Songs of Refugees

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Presentation Structure

Introduction

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**

Introduction and Motivation

Section Structure

1. **Forced Displacement in History**
   - ▶ Implications over the Long-Run [Political, Economic]
   - ▶ Role of Culture

2. **Refugees from Asia Minor to Contemporary Greece**
   - ▶ Economics [local and aggregate];
   - ▶ Politics, voting, ideology
   - ▶ Culture

3. **Long-Run Shadow of History. Why? How?**
   - ▶ Culture under the microscope. Songs and Collective Memories

Motivation (1). Forced Displacement Today
UNCHR Report 2022 (end of 2021)

- **89.3m forcibly displaced due to conflict** (UNHCR 2021)
  - 43% [27.1 million] Externally Displaced (Refugees), 57% Internally Displaced (IDPs)
  - Global problem. [Sudan, Myanmar, Yemen, Syria, DRC, Sahel]
  - 85% are in the developing world; 80% in areas with food insecurity; 40% are children; 1/3 in 36 most fragile countries

- **Worsening Trend** UNCHR lists 13 Emergencies
  - Forcibly displaced doubled in the last decade from $37.5m$
  - Share of 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

Motivation (1). Forced Displacement Today, cont.
Ukraine Crisis and Refugees in the Mediterranean

- **Ukraine**
  - about 7.2 million refugees have fled since 24 February
  - About 7 million IDPs

- **Refugees of the Mediterranean.** Europe's Boat People [The Economist, April 2015]
  - $131,582$ 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

Motivation (1). Conflict and Forced Displacement

2022 Ukrainian Refugee Crisis

An additional 7.8 million refugees from Ukraine, plus 6.9 IDPs (Nov. 1)

Motivation (2). Greek History
Population Exchange Defining Episode of Modern Greek State

Crucial Episode of Greek History. Greco-Turkish War 1920-1923. *Asia Minor Disaster*. Burning of Smyrna. Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece

- **Large Share, $> 20\%$, of the Greek population have "refugee origin"**
- **Literature, Poetry, Arts**. Most important event of modern Greek state (more than civil war)
- **Narratives. Books. Cases.**
- **Move beyond case studies and narratives.**
    - Economics
    - Politics, Culture

Forced Displacement in History. Literature
Recent (Historical) Works in Economics

- ▶ Poland [Becker, Grosfeld, Grosjean, Voigtländer, and Zhuravskaya (AER 2020), Charnysh (2019)]
- ▶ Jewish History [Botticini and Eckstein (2012); Acemoglu, Hassan, and Robinson (QJE 2011), Grosfeld, Rodnyansky, and Zhuravskaya (AEJ-Applied 2013)]
- ▶ Germany, after WWII [Peters (ECTA 2022), Ciccone and Nimczik (2022), Chernysh (2022)]
- ▶ Finland [Sarvimäki, Uusitalo, and Jäntti (2020)]
- ▶ India after partitioning [Bharadwaj and Mirza (2019), Bhattacharya and Mukhopadhyay (2022)]
- ▶ Mozambique, during and after the civil war [Chiovelli, Michalopoulos, Papaioannou and Sequeira (2022)]
- ▶ **Reviews Becker and Ferrara (2019), Becker (2022), Charnysh (2022)**

Population Exchange and Modern Greece. This Project

Ambition. Broader Research Agenda

- **Impact of Large Refugee Inflows**
  - Economic impact, local and aggregate [Benos et al. (2022)]
  - Political aftermath; short and long-run.
  - Cultural impact [research on cultural economics]

- **Short-Run and Long-Run** [Chernysh (2022)]

- **Big Data (ML) for the (Greek) People**

- **(Greek) History with Data and Credible Identification**
  - move beyond ideology
  - complement case studies, narratives with sound empirical work
  - Songs as Cultural Heritage (future and ongoing research in other domains)

Motivation (3). History Matters. Why? How?

Historical Development. Mechanisms? $=>$ Culture

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

▶ 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 culture in politics

This Paper. Look at One Historical Episode
Defining Episode of Greece, Our Country

Experience of Displacement and its impact on

1. the cultural fabric of affected population, i.e., **its song production and consumption**

2. the emerging **identity**

3. **refugees' (and descendants) political leanings over time**

This Paper. Results
Main Regularities (A). Political Preferences

- **Voting**. Short-Run and Long-Run. *spatial RDD*
    - **Short-Run**: Refugee urban areas (neighborhoods) move towards the Liberals and the Communist party (despite support of Soviet Union to Ataturk).
    - **Long-Run**: Refugee areas in cities move towards the Communist party and the Left appears lasting.

- **Mechanisms**
    1. **Wealth**: Native and Refugee neighborhoods are today indistinguishable in property values and other observable features (not in the past).
    2. **Human Capital**: Descendants of refugees catch-up fast on human capital and after WWII they surpass natives on education. [Benos et al. (2022)]
    3. **Culture: Maybe How? Why?**

This Paper. Results, cont.
Main Regularities (B). Songs as Cultural Heritage

- ▶ **The collective experience of trauma**
  - ▶ displaced and resettled in a new (urban) environment amidst significant adversity.

- ▶ **Immortalized in the songs, cementing an identity of a marginalized/discriminated group.**
  - ▶ despite convergence (and even overtaking) in economic circumstances over time
  - ▶ people's behavior is conditioned by their historical experience.

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

Bringing Music into our Inquiry

Ethnomusicologists Meet Economists

- **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), Group Identity, and Politics**
  - New research avenues

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Historical Context and Data
Section Overview

1. **History, War, and Displacement**

2. **Areas and Types of Settlement**

3. **Data**
   - ▶ Location [fine and coarse]
   - ▶ Individual level [rural and urban]
   - ▶ Electoral Results

4. **A New Social Landscape**

Greek Orthodox Presence in 1914 Ottoman Turkey

Last Ottoman Empire Census
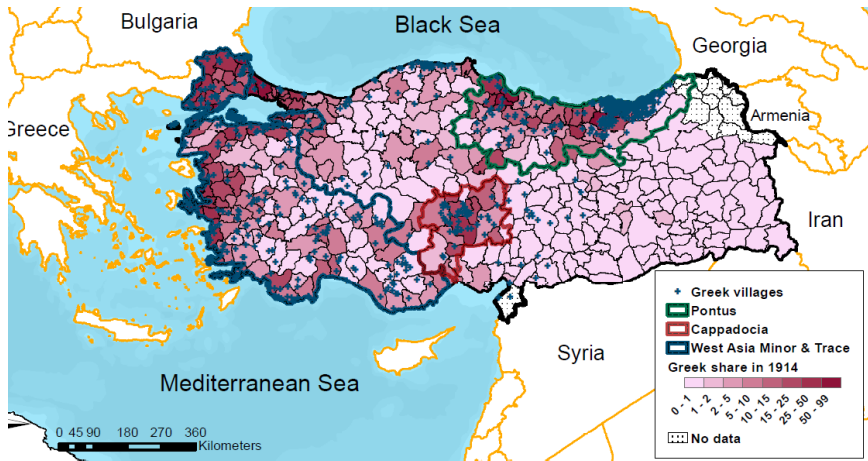
Historical Context: Greco-Turkish War

Aftermath of the Great War and the Collapse of the Ottoman Empire [Eastern Question]

- **World War I**.
    - Following significant territorial gains of Greece in the 1910s, during Balkan Wars. [Macedonia, Epirus, and Western Thrace]
    - Expansion of Greece in Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace (Treaty of Sèvres, 1920)
    - C onsiderable (forced) population movements during Balkan Wars and the Great War

- Hostilities with Neo-Turks. **1922 Greece loses the war.**
    - Treaty of Lausanne, 1923 (El. Venizelos and Kemal Atatürk).
    - Establishment of the Turkish Republic

- **Forced Population Transfers between Turkey and Greece**
    - Approximately 1.5 million Greek Orthodox resettled to Greece.
    - Greek population increases by more than 20%.
    - 600,000 Muslims, mostly from Macedonia, settle in Turkey

The Burning of Smyrna and the End of the Great Idea

The Exodus

Historical Context: Refugees Arrival in Greece
Politics

- ▶ The Liberal Party favored and promoted the territorial expansion of Greece; while in power, there were significant territorial gains during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and Great War.

- ▶ National Schism/Division 1915 (1914-1922)

- ▶ The Popular Party (Royalists) takes power in 1920. But soon it reverses policy, continuing warfare...

- ▶ 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. However, they face opposition and dire conditions.

Displacement in Greece
The Refugees' Issue

Relocating and supporting refugees was a huge challenge for the newly-established Greek democracy

1. **Urban Refugees.** Types of Housing in Cities
   - ▶ Permanent Housing Structures
   - ▶ Renting
   - ▶ Favelas & other Self-Housing

2. **Rural Refugees.** Villages and Small Towns
   - ▶ Abandoned by departing Muslims villages and rural settlements

   - ▶ Integration in small towns and large native villages

Types of Refugees Housing (1). Permanent Settlements
Kavala - East Macedonia

Types of Refugees Housing (2). Favelas: Dourgouti

Neos Kosmos (New World), Athens, 1955

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

4-year Research Program

1. **1928 General Population Census**. 1,221,849 refugees [most after 1922]
   - ▶ Refugees and natives across about 11,000 communities [settlements, villages, towns, cities]
   - ▶ link settlements over 100 years [thousands of administrative changes; mergers, splits, new settlements]
   - ▶ across admin-3 units place of origin (coarse) and rich information

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 in 1971 (10%), 1981 (10%), 1991 (25%), 2001 (25%), and 2011 (25%).

Data Sources. Part (b) Individual Records

4-year Research Program

1. **Rural Refugee Catalogue**
   - ▶ 249, 127 family names (household head); 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 (household head) [*about half completed digitization*]
   - ▶ Places of origin

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

4-year Research Program

1. **Electoral Record Athens 1924**
   - ▶ 90, 000 entries
   - ▶ Names of voters (male) and native/refugee status
   - ▶ Professions, occupations

2. **Compensations (National Bank of Greece)** *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
Polling Station Level. Historical and Contemporary

- **Historical Electoral Data** (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 legalization of the Greek Communist Party.

- **Contemporaneous Electoral Data**. All post 2007
  - Peaceful Times (2007, 2009)
  - MoU/EAP Period (2012a, 2012b, 2015a, 2015b, 2019)

Past Electoral Results: Data Sources

Historical Elections: Voting Stations

Source: Newspapers

Athens 1932

Salonica 1958
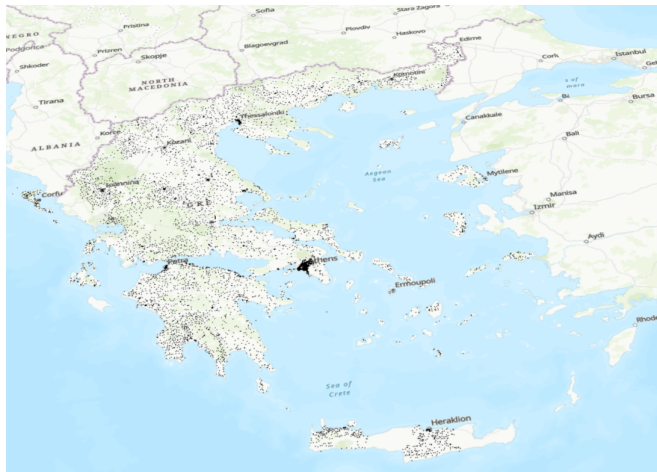
Piraeus 1977

Historical Elections: Voting Stations - Athens 1932

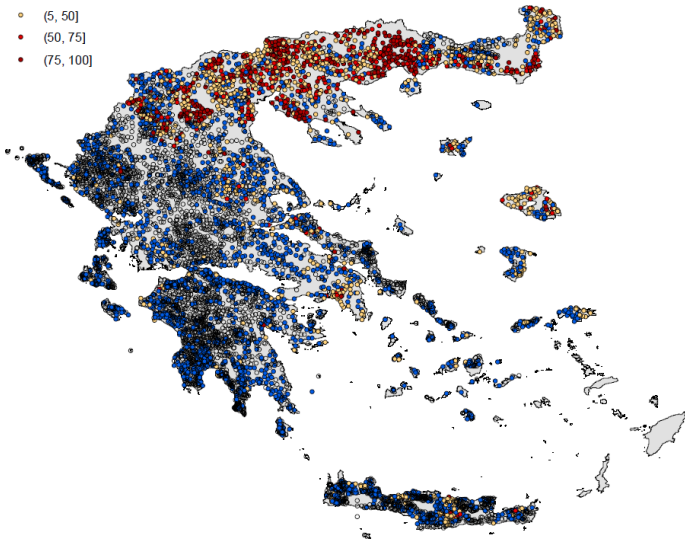# Voting Stations: Greece, 2007-2019

Most Recent Period

Poll Stations

A New Social Landscape

1928, Population Census. 1,221,849 refugees; 11,000 settlements

Share of refugees in 1928
- ∘ 0
- • (0, 5]
- ∘ (5, 50]
- • (50, 75]
- • (75, 100]

A New Social Landscape. 1928 Population Census

Patterns

- **1,221,849 refugees out of 6,204,634 [17.25%]**
    - Macedonia [38.13%] and Western Thrace [31.75%]
    - Peloponnese [2.42%]

- Rural-Urban Classification
    1. Rural. $524,124$ out of $4,139,988$ [12.66%]
    2. Urban. $545,833$ out of $2,064,696$ [26.44%]

- Origin (coarse, 10-13 places)
    1. Asia Minor. 626,954
    2. Thrace. 256,635
    3. Pontos. 182,169
    4. Bulgaria. 49,027
    5. Constantinople. 38,458
    6. Other. Russia (11,425), Serbia (6,054), Albania (1,498), Dodecanese (738), Roumania (722), Cyprus (57), Egypt (8)

Refugee's Population Share in 1928

Example
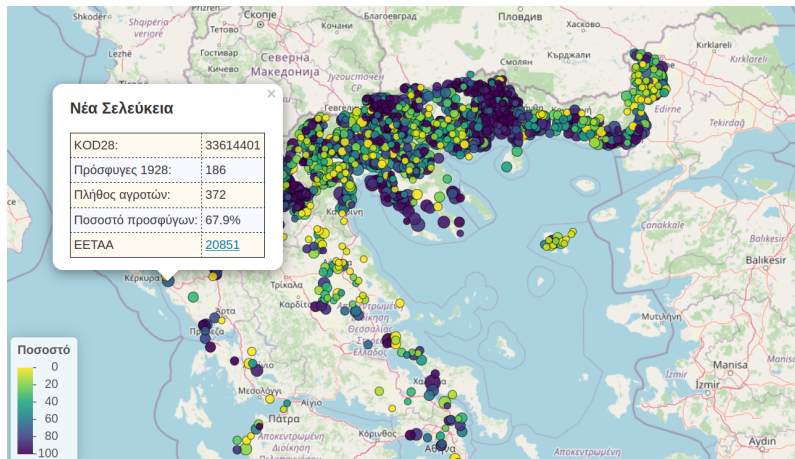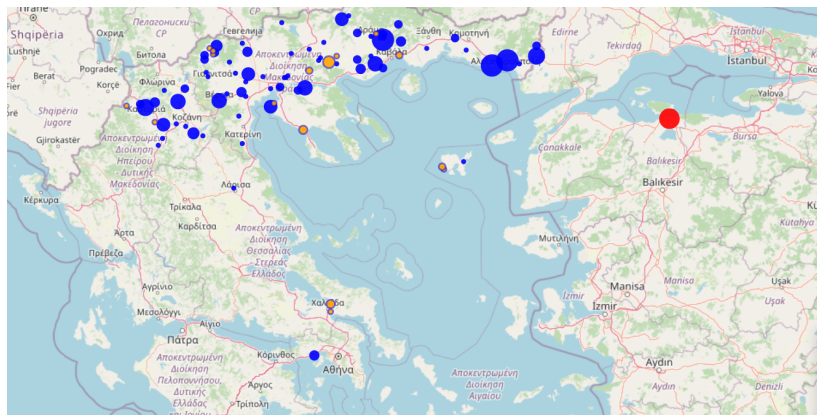
Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination in Greece

Example (Rural Refugees). Agios Konstantionos
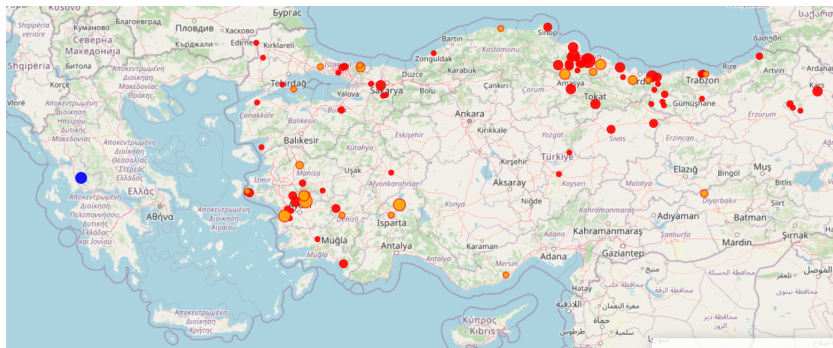
Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination

Panormos (Kiziki)

Places of Origin in Anatolia and Destination
Rural (in Greece) Refugees (red); Urban (in Greece) Refugees (blue)
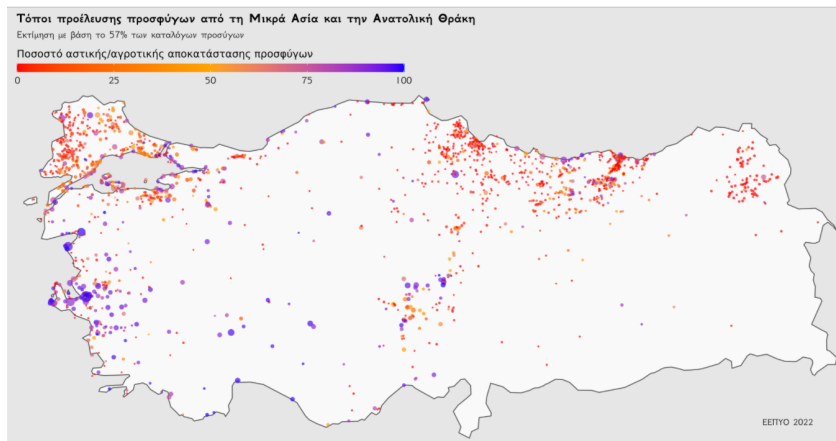
Land and Other Assets. Compensation

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

Urban Settlements

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

Table: Refugee Urban Settlement Areas Recorded in the Refugee Urban Census, 1927

	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

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, Athens, 1930
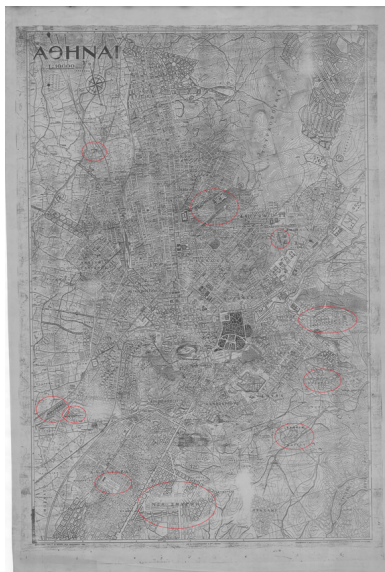
Attica, Urban Refugee Settlements, Kaisariani: 1924 & 1937

Kaisariani-Inside/Pagrati-Outside (1959)

Attica, Urban Refugee Settlements, Kaisariani: Today
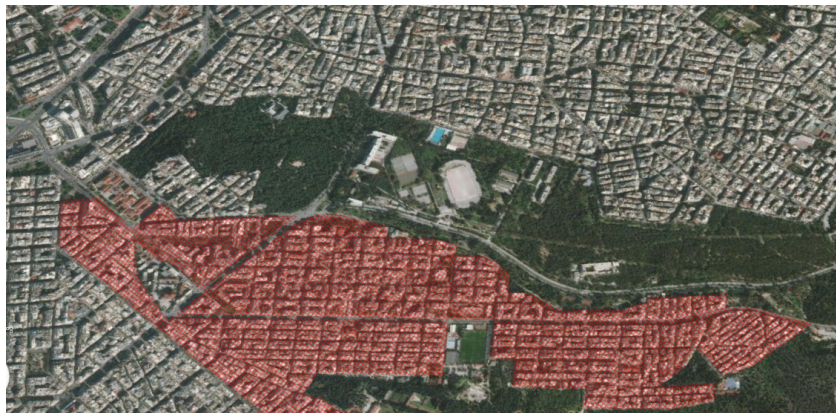
Kaisariani-Inside/Pagrati-Outside (Today)

Urban 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

Urban Refugee Settlements. Nea (New) Erythraia

Northern (Richer) Athens' Suburbs

Historical Urban Map

Digitized Now

Attica-Piraeus, Urban Refugee Settlements, Appolon Renti
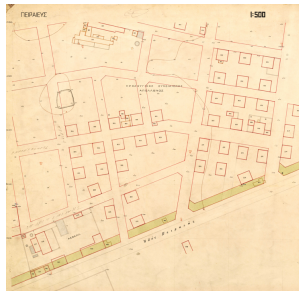
Historical Urban Map   **Digitized Now**

Athens Refugee Settlements

Digitized Maps

Urban Settlements: Salonica

Table: Urban Settlements: Salonica Metropolitan Area

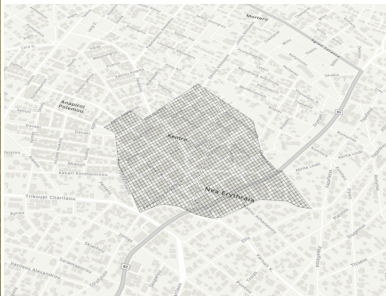|	Number
Municipalities	14
Refugee Neighborhoods	38
Number of Refugee Families	18,246
Number of Refugee Families in Permanent Houses	7,474
Number of Refugee Families in Semi-Permanent Houses (wooden)	4,048
Number of Refugee Families in Favelas	12,813

Urban Settlements. Salonica, Toumpa
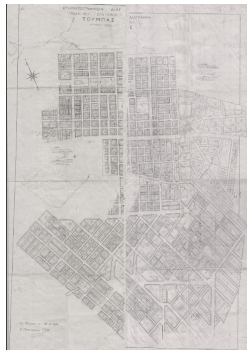
Historical Urban Map
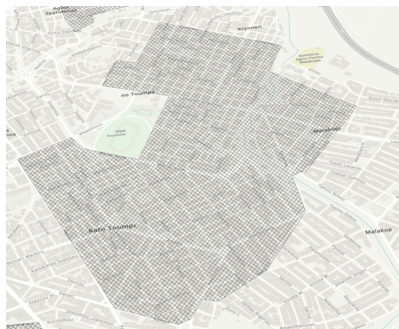
Digitized Now

Settlements. Salonica, Toumpa: Inside/Outside. Today
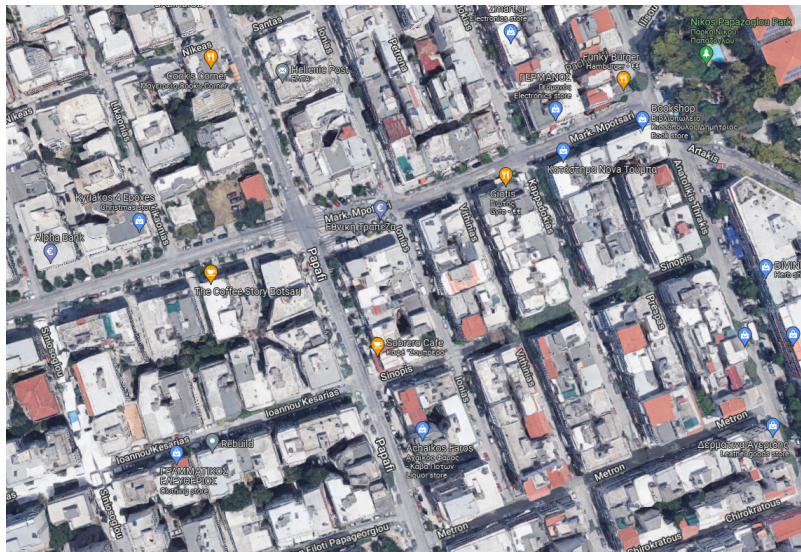
Settlements. Salonica, Toumpa: Inside/Outside (Today)

Thessaloniki Refugee Settlements

Digitized Mapping

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Historical and Contemporary Electoral Outcomes
Section(s) Structure

1. **Persistence Residence**

2. **Refugees and Voting. Approach. Spatial RDD**

3. **Refugees and Voting. Electoral Results**
   - ▶ Post-Settlement [1932]
   - ▶ Post WWII [1952]
   - ▶ After Restoration of Democracy [1978]
   - ▶ Contemporary [2007-2019]

4. **Discussion, Mechanisms**

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?

- 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. Attica

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
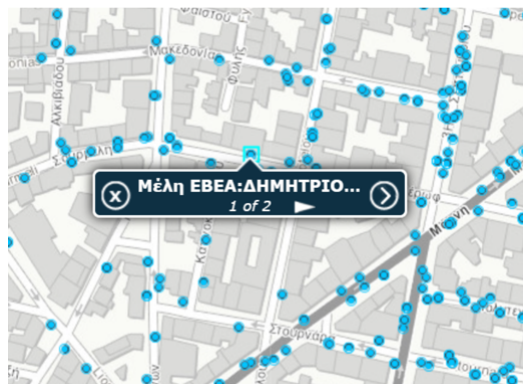
Μέλη ΕΒΕΑ:ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΡΑΣ Ε.Ε.

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

Related Tables:

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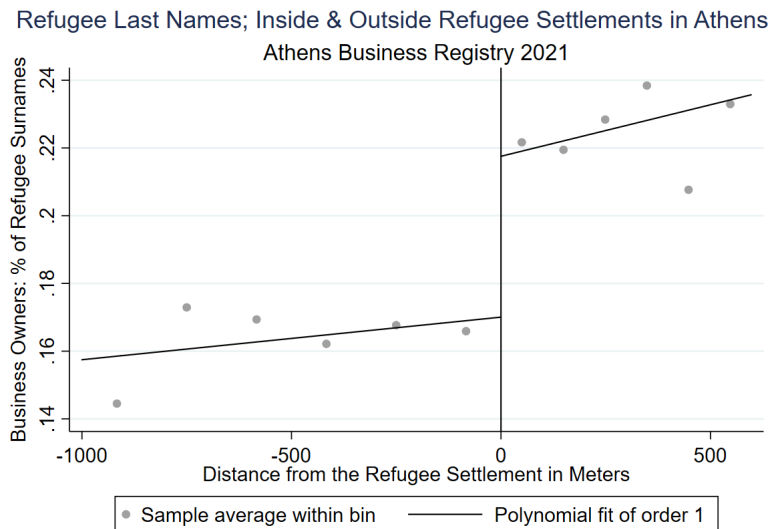
Refugees and Natives' Last Names Inside and Outside Refugee Settlement Areas in Athens

Persistence

Refugee Last Names; Inside & Outside Refugee Settlements in Athens
Athens Business Registry 2021

- Sample average within bin
- Polynomial fit of order 1

Empirical Specification
Spatial Regression Discontinuity Design (RDD)

$$Y_{i,m,r,e} = \alpha + \beta_1 \textit{Inside}_r + \mu_{r,e} + \epsilon_{i,m,r,e}$$

- ▶ $Y_{i,m,r,e}$: electoral outcome in voting station i, in municipality m, election e, in the catchment area of refugee settlement, r. A catchment area comprises of voting stations inside and outside a refugee settlement within **2 kilometers** radius.

- ▶ *Inside*: is an indicator that takes on the value one for voting stations falling inside the refugee neighborhood or within the specified buffer around.

- ▶ $\mu_{r,e}$: Refugee Catchment Area $\times$ Election fixed effects.

- ▶ We allow for voting stations outside the refugee areas to be matched to more than one refugee neighborhoods. [not imp.]

Empirical Specification. Example

Toumpa Catchment Area (Salonica). Inside and Outside
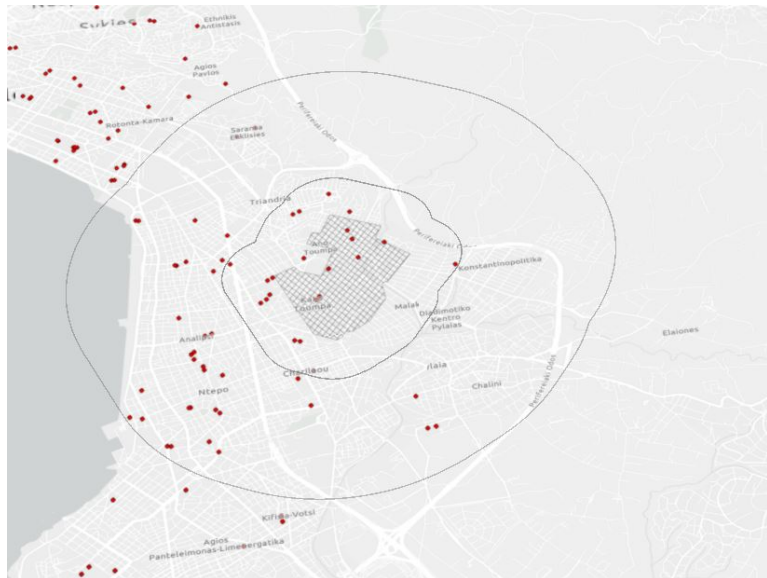
Historical and Contemporaneous Electoral Outcomes

Results Presentation

1. **Historical Electoral Outcomes**
   - ▶ RDD Estimates
   - ▶ Graphical Illustrations

2. **Contemporary Electoral Outcomes**
   - ▶ RDD Estimates
   - ▶ Graphical Illustrations

Past Elections: 1932

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

Table: Baseline Regression 1932: 500m Buffer

	(1) log Liberals share	(2) log Popular Party share	(3) log Communist share
Inside	0.273**	-0.689**	0.173**
	(0.0610)	(0.240)	(0.0449)
Constant	-0.994***	-0.818***	-2.873***
	(0.00820)	(0.0322)	(0.00604)
Fixed Effects	Refugee Area	Refugee Area	Refugee Area
Mean Party Share	0.3923	0.4184	0.0675
Refugee Areas	97	97	97
Voting Stations	211	211	211
N	1012	1012	1012
r2_within	0.236	0.357	0.0150

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Past Elections: 1932 Liberals (Venizelos)

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot
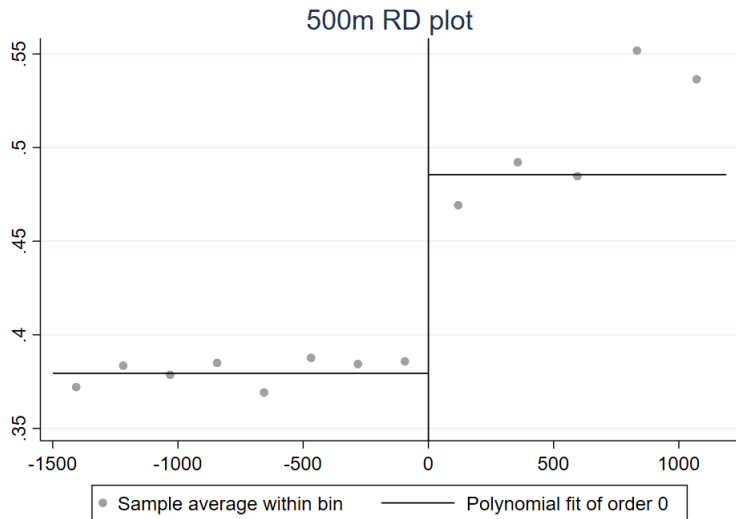
Past Elections: 1932 Popular Party (Royalists)

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

Past Elections: 1932 Communist Party

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

Sample average within bin   Polynomial fit of order 0

Past Elections: Post WWII, 1958 (United Democratic Left)

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki
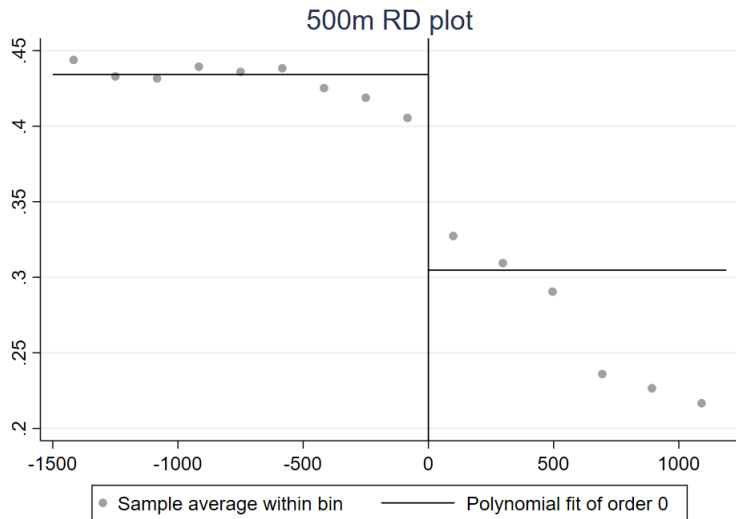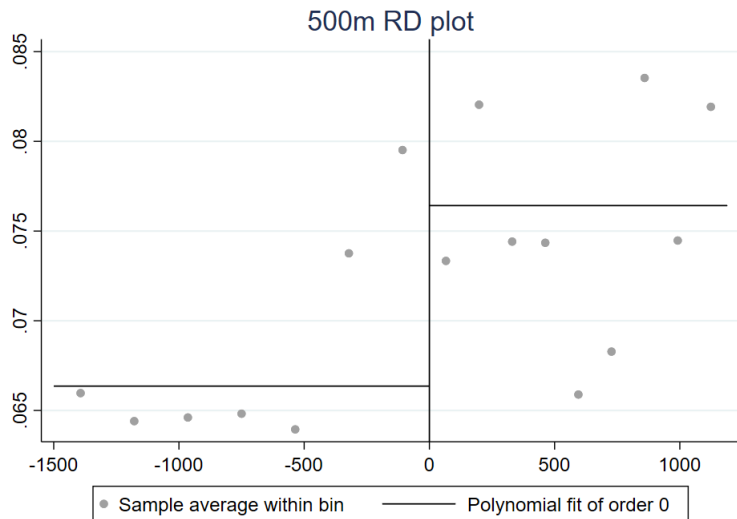
Table: Baseline Regression 1958: 500m Buffer

	(1) log ERE share	(2) log EDA share
Inside	-0.335***	0.301***
	(0.0606)	(0.0401)
Constant	-1.005***	-1.124***
	(0.0141)	(0.0380)
Fixed Effects	Refugee Area	Refugee Area
Mean Party Share	0.3521	0.3751
Refugee Areas	111	111
Voting Stations	761	761
N	4688	4688
r2_within	0.246	0.127

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Past Elections: Post WWII, 1958 (United Democratic Left) Right (ERE)

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

Sample average within bin — Polynomial fit of order 0
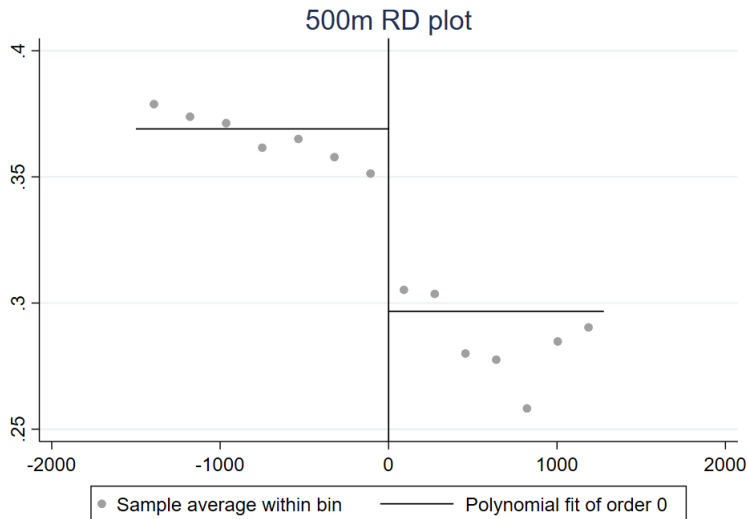
Past Elections: Post WWII, 1958 United Left

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

Sample average within bin · Polynomial fit of order 0
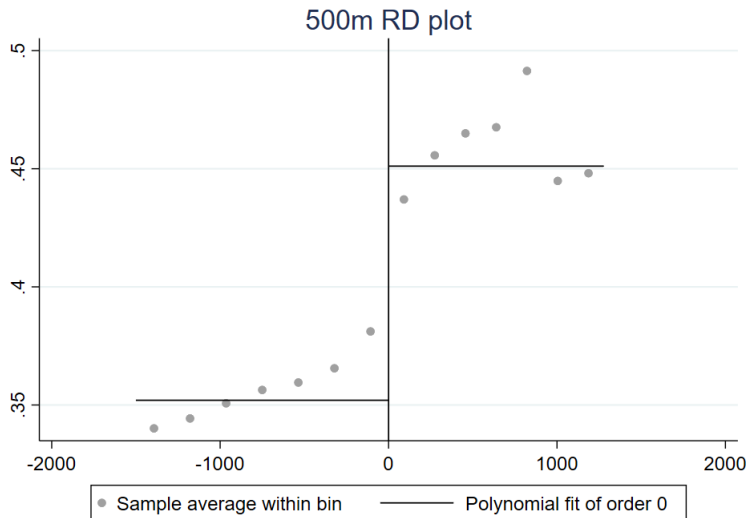
Past Elections: 1977 Post-Restoration Democracy

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

	(1) log ND share	(2) log PASOK share	(3) log Communist share	(4) log National Front share
Inside	-0.134***	0.0843***	0.319***	-0.396***
	(0.0303)	(0.0180)	(0.0526)	(0.0801)
Constant	-0.890***	-1.508***	-2.205***	-2.828***
	(0.00629)	(0.0183)	(0.0185)	(0.0297)
Fixed Effects	Refugee Area	Refugee Area	Refugee Area	Refugee Area
Mean Party Share	0.4078	0.2322	0.1273	0.0620
Refugee Areas	114	114	114	114
Voting Stations	1238	1238	1238	1238
N	7409	7409	7409	7409
r2_within	0.0702	0.0176	0.0967	0.104

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Past Elections: 1977 Right (ND)

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot
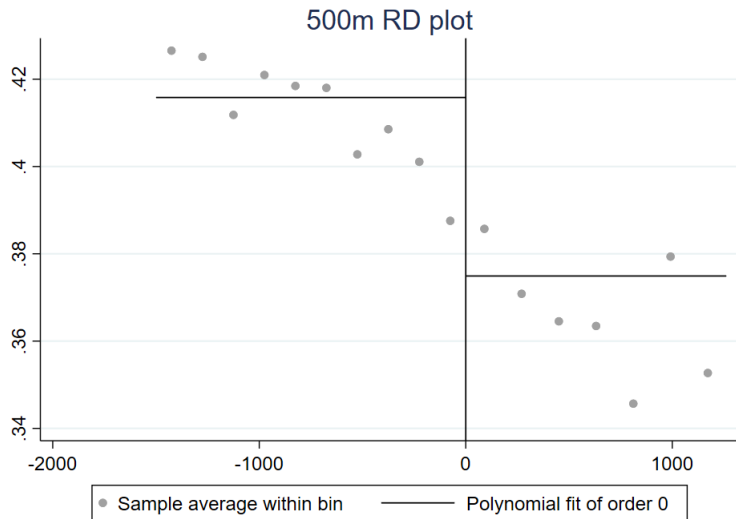
Past Elections: 1977 Socialists (PASOK)
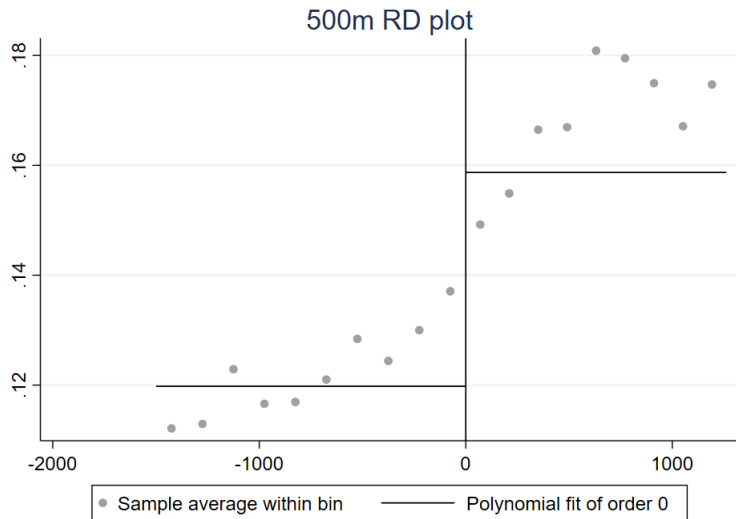
Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot
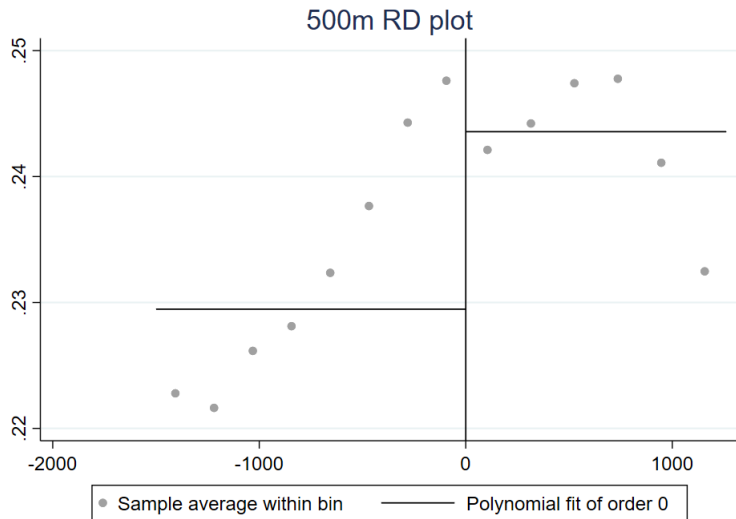
Past Elections: 1977 Communist Party (KKE)

Metropolitan Areas: Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

Legend: Sample average within bin — Polynomial fit of order 0

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

Metropolitan Areas:Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot
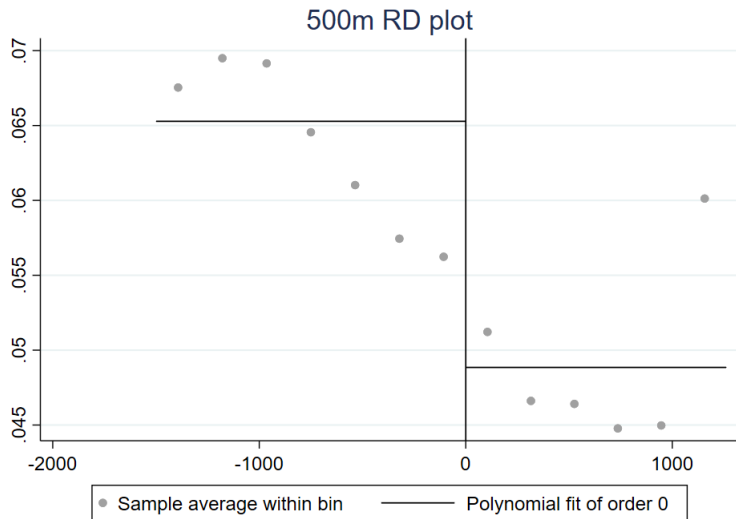
Contemporaneous Elections: 2007-2019
Pre and Post Crisis (2007-2019)

Table: Baseline Regression: 500m Buffer

	(1) Log KKE share	(2) Fringe incl. SYRIZA	(3) Left Fringe incl. SYRIZA	(4) Right Fringe
Inside	0.126***	0.0575***	0.0679***	0.0276
	(0.0291)	(0.0134)	(0.0164)	(0.0186)
Constant	-2.771***	-1.019***	-1.327***	-2.483***
	(0.0188)	(0.0106)	(0.0125)	(0.00908)
Fixed Effects	Refugee Area	Refugee Area	Refugee Area	Refugee Area
Clustered S.E.	Municipality/Election	Municipality/Election	Municipality/Election	Municipality/Election
Mean Party Share	0.0717	0.4161	0.3104	0.1057
Refugee Areas	253	253	253	253
Voting Stations	1689	1689	1689	1689
N	23988	23988	23988	23988
r2_within	0.0383	0.0288	0.0284	0.00374

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Contemporaneous Elections: 2007-2019 Communist Party

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

- Sample average within bin
- Polynomial fit of order 0

Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki

500m RD plot

- Sample average within bin
- Polynomial fit of order 0
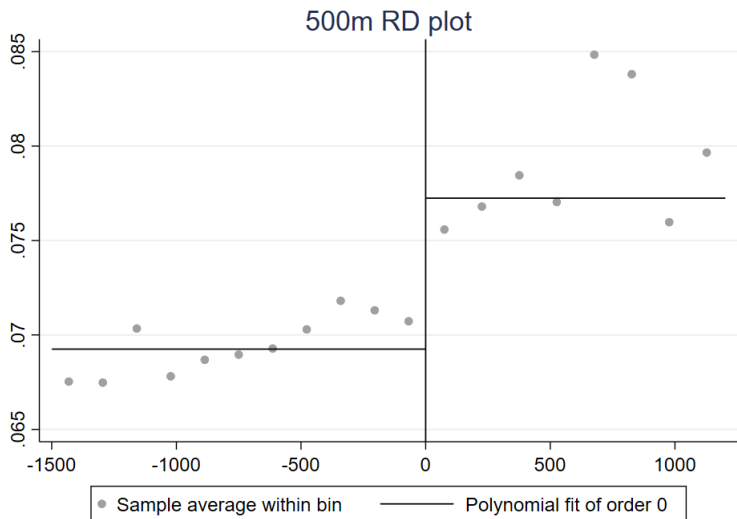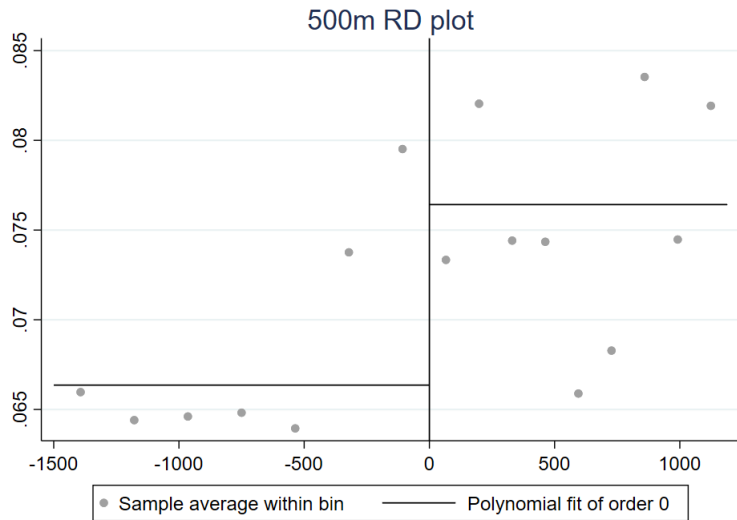
What May Rationalize this Political Behavior?

Mechanisms (A). Economics. Human and Physical Capital

- **Economic Differences between Natives and Refugees**

    - **Initial Conditions Differed (less in cities): Occupations in 1924 in Athens, Education, and Pysical Capital**

    - **Over Time: Education of subsequent cohorts converges quickly and surpasses natives'**

    - **Today: Property Values in 2018 no major difference**

Occupations Upon Arrival

Electoral Catalog, Athens 1924

Professions of Refugees and Natives in 1924
Top Professions of Males
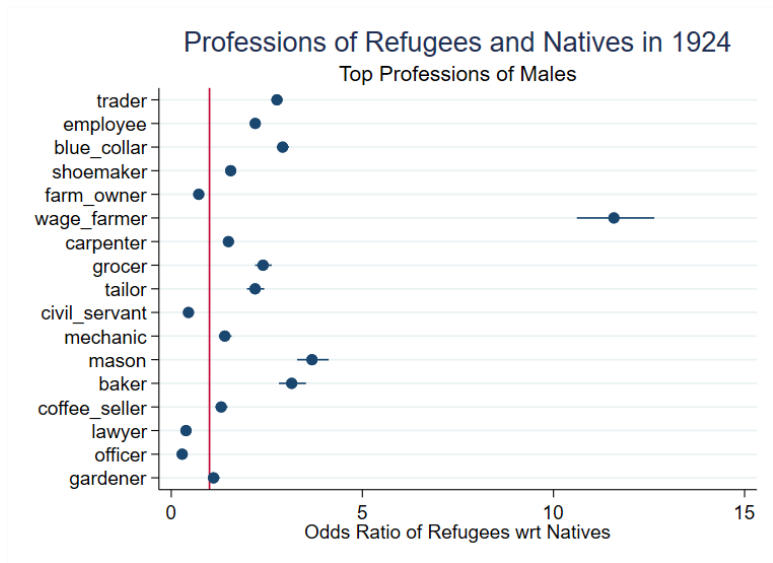
Professions/Jobs Upon Arrival?
Refugees Take up Whatever Jobs Appear Available

- ▶ little capital available

- ▶ with 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.

Education over Time
Educational Dynamics. Refugees and Natives

- **In parallel work (Benos et al, 2022)**, we use census data to compare cohorts of refugee and neighboring native villages.

- **Key Results:**
    - Rural refugees appear initially less educated to natives (in the countryside)
    - Quick catch up with the natives [educational reforms]
    - Cohorts born in the 70's refugees appear already more educated than natives [uprootedness effects]

Refugee and Native Villages

Benos et al. (2022), parallel work

Distribution of refugee and native settlements

- Refugee settlements with land grant
- Native settlements
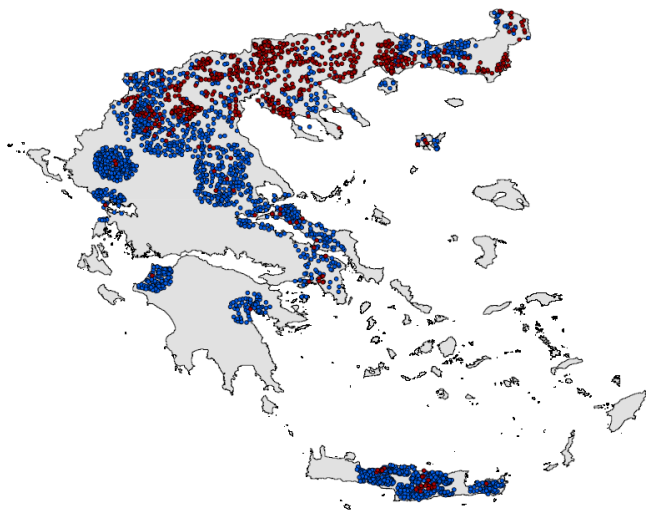
Educational Dynamics, Refugees and Natives

Benos et al. (2022). Comparing Nearby Villages and Small Towns
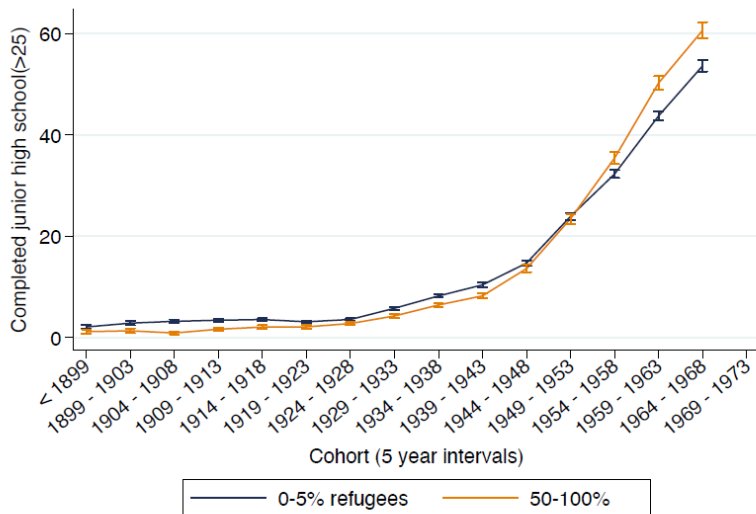
Non-urban gKOD, local sample 25km (APT25km excluded), pooled 71-81-91 censuses

Refugee Neighborhoods Today in Cities

Differences with Nearby Neighborhoods

- **Property values are similar to adjacent areas**
    - if anything they have more restaurants, and urban amenities
    - ongoing work exploring art scenes, galleries, and theaters

Wealth. Real Estate Values

Differences with Nearby Neighborhoods

Table: Baseline Regression

	(1) Log Values 2018	(2) Log Values 2021
Inside	-0.00854	-0.0441
	(0.0292)	(0.0300)
Constant	6.982***	7.181***
	(0.0128)	(0.0117)
Fixed Effects	Refugee Area	Refugee Area
Clustered S.E.	Municipality	Municipality
Mean Value	1120.7	1391.0
Voting Stations	1689	1689
Refugee Areas	253	253
N	51121	52122
r2_within	0.0000464	0.000981

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Economics. Land Values: 2018

Refugee Settlements and Property Values

0m RD plot for Residuals

Sample average within bin — Polynomial fit of order 0
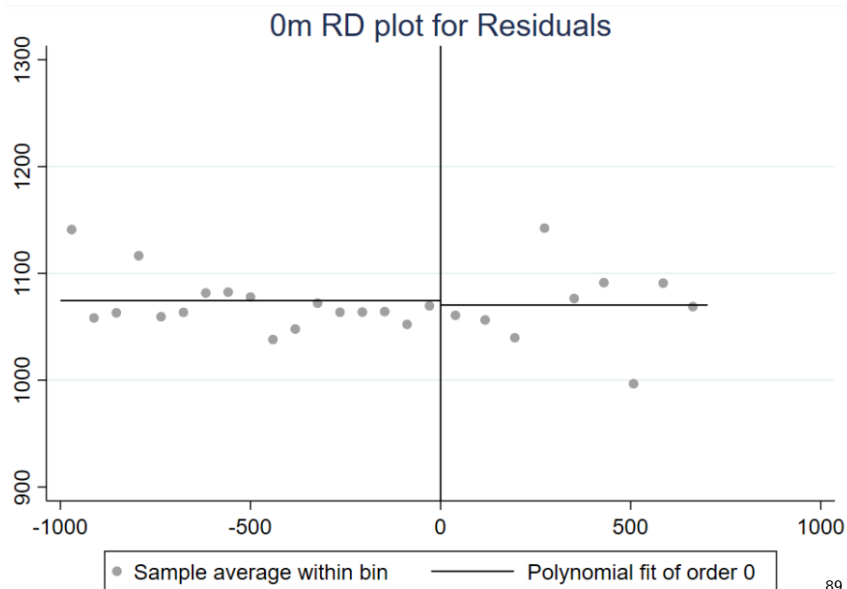
Refugees and Voting. Taking Stock

Summary

1. **Pre WWII.** Preference for Liberals (El. Venizelos) and Communist Party.

2. **Post WWII. Weak and Unstable Democratic Era**. Preference for Left (anti-Right Wing and Anti-Royal)

3. **Restoration of Democracy.** Pro-Left (Socialists) and Communist Party (anti-Right, despite anti-Royal stance in the December 1974 Referendum)

4. **Contemporary Period.** Pro-Left, incl. Communist Party and (less for) SYRIZA

Refugees and Voting. Mechanisms. 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?**

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**

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

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Refugee Identity and Culture
Songs as Cultural Heritage

- The experience of forceful displacement and settling in a new urban 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.

- **Examine how group-level narratives and collective memories emerge and evolve**

Culture, History and Economics
Transmission

- ▶ **Evidence that history and culture matter**
  - ▶ **History.** [e.g., Nunn (2014), Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2017, 2021), Voth (2021), Lowes (2021)]
  - ▶ **Culture.** [e.g., Landes (1998), Mokyr (2018), Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2011), Fernadez (2005)]

- ▶ **Transmission**. Vertical and Horizontal. [e.g., Bisin and Verdier (2001, 2007)]. **How exactly?**

- ▶ **Culture. Measurement (norms, values, beliefs).**
  - ▶ Surveys [e.g., Algan and Cahuc (2014)]
  - ▶ Games and experiments [Lowes et al. (2017)]
  - ▶ Ethnographic work [Murdock (1959, 1967), J. Henrich, N. Nunn]
  - ▶ Oral Tradition [Michalopoulos and Xue (2021)]
  - ▶ **Songs**

Greek Songs since 1920

Refugees' Role

- ▶ **Interwar Period**. *The birth of Rebetiko*

- ▶ **Post WWII**. *From Rebetiko to Laiko (Popular)*

- ▶ **1960s-1970s**. *Political Songs and the New Wave*

- ▶ **1980s-1990s.** *Concerts, youth party festivals.*

- ▶ **Contemporary.** Elements and influence from abroad (rap, hip hop, pop)

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 directing Columbia records and was responsible for the most 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.
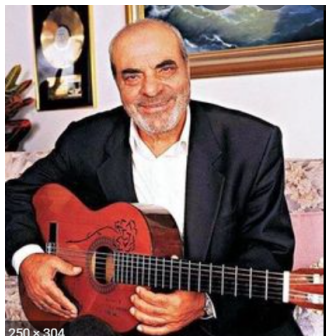
Refugees in Laiko Song

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

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

- ▶ **But are there general patterns?**

- ▶ **Are songs of refugees different than natives'?**
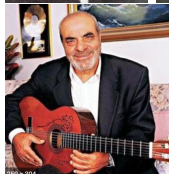
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Approach
Methodology

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

	Τίτλος τραγουδιού ▲▼	Στιχουργός	Συνθέτης	Πρώτη εκτέλεση	Καταχώριση ▲	Προβολές
			Στέλιος Καζαντζίδης (Ερμηνευτής) ⬤			
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 Βαρτάνης	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
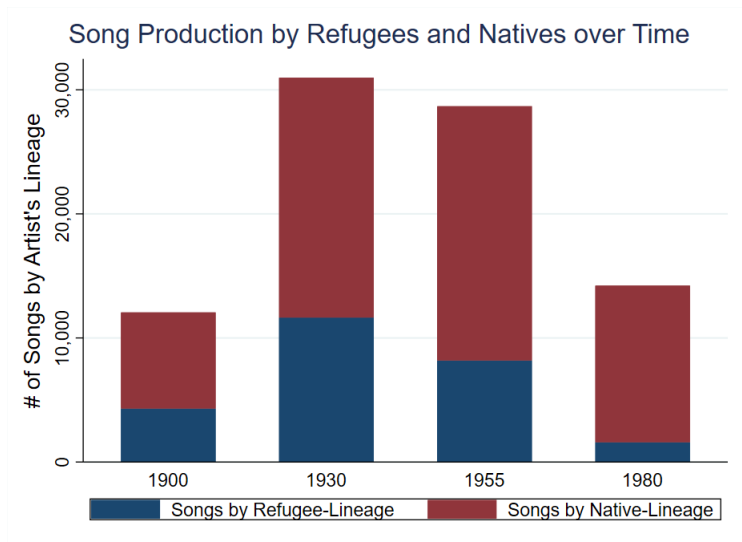
Crowd-Sourced Big Data to the Rescue. Challenges
Caveats

- ▶ 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

From Songs and Lyrics to Concepts
Approach and Method

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.

- ▶ **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.

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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

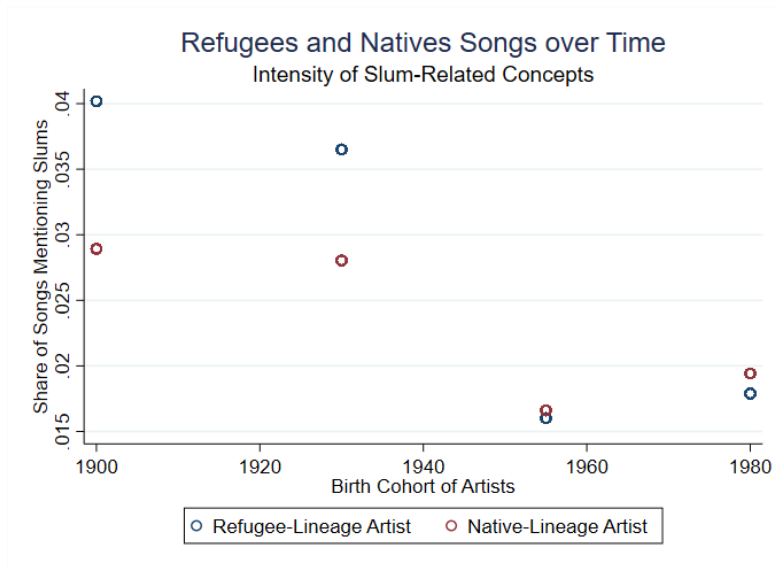- For example, do "economics"-related images converge but the trauma persists?

Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Impoverishment
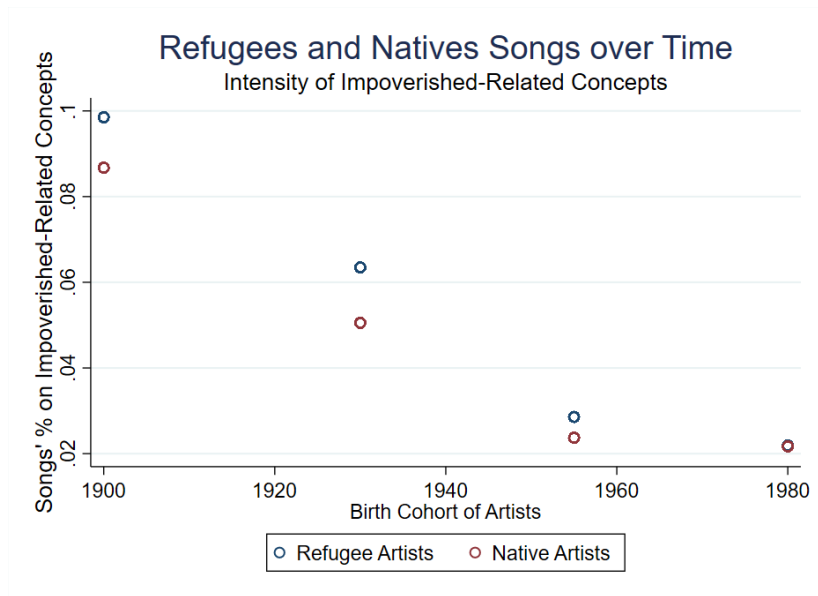
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Slums

Refugees and Natives Songs over Time

Intensity of Slum-Related Concepts

Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Hardship
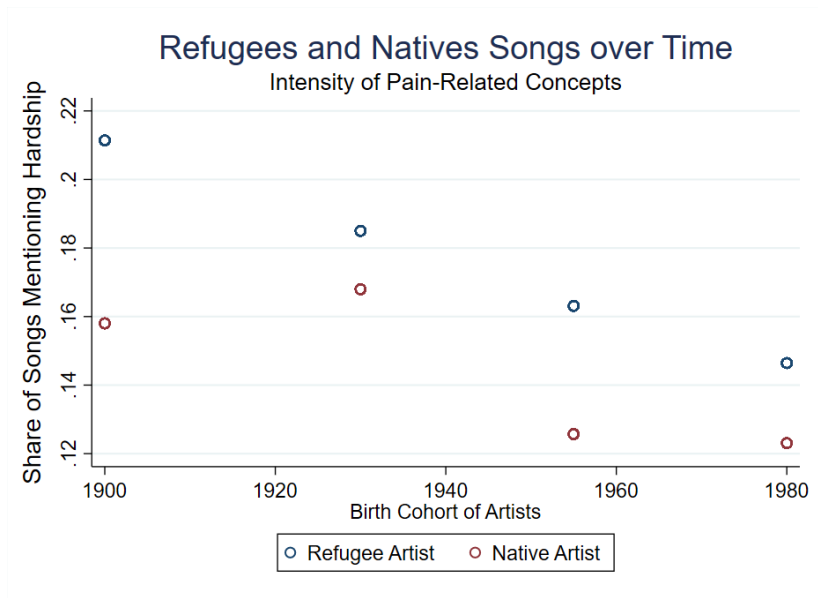
Refugees and Natives Songs over Time

Intensity of Pain-Related Concepts

Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Wound

Refugees and Natives Songs over Time
Intensity of Wound-Related Concepts
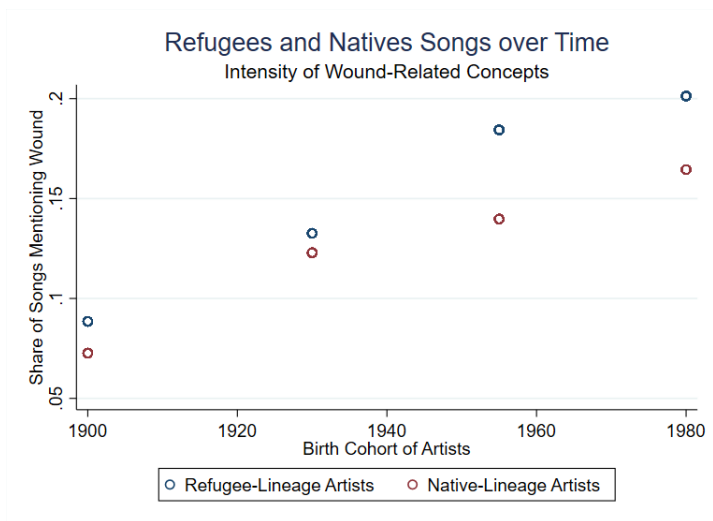
Do Songs between Natives and Refugees Converge?

Injustice, Inequality, Discrimination

Refugees and Natives Songs over Time

Intensity of Injustice, Discrimination, and Inequality Concepts

Legend: Refugee-Lineage Artists, Native-Lineage Artists
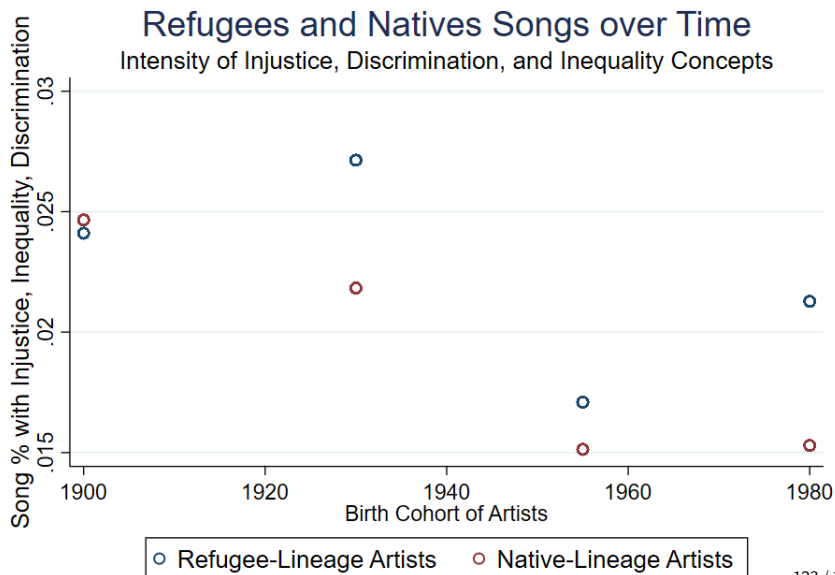
Refugees' Songs Production
## Taking Stock

- **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

What Do Refugee Cities Listen to in 2022?
Conditional on Regional and Island Indicators
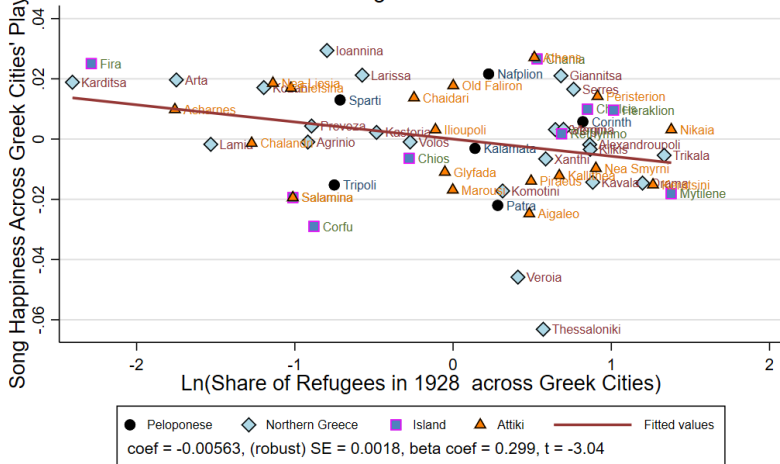
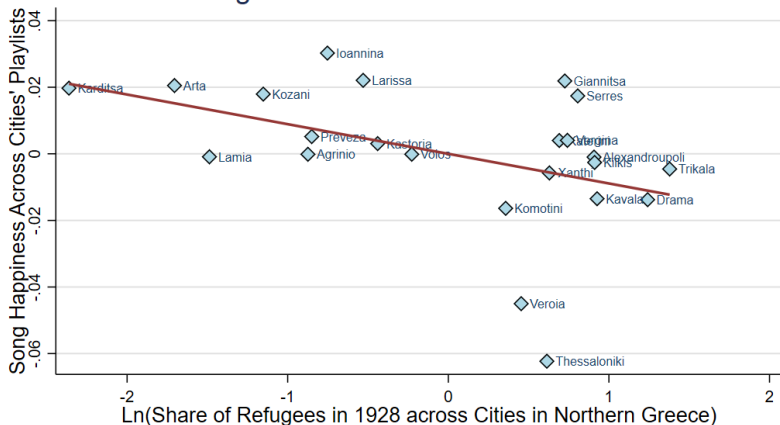Valence in Spotify: measure from 0.0 to 1.0 describing the musical positiveness conveyed by a track

The Playlists of Refugee Cities in Northern Greece Today
Spotify Data

What Do Refugees in Northern Greece Listen to in 2022?

coef = -0.0089, (robust) SE = 0.0040, beta coef = 0.43, t = -2.21

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

What Do Refugee Neighborhoods in Attika Listen to in 2022?

Conditional on Island Indicator
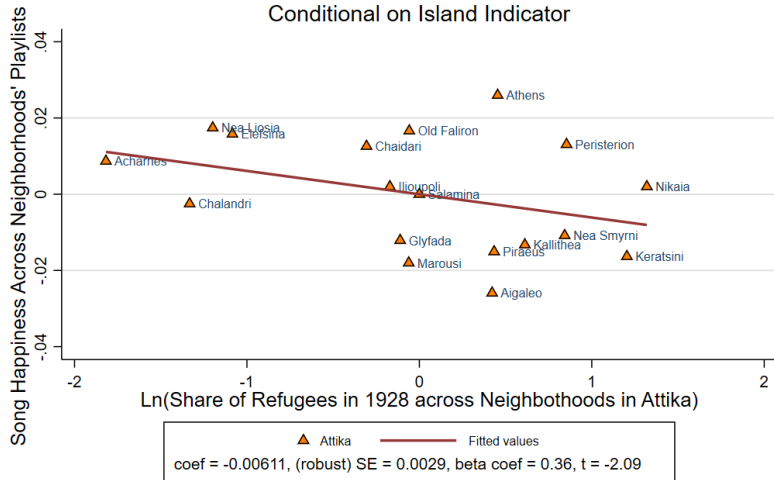
coef = -0.00611, (robust) SE = 0.0029, beta coef = 0.36, t = -2.09

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

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

▶ **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.

Refugee Songs and Political Platforms

Intensity of Refugee-Song Concepts across Party Platforms 2000-2019

Data points (labeled):
- Coalition of the Radical Left
- Comm (Communist, at far right)
- Independent Greeks
- Golden Dawn
- Union of Centr... / Democratic Left
- Popular Orthodox Rally
- The River
- Panhellenic Socialist Movement
- New Democracy

y-axis: Party Voting Gap Inside-Outside Refugee Areas (.01, .005, 0, -.005, -.01, -.015)

x-axis: First PCA of Labor, Anger, Power, Distress Concepts (-2, 0, 2, 4)

Legend: ● (mean) refmargin   —— Fitted values

Communist Party Endorsing the Refugee Lineage Music?

- **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

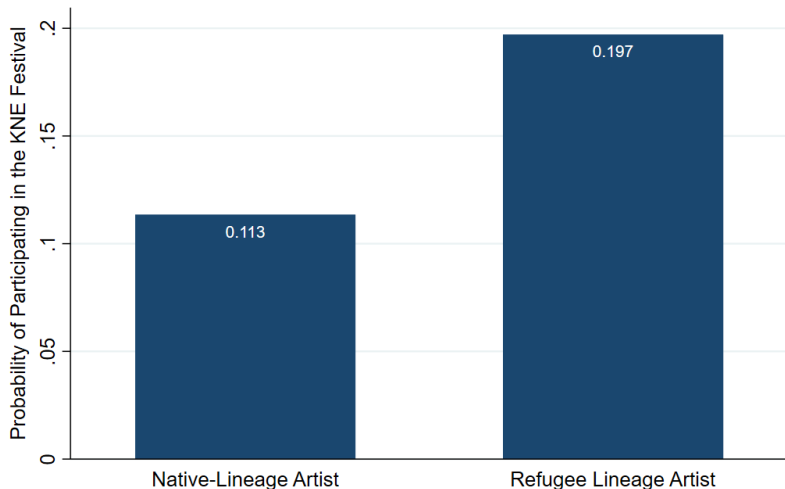# Is the Communist Party (KKE) Promoting Refugee Artists? (cont.)

Festival September 2021

Is the Communist Party Promoting Refugee Artists?

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

Which Singers are Invited to the Communist Music Festivals?
Festivals Between 1975-2022

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 (and signs Peace Pact 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 economically natives.

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.

▶ **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