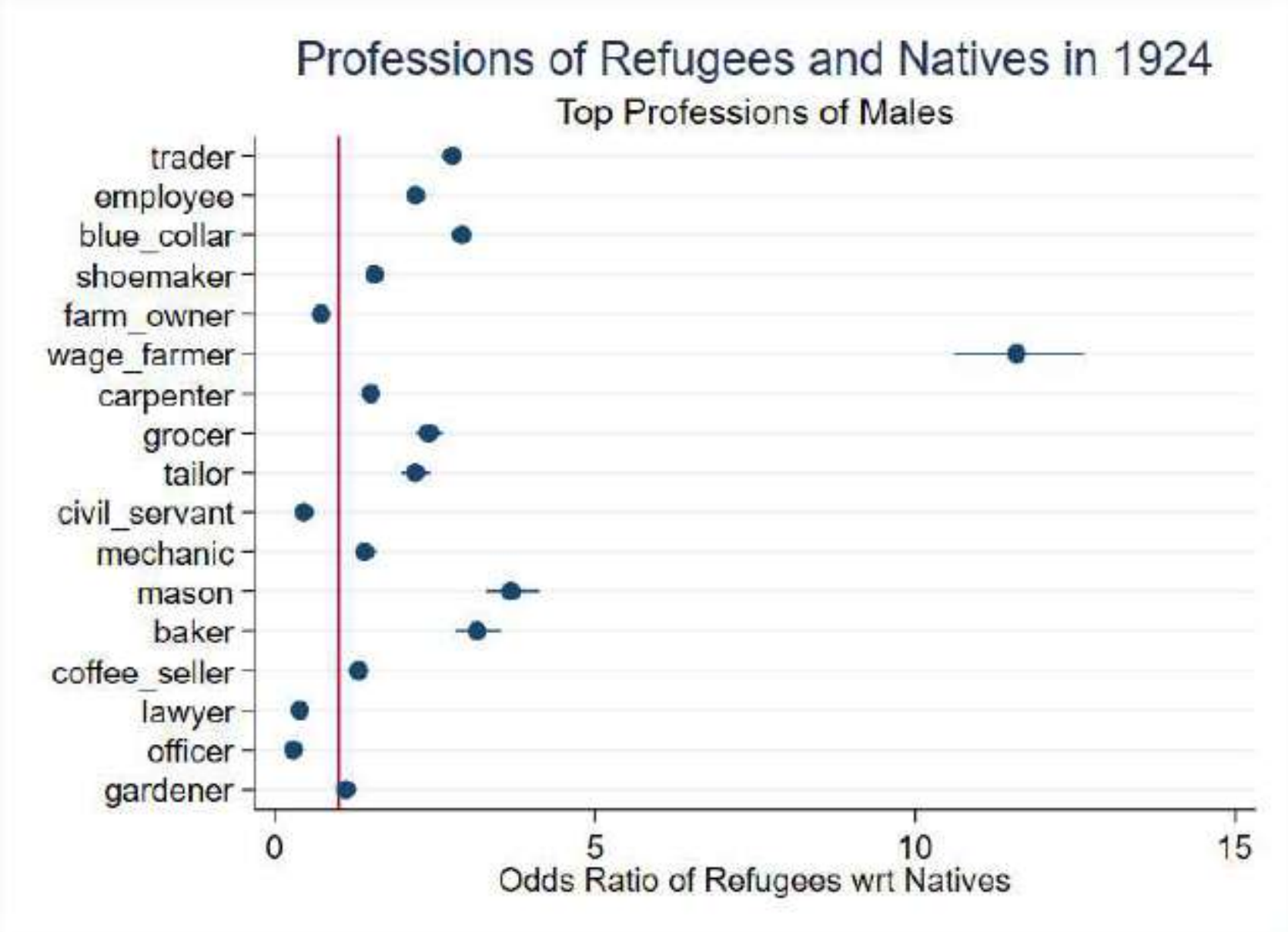
  Trauma at a Group Level

- Immortalized in their songs cement an identity of a traumatized, marginalized group.
  - despite educational convergence, (rising incomes), and improvements in neighborhoods (urbanization)
  - behavior, attitudes, and preferences reflect an adversarial historical experience.

- **Songs offer a unique opportunity to look at how group-level narratives and collective memories change as a result of extreme experiences.**

Urban Refugees. Occupations Upon Arrival

Electoral Catalogue, Athens 1924



Urban Refugees, Jobs Upon Arrival in Athens, cont.

Refugees Take up Whatever Jobs Appear Available

- Little capital
- Immediate survival needs so..
- blue-collar workers, peddlers, wage farmers, etc
- Textile, apparel, tailors
- Under-represented among civil servants, land owners, police and army officers, and lawyers.

Refugees and the Birth a Music Genre - Rebetiko

- Rebetiko's origins are debated among Ethnomusicologists.
- But all agree refugees were instrumental in this new genre.

Greek Music and Refugees' Influence

Panagiotis Toundas. Smyrna School of Music

- Toundas: 1886–1942 was a Greek composer and lyricist of the early 20th century from Smyrna.
- In 1924 he became director of Odeon Records. He worked with all the major record labels including also directing Columbia records responsible for many recordings of the era.

Example. Refugees' in Greek Songs

Lyrics: The Refugee Girl, Tountas (1927)

Don't break my heart with your complaining, not, my light, for I ache at your pain, kindle a flame in my heart with thy sweet voice, My little refugee, my little refugee, as you say your words.

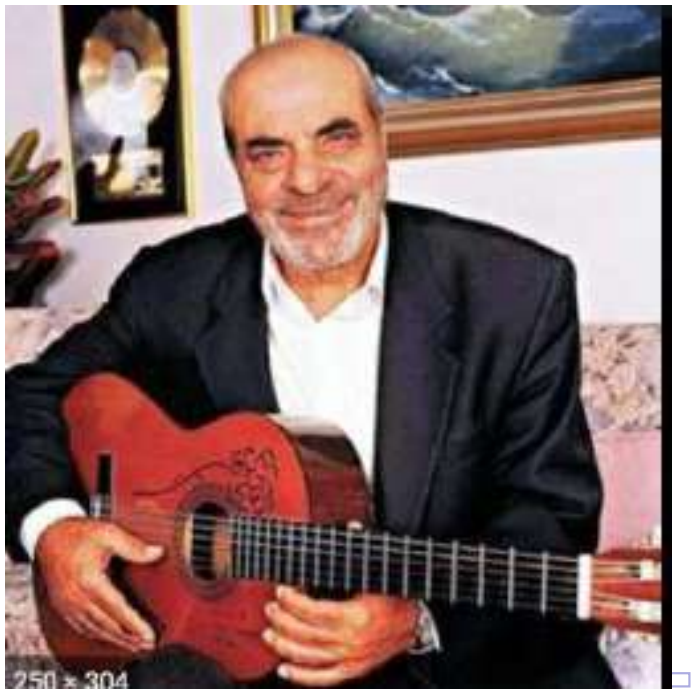
Laugh, little refugee, forget your misfortune and we'll go to the old haunts once, to our beautiful Smyrna, in the garden of birds and there, sweet love, we'll live with kisses.

Stop crying, my love, stop crying and the time will come. We'll go again with joy to our beautiful country. Then, my bird, you and I will live together, and in kisses, all the past will be forgotten.

The Evolution of Greek Music after WWII

From Rebetiko to Laiko

- Rebetiko is influential but short-lived as it will transform into a new genre called Laiko "Popular" after the WWII.
- Stelios Kazantidis 1931-2001 is a prominent second-generation refugee born in Nea Ionia (one of the refugee settlements in Athens) emblematic of the transition from Rebetiko to Laiko.



Refugees in Laiko Song

Lyrics: Refugees on the Run, Kazatzidis, 1987

From the shores of Smyrna and from the courts of Pontus, we arrived uprooted in the slums. Refugees on the run, *a life of injustice*. Piled up in shacks, drowned by need. Refugees hunted, *a life of injustice. I sing our woes, I suffer and hurt.* Driven from our homes, in the bitter host country, and in blood soaked half our generation.

Modern Period. Hip Hop; Active Member

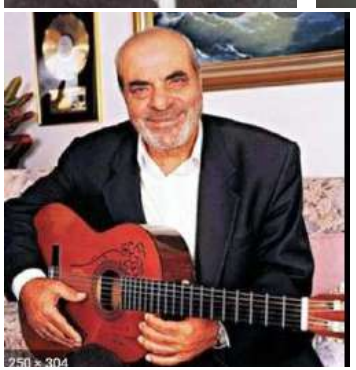
1996; Lyrics: Refugee

I have refugee marks in my forehead I look around again and everything seems foreign I look at the clouds and think of journeys but without light all the grey in my soul is the same. For even this earth I'm treading on it's not my fault they didn't teach me to love it. Where is that sweet home of mine that has the light engraved in the stone as if God has forgotten it forever. *And I feel like a refugee here where I was born Like my ancestors*. Motherland, motherland, though you never saw it, though it never embraced you, close your eyes to the blows and laugh it's a sacred cause they always tell us And to feel the light we must always be patient for a good future that will come. But I'm sick of them all, *where is God, is he a refugee himself?* And yet I exist I take courage and sing for all that I love without having it

From Case-Studies to the Big Picture

Big Data and ML to the Rescue

- **But are there general patterns?**
- **Are songs of refugees different than natives'?**



Songs, Group Identity, and Politics

Section Overview

1. Motivation, Approach
2. Greek Context. Musicology. Historical Evolution
3. **Topic Analysis. ML Approach on Greek songs**
4. Results A. Refugees' and Natives' Songs
   - Cross-sectional differences/predictors
   - Evolution-Dynamics
   - From Supply to Demand
5. Results B. Songs and Politics
   - Youth Festivals
   - Party Manifestos and Songs' Content

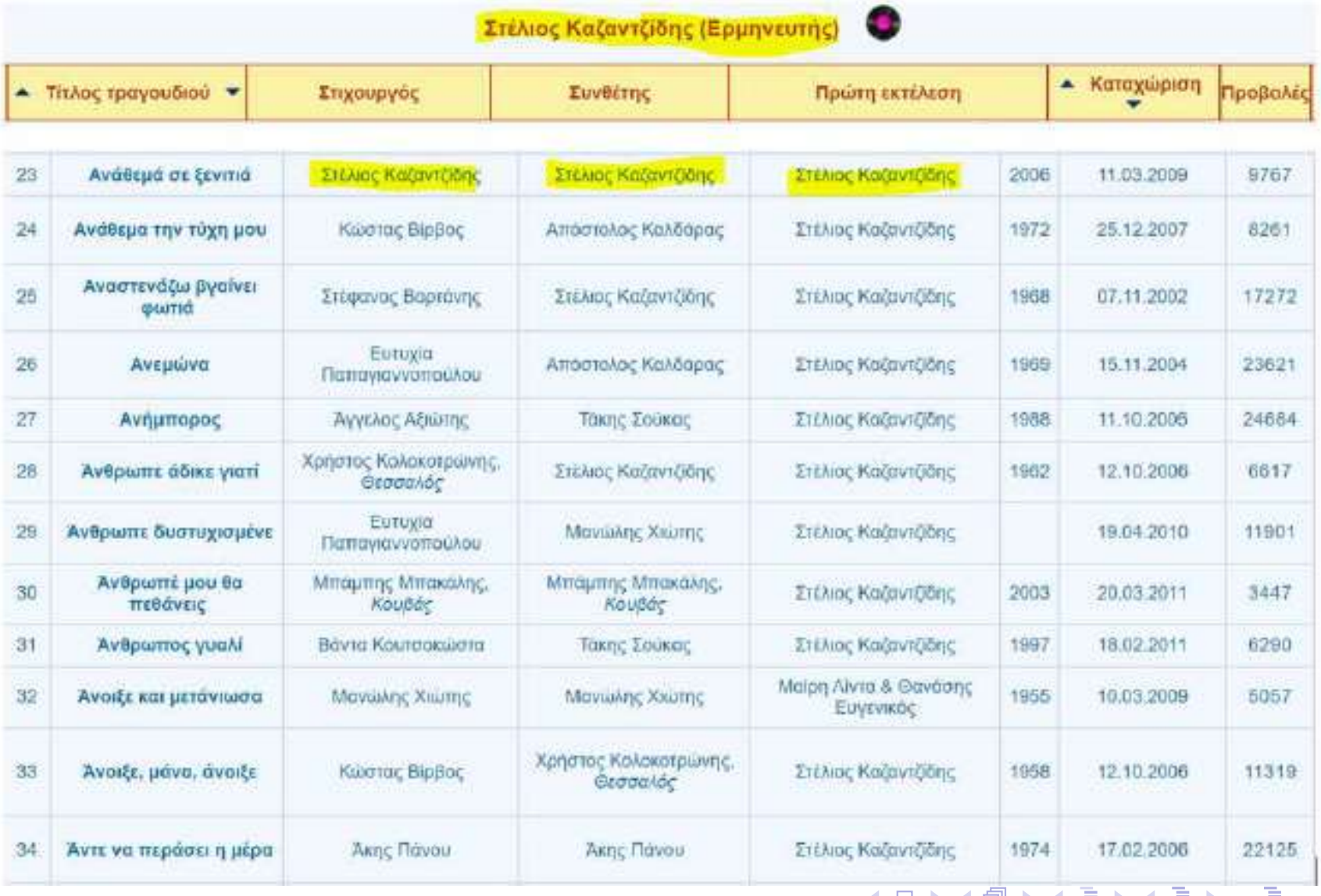
Approach

Methodology

1. Scrape lyrics of *almost all* Greek songs of past century
2. Songs' content analysis. genres [ML techniques]
3. Biographies of singers, composers, and lyricists.
   - classification Natives - Refugees (origin)
4. Explore differences in content and topics
5. Link to politics and ideology

Example. From Case-Studies to the Big Picture

Crowd-Sourced Data to the Rescue



Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης (Ερμηνευτής)

	Τίτλος τραγουδιού	Στιχουργός	Συνθέτης	Πρώτη εκτέλεση		Καταχώριση	Προβολές
23	Ανάθεμά σε ξενιτιά	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	2006	11.03.2009	9767
24	Ανάθεμα την τύχη μου	Κώστας Βίρβος	Απόστολος Καλδάρας	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1972	25.12.2007	8261
25	Αναστενάζω βγαίνει φωτιά	Στέφανος Βορεάνης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1968	07.11.2002	17272
26	Ανεμώνα	Ευτυχία Παπαγιαννοπούλου	Απόστολος Καλδάρας	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1969	15.11.2004	23621
27	Ανήμπορος	Άγγελος Αξιώτης	Τάκης Σούκας	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1988	11.10.2006	24684
28	Άνθρωπε άδικε γιατί	Χρήστος Κολοκοτρώνης, Θεσσαλός	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1962	12.10.2006	6617
29	Άνθρωπε δυστυχισμένε	Ευτυχία Παπαγιαννοπούλου	Μανώλης Χιώτης	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης		19.04.2010	11901
30	Άνθρωπέ μου θα πεθάνεις	Μπάμπης Μπακάλης, Κουβάς	Μπάμπης Μπακάλης, Κουβάς	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	2003	20.03.2011	3447
31	Άνθρωπος γυαλί	Βάντα Κουτσοκώστα	Τάκης Σούκας	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1997	18.02.2011	6290
32	Άνοιξε και μετάνιωσα	Μανώλης Χιώτης	Μανώλης Χιώτης	Μαίρη Λίντα & Θανάσης Ευγενικός	1955	10.03.2009	5057
33	Άνοιξε, μάνα, άνοιξε	Κώστας Βίρβος	Χρήστος Κολοκοτρώνης, Θεσσαλός	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1958	12.10.2006	11319
34	Άντε να περάσει η μέρα	Άκης Πάνου	Άκης Πάνου	Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης	1974	17.02.2006	22125

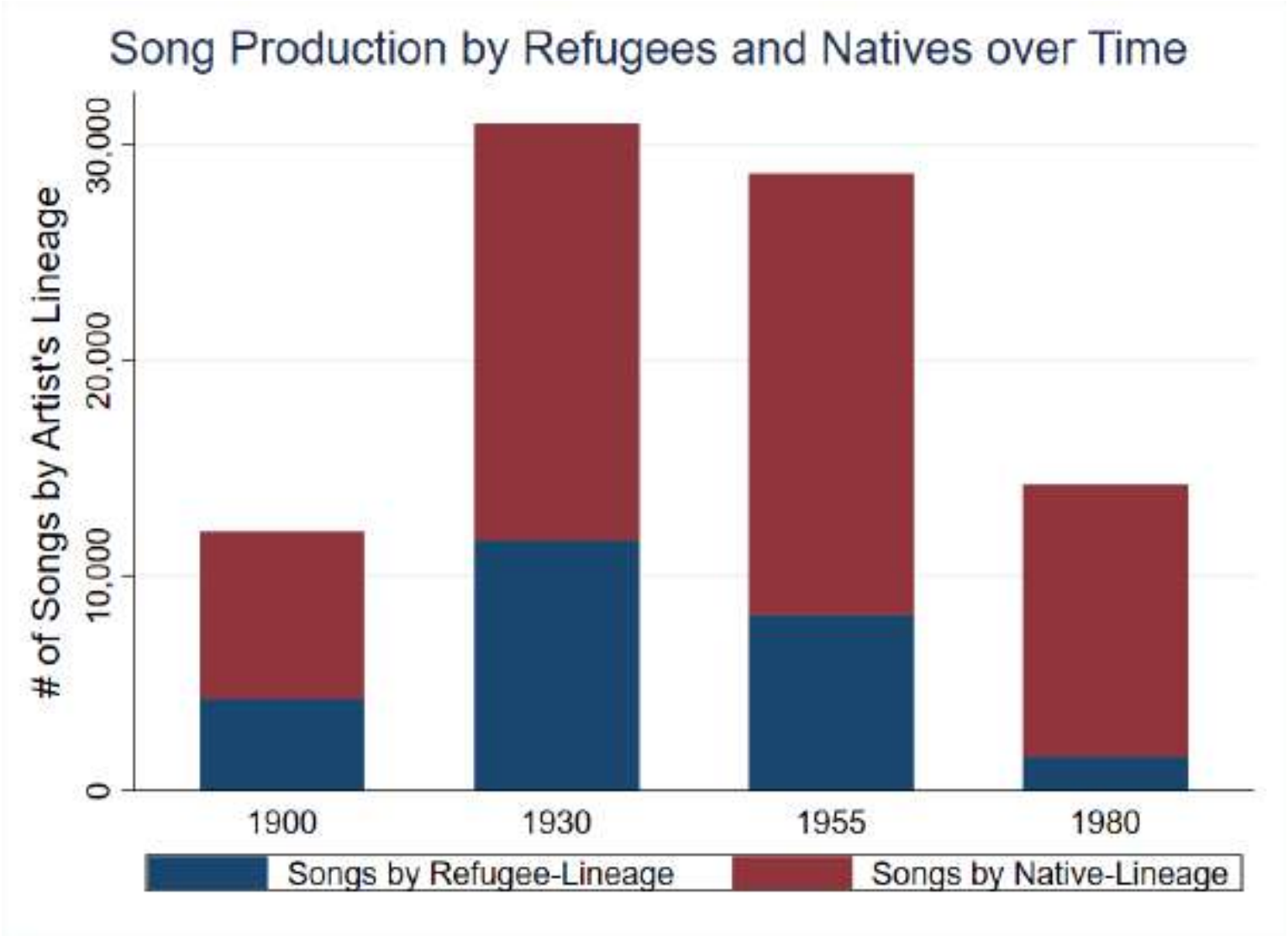
Crowd-Sourced Big Data to the Rescue

ML Approach

- **Scrape close to the universe of songs.** titles, lyrics, lyricists, composers, singers, date of production, number of views.
  - 129,905 songs
  - 2,200 singers with at least 5 songs
    - 17% of singers are of refugee origin
  - 2,000 lyricists with at least 5 songs
    - 13% of lyricists are of refugee origin
- Still working on figuring out the refugee origin; reading biographies, interviews, etc

Song Production by Artists' Cohorts

Patterns



Crowd-Sourced Big Data to the Rescue. Challenges

Caveats

- Natural Language processes are not well developed in the Greek language yet.
  - We translate into English via the DeepL Translator API
- Metaphors, Greek idioms, slang are lost in translation
  - Poetry's big influence in Greek music is another (nice) challenge

Steps

- Lemmatize
- Remove Stop Words
- Assign Songs to Concepts. *How?*

Classifying Songs - Content Analysis

Step 1. Identifying Content

- **Use keywords and related words from knowledge graphs created by computer scientists**
  - Conceptnet 5: semantic network created by the MIT Media Lab using crowdsourced resources (Wiktionary, DPpedia, WordNet, Open Mind Common Sense) to build a large commonsense knowledge base.
  - Look over the 50 most related words per concept.
  - Look at the top 15k concepts

- **Example**: Concepts related to **presence**: 'presence', 'absence', 'attendance', 'omnipresence', 'existence', 'ubiquity', 'nonexistence', 'appearance', 'involvement', 'demeanour', 'absent', 'participation', 'pervasiveness', 'appearing', 'graced', 'proximity', 'conspicuousness', 'absentia', 'stature', 'signage', 'preponderance', 'absentee'

Classifying Songs - Content Analysis, cont.

Step 2. Predict Refugee Songs

- **Apply shrinkage techniques to find out which concepts are most predictive of refugee songs.**
  - Run Lasso regressions using as outcome an indicator identifying whether the artist involved in the song (lyricist or singer) is of refugee origin
  - Collect concepts that are picked across the top 1k, 2k, 3k, 4k, ...15k iteratively with and without decade of birth song production constants (accounting for trends)

- **ML Algorithm**
  - Lasso with data-dependent, theory-driven penalization Belloni et al (2012, 2016).
  - Currently exploring other machine learning algorithms, including random forests.

Songs, Group Identity, and Politics

Section Overview

1. Motivation, Approach
2. Greek Context. Musicology. Historical Evolution
3. Topic Analysis. ML Approach on Greek songs
4. **Results A. Refugees' and Natives' Songs**
   - **Cross-sectional differences/predictors**
   - **Evolution-Dynamics**
   - **From Supply to Demand**
5. Results B. Songs and Politics
   - Youth Festivals
   - Party Manifestos and Songs' Content

Concepts Predictive of Refugee Artist (Cross-Sectional)

Positive Predictors

- **Pain**: wound, orphan, tragedy, disruption, misery, lament, suffer, bitter, pain, awful, painful, agonize, heinous, ghastly, unspeakable, twinge, unreal, egregious, deadly, ache, grief, sorrow, poison, torture, sour, gruesome, carnage, intolerable, terrible, violence, threat, shame, misfortune, monstrous, torment
- **Distress:** bustle, hectic, tumultuous, crisis, collapse, destruction, drama, flee, exit, scramble, wreck, distress
- **Power:** powerhouse, riot, swat, warrior, inequality, injustice, discrimination, bigotry, insidious
- **Slang/Anger:** outburst, rage, shit, fucking, bitch, dude

Concepts Predictive of Refugee Artist (Cross-Sectional), cont.

Positive Predictors, More

- **Poverty-Labor:** labor, toil, workload, handiwork, subsistence, cash, poverty, impoverished, poor, homeless, slum, unpaid, slavery, wealthy, beggar
- **Restart:** commence, inaugurate, start, develop
- **Sounds:** noise, sonic, earshot, eavesdrop, soundbite, vibe
- **Grit:** capacity, strength, potency, pride, inventive, ardent, fiery, invincible
- **Sense-of-Self:** presence/absence, existential, birthplace, trance, primal, limitless, immortality, infinity, boundless, voluminous, ephemeral, primordial, foundational, ancestry

Concepts Predictive of Refugee Artist (Cross-Sectional), cont.

Negative Predictors

- **Pleasure/Hope:** contentment, utopia, starlight, skyrocket, gratification, joyous, idealistic, hope, dream, wish, love, desire, imagination, romance

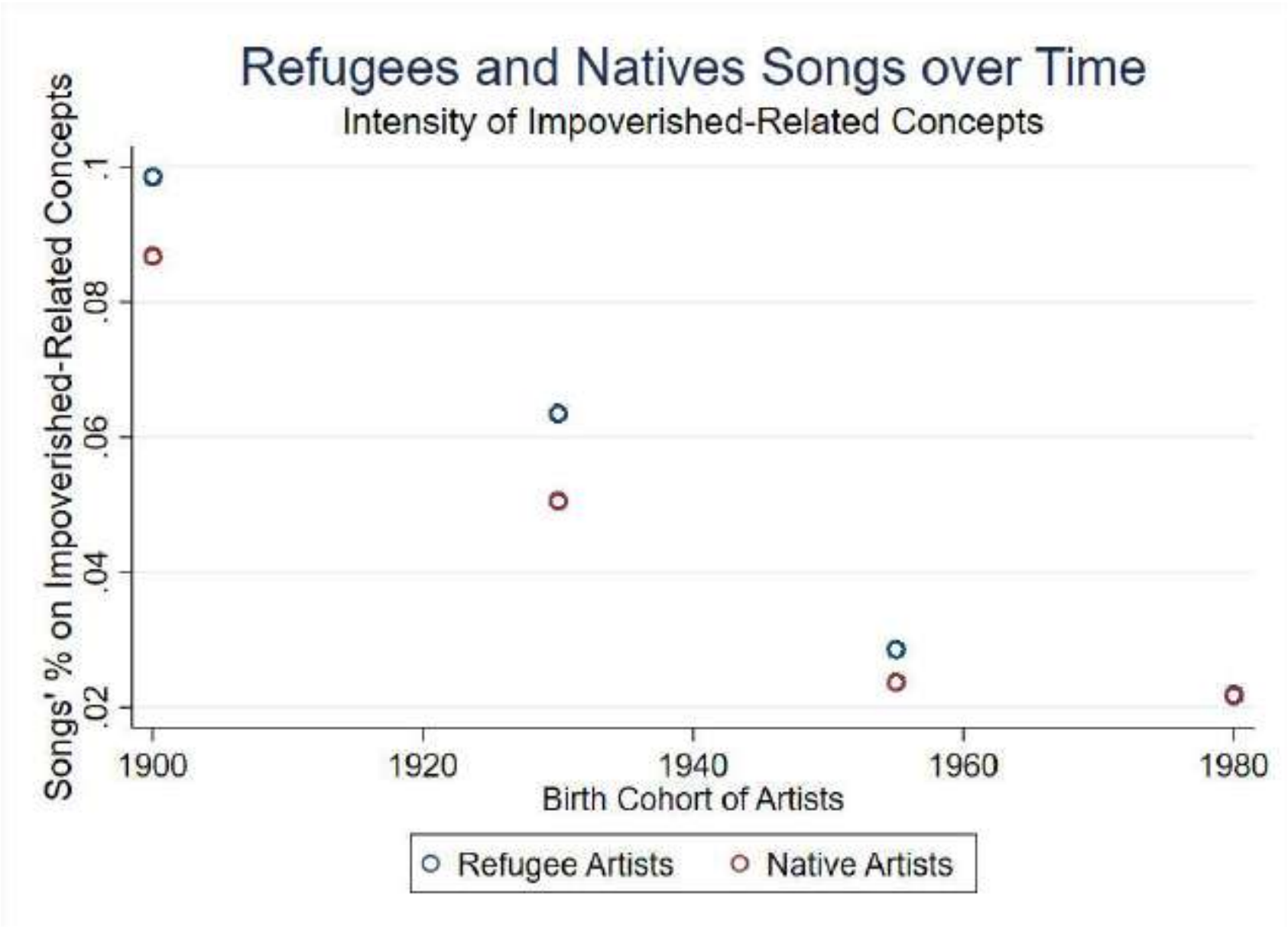
Exploring Dynamics in the Songs' Concepts

How differences between Natives' and Refugees' songs evolve?

- **On average, refugee lineages sing different "tunes".**
  - Are these differences persistent or converge as soon as the economics converge?
  - The rate at which songs' themes travel intergenerationally reflects (hard-to-measure) identity transmission
- For example, do "economics"-related images converge but the trauma persists?

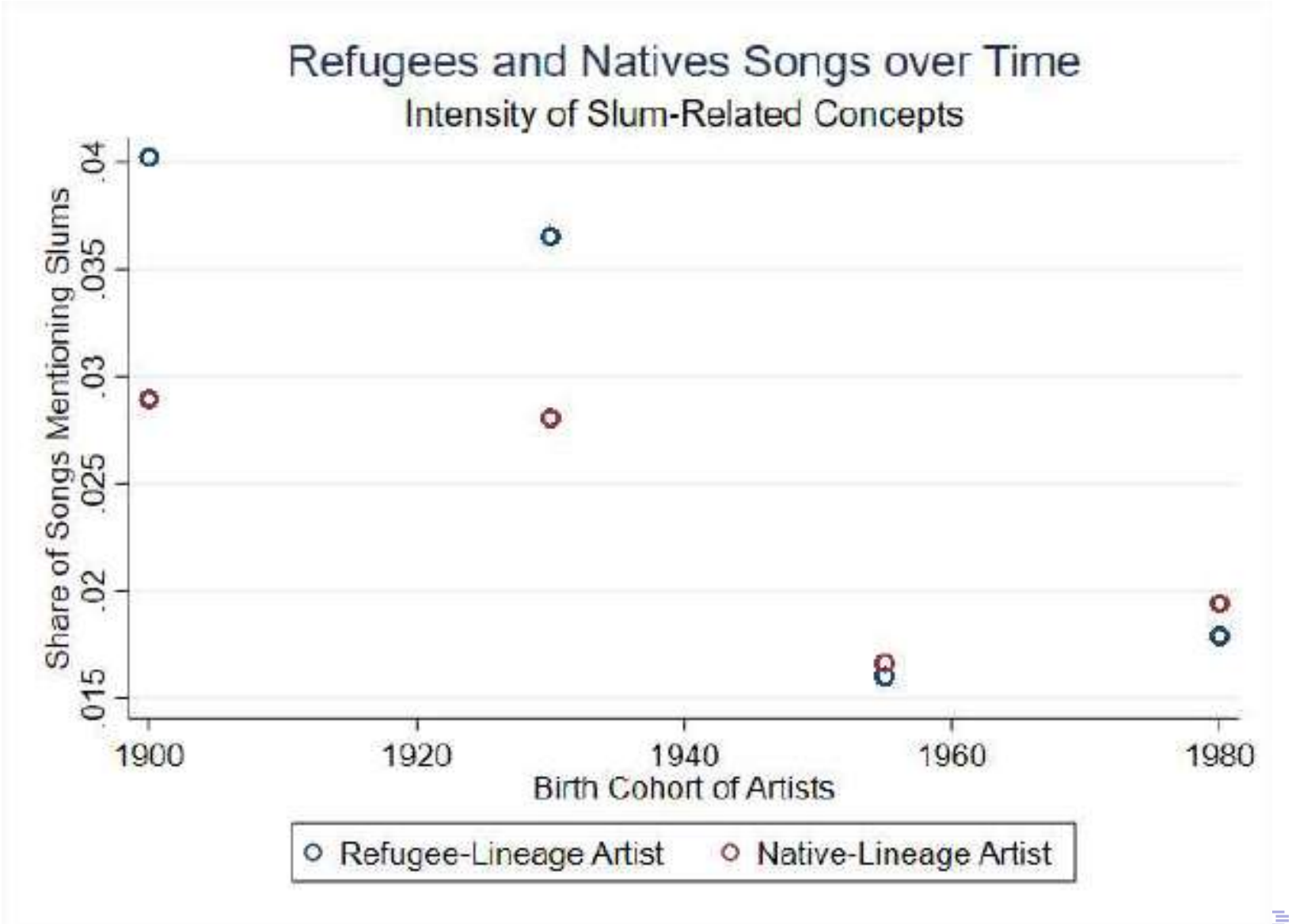
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Impoverishment



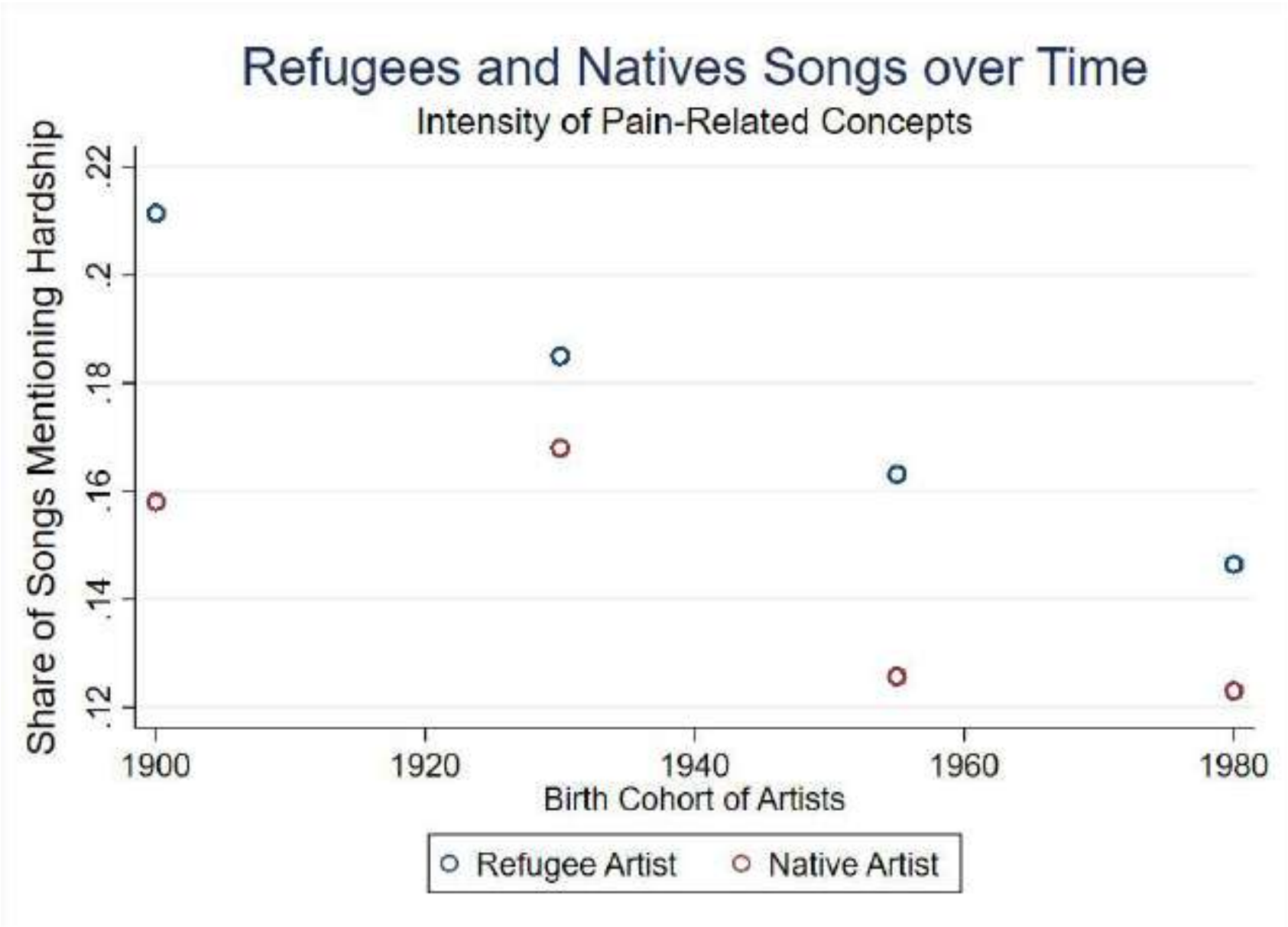
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Slums



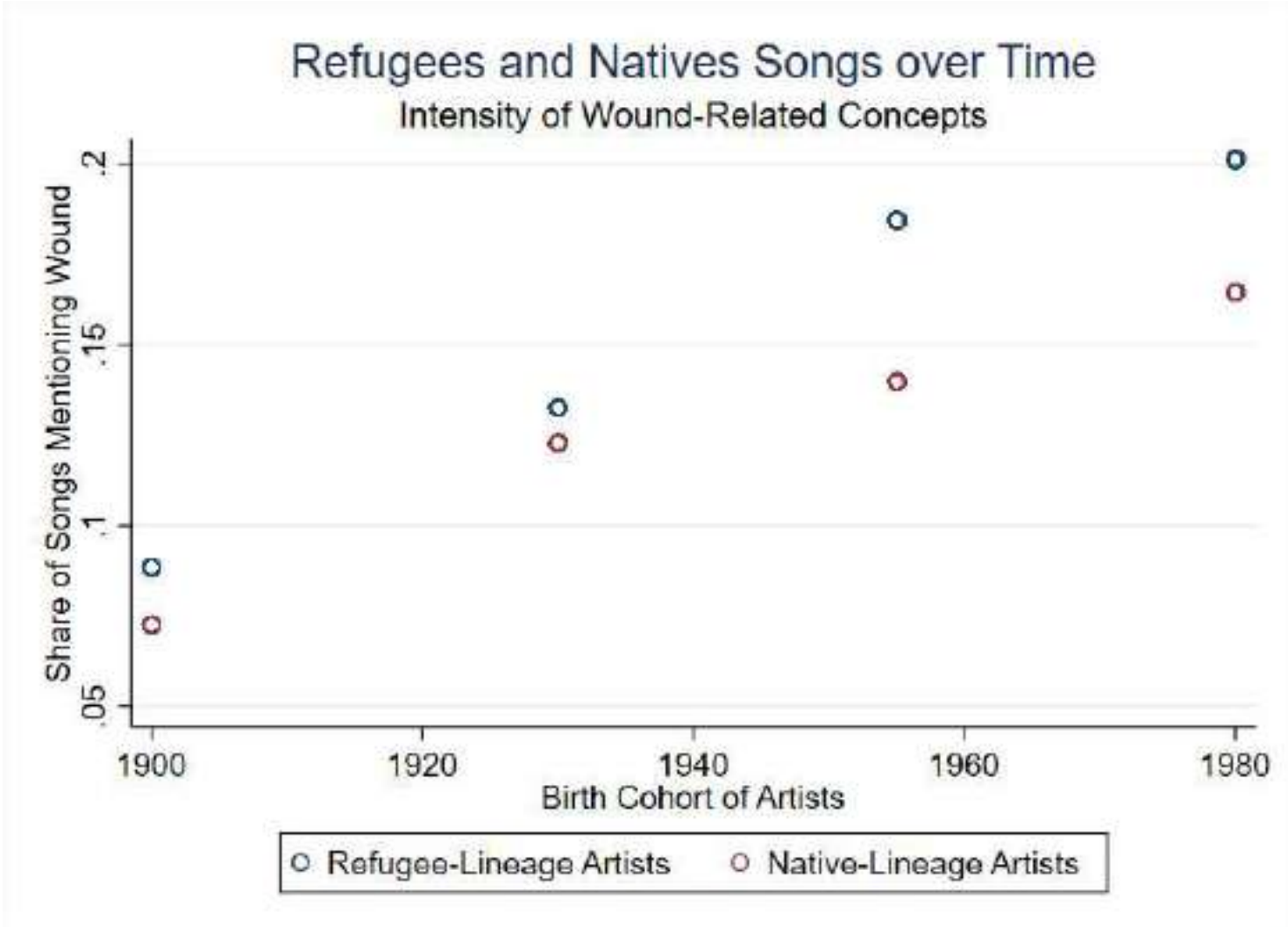
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Hardship



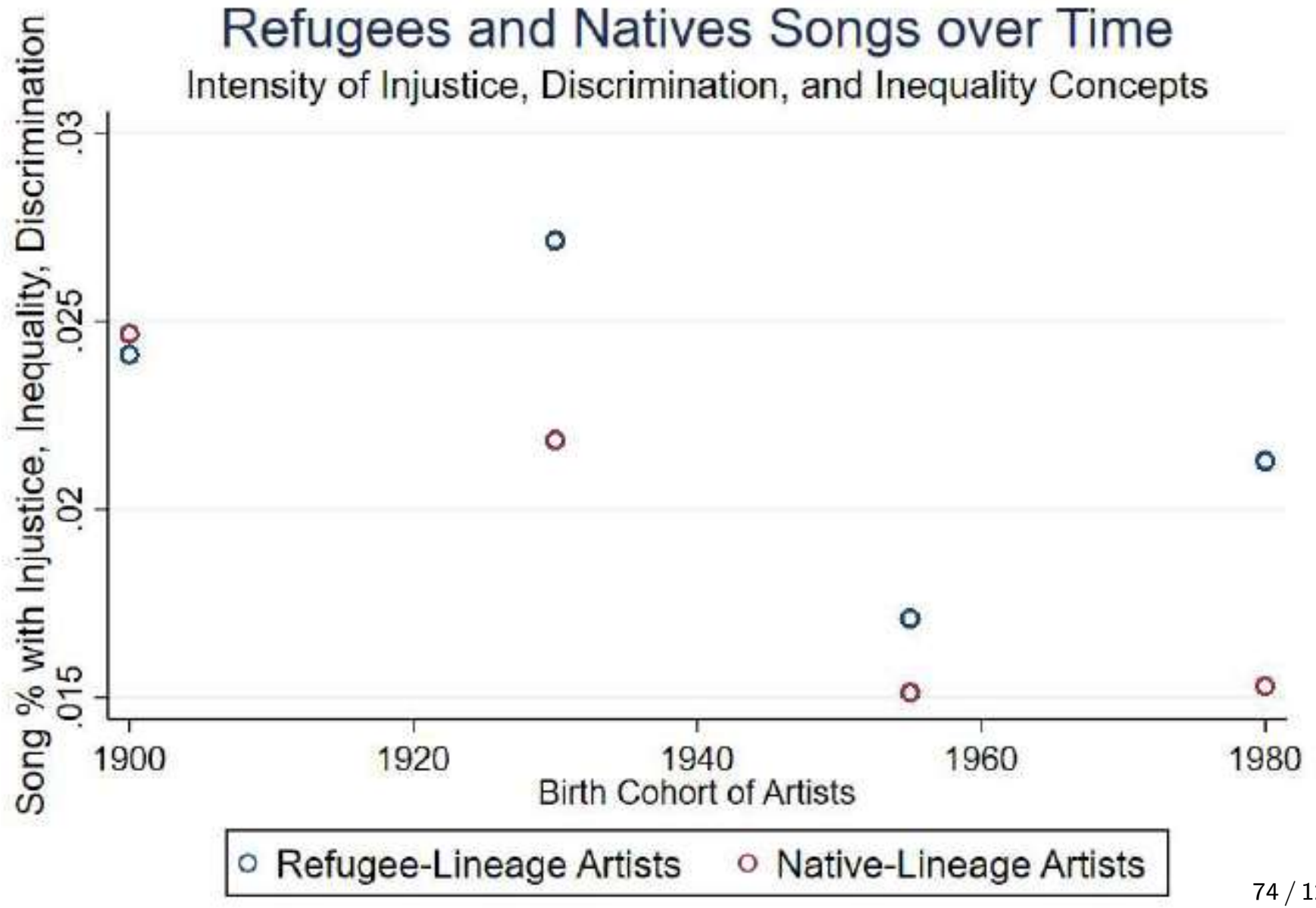
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Wound



Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Injustice, Inequality, Discrimination



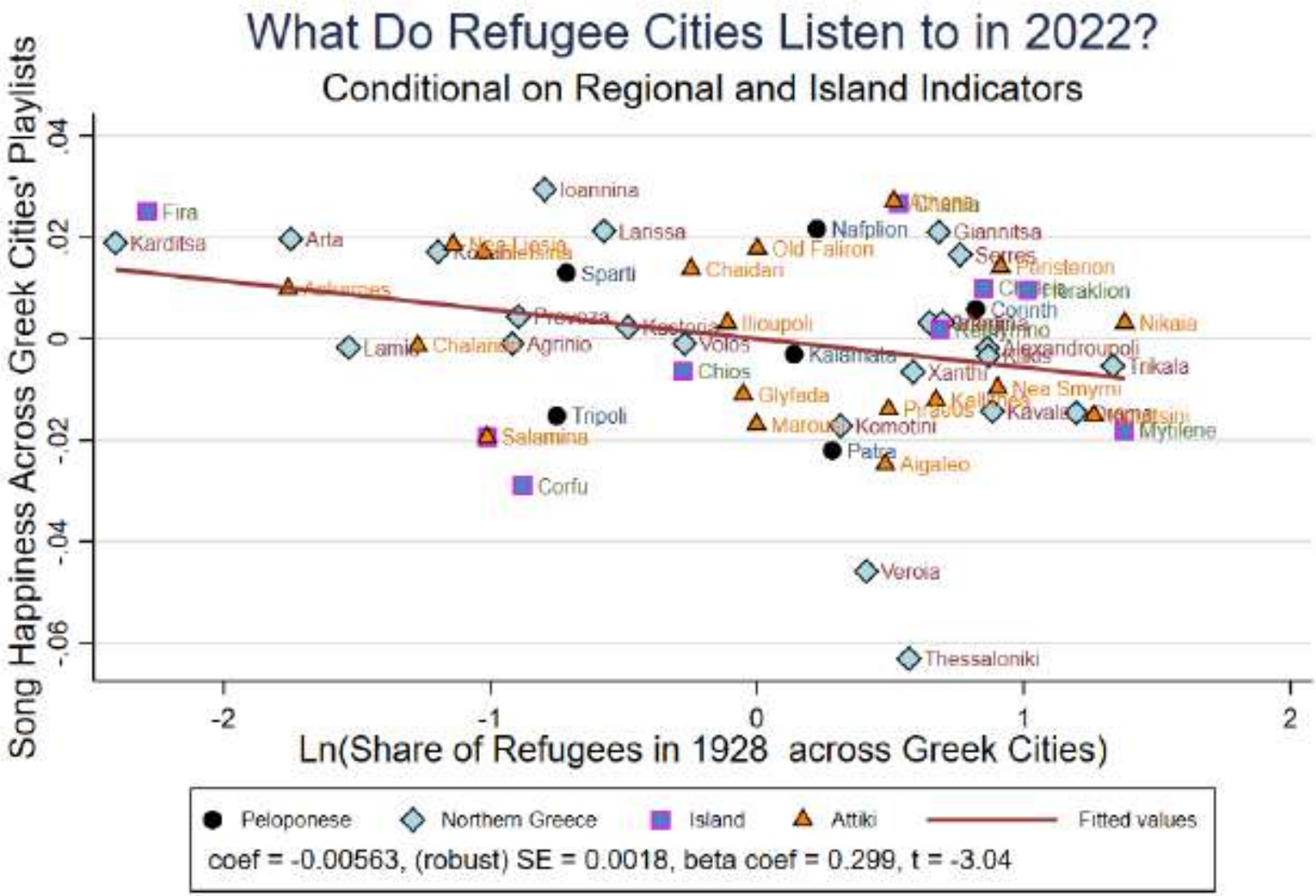
Refugees' Songs Production

Taking Stock

- **Supply appears important.** Conservative estimates due to spillovers and increasing overtime mixing
- **What about demand?**
  - **Examine "consumption" [in recent times using spotify data]**
  - **Associate song's content (as provided by spotify) to share of refugees in the town/city**

The Playlists of Refugees Across Cities Today

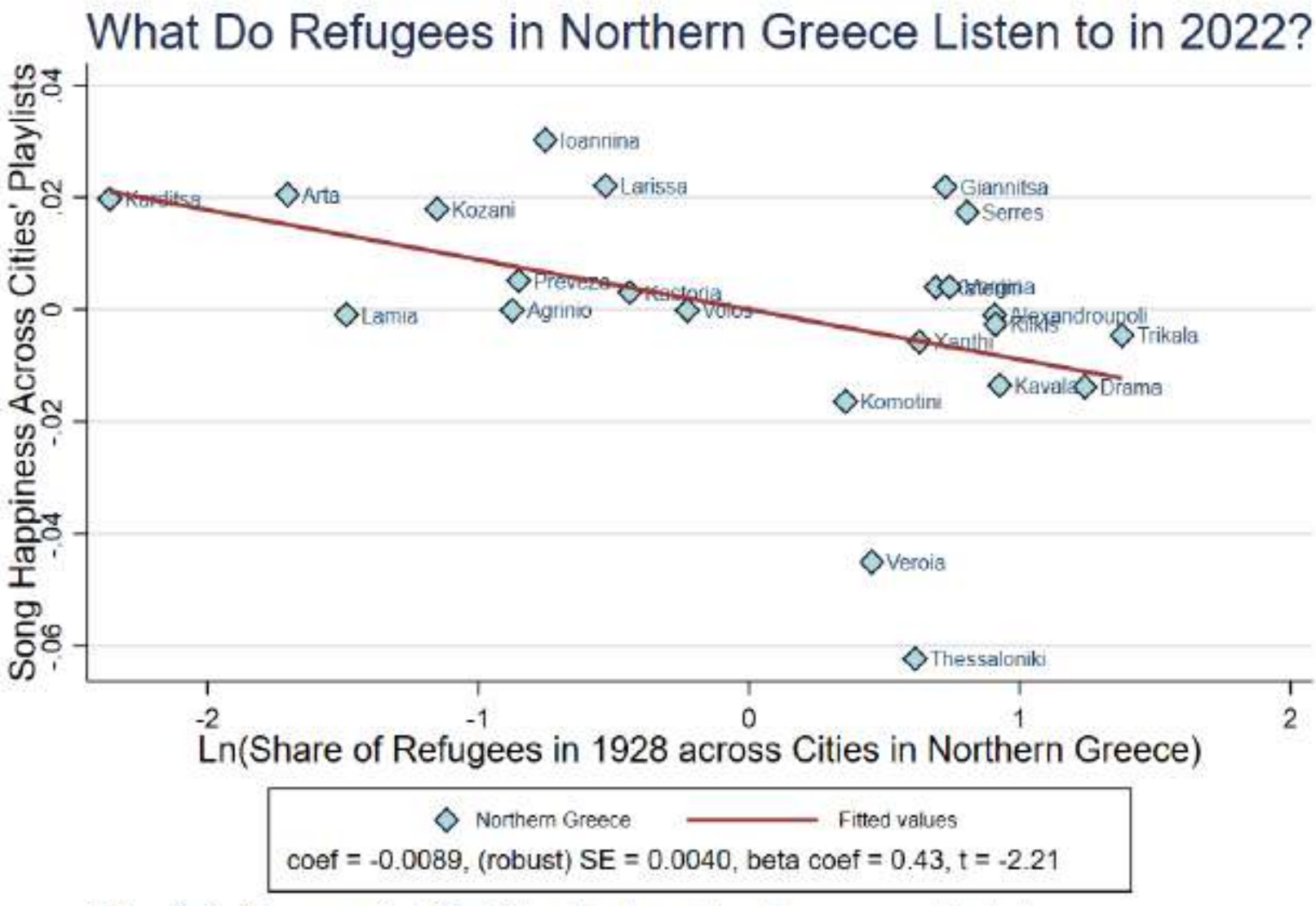
Spotify Data



Valence in Spotify: measure from 0.0 to 1.0 describing the musical positiveness conveyed by a track

The Playlists of Refugee Cities in Northern Greece Today

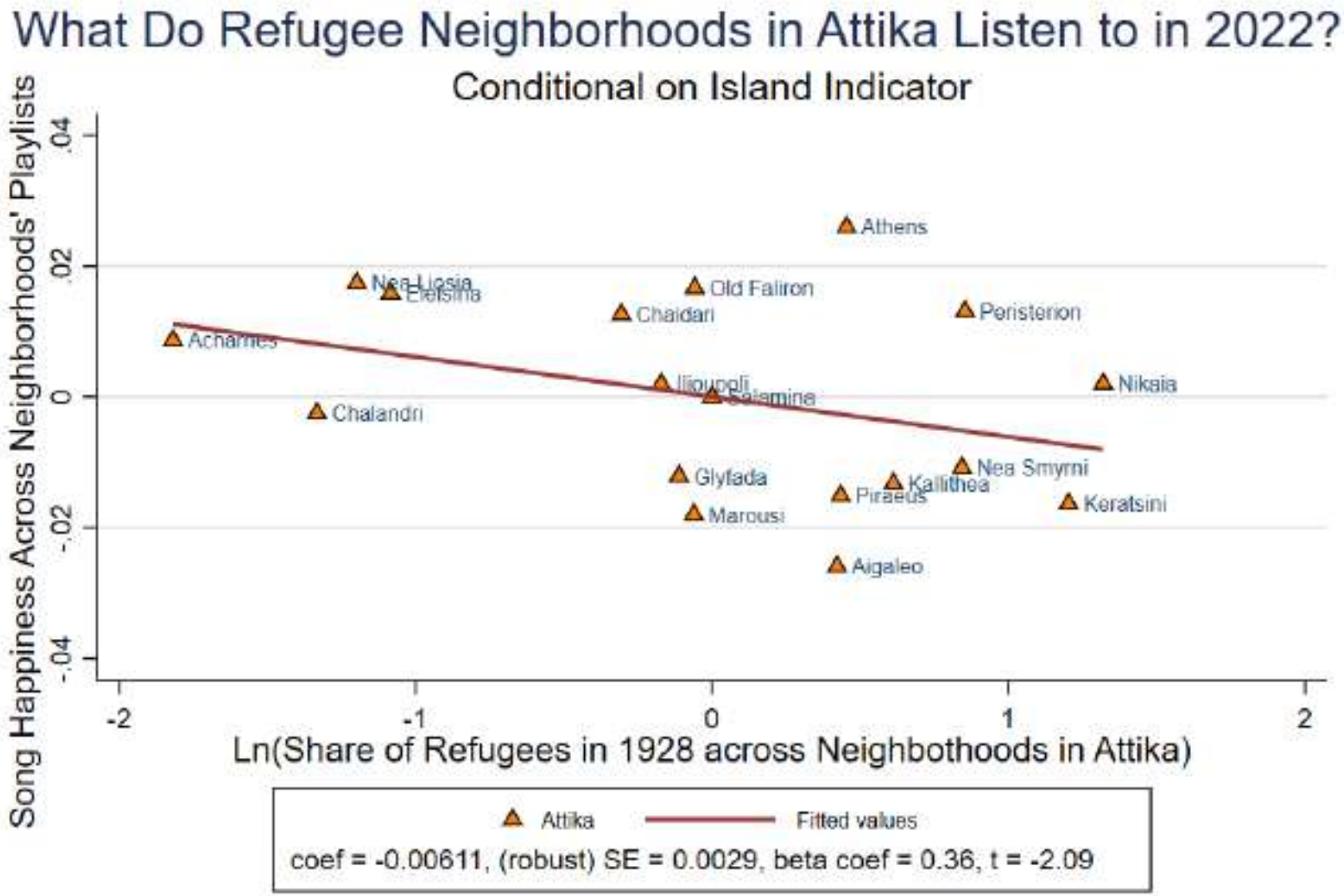
Spotify Data



Valence in Spotify: measure from 0.0 to 1.0 describing the musical positiveness conveyed by a track

The Playlists of Refugee Neighborhoods in Attika Today

Spotify Data



Valence in Spotify: measure from 0.0 to 1.0 describing the musical positiveness conveyed by a track

Cultural Norms and Beliefs

Section Structure

1. **Survey Evidence.** Beliefs, Attitudes, and Norms. [Metron Analysis. Monthly Barometer]
2. **Detailed Focused Survey.** [under design]

Norms, Attitudes, and Beliefs

Preliminary Survey Evidence. Metron Analysis

Main Results. Six monthly rounds; about 8,000 respondents.

- **Origin.** about 1/3 [36%] of refugee origin [mother or father side]; 12% both mother and father
- **The most traumatic event of the 20th century** Identify the Asia Minor Catastrophe as such.
- **Exclusion.** Feel excluded from society
- **Political Trust/Parliament.** Distrust
- **Heightened Preferences for Redistribution and Role of State Tackling Inequality**
- **Self-identify more with the political extremes (left and right) and vote for fringe parties.**

Presentation Structure

1. **Introduction, Motivation, and Literature**
2. **Historical Context**
3. **Data and Patterns**
4. **Economic Implications. Local, Economy-wide**
   - Immediate Aftermath
   - Lasting Legacy
5. **Cultural Expression. ML on Greek Songs**
6. **Political Affinities**
   - Historical Voting
   - Contemporary Electoral Outcomes
7. **Next Steps**

Political (Voting) Implications. Urban Refugees Only

Section Overview

1. **Empirical Specification. Spatial RDD (nearby areas)**
2. **Historical Electoral Outcomes** 1932, 1958, 1977 [*more to come*]
3. **Contemporary Electoral Outcomes** Post-2007
4. **Inertia. Refugee's Business Residence**
5. **Some Mechanisms**

Urban Settlements, Athens, 1930

Attica, Urban Refugee Settlements, Kaisariani: 1924 & 1937

Kaisariani-Inside/Pagrati-Outside (1959)

Attica, Urban Refugee Settlements, Kaisariani: Today

Kaisariani-Inside/Pagrati-Outside (Today)

Urban Refugee Settlements. Nea (New) Erythraia

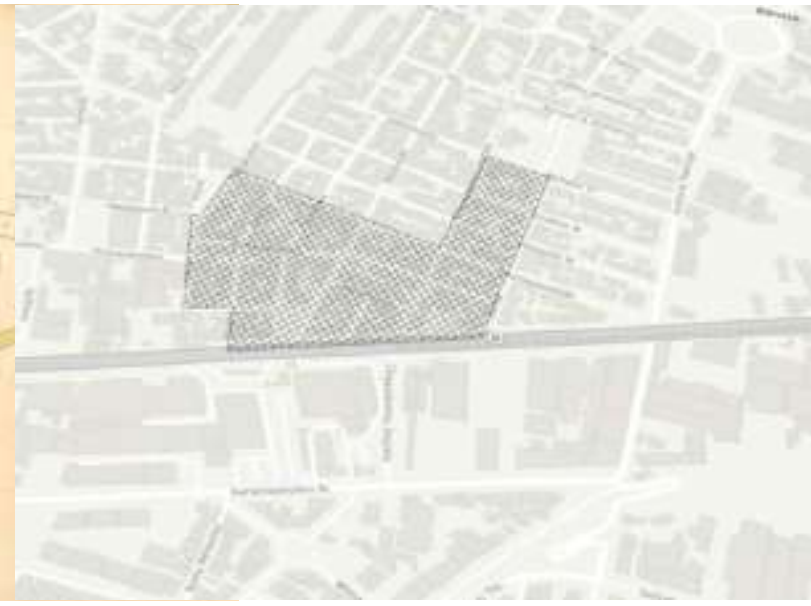
Northern (Richer) Athens' Suburbs

Historical Urban Map

Digitized Now

Attica-Piraeus, Urban Refugee Settlements, Appolon Renti

Historical Urban Map



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Urban Settlements: Athens

Table: Urban Settlements: Athens Metropolitan Area

	Number
Municipalities	35
Refugee Neighborhoods	95
Number of Refugee Families	20,960
Number of Refugee Families in Permanent Houses	9,680
Number of Refugee Families in Semi-Permanent Houses	6,534
Number of Refugee Families in Favelas	4,746

Urban Settlements: Piraeus

Table: Urban Settlements: Piraeus Metropolitan Area

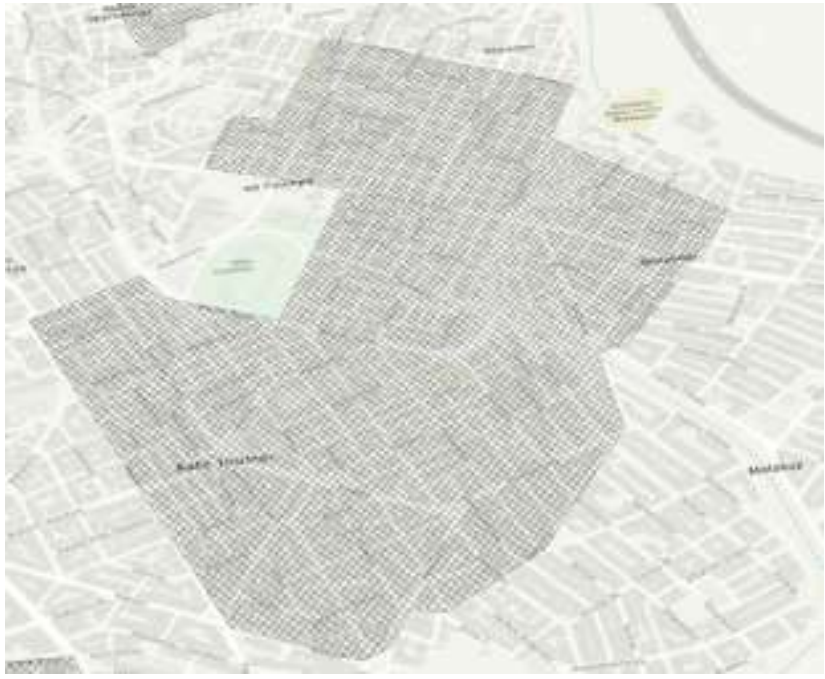
	Number
Municipalities	5
Refugee Neighborhoods	91
Number of Refugee Families	18,246
Number of Refugee Families in Permanent Houses	4,775
Number of Refugee Families in Semi-Permanent Houses (wooden)	6,803
Number of Refugee Families in Favelas	6,668

Athens Refugee Settlements

Digitized Maps

Urban Settlements. Salonica, Toumpa

Historical Urban Map



Digitized Now

Urban Settlements: Salonica

Table: Urban Settlements: Salonica Metropolitan Area

	Number
Municipalities	14
Refugee Neighborhoods	38
Number of Refugee Families	18,246
Number of Refugee Families in Permanent Houses	7,474
Number of Refugee Families in Semi-Permanent Houses (wooden)	4,048
Number of Refugee Families in Favelas	12,813

Thessaloniki Refugee Settlements

Digitized Mapping

Urban Settlements

80 Cities/municipalities across Greece, incl. Athens, Salonica, and Piraeus

Table: Refugee Urban Settlement Areas Recorded in the Refugee Urban Census, 1927; *League of Nations Archive*

	Number
Cities	80 (incl. 3 Metropolitan Areas)
Municipalities	80
Refugee Neighborhoods	253
Number of Refugee Families	101,405
Number of Refugee Families in Permanent Houses	39,450
Number of Refugee Families in Semi-Permanent Houses	26,288
Number of Refugee Families in Favelas	35,667

Historical Elections: Voting Stations - Athens 1932

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑ

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝ ΒΗΜΑ

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΣΕΙΣ

ΕΙΣ ΠΟΙΑ ΕΚΛΟΓΙΚΑ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΘΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΟΥΝ ΑΥΡΙΟΝ ΟΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ

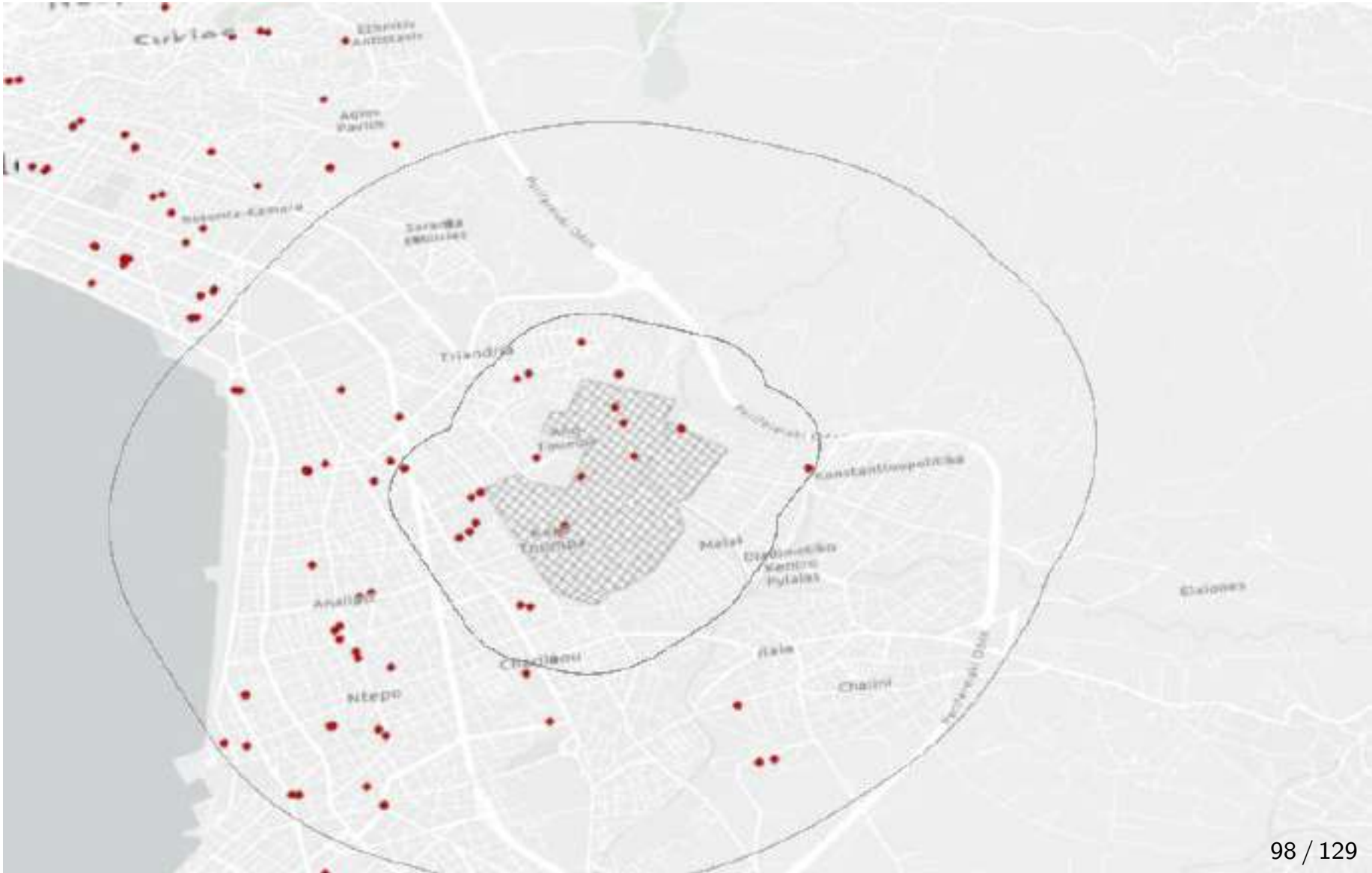
ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΙΝΑΞ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΟΡΙΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΣ ΟΔΗΓΙΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΛΟΓΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΣ

ΠΩΣ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΕΤΕ

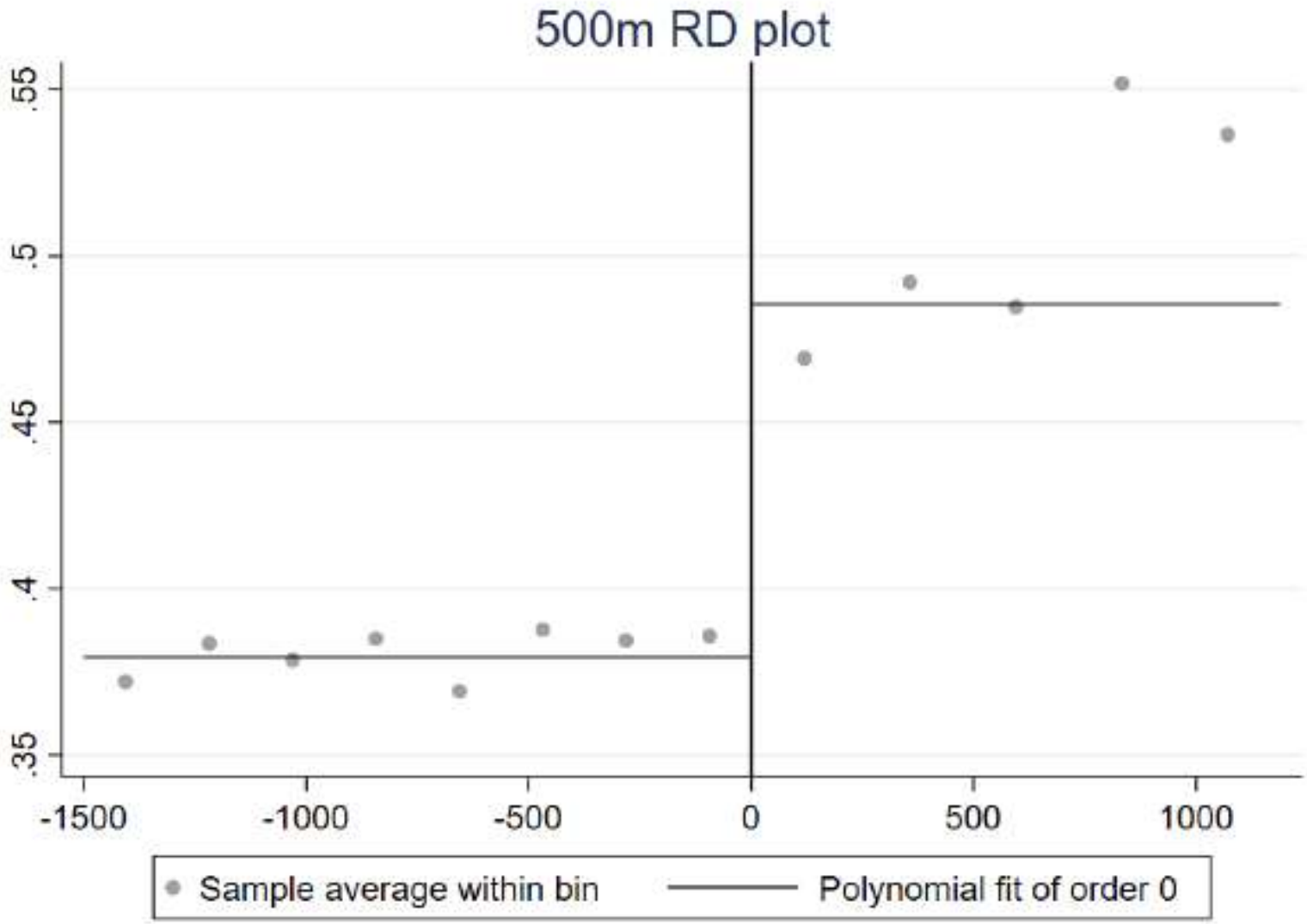
Empirical Specification. Example

Toumpa Catchment Area. Inside and Outside



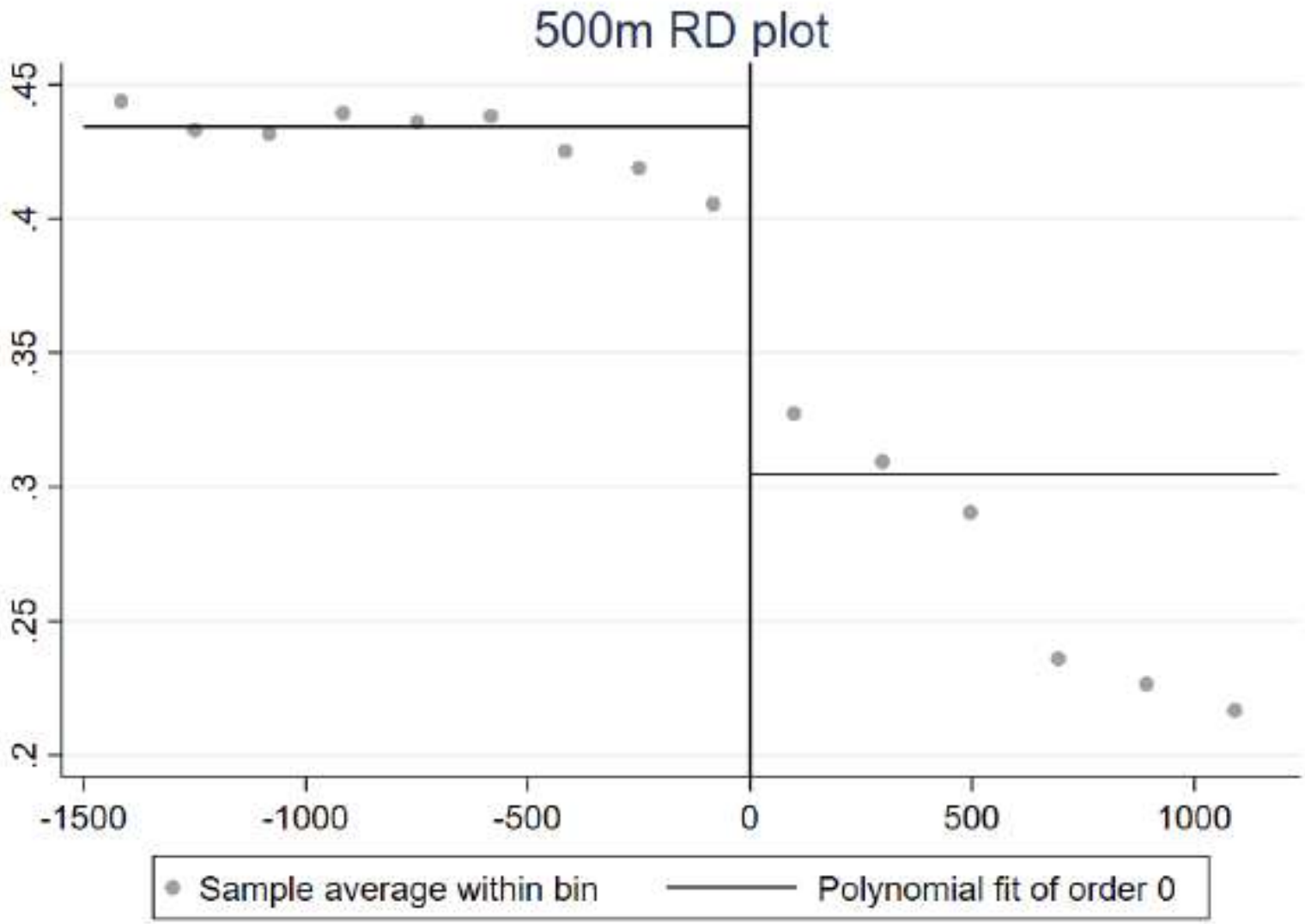
Past Elections: 1932 Liberals

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



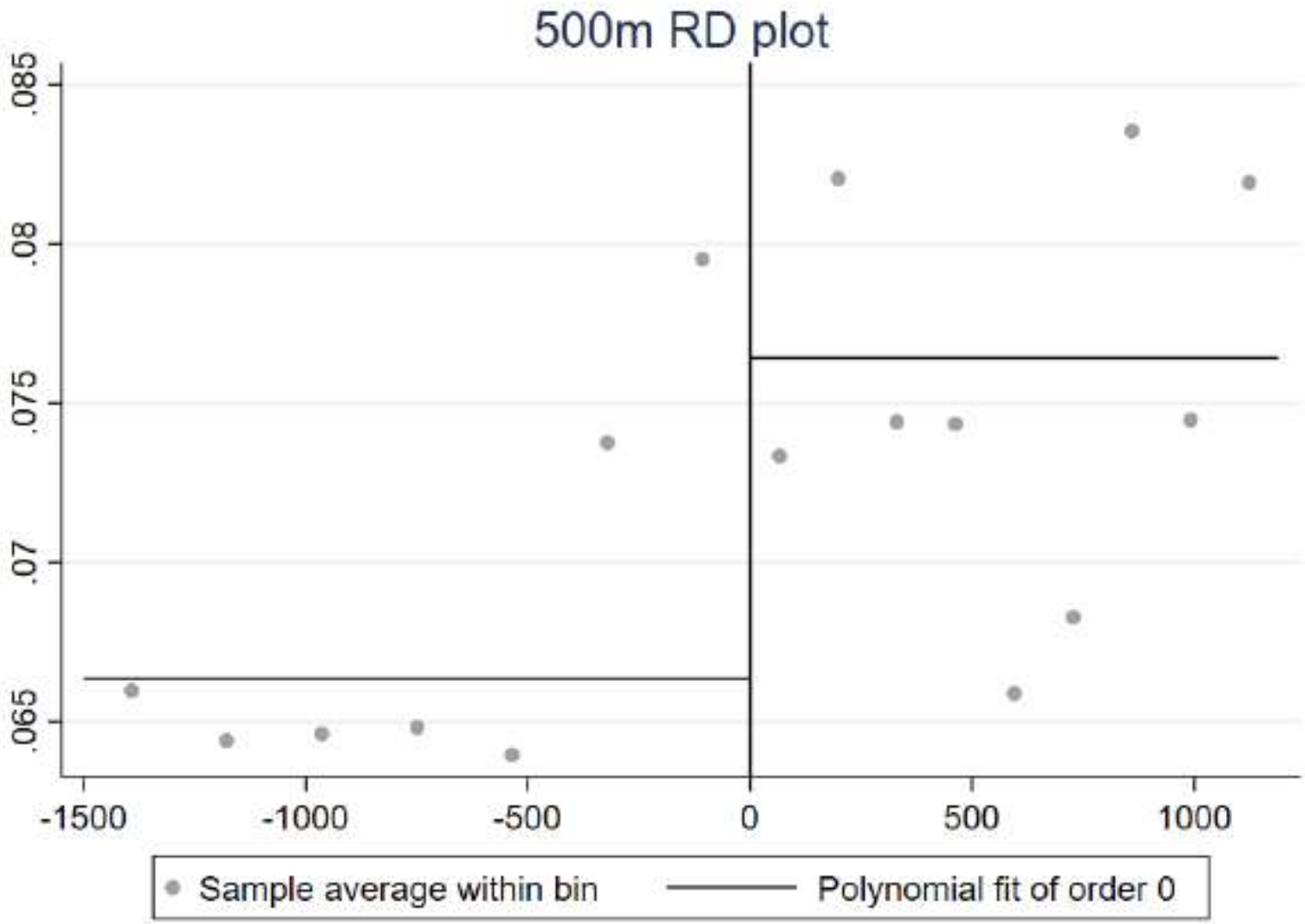
Past Elections: 1932 Popular Party

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



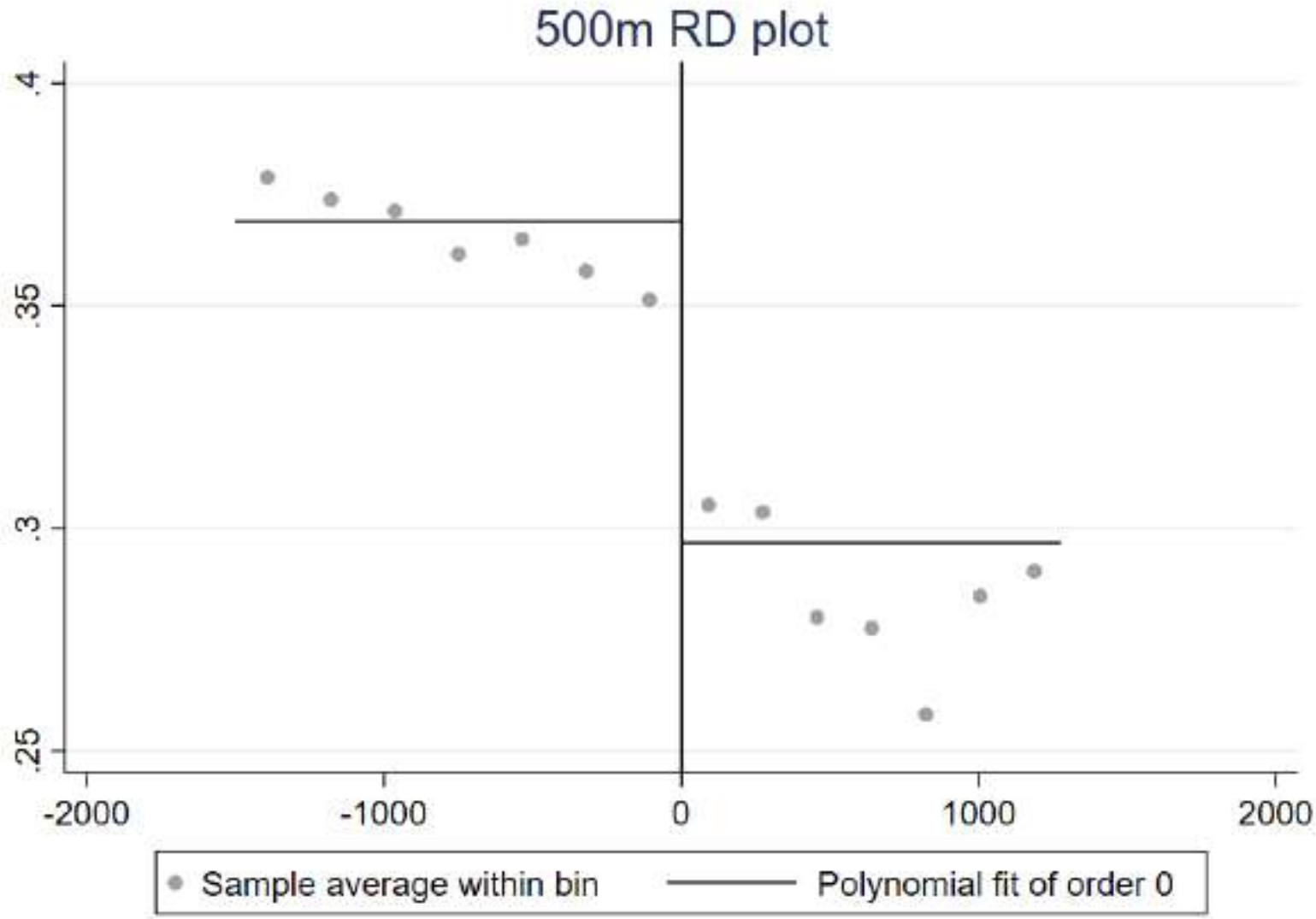
Past Elections: 1932 Communist Party

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



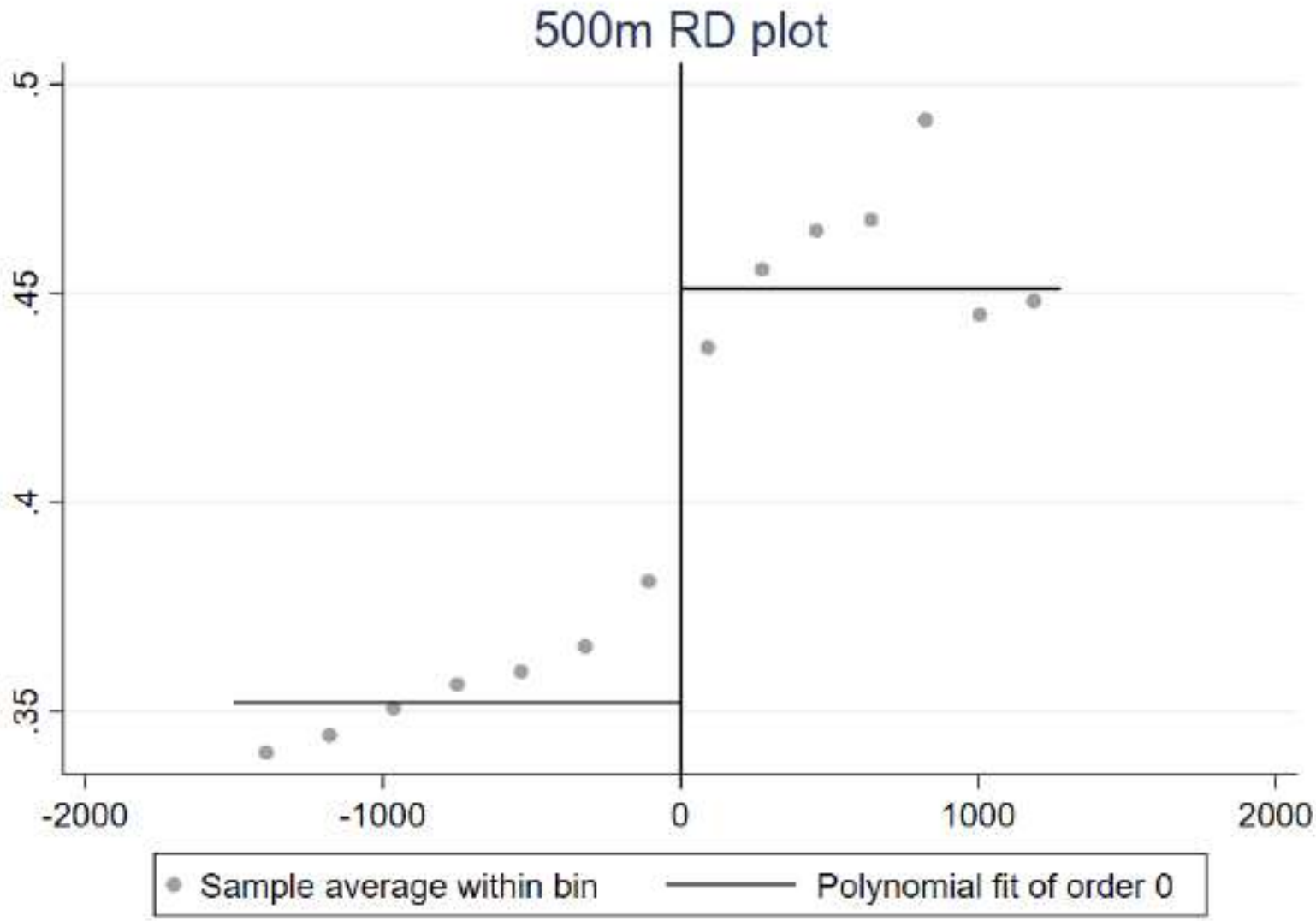
Past Elections: 1958 Right (ERE)

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



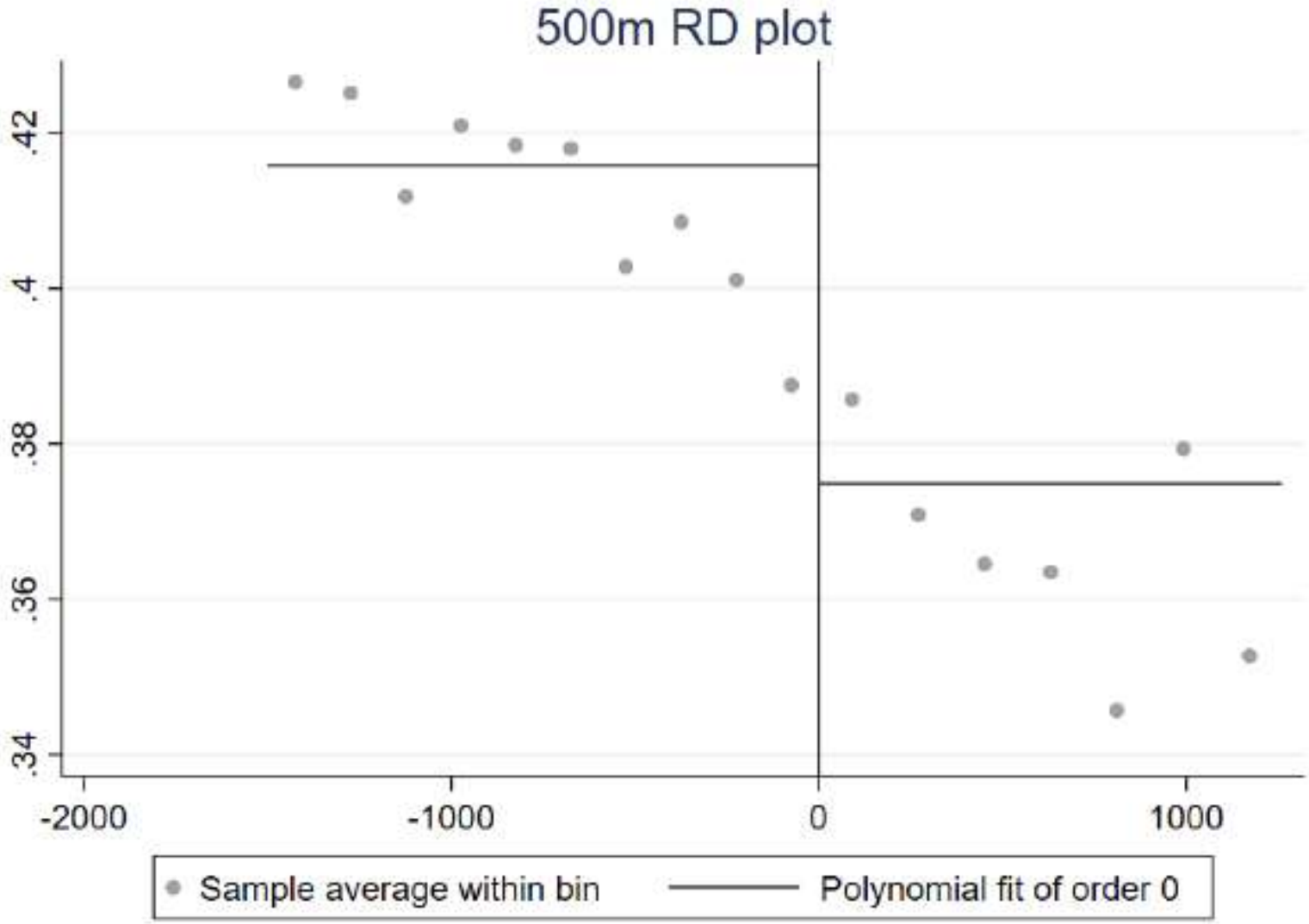
Past Elections: 1958 United Left (EDA)

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



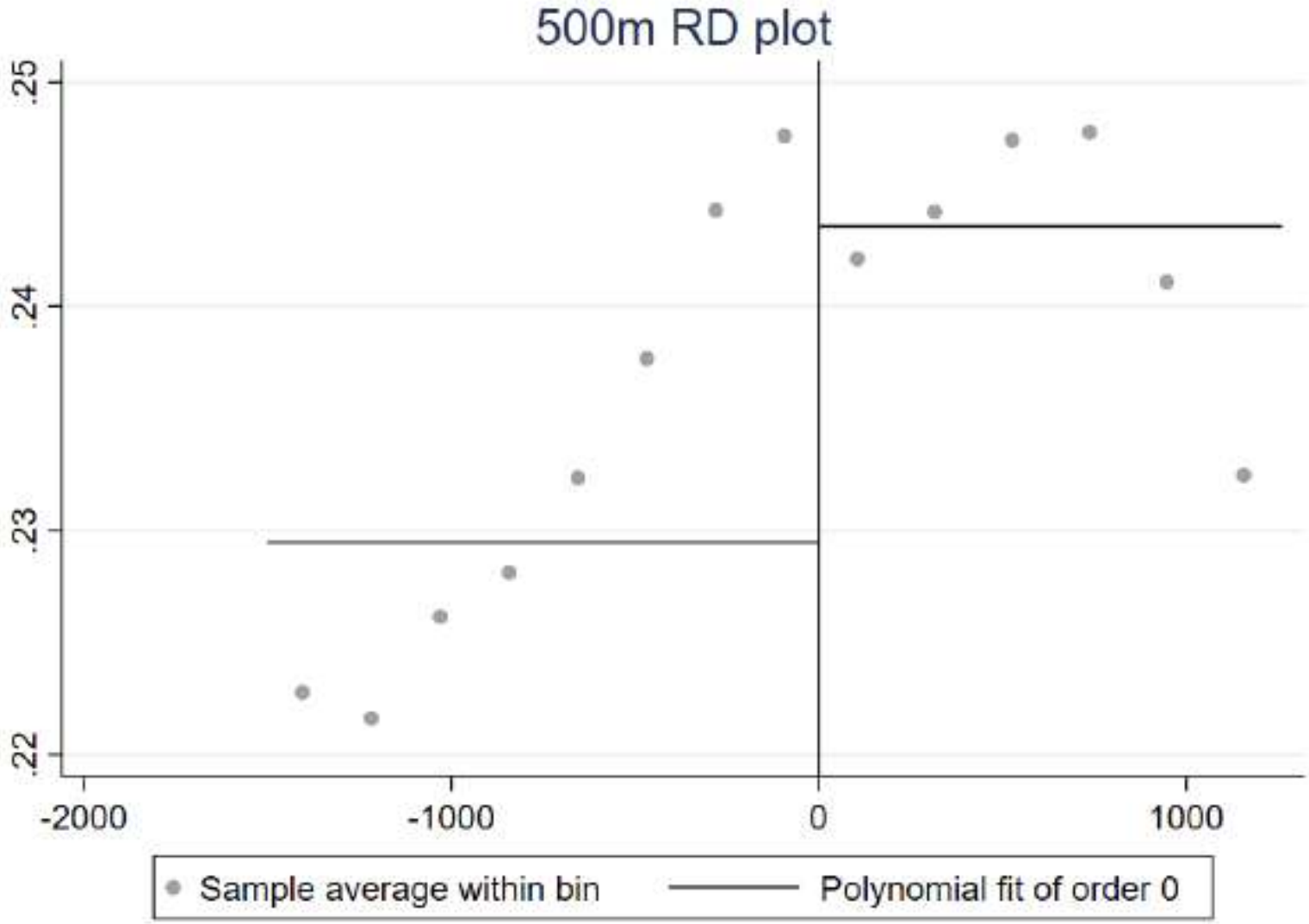
Past Elections: 1977 Right (ND)

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



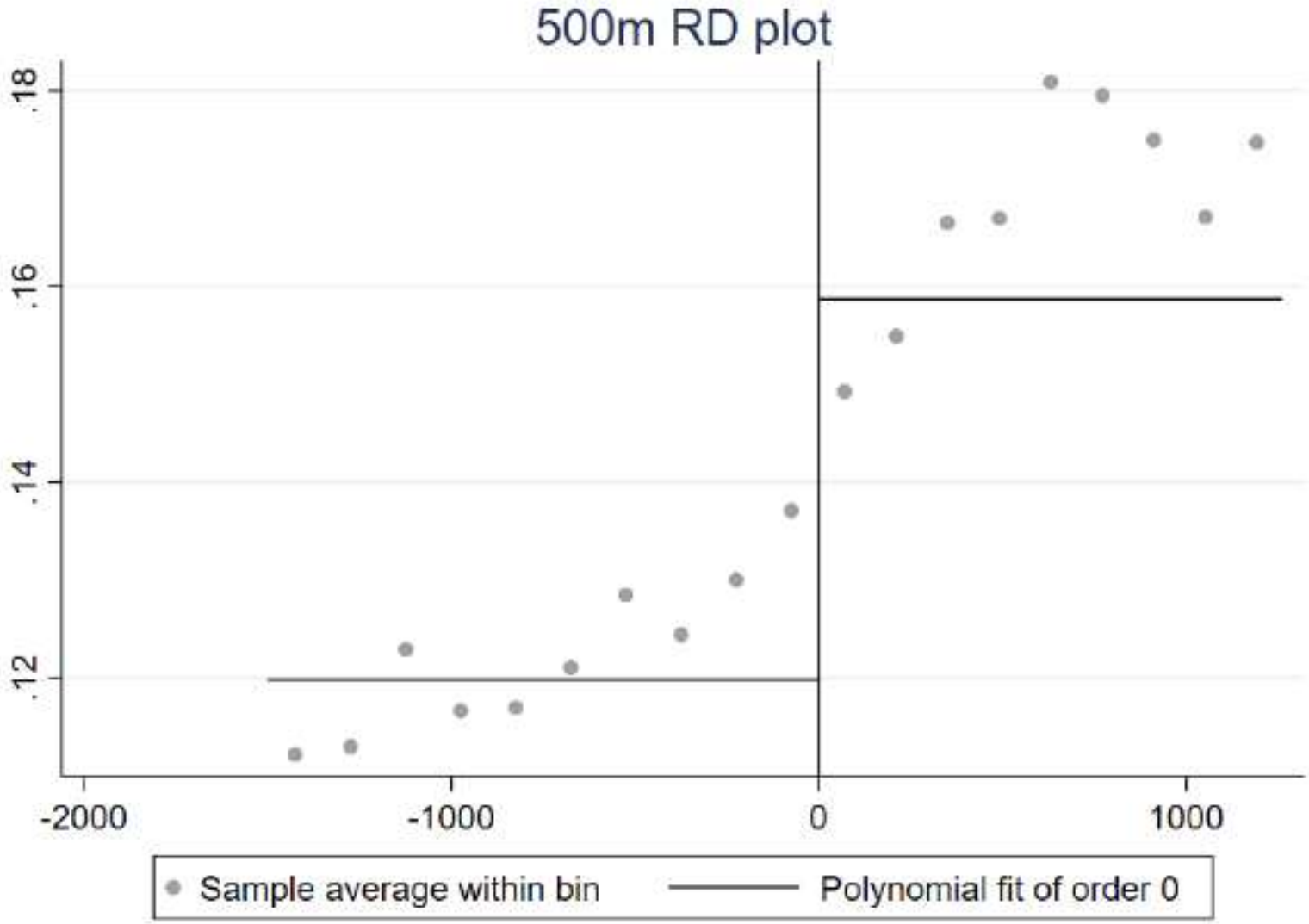
Past Elections: 1977 Socialists (PASOK)

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



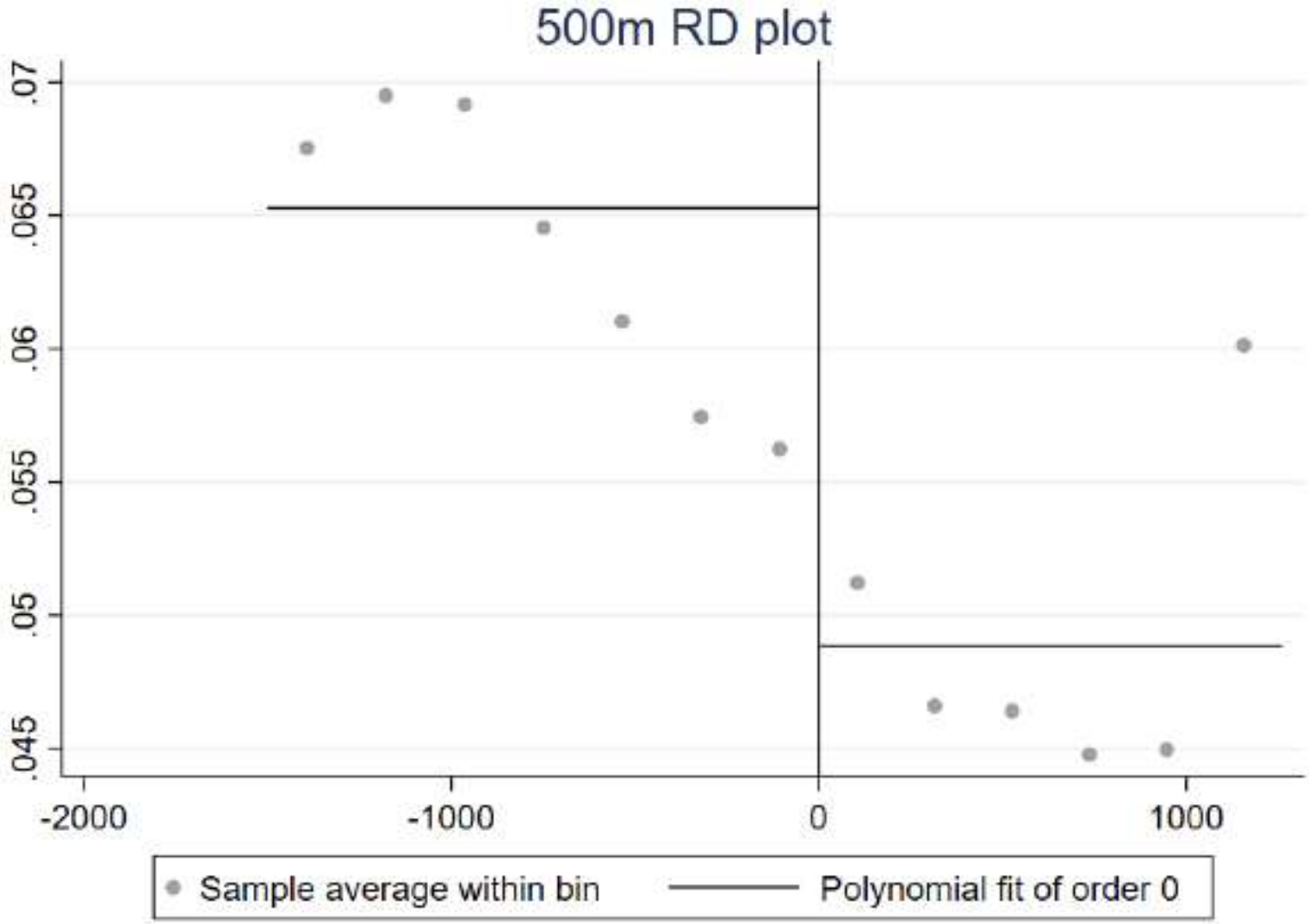
Past Elections: 1977 Communist Party (KKE)

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

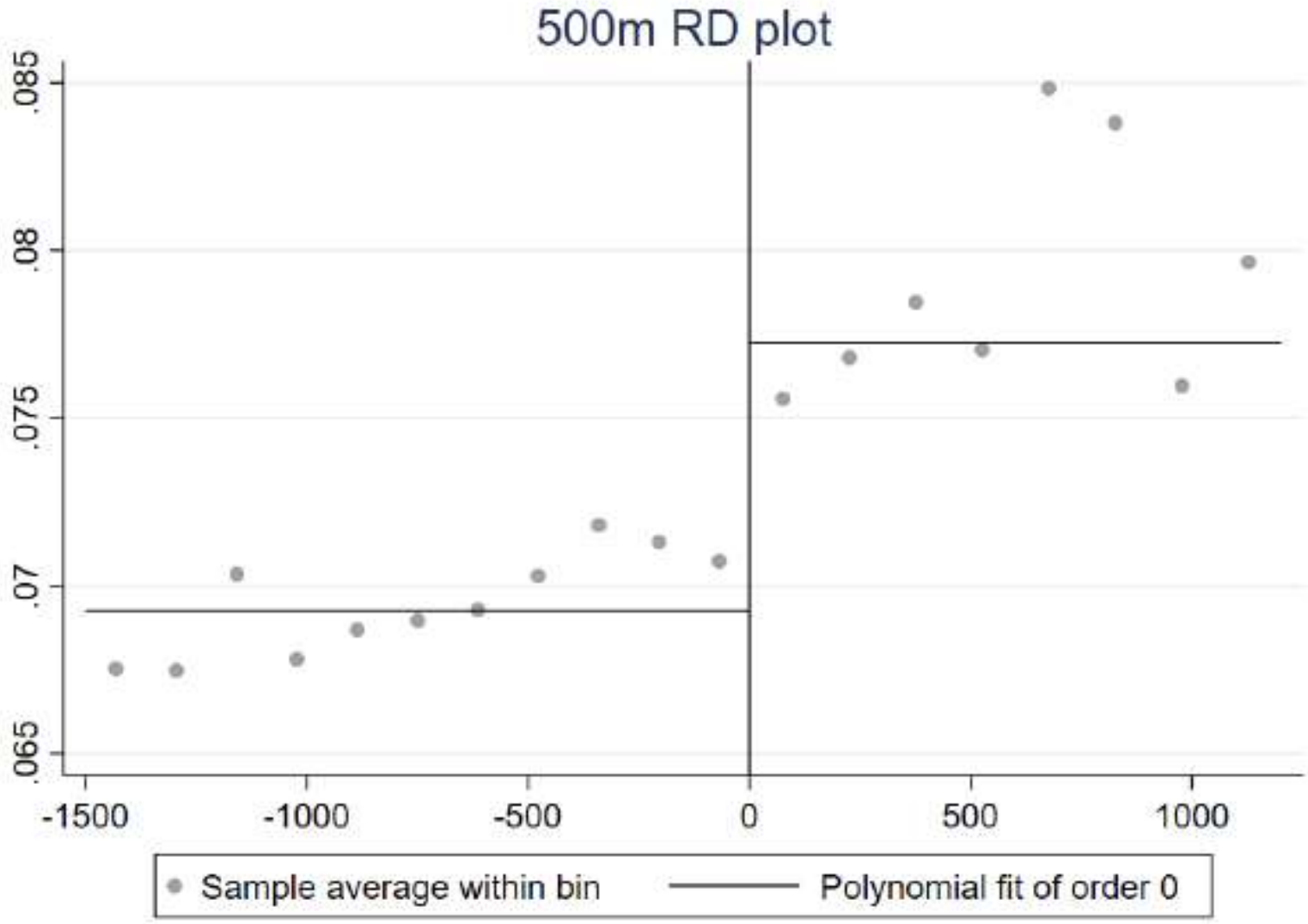


Elections 1977 Far-Right (Royalists/Pro-Junta Party)

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

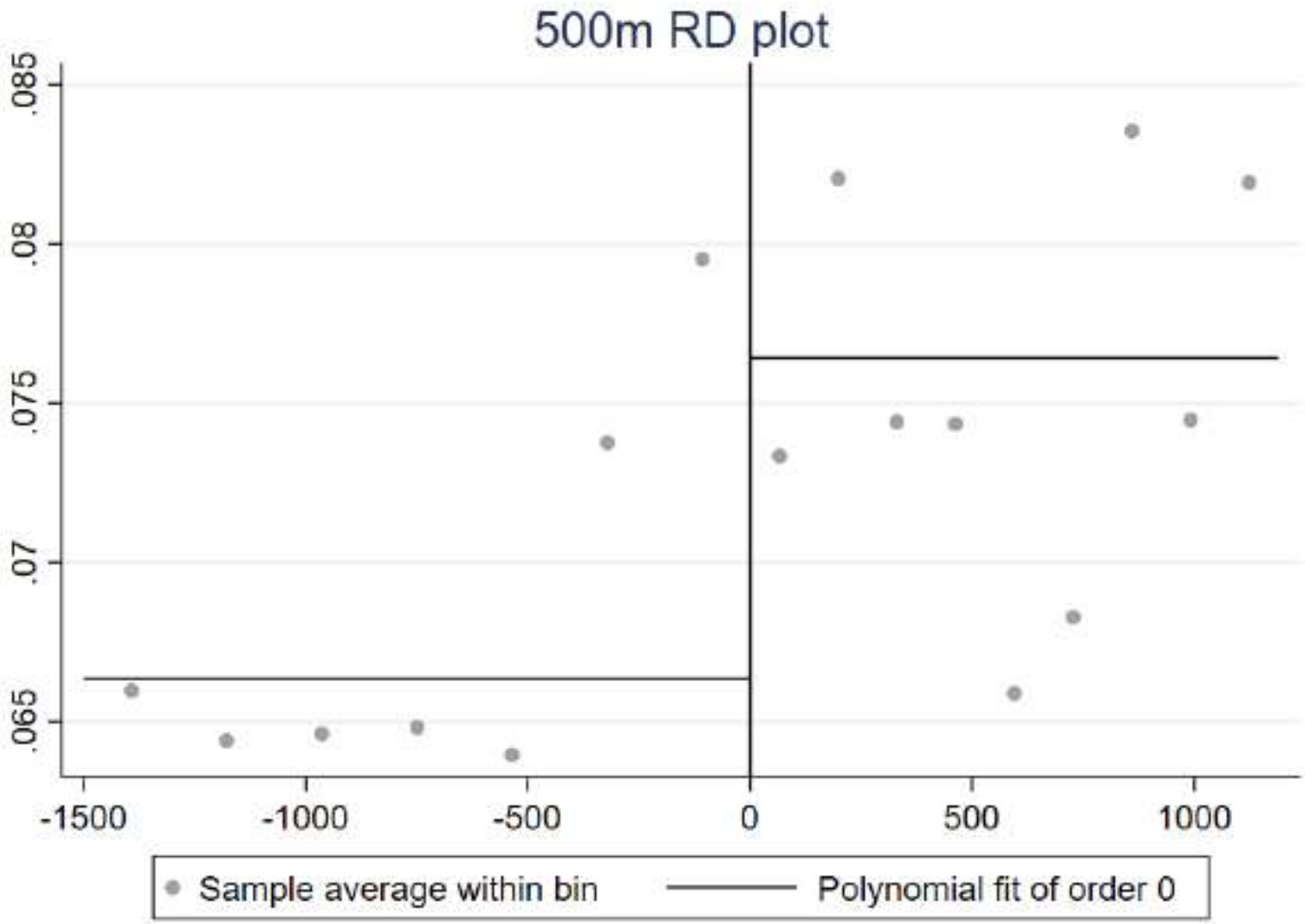


Contemporaneous Elections: 2007-2019
Communist Party (KKE)



Past Elections: 1932 Communist Party

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki



Persistence? Residence

Do Refugees' (Descendants) Live in the Same Places?

- **Before WWII** *Yes.*

How about today?

- *Athens. Piraeus, and Thessaloniki have been transformed since WWII by internal migration and rising urbanization rates hosting today more than 40% percent of Greece 10.7 million inhabitants.*

But how can we explore inertia in residence? Idea

- Compare last names of registered businesses owners inside and outside refugee neighborhoods and link them to family names of refugees versus natives.

Family Name Classification

Do Refugees' (Descendants) Live in the Same Places?

- **Data (Names)**
  - Athens' electoral catalogue of 1924 records voter's first, last name, and native/refugee classification.
  - $89,986$ entries
  - 68% natives and 32% refugees.
- **Approach**
  - Breakdown last names into prefix and suffixes
  - OLS and Lasso predictions.

Refugees and Natives' Last Names. Top Entries. 1924

Machine Learning (ML) Estimates

Top Refugee Surnames	Top Native Surnames
ΚΑΙΣΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ	ΠΑΤΕΛΟΥΣΗΣ
ΓΚΑΓΚΑΡΟΓΛΟΥ	ΠΑΤΕΛΟΥΣΗ
ΠΑΓΩΝΟΓΛΟΥ	ΣΦΕΝΤΟΚ
ΚΑΪΣΑΡΛΙΔΗΣ	ΜΟΣΧΟΖΟΡΜΠΑΣ
ΚΑΙΣΑΠΟΓΛΟΥΣ	ΔΙΠΛΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ
ΔΑΓΚΑΔΟΓΛΟΥ	ΠΕΡΙΔΑΚΙΣ
ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΓΛΟΥ	ΠΑΤΕΛΛΗΣ
ΛΕΟΝΙΑΔΗΣ	Πατέλλη
ΚΑΪΣΑΡΟΓΛΟΥ	Πατέλλης
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΓΛΟΥ	ΠΑΤΕΛΛΗ
ΣΙΔΗΡΙΔΗΣ	ΔΙΠΛΑΣΑΝΗΣ
ΣΙΔΗΡΙΔΟΥ	ΡΑΚΑΛΟΣ
ΣΙΔΗΡΙΔΗ	ΚΑΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ
ΖΟΡΜΠΑΪΔΗΣ	ΔΙΠΛΑΡΙΔΗΣ
ΖΟΡΜΠΟΓΛΟΥ	ΔΙΠΛΑΡΙΔΟΥ
ΣΙΔΗΡΟΓΛΟΥ	ΔΙΠΛΑΡΙΔΗ
ΣΙΔΗΡΟΓΛΟΥΣ	ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ
ΑΣΒΕΣΤΟΓΛΟΥ	ΞΥΠΟΛΙΑΣ

Athens Business Registry, 2021

Business-people Names Today, Refugee and Native Origin

Μέλη ΕΒΕΑ:ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΡΑΣ Ε.Ε.

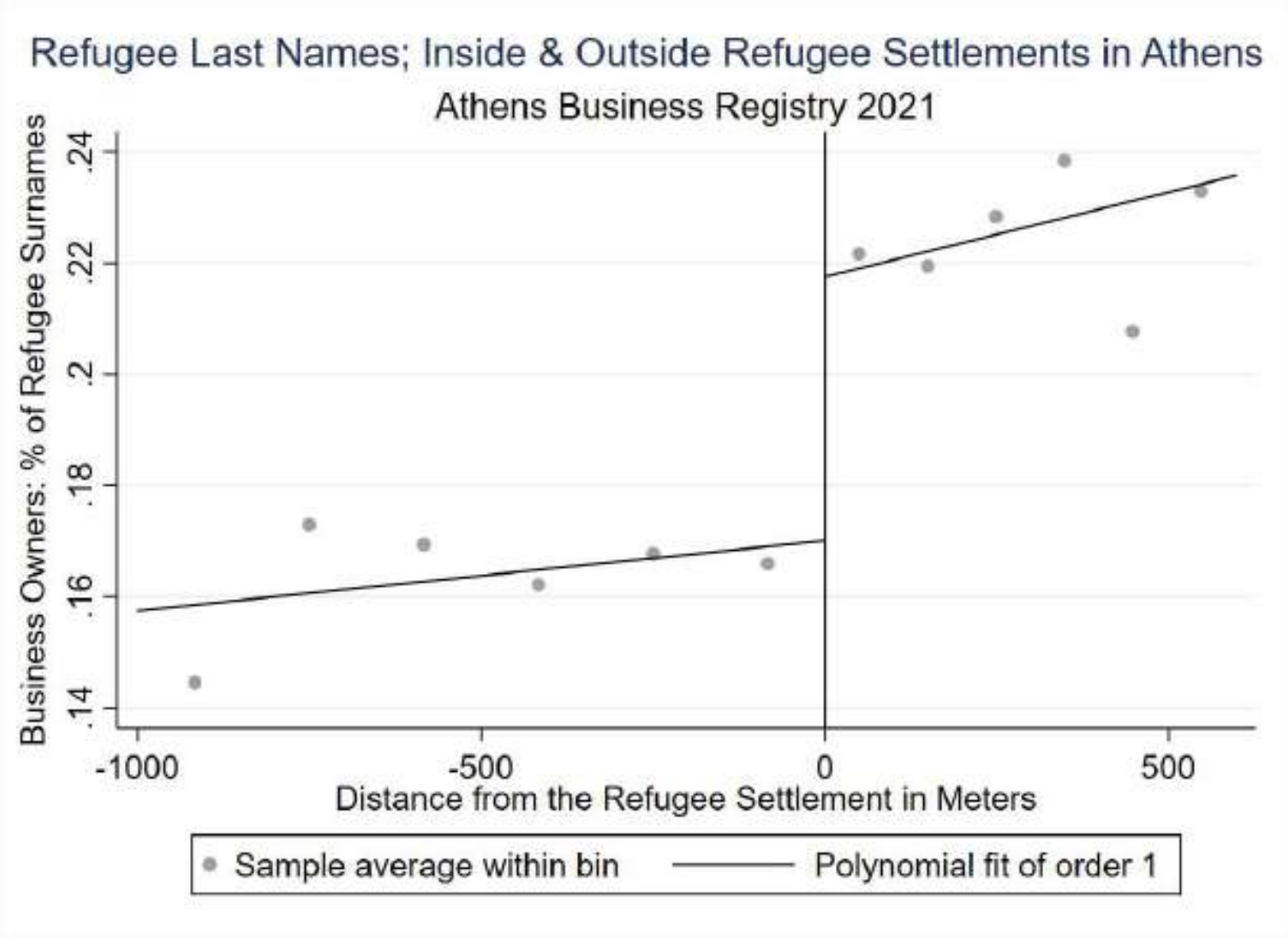
Κωδικός ΕΒΕΑ	205563
Επωνυμία	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΡΑΣ Ε.Ε.
Είδος	Ε.Ε.
Τηλέφωνα	8233352, ,
Πόλη	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ
Διεύθυνση	ΑΒΕΡΩΦ 22-24
ΤΚ	10433

Related Tables:

Δραστηριότητες

Persistence

Refugees and Natives' Last Names Inside and Outside Refugee Settlement Areas in Athens

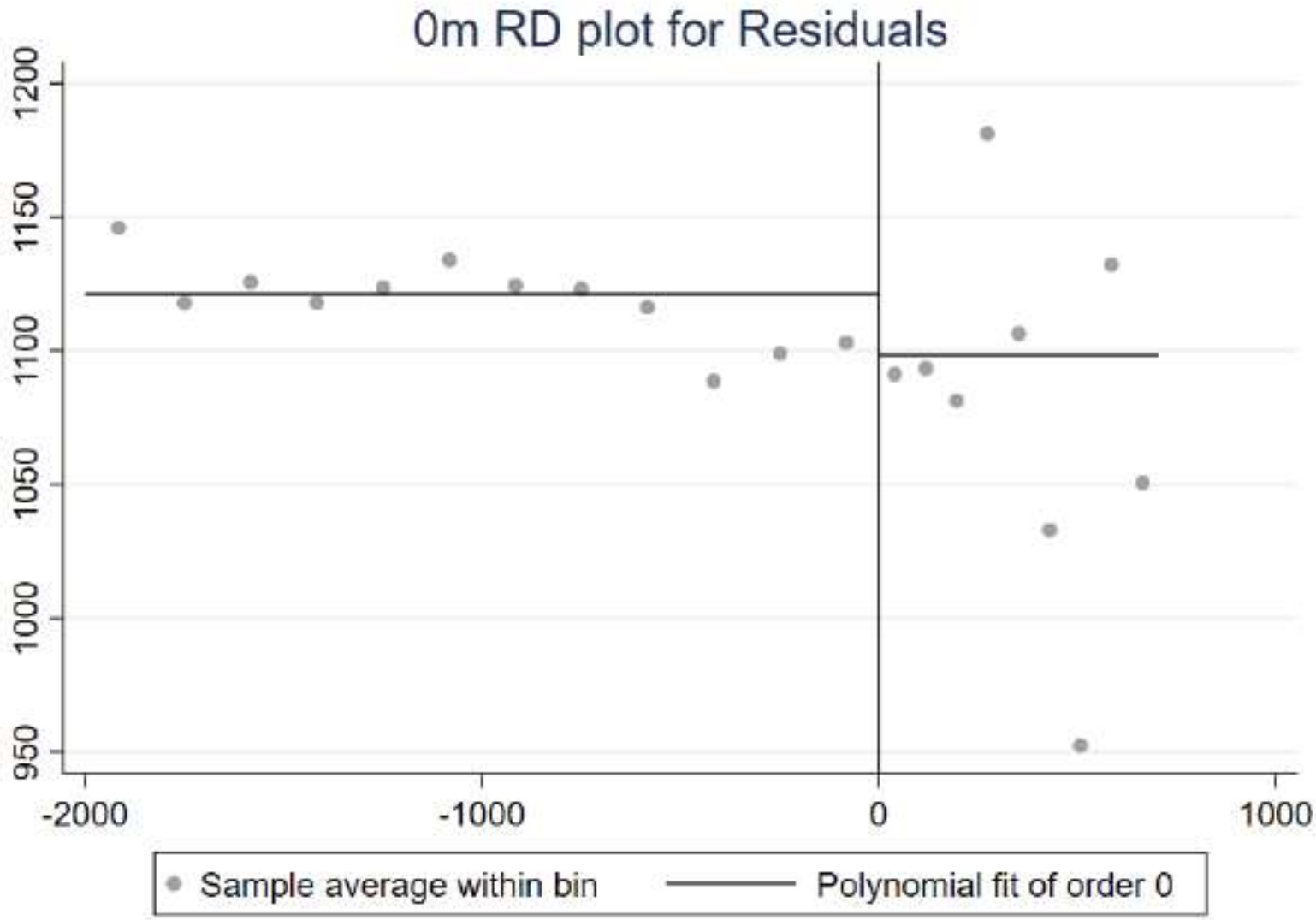


What May Rationalize this Political Behavior?

- **Economic Differences between Natives and Refugees**
  - Initial Conditions (and dynamics): Occupations and Professions
  - Initial Conditions (and dynamics) Over Time: Education of Subsequent Cohorts
  - Today: Property Values in 2018
- **Cultural Differences**
  - Songs

Economics. Land Values: 2018

Refugee Settlements and Real Estate Values



Dynamics. Taking Stock

Summary

1. Locally, refugee neighborhoods, where descendants reside and do business, are economically similar to native ones.
2. Descendants of refugees, if anything, appear somewhat more educated than natives

Question: What may explain the persistent identity, evident in the political sphere?

Songs, Group Identity, and Politics

Section Overview

1. Motivation, Approach
2. Greek Context. Musicology. Historical Evolution
3. Topic Analysis. ML Approach on Greek songs
4. Results A. Refugees' and Natives' Songs
   - Cross-sectional differences/predictors
   - Evolution-Dynamics
   - From Supply to Demand
5. **Results B. Songs and Politics**
   - **Youth Festivals**
   - **Party Manifestos and Songs' Content**

Songs as Cultural Depositories

Culture. Songs' Lyrics

- **Initial shock of displacement**
  - shapes narratives of hardship, injustice, pain, poverty, and anger among others.
  - narratives persist via subsequent generations of artists/songs
  - demand as well as supply
- **Political Parties' "narrative" may resonate with a people's historical experience.**
  - supply and demand

Politics and Culture

Explorations

1. **Political Platforms and Songs**
2. **Communist Party Youth Festivals and Refugees**

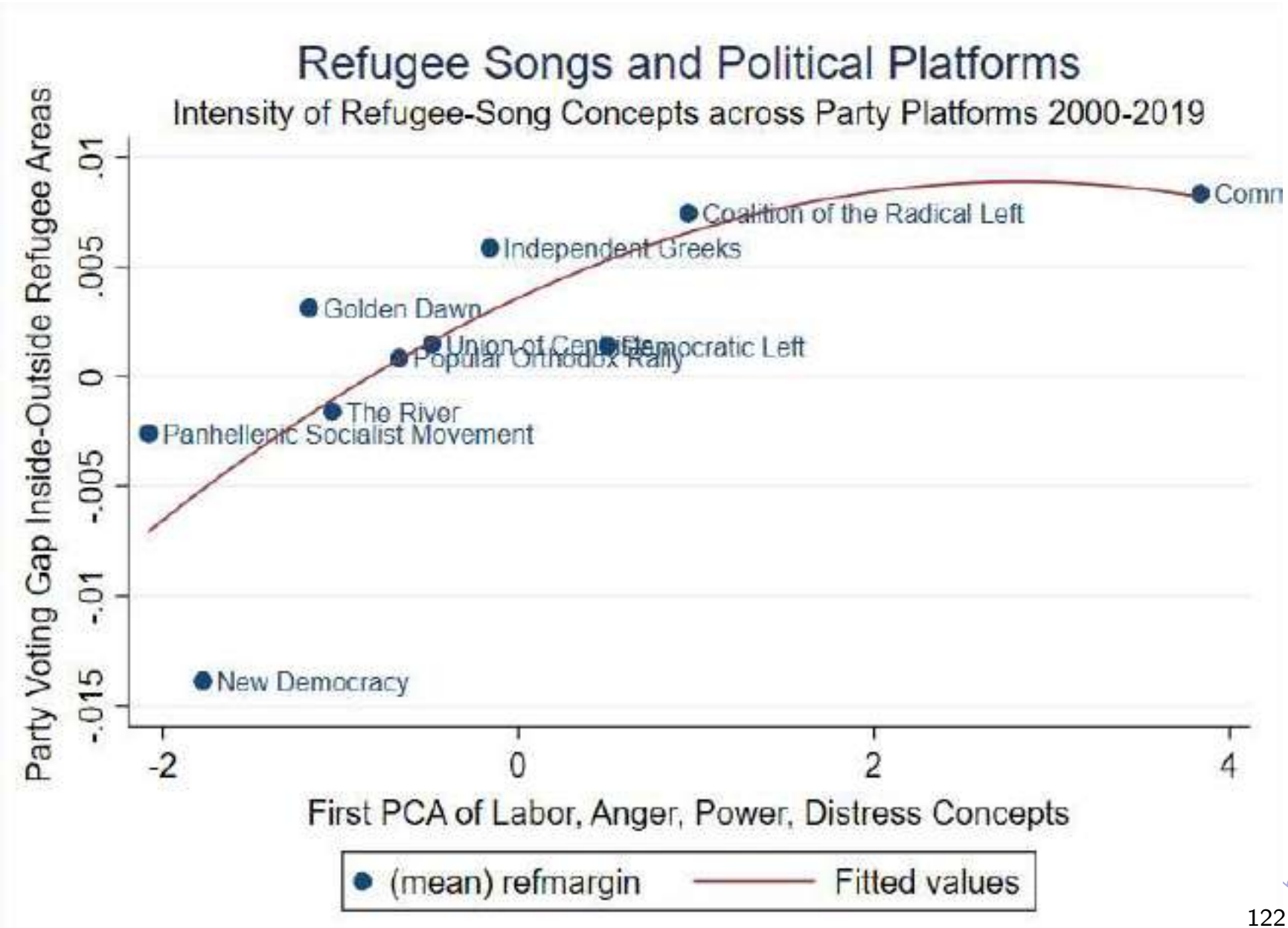
Refugee Songs and Party Platforms

Politics and Culture. Part (a)

- **Are political platforms closer to refugees' topics more successful among refugee neighborhoods?**
  - Obtain roughly 32,000 documents with political parties' electoral manifestos between 2004 and 2015. [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu]
  - Construct intensity of the various concepts predictive of refugee identity, i.e., how often does a particular party "talks" about hardship, pain, labor, injustice?
  - Proxy measure of parties' alignment to refugees' main concepts.

Refugee Songs and Party Platforms. Contemporary Period

Politics and Culture. Part (a), cont.



Communist Party Endorsing the Refugee Lineage Music?

Politics and Culture. Part (b). Annual Political Festivals. KKE (Greek Communist Party)

- **The youth branch of KKE (KNE) has been running annual music festivals since 1974 till today across Greece.**
  - the flagship festival is the one in Athens every September
  - dozens of invited artists
  - and tens of thousands of participants, not only voters of the party (events free to the public)
- **Are refugee-lineage singers more likely to be invited?**

Is the Communist Party Promoting Refugee-Lineage Artists?

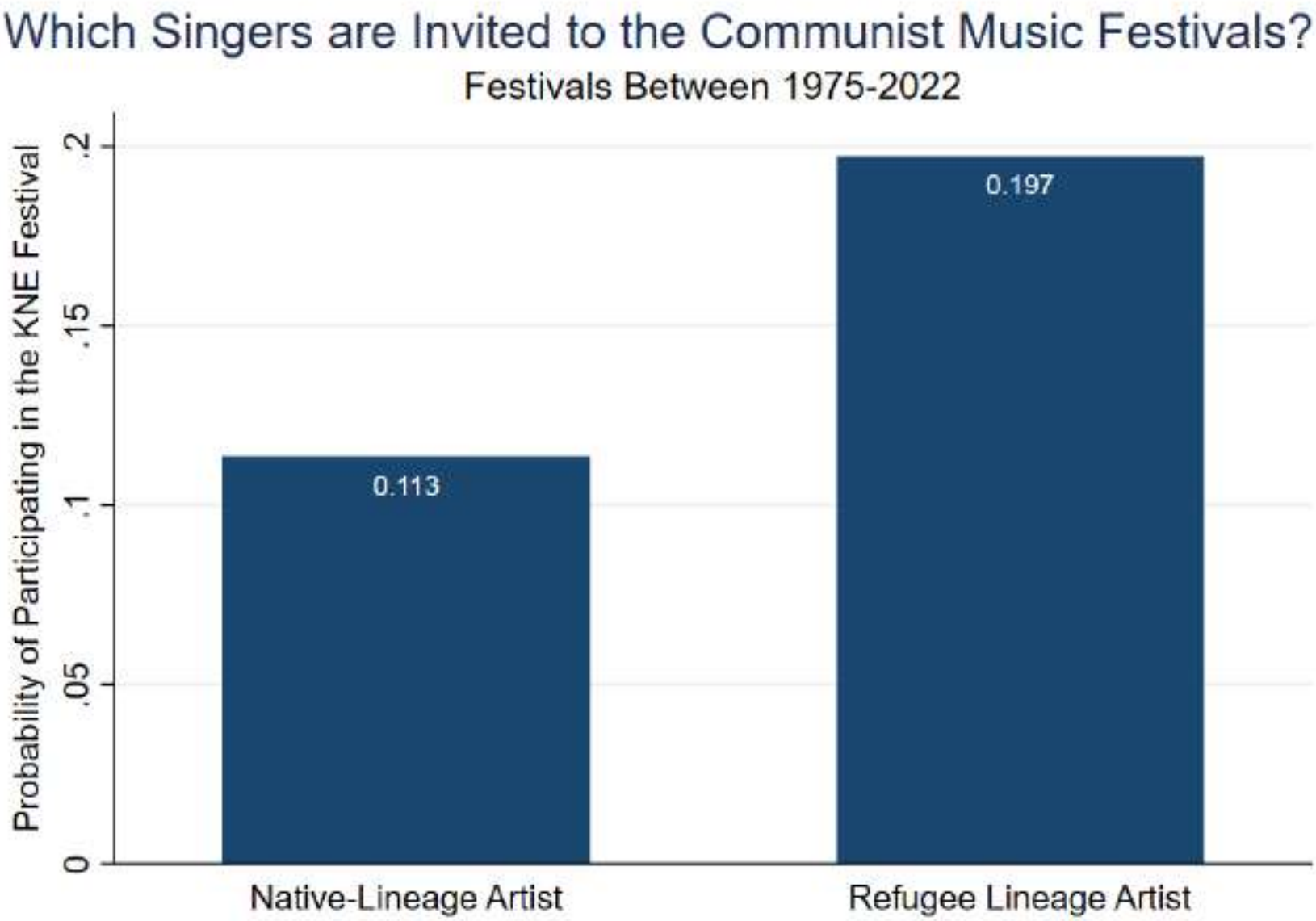
Festival September 2015

Is the Communist Party (KKE) Promoting Refugee Artists? (cont.)

Festival September 2021

Is the Communist Party Promoting Refugee Artists?

294 Artists Have Been Invited to the Music Festivals over Half a Century



Presentation Structure

1. **Introduction, Motivation, and Literature**
2. **Historical Context and Data**
3. **Historical Electoral Outcomes**
4. **Contemporaneous Electoral Outcomes**
5. **Songs, Group Identity, and Politics**
6. **Conclusion**

Conclusions. Takeways

Summary

1. **Displaced Populations**: do not integrate politically
   - Their allegiance lies with the political entrepreneur that enfranchised them as long as he is alive (Venizelos).
   - Once Venizelos dies (signs the Peace Treaty with Turkey), they veer towards the far-left, i.e., the Communist Party
   - Initial occupational differences may help explain this divergence.
   - Refugee lineages eventually overtake natives economically.
2. **Refugee Identity in the Songs**:
   - Replete with themes of hardship, injustice, pain, poverty, and, anger among others
   - Poverty-themes subside over time, but the focus on pain and injustice persists.
   - Parties with manifestos on similar themes gain a hearing among refugee lineages.

Conclusions. Open Questions

Ongoing Research

- **Delve into Refugee's Songs**. Improve ML approach, expand sample, robustness
- Quantify the **elusive** uprootedness trait
- **Elections**. Expand sample (1932-1935); include countryside (check movement to far-right)
- **Better understand why the Communist Party remains popular among descendants of refugees.** What particular elements of its program, narrative, message are attractive?
  - Is it social justice and redistribution?
  - Social re-engineering and proletariat's dictatorship?
  - Is the party disproportionately fielding refugee-lineage candidates? YES
  - Better political marketing?
- **Conduct large sample survey.** Ideology, norms, and values