Coming to Terms with Forced Migration: An Intergenerational Study of Asia Minor Refugee Memory in Greece



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Dedication

To my father *Kostas*, my mother *Lela*, and my brother *Pantelis*

Abstract

THIS THESIS is a comparative – intergenerational and interregional – history of Asia Minor memories and identities of forced displacement that examines the multilayered relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past. In light of the centenary of the Asia Minor population transfer and the current migration and refugee crises, this study explores refugee memories and identities of expulsion, their intergenerational transmission, and the way people with these memories think about subsequent migrations. While focusing on the case of Greece, the research questions that this thesis addresses are: How have memories of the 1922-24 forced displacement changed over time from one generation to the next? How do people with these memories and identities think about subsequent migration? Following a regional history approach and an oral history approach, this study draws upon literature from several disciplines and rests upon oral testimony. Specifically, it employs a methodology of collecting primary sources using oral testimonies (262 life history interviews) and archival evidence (5000 oral testimonies) based on three regional case studies, namely the borderland island of Lesvos, Central Macedonia in northern Greece, and Attica. Refugee identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding as well as a limited space of domination and competition. Elucidating the attitudes of refugee descendants and unfolding key patterns about the complex role of refugee memory and identity, this thesis brings together the intersection of three interlocking elements, time (refugee generations), place (refugee locations), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations). In short, *Coming to Terms with Forced Migration* sheds light on the convoluted relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past, providing a nuanced history of the 1922-24 memories and identities of forced displacement.

Long Abstract

In 2015, during Europe's 'migration crisis', the Greek island of Lesvos became a symbol of hospitality worldwide, hosting vast numbers of displaced people. At the same time, the island's residents were emphasising their own refugee identity, explaining that their parents were refugees from Turkey and that this is why they feel sympathy towards the newcomers. What is so striking about Lesvos is that it hosts significant contemporary migration, while a large part of its population descends from refugees from Asia Minor. In Greece, the case of Lesvos is far from rare.

In 1923 Greece and Turkey agreed to the compulsory exchange of populations of their religious minorities, a story central to the Greek identity, which transformed the country's contemporary history and poses international interest since it was the first compulsory population exchange in history. The influx of refugees expelled from Turkey to Greece was estimated at around 1.2 million people. After the Second World War and the post-Cold War period came further waves of forced displacement and migration, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the post-1989 migrations turning Greece into an immigration country. Most significant, however, was the 2015 'migration crisis', when the country once again experienced the arrival of more than 1 million displaced people. Greece is a country that constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlements for significant contemporary migration flows.

With these considerations and while focusing on the case of Greece, the research questions that this thesis addresses are: How have memories and identities of the 1922-24 forced displacement changed over time from one generation to the next? How do people with these memories and identities think about subsequent migration? Asia Minor refugee memory and identity are not static but are instead actively reshaped over time. In this research, memory

and identity are seen as dynamic oscillations between continuities and discontinuities of the past and the present, through which historically formed subjectivities are unpacked in the context of subsequent migration.

In Greece, where the current population composition has been shaped to a large extent by the 1923 population exchange, the significance of the transmission of these memories and identities and the extent to which they are lasting and changeable throughout generations and geographical locations is paramount. The year 2023 is the centenary of the Asia Minor expulsion. Today, in light of the current migration and refugee crises, the critical understanding of past relocations echoes with new relevance.

This study creates a comparative – intergenerational and interregional – history of the 1922-24 memories and identities of forced displacement, which uncovers the multilayered relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past. How do people with Asia Minor memories and identities of forced displacement think about subsequent migration? Are they becoming empathisers, antagonists, or rivals? Addressing this question, and without ignoring the multiplicity of variables in-play, this thesis brings together time (generations), place (geographies), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations). It argues that the intersection of these three interlocking elements allows an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competition. Geography matters as regional and historical particularities inform elements such as the existence of different senses of refugee identity and varying degrees of exposure to subsequent migrations. Generation matters as different generations express different attitudes based on their varying levels of integration and the diverse intensities of their refugee identity. The intersection of these elements reveals not only of the way descendants recount themselves, but also of how they speak of 'others', in this case subsequent migration. The examination of attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants in

relation to other waves of migrations across time and place elucidates the complex and nonlinear relationship between their views and their refugee past and unfolds key patterns about the multidirectional role of refugee identity. Asia Minor refugee history, memory, and identity acquire various meanings and interpretations, influencing descendants' attitudes in often conflicting ways. Refugee identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding as well as a limited space of domination and competition. This contention is situated at the heart of this research, leading both to the building of bridges and parallels with histories of others and to their demolition through hierarchies of acceptability and antagonistic comparisons. *Coming to Terms with Forced Migration* throws light on the convoluted relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past and reminds us that attitudes towards subsequent migration can be volatile and ambivalent.

Many facets of the compulsory population exchange have become central to various studies throughout the years and have been illuminated by many scholars from various disciplines. In the first period following the 1923 population exchange until the mid-1970s, scholars focused on the immediate aftermath of the population exchange usually following a more descriptive approach. In these works, scholars describe the ethnological, economic, political, social, and cultural effects of the population exchange. In the late 1980s, the issue of refugee identification was examined mostly in anthropological studies focusing on single-location case studies. In 2000s, groundbreaking works built a bridge between Greek and Turkish academics, examining the effects of the population exchange in both countries. In the following decade, scholars put emphasis on the issue of the coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Anatolia. It was only in the mid-2010s that the ideas of memory and belonging were revisited as ways of formulating the present. Today, on the 100th anniversary of this population transfer, a proliferated scholarly activity focusing on its legacy is taking place. This brief chronological overview of the existing historiography takes us through different periods,

elucidating the diverse themes that dominated the literature on the Asia Minor forced displacement over time.

Going beyond descriptive approaches and single-location case studies, this thesis shifts the focus to 'history from below' and an oral history approach as well as a regional history approach, illuminating memories and identities of forced displacement among Asia Minor refugees and their descendants in the context of subsequent migration.

This research employs a methodology of collecting primary sources using oral testimonies and archival evidence, based on three regional case studies. My methodology is designed to provide a complex story of Asia Minor refugee memory and identity in the context of Europe's contemporary 'migration crisis'. The extent to which past experiences of forced displacement lead to outcomes of empathy, hostility, and competitive victimisation is traced across time (generations) and place (geographical locations).

This thesis is focused on three geographic areas across Greece, namely the borderland island of Lesvos, Central Macedonia in northern Greece, and Greece's most populous region, Attica. Each of these regions and their administrative units were chosen based on the following selection criteria. Firstly, regions that experienced the greatest number of migration arrivals throughout time relative to their size. Secondly, regions with population compositions formed to a large degree by the Asia Minor forced displacement. Thirdly, regions' proximity to the contemporary migration flows. Lastly, regions' diversity in terms of geographic and socio-economic criteria. In this context, the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement and ultimately its imprint on identities, are elucidated based on the historical and geographic particularities of the three regional case studies.

Subjectivity, as expressed through oral histories, is placed in the foreground of this project. This research followed a 'collective life history' approach, examining multiple connected and disconnected biographies and shifting identities in order to tell a story of Asia

Minor refugee memory. Tracing this construction of memory across generations and geographical locations, this approach benefits from insights of 'collective biography' and 'memory biographies' and was undertaken through oral history. Through a careful build-up of their interpretation, biographies are seen as powerful narrative tools used to reconstruct not only individual and collective life histories but also the wider experience of Asia Minor refugees.

Going beyond events as such and through the lens of oral history, memories are examined in the depth of individual-level analysis and then are related to collective and cultural frameworks of remembrance. The questions of how and what kind of memory is transmitted and if it is lasting or changeable over time are elucidated through the intergenerational perspective of this study. Changes across geographical locations are also considered through the comparative analysis of different regions that allow us to explain the circumstances under which different patterns of memories emerge, thus giving us a more nuanced picture of the Asia Minor refugee memory.

The source material of this research is derived from a collection and combination of primary sources. Specifically, I conducted over 260 life history interviews and I examined nearly 5000 oral testimonies in the context of archival research in the course of 2019 and 2020. This research examined a subsample of oral testimonies of the first generation derived from the Oral History Tradition archive of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies in Athens. This archive comprises 5,000 oral testimonies of the first generation of refugees and is classified according to Asia Minor geographical settlements. From 1930 to 1975 extensive fieldwork was conducted by researchers who interviewed Asia Minor refugees based on a set of questions. In cases where it was possible, my research related extant interviews to those conducted. In this way, testimonies of the first generation were linked to testimonies of their descendants of the second,

third, and fourth generations, providing a complex intergenerational account of the continuities and discontinuities of this refugee memory that has not previously been attempted.

The main analytical category is Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. My sampling strategy was based on a combination of lists of Asia Minor refugee associations, family trees, snowball sampling, and random sampling. The thesis sample primarily included the first, second, third, and fourth generation of refugees, both as family members and as individual interviewees from distinct generations outside the family context. This sample also included a limited number of 'control' interviews of non-Asia Minor refugees. My interviewing technique was based on a combination of individual and group interviews. Through life history and semi-structured interviews, respondents gave broad chronological personal accounts. Through the lens of oral history, memories are examined in the depth of individual-level analysis and then are related to collective and cultural frameworks of remembrance.

The reliability of oral sources has been repeatedly questioned and is the matter of a long-standing debate among historians. Acknowledging oral history's limitations and its unique strengths, my analysis reconstructs life histories and unpacks historically formed subjectivities by following a bottom-up historical perspective.

This thesis comprises an introduction, 6 chapters, and a conclusion. The introduction presents this study and discusses the conceptual tools, the oral history approach, the regional history approach, the sources, and it situates this work in relation to the existing literature.

Chapter 1, 'A Brief History of Migration in Greece', introduces key phases of migration and forced displacement towards Greece starting from 1922-24 with the compulsory population exchange to the post-World War II period, the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and ending with Europe's contemporary 'migration crisis'. It presents Greece's 20th and early 21st century's long migration history as well as the circularity that migration history entails.

Chapter 2, ‘On Intergenerational Refugee Identity’, brings to the forefront the cornerstones of the Asia Minor refugee identity and their transmogrification over time. The Asia Minor refugee identity is formed through the coexistence of multiple layers of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities. Throughout time, continuities and discontinuities emerge concerning these defining elements, leading to the marginalisation and accentuation of refugee identity over time. From silence, to latency, and ultimately to a reawakening, this chapter reveals that the Asia Minor refugee identity changes throughout different historical periods and through its transfer from one generation to the next.

Chapter 3, ‘Just Across the Aegean: The Case of Lesvos’, studies the unexpected and violent forced displacement of 1922 in the context of current ‘migration crisis’, focusing on the borderland island of Lesvos that constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. The traumatic dimension of the Asia Minor displacement, the non-linear transfer of this memory, and the dynamic interplay of the various frameworks of remembrance shape strong intergenerational refugee identities in the context of Lesvos. This chapter concludes that Asia Minor refugee memory leads to completely different outcomes depending on how the subjects understand their history and their sense of identity, with Lesvians becoming gate openers, building bridges with other histories of displacement.

In Chapter 4, ‘From Refugees to Guardians of the Borders: The Case of Central Macedonia’, diverse accounts from descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace elucidate the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement, the varying intensities of the intergenerational transmission of traumatic memories, and their imprint on identities in Central Macedonia. In this case, competition emerges between the various Asia Minor groups, the native population, and subsequent migrants. Regional history comes to the

forefront, and in borderland villages in northern Greece Asia Minor descendants become guardians of the borders and their identification is transmuted from refugees to gatekeepers.

Chapter 5, 'Descending and Ascending Memories in a Melting Pot: The Case of Attica', focuses on the examination of Asia Minor refugee memory and identity in the context of Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region, Attica. Different balances of memory and identity are sketched, and in settlements with dwindling refugee characteristics the intergenerational memory is presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending history and identities. In Attica, as it is transformed to a place of settlement for subsequent migration and passes from homogeneity to multiculturalism over time, triggering and descending identities coexist. In this gradually transforming centre, hostility towards early migrations becomes acceptance, as multiculturalism and past refugee identities are seen as sources of pragmatism, understanding, and less tense attitudes towards contemporary migration.

Chapter 6, 'The Janus-Faced Attitudes of Asia Minor Refugee Descendants: Empathisers, Antagonists, or Rivals?', brings together time (generation), place (geography), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations), exploring the attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards other migrants and refugees. Through the lens of comparative analysis, this chapter unfolds key patterns about the multidirectional role of refugee identity. In this context, the geographical and intergenerational perspectives of this research and ultimately their intersection reveal the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competitive victimisation.

The thesis' concluding chapter explains how this study informs and furthers our understanding of the complex relationship between attitudes and refugee past. Finally, it highlights the main research contributions and provides suggestions for further research.

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Much of what I have to say in this thesis rests on life histories of 262 Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. To only name a few, Dimitris Pantelas, Sofia Kosmoglou, Meni Atsikbasi, and Dimitris Papachrisos have provided me with their valuable time and extended refugee networks. I hope that the bibliography depicts how much I owe to all my interviewees. I also encountered very friendly staff members at the archives such as the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, in the context of which I have benefited from discussions with Dimitris Kamouzis and Paschalis Kitromilides.

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Worcester College Library,
between VV and YY,
August 2022

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List of Abbreviations

EU	European Union
FRAG	Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece
FSU	Former Soviet Union
NGO	Non-Governmental Organasation
PAOK	Pan-Thessalonian Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Notes on Terminology, Geography, and Transliteration

Terms:

Without ignoring the differences between forced displacements and migration movements, I have deliberately decided to explore contemporary attitudes towards people on the move whether they are migrants or refugees. In this context, the terms 'migrant' and 'refugee' may appear interchangeably. I also used interchangeably the terms 'populations transfer', 'population exchange', and 'population expulsion' to describe the Asia Minor forced displacement.

Geography:

To describe the 'the land mass which comprises the major part of Asiatic Turkey today', I used the term Asia Minor, which is 'standard in Greek today, while Anatolia is not used'.[1]

Transliterations:

The original language of both the conducted interviews and archival oral testimonies is Greek. All citations in this thesis are translated by the author in English, with the aim of preserving literalness, unless it is noted differently. Although there is 'not standard way of transliterating Greek script', words, family names, and place names are mostly referred to by their English spellings.[2]

[1] R. Hirschon, 'Notes on Terminology and Orthography', in. R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. xi.
[2] Ibid, p. xiii.

Introduction

THIS RESEARCH is a comparative – intergenerational and interregional – history of the 1922-24 memories and identities of forced displacement, that examines the multilayered relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past. It explores memories and identities of the Asia Minor forced displacement and the attitudes of people with these memories towards subsequent migration. The introduction presents this study, which is based on primary sources including oral testimonies and archival evidence from Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. It discusses the possibilities and the limitations of these sources, the oral history approach, the regional history approach, the methodology, and it situates this work in relation to the existing literature, before setting out the structure of the thesis.

In 2016, during Europe's unfolding 'migration crisis', Greek islanders were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Among them, were the three grandmothers of Lesvos, who became symbols of hospitality worldwide through a picture capturing them welcoming refugees. In this picture, one of them carefully holds and bottle-feeds a baby, while its young mother stands fixing her veil, and the other two sit on a bench and look the baby with tenderness. Putting names to these symbolic figures, the three grandmothers were 89-year-old Eftratia Mavrapidi, 83-year- old Militsa Kamvisi, and 85-year-old Maritsa Mavrapidi, who welcomed a refugee mother and her baby who had arrived at the island's shores crossing from Turkey. Discussing these arrivals, Maritsa Mavrapidi explained:

> Our mothers came here as refugees from Turkey, just across the way, and they were just girls at the time. They came without clothes, with nothing […] That's why we feel sorry for the migrants'.[1]

Four years later, in 2020, in a changing and tense environment of difficulties and disagreements, a large fire destroyed Moria Registration and Identification Center in Lesvos, ultimately leading to the closure of Europe's biggest refugee camp.[2]

These two conflicting instances encapsulate a tension at the heart of thinking about migration. 'Migration has become a battleground', as on the one hand it stands for reactions of empathy and historical parallels, while on the other it is seen as a source of hostility and negative reactions.[3] This work is based on stories about gate openers and the building of historical bridges and at the same time their demolition by gatekeepers. What is so striking about the Lesvos paradox and the coexistence of Janus-faced reactions regarding the newcomers is that Lesvos constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. Its present population composition was, to a large degree, formed by the 1922-24 forced displacement between Greece and Turkey. In Greece, the case of Lesvos is far from rare given that a significant percentage of the country's current population is descended from refugees from Asia Minor. Therefore, the significance of the transmission of these memories and identities and the extent to which they are lasting and changeable throughout generations and geographical locations is paramount. In the foregoing excerpt, Maritsa brings to the forefront the complex relationship between attitudes and refugee background, prompting several questions: What is the correlation between attitudes and

[1] Yiannis Papadopoulos, '"We Know What it Means to be a Refugee", Say Lesvos Grandmothers', ekathimerini.com (11 Feb. 2016), https://www.ekathimerini.com/society/205800/we-know-what-it-means-to-be-a-refugee-say-lesvos-grandmothers/ (11 Aug. 2022).
[2] UNHCR, 'UNHCR Offers Support as Large Fire Destroys Asylum Center in Moria' (9 Sept. 2020), https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/press/2020/9/5f588b0e4/unhcr-offers-support-large-fire-destroys-asylum-center-moria.html (12 May 2022).
[3] P. Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present* (UK, 2019), p. 20.

refugee past? How do 'old' migrants think about 'new' migrants? Are they becoming empathisers, antagonists, or rivals? How does subsequent migration trigger memories of displacement? Under what circumstances do different attitudinal patterns emerge?

The importance of these questions lies in the paradox that while modern states have been largely formed by past relocation experiences of migration and forced displacement, as a result of the great wars of the twentieth century, arrivals of migrants introduced great debate about the place of the newcomers in the host societies. Zooming in and out on the global history of forced displacement and migration, numerous examples, ranging from Polish refugees after 1949 to Ugandan Asians in 1972, disclose the coexistence of many diverse stories 'in the same vein'.[4] In Europe, in particular, the history of migration is a complex and multilayered history, providing both examples of harmony, cooperation, and multiculturalism, and also evidence of disharmony, division, and monocultural options.[5] Thus, Europe's nuanced relationship 'with migration and migrants is conflicted' and these coexisting tensions pervade different levels of analysis, geographies, and generations.[6]

Discussing the 'Unsettling of Europe', Gatrell reminds us that 'experiences of migration […] are not remote from us either in time or in geographical distance. They resonate in ways that speak to their descendants and to migrants who arrived afterwards'.[7] Today, in light of the centenary of the end of the Greco-Turkish War, Europe's 'migration crisis' and the Russo-Ukrainian War are salutary reminders that Europe is not 'immune from refugee crises'.[8] In this context, the critical understanding of past forced displacements echoes with new relevance.

[4] Ibid., p. 15.
[5] Ibid., 205.
[6] Ibid., p. 19.
[7] Ibid., p. 16.
[8] P. Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford, 2013), p. 1.

Research questions

The passage from empire to nation-state brought about numerous population expulsions of which one of the most forceful and notable was the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey. In 1923 Greece and Turkey agreed to the compulsory exchange of populations of their religious minorities, a story central to the Greek identity, which in the words of Kitromilides, 'transformed the form and the character of the contemporary history of the nation' and poses international interest since it was the first compulsory population exchange in history.[9] The influx of refugees expelled from Turkey to Greece was estimated at around 1.2 million people. After the Second World War and the post-Cold War period came further waves of forced displacement and migration, with collapse of the Soviet Union and the post-1989 migrations turning Greece into an immigration country.[10] Most significant, however, was the 2015 'migration crisis', when the country, faced with a severe political and economic crisis, once again experienced the arrival of more than 1 million displaced people, fleeing from the Middle East and Africa.[11] Greece is a country that constitutes one of the European Union's entry ports, a transit points, and a place of settlements for significant contemporary migration flows, while at the same time, a large part of its population descends from refugees from Asia Minor.

The research questions that this thesis addresses are: How have memories of the 1922-24 forced displacement changed over time from one generation to the next? How do people with these memories and identities think about subsequent migration? Asia Minor refugee

[9] P. M. Kitromilides, 'Contribution to the Study of the Asia Minor Tragedy: Evidence on the Destruction of the Hellenism of Bithynia', *Mikrasiatika Chronika*, 15/1 (1972), p. 372.
[10] Parts of this introduction and of the long abstract have appeared in M. Anastasopoulou, 'Book Reviews', *Journal of Modern Greek* Studies, 40/1 (2022), pp. 456-60; M. Anastasopoulou, 'Echoes of Memories of Forced Displacement', in. E. Gozdziak, I. Main & B. Suter (eds), *Europe and the Refugee Response* (London, 2020).
[11] Ibid, p. 14.

memory and identity are not static, but are instead actively reshaped over time.[12] In this research, memory and identity are seen as dynamic oscillations between continuities and discontinuities of the past and the present, through which historically formed subjectivities are unpacked in the context of subsequent migration and Europe's contemporary 'migration crisis'.[13]

The Asia Minor refugees and their descendants are shaped and reshaped across different generations of memory, across multiple levels – individual, collective, national – and across different historical periods, from the end of War World I to the contemporary migration crisis. In this light, the nuanced relationship between memory and identity and the extent to which they inform and construct each other, creating different practices of belonging and attitudes, will be examined. Acknowledging the multiplicity of factors that are involved in this process, these historically formed subjectivities are seen as 'complex and divided, and fashioned over time within social, cultural or gender context'.[14]

One of the main aims of this study is to create a comparative -intergenerational and interregional- history of the 1922-24 memories and identities of forced displacement, which will uncover the complex, nuanced, and multidirectional relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past. With this consideration, this thesis brings together time, place, and subsequent migration in order to explore the views and attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards waves of other migrations. I argue that the intersection of these interlocking elements allows an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competition.

[12] Ibid, p. 21.
[13] Ibid.
[14] R. Gildea, 'The Long March of Oral History: Around 1968 in France', *Oral History*, 38/1 (2010), p. 71.

Literature review

This research is situated at the intersection of various fields, drawing primarily on history and additionally on insights deriving from anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, and migration and refugee studies. Consequently, this study has wider implications for these fields, furthering our understanding of the complex relationship between attitudes and refugee past. Many facets of the compulsory population exchange have become central to various studies throughout the years and have been illuminated by many scholars from various disciplines.

In the first period following the 1923 population exchange until the mid-1970s, scholars focused on the immediate aftermath of the population exchange usually following a more descriptive approach. In these works, scholars such as Pentzopoulos, describe the ethnological, economic, political, social and cultural effects of the population exchange.[15] The population exchange resulted in many demographic, ethnological, settlement, economic, political, social and cultural effects, whose impacts form the central analytical theme of the largest body of the existing literature. Although the present analysis considers the historiography of both countries,[16] emphasis will be given to the impacts of this exchange in Greece, which is the focus of this study. On both sides of the Aegean, the 1922-24 events led to nearly complete national homogeneity. The effective settlement of refugees under the Refugee Commission had a profound ethnological impact on the homogenization and consolidation of Greece. As Pentzopoulos explains, the Asia Minor refugees became 'the frontier population', safeguarding

[15] W. S. Churchill, *The World Crisis* (London, 1929); S. P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities – Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1932); A. A. Pallis, *Greece's Anatolian Venture and After: A Survey of the Diplomatic and Political Aspects of the Greek Expedition to Asia Minor, 1915-1922* (London, 1937); D. Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, 1st edn (Paris, 1962); M. L. Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (London, 1973).
[16] K. Ari, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye ye Zorunlu Göc, 1923-1925* [The Great Exchange: Forced Migration to Turkey, 1923-1925] (Istanbul, 1995).

the country's territorial integrity.[17] Although it is known that the refugees brought new skills and expertise, there is debate regarding their economic role. As far as the emerging political patterns are concerned, Mavrogordatos emphasises the inherited legacy of the traumatic events in Greek mass politics, linking refugees' political behaviour to the rise of the Communist Party.[18] The political and primarily economic problems led to contested social relations between the newcomers and the local population, enhancing prejudice and hostility. The refugees on both sides of the Aegean were often stigmatised by local Turks as 'half infidels', 'infidel seeds', 'fake Muslims/Turks', or 'Muslims of Ali Pasha of Ioannina' and by local Greeks as 'Turkish seeds', 'baptised in yogurt' or 'orientals'.[19] The preservation of a separate identity, on the side of the newcomers, hindered their integration.

This conscious maintenance of a separate Asia Minor identity and cultural distinctiveness has been further illuminated by anthropological insights. In the late 1980s, the issue of refugee identification was examined mostly in anthropological studies focusing on single-location case studies.[20] Through her ethnography of Kokkinia, which is an urban quarter of the port city of Piraeus, Hirschon underlines that Asia Minor refugees would say, referring to themselves, 'We are refugees' or 'We are Mikrasiates' (Asia Minor people)'.[21] Salamone's rural study focuses on the refugee heritage and the reconstruction of the Asia Minor home of refugee islanders established in a Greek fishing village called Amuliani.[22] Analysing the two

[17] Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 139.
[18] G. T. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936* (London, 1983), pp. 182-214.
[19] R. Hirschon*,* 'The Consequences of the Lausanne Convention', in. R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), pp. 19-20; F. Tansug, 'Memory and Migration: The Turkish Experience of the Compulsory Population Exchange'*, Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies,* 17/1 (2011), p. 200.
[20] S. D. Salamone*, In the Shadow of the Holy Mountain*, 1st edn (United States, 1987).
[21] R. Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, 1st edn (Oxford, 1989), p. 4.
[22] Salamone*, In the Shadow of the Holy Mountain*.

studies, Loizos wondered, 'at what point do the subjects stop being explainable *primarily as refugees*'.[23]

In 2003 a groundbreaking work, *Crossing the Aegean*, built a bridge between Greek and Turkish academics, examining the effects of the population exchange in both countries.[24] In both countries the war is seen in terms of 'a good-versus-evil-schema' of national victimhood.[25] Elucidating the discrepancies between Greek and Turkish historiography in an interdisciplinary study, Hirschon brings together academics from the two countries to analyse the various asymmetries of the population exchange. The most important asymmetry is related to the way the 1923 exchange of populations is expressed in the narratives of Greece and Turkey even until today. On the Turkish side, this military conflict is seen as a 'major triumph', known as The War of Independence (İstiklâl Harbi), upon which the modern Turkish nation-state was established.[26] On the other hand, the 1923 population exchange was considered a 'major defeat' and is known in Greece as the Asia Minor Catastrophe (Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi).[27] Also referring to both countries, Clark explains how this mass expulsion forged modern Greece and Turkey, placing some of the surviving refugees at the forefront.[28] In addition, other scholars bring to the forefront intensely intermingled populations, including Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Kurds, Jews, and Greeks, coexisted in the Balkan peninsula and examine the historical demography of the Asia Minor communities.[29]. Putting emphasis on the changing focus of historians 'from nation to empire', [30] Doumanis refers to the concept of

[23] P. Loizos, 'Ottoman Half-Lives: Long-Term Perspectives on Particular Forced Migrations', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12/3 (1999), p. 245.
[24] R. Hirschon, '"Unmixing Peoples" in the Aegean Region', in R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), pp. 3-12.
[25] Ibid., p. 163.
[26] Hirschon, '"Unmixing Peoples" in the Aegean Region', p. 13.
[27] Ibid., p 13.
[28] B. Clark, *Twice a Stranger: How Mass Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (London, 2007).
[29] P. M. Kitromilides and A. Alexandris, 'Ethnic Survival, Nationalism and Forced Migration: The Historical Demography of the Greek Community of Asia Minor at the Close of the Ottoman Era', *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, 5/1 (1984), pp. 9-44.
[30] S. Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία 19ος αι. – 1919* [Asia Minor 19th Century – 1919], 1st edn (Athens, 1998).

intercommunality, meaning the mode of everyday living based on the 'coexistence developed between religious or ethnic communities' in the Ottoman Empire.[31]

It was only in the mid-2010s that the ideas of memory and belonging were revisited as ways of formulating the present.[32] Today, in the centenary of this population transfer, a proliferated scholarly activity takes place focusing on its legacy. Addressing questions of intergenerational trauma through the autobiographical lens, Arcel – a clinical psychologist and a daughter of a refugee from Pergamus in Asia Minor – produced an in-depth account of the Asia Minor trauma that she defined as 'Cultural Trauma of the Asia Minor Catastrophe'.[33] This groundbreaking work is one of the first attempts to place trauma and its transmission to the forefront, furthering our understanding about the legacies of forced displacement. Arcel concludes that 'what matters is not that we remember the history of 1922 […] but what we remember and how we pass it on to future generations'.[34] Going beyond family memories, Sjöberg examines collective memories of 'the making of the Greek genocide' both in terms of how they came into being and the extent to which they found acceptance in the age of a cosmopolitan culture of remembrance.[35] Analysing this history of remembrance in Greece in the aftermath of the war, he highlights the passage 'from a narrative of ethnic distinctiveness to transnational or cosmopolitan history'.[36] Using the Asia Minor forced displacement as a starting point, both Arcel and Sjöberg discuss cosmopolitanism as a means of understanding the 'other'. Referring to a 'universal refugee experience', Tata Arcel notes that 'sympathy increases the likelihood of some degree of identification with traumatic experiences and

[31] N. Doumanis, *Before the Nation* (Oxford, 2012), p. 1.
[32] E. Dinas and V. Fouka, 'Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis', in *SSRN Electronic Journal* (published online January 2018), [doi: 10.2139/ssrn.3102093], pp. 1-45.
[33] L. T. Arcel, *Με το Διωγμό στην Ψυχή* [Persecution in the Soul] (Athens, 2014), p. 31.
[34] Ibid., p. 455.
[35] E. Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe* (New York, 2017).
[36] Ibid., p. 5.

understanding of the Other'.[37] Taking a step further, Sjöberg analyses the notion of Greeks sharing in the suffering of others, demonstrating that 'the ability to imagine one's own community in the role of perpetrator is key to a truly cosmopolitan understanding of past and present national experience'.[38] Lastly, also focusing on the legacies of cultural memories of Asia Minor, Gedgaudaite refers to the ways in which these memories reverberate in contemporary Greek culture and concerns.[39]

This brief chronological overview of the existing historiography takes us through different periods, elucidating the diverse themes that dominated the literature on the Asia Minor forced displacement over time. Examining different aspects and following different perspectives, various scholars have tackled different facets of the Asia Minor forced displacement. While the Greek-Turkish population exchange have attracted significant attention, this is the first study that sheds light on the question of how refugee memory relates to contemporary attitudes towards subsequent migrants and refugees from an intergenerational perspective. As becomes apparent from the aforementioned, a large part of the existing literature focuses either on the population exchange per se or on its immediate effects, following a more descriptive approach. Studies with an in-depth analysis usually have a more limited scope, focusing on a specific family or region. However, this overview goes beyond the historiography devoted exclusively to the Asia Minor forced displacement, also taking into consideration the literature on the relationship between attitudes and refugee past.

In the immediate years following the contemporary migration crisis, a growing body of literature emerged, examining attitudes towards migrants. Some studies analyse the

[37] Arcel, *Με το Διωγμό στην Ψυχή* [Persecution in the Soul], p. 457.
[38] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 237.
[39] K. Gedgaudaite, *Memories of Asia Minor in Contemporary Greek Culture: An Itinerary* (Switzerland, 2021).

determinants of public attitudes, focusing on policy implications.[40] Other works look into public attitudes turning the spotlight on immigrants' characteristics and the native population, through the lens of quantitative analysis. For instance, a survey experiment in Germany explores the changes in the public acceptance of migrants and refugees in the immediate aftermath of the crisis and differentiates between 'more' and 'less' accepted categories of migrants.[41] Bringing the attention to the identities of the native Europeans, other authors use survey data in order to understand collective action against refugees, arguing that 'national identification was positively associated with […] the intention to protest against refugees'.[42] Similarly, another survey in the Netherlands suggests that 'the endorsement of ethnic citizenship' is associated with weaker acceptance of immigrants' rights.[43] Following his powerful study on global population displacement in the twentieth century,[44] in 2019 in a landmark work, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, Gatrell brings migrants to the centre of modern Europe's experience.[45] He invites us to consider the history of migration in and to Europe over time, highlighting its 'multilayered and open-ended' nature and shedding light on the changing ideas about migrants' role and desirability.[46] As a part of 'this convoluted history', he also examines the current 'migration crisis'.[47]

[40] V. E. Esses, L. K. Hamilton, and D. Gaucher, 'The Global Refugee Crisis: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications for Improving Public Attitudes and Facilitating Refugee Resettlement', *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 11/1 (2017), pp. 78-123.
[41] C. S. Czymara and A. W. Schmidt-Catran, 'Refugees Unwelcome? Changes in the Public Acceptance of Immigrants and Refugees in Germany in the Course of Europe's "Immigration Crisis"', *European Sociological Review*, 33/6 (2017), pp. 735-51.
[42] P. Hasbún López et al., 'Support for Collective Action Against Refugees: The Role of National, European, and Global Identifications, and Autochthony Beliefs', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49/7 (2019), p. 1439.
[43] K. Mepham and M. Verkuyten, 'Citizenship Representations, Group Indispensability and Attitudes Towards Immigrants' Rights', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 61/1 (2017), p. 54.
[44] Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*.
[45] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*.
[46] Ibid, p. 205.
[47] Ibid.

During this period and given that Greece became one of the epicentres of Europe's migration crisis, many studies had a regional focus on Greece. In detail, providing evidence from natural experiments in the Aegean islands regarding the impact of exposure to the 'migration crisis' on natives' attitudes, some scholars support that direct exposure to refugee arrivals generates increased hostility towards migrants and refugees as well as increased support for extreme-right parties.[48] In addition, other studies explore the role of sympathy, perceived threat, and perceived contribution, finding a positive correlation between sympathy and the offer of humanitarian aid as well as between perceived contribution of asylum seekers and their permanent settlement.[49] In 2016, Renee Hirschon delivered a lecture at the Hellenic Centre in London, attributing the particularities of hospitality and compassion of the Greek response at the grassroots level to the interplay of historical, religious, economic, political, and educational factors.[50] In the following years a survey was conducted by Dinas and Fouka, which took into account family history of forced migration in relation to attitudes towards outgroups in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis, concluding that by leveraging past experiences of forced displacement, discrimination towards outgroups can be reduced, facilitating empathy and perspective-taking.[51]

Although there is a growing interest regarding attitudes towards contemporary migrants and refugees, scholars have not thus far examined the qualitative characteristics of the subjects of analysis and captured long-term patterns and changes, following an intergenerational,

[48] D. Hangartner et al., 'Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?', *American Political Science Review*, 113/2 (2019), pp. 442-55; E. Dinas, 'Waking Up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-Right Parties?', *Political Analysis*, 27/2 (2019), pp. 244-54.
[49] E. Thravalou, B. Martinovic, and M. Verkuyten, 'Humanitarian Assistance and Permanent Settlement of Asylum Seekers in Greece: The Role of Sympathy, Perceived Threat, and Perceived Contribution', *International Migration Review*, 55/2 (2020), pp. 547-73.
[50] R. Hirschon, 'A Land of Refugees: Greece in the Current Crisis' (unpublished paper, delivered 4 June 2016, Hellenic Centre, London), p. 1-14.
[51] Dinas and Fouka, 'Family History and Attitudes Toward Outgroups: Evidence from the Syrian Refugee Crisis'.

interregional, comparative, and in-depth perspective. Despite Gatrell's comprehensive book and Hirschon's anthropological insights, most of the foregoing studies follow a quantitative approach, conducting large-scale experiments and surveys. Notwithstanding the significant conclusions they offer, they provide a limited understanding concerning the qualitative characteristics of the 'people/native' category and the complexity of their attitudes in relation to subsequent migrants. In most cases, the natives' attitudes are explored, ignoring historical and identity particularities and grouping people with different backgrounds under a single analytical category. As Gatrell puts it, 'it is unwise to generalise about public opinion in Europe: attitudes can be quite volatile and contradictory'.[52] Even in cases where historical background plays a role in shaping attitudes, there is no further differentiation about the potential nuances and diverse characteristics of their identification. In addition, most of these works consider the immediate aftermath of the contemporary crisis, failing to explore shifts, continuities, and discontinuities in the process of shaping and reshaping attitudes in the dynamic contexts of host societies.

Going beyond descriptive approaches and single-location case studies, this thesis shifts the focus to 'history from below' and an oral history approach as well as a regional history approach, illuminating intergenerational memories and identities of forced displacement among Asia Minor refugees and their descendants in the context of subsequent migration. With this consideration, this thesis brings together time (generation), place (geography), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations), to explore the attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards other migrants and refugees.

[52] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 206.

Conceptual tools

The conceptual tools of this research are memory and identity. The extent to which memory and identity inform and construct each other, as well as the way memory is converted from experiential to inherited and dilutes or reawakens both ethnic or refugee identity over time, informing the interaction between the native population and ethnic out-groups, will be central themes of my analysis.

Memory

Levels of memory

There has been increasing interest among historians in the relationship between history and memory. Scholars distinguish between individual and collective frameworks of remembrance. One category of scholars, primarily comprised of cultural historians influenced by sociologists such as Halbwachs, develops the role of collective memory through reconstructing the past within a social context and considering individual memory insignificant.[53] On the other hand, focusing on individual recollections, oral historians give authority to the interplay between individual and collective memory[54] and elucidate the relationship among individual, group, and national memories.[55]

In my analysis, memory is conceptualised through the interplay between its various levels. On one level, it is seen as an embodied experience of Asia Minor refugees at the individual level that is mediated through familial, collective, cultural, and national frameworks of remembrance. The second level consists of collective memory shared by individuals within

[53] M. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 1st edn (New York, 1980); P. Nora and L. D. Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 1st edn (1 vol, New York, 1996).
[54] L. Passerini, 'Work Ideology and Consensus Under Italian Fascism', *History Workshop Journal*, 8/1 (1979), pp. 82-108; R. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, 4th edn (Oxford, 2017), pp. 238-65.
[55] R. Gildea, 'The Long March of Oral History: Around 1968 in France', pp. 68-80.

a group with shared memories, and the third level refers to cultural memory or the national narrative that concerns society as a whole.[56]

Intergenerational memory

The intergenerational transmission of refugee memories will be elucidated by linking the structure of 'postmemory', which 'is a *structure* of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience' as well as 'a *consequence* of traumatic recall but […] at a generational remove',[57] and the model of 'multidirectional memory', which illustrates the 'interaction of different historical memories'.[58]

Specifically, the intergenerational component of postmemory is related to embodied experiences at the individual level and to their familial transfer from one generation to the next, while the transgenerational component encompasses national, political, and cultural memories and structures of mediation through which individuals articulate their lives. Furthering the concept of postmemory that refers to the second generation, the relationship of four generations of Asia Minor refugees 'to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right' will be explored.[59] Through this perspective the interplay among multiple levels, sites, and agents of memory will be elucidated across generations. Changes across changing historical contexts will also be evaluated through the examination of the dynamic interaction of the echoes of different historical experiences that coexist within a society. For instance, how are the memories of the 1922-1924 Asia Minor forced displacement related to the memories of the arrival of the Pontic Greeks, Albanians, and contemporary migrants and refugees.

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[56] R. Gildea, 'Utopia and Conflict in the Oral Testimonies of French 1968 Activists'*, Memory Studies*, 6/1 (2013), pp. 37-8.
[57] M. Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', *Poetics Today*, 29/1 (2008), p. 106.
[58] M. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, 2009), p. 3.
[59] Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', p. 105.

In order to examine empirically the way refugee memory of primary migration is transferred from one generation to the next, the concept of generation, beyond linear and unproblematic definitions, will be one of the main analytical tools. The concept of generation, while seeming incontestable in a 'family-oriented perspective' of clear succession relationships, in a 'theoretical perspective'[60] is a blurred concept whose complexity has been depicted by social philosopher Karl Mannheim's work on *The Problem of Generations*.[61] In my analysis, the internal diversity of people with refugee memories across generations will be demonstrated through Mannheim's idea of generation as 'related "age groups" embedded in a historical-social process' and as differentiated sub-generational units.[62] With this consideration, different Asia Minor refugee generations are embedded in different historical contexts, with the Asia Minor forced displacement, for example, being the shaping context of the first generation of Asia Minor refugees. According to Suleiman, 'what all of the attempts to define a historical generation have in common is the concept of shared or collective experience, which in turn influences collective behavior and attitudes'.[63]

Memory of trauma

'[T]rauma describes an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events, in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, and uncontrolled repetitive occurrence'.[64] In my analysis, the question of whether subsequent migration triggers traumatic memories of forced displacement will be explored through the examination of the ideas of a recurring,

[60] S. R. Suleiman, 'The 1.5 Generation: Thinking about Child Survivors and the Holocaust', *American Imago*, 59/3 (2002), pp. 278-79.
[61] K. Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in P. Kecskemeti (ed), *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, 1952).
[62] Ibid., p. 292.
[63] Suleiman, 'The 1.5 Generation: Thinking about Child Survivors and the Holocaust', p. 280.
[64] C. Caruth, 'Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History', *Yale French Studies*, 79/1 (1991), p. 181.

reawakened, and latent image of trauma.[65] Summarising the three stages of trauma, as developed by Freud, Druker notes '[f]irst, there is the initial shock, which is so extreme and unexpected that the subject cannot immediately absorb its impact; then, there is the latency period, an interval of forgetfulness between the primary exposure and the appearance of pathological symptoms; and finally, there is the onset of recurring traumatic memories that may last a lifetime'.[66] Given that 'trauma is both the event and the memory of the event',[67] I will examine refugee memory as experienced directly and indirectly through its transfer from the first to the following generations. Political scientists, as well as psychologists and anthropologists, stress that identities shaped in the context of a traumatic historical moment can have a long-lasting and intergenerational effect. Fassin and Rechtman conceptualise the individual and collective imprint of trauma as 'a historical experience that that may have occurred decades, generations, or even centuries ago'.[68] According to McGlothin, Fresco, and Suleiman, sometimes this indirect transmission has 'cumulative effects […] of ongoing suffering'[69] and often happens in an unconscious and non-linear way.[70]

Identity

The idea of belonging: We – they

I will base my analysis on the collective and individual identity of displacement as is shaped by both refugees and the native population. Multiple forms of identity, such as class, race,

[65] J. Druker, 'Trauma and Latency in Primo Levi's the Reawakening', in R. Sodi and Millicent Marcus (eds), *New Reflections on Primo Levi* (New York, 2011), pp. 63-77; S. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, tr. K. Jones (London, 1939).
[66] Ibid., p. 63.
[67] A. Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', *The Oral History Review*, 42/1 (2015), p. 18.
[68] D. Fassin, and R. Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood* (Princeton, Oxford, 2009), p. xi.
[69] E. McGlothlin, *Second-Generation Holocaust Literature* (Rochester, 2006), p. 54; N. Fresco, 'Remembering the Unknown', *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, 11/4 (1984), pp. 417-27.
[70] Suleiman, 'The 1.5 Generation: Thinking about Child Survivors and the Holocaust', pp. 277-95.

gender, and ethnicity, intersect in societies and create different processes and practices of identification. The identity of Asia Minor refugees was formed through the coexistence of multiple layers of historical, religious, linguistic, educational, economic, and cultural particularities. However, it should be noted that decisions that do not result from people's free will often cause difficulties in the identification process. Hirschon states that refugees are 'by definition minority groups […] that are distinguished from others according to criteria which are used by them and by outsiders to define an identity different from that of the host society'.[71] Kitromilides argues that refugees' identification was shaped by the hostility of the native population.[72] Indeed, the often orientalist perspective of the native population lies at characterisations such as 'baptised in yogurt' that stigmatised refugees for years. This sense of a separate identity has been consciously maintained across generations.

Historically formed subjectivities and contemporary attitudes

The attitudes of descendants of Asia Minor refugees will be explored through different generations, different geographies, and different waves of migration. Tracing the ambiguous and nonlinear relationship between attitudes and refugee past, the complex identities of these historically formed subjectivities will be analysed in the depth of the different contexts in which individuals made sense of their past and reconstructed their stories. Examining the role of histories of victimization and illustrating the interaction of different historical memories, Rothberg notes that '[i]t is often difficult to tell whether a given act of memory is more likely to produce competition or mutual understanding—sometimes both seem to happen simultaneously'.[73]

[71] R. Hirschon, 'Memory and Identity: The Asia Minor Greeks in Kokkinia', in E. Papataxiarchis (ed), *Anthropology and the Past: Contributions to Social History in Modern Greece* (Athens, 1992), p. 327.
[72] P. M. Kitromilides, 'Οι Ιδεολογικές Πτυχές του Προσφυγικού Φαινομένου' ['Ideological Aspects of the Refugee Phenomenon'], in A. Karapanou (ed), *Η Αττική Γη Υποδέχεται τους Πρόσφυγες'22* [The Attic Earth Receives the Refugees of '22] (Athens, 2006), p. 43.
[73] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, p. 11.

Following different approaches, scholars examine the role of individual and collective past as sources of formulation of the present with regard to attitudes towards outgroups. On the one hand, strategies of prejudice, discrimination, and intolerance reduction for the increase of empathy through intergroup conduct are analysed.[74] Scholars argue that people who experienced violent displacement '[i]n dealing with emotional and cognitive disruption, will help each other with sympathy, empathy, and reciprocal support'.[75] The importance of perspective-taking regarding the increase of sympathy is also emphasised by studies of social psychology.[76]

On the other hand, some scholars put emphasis on theories of victimhood and hostility against outgroups. Volhart discusses collective victimisation and its transgenerational transmission.[77] Scholars in the fields of social psychology and clinical psychology also point out the role of past traumatic experiences and victimisation in the increase of hostility and negative views towards outgroups.[78] In this light, the interaction between histories of victimisation of different groups is described as a struggling zero-sum competition for predominance over memories of different histories.[79]

In the case of Asia Minor refugee descendants, contemporary attitudes are analysed through the outcomes of empathy, hostility, and competition. Shaping the relationship between the established and the outsiders or between 'us and them', as Anderson notes, a 'community

[74] E. L. Paluck, and D. P. Green, 'Prejudice Reduction: What Works? A Review and Assessment of Research and Practice', *Annual Review of Psychology,* 60/1 (2009), pp. 339-67.
[75] Loizos, 'Ottoman Half-Lives: Long-Term Perspectives on Particular Forced Migrations', p. 237.
[76] T. Vescio, G. Sechrist, and M. Paolucci, 'Perspective Taking and Prejudice Reduction: The Mediational Role of Empathy Arousal and Situational Attributions', *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 33/4 (2003), pp. 455-72.
[77] J. R. Vollhardt, 'Collective Victimization', in L. Tropp (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Intergroup Conflict* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 136-57.
[78] H. Johnson and A. Thompson, 'The Development and Maintenance of Post- Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in Civilian Adult Survivors of War Trauma and Torture: A Review', *Clinical Psychology Review*, 28/1 (2008), pp. 36–47.
[79] W. B. Michaels, 'Plots Against America: Neoliberalism and Antiracism', *American Literary History*, 18/2 (2006), pp. 288–302.

of value' is formed by people with shared ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural characteristics.[80] In the words of Gatrell, these differences, challenge 'expectations of integration or assimilation', leading to 'hierarchies of acceptability'.[81] In light of the contemporary refugee crisis, a civilisation battle emerges and Betts reminds us in his groundbreaking book, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe After the Second World War*, the 'malleable, inconsistent and contentious' idea of civilisation, illustrating its changing meanings over time.[82] These are some of the central themes that will be examined in relation to Asia Minor refugee descendants' attitudes towards subsequent waves of migrants.

Research methodology

This study draws attention to an oral history approach and a regional history approach to examine the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants in relation to other waves of migrants. The extent to which past experiences of forced displacement lead to outcomes of empathy, hostility, and competitive victimisation will be traced across time (generations) and place (geographical locations). The relationship between attitudes and refugee past is not linear and direct, but instead dynamic and interchanging. Unpacking this complex relationship, not forcing identities into a single mould, and tracing a long continuum of similarities and discrepancies, this study unfolds key patterns about the variegated role of refugee identity. In this context, my analysis will go beyond events as such, examining histories of subjectivities and 'the changing uses and meanings of that past in the present'.[83] Historically formed subjectivities of Asia Minor refugees' descendants will narrate their family stories, the

[80] B. Anderson, *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control* (Oxford, 2013).
[81] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 18.
[82] P. Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe After the Second World War* (London, 2020), p. 14, 16.
[83] Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', p. 26.

construction of themselves, and the formation of their lives not only in relation to the broader social, political, and historical context and, but also to other waves of migrants.

My methodology is designed to provide a broad and complex story of intergenerational and interregional refugee memory in the context of Europe's 'migration crisis'. It should be noted that this research is not designed 'to tell a fully representative story - an unmanageable task for any project that adopts in-depth interviewing'.[84] Instead, it analyses histories of subjectivities and reflects the fluid relationship among history, memory, and identity across generations and geographical locations, providing a more diversified picture than the previously conducted studies.



Figure 1. Geographical distribution of interviews.

[84] R. Gildea and J. Mark, 'Introduction', in R. Gildea, J. Mark and A. Warring (eds), *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford, 2013), p. 11.

The regional history approach

This study is focused on three geographic areas across Greece, namely the borderland island of Lesvos, Central Macedonia in northern Greece, and Greece's most populous region, Attica. Each of these regions and their administrative units were chosen based on the following selection criteria.

Firstly, regions that experienced the greatest number of migration and refugee arrivals in 1922-24, in the 1990s, and in 2015-20 relative to their size were selected. My sample includes areas with high levels of refugee exposure using the 1923 and 1928 Greek censuses that recorded the number of refugee settlements in Greece, the 1991 and 2001 censuses that provide us with 'the most complete picture of the immigrant population in Greece' concerning the post-1989 arrivals,[85] and UNHCR's data regarding present-day arrivals. For instance, the cities of Mytilene, the capital of Lesvos, Thessaloniki, the capital of the geographic region of Central Macedonia, and Piraeus, a port city in the region of Attica, constitute entry ports and traditional epicenters for significant migration and refugee flows.

The second selection criterion was refugee density. Regions whose present population composition have been formed to a large degree by the 1922 forced displacement and the 1923 population exchange were selected.[86] In Attica, for example, this study focused on refugee settlements such as Kaisarini and Nea Smyrni in which a significant percentage of the current population descends from Asia Minor refugees. Similarly, the majority of the populations of the examined villages, including Skala Loutron and Arisvi on Lesvos and Chorigi, Neos

[85] R. Gropas, and A. Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece at a Glance', *Eliamep,* (2005), p. 5.
[86] Based on Tsimouris '[t]he communities established by Asia Minor refugees in Greece after the Great Catastrophe were named using the Adjective 'Nea' (New) followed by the name of the locale Asia Minor from which each particular group came. […] If the toponym of origin was a Turkish one, the new locale of settlement was usually renamed after the name of the main Orthodox church of the place of origin'. G. Tsimouris, 'From Christian Romioi to Hellenes: Some Reflections on Nationalism and the Transformation of Greek Identity in Asia Minor', *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies,* 17/1 (2011), pp. 295-6.

Milotopos, and Evzonoi in Central Macedonia, consists of descendants of Asia Minor refugees. One of the particularities of this sample is the diversity of the geographical origins from which Asia Minor refugees were forcibly displaced. While on Lesvos most of the ancestors of the interviewees arrived in 1922-23 from the coast of Asia Minor, in Central Macedonia most of them came in 1923-24 from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace. Meanwhile, the population in areas such as Oraiokastro, Chorygi, and Evzonoi in Central Macedonia comprises, almost exclusively, descendants of refugees from Pontus. Therefore, the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor experience, memory transmission, identification-making processes have been elucidated.

The third criterion was the proximity of some regions to the contemporary migration flows. For example, Diavata and Polykastro in Central Macedonia, Lavrio in Attica, and Mytilene near Moria, formerly known as Europe's largest refugee camp, have refugee camps and accommodation facilities and consequently are significantly exposed to the contemporary flows. In limited cases, areas with no significant exposure to contemporary migrants such as Melissia in Attica and Kalamaria in Central Macedonia were used as control administrative units in order to trace potential differences.

The fourth consideration was the diversity of the selected areas in terms of geographic and socio-economic criteria. Specifically, the range and the depth of the observed reactions during the contemporary migration arrivals was explored in various areas, ranging from metropolitan cities, such as Thessaloniki, to key borderland villages, such as Evzonoi by the main border crossing between Greece and North Macedonia, and to middle-class areas, such as Nea Erythraia, and lower middle class administrative units, such as Lavrio.

The fifth consideration was to examine areas that have received marginal attention from previous studies without ignoring traditional epicentres of the 1922-24 and the 2015-20 refugee arrivals. While revisiting better-known cases, such as Mytilene and Piraeus, I also studied more

peripheral locations, including Chorigi, Arisvi, and Lavrio, thus widening the focus of the existing studies and incorporating diverse stories that have not been hitherto part of the broader Asia Minor refugee account.

The oral history approach

Oral history made a paradigmatic shift into the 'interpretive mode' in 1970s through the works of Passerini, Portelli, Thompson, and other historians.[87] The oral history approach followed in this research is influenced by these and other oral historians. Subjectivity, as it is expressed through oral histories, is placed in the foreground of this project. I examined histories of subjectivities, capturing, as Portelli said, 'not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believe they were doing, and what they now think they did'.[88] Through this approach complex identities were unpacked in the depth of the different contexts in which individuals made sense of their past and reconstructed their stories. Hence, '[s]ubjectivity, memory and story are closely linked here'. [89]

This research followed a 'collective life history' approach, examining multiple, connected and disconnected biographies and shifting identities in order to tell a story of Asia Minor refugee memory. Tracing this construction of memory over time, generations, and geographical locations, this approach benefitted from insights of 'collective biography'[90] and 'memory biographies' [91] and was undertaken through oral history. Through a careful build-up of their interpretation, biographies are seen as powerful narrative tools in order to reconstruct

[87] A. Green, 'Individual Remembering and Collective Memories: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral History,* 32/2 (2004), p. 35; M. Roper, 'Oral History', in B. Brivati, J. Buxton and A. Seldon (eds), *The Contemporary History Handbook* (Manchester, 1996), p. 347.
[88] A. Portelli*, The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, p. 50.
[89] Gildea and Mark, 'Introduction', p. 11.
[90] Ibid., p. 8.
[91] A. Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Oxford, 1994), p. 238.

not only individual and collective life histories but also the wider experience of Asia Minor refugees.

The oral history approach enabled me to provide a diverse account of Asia Minor refugee memory, tracing voices 'from below' and stories that have not previously been considered worth recording and recounting to others and that would have otherwise been lost. In addition, these voices provide a different perspective, challenging established conventions. Demonstrating the contradictions between 'history-as-recorded' and 'history-as lived', Hirschon wrote that in official historiography 'stock phrases such as "The Turks are barbarians"' are dominant, while in oral narratives of the refugees themselves, phrases such as 'We got on well with the Turks' are repeated.[92] In this way, discrepancies such as the aforementioned were analysed illustrating the interplay among the various levels of memory and composing a multidirectional picture.

In this process, memory becomes not only the subject but also the source of oral history, and oral historians 'use an exhilarating array of approaches' in the conduct and analysis of oral history interviews.[93] This research is situated at the intersection of various fields, drawing on history, anthropology,[94] and migration and refugee studies.[95] Although it is primarily based on methodology and concepts that derive from the discipline of history, insights from the other fields will also be employed.

[92] R. Hirschon, '"We Got On Well With The Turks": Christian-Muslim Relations In Late Ottoman Times' in D. Shankland (ed), *Archaeology, Anthropology and heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the Life and Times of F.W.Hasluck 1878-1920* (Istanbul 2010), pp. 325, 328.
[93] A. Thomson, 'Memory and Remembering in Oral History', in D. Ritchie (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford, 2010), p. 81.
[94] Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 17.
[95] E. Voutira, 'Pontic Greeks Today: Migrants or Refugees?', *Journal of Refugee Studies, 4*/1 (1991), pp. 400-20.

The oral sources

The source material of this research was derived from a collection and combination of primary sources. More specifically, 262 life history interviews were conducted and nearly 5000 oral testimonies were examined in the context of archival research in the course of 2019 and 2020.

This research examined a subsample of oral testimonies of the first generation derived from the Oral History Tradition archive of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies in Athens.[96] This archive comprises 5,000 oral testimonies of the first generation of refugees and is classified according to Asia Minor geographical settlements (2,163 towns and villages). From 1930 to 1975 extensive fieldwork was conducted by researchers who interviewed Asia Minor refugees based on a set of questions. The time period covered by those questions starts with the life of the refugees in Anatolia and finishes with their first settlement in Greece. In cases where it was possible, my research related extant interviews to those conducted. In order to achieve this, I went from the present (conducted interviews) to the past (oral history archive) and vice versa. In this way, testimonies of the first generation were linked to testimonies of their descendants of the second, third, and fourth generations, providing a complex intergenerational account of the continuities and discontinuities of this refugee memory that has not previously been attempted. This approach of combining archival oral testimonies with conducted interviews, brings together time (generations) and place (geographical locations), creating a long continuum of similarities and discrepancies that characterised refugee memories, identities, and attitudes.

In addition, there are some important limitations of the archive of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies. Firstly, the transcribed documents derive from handwritten notes and not from

[96] For additional information, I also accessed the collections of newspapers, public records, and oral testimonies of the Historical Archives of Refugee Hellenism of the Municipality of Kalamaria in Thessaloniki.

recorded testimonies. Secondly, the language of the transcripts gives 'the impression that the interviewees represented a coherent cultural unit' since Turkish dialects are not conveyed.[97] Lastly, information considered peripheral to 'the Centre's preoccupations ["in preserving memory of lost homelands"] was not recorded'.[98]

My main analytical category was Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. My sample primarily includes descendants of the first, second, third, and fourth generations of refugees, both as family members and as individual interviewees from distinct generations outside the family context. Schematically, the first generation was shaped by the direct experience of forced displacement and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren descendants of the second, third, and fourth generation were formed during the 1940s-60s, 1960s-80s, 1980s-2000s respectively, as we will examine in detail in Chapter 2. This sample also includes a limited number of 'control' interviews of non-Asia Minor refugees. This category was formulated by native Greeks (interviewees with no refugee background) and people who belong to other minority groups such as Turkish-Cretans, Pontic Greeks, Albanians, and Romanians. In this way, potential differences and nuances related to Asia Minor refugee background, as well as patterns with regard to the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider, were explored.

'No method of sampling can claim to be the best for all situations' and although concerns of representativeness are important, the main issue is 'who knows best' or, in other words, the validity rather than the reliability.[99] My sampling strategy was based on a combination of lists of Asia Minor refugee associations, family trees, snowball sampling, and random sampling. I traced people with refugee roots through lists available from official

[97] Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, p. 16.
[98] Ibid., p. 13.
[99] Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 219-20.

refugee associations' databases of the selected regions. Mostly presidents of refugee associations constituted the key informants through which I contacted other interviewees, who were not always members of the associations. Given the potential correlation between affiliation with a refugee association and higher levels of intensity of Asia Minor refugee memory, my sample also includes many non-association members, taking into account membership in a refugee association as an important variable. This approach is known as 'purposive' or 'theoretical' sampling in which key groups, with regard to the research focus, are overrepresented.[100] I also applied snowball sampling in cases where the interviewees suggested fellow interviewees (both Asia Minor and non-Asia Minor). It could be argued that the circularity of an enclosed group may lead to a selection bias given that the first interviewees will impose a strong influence on the sample, which may contain people with similar characteristics and socio-economic backgrounds. According to Thompson, this circularity can be 'a strength rather than a weakness', composing a picture of 'social networks, attitudes, myths, and memories'. [101] In order to overcome potential challenges, I also employ random sampling, mostly in small villages, finding respondents in locations that constitute important meeting points, such as central cafeterias.

After identifying my informants, in cases where it was possible, I traced their family trees to locate their ancestors and descendants. For the Asia Minor refugees the primary focus of identification was the family.[102] I undertook 262 face-to-face in-depth interviews of the first, second, third, and fourth generations with the aim of understanding the 'mechanism of family transmission' and capturing 'a much longer personal lifespan'.[103] According to Thompson, by looking at intergenerational change through a transgenerational sample, a drawback is that in

[100] Ibid., p. 217.
[101] Ibid., p. 220.
[102] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 166.
[103] N. Lupu and L. Peisakhin, 'The Legacy of Political Violence Across Generations', *American Journal of Political Science*, 61/4 (2017), p. 846; Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 2.

some families 'it is impossible to record more than one or two generations', while a great strength is the provision of 'a much stronger account of social change than you get for two sets of unrelated people who do not share their origins or social background'.[104] Long-term intergenerational change was explored not only through members of the same family but also respondents of different generations.

My interviewing technique was based on a combination of individual and group interviews. While I primarily conducted individual interviews, in certain cases I interviewed interactive family tree groups in which family members of different generations recalled individual memories and exchanged ideas with regard to subsequent migration within their own environment. In the context of 'family therapy', inner truths and emotions are revealed in a social context illustrating the different ways in which people recall their pasts and formulate present views.[105] Similarly, I organised seven interactive group interviews, comprising mostly descendants of Asia Minor refugees from different generations, in which people first narrated their life stories separately and then discussed their views about subsequent migration all together. They reflected on the nuances of their shared family stories, their identities, and their attitudes towards other migrants and refugees. Although group interviews have the tendency to lead to more socially acceptable and less candid testimonies, they are useful for validation of information, stimulation of participants' memories, and recreation of daily debates and conversations over the migration issue.[106]

Through life history and semi-structured interviews, respondents gave broad chronological personal accounts. Certain topics, ranging from interviewees' family histories, identities, and views, were covered by relevant sets of questions. A first set of questions

[104] Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 219.
[105] Ibid., p. 243.
[106] Ibid., p. 320.

examined interviewees' early family life and their memories of their grandparents' and parents' generations, their childhood, their later family life, and ultimately the creation and recreation of their own identity. A second set of questions was designed to trace respondents' views and attitudes towards subsequent migration from the early 1960s to 2020. A third set of questions delved into their reflections on their family history of forced displacement in relation to the contemporary migration and refugee experience. It should be noted that following the directions of the Central University Research Ethnics Committee (CUREC) and obtaining participants' consent forms, interviewees were not anonymised and their real names were used throughout this thesis.

The conduct of interviews is fraught with methodological challenges. The interviewer needs to be aware of the dynamic and complex nature of the relationship with the interviewee. According to the concept of intersubjectivity, an 'interview is not simply a narrative, but rather a relationship in which there are two subjectivities'.[107] Issues of power relations in the context in which the oral historian represents the 'authority' need to be carefully addressed. In an interview, 'one's gender, race, accent, name, appearance as well as status and beliefs' influence the relationship between interviewer and narrator.[108] In my case, for example, narrators belonged to different generational units than I did. In addition, interviews that included traumatic events can stir up painful emotions. Although none of my informants declined an interview, in a context of a family tree one of my interviewees did not want me to interview his mother and aunts, descendants of the second generation, due to the fear of evoking pain. Especially in traumatic stories of forced displacement, emotions are brought to the consciousness of both the researcher and the narrator through transference and

[107] M. Roper, 'Analysing the Analysed: Transference and Counter-Transference in the Oral History Encounter', *Oral History*, 31/2 (2003), p. 20.
[108] A. Lynn, *Oral History Theory*, 2th edn (New York, 2016), p. 70.

countertransference.[109] In the context of an interview, oral history and the process of narrative construction requires a self-conscious historical writing since it is the outcome of 'a three-way dialogue: the respondent with him or herself, between the interviewer and the respondent and between the respondent and cultural discourses of the present and the past'.[110]

The reliability of oral sources has been repeatedly questioned and is the matter of a long- standing debate among historians. Oral testimonies need to be evaluated as texts, as content, and as evidence through, for instance, evaluation of their internal consistency and cross-verification with other sources.[111] However, as Portelli said regarding the credibility and reliability of oral testimonies, the 'discrepancy between fact and memory ultimately enhances the value of the oral sources as historical documents'[112] and 'their strength: errors, inventions, and myths lead us through and beyond facts to their meanings'.[113] Acknowledging oral history's limitations and its unique strengths, my analysis will reconstruct life histories and unpack historically formed subjectivities by following a bottom-up historical perspective.

Thus, going beyond events as such, through the lens of oral history, memories will be examined in the depth of individual-level analysis and then will be related to collective and cultural frameworks of remembrance. The questions of how and what kind of memory is transmitted and if it is lasting or changeable over time will be elucidated through the intergenerational perspective of this study. Changes across geographical locations will also be considered through the comparative analysis of different communities that will allow us to explain the circumstances under which different patterns of memories emerge, thus giving us a more nuanced picture of the Asia Minor refugee memory.

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[109] R. Gildea, 'The Long March of Oral History: Around 1968 in France', p. 71.
[110] Lynn, *Oral History Theory*, p. 69.
[111] Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, pp. 363-4.
[112] A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, 1st edn (Albany, 1991), p. 36.
[113] Ibid., p. 2.

Outline of chapters

This thesis explores the intergenerational and interregional memory of the 1922-24 forced displacement and attitudes of people with these memories and identities towards subsequent migration. **Chapter 1**, 'A Brief History of Migration in Greece', introduces key phases of migration and forced displacement towards Greece starting from 1922-24 with the compulsory population exchange to the post-World War II period, the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and ending with Europe's contemporary 'migration crisis'. It provides information on the historical background of these migratory movements, the first settlement of these outgroups, and the degree of their integration into the host society. This chapter presents Greece's 20th and early 21st century's long migration history and its population mosaic. It also elucidates the varied meanings of the Greek identity as well as the circularity that migration history entails.

Chapter 2, **'**On Intergenerational Refugee Identity', brings to the forefront the cornerstones of the Asia Minor refugee identity and their transmogrification over time. The Asia Minor refugee identity is formed through the coexistence of multiple layers of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities. Throughout time, continuities and discontinuities emerge concerning these defining elements, leading to the marginalisation and accentuation of refugee identity over time. Illuminating this dynamic identification process, this chapter links oral testimonies of Asia Minor refugees (oral history archive) to oral testimonies of their descendants (conducted interviews), providing a complex intergenerational account. From silence, to latency, and ultimately a reawakening, this chapter reveals that the Asia Minor refugee identity changes throughout different historical periods and through its transfer from one generation to the next.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are three oral history chapters, each devoted to a regional case study. They focus on nuances and contrasting narratives that bring to light the breadth and the

heterogeneity of the Asia Minor refugee memory and identity, and they draw upon 262 conducted life history interviews in the context of fieldwork and archival research. These chapters are structured in two main parts: intergenerational memory and identity regarding both the way descendants recount themselves, and also how they speak of 'others'.

Chapter 3, 'Just Across the Aegean: The Case of Lesvos', studies the unexpected and violent forced displacement of 1922 in the context of current 'migration crisis', focusing on the borderland island of Lesvos that constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. The traumatic dimension of the Asia Minor displacement, the non-linear transfer of this memory, and the dynamic interplay of the various frameworks of remembrance shape strong intergenerational refugee identities in the context of Lesvos. This chapter concludes that Asia Minor refugee memory leads to completely different outcomes depending on how the subjects understand their history and their sense of identity, with Lesvians becoming gate openers, building bridges with other histories of displacement.

In **Chapter 4**, 'From Refugees to Guardians of the Borders: The Case of Central Macedonia', diverse accounts from descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace elucidate the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement, the varying intensities of the intergenerational transmission of traumatic memories, and their imprint on identities in Central Macedonia. In this case, competing claimants between the various Asia Minor groups as well as between them and the native population and subsequent migrants emerge. Regional history comes to the forefront, and in borderland villages in northern Greece Asia Minor descendants become guardians of the borders and their identification is transmuted from refugees to gatekeepers.

Chapter 5, 'Descending and Ascending Memories in a Melting Pot: The Case of Attica', focuses on the examination of Asia Minor refugee memory and identity in the context

of Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region, Attica. Different balances of memory and identity are sketched, and in settlements with dwindling refugee characteristics the intergenerational memory is presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending history and identities. In Attica, triggering and descending identities coexist, as it is transformed to a place of settlement for subsequent migration and passes from homogeneity to multiculturalism over time. In this gradually transforming centre, hostility towards early migrations becomes acceptance, as multiculturalism and past refugee identities are seen as sources of pragmatism, understanding, and less tense attitudes towards contemporary migration.

Chapter 6, 'The Janus-Faced Attitudes of Asia Minor Refugee Descendants: Empathisers, Antagonists, or Rivals?', brings together time (generation), place (geography), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations), exploring the attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards other migrants and refugees. Through the lens of comparative analysis, this chapter unfolds key patterns about the multidirectional role of refugee identity. In this context, the geographical and intergenerational perspectives of this research and ultimately their intersection reveal the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competitive victimisation.

The thesis' **concluding chapter** focuses on how the various elements of the Asia Minor refugee memory and identity are bound together and explains how this study informs and furthers our understanding of the complex relationship between attitudes and refugee past. Finally, it highlights the main research contributions and provides suggestions for further research.

1. A Brief History of Migration in Greece

THE YEAR 2023 marks the 100th anniversary of the Asia Minor forced displacement. A century ago, Greece became the host society of about 1.2 million people. Today, in light of the 2015 Europe's 'migration crisis' and the 2022 Russian invasion in Ukraine, the 1923 compulsory population exchange, as the first compulsory population exchange in history, has acquired new relevance. In the centenary of these traumatic events, 'the Asia Minor tragedy continues to dominate the consciousness of modern Hellenism as the fundamental event that changed the character and the flow of the nation's history in the modern era'.[1] This chapter focuses on Greece's 20th and early 21st century's migration history and its population mosaic, elucidating the varied meanings of the Greek identity and introducing key phases of migration and forced displacement towards Greece. It starts with the dissolution of the Ottoman empire, the Cold War period, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and it ends with Europe's 'migration crisis' and the failure of New Imperialism. It provides information on the historical background of these migratory movements, the first settlement of these outgroups, and the degree of their integration into the host society. Ultimately, this chapter stresses the circularity that migration history entails under different circumstances, scales, places, and historical periods.

The original idea of 'Greater Greece' was depicted as a Greece of 'two continents and five seas (Europe and Asia, the Ionian, Aegean, Bosporus/Marmara, Black, and Libyan seas)'.[2] Coining

[1] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], ed. F. D. Apostolopoulos (Athens, 1980), p. ιζ.
[2] A. Filippidou, 'The Impact of Forced Top-Down Nation Building on Conflict Resolution: Lessons from the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey', *Nationalities Papers,* 48/1 (2020), p 146.

this idea in 1844, an influential political figure, Ioannis Kolettis, included both heterochthonous and autochthonous Greeks to his definition of Hellenism.

> The Greek kingdom is not the whole of Greece, but only a part, the smallest and poorest part. A native is not only someone who lives within this Kingdom, but also one who lives in Ioannina, in Thessaly, in Serres, in Adrianople, in Constantinople, in Trebizond, in Crete, in Samos and in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race.[3]

In this excerpt Ioannis Kolettis refers to the dream of a 'Greater Greece' that includes those in any land with Greek history or race, mentioning areas outside of the kingdom and some of the centers of the Greek diaspora in the nineteenth century that played a key role in the foundation of the Greek state. The most prominent example was the diaspora community of Odessa in Russia, where 'Philiki Etairia' (Friendly Society) was established in 1814, 'with the single aim of liberating the 'Motherland' from the Ottoman yoke'.[4] 'Philiki Etairia' prepared the ground for the outbreak of the war of independence in 1821 and the subsequent birth of the Greek state. Most importantly, in the above excerpt, Kolettis articulates the idea of a 'Greater Greece', as it was aptly described though the irredentist concept of the 'Great Idea' (Megali Idea). According to Gellner, 'nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones'.[5] Nationalism and the subsequent creation of modern nation-states has been one of the most powerful shaping forces in the 19th and 20th centuries. In light of the emerging nationalism, how was the Greek nation conceived?

Rooted in the period of the Enlightenment and the emergence of nationalism, the origins of the Greek ethnic consciousness, as a sense of a national identity imprinted upon a social

[3] R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 4th edn (Cambridge, 2021), p. 47.
[4] Ibid., p. 31.
[5] E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983), p. 1.

group, traces back to 19th century Greek nationalism, as expressed in the Great Idea.[6] Nation building in Greece was rooted in the nationalistic doctrine of the 'Great Idea'. In 1844 this idea was explicitly expressed by Kolettis, 'in the context of a debate over the issue of the autochthon versus the heterochthon citizens of the Greek state'.[7] For Kolettis, who was a heterochthon, the unity of the nation was not limited to ethnic borders but to what was later defined as 'imagined communities'.[8] The Great Idea constituted 'an assertion of the unity of Hellenism'[9] and can be perceived through different conceptions such as 'a romantic dream', aspirations of Greek dominance within the Ottoman Empire, or Greek irredentism.[10] According to Kitromilides, the elaboration of the Great Idea refers not only to territorial aggrandisement, but also to social and ideological cohesion.[11] In the context of the Great Idea, irredentist nationalism was exported from the independent Greek Kingdom to areas beyond its borders such as the Greek East and the Orthodox Christian populations. This idea was referring to a national community defined by supposedly common characteristics of 'language, religion, historical memories, and ethnic loyalties'.[12] Greek nationalism also aimed to 'bring together the nation and the Church', emphasising Greece's Byzantine past.[13] For instance, the Church played a role of paramount importance in the context of the multiconfessional Ottoman Empire, that was organised under the millet system, shaping the formation of collective values, cultural characteristics, and a sense of history.[14] Later in the 19th century, Orthodoxy encompassed 'the ethnic definition of

[6] P. M. Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', *European History Quarterly,* 19/2 (1989), pp. 149, 185.
[7] Ibid., p. 165.
[8] B. Anderson, B.R.O.G., *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London 1983).
[9] M. L. Smith, *Venizelos: The Making of a Greek Statesman, 1864-1914* (London, 2021), p. 306.
[10] Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*, p. 4.
[11] Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', pp. 185-6.
[12] Ibid., p. 168.
[13] Ibid., p. 186.
[14] P. M. Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 26/1 (1990), p. 10.

Hellenism'.[15] Throughout the 19th century the inclusion of new populations took place with the acquisition of new territories, which provided a gradual integration process and a more geographical identity division between 'old' and 'new' Greece. The 1922 forced displacement and 1923 compulsory population exchange not only signalled the end of the Great Idea, but also led to the arrival of the first refugee wave to the newly established state, affecting Greece's national identity.

National identity is not a static and unhistorical concept that considers 'nations as unchanging entities which have remained the same throughout all the stages of their historical existence'.[16] On the contrary, the Greek national identity is not stagnant, but rather dynamic. Following the compulsory population exchange, Greece emerged as one of the most ethnically and religiously homogeneous states in Europe.[17] Throughout this process, common ancestry, religion, and shared cultural characteristics became defining components of the Greek national identity. This narrative about a shared national belonging is maintained throughout the years and especially during the Greek Civil War (1946-49) and the Greek Junta (1967-74), when the questions of national unity and homogeneity were of paramount importance for ethnic and social stability. From the 1990s onwards, in light of the new social and political circumstances, historiography adopted a more critical approach.[18] Triandafyllidou and Veikou refer to the progressive development of the Greek national identity through the inclusion of both ethnic and civic features (i.e. national army, public education system, legal and political system).[19] They describe Greek national identity as the Janus of modern politics, that looks on the one hand to the East (the Byzantine tradition, the Orthodoxy, and the Muslim world as a source of

[15] Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', p. 186.
[16] Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus', p. 3.
[17] Ibid., p. 176.
[18] A. Triandafyllidou and M. Veikou, 'The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and National Identity Considerations in Greek Immigration Policy', *Ethnicities*, 2/2 (2002), p. 195.
[19] Ibid., p. 194

worry) and on the other hand to the West.[20] Although the Greek national identity is strongly rooted in common ancestry, religion, and culture, the wider processes of globalisation, European unification, immigration policies, cosmopolitanism, and multiculturalism seem to have a potential impact in the progressive redefinition of the national identity.

In the following analysis, these changing historical periods will be examined though the different phases of migration to Greece, revealing the circularity that migration history – either forced or economic migration – entails. Without ignoring the differences between forced displacements and migration movements, I have deliberately decided to explore contemporary attitudes towards people on the move whether they are migrants or refugees. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), refugees 'are persons fleeing armed conflict or persecution', while migrants 'choose to move not because of a direct threat or persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives'.[21] Given that '[m]igration was an integral part of the history of European empire and decolonisation', the identity, geography, and integration of the various waves of migration towards Greece will be analysed in relation to the different phases of the collapse of empire.[22]

From empire to nation state: The collapse of the Ottoman Empire

In the aftermath of the First World War and the disintegration of Europe's continental empires, the triumph of nationalism and subsequently the creation of nation-states signalled 'the rise of the minority as a contemporary political problem given the presence of various ethnic groups inside the borders of a nation-state'.[23] The passage from empire to nation-state brought about

[20] Ibid., pp. 192, 194.
[21] UNHCR, 'UNHCR Viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'Migrant' – Which is Right?' (11 July 2016), https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html%20 (17 Aug. 2022).
[22] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 18.
[23] M. Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London, 1999). p. 49.

the minority challenge and different models in dealing with minorities ranging from extermination of minorities, to minority treaties, and to exchanges of minorities. The 1922 forced displacement and the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, which are the focus of the present study, have been prominent features of state formation. Turning insiders into outsiders, this population transfer exerted an example of 'Balkan realpolitik'.[24] The Lausanne Convention and the Greco-Turkish exchange are situated in the aftermath of the First World War and the prism of the remaking of world order.

The 1922 forced displacement

In the context of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the First World War (1914-1918), and the collapse of multiethnic and multiconfessional empires (Habsburg, Romanov, and Ottoman empires), the notions of homogeneity and exclusive citizenship were espoused with the aim of creating modern nation-states. These notions came in sharp contrast to continental empires that did not base their legitimacy on ethnicity, such as the multiethnic tapestry of the Ottoman Empire. By drawing boundaries within intermingled populations through forced assimilation, large-scale human displacement, ethnic cleansing, and mass killings, nation-states were built on triumphs and catastrophes, shaping collective memories central to ethnic identities. In this changing reality, the tension between the Wilsonian principle of self-determination, imperialist realities, and minority protection came to the forefront in remaking world order in the aftermath of the First World War. Under the idea of national purification and the umbrella of international treaties, such as those prepared at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 that established borders and territories, minority groups became an international concern. With 25 million turning into

[24] M. J. Frank, *Making Minorities History: Population Transfer in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2017), p. 48.

minorities in interwar Europe, most of the contemporary nation-states of central and eastern Europe, such as Greece, were not ethnically homogeneous.[25]

As we examined, nation building in Greece was rooted in the nationalistic doctrine of the 'Great Idea'. Although expansionism provided the ideological underpinning of the Great Idea, it was also motivated by concerns about social and ideological cohesion.[26] Kolettis, who first evocated this idea, included both Athens and Istanbul to his definition of Hellenism, referring to 'the capital of the kingdom and the 'City' of Constantinople',[27] 'the dream and hope of all Greeks'.[28] Specifically, in Turkey, Hellenism numbered 'between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 persons for Anatolia - and between 650,000 and 730,000 for Eastern Thrace and Constantinople'.[29] During the First World War, the Great Idea was grounded in the idea that the state and nation should be commensurate with each other and became a central ideology, causing political polarisation in society known as the National Schism (Ethnikos Dichasmos). The National Schism was based on the question of participation in the First World War and it was organised around two opposing camps: King Constantine and Germanophile royalist supporters on the one hand and Prime Minister Venizelos and pro-Allied supporters on the other. The conclusion of the war found Greece on the victorious side of the latter and under the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, which granted Greece the administration of the Smyrna region. Greece was closer to the fulfilment of its expansionist dream, building a Greece of 'the two continents and the five seas'.

> On May 2, 1919, the Greek occupation took place. […] All of Smyrna was celebrating […] the blue and white flag wave was everywhere […] We were all wearing national

[25] M. Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London, 1999), p. 50.
[26] Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', p. 186.
[27] Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 26.
[28] Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 47.
[29] Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 29.

> badges on our chests […] I lived the unforgettable moments of freedom […] The first messages of the Catastrophe came to us with the retreat of our army.[30]

The Greek occupation of Smyrna/Izmir in 1919 and its progressive move beyond the agreed occupation zone, coupled with the emerging Turkish nationalist sentiment under Mustafa Kemal, signalled the ultimate collapse of the Great Idea. The malicious behaviour of both the Greek and the Turkish troops culminated with the end of the Greek-Turkish War in 1922, which remained in national memories as the 'War of Independence' (İstiklâl Harbi) and the 'Asia Minor Catastrophe' (Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi) for Turkey and Greece respectively. Specifically, the Greek army was defeated in 1922, exposing the Christian population to the Turkish army and paramilitaries. The West Coast of Asia Minor experienced severe incidents of violence, killings, and forced displacements. These pillages climaxed with the destruction of the port of Smyrna/Izmir by fire and the immediate and chaotic evacuation of the Christian population, fleeing under circumstances of extreme violence towards the islands of the Greek kingdom in September 1922. That September Smyrna became a 'symbol of the Greek calamity'.[31] The Smyrna destruction has been placed at the forefront of the Greek national memory, 'symbolizing the end of 'Greek civilization' and the three thousand years of presence in Asia Minor,[32] but also the rank barbarity of the Turk'.[33] Other Asia Minor regions also experienced unexpected forced displacements, violence, and mass killings, with the Greek population of Pontus being exposed to the highest degree of persecution and the population of Thrace crossing Greece through Evros.[34] The Armistice of Mudanya, signed on 11 October

[30] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. 6
[31] Ibid., p. 5.
[32] Ibid., p. οζ.
[33] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, p. 163.
[34] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. ον.

1922, signalled not only the end of the Greco-Turkish War, but also the restraint of extreme violence and massacres.[35]

> We were in Smyrna […] the fire had come to us. They poured gasoline and [the fire] was going on. We went out on the street; fire on one side, sea on the other. We were in the middle. And the Chets [irregulars] were in the middle, slaughtering and killing.[36]

> The slaughter continued […] In the morning we gathered five thousand prisoners. […] out of the five thousand, only five hundred remained.[37]

These calamitous events included the immense exodus of the Christian population towards Greece, high number of casualties, and the detainment and transmission of the male population aged between 16-45 to work battalions (amele taburu). These so-called work battalions were rather considered to be 'slow death battalions'.[38] Although statistics are not accurate, it is estimated that around and 1.000.000 refugees arrived in Greece under emergency conditions of extreme suffering and destitution, indicating the beginning of the humanitarian crisis and the refugee problem in Greece in 1922.[39] This crisis resulted in the creation of a new humanitarian geography and activism with international agencies, such as the Red Cross and Save the Children, providing refugees with protection in the indigent Greek state.

The 1923 compulsory exchange of populations

The expulsion

In light of the refugee issue and under the League of Nations, extended negotiations between the Greek and the Turkish governments mediated by Dr Nansen, culminated in the 'Convention

[35] Ibid., ον.
[36] Ibid., 26.
[37] Ibid., p. 11.
[38] Ibid., p. ξα.
[39] Hirschon, '"Unmixing Peoples" in the Aegean Region', p. 6; Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 48.

concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations and Protocol, signed at Lausanne' on 30 January 1923. This agreement was based on 'E. H. Carr's idea of voluntary "repatriation", which had actually been tried out on a smaller scale between Greece and Bulgaria' under the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919.[40] The compulsory exchange of populations exerted a legal framework of the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 2023), which was the concluding Peace Treaty of the First World War. Specifically, 19 articles defined the subjects of the exchange, the exemptions, the conditions of transport, nationality rights, property, monetary, and compensation issues, and the appointment of a Mixed Commission 'to supervise and facilitate the emigration provided for in the present Convention'.[41] According to article I:

> There shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively.[42]

It is estimated that 356,000 Muslims and 290,000 Orthodox people were 'exchanged'.[43] As a result, during a period of war (1912-1922) and economic deprivation, Greece increased its population by 25 percent. Only the Orthodox inhabitants of Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, as well as the Muslims of Western Thrace, were exempted from the exchange. The marker of identity was religion, as it was specified by the Turkish negotiators, 'reflecting an older administrative structure […] which defined identity in terms of religious affiliation'.[44] In addition, it is important to highlight the obligatory nature and the irreversible character of the population exchange. This exchange was not a repatriation process for both sides but rather

[40] Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, p. 67.
[41] *League of Nations Treaty Series* No. 807 (1925), *Greece and Turkey: Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations and Protocol, Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923,* p. 83.
[42] Ibid., p. 77.
[43] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, p. 168.
[44] Hirschon, '"Unmixing Peoples" in the Aegean Region'*,* p. 8.

a ‘destruction of century-old homes and communities […] according to the logic of nationalism’.[45] For instance, for the Orthodox population, which is the focus of this research, this compulsory exchange was experienced as a traumatic loss of homeland.

> The Commission came and said we will leave our place, we will go to Greece to live. It was August 1924 […] But leaving your place is great bitterness and misery.[46]

In addition, this exchange poses paramount international interest given that it was the first time in history that this method of treating minorities through the transfer of ethnic groups and the separation of nationally intermingled people was adopted.[47] The Treaty of Lausanne marked the end of expansionist aspirations as they had been expressed in the context of the Great Idea and introduced ‘the exchange of populations which was to shape Greek society and politics in the inter-war years’.[48]

Assessing the 1923 Greco-Turkish agreement, opposing views coexist regarding the success of the Convention. Following a realpolitik perspective and stressing the achievements of this agreement, international policymakers, diplomats, and international relations scholars refer to security aspects, the durability of this legal framework, and issues of national homogeneity. Others, such as sociologists, anthropologists, and human rights scholars, critically discuss the obligatory character of the exchange, prioritising ethical and human rights considerations and violations (i.e. le droit à l'habitat) as well as liberal ideas.[49] In a public protest in 1923, refugees themselves expressed their opposition to the exchange, announcing:

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[45] M. Mazower, ‘Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe’, *Daedalus, 126*/2 (1997), p. 48.
[46] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], ed. G. Mourelos (Athens, 2004), p. 198.
[47] Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, pp. 18, 52.
[48] P. M. Kitromilides, *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 135.
[49] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. κγ.

> The refugees from Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace and the Black Sea […] consider that the exchange of the Greek population of Turkey […] is contrary to the most sacred human rights, freedom and property.[50]

Statistical data concerning the number of people who arrived in Greece lack precision due to various reasons such as the rapid and unexpected nature of the forced displacement and the non-systematic official recording. Tentative information regarding the number of refugees is found in the 'Refugee Census Conducted during April 1923', published by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Relief, Department of Statistics.[51] The refugee population was primarily composed of women, children, and elderly people since the male population of military age participated in labour battalions.[52] Looking at the distribution of refugees by departments and general directorates, areas such as Thessaloniki (162,418), Eastern Macedonia (80,691), Thrace (99,913), Central Greece (158,076), and Lesvos (57,508) concentrated high numbers of refugees.[53] However, the growing numbers of refugees demonstrated the imprecise statistical data of this census, with the Report of the Commission in 1925, highlighting that '[w]e have not as yet got even an approximate idea of their [refugees] number'.[54] According to statistical information that emerged in 1928 in the general population census, refugees numbered 1,221,849.[55] Based on Pentzopoulos, this figure does not take into account the high percentage of mortality rates as well as emigration of the refugee population.[56] Capturing the high

[50] Ibid., p. κ.
[51] Βασίλειο της Ελλάδος, Υπουργείον Ηγιεινής Πρόνοιας και Αντιλήψεως-Τμήμα Στατιστικής, 'Απογραφή Προσφύγων: Ενεργηθείσα κατ' Απρίλιον 1923' [Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of Health and Welfare-Department of Statistics, 'Refugee Census: Conducted in April 1923'] (18 Oct. 1923), http://dlib.statistics.gr/Book/GRESYE_02_0101_00017.pdf (12 June 2022).
[52] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 97.
[53] Βασίλειο της Ελλάδος, Υπουργείον Ηγιεινής Πρόνοιας και Αντιλήψεως-Τμήμα Στατιστικής, 'Απογραφή Προσφύγων: Ενεργηθείσα κατ' Απρίλιον 1923' [Kingdom of Greece, Ministry of Health and Welfare-Department of Statistics, 'Refugee Census: Conducted in April 1923'], p. 8.
[54] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 7.
[55] Βασίλειο της Ελλάδος, 'Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος: Κατά την Απογραφή της 15-16 Μάϊου 1928' [Kingdom of Greece, 'Population of Greece: During the Census of 15-16 May 1928'] (15-16 May 1928), https://www.eetaa.gr/metaboles/apografes/apografi_1928_2.pdf (12 June 2022).
[56] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 98.

mortality rates during refugees' first settlement in Greece, an Asia Minor refugee said, '[t]hey all swelled and died. The men died and the women became widows'.[57]

Different sources present a discrepancy regarding the numbers of refugees arrived in Greece. These figures take Turkey as a whole, without further differentiating between geographical regions of origin of the refugee population. Looking at the number of refugees by place of origin, Pentzopoulos illustrates this internal diversity as composed by, for example, 626,954 refugees from Asia Minor, 256,635 refugees from Thrace, and 182,169 refugees from Pontus and explains that 'more than half of the refugees were from Asia Minor'.[58] It is worth noting that 'Asia Minor Hellenism in the nineteenth century was composed of three main geographically based demographic subgroups'.[59] This information is significant as it highlights the diversity of the broader Asia Minor experience of forced displacement.

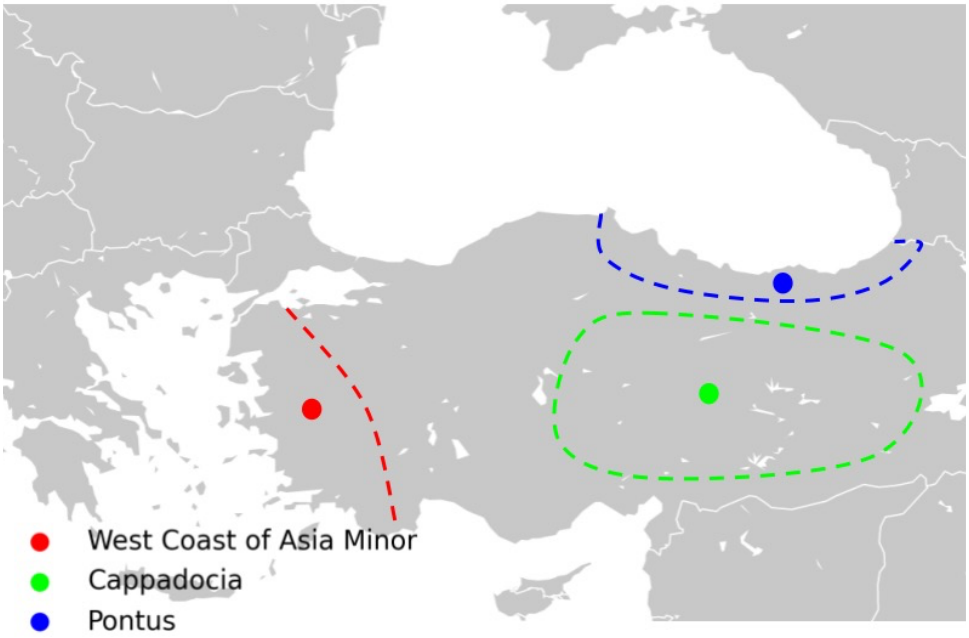


Figure 2. Asia Minor Hellenism.

[57] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p.106.
[58] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, pp. 99, 100.
[59] Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus', p. 4.

Different parts of Asia Minor presented different characteristics concerning both the displacement and identity elements of the refugees. The presence of the Asia Minor Hellenism was traced in three broad ethnographic units, namely the West Coast of Asia Minor, Central Asia Minor, and Pontus. According to Kitromilides, '[t]he different conditions of historical existence of the three parts of Hellenism in Asia Minor determined the different form that the exodus of the Greek population took place'.[60] The circumstances under which people were forcibly displaced varied significantly based on geography. The geographical variable stressed the heterogeneity and the various forms of displacement as it was closely 'linked to the density of the Greek population [in different geographical regions] and the importance they acquired for the course of the war'.[61] For instance, the West Coast of Asia Minor, with many Greek dominated areas such as Ayvalik, Urla, and Smyrna which was called Giaour Izmir (Infidel Smyrna) due to its Orthodox predominance, faced the immediate consequences of the Greek defeat that led to an unexpected and violent forced displacement. In Central and South Asia Minor, with Cappadocia as the centre of the magnitude of the Greek/Christian Orthodox population in the interior of the Asia Minor peninsula, the forced displacement took place primarily in 1924 under the compulsory population exchange. In the case of Pontus, its geographic isolation from the Ottoman centre, the Russian Revolution resulted in exiles, and intimately the application of the compulsory population exchange are only some of the particularities that compose the uniqueness of the Pontic displacement. Three Asia Minor refugees of different regions, narrated:

> Pontus: The terrorism with the Chets lasted until the beginning of 1923. Then we were ordered to leave, we did not register any property […] There was great misery in the

[60] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. κθ.
[61] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. λβ.

> village. The Russians left, the Turks came […] As soon as we returned from exile, the exchange took place.[62]

> West Coast of Asia Minor: On August 21st, 1922, we were having fun in the forest of the monastery of Saint Nicholas […] "what are you celebrating? The front broke!" […] the people of Moschonisi were transported inland and slaughtered.[63]

> Central and South Asia Minor: It was […] 1924 when we learned how the Mübadele [Exchange] would take place. […] When it was officially learned that we were leaving […] we did the last services in our church.[64]

These geographical differences and settlement patterns also pervaded identity characteristics of the newcomers. For instance, in the last excerpt an Asia Minor refugee uses the Turkish word Mübadele referring to the exchange. Religion, as it was expressed through the Orthodox Christian Church, exerted the main connective element, shaping the collective identity of geographically spread and diverse populations. Although for Asia Minor refugees, religion exerted a shared denominator, their identity was not homogenous. Despite the progressive establishment of a school network for the spread of the Greek language in light of national awakening and modern Greek nationalism,[65] language, and linguistic particularities based on geography in particular, were an example of this heterogeneity, with refugees using different languages and dialects. Other characteristics such as former occupations and places of origin, ranging from rural to urban villages and towns further differentiated Asia Minor refugees, influencing in some cases settlement patterns.

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[62] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Δ'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Ανατολικό Παράλιο Πόντο* [Exodus. Volume D'. Testimonies from the East Coast of Pontus], ed. P. M. Kitromilides (Athens, 2015), pp. 329-30.
[63] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], pp. 94, 96.
[64] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 30.
[65] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Δ'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Ανατολικό Παράλιο Πόντο* [Exodus. Volume D'. Testimonies from the East Coast of Pontus], p. 93.

The settlement

Under chaotic conditions, emergency settlement patterns, housing schemes, land reform, and redistribution programmes were created. In this context, vacated Muslim and Bulgarian houses were used, new villages were created, and new urban quarters were established. For instance, the Greek Government settled 72,581 agricultural families in abandoned Muslim houses in Macedonia and 'built 5,023 houses, mainly in the outskirts of Athens and Piraeus, creating thereby new suburbs'.[66] Agricultural and the urban settlements programmes constituted the basis for the newcomers' accommodation, with about half of the refugees 'settled in the agricultural provinces' and 'about 60% of the urban refugees lived in the three largest cities' of Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.[67] Nevertheless, housing shortages in urban areas lead to a persisting and massive housing problems of urban refugees until the 1970s.[68]

> In Mytilene when we arrived, the truth is a lot of people had landed there. They put us first in the public garden. When winter came, they piled us into the movie theatre and others into the schools […] We experienced many ills, this was our fate.[69]

> The ship brought us to Piraeus. They kept us for fifteen days […] in quarantine […] and from there they sent us [to a village in Kozani in Western Macedonia] […] then they gave us an agricultural lot.[70]

Despite immense settlement issues, this exchange was also seen as a means of consolidating ethnic identity and achieving national homogeneity. A prominent example was the settlement of Asia Minor refugees 'in and around Thessaloniki, thus helping to "hellenize" Greek Macedonia'.[71] According to Pentzopoulos, 'the Hellenization of the northern provinces

[66] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 103.
[67] Ibid., pp. 105, 112.
[68] Ibid., p. 225.
[69] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. 145.
[70] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Γ'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου* [Exodus. Volume C'. Provinces of the Mediterranean Pontus], ed. P. M. Kitromilides (Athens, 2013), p. 151.
[71] Mazower, 'Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe', p. 48.

of Greece has played a more important role and contributed greatly to the territorial integrity of the country'.[72] In other words, the incorporation of the refugee population constituted 'a demographic shield' for the country and especially for its borderline areas.[73] The ethnological impact of the compulsory population exchange lies in the composition of the population of Greece, with Greeks forming 93,83% in 1928 versus 86,63% in 1913.[74] These percentages reflect the changing ethnological composition, illustrating the homogeneity of the Greek nation state. At the time, it is worth acknowledging that Greece's homogeneity was very high for the Eastern European context.[75]

The population exchange also had a cultural and social impact in Greece. Bringing diverse regional traditions and cultures, Asia Minor refugees enriched Greece's cultural life, adding Byzantine traditions in iconography, culinary traditions, music, dances, linguistic particularities, and profound contributions in Greek literature.[76] Nevertheless, antagonisms regarding the relocation of properties and the acceptance of the newcomers' particularities were only some of the issues hindering the symbiosis between the natives and the refugees. Analysing the social problems in the host society, Pentzopoulos refers to issues such as refugee consciousness, refugees' desire to return, their identity particularities, and the tense relations between the natives and the newcomers.[77] Although the existing historiography focuses on tense native-refugee interactions, traces of empathy and understanding are revealed in some of the testimonies. Some Asia Minor refugees remembered, '[p]eople [natives] show interest; we cannot complain. Many wanted to keep us in their homes, to study us, me and my brother. […]

[72] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 126.
[73] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. κε.
[74] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 128.
[75] Ibid., p. 129.
[76] Hirschon, 'The Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview', p. 18.
[77] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 199.

They showed great respect'.[78] Nevertheless, social relations between the newcomers and the native population were mainly characterised by prejudice and hostility, lying at characterisations such as 'Turkish seeds' that stigmatised refugees for years.

> They [the natives] did not like us at all there. They were saying: -'It would have been better if your boat sunk and you drowned in the sea! You eat our bread'.[79]

> [T]hey [natives] were refugee haters. They were calling us Turkish Seeds and when we disembarked […] others were insulted and others were ridiculed.[80]

The settlement of refugees, who increased Greece's population by one-quarter, also created immense costs, extended financial obligations, and raised international loans. The financial costs of both short and long-term settlement of refugees further exhausted the already burdened, by successive wars, national economy contributing to the bankruptcy of the country in 1932.[81] According to Mazower, however, 'the arrival of refugees in Greece offered both burdens and opportunities'.[82] Indeed, refugees constituted an important labour source and they brought new skills and industries such as carpet manufacturing and textile, contributing to the positive impact of the country's economic growth and the post-war recovery.[83] The impact of refugees was also very prominent on politics in Greece. They further enhanced the existing polarisation between liberals (Venizelism) and royalists (Antivenizelism) and added 'a new source of turmoil in politics - the Communist Party', which marked a significant electoral

[78] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. 113.
[79] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Γ'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου* [Exodus. Volume C'. Provinces of the Mediterranean Pontus], p. 95.
[80] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Γ'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου* [Exodus. Volume C'. Provinces of the Mediterranean Pontus], p. 110.
[81] Pentzopoulos*, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 149.
[82] M. Mazower, 'The Refugees, the Economic Crisis and the Collapse of Venizelist Hegemony, 1929-1932', *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies,* 9/1 (1992), p. 120.
[83] Ibid.

support by the refugees.[84] Analysing the collapse of the Venizelist hegemony in light of the destitution of key sectors of the refugee population, Mazower refers to the transition from the newcomers' 'intense loyalty to Venizelos' to the increased support for communism in Mytilene in 1931, a town dominated by the refugee presence.[85] Veremis argues that '[t]he entire transformation of the political discourse in Greece, from liberal-royalist, to left-right, was greatly influenced by the refugee factor'.[86] Discussing politics in the interwar period, Mavrogordatos notes that '[t]he Asia Minor Disaster marks the actual beginning of the interwar period in Greece and was a turning point in more than one respects'.[87]

From the inter-war years to the Greek Civil War, Asia Minor refugees' allegiance to 'leftist politics', further shaped their identity during critical junctures of Greece's history. [88] These historical moments include the Metaxas dictatorship after 1936 that targeted the left as well as refugee associations as leftist strongholds.[89] Furthermore, during the Axis occupation left/right divisions escalated and 'German forces supplied arms to "refugee villages" in Macedonia'.[90] In the context of the Greek Civil War (1946-49) rifts between left and right intensified and 'the Communist party was forced underground', leading to exiles and the evacuation of children that were taken to Eastern Europe.[91] Displacements as well as exterminations in the cases of Jews, also took place during the Second World War, further altering Greece's population mosaic. In addition, in the postwar period internal, opportunity, and involuntary migration took place. However, the detailed analysis of these significant waves

[84] T. Veremis, '1922: Political Continuations and Realignments in the Greek State', in R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. 62.
[85] Mazower, 'The Refugees, the Economic Crisis and the Collapse of Venizelist Hegemony, 1929-1932', pp. 122, 134.
[86] Veremis, '1922: Political Continuations and Realignments in the Greek State', p. 62.
[87] Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece*, p. 28.
[88] Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, p. 79.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

of outward migration and forced displacement are outside the scope of this chapter. Placing the 1922-24 forced displacement at the centre of our attention, it comes into question how migrants and refugees themselves, in general, and Asia Minor refugees, in particular, experienced their displacements and settlements of subsequent migrants. Addressing these questions requires an understanding of the history of various refugee and migration waves over time.

The Cold War period

In the Cold War period came other phases of migration and forced displacement to Greece. The end of another empire, the British Empire, appears to be the background of some of the migration waves towards Greece. The most prominent examples were the displacements in Egypt and Cyprus, where the British 'anticipation that Egypt might be lost' led to the creation of a military base in Cyprus in 1955, before the island's independence in 1960.[92] At the same time, persecutions of the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul led to yet another violent expulsion.

An additional decrease of the remaining Greek Orthodox community in Turkey occurred in the Cold War period. According to article two of the 1923 Convention, '[t]he Greek inhabitants of Constantinople' and '[t]he Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace' as well as the Orthodox inhabitants of the islands of Imvros and Tenedos together with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, as it was latter specified, were not included in the exchange.[93] However, between 1955 and 1964, exerting pressures prompted the expulsion of the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul. Specifically, 'extensive, well-organized, [and] violent' riots directed against the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul, causing its dramatic decline in September 1955.[94]

[92] R. Gildea, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial past and the Politics of the Present* (Cambridge, 2019), p. 88.
[93] *League of Nations Treaty Series* No. 807 (1925), *Greece and Turkey*, p. 77.
[94] Human Right Report, 'Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey' (March 1992), https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/TURKEY923.PDF (12 June 2022), p. 8.

According to a Human Rights Report, among many destructions, deaths, and injuries, '[m]ore than 4,000 Greek shops were sacked and plundered; 38 churches were burned down […] more than 2,000 Greek homes were vandalized and robbed'.[95] In response to these events, a Greek bombing attack took place on the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki. The background of these destructive riots lies in the broader context of the Greek-Turkish relations, the situation in the Balkans, the admittance of Greece and Turkey to NATO in 1952, and the Cyprus dispute. Also in the shadow of the tensions over Cyprus, expulsions took place in 1964 'in retaliation for the murder of several Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus' in 1963.[96] On the grounds of internal and external security reasons, the Turkish state expelled Greek nationals with Greek citizenship. Specifically, '[o]ver a thousand Greeks were promptly displaced, most on a few hours' notice […]. Another 10,000 to 11,000 Greeks were expelled after September 1964'.[97] In this way, the Treaty's objective of protecting the remaining Orthodox Greek minority in Istanbul had not been successfully implemented. One of my interviewees, born in Constantinople, who identifies as 'Rum' (Romios/member of the Rum millet), explained the connections between Asia Minors and Greeks of Turkey through his family history. His father's family moved from a village in Central Asia Minor to Constantinople and then to Greece in 1985. As he noted, 'in Turkey we were Greeks, in Greece we were Turks'.[98] Similarly, another Greek of Turkey said, '[w]e left there [Turkey] as infidels, and we came here [Greece] as seeds of the Turks'.[99] During the period 1940-80, many Greeks of Turkey, faced with discrimination in Greece 'on the face of their ethnic and religious identity', receiving 'a lukewarm reception, both from a government […] and from segments of the population who viewed them with suspicion due to their Turkish

[95] 'Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey', p. 10.
[96] H. Halstead, *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, and Memory Amongst the Expatriated Greeks of Turkey* (Oxon; NY, 2019), p. 22.
[97] 'Denying Human Rights and Ethnic Identity: The Greeks of Turkey', p. 11.
[98] Interview with Triandafilidis Giannis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 29 Jan. 2020.
[99] Halstead, *Greeks Without Greece: Homelands, Belonging, and Memory Amongst the Expatriated Greeks of Turkey*, p. 229.

birthplace'.[100] Acting as a reminder of the Greek presence in Turkey, the life, deportation in 1964, and subsequent marginalisation of the Greek citizens of Istanbul became the central theme of a very popular film called 'Politiki Kouzina' ['A Touch of Spice'] in 2003. According to Alexandris, the presence of the Greek Minority of Istanbul influenced Greco-Turkish relations from the creation of modern Turkey until the 1960s.[101]

The enduring bitterness between Greece and Turkey was also mirrored in the division of Cyprus further plaguing the Greek-Turkish relations and leading to the arrival of Cypriots to Greece in 1974. Drawing parallels between histories of displacement, Zetter argues that 'the events of 1922-24 cast a long and ironic shadow over later events in Cyprus, whose violent population exchanges in 1963/4 and 1974 show history repeating itself with depressing and uncanny accuracy'.[102] Following the island's independence in 1960, political tensions between Greek Cypriots (80%) and Turkish Cypriots (20%) were expressed through ethnic violence peaking in 1963-64. These events signalled the end of the ethnically mixed coexistence in Cyprus.[103] In 1974, the Turkish invasion in the north of the island was triggered by an unsuccessful coup, instigated by the Greek Junta and a group of extremist Greek Cypriots, as well as unification fears with Greece. As a result, about 40% of the island's population of 570,000 were forcibly displaced within Cyprus mostly and the island ended up 'divided into two mono-ethnic zones'.[104] Hence, 'the 200,000 or so Greek-Cypriots- nearly 40% of the ethnic Greek-Cypriot population' became internal refugees, while some of them arrived in Greece.[105]

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[100] Ibid., p. 4.
[101] A. Alexandrēs, *The Greek minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations, 1918-1974,* 2nd edn (Athens, 1992).
[102] R. Zetter, *Lands of no Return: Population Exchange and Forced Displacement in the 20th Century* (Athens, 2012), p. 20.
[103] Ibid., pp. 20-21.
[104] Zetter, *Lands of no Return: Population Exchange and Forced Displacement in the 20th Century*, p. 21.
[105] R. Zetter, 'Reconceptualising the Myth of Return: Protracted Exile and the Greek Cypriot Refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 12/1 (1999), pp. 1-2.

In 2001, Cypriots in Greece numbered 17,000.[106] It is worth noting here that Greek Cypriots have an identity allegiance to Greece and they are a strong part of Hellenism, as it is reflected in their language, religion, and culture.[107] Stressing Cypriots' sense of identity, a well-known documentary, titled 'Attila '74', begins with the phrase '[t]his is Cyprus my homeland. I am Greek, and my name is Michalis Cacoyannis'.[108] The 'Hellenic ethnological character of Cypriot society' that traces back to the growth of Greek nationalism and the 'language, traditions and archaic culture' of the Cypriot society, assisted the capacity of Cypriots to get on with their lives and get integrated. [109] In the same year and following the end of the Greek military junta in 1974, Greek political refugees of the Greek civil war, called 'returnees', returned to Greece from communist countries.

In the meantime, the displacement of a Greek diaspora community in the Middle East occurred. In light of the rise of the Egyptian nationalism, the exodus of the Greeks in Egypt in the early 1960s and their arrival in Greece took place. A century before their arrival, the Greeks living in Egypt numbered about 100,000 constituting the biggest foreign community in Egypt and one of the largest Greek Diaspora communities throughout the world.[110] It was a very affluent Greek diaspora community due to its involvement in Egypt's 'banking, cotton, and commercial sectors'.[111] Although divided in class differences, the Greeks in Egypt constituted 'a cohesive ethnic group with ties to Greece'.[112] According to Kitroeff '[t]he definition of who was Greek was blurred' having a mix of Ottoman, Egyptian, British, Italian, and Greek citizenships.[113] However, 'there was a sense of a culturally defined entity who were Greeks'

[106] Gropas, and Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece at a Glance', p. 7.
[107] Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus', p. 4.
[108] *Attila '74*, dir. Michael Cacoyannis (Film, 1975), 1:54, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRU8CTEsrSQ (12 June 2022).
[109] Kitromilides, 'Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus', p. 4.
[110] A. Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cairo, 2019).
[111] Ibid., p. 1.
[112] Ibid., p. 3.
[113] Ibid., p. 6.

rooted in shared cultural characteristics such as the Greek language and the Orthodox Christian religion.[114] In the context of the Cold War period and during the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the exodus of Greeks who were living in Egypt happened in the 1960s. Various explanations are provided for this displacement, which is situated in the broader context of the nationalistic movement, the 1952 Egyptian Revolution, the nationalisation of Egypt's economy, Egypticiazation, and Egyptian and Greek policies.[115] In relation to this, a descendant of Greeks in Egypt recalled:

> My grandfather stayed on until he had to reluctantly leave Egypt and go to Athens after the company he worked for, the Associated Cotton Ginners, was nationalized in 1961 […] I grew up hearing stories about life in Egypt.[116]

These events prompted the Greek exodus from Egypt and the subsequent sharp decline of their presence in Egypt. As Kitroeff notes, under these circumstances, many Greeks of Egypt settled in Greece and got integrated into Greece's social fabric, keeping 'the memories of that past alive' and showing 'a profound sense of nostalgia'.[117]

The migration puzzle of the Cold War Period is composed of various connected and disconnected migration and refugee waves from some of the key centres of the Greek diaspora and the wider Hellenism in Eastern Mediterranean, including Turkey, Cyprus, and Egypt. Under different circumstances, Greeks of Turkey, Greeks of Egypt, and Greek-Cypriot refugees arrived and settled in Greece. To varying degrees, these waves' sense of Greekness as well as a sentiment of unfair treatment that led to their displacement characterise their identity. Although divisions between the newcomers and native population existed, especially

[114] Ibid.
[115] A. Dalachanis, *The Greek Exodus from Egypt: Diaspora Politics and Emigration, 1937–1962* (New York, 2017).
[116] Kitroeff, *The Greeks and the Making of Modern Egypt,* pp. 1-2.
[117] Ibid.

in the case of the Greeks of Istanbul, these waves demonstrated an impressive capacity to be integrated. Paralleling histories of forced displacement and stressing the role of ethnic affinity, two Asia Minor refugees said, '[t]t didn't seem strange to us that they were expelled by the Turks, because we had suffered the same',[118] 'Cypriots are more Greek than us'.[119] With these considerations, it comes into question what happens when non-Greek outgroups arrived in Greece.

Post-1989 migrations: The collapse of the Soviet Union

Although migration was not an unprecedented phenomenon given the arrival of sub-Saharan Africans or Filipinos in the 1980s, it was only after 1989 that Greece turned into an immigration or a host country. Migrations of this period were 'larger, longer-lasting, and far more complex than any earlier migrations'.[120] Before 1989 Greece had been 'a southern European emigration country'.[121] Greece's abrupt shift from emigration to immigration country in the 1990s is reflected in its 'ill-prepared' legislative framework'.[122] In the context of the 1989 geopolitical changes and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the migration phenomenon was reflected in the arrival of foreign populations in Greece, representing 2% in 1991, 7% in 2001, and 8.3% in 2011 based on the respective censuses.[123] According to a breakdown of the immigrant population in Greece by main nationality, it appears that Albanians were the largest immigrant group (438,000), followed by the co-ethnic 'repatriates' Pontic Greeks (152,204), and migrants

[118] Interview with Themis Papadopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Feb. 2020.
[119] Interview with Epicharis Michailidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 14 Feb. 2020.
[120] E. Voutira, 'When Greeks Meet Other Greeks: Settlement Policy Issues in the Contemporary Greek Context', in. R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. 150.
[121] A. Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', in K. Featherstone and D. A. Sotiropoulos (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics* (Oxford, 2020), p. 550.
[122] M. Pratsinakis, 'Resistance and Compliance in Immigrant–Native Figurations: Albanian and Soviet Greek Immigrants and Their Interaction with Greek Society', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40/8 (2014), p. 1298.
[123] Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', p. 552; Gropas, and Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece at a Glance', p. 5.

from other countries such as Bulgarians (35,000).[124] In addition, the 2011 census registered '713,000 third-country nationals […] and 199,000 EU citizens (non-Greek) living in Greece accounting […] a total of 8.3 per cent of the resident population in the country'.[125]

What differs between the earlier migration and refugee arrivals that we examined in the aforementioned analysis and the post-1989 migrations? One factor is the forced character of the previous waves versus 'the greater freedom of movement after 1989'.[126] These changes also brought new restrictions, borders, and concerns about unauthorised migration. Another important factor is the rift concerning shared ethnic ties that, to varying degrees, characterised all the above-mentioned minority groups. Greece's post-1989 migrant population was far more complex in terms of ethnic characteristics, including both: i. people of Greek descent (i.e. co-ethnic 'repatriates' of the Former Soviet Union/Pontic Greeks and Greek ethnic Albanian citizens from the region of Northern Epirus in Albania/Vorioepirotes) and ii. non-Greek migrants comprising mainly undocumented flows from the Balkans (i.e. Bulgarians, Romanians, Pakistanis, Georgians, Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles).[127] Asymmetry characterises the perception, reception, and immigration policies of these two categories. On the one hand, the Greek state welcomed Greek descent migrants, and Pontic Greeks in particular, perceiving them as a 'permanent resource for the country',[128] giving them economic help and full citizenship and aiming to settle them in depopulated regions.[129] On the other hand, non-Greek migrants were seen as 'an undesired development' and treated as 'a threat to both the social cohesion and the cultural homogeneity' in public, political, and media

[124] Ibid., pp. 5, 7.
[125] Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', p. 552.
[126] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 18.
[127] Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', p. 552.
[128] Pratsinakis, 'Resistance and Compliance in Immigrant–Native Figurations: Albanian and Soviet Greek Immigrants and Their Interaction with Greek Society', p. 1296.
[129] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 135.

representations.[130] This asymmetry between positive representations and negative stereotypes has been attributed to 'the nation's self-perception as a community defined by descent', putting ethnicity at the forefront.[131]

Focusing on the post-1989 arrivals, we will examine the largest groups of migrants of the two aforesaid categories. Firstly, I provide the example of the co-ethnic 'repatriates', with Pontic Greeks from the Former Soviet Union, that I will thereafter call Pontic Greeks, being the most prominent example of this category.[132] In the former Soviet Union, the Greek diaspora was widespread and had diverse origins.[133] However, as Voutira explains '[t]he majority of these [Pontic Greeks] are close relatives of the Asia Minor refugees that came from Pontos in the period between 1918 and 1923'.[134] For example, one of my interviewees describes that although both of his Pontic parents originated from Sivas in Asia Minor, his father's side settled in Greece, while his mother's side arrived in Russia and only years later in Greece.[135] Following the compulsory population exchange, some Pontic Greeks from Black Sea regions fled to Greece, while others to Caucasus and the Soviet Union. In the context of the former Soviet Union, and specifically in Tashkent, Pontic Greeks were brought together with Greek communists in exile (political refugees) after their defeat in the Greek Civil War (1949). By the end of the Cold War, the East-West migration phenomenon resulted from the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. In this context, similarly to other ethnic minorities, Pontic Greeks were granted the right to return to their historical homeland. Reaching 1,500 arrivals per month

[130] Pratsinakis, 'Resistance and Compliance in Immigrant–Native Figurations: Albanian and Soviet Greek Immigrants and Their Interaction with Greek Society', pp. 1295-96.
[131] Ibid., p. 1296.
[132] Voutira, 'When Greeks Meet Other Greeks: Settlement Policy Issues in the Contemporary Greek Context', p. 146.
[133] M. Pratsinakis, 'Ethnic Return Migration, Exclusion and the Role of Ethnic Options: 'Soviet Greek' Migrants in their Ethnic Homeland and the Pontic identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 27/1 (2021), p. 498.
[134] Voutira, 'When Greeks Meet Other Greeks: Settlement Policy Issues in the Contemporary Greek Context', p. 146.
[135] Interview with Konstantinos Fotiadis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 23 Nov. 2019.

in 1990 and constituting Greece's largest immigration category, the Greek host state adopted various policies such as repatriation policies, loans, and citizenship rights and established the National Foundation for the Reception and Resettlement of Repatriate Greeks.[136] The public discourses concerning Pontic Greeks stressed the preservation of their Greek identity, national consciousness, and religion, despite the fact that the majority of the Pontic Greeks did not speak modern Greek and had a limited understanding of their co-ethnics in Greece.[137] Nevertheless, contrary to the constructed expectations, the relationship between the native population and Pontic Greeks were tense, including negative attitudes and doubts about the newcomers' Greekness ('Russians') as well as stereotypes ('aggressive', 'lazy people') .[138] According to Gatrell, this tension led to the emergence of a 'divisive discourse […] around who "belongs"—in this instance, who is and who is not entitled to be "Greek"'.[139] One of my interviewees encapsulated these contested relations, saying that 'I had a very bad childhood because there was this racism [from natives and refugees from Pontus], [they were saying] you are a Russian, go to your Russia'.[140] The second group of Greek ethnic descent comprised Greek Albanians from southern Albania. Similar to Pontic Greeks, Greek Albanians also became objects of preferential treatment and more positive public discourses and their ethnic origins were used as a means of differentiation between them and 'other' Albanian migrants, creating hierarchies of acceptability.[141] Nevertheless, in many cases both migrants with Greek heritage and non-Greek migrants were looked down and treated with disdain by the native population.[142]

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[136] Voutira, 'When Greeks Meet Other Greeks: Settlement Policy Issues in the Contemporary Greek Context', p. 150.
[137] Ibid., p. 153; Triandafyllidou and Veikou, 'The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and National Identity Considerations in Greek Immigration Policy', p. 200.
[138] Pratsinakis, 'Ethnic Return Migration, Exclusion and the Role of Ethnic Options: 'Soviet Greek' Migrants in their Ethnic Homeland and the Pontic identity', p. 504.
[139] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 135.
[140] Interview with Eleni Pavlidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 11 Feb. 2020.
[141] Triandafyllidou and Veikou, 'The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and National Identity Considerations in Greek Immigration Policy', p. 200.
[142] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 112.

In the 1990s the collapse of Communist regimes led to massive and unregulated arrivals of foreign migration flows to Greece, which constituted a new phenomenon for modern Greece.[143] In the context of these flows, Albanian migration to Greece is the most prominent example of foreign migration, given that it was the largest group of migrants in Greece. According to 2009 reports and OECD statistics, more than 64% (approximately 577,000 people) of 'Albanian migrants abroad live in Greece'.[144] In 1991, one of my interviewees from Albania who now works for a fishery, arrived in Greece in search of better opportunities. As he described, 'we took the road for a better life. We left due to economic problems'.[145] Albanians in Greece came predominantly having an irregular status, were low-skilled migrants, and were employed in agriculture, construction, and housekeeping sectors.[146] In other words, most migrants primarily worked in 'the so-called '3 D' jobs (dirty, dangerous, and demanding)'.[147] Reflecting on the arrival of Albanians, a native explained, 'at first, we saw them as exploitation because we paid them nothing and they worked like dogs and they served us'.[148] The negativity concerning the reception of Albanian migrants pervaded different levels and expressed through strict immigration policies and border controls as well as through connections between migration and crime in public discourses, and negative stereotypes. According to Pratsinakis '[t]he word 'Albanian' itself acquired a negative meaning: it became a derogatory adjective connoting poverty, being uncivilised and prone to criminality'.[149] As Gatrell adds, Albanians were considered to have 'crossed the border in order to escape the

[143] Triandafyllidou and Veikou, 'The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and National Identity Considerations in Greek Immigration Policy', p. 190.
[144] T. Maroukis and E. Gemi, 'Albanian Circular Migration in Greece: Beyond the State?', in A. Triandafyllidou (ed), *Circular Migration between Europe and its Neighbourhood* (Oxford, 2013), p. 68.
[145] M. Anastasopoulou, 'The Islanders and the Outlanders', *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration (OXMO)*, 10/1 (2021), pp. 166-172.
[146] Maroukis and Gemi, 'Albanian Circular Migration in Greece: Beyond the State?', pp. 69-70.
[147] Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', p. 550.
[148] Interview with Stratis Euthimiou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 28 Sept. 2019.
[149] Pratsinakis, 'Resistance and Compliance in Immigrant–Native Figurations: Albanian and Soviet Greek Immigrants and Their Interaction with Greek Society', p. 1298.

criminal justice system in Albania'.[150] To varying degrees, this distinction between immigrants of Greek ethnic descent and foreign immigrants was prominent, creating hierarchies of Greekness and isolating 'aliens'.[151] Conceptualising concentric circles of Greekness, Triandafyllidou and Veikou situate citizens of the Greek state (with Greek ethnicity and orthodox religion) to the inner circle, legal aliens to the outer circle, and Greeks Albanians and Pontic Greeks in between.[152]

2015 'migration crisis': The failure of the New Imperialism

In the wake of 9/11 'the War on Terror launched by the United States and Great Britain against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Iraq was seen as a New Imperialism'.[153] As 'the threat of global Islamism' manifested in terrorist attacks and migration waves, 'debates about national identity appear' and '[m]ulticultural options were cast aside in favour of monocultural ones' as Gildea explains.[154] Discussing this period, Betts notes that 'international terrorism and the refugee crisis have weaponised the civilisation-in-crisis theme in ways not seen since the early Cold War'.[155] Further reinforcing the distinction between 'us' and 'them' as well as the idea of belonging, the Arab Spring led to the European Winter, as Gatrell puts it, describing what was portrayed as a European 'migration crisis' in 2015.[156] Indeed, it was the largest refugee flow that Europe had experienced since the mid-1990s.[157] The Arab Spring revolutions and the flare-up of Syrian civil war in 2011 in particular, resulted in about five million forcibly displaced people. The magnitude of these flows coupled with their concentration on the Eastern

[150] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 112.
[151] Ibid, p. 135.
[152] A. Triandafyllidou and M. Veikou, 'The hierarchy of Greekness: Ethnic and National Identity Considerations in Greek Immigration Policy', p. 201.
[153] Gildea, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial past and the Politics of the Present*, p. 9.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe After the Second World War*, p. 16.
[156] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 197.
[157] A.Triandafyllidou, 'Turning the Refugee Crisis into an Opportunity? Current Challenges for Greece and Suggestions for Action', *Policy Briefs, Cultural Pluralism,* (2015), p. 3.

Mediterranean and the Western Balkan route challenged not only frontline Member States, but also the European Union's asylum and border policy as a whole. In fact, due to various push factors such as war, violence, and human rights violation, the patterns and scale of displacement changed dramatically and arrivals reached their peak in 2015 when more than one million migrants and refugees reached Europe and over 3,770 died or went missing in the attempt.[158] Most of these people fled under circumstances of war and violence from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan and reached Greece by crossing from Turkey to the Aegean islands, which are close to Turkish shores.[159]

In 2015, Greece, a country faced with an acute economic crisis as well as new waves of emigration, experienced the arrival of vast numbers of displaced people, with more than one million migrants and refugees crossing into Greece since 2015. Following the decision of some Member States to close their borders, migrants and refugees became trapped in Greece and Italy. As a frontline state, Greece, and Greek islands in particular, faced the immediate consequences of the influx of migrants and refugees. In light of failed border controls and ongoing human tragedies of migrants, the European Commission published the European Agenda on Migration in 2015 and developed a new hotspot approach for operational support, with the stated goal of assisting the frontline Member States, 'which are facing disproportionate migratory pressures at the EU's external borders'.[160]

Divisions came to light by geography with the islands of Lesvos, Leros, Chios, Samos, and Kos being transformed from tourist destinations to the entry points for vast numbers of refugees and migrants due to the establishment of refugee camps according to the hotspot

[158] UNHCR, 'More than One Million Refugees Travel to Greece since 2015' (16 March 2016), https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2016/3/56e9821b6/million-refugees-travel-greece-since-2015.html%20 (17 Aug. 2022).
[159] Triandafyllidou, 'Turning the Refugee Crisis into an Opportunity? Current Challenges for Greece and Suggestions for Action', p. 2.
[160] European Commission, 'Hotspot Approach', https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/glossary/hotspot-approach_en (17 Aug. 2022).

approach. Refugee camps, identification centres, European agencies, international organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and volunteers throughout the world were only a few components of the new geography of these areas. Further up in northern Greece, the concentration of massive numbers of migrants and refugees in the border crossing town of Idomeni in 2015 and in the Evros border in 2020 also underlined the alarming situation in Greece. In the meantime and with the aim of reducing the pressure on Europe's borders by stopping irregular flows from Turkey to the Greek islands, the European Union and Turkey signed the EU-Turkey deal in 2016, which caused significant controversy.[161] Following the EU-Turkey statement, 'the large flows through the Aegean islands decreased significantly […] arrivals to the Aegean islands continued at a steady pace in 2016–2017 and with a notable increase in the spring and summer of 2018 also through the Greek Turkish land border'.[162]

Despite the agreement's effectiveness to limit migration alongside other factors,[163] migrants' prolonged stay in dire living conditions, inadequate structures, and overcrowded camps exacerbated the already problematic situation. Under these circumstances, dramatic incidents occurred such as the death of a 6-year-old child and a woman during a fire in the Moria camp on the island of Lesvos in 2016.[164] Another fire in 2020 caused the destruction of the camp and signalled the closure of the notorious and extremely overcrowded camp of Moria. This situation in Greece coincided with a turbulent period of a long-lasting economic crisis as well as the emergence of xenophobic discourse and racial violence as expressed through the

[161] European Parliament, 'EU-Turkey Statement and Action Plan' (20 May 2022), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-towards-a-new-policy-on-migration/file-eu-turkey-statement-action-plan (23 June 2022).
[162] Triandafyllidou, 'Migration in Greece', p. 551.
[163] K.Terry, 'The EU-Turkey Deal, Five Years On: A Frayed and Controversial but Enduring Blueprint', Migration Policy Institute (8 April 2021), https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/eu-turkey-deal-five-years-on (23 June 2022).
[164] Save the Children, 'Death of Child in Moria Fire a Disgrace for Both EU and Greek Government' (25 Nov. 2016), https://www.savethechildren.org/us/about-us/media-and-news/2016-press-releases/death-of-child-in-moria-fire-a-disgrace-for-both-eu-and-greek-go (17 Aug. 2022).

rise of the Greek far-right party, Golden Dawn, which was later convicted as a criminal organisation.[165] In this climate the pervasive fear of terrorism, which was perceived as the result of Islamic extremism in European politics, was added. Situated in this context, the influx of migrants and refugees in Greece triggered both positive and negative reactions further perplexing the contemporary 'migration crisis' and the reception of the newcomers. In the context of these unfolding migration and refugee flows, this brief and unfinished history of migration in Greece comes to an end, acknowledging that for the purposes of this chapter, it only shed light on some of the main migrations towards Greece without ignoring the diverse and dynamic nature of the migration phenomenon.

A historical parallel?

In the foregoing analysis, I provided a brief historical background of the key minorities in Greece, stressing aspects of both ethnic homogeneity and pluralism. Greece's population mosaic is composed of successive related and unrelated population movements. Having as a starting point the 1922-24 forced displacement and the arrival of Asia Minor refugees, there are interconnected movements such as the Pontic Greeks (1989) or the Greeks of Turkey (1955 and 1964-1965), who were initially exempted from the compulsory population exchange. The last movement can also be contextualised under the broader theme of the enduring tension between Greece and Turkey, which was also mirrored in the division of Cyprus (1974). The different periods of migration towards Greece were examined in relation to the phases of the collapse of empire, beginning with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and ending with the

[165] BBC, 'Greece Golden Dawn: Neo-Nazi Leaders Guilty of Running Crime Gang' (7 Oct. 2021), https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-54433396 (23 June 2022).

failure of New Imperialism. In this context, broader geopolitical changes were analysed such as the collapse of the Soviet Union that resulted in the post-1989 migration arrivals as well as the Arab Spring revolutions and the post-2015 flows. Of all these migration waves, 1989 exerted a key rift that signalled not only Greece's shift from emigration to immigration country but also the arrival of migrants of Greek descent and non-Greek migrants ('foreigners', 'aliens'). Until 1989 most population movements shared, to varying degrees, the characteristic of Greek ethnic descent (Asia Minor refugees, Greeks in Egypt, Greeks of Istanbul/Turkey, Greek Cypriots, Pontic Greeks, Greek Albanians). Post-1989 arrivals were more complex in nature including migrants with different ethnic backgrounds (i.e. Albanians). Similarly, 2015 mixed migration flows included various ethnicities (i.e. Syrians, Afghans, Iraqis, Pakistanis). Over time, these aspects of 'plural society', as Clogg characterised minorities in Greece, became a dividing line.[166]

Greece's history of migration can be seen as an integral part of global population movements. Including diverse stories of people on the move both due to forced displacements (refugees) and the search for better opportunities (migrants), Europe's past and present discloses 'many stories in the same vein'.[167] Many examples across time and regions such as Central and Southeastern Europe, South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa compose the 'unsettling' of the modern.[168] Among these examples, Germany and Poland experienced massive forced displacements in the aftermath of the Second World War. The European history of empire and decolonisation is also closely connected to migration, with cases such as the independence of Algeria in 1962 and Indonesia in 1949 from the French and the Dutch colonial empires respectively or the partition of British India in 1947. In light of the 1989 geopolitical

[166] R. Clogg, *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society* (London, 2002).
[167] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 15.
[168] Ibid.

changes, the breakup and the demographic upheaval of Yugoslavia in the 1990s is another prominent example. Beyond Europe, migration and violent forced displacements are present in numerous cases with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (1948), the Darfur genocide in Western Sudan (2003), and the Rwandan genocide (1994) being only some contemporary examples. At the time of writing, migration movements are taking place in the immediate aftermath of the 2015 Europe's 'migration crisis' as well as in light of the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War. Migration constitutes not only an integral part of the world's and Europe's history, but also a battleground and a source of dispute and disagreements.[169] The contemporary arrivals of migrants and refugees introduced great debate about the place of newcomers in host societies, sometimes bringing to light empathy and other times hostility reactions. The Asia Minor forced displacement in the 1920s reshaped identities as well as the landscape of Southeastern Europe and the Middle East, reminding us not only the particularities of the Greek exceptionalism but also the circularity of population movements across time and space. In the foregoing analysis, we saw that history of migration repeats itself, in different scales, places, and historical periods. Two displaced persons in different historical moments, one in 1923 and one in 2015, recalled their journeys to Greece by boat:[170]

> 1923: In the boats we suffered many hardships. Very hot. Lots of people. […] We were getting sick. Many […] were dying […]. They put a stone in their neck. They threw them into the sea. Duum [Splash]! […] they [they dead bodies] did. I closed my ears so as not to hear.[171]

[169]Ibid., p. 20.
[170] Anastasopoulou, 'Echoes of Memories of Forced Displacement', p. 15.
[171] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 259.

> 2015: The moment we went on the inflatable boat, we felt something was wrong, it was losing pressure […] we decided to jump in the sea […] a wave hit me on my face and the water went inside my lungs […] That's the moment I lost the boat.[172]

Even following their journeys, similarities accompany their first settlements in host societies. In 2020, Moria, a dire refugee camp on Lesvos was destroyed by a large fire that led to its closure. In 1962, Ignatios Orphanidis recalled a similar fire in Makronisos, an island facing the town of Lavrio in Attica, which served from the 1920s to 1970s as a political prison and a quarantine space for Asia Minor refugees. Describing the dreadful conditions in Makronisos in 1922, Ignation said:

> We, the youth of Pontus […] took stones and wood and threatened to burn the quarantine space. – "Either we will burn them all or you will give us papers to go out".[173]

This circularity that migration history entails can be expressed with various similar and opposite patterns, connected and disconnected stories of migration. One of these stories is the history of migration in Greece and the historical parallel between the Greek-Turkish population exchange (1923) and the contemporary migration and refugee flows (2015). Acknowledging that 'experiences of migration […] are not remote from us either in time or in geographical distance',[174] with the brief history of migration in Greece, I provide an example for Europe's migration history and beyond.

[172] Amnesty International, 'Syria: Voices in Crisis – September 2015' (30 Sept. 2015), https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde24/2561/2015/en/ (12 June 2022).
[173] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Γ'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου* [Exodus. Volume C'. Provinces of the Mediterranean Pontus], p. 372.
[174] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 16.

2. On Intergenerational Refugee Identity

THIS CHAPTER explores the key shaping components of refugee identity among Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. Based on the assumption that refugee identity is defined in terms of common characteristics such as historical memories, religion, language, and culture, I will elucidate the construction and the transmogrification of these unifying factors across generations and time. Refugee identity is not a static and ahistorical concept, and thus its underpinnings are traced across a long historical process from the Ottoman past to modern day. In this process, memories and identities are shaped and reshaped across different historical periods for 'related "age groups" embedded in a historical-social process', as Mannheim aptly defined generations.[1] This chapter analyses the defining elements of refugee identity – religion, language, culture, and memory of trauma – for different generational units and traces the continuities, discontinuities, and shifts of different generations' sense of identity in changing historical periods. In order to illuminate this process, oral testimonies of Asia Minor refugees (oral history archive) are linked to oral testimonies of their descendants (conducted interviews), providing a complex intergenerational account of the continuities and discontinuities of refugee identity.

Asia Minor refugee identity

In the centenary of the Asia Minor forced displacement, a proliferated commemorative activity brings Asia Minor refugee memory and identity to the fore through various public and collective expressions of remembrance. Among various examples, an anniversary exhibition is inaugurated by the Center of Asia Minor Studies and the Benaki Museum in Athens in

[1] Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', p. 292.

September 2022, titled ‘Asia Minor: Shine, Destruction, Uprooting, Creation’. The exhibition is structured around three main parts: (i) life in Asia Minor, (ii) forced displacement, (iii) and refugee settlement, integration, and contributions. Its epilogue will be dedicated to the establishment of the Center of Asia Minor Studies by Melpo and Octavius Merlier in 1930 as well as the Centre’s Oral History Archive, the Music Folklore Archive, its collections, and its bulletin, which was founded as a scientific journal in 1977. Hosting photographs, clothing, maps, relics, letters, and oral testimonies, among 1,100 exhibits, this would be a landmark exhibition on Asia Minor. According to Gatrell, ‘[p]ublic museums act as powerful custodians of what is deemed to be national heritage’.[2] Dedicated to commemoration, this increased activity has acquired various forms, ranging from films (‘My Beloved Smyrna’) and plays (‘From Smyrna to Thessaloniki’) to forthcoming historical documentaries (‘Refugees 1922: Afterlife’) and radio documentary series (‘Knowing Our History: 1922 Asia Minor Catastrophe’). Beyond these public expressions, various commemorative events are taking place in 2022 mainly organised by refugee associations throughout Greece. On the occasion of the 1922-2022 celebrations of the ‘100 years of indelible memory’, events such as ‘The Flavors of the East on the Plate of Pella’ took place in the village of Neos Milotopos in Central Macedonia. In another refugee village on Lesvos, Skala Loutron, celebrations included the narrations of testimonies of Asia Minor refugees, Asia Minor songs and dances, and documentaries devoted to Asia Minor literature books. In Thessaloniki, the Third Panhellenic Meeting of People from Asia Minor occurred in July 2022 with the participation of 75 refugee associations and 1400 dancers. Bringing to light different components of the Asia Minor refugee identity such as history, religion, dance, music, and food, various commemorative events are taking place in small villages as well as big cities in the context of the celebrations

[2] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration,* p. 191.

for the ‘1922: 100 Years of National Memory’. Using this overarching framework, the Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece depicts 1922 within a candle and stresses the national dimension of the Asia Minor memory as well as its continuity over time. With these considerations, it comes into question: is this a private, collective, or national memory and identity? What prompted the accentuation and marginalisation of refugee identity over time? What are the defining characteristics of the Asia Minor refugee identity? Do they change over time?

Multiple forms of identity intersect in societies and create different processes and practices of identification. The identity of Asia Minor refugees was formed through the coexistence of multiple layers of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities. In this chapter, these elements are analysed as the cornerstones of intergenerational Asia Minor refugee identity. These defining elements, as well as the identification process, are not static, but rather dynamic, as they shape and reshape, to varying degrees, refugee identities across generations. Throughout time, continuities and discontinuities emerge concerning religion, language, culture, and memory of trauma and ultimately lead to the marginalisation or accentuation of refugee identity over time. During this process, Asia Minor refugee identity is negotiated by the interplay of private and public forms of expression. In this context, it comes into question the extent to which the sense of refugee identity of different generations presents similarities and differences over the years. For example, how does refugee identity play out for Asia Minor refugees in the 1920s and their descendants in the 1990s?

Concerning the ‘others’, the Asia Minor refugee identification can be seen as a negotiation battle between the established and the outsiders as well as a forceful interplay between antagonisation and integration processes that take place simultaneously. In this battle, refugee identity changes over time, with religion remaining a unifying factor, while the memory of forced displacement and culture shifts from being divisive to unifying

characteristics with the host society. During this historical continuum, the term 'Asia Minor refugee' passes through different stages, having at first a strongly negative connotation and gradually acquiring positive undertones. Following their forced displacement, Orthodox Christian newcomers adopted the term 'Asia Minor refugees' or 'refugees' as a self-designation, differentiating themselves from 'locals', 'Greeks' or 'Old Greeks' as they called the native population. The development of this separate identity included two elements of differentiation. Firstly, the term 'refugee' refers to 'a mode of migration and a state of dependence' with political and economic connotations, and secondly the characterisation 'Asia Minors' conveys 'a particular cultural endowment' and a sense of superiority over the native population.[3] For 'a group distinguishable in conceptual terms but not by readily observable criteria', the retention of this separate sense of identity can be seen as an effort to construct a boundary between themselves and the native population.[4] According to Hirschon, this enduring sense of separation of Asia Minor refugees lies in the particularity of their historical experience and their cultural heritage in Ottoman society as well as their economic, social, and political marginalisation in Greek society.[5]

In other words, Asia Minor refugee identity is multilayered, given that it is composed of a combination of historically inherited particularities and characteristics that the refugees acquire in the new lands, such as class, regional, and political idiosyncrasies. For example, refugees' sense of loss of homeland coupled with the poor settlement conditions provided by the Greek state 'translated into […] leftist politics'.[6] This political affiliation shaped, particularly the first generations, during critical junctures of Greece's history. However, the development of this leftist idea was further figured by the existence of a strong religious

[3] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 12.
[4] Ibid, p. 5.
[5] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[6] Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern* Refugee, p. 79.

attachment, a defining characteristic of the Asia Minor refugee identity, as we will see in the analysis below. Although the 'term "refugee" does not apply technically to these groups of displaced peoples as defined in international law', it appears as a strikingly persistent term throughout generations.[7] Based on the assumption that '[t]he terms people use to describe themselves are sociologically significant', it is necessary to examine carefully the changing meanings and connotations of the key elements of refugee identity as expressed through religion, language, culture, and memory of trauma across time, in order to explore complex intergenerational identities.[8] With this consideration, this chapter defines four generations of Asia Minor refugee identity and analyses the cornerstones of refugees identity and their transmogrification over time.

Four generations of Asia Minor refugee identity

A long continuum of historical events, starting with life in Asia Minor and the forced displacement and ending with the eve of the civil war, formed the Asia Minor refugee identity of the first generation. Passing through stages of separatism and integration, this identity is further sketched during the inter-war years of the great depression and the economic recovery in the early 1930s,[9] the subsequent collapse of parliamentary democracy, the Axis occupation of Greece, and the beginning of the civil war. These were the central historical, political, economic, and social shaping frameworks of the first generation of Asia Minor refugees between the 1920s and 1940s. Embedded in these processes, Asia Minor refugees develop a separate sense of identity, the Asia Minor refugee identity, which is composed of the particularities of their historical experience. Following Orthodox Christians' forced

[7] R. Hirschon, 'Notes on Terminology and Orthography', in. R. Hirschon (ed), *Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. xiii.
[8] Ibid.
[9] M. Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis* (Oxford, 1991).

displacement on the basis of their religion, people with diverse linguistic and cultural characteristics turn into Asia Minor refugees. Religion becomes the official marker of their identity and their religious devotion is expressed through their attempts to bring religious possessions from Asia Minor and to construct churches immediately in their newly-created settlements in Greece. Their sense of identity as well as their understanding of their ethnicity is rooted in the common religious affiliation as it was historically shaped in the context of the millet system. Despite their religious homogeneity, Asia Minor refugees are characterised by linguistic heterogeneity, with Greek, Turkish, and the Pontic dialect being the standard forms of communication and composing a space of diversity and a source of tense relations with the native population. Asia Minor refugees are also distinguishable by cultural particularities such as their rich cooking, music, and dance traditions that dominate their daily life in Greece. All these are different expressions of continuity with their Asia Minor past and the transformation of Greece into homeland. This feeling of loss of homeland also comes to light with forms of cultural activity that were further developed in Greece such as rebetiko folk music and literature. Born in 1922, Maria Anagnostopoulou, reflected on her identity and the context of this period from a current-day perspective, noting that:

> Let me tell you [I have the identity] of the refugee […] I take pride in the fact that I have Asia Minor roots. […] Because I see that the people from Asia Minor had nothing to do with the Mytilenians [the locals].[10]

Maria understands her identity in opposition to the local population and refers to its silent dimension, explaining that 'maybe [in the beginning] there were other things that concerned [people], the survival'.[11] Facing multidirectional traumas that they cannot immediately absorb

[10] Interview with Maria Anagnostopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Athens, 10 Feb. 2020.
[11] Ibid.

as well as survival struggles in the host society, Asia Minor refugees' identities become reticent and silent.

This silence of the initial shock is often recalled by Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation. Discussing periods of silence and forgetting, Gatrell refers to the 'lifting of constraints on remembrance' in Greece, 'where the legacy of war and civil war in the 1940s became etched on private memories and public consciousness'.[12] Between the mid-1940s and 1960s, the second generation of Asia Minor refugees was shaped by the civil war and its legacy, which added another trauma to the memories of refugees. In addition, efforts of gradual recovery and rapid economic growth mollified memories of expulsion. Within this period, left/right political divisions, descendants' struggles to integrate into the host society, and the state's orientation towards homogenisation policies, repress memories of forced displacement and isolate the Asia Minor refugee identity to the family sphere. In this marginalisation process, refugees' struggle to survive is transmuted into a struggle to integrate into the host society. This becomes apparent in various forms of Asia Minor refugee identity expression. For instance, linguistic homogenisation comes about as both the state, through the education system, and refugees themselves, make conscious attempts to eliminate linguistic diversities. In addition, because of left/right divisions, the identification of Asia Minor refugees with leftist ideas resulted in significant ruptures to the activity of refugee associations and literary activity. The closure of the refugee associations and the discontinuities in literature further place public expressions of Asia Minor refugee identities on the periphery. However, some forms of identity expression, mostly in the familial and the collective sphere, remain uninterrupted. Asia Minor food, music, and dance traditions, as well as religion, continue to accompany descendants' daily lives. For the second generation, these elements become the cornerstones of refugee

[12] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 195.

identity. Nevertheless, the refugee identity of the second generation, passing through continuities and ruptures, remained latent or confined in the family sphere for a long period. This fluctuating identity journey is illuminated by Spiros Paloglou, born in 1950, who self-identified as a 'refugee' from a current day perspective, saying that '[a]s I was becoming more self-aware, I felt that I am a refugee'. At an early stage, as he further explained, '[y]ou would not feel very well when you were saying that [you are a refugee] […] They were not proud to be refugees'.[13]

This long latency period of limited and fragmented stories about Asia Minor from the previous generations is discussed by Asia Minor refugees of the third generation. The third generation, embedded in a political and social process with sharp divisions, is shaped between the mid-1960s and 1980s. This generation is formed by the 'regime change' from the military junta to social protests, mobilisation, and ultimately to the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic as well as the passage from monoculturalism to multiculturalism. In light of the post-1974 democratic and pluralistic context and while gradual processes of economic growth, secularisation, and Europeanisation were taking place, various forms of identification emerged and the reawakening of past identities occurred. In this context, the fully integrated descendants of the third generation revisited Asia Minor refugee identity through the collective spectrum and organised systematic efforts for its public recognition. This reawakening is traced in rising bottom-up efforts to create and re-establish refugee associations as well as publicly recognise the Asia Minor trauma. In this way, the Asia Minor traumatic memory of forced displacement enters parliamentary debates and ultimately acquires a public dimension through its recognition on the national level. At the same time, new refugee associations are founded throughout Greece and bring Asia Minor culture to the forefront of their activity. In the context of refugee

[13] Interview with Spiros Paloglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.

associations, cultural expressions such as dance and music become bridges of Asia Minor memories and identities on the collective level. Asia Minor also becomes a central theme in Greek fiction and music compositions, pervading national memories. In the family sphere, food tradition is a substitute for the lack of narratives about Asia Minor, while linguistic particularities fade significantly throughout time and are transformed from a means of daily communication to a cultural element of Asia Minor heritage. Other identity elements also transmute in the context of modernisation and secularisation, with religion losing its strictly religious character, adopting a cultural dimension, and constituting a connective tie with the Asia Minor refugee past. Despite the undeniable integration of the third generation, evident through mixed marriages, friendships, linguistic homogenisation, and the adoption of Greek foods, among others, Asia Minor culture noticeably persists. For this generation, memories of forced displacement and Asia Minor culture become key components of refugee identity. Refugee identity reawakens and acquires a collective dimension through its systematic organisation. Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965, self-identified as a refugee and attributed the reawakening of memory to refugee associations, noting that:

> I am [an Asia Minor refugee of] the third generation. […] the third generation, which has settled and is integrated, comes and speaks […] and so the new associations were gathered throughout Greece.[14]

Commemoration and newly established refugee associations throughout Greece also have a shaping impact on the cultivation of refugee identity among the descendants of the fourth generation. This generation is formed within an environment of globalisation, secularisation, Europeanisation, immigration, and multiculturalism during the mid-1980s and 2000s. These changes reflected Greece's EU membership in 1981 and its shift after 1989 from

[14] Interview with Dimitris Pantelas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 20 Jan. 2020.

an emigration to an immigration country between the 1980s and 2000s. In this context, multiple identifications emerge, and refugee/native divisions are dwindling for the fully integrated descendants of the fourth generation. For instance, Ksenia Eleutheriadi, born in 1981, stated, 'there is no Asia Minor/native distinction, for me, they are the same',[15] and Konstantinos Moustris, born in 1997, noted, '[f]or me, this identity was not particularly self-identifying. Asia Minor is a neutral identity'.[16] In this light, refugee associations bring cultural elements such as music, dances, and memorial celebrations to the forefront of their activity with the stated goal to preserve and transmit Asia Minor refugee memory and identity. Beyond these cultural expressions on the collective spectrum, the maintenance of the Asia Minor culinary tradition exerts a bridge of memory and an identity element in the familial space with striking persistence. In this private sphere, in some cases culture is perceived in more abstract terms, as an Asia Minor value system, in which cultural values such as hospitality and house-pride are transferred from one generation to the next. Linguistic particularities are also seen as cultural elements of the ancestral past with the Pontic and Turkish language used in some cases between grandparents and grandchildren, isolating in the familial sphere. Religion remains a component of Asia Minor refugee identity but loses its strictly religious character and becomes a part of secular life. Although the Asia Minor refugee identity presents fading characteristics, it could be argued that the sense of identity of the descendants of the fourth generation is not complete, but rather in the making, given the age of the descendants that comprise this generation. As Mannheim notes, 'during the first 30 years of life people are still learning'.[17] Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, explained:

[15] Interview with Ksenia Eleutheriadi, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.
[16] Interview with Konstantinos Moustris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 23 Jan. 2020.
[17] Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', p. 278.

> My son belongs to the fourth generation and is not affected by any of these [Asia Minor memories]. Maybe I was also late to deal with all these, because similarly when I was young, I was not interested in memories. […] I didn't have free time.[18]

Tracing intergenerational refugee identities, makes us wonder '[w]hat is remembered, and by whom, and what has been forgotten' about the transmission of the Asia Minor refugee history of forced displacement.[19] With religion, language, culture, and memory of trauma being the main components of intergenerational Asia Minor refugee identity, the importance of uncovering these elements foregrounds.

Religion

Before the creation of nation-states and in the context of the multiconfessional Ottoman Empire, religion was the main form of identity, defined by the administrative structure. Specifically, populations were organised under the millet system, which was 'constituted on the basis of religious confession rather than ethnic origin', enjoying an important degree of administrative autonomy (i.e. the Muslim millet, the Orthodox millet).[20] As a consequence, Orthodox Christian populations were members of the so-called 'millet-i Rum' ('Roman nation') under the Patriarch of Constantinople.[21] In the context of this religion/nation crossover, the term 'Roman' indicated 'Roman or Byzantine ancestry […] but also meant "Greek Orthodoxy"'.[22] In these religiously defined millets, religion was a fundamental element not only of imperial order but also in terms of defining people's 'personal and communal identities'.[23] The closer one observes religious practices in the 'Rum' millet, the more it seems to discern the underlying role of religion to our understanding of the Orthodox Christians'

[18] Interview with Loukas Christodoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 20 Jan. 2020.
[19] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 207.
[20] R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 10.
[21] Ibid.; Hirschon, 'Notes on Terminology and Orthography', p. xiii.
[22] Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, p. 9.
[23] Ibid., p. 89.

identity. Doumanis refers to 'people of God' and describes the role of religion as it was expressed by Ottoman subjects through religious practices, festivities, miracles, miracle-working icons, churches, and saints.[24] Zoi Tikmoglou, an Asia Minor refugee of the first generation, described the miraculous dimensions of religion in 1960, narrating family incidents of exodus:

> As soon as [my brothers] arrived, they caught them as conscripts […] Then they thought of attempting an exodus […]. With them was a woman holding the icon of Saint Eleutherius. […] They all passed in front of the guard and God blinded him.[25]

According to Doumanis, in many oral testimonies, supernatural elements dominate local beliefs and Asia Minors 'graft their personal or collective religious experiences (dreams, visions, and miracles witnessed) onto the cumulative tradition of Orthodox religious knowledge'.[26] For many Asia Minors, 'everything of consequence that occurred in the world, at a personal and more general level, was a function of the machinations of the supernatural'.[27] Religion constituted an important element of identification, encompassing divisions between individual and collective identities as well as private and public spheres.[28] In the public sphere, the existence of religious authorities, Orthodox churches, or religious festivities are only some examples of the way the social life of the Orthodox Christian population in Asia Minor was structured. In other words, religion was an inseparable component of social life, providing 'a total cultural milieu'.[29] Most prominently, however, religion became the official marker of identity in the compulsory population exchange, proving that it 'was treated merely as a

[24] Ibid., p. 111.
[25] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], pp. 106-107.
[26] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, p. 92.
[27] Ibid., p. 93.
[28] R. Hirschon, 'Dismantling the *Millet*: Religion and National Identity in Contemporary Greece', in A. Aktar, N. Kızılyürek, and U. Özkırımlı (eds), *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle. New Perspectives on South-East Europe* (London, 2010), p. 64.
[29] Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 62.

substitute for nationality'.[30] In many oral testimonies concerning this forced displacement, Asia Minor refugees stressed the primordial role of religion in their lives. For some Asia Minors, such as Maria Porloglou, the understanding of difficulties, such as their forced displacement, lay in the belief that 'life's travails were ultimately a function of God's will'.[31] In 1955, Maria described the Asia Minor forced displacement:

> In our places, we had faith, my child, and God with his signs showed us the good and the bad. […] Then [in the massacre of the Armenians] we were saved by the three saints of our village. […] We had faith in God and God did not let us get lost. […] From the destruction of Smyrna and then a terrible sign fell […] Do not they say that owls bring disaster? […] At night you shivered to hear them cry over the cross of the dome of the church […] We heard the epitaph and the icons creaking […] The priest shouted: 'Mercy my Virgin'. The disasters have come. […] Our committee began to collect the things of the church.[32]

> We did the last services in the church […]. We put in frames the relic of Gregory the Theologian, the icons, the chandeliers, and the candles of the churches. We buried all the old icons in the cemetery.[33]

In the last excerpt in 1954, Polukseni Katrantzi, as well as many other refugees, expressed their religious devotion, referring to their collective attempts to preserve religious possessions and bring them to Greece, under the difficulties of their displacement. According to Kitromilides, these developments led to the transformation of 'the Orthodox Church in the new nation-states into local national churches'.[34] Following their arrival in Greece, Asia Minor refugees attempted to transform the newly created settlements into familiar spaces. The construction of churches, as a central characteristic of their religious and cultural identity, exerted a key

[30] G. T. Mavrogordatos, 'Orthodoxy and Nationalism in the Greek Case', *West European Politics*, 26/1 (2003), p. 129.
[31] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, pp. 96-97.
[32] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], ed. G. Mourelos (Athens, 2004), pp. 83-87.
[33] Ibid, p. 10.
[34] P. M. Kitromilides, 'Introduction', in P. M. Kitromilides (ed), *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World: The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Challenges of Modernity*, (Oxford, 2019), p. 10.

manifestation of this process.[35] In this process of 'symbolic reorientation' into the home, 'the preservation of sacred relics, [and] the retention of the church' are the main components of continuity with their past life, as Stelaku demonstrates through her research about memory and religion in two Greek Cappadocian settlements.[36] Despite the heterogeneity of Asia Minor refugees of the first generation, their sense of identity was rooted in the common religious affiliation as it was historically shaped in the context of the millet system. In this way, this identity becomes a point of reference of ethnicity, national identity, social life, and a bridge of memory for the descendants of Asia Minor refugees.

Observing Asia Minor refugees and their descendants years after the Asia Minor forced displacement, in her ethnography in a long-established urban quarter of Piraeus in the 1970s, Hirschon perceives religion as the basis for identity, noting that 'the religious background specifically reinforced the way in which identity was being maintained'.[37] In addition, discussing the role of gender in the private and the public spheres, Hirschon states that women's involvement outside the domestic sphere, had 'a religious purpose', acknowledging that '[m]en were chiefly involved in matters outside the home, in economic activities […] while women were primarily concerned with affairs in the home and neighbourhood'.[38] Similarly, social contact for men was mainly taking place in coffee shops, while women were gathering just outside their homes or inside cooking and knitting. Antonios Koutsantonis, born in 1928, explained, 'my father was [working] at the grocery store […] they [the women] were always inside at home. In those years women didn't go out to cafes'.[39] However, these spatial

[35] V. Stelaku, 'Space, Place and Identity: Memory and Religion in Two Cappadocian Greek Settlements', in R. Hirschon (ed)*, Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. 180
[36] Ibid.
[37] Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 16.
[38] Ibid., p. 142
[39] Interview with Antonios Koutsantonis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 10 Oct. 2019.

expressions and gendered defined roles were not particularities of the Asia Minor case, they rather exerted the basis of 'family organization […] of all Greek social life' until the 1950s.[40]

For descendants of the second generation, this religious identity encompasses many aspects of life as well as divisions between formal/institutional and informal/popular or personal expressions of religion between the 1930s and the 1950s.[41] For instance, religious activities, such as name days, the carnival season and the celebration on eve of St John's Day (23-24 June) that is connected to vivid Asia Minor customs, the process of death and mourning, and rituals of marriage have characterised the social life of descendants of Asia Minor refugees for years. Descendants of the second generation discuss the way religion plays out in various manifestations. Dimitris Deligiannis, born in 1947, Konstantinos Nigdelis, born in 1950, and Chrisoula Akritidou-Theodoridou, born in 1934, noted respectively:

> [T]he two days of June 23-24 of St John […] They lit the fires. There you will hear all the heavy shocking [curses] […] We follow the customs we did in the past. In the carnival season […] Others dress as Turks, Turkish women, that is, what they [the Asia Minor refugees] living. And I remember these from my childhood.[42]

> I will tell you something that I have done to see that what we call morals and customs is embedded in the DNA. When my father was forgiven […] I had put an obolo [copper coin] for Charon [ferryman] […] When I baptised my son […] I told my wife to go to the pronaos to tell her the name [of the baby] […] the morals and customs still continue.[43]

> Now [in 2019] that my son is dead […] [my grandson] came and told me […] you will make Pontian food […] this is what my child wanted. […] We went to the graves nearby. I saw a [Pontic] lyra resting on the coffin and [the person with the lyra] started playing.[44]

[40] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 219.
[41] Hirschon, 'Dismantling the *Millet*: Religion and National Identity in Contemporary Greece', p. 64.
[42] Interview with Dimitris Deligiannis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Feb. 2020.
[43] Interview with Konstantinos Nigdelis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 20 Nov. 2019.
[44] Interview with Chrisoula Akritidou-Theodoridou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 13 Nov. 2019.

In the above-mentioned excerpts, descendants of the second generation discussed the continuity of Asia Minor religious particularities and recalled incidents of religious life and death, referring to them as 'morals and customs' and undermining their strictly religious dimension. Throughout the years, many of these religious activities are still maintained by descendants of Asia Minor refugees. However, in most cases, they were transferred as social and cultural activities of the Asia Minor heritage, losing their religious attachment. For instance, in the first excerpt, Konstantinos Nigdelis, born in 1950, noted, '[w]e follow the customs we did in the past', illustrating the blurred boundaries between religious and cultural activities. Other descendants identify religion with culture and Asia Minor heritage. Over time, religion adopts a cultural dimension and constitutes a connective tie with the ancestral past, with many descendants such as Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, clarifying that 'I am not religious. Usually, all of us here have religion as a continuation of our tradition'.[45] Placing religion in the broader cultural realm and perceiving it as a worldview, also helps us understand the paradox of the coexistence of religious sentiments and leftist political identities. These, perceived as contradictory, religious and political identities seem to be rooted in a commitment to 'social justice and a doctrine of equality' in many cases.[46] Spiros Tzokas, born in 1956, explained:

> In other words, the people of Asia Minor were by nature guerrillas […] they were religious, they may have been leftists, but they were also religious, they went to churches. Religion influenced me despite the fact that I have an ideological identity, the neighbouring church there, the three Hierarchs, was a landmark for me. It was the church that connected us all socially. So, I see the church, that particular church […] as an element of the neighbourhood, not as an element of religion. As I see the church, the football team, and the cultural club as elements of all the neighbourhood that unites us.[47]

[45] Christodoulou, 2020.
[46] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 139.
[47] Interview with Spiros Tzokas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 8 Feb. 2020.

In this description, religion and the church, in particular, become symbols of Asia Minor's cultural identity and key elements of social life, without creating incompatibility between religious and leftist identities. Anna Tataki, born in 1962, also stated, '[w]e kept religion as an element of identity'.[48] Throughout generations, this fading religious character can also be seen in relation to the broader process of secularisation that took place in Greece. Specifically, for Orthodox Christians, the majority of Greek citizens, there were only religious rituals and 'no civil alternatives' until recently for important aspects of life such as naming, marriage, and burial.[49] As becomes apparent, the degree of secularisation in Greece, compared to other Western countries, remained very limited until the emergence of changes that resulted primarily due to the country's membership of the European Union in 1981.[50] This secular transmission becomes a point of reference for the third generation in the 1980s and the shaping context of the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees in the 1990s. In light of emerging civil alternatives, Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990, noted that he is 'unbaptised'.[51] In this context, gradual developments came to light such as the introduction of civil marriage in 1982, the exemption from religious education in 1995, and the abolition of the mention of religion on national identity cards in 2000.[52] The latest development caused great controversy, poisoning Church-state relations, voicing issues of freedom of conscience, and dividing society for almost two decades.[53] Due to these changes, for descendants of the third and fourth generation, religion is being replaced by the memory of forced displacement and mainly culture as sources of the refugee identity.

[48] Interview with Anna Tataki, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.
[49] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 203.
[50] Mavrogordatos, 'Orthodoxy and Nationalism in the Greek Case', p. 130; Hirschon, 'Dismantling the *Millet*: Religion and National Identity in Contemporary Greece', p. 70.
[51] Interview with Anastasis Charalambopoulos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 8 Feb. 2020.
[52] Mavrogordatos, 'Orthodoxy and Nationalism in the Greek Case', pp. 120-21.
[53] Ibid., p. 122.

Despite the European integration processes that take place, the linkage between religion and nationality in Greece remains strong and it can be traced historically in nation-building 'with reference to Orthodoxy, that is, the Byzantine and Ottoman legacy'.[54] During nation-building, Orthodoxy, as the dominant religious doctrine, forged collective identities, cemented the unity of the new nation, and ultimately encompassed 'the ethnic definition of Hellenism'.[55] As Hirschon stresses, '[t]he close entanglement of religious and national identity is a particular feature of the country's modern history, with ramifications in all spheres of life'.[56] For the vast majority of Greek citizens, who see themselves as Orthodox Christians, religious affiliation is 'part and parcel of national identity as well as personal identity, as a result of a long historical process'.[57] For Asia Minor refugees, Orthodoxy exerted an element of ethnic identity.[58] The understanding of this historical process from the Byzantine and the Ottoman past to the Greek nation-state is complex and helps us elucidate the interplay between Orthodoxy and nationalism.[59] This nexus is repeated in the phrases of many descendants of Asia Minor refugees, who emphasise that 'religion is clearly linked to the national consciousness'.[60]

> Religion plays an important role not because I am so much a person of religion, but with a logical elaboration that says I am Greek because I was Orthodox. All my ancestors were Orthodox. […] the religiosity of the first and second generation, who maintained an emotional relationship with Asia Minor.[61]

Spiros Paloglou, born in 1951, explained how religion becomes a self-identifying element with reference to national identity, ancestral connection, and historical continuity. In this case,

[54] Ibid., p. 133.
[55] Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', p. 186.
[56] Hirschon, 'Dismantling the *Millet*: Religion and National Identity in Contemporary Greece', p. 67.
[57] Ibid., 75.
[58] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'.* [Exodus. Volume A'.] Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. μς.
[59] Kitromilides, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[60] Interview with Maria Karamanof, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 3 Jan. 2020.
[61] Paloglou, 2020.

national identity cannot be understood by the subjects of analysis without reference to religion. However, religion should not be perceived as a narrow and static concept. In the foregoing analysis, we observed the transmogrification of religious identity through time. Maria Chatoglou, born in 1949, implicitly mentioned this transmuting character of religion from one generation to another, noting that 'dad was very religious and stuck in the protocol of religion […] religion [for me] was a connecting part of Asia Minor origin'.[62] From an administrative principle to a supernatural power and from a part of cultural tradition to a part of secular life, religion remains an important bridge of memory and a key component for the understanding of the Greek national identity. Religion exerted a unifying element with the host society, in opposition to language that was, in many cases, a point of division.

Language

The connection between language and nationality, rooted in Enlightenment ideas, emerged in the process of Greek nation-building, shaping national identity, and cultivating national consciousness. The transition from religiously defined millets to modern linguistic nations and the construction of the Greek national identity, cannot be examined without putting language at the forefront. In the nation-building process, language could not be used as 'the hallmark of nationality', based on the equally complicated linguistic and ethnological reality both within independent Greece and in Asia Minor.[63] In Asia Minor, language differences, mainly based on geography, can be understood as a 'Babel' space of linguistic diversity and heterogeneity. In the West coast of Asia Minor and Black Sea coastal regions, Orthodox subjects originated primarily from Greek-speaking areas. Most of these people, living in places such as Smyrna and Ayvalik, used the Greek language and shared Greek culture. In inner Asia Minor (i.e.

[62] Interview with Vasos Vogiatzoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 24 Jan. 2020.
[63] Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', p. 169.

Cappadocia), however, large numbers of Orthodox Christians spoke Turkish.[64] These populations 'were the Turkish-speaking Karamanlides, who were distinguished by the fact that they produced a written language consisting of Turkish in Greek script'.[65] In these Turkophone places, the cultural and demographic patterns were significantly different, composing a peculiar collective identity. The Greek presence in Pontus, where they were mainly using the Pontic dialect, 'a modern Greek dialect, albeit far removed from today's standard language',[66] was paramount with Pontic Hellenism preserving 'its social cohesion, ethnic traditions and its peculiar language and culture'.[67] These were some of the main linguistic differences that coexisted in the Orthodox millet. In light of national awakening and modern Greek nationalism, the Greek language, exerting a key component of the nationalistic doctrine, was gradually spread through the creation of an educational network beyond the borders of the Greek state from the 1860s onwards.[68] According to Kitromilides, this 'educational effort of the nineteenth century promoted the linguistic homogenization of the Christian Orthodox populations of the East [i.e. Pontus, Cappadocia], as the basis of their incorporation into the broader community of the Greek nation'.[69] This process is illustrated by Alexis Alexiou, born in Smyrna in 1910, in the first excerpt, who stressed the transmission of the Greek language and values of patriotism.

> West Coast of Asia Minor: To learn letters at the beginning my parents sent me to school […] we learned and sang our national anthem in Greek words. […] We celebrated every

[64] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. κε.
[65] Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, p. 36.
[66] P. Mackridge, 'The Pontic Dialect: A Corrupt Version of Ancient Greek?', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4/4 (1991), p. 335.
[67] Kitromilides, 'Greek irredentism in Asia minor and Cyprus', p. 4.
[68] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. λσ; *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. να.
[69] Kitromilides, 'Greek irredentism in Asia minor and Cyprus', p. 7.

> March 25; [Greek Independence Day] we dressed as tsoliades [Evzones] and the girls in other national costumes.[70]

> Central and South Asia Minor: We were a little upset that [the Turks] were forcing our children to learn Turkish. […] We did not know Greek […].[71]

> West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia: The Greeks did not welcome us here. […] They made fun of us for not knowing Greek. They called us Turks.[72]

Despite Hellenisation efforts, as becomes apparent by Eudoksia Ioannidou and Savvoula Tirekoglou, in these excerpts from 1954 and 1968 respectively, sharp linguistic differences coexisted in Asia Minor. Given that religion exerted the exclusive criterion and marker of identity for the compulsory population exchange, as Savvoula noted, these linguistic particularities characterised, and in many cases stigmatised, Asia Minor refugees for years after their settlement in Greece. Asia Minor refugees had idiomatic pronunciations and, in many cases, speaking different languages or dialects incomprehensible to the old inhabitants of Greece. This diversity further perplexed the ongoing 'language question' concerning the debate between the establishment of the purist language (katharevousa) or the demotic (spoken language) as the official language.[73] Based on the Statistical Annual of Greece in 1930, the linguistic homogeneity, as reflected by statistics, was quite low, with 30% of the population being Turkish speakers and more than 70% being the total percentage of the foreign-speaking population.[74] Despite the linguistic amalgamation of the Asia Minor groups based on their Asia Minor places of origin, an additional parameter that we should take into account is the

[70] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. 6.
[71] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], pp. 107-8.
[72] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Ε'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία* [Exodus. Volume E'. Testimonies from the West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia], ed. P. M. Kitromilides (Athens, 2016), p. 436.
[73] Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 2.
[74] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, p. 131.

circumstances of their first settlement. In some cases, whole Asia Minor villages settled together, using their language/dialect as the main means of communication for years, with Cappadocian and Pontic villages in Macedonia, in northern Greece, being prominent examples. In other cases, refugees from different places of origin were settled together in large urban refugee settlements such as in the case of Athens, which isolated linguistic particularities as well as their intergeneration transmission primarily in the private sphere. The persistence of linguistic particularities, idiomatic expressions, and Turkish words that 'fade or tend to be forgotten' are traced in the oral testimonies of refugees in the Oral History Tradition archive in the 1960s.[75] Descendants of Asia Minor refugees reflect on the transmission of linguistic particularities from one generation to the other. Nikos Konstantinidis, born in 1951, Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952, and Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964, noted respectively:

> Central Macedonia, Pontic village: Never in the village did people speak in Greek to each other. They used Greek only when they would go to public service.[76]

> Central Macedonia, Asia Minor settlement: It isn't hyperbole to say that I too in the first years in elementary school would speak Turkish with the other kids, among ourselves.[77]

> Lesvos, Mytilene: They were speaking [Turkish] at home when they wanted to say things they did not want me to understand.[78]

For descendants of the second generation, the Turkish language and the Pontic dialect reside in a liminal space between the private and public sphere. As we see in these excerpts, in refugee settlements and villages there is a strong persistence of linguistic particularities at a

[75] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], p. λδ.
[76] Interview with Nikos Konstantinidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 22 Dec. 2019.
[77] Interview with Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 28 Nov. 2019.
[78] Interview with Stratis Balaskas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.

collective level, while in mixed settlements and cities, the Turkish language is described as 'the language of conspiracy' between coevals and not as a standard form of daily communication. Throughout the years and through the gradual adoption of the Modern Greek language, a higher degree of linguistic homogenisation appeared. To varying degrees, this fading pattern is attributed to a combination of factors. Pentzopoulos stresses the state's attempts toward linguistic homogenization and refugees' conscious efforts to eliminate linguistic peculiarities to escape discrimination.[79] These conscious attempts, deriving from both the state and the refugees of the first and the second generation, reflect the priority to integrate into the host society. These factors also influenced the intergenerational transmission of language, with descendants of Asia Minor refugees referring both to the familial level ('[m]y parents didn't let me speak Pontic so that I wouldn't have difficulty in studying')[80] and the state level ('the teachers came to the villages and to the schools and forbade the use of the Pontic dialect').[81]

Referring to this sharp discontinuity of the use of different dialects, Giannis Terzidis, born in 1968, used the term linguistic 'genocide', noting that 'for the grandchild to not be able to understand or communicate with his grandmother, that is genocide'.[82] Although linguistic differences present a fading pattern throughout the years for descendants of the third and the fourth generation, the intergenerational impact of language transmission presents diversities. Specifically, the use of the Turkish language fades from one generation to the other, with descendants of the third and fourth generations having zero knowledge or knowing just a few Turkish words. Primarily in the context of big cities, descendants illustrated a strongly fading intergenerational effect ('[m]y mother knew Turkish perfectly […] I did not learn').[83] Even in almost exclusively refugee villages, the use of the Turkish language for descendants of the third

[79] Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact on Greece*, pp. 214-15.
[80] Interview with Maria Giakousidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 4 Dec. 2019.
[81] Interview with Giannis Terzidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 11 Dec. 2019.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Michailidou, 2020.

and fourth generation was fragmented and isolated in the family sphere and some cultural expressions. For example, Maria Grigoriadou, born in 1969, traced the Turkish language in Asia Minor music, saying that 'all these songs are in Turkish'.[84] Charikleia Kosmoglou, born in 2005, stressed her limited knowledge and use of Turkish, noting that 'with grandma sometimes I can say something [in Turkish] but not much'.[85] The Pontic dialect has a stronger intergenerational presence compared to the Turkish language and appears to be a more prominent element of memory and identity transmission. The Pontic dialect belongs to the familial and collective spheres of a neighbourhood, a settlement, or a village. In the public sphere, the use of the Modern Greek language was imposed by the state, isolating both the Turkish language and the Pontic dialect in the private sphere. Despite differences concerning the intensity of the transmission of language identity from one generation to the other, linguistic differences become cultural elements and bridges of Asia Minor memory and identity. Born in 1983, Maria Euthimiou perceived linguistic differences as a memory tie with her ancestors, saying that 'I use a lot of [Turkish] words in my daily life because it is left to us by my great-grandmother and grandmother'.[86]

Questioning the linguistic homogenisation of the newly independent Greek state, Dimitris Kamouzis, born in 1977, acknowledged that the phrase, '[o]ur people [Asia Minors] spoke Greek and were Orthodox Christians', was constructed later in time through public memory.[87] Residing in a liminal space between the private and public spheres, language exerts a key framework for memory transmission and identity formation. However, its significance, power, and intergenerational impact present diverse intensities. These differences are examined

[84] Interview with Maria Grigoriadou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[85] Interview with Charikleia Fotopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 15 Dec. 2019.
[86] Interview with Maria Euthimiou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 4 Dec. 2019.
[87] Interview with Dimitris Kamouzis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 5 Feb. 2020.

in relation to the geographical origin of Asia Minor groups and the circumstances of their first settlement. However, sharp language differences fade throughout time both due to the state's efforts to create linguistic homogenisation and refugees' attempts to escape discrimination. Although geographic isolation of refugee communities (refugee villages and settlements) exerts a key parameter of the maintenance of linguistic differences, descendants draw a line between familial and collective spheres and national forms of expression. Throughout the years, traces of the Turkish language and the Pontic dialect were expressed mainly in the familial and collective spheres. The diminishing role of linguistic particularities is also linked with the revival of culture and memories of forced displacement as more prominent identity definers for the third and fourth generations. In this context, language identity changes throughout time and it is transformed from a form of communication of the first generation to a memory and an element of the cultural identity of Asia Minor for the following generations.

Culture

Encompassing the private and the public spheres as well as various aspects of life, culture can be seen as the symbolic representation of ideas and relationships. Culture has a shaping impact on group members, influencing 'the characteristics they consider significant in their evaluation of themselves and others'.[88]

In the context of the multiethnic and multicultural Ottoman Empire, 'cultural boundaries were essential in Ottoman life' of religiously defined millets.[89] Customs and traditions surrounding religious activities, food, and music are only some of the most prominent cultural elements for Asia Minors.

> We had a good time before the wars. […] We go to their [Turks] houses, they invite us to their happy occasions, and then we send them whole plates of kourabiedes and baklava

[88] A. Margalit and M. Halbertal, 'Liberalism and the Right to Culture', *Social Research,* 61/3 (2016), p. 498.
[89] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, p. 45.

> [sweets]. To the brides, we gave tzeberia [kerchiefs]. They did the same. They came to our celebrations, our happy occasions, and they ate and danced with us as if they were our people.[90]

In this excerpt from 1954, Eudoksia Ioannidou from Cappadocia referred to issues of intercommunity and talked about celebrations, gifts, dances, and food. The geographical spread of people from Asia Minor resulted in the existence of cultural peculiarities based on specific localities. For instance, areas such as Smyrna, Cappadocia, and Pontus are characterised by sharp differences in their dances, music, and culinary traditions. This diversity shaped the culture of Asia Minor refugees, following their arrival in Greece. Acknowledging the richness of Asia Minor culture, the musicologist, Melpo Logotheti-Merlier, started the systematic collection of popular songs during the inter-war period, creating the Musical Folklore Archives in 1930.[91] Merlier defines folklore as 'the science that studies the material and the spiritual culture of people' and states her goal, noting that 'I had set my goal to collect mainly songs of refugees […] uprooted from the homeland […]. How many Greek villages […] that would forever disappear from the national consciousness'.[92] An in-depth analysis of these diverse cultural characteristics is outside the scope of this study. In this section Asia Minor culture is perceived as an expression of identity and its intergenerational transmission is central to the analysis.

After their arrival, Asia Minor refugees brought diverse cultural elements from different regions, enriching Greece's cultural life in various aspects, ranging from music and dance to culinary traditions and literature. Specifically, for refugees, Asia Minor dances exerted an embodied form of expression of both their identity and their feeling of loss of homeland. For

[90] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 107.
[91] Musical Folklore Archives: Melpo Merlie 'Profile' (2017), http://www.mla.gr/index_en.php (20 May 2020).
[92] M. Merlier, *Το Αρχείο της Μικρασιατικής Λαογραφίας* [The Archive of Asia Minor Folklore] (Athens, 1948), pp. 13, 25.

instance, Pontic dances 'connect Pontians to their social, geographical, and historical background, but also to the loss that has been shaped prior to the dance'.[93] Asia Minor music, inertly connected with dance activity, is another form of expression of Asia Minor refugees. Asia Minor musical tradition appears very rich, as expressed by musical instruments, musicians, and the development of music genres in Greece. For example, the origins of rebetiko and Smyrna style rebetiko (smyrnaika), which can be described as an urban folk song, are rooted in the arrival of Asia Minor refugees and emerged after 1922. Appearing in poor refugee settlements, rebetiko focuses on the themes of 'exile, loss of family […] taking drugs and drinking to excess, unrequited love, imprisonment, and death'.[94] Due to its cultural importance, rebetiko was included in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists in 2017. New musical instruments were also brought, with bouzouki, one of the central instruments to rebetiko and the Pontic lyra gradually becoming symbols not only of Asia Minor attachment but also of Greek music as a whole. In addition, leading figures from Asia Minor, such the Nobel Prize poet and diplomat, George Seferis, also have a 'lasting impact on modern Greek literature'.[95] Many influential stories and first-person accounts in literature have been written since 1922, with the mythologisation of Asia Minor through the novel 'Aeolian Earth' (Aioliki Gi, 1943) by Ilias Venezis, closing the period of the early literary activity of Asia Minor refugees during the Axis Occupation in Greece.[96] While some forms of cultural and identity expression such as literature appear ruptures over the years, others such as culinary tradition, dance, and music accompany life and death, festivities and mourning rituals, family and collective ways of expression, dominating the daily life of Asia Minor refugees and their descendants.

[93] V. Liddle 'Pontic Dance: Feeling the Absence of Homeland', in S. Hemer and A. Dundon (eds), *Emotions, Senses, Spaces: Ethnographic Engagements and Intersections* (California, 2016), p. 63.
[94] J. Sclavunos, 'So Good, They Made it Illegal', The Guardian (19 April 2004), https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2004/apr/19/guesteditors3 (20 May 2020).
[95] P. Mackridge, 'The Myth of Asia Minor in Greek Fiction', in R. Hirschon (ed)*, Crossing the Aegean* (New York, 2003), p. 236.
[96] Ibid.

On many occasions, Asia Minor cultural expressions are manifested altogether, with descendants of the second generation remembering Asia Minor dances, songs, tastes, and smells in their family, neighbourhood, and collective occasions. In the family sphere, Charikleia Photopoulou, born in 1935, recalled music from Smyrna in her house, saying that 'when [my father] listened to songs from Smyrna he cried, he cried, he cried; he was very moved'.[97] In celebrations, Fotis Pastourmatzis, born in 1952, remembered Pontic musical instruments, noting that '[a]t every party my father brought a [Pontic] lyre'.[98] At weddings, Veziridis Konstantinos, born in 1958, said, 'here if you come […] to a wedding and it does not play karsilamas [an Asia Minor folk dance] it is as if there is no marriage'.[99] In refugee neighbourhoods, Nikos Samios, born in 1942, reminded of cultural values, gatherings, and the exchange of food, saying that '[t]he neighbourhood had a strong refugee character. There was solidarity – I lived it – to exchange their beans, their meatballs, etc. At home, we had Asia Minor cuisine'.[100] In his attempt to explain the sentiment of Asia Minor solidarity and the transmission of cultural values and traditions, Nikos referred to the importance of the architecture of the space, the housing settlement, and the neighbourhood, noting that:

> In the brick buildings [the neighbours had very close ties] because this architectural system was a series of houses, that is, they formed this shape and inside they had an inner life.[101]

This inner life is also remembered by Despoina Euthimiou, born in 1961, who stressed how Asia Minor culture and traditions become a daily experience and they are transferred from one generation to the other, remembering that:

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[97] Fotopoulou, 2019.
[98] Interview with Fotis Pastourmatzis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 11 Dec. 2019.
[99] Interview with Konstantinos Veziridis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[100] Interview with Nikos Samios, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Feb. 2020.
[101] Ibid.

> [W]hen the women from Ayvalik were sitting in the neighbourhoods, they were doing the dance with the glasses, they sang, they were playing the rhyme with the pan, they remembered their old [days]. […] I learned songs, dances, all these were taught to us by our grandmothers. All the customs.[102]

Similarly, Anna Tataki, born in 1962, took us to a vivid memory of her childhood summers with a display of various cultural expressions, remembering her ancestors of the first generations:

> In the summer when people went out […] they sang, they danced the zeibekiko [dance] […] all these old things. That's why we like dancing and we keep it, [as well as] the food, every night we had mezes.[103]

Asia Minor music, dances, and food dominated the refugee settlements, either on gatherings and celebrations, or in the form of local cafes and tavernas. Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, remembered:

> The so-called cafes were created here [in the refugee settlement] […], which always had a meze [..] a piece of souvlaki, a little basturma, a little soutzouki, oriental delicacies […] with an ouzo and a small [musical] instrument.[104]

During this period, beyond folk music, new musicians with Asia Minor origins emerged, such as Stelios Kazatzidis, a leading singer of Greek popular music. Loukas talked about this singer's impact, stressing that 'Kazantzidis entered our hearts, he entered all Asia Minor houses, because he was expressing pain. He showed love for the refugees, for the poor people'.[105] What also remained uninterrupted was the culinary tradition, passing from one generation to the other and pervading different aspects of Asia Minor descendants' daily life. For Asia Minor descendants of the second generation, culinary tradition becomes a unifying

[102] Euthimiou, 2019.
[103] Tataki, 2020.
[104] Christodoulou, 2020.
[105] Ibid.

element and an idiom of remembrance. Asia Minor descendants recall tastes, smells, and recipes of Asia Minor foods. With striking detail, they shared with me recipes of their Asia Minor foods such as Smyrna meatballs. Discussing the transmission of the Asia Minor culinary tradition from one generation to the other, Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952, said, '[e]very season, every holiday, and every day we had many foods, which are all preserved. […] This cuisine is what unites many things'.[106] Similarly, Maria Chatoglou, born in 1949, noted:

> So at home they do not transfer us these parts [about Asia Minor] through speech, but through life, which is characteristic. […] I always cooked and now I cook Asia Minor food at home.[107]

However, in the above excerpt, Maria also referred to the lack of narrations about Asia Minor. Indeed, during this period, some forms of Asia Minor expression were interrupted by political circumstances. The Axis occupation and the regime of Metaxas dictatorship (1936-41), the Greek Civil War (1946-49), and subsequently the Greek Junta (1967-74), exerted important ruptures in some facets of Asia Minor cultural activity. Explaining the different periods of literary activity, Mackridge notes that the political situation in Greece 'seems to have pushed the Asia Minor theme into the background'.[108] Exceptions constituted two impactful publications of 'representatives of the defeated Left in the Greek civil war', written by Dido Sotiriou and Kosmas Politis during the fortieth anniversary of the Asia Minor forced displacement (1962-63).[109] During this period, discontinuities also appear in the activity of refugee associations due to their identification with left political leanings.[110] Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948, explained, '[t]he junta abolished all associations on the grounds that the

[106] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[107] Interview with Maria Chatoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 11 Feb. 2020.
[108] Mackridge, 'The Myth of Asia Minor in Greek Fiction', p. 236.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Pantelas, 2020.

associations were connected with leftist views'.[111] Corroborating the accounts of other interviewees, Konstantinos emphasised the uninterrupted role of dance and food, in the private sphere, towards the maintenance of their identity and the creation of friendships among Pontic descendants, stating that 'we had the dance, which dance kept us going. At that time there were three large Pontian clubs […]. We ate normal [Pontic] food'.[112]

For the descendants of the third generation, cooking, as an uninterrupted form of cultural expression, shapes their identities and creates an attachment to Asia Minor. Born in 1972, Sophia Kosmoglou explained that culture and food tradition, in particular, become substitutes for narrations about Asia Minor, saying that '[t]he cuisine is active, meaning we didn't ever have any pauses […] But we didn't have historical hearings, [so my identity was shaped through] my involvement with the cultural aspects'.[113] Sophia, like other descendants of the third generation, stressed the limited historical narratives and family stories about Asia Minor. This pervasive silence that descendants of the third generation attribute to previous generations is linked to the traumatic dimension of the Asia Minor experience and a turbulent historical period. From the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-41) until the Greek Junta (1967-74), the Greek national consciousness is dominated by ideas and values that are accurately summarised in one of the most influential political slogans in Greece 'Fatherland, Religion, Family'.[114] In light of the end of the Greek Junta and 'Metapolitefsi' (regime change), a gradual increase in Asia Minor cultural activity emerges. Specifically, Asia Minor becomes a central theme in Greek fiction and a 'continued production of novels' written by descendants of refugees is witnessed.[115] According to Liana Anagnostopoulou:

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[111] Fotiadis, 2019.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Interview with Sophia Kosmoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[114] E. Gazi, '"Fatherland, Religion, Family": Exploring the History of a Slogan in Greece, 1880–1930', *Gender & History*, 25/3 (2013), p. 700.
[115] Mackridge, 'The Myth of Asia Minor in Greek Fiction', p. 236.

> For a while no one was dealing with Asia Minor. When I was little there was no talk, one gap existed. After the '70s they started again […] after the junta […] it [memory] boomed, new books came out.[116]

As far as music is concerned, new compositions, devoted to Asia Minor, come to light with the 'popular music album of George Dalaras, "Mikra Asia" (1972)', marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Asia Minor forced displacement.[117] Among many popular songs, the lyrics of the song 'I lost my homeland' (1996), written in the Pontic dialect, was used by many interviewees as a means of describing their identity. This Pontic song says:

> I lost my homeland,
> I cried and felt pain.
> I'm crying and I'm longing, oh
> I can't forget.

Many descendants referred to songs, memory books, and dances as reference points of their creation of Asia Minor refugee identities. As a result of these changing political, social, and cultural conditions, one of the most prominent examples of the increased Asia Minor activity and the reawakening of refugee identities is the proliferation of refugee associations throughout Greece, primarily by descendants of the third generation. Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965, explained, 'the third generation, which has settled and is integrated, comes and speaks […] and so the new associations were gathered throughout Greece'.[118] Throughout the years, refugee associations serve different aims, with settlement purposes being their first stated aims and memory transmission and preservation of culture being associations' most recent priority. Focusing on Asia Minor culture, refugee associations turned themselves into repositories of Asia Minor memory and identity. Towards this goal, as many presidents and members of the

[116] Interview with Liana Anagnostopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 8 Feb. 2020.
[117] Doumanis*, Before the Nation*, p. 68.
[118] Pantelas, 2020.

various refugee associations stress, the systematic efforts of the associations are depicted in activities such as folklore music and dance classes, culinary traditions, customs, language classes, nostalgia trips, memorial celebrations, and museums. For example, in 2006 the '1922 Refugee Memorial Museum' was established by members of a refugee association in Lesvos. Many refugee associations, use their own resources to articulate and represent their history of forced displacement and challenge 'the state's monopoly on the nation's past'.[119]

Contextualising this revival of Asia Minor cultural activity, this phase coincides with the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic and a subsequent orientation to democratisation, social freedoms, and gradual multiculturalism, as Greece is shifting from a sending to a receiving country. These characteristics were further developed in the 1990s and 2000s. This constitutes the shaping environment of Asia Minor refugee descendants of the fourth generation. During this period, old identities lose force (i.e. religious identity), while new forms of identification emerge and gain some ground (i.e. European identity, multicultural identity). Asia Minor identity becomes one of the various forms of identification that descendants can adopt. In this identity battle, 'there are many competing factors' as a president of a refugee association acknowledged.[120] Following the declining participation of descendants of the fourth generation in associations, refugee associations made systematic efforts to preserve and revive memory, putting Asia Minor cultural activities at the forefront. Eleni Kapakli, born in 1985, stressed the intergenerational impact of Asia Minor dance in the context of an association, noting that 'at the age of five, my mom brought us to the dance club of the association and we continue to be involved, me and my siblings, and now my son'.[121] In addition, Giorgos Mavroudis, born in 1992, highlighted his connection with the refugee

[119] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 207.
[120] Michailidou, 2020.
[121] Interview with Eleni Kapakli, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 28 Jan. 2020.

association of his place of residence and Asia Minor music, dances, and traditions, confessing that 'sentimentally I belong to an association […]. I was in its [association's] dances, its choirs, on trips we did together abroad for [cultural] events'.[122] Charikleia Kosmoglou, born in 2005, explained how her participation in the association exerts a key framework of Asia Minor identity, saying that 'our participation in associations, yes this is the most important […] We dance mainly those dances, we learn the Cappadocian ones and those foods'.[123] In all these cases, music and dance as they are transmitted primarily on the collective level of refugee associations and culinary traditions as experienced on the familial level, exert key frameworks of Asia Minor identity shaping. Maria Euthimiou, born in 1983, emphasised the intergenerational passage of cultural traditions by recalling her wedding and saying:

> At the wedding we had done Asia Minor customs. […] I generally follow the customs in my life, what I have learned from my grandmother and generally from generation to generation I pass it on and it will never stop.[124]

In other cases, culture is perceived as an Asia Minor value system that is transferred from one generation to the other. For instance, Kyriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989, explained that her grandmother passed on her 'values and principles connected to the Pontic element'.[125] Descendants of different generations referred to cultural values, whose main components are family, collectivity and teamwork as well as Asia Minor hospitality. These cultural values and their transmission become another important point of reference concerning the understanding of Asia Minor identity.

[122] Interview with Giorgos Mavroudis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 15 Dec. 2019.
[123] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[124] Euthimiou, 2019.
[125] Interview with Kyriaki Fotiadou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.

The continuities and discontinuities of the Asia Minor culture are examined across time and through their transfer from one generation to the other. Culture is seen through various forms of expressions such as music, dance, food, literature, and values. Different facets of culture present different degrees of continuity, with literature facing major ruptures based on the historical context and culinary tradition demonstrating a striking persistence. Cultural elements are transferred, in various forms, from one generation to the other through families ('[in my daughter's wedding] I did the [Asia Minor] customs of my grandmother as my mother did to me')[126] and collective frameworks of remembrance. In the collective sphere, refugee associations exert the most prominent example of Asia Minor cultural activity and identity formation, particularly for the descendants of the third and the fourth generation. In this way, Asia Minor culture becomes a key framework of identity formation throughout generations. In light of the 100th anniversary of the Asia Minor forced displacement, proliferation in cultural activities such as memorial celebrations, memory books, and films and theatres emerge, vividly bringing to light memories of forced displacement.

Memory of trauma

It is impossible to explore Asia Minor identity without knowing refugees' history of displacement from Asia Minor and settlement in Greece. Building on this understanding, as established in the previous chapter, I examine the intergenerational effects of the Asia Minor memories of forced displacement. Refugees' forced displacement and the immediate period of their settlement exert the main facets of the Asia Minor wound and compose the phase of the initial shock. These experiences of sudden and catastrophic events are revealed in the oral testimonies of Asia minor refugees. In the context of the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and

[126] Interview with Despoina Euthimiou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.

the Asia Minor forced displacement (1922-24), detailed descriptions about the atrocities of this period are revealed, with outrageous images of labour battalions, massacres, rapes, and dreadful journeys, stabbing Asia Minor refugees' memories. In 1962, Lambros Mavridis recalled a massacre '[t]hey [Çetes] set fire to the house and burned them all alive'.[127] Alexis Alexiou, born in 1910, narrated his journey to Greece in 1922, talking about traumatic incidents that never faded from his memory.

> I saw something, which I won't forget for as long as I live. I will always remember that terrible image that I saw in front of me. […] I saw a body on its back […] with the head a little further being pecked by hens […]. In a moment we couldn't believe our eyes, many women in an endless line […] they would jump [from the tall cliffs] and be lost in the sea. Many of them held their babies in their arms. Next to them, over their heads were the Chetes, ready to shame them […]. This image will never fade from my memory for as long as I live. I recounted it to my friends later, and to my wife and kids. […] I still have a large mark on the left side of my neck, so that I never forget, not for a day, the suffering that we went through.[128]

In Alexis's, as well as in many refugees' descriptions, repeated phrases such as 'I won't forget for as long as I live', 'I will always remember', 'this image will never fade from my memory' illustrate the striking persistence of traumatic memories of forced displacement. However, the wounding experiences of Asia Minor refugees did not end with their arrival in Greece, it was rather continued and further perplexed during the hardships of their first settlement. In 1956, discussing this transition from Asia Minor to Greece, Anastasios Prodromidis spoke nostalgically about Asia Minor, stating, 'we left heaven and went to hell'.[129] The first settlement in Greece is identified as 'hell', with refugees stressing the poor reception conditions and the hostile reception of the native population. Reception conditions were atrocious and in

[127] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Ε'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία* [Exodus. Volume E'. Testimonies from the West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia], p. 191.
[128] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Α'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες των Δυτικών Παραλίων της Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume A'. Testimonies from the Provinces of the West Coast of Asia Minor], pp. 8, 9, 11.
[129] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 320.

many cases were linked with high mortality rates. Quarantines, settlements in public places, and illnesses are some of the many themes that dominate refugees' remembrance. Immediately after her arrival, Kallistheni Kallidou described 20 horrendous days of quarantine, recalling that 'they resented us a lot, they tortured us a lot [in quarantine]. They put us in line […] they were cutting our hair. I was crying, shouting. […] They undressed us'.[130] In 1962, another refugee, Ignatios Orphanidis, also described the dreadful conditions of the first settlement, '[w]e lived in filth, hunger and thirst. […] We were fed stinky spaghetti, wormed olives, spoiled herring and typhus started'.[131] The difficulties of the first settlement led to the emergence of illnesses that further weakened the refugees. During this period of exhaustion and economic deprivation, the social relations between the newcomers and the native population were primarily tense. In 1953, recalling these days, Kallistheni Kallidou remembered shouting to natives, '[w]e are not beggars! […] They saw us from afar. They did not come to us: - Refugeehood! Refugeehood! they said and passed'.[132] The experience of Asia Minor refugees' first settlement was fraught with numerous difficulties. These hardships, as well as a persistent feeling of losing their homeland, shaped the experience of the first generation refugees. In 1957, Pinelopi Mbatoglou revisited her feelings by the time she was leaving her Asia Minor home in 1924, saying that '[w]e wanted to take everything with us and soil if we could take, to carry all our place. […] But to leave your place is a great bitterness and misery'.[133] In many oral testimonies, refugees repeatedly referred to the difficulty of leaving their soil and graves and demonstrate a homeland rootedness based on 'the soil and the dead', as it has been aptly

[130] Ibid., p. 260.
[131] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Γ'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες του Μεσόγειου Πόντου* [Exodus. Volume C'. Provinces of the Mediterranean Pontus], ed. P. M. Kitromilides (Athens, 2013), p. 371.
[132] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 260.
[133] Ibid., p. 198.

described by Barrès.[134] Remembering the reaction of people leaving their homeland, Anestis Papadopoulos added in 1959, '[a]h, it is homeland, it is not forgotten'.[135]

Homeland is not forgotten, said many Asia Minor refugees, leaving their ancestral houses. However, between the initial phase of refugees' distressing experiences, as it was described by their forced displacement and the immediate period of their settlement in Greece, many events come to further trouble Greece's history. In 1936 the 'Fourth of August Regime' was imposed by the dictator Ioannis Metaxas (1936-41). 'The decade of the 1940s was the darkest in Greece's independent history', as Clogg notes, referring to the passage from the Asia Minor forced displacement and the Axis occupation to the Greek Civil War.[136] The disastrous impacts of the tripartite occupation under Germany, Bulgaria, and Italy, accompanied by fundamental divisions between communists and anti-communists climax with the civil war.[137] Reflecting on the symbolic passage from the Asia Minor forced displacement to the Axis occupation, Spiros Tzokas, born in 1956, said, 'in the Axis occupation they [Asia Minor refugees] were wishing 'good freedom' [from the Axis powers] but since then they were wishing 'good [return to] homeland [Asia Minor]'.[138] In 1955, Polikseni Charidi-Ioannidou, a refugee of the first generation, narrated the dreadful moments of the war that added new difficulties in her family story, saying that 'with the war of '40 […] Our shack caught fire […] my little grandson was killed'.[139] Smaragda Kelaiditou-Tsika, born in 1930, confessed that during this period, Asia Minor identities were overshadowed by the starvation they experienced during the war, noting that 'I do not remember the identity of "refugee", not even my mom,

[134] M. Barrès, *Scènes Et Doctrines Du Nationalisme* (Paris, 1902).
[135] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Ε'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία* [Exodus. Volume E'. Testimonies from the West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia], p. 413.
[136] Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 142.
[137] Ibid., p. 121.
[138] Tzokas, 2020.
[139] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 261.

because then came the occupation […] the years were difficult'.[140] Further relating refugee identity with the experience of the occupation, Maria Anagnostopoulou, born in 1922, understood the war as a catalyst for refugees' integration, explaining that 'in the war there were no more refugees [and locals] […] and especially after the war they came out very united. In other words, everyone was very united and fought for their homeland'.[141] Referring to the wound of the civil war, Antonios Koutsantonis, born in 1928, and Dimitrios Kapoutzidis, born in 1931, revealed the stigma of the civil war, repeating almost the same phrase '[b]rother killing brother. There is nothing worse'.[142] These historical experiences and painful events added new dimensions to the Asia Minor trauma and exerted the shaping historical context of the first and second generations. These emerging dimensions further perplex the formation of the refugee identity, not only adding unbearable memories and cleavages, but also diminishing refugee/native distinctions. In the aftermath of these events, Polikseni Charidi-Ioannidou, Konstantinos Tsaoutsidis, and Kuriaki Tsapa, Asia Minor refugees of the first generation, narrated their stories of forced displacement from Asia Minor in the 1955, 1957, and 1963 respectively.

> I cried, I cried. […] Let it go, let it go (her eyes tear up). […] I can not. I forgot them.[143]

> [T]heir memory [massacres, hangings etc.] only old wounds scratch and bring tears to the eyes.[144]

> I want to neither say them nor hear them, living them was enough. We lost my father, we lost my grandmother, we lost my mother, we lost my brothers. […] When we were

[140] Interview with Smaragda Kelaiditou-Tsika, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 8 Feb. 2020.
[141] Anagnostopoulou, 2020.
[142] Interview with Dimitrios Kapoutzidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 10 Dec. 2019; Koutsantonis, 2019.
[143] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 262.
[144] Ibid., p. 376.

> notified about the Exchange we had such pain, we had gone through so much suffering, that we said we would never laugh again.[145]

In these excerpts, Asia Minor refugees' phrases and reactions such as 'I forgot them', '[these memories] bring tears', 'I want to neither say them nor hear them', can be seen as parts of what has been aptly been described as a latency period of trauma or an interval of forgetfulness.[146] Reflecting on this long period of silence, from a present-day perspective, Maria Anagnostopoulou, born in 1922, emphasised, 'we did not say anything' concerning Asia Minor.[147] Similarly, in 1964, Pavlos Tzitiridis expressed a sentiment of pervasive silence noting that '[w]e can no longer talk about the village. And when we, who lived and suffered our places, die, then no one will talk and will not care about them'.[148] Pavlos wondered in the 1960s about the intergenerational transmission of Asia Minor memories. Given that 'trauma is both the event and the memory of the event',[149] the extent to which these memories are transferred from the first to the following generations is of paramount importance.

Based on the foregoing analysis, the second generation of Asia Minor refugees became the immediate receivers of the legacy of the civil war. However, this generation was also shaped within a context of gradual recovery and economic growth between the mid 1940s and 1960s. Descendants of the second generation often recalled their ancestors' silence about Asia Minor. Referring to this multidirectional trauma and family losses throughout these historical contexts, Nikos Konstantinidis, born in 1951, said, 'the thought they were carrying was bloody. […] They would remember events that hurt them, so they didn't talk about this'.[150] Silent

[145] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Ε'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία* [Exodus. Volume E'. Testimonies from the West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia], pp. 109-10.
[146] Druker, 'Trauma and Latency in Primo Levi's the Reawakening', p. 63.
[147] M. Anagnostopolou, 2020.
[148] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Ε'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Δυτικό Παράλιο Πόντο και την Παφλαγονία* [Exodus. Volume E'. Testimonies from the West Coast of Pontus and Paphlagonia], p. 190.
[149] Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', p. 18.
[150] Konstantinidis, 2019.

figures are dominant in descendants' memories, who attributed this latency period to factors such as its distressing dimension, hardships, struggle to survive, and the need for integration. For the first two generations of Asia Minor refugees, family was 'a space of transmission' and gender functioned as an 'idiom of remembrance'.[151] For example, Georgia Chatzipanagiotou Staurakoglou, born in 1946 recalled, 'men […] they usually don't talk much [about Asia Minor]'[152] and Nikos Maragkos, born in 1976, attributed his grandfather's silence to post-traumatic stress disorder, saying that 'my grandfather had traumatic experiences and did not talk about them'.[153] In addition, Papachrisos Dimitris, born in 1952, stressed the priority of survival in the 1960s, mentioning that 'in my years there was no discussion about who is from Asia Minor and who isn't […] Each person would look to survive'.[154] Euterpi Meletiadou, born in 1945, added the parameters of integration and her need to fit in the host society as a child as well as the role of the national narrative that was framed by negativity towards the Turks, explaining that 'when we were kids we didn't want to listen [about Asia Minor] […] we had a problem from school'.[155] During this period, the notion of national unity and homogeneity as key elements for ethnic cohesion and the existence of an anti-Turkish narrative that mirrored the Greek-Turkish tensions over Cyprus were dominant in the national narrative, leading to the marginalisation of Asia Minor refugee memory.

Reflecting on the interplay between the various levels of memory, many Asia Minor descendants problematise the role of public memory and the national narrative. As Gatrell suggests, 'migration is also about silence and forgetting'.[156] Born in 1962, Ilias Molindris

[151] Hirsch, 'The Generation of Postmemory', p. 103.
[152] Interview with Georgia Chatzipanagiotou Staurakoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.
[153] Interview with Nikos Maragkos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.
[154] Interview with Dimitris Papachrisos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 6 Oct. 2019.
[155] Interview with Euterpi Melediadou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[156] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration,* p. 194.

discussed the misrepresentation of the Asia Minor forced displacement in the public sphere and the discrepancy between private and public narratives.

> Asia Minor has always been in our words, in our hearts […] Asia Minor lives only in our homes and does not live in the public sphere, as it should.[157]

According to many interviewees, this misrepresentation is primarily expressed through school curricula. Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945, as a philologist referred to a 'history deficit' in the schools, confessing that 'neither as a student I was taught about the Asia Minor catastrophe, nor as a teacher'.[158] Also working as a teacher, Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940, questioned the national curriculum, noting that '[t]he entire Asia Minor catastrophe […] is taught in three to four lines'.[159] Themis emphatically concluded, '[t]here was nothing. There was a forced forgetfulness by the government'.[160] Argiris Manikas, born in 1950, also stressed, 'the narrative was: past and forgotten'.[161] According to descendants, the silence that pervades the national narrative lies in explanations such as the state's attempt to avoid potential riots organised by Asia Minor refugees ('they shouldn't have remembered, because if they had, they would have revolted') [162] and subsequently the state's guilt regarding its inglorious past ('I imagine the state made sure to erase this memory because they are ashamed of their behaviour towards the Hellenism of Asia Minor'). [163]

Between the 1980s and 1990s the discussion about Asia Minor trauma re-entered the public sphere and Asia Minor activity gradually increased. The third generation of Asia Minor refugees was shaped during a period that was characterised by sharp differences, passing

[157] Interview with Ilias Molindris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 4 Feb. 2020.
[158] Michailidou, 2020.
[159] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Interview with Argiris Manikas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 11 Feb. 2020.
[162] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[163] Manikas, 2020.

through different stages from the military junta, an environment of social protests and mobilisation, and ultimately to the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic during the mid-1960s and 1980s. In the context of the military junta (1967-74), the military regime defended 'the traditional values of "Helleno-Christian civilisation" from the western and secular influences' and put questions of national homogeneity at the forefront.[164] During this period, neither questions of refugeehood, nor the collective organisation of refugees through associations were prominent. The years following were marked by the 'transition from military rule to a pluralist democracy', the so-called 'Metapolitefsi' (regime change). In light of the post-1974 democratic and pluralistic context, and while gradual processes of secularisation and Europeanisation were taking place, new forms of identification came to light and the reawakening of past identities occurred. Reflecting on changing historical contexts and different generations, Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965 and Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972, explained:

> Dimitris: I am [an Asia Minor refugee of] the third generation. The first generation did not talk about its trauma […] the second generation, because it was the 40s-50s-60s and so on, and people were trying to survive, to find a job, they had kept all these things silent out of their house […] And then the third generation, which has settled and is integrated, comes and speaks.[165]

> Sophia: The second generation also threw themselves into the task of surviving, and World War II happened then too […] you had to search to find a way to live, to eat, to raise kids […] the third generation began to dig into things, [in] my generation […] trauma is still present.[166]

Dimitris and Sophia discussed the transmutation of the Asia Minor trauma through generations. To the first generation, they attributed a silent or reticent dimension as a result of their direct

[164] Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, p. 160.
[165] Pantelas, 2020.
[166] Kosmoglou, 2019.

exposure, to the second generation they attributed a latent dimension due to their need to prioritise survival and integration, and to the third generation, they attributed a reawakening. '[T]rauma is still present', Sophia declared.[167] In the context of new social, economic, and political conditions, the fully integrated descendants of the third generation revisited Asia Minor refugee identity through the collective spectrum and organised systematic efforts for its public recognition through the foundation of refugee organisations. In this light, refugee associations and memorials were created throughout Greece. Among various examples, the refugee association of 'Asia Minors and Other Refugees, the Lantern' was established in Thessaloniki in 1999, the 'Unity of Asia Minors Kalloni Municipality' was founded in Lesvos in 1998, and the 'Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece' was created in Athens in 1987. In addition, during this period a recognition process towards the making of the Greek genocide started and was further cultivated through Greece's 'participation in international Holocaust commemoration' in 2004.[168] Spotting the changes in the national context, Sjoberg argues that 'the transition from the traditional authoritarian society to cultural and political pluralism' provided the immediate context in which 'a trauma narrative […] emerged in the 1980s, framed as a demand for the "right to memory"'.[169] Specifically, the Hellenic Parliament recognised the 'genocide of the Greeks of Pontus' in 1994 and 'the establishment of September 14 as a day of national remembrance of the genocide of the Greeks of Asia Minor by the Turkish State' in 1998.[170] In this context, the official acknowledgement of the Asia Minor wound obtains a place in public memory. In addition, many streets were renamed after Asia Minor places. Under these circumstances, memory of trauma comes to the forefront for

[167] Ibid.
[168] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 121.
[169] Ibid., p. 11.
[170] Hellenic Parliament Greek Genocide Recognition, 'Newspaper of the Parliament of the Hellenic Republic of the Hellenic Republic' (13 Oct. 1998), http://www.greek-genocide.net/index.php/overview/internal/375-hellenic-parliament-greek-genocide-recognition-2645-1998;%20p. (19 Aug. 2022).

descendants of the third generation and acquires a collective dimension. Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974, referred to the importance of the nationalisation of this trauma, saying that '[i]n this way we could get integrated [and] close this psychological trauma […] each generation has different experiences, perceives this thing differently and transmits it differently'.[171]

From silence, to latency, and ultimately a reawakening, the transmogrification of Asia Minor trauma takes place throughout changing political, economic, social, and historical contexts and through its transfer from one generation to the next. As Kosmas Chatoglou noted above, different experiences shape various perceptions and interpretations of this trauma and ultimately lead to diverse transmission. For instance, Sophia Paloglou, born in 1987, placed the unbearable Asia Minor experience to the centre of her identification, saying that 'I believe that this is my identity, I am a refugee and I will not stop being a refugee and I will probably pass on to my child this feeling of uprooting'.[172] For Sophia, family memories and mostly the association and her trip to Turkey to find her ancestors' roots, shaped her Asia Minor identity. Although traces of painful memories are present in the identification of the fourth generation, their persistence fades as we will examine in detail in the next chapters. Between the mid-1980s and 2000s, the fourth generation of Asia Minor descendants was shaped in an environment of Europeanisation, immigration, and multiculturalism, as declared by Greece's EU membership in 1981 and its shift after 1989 from an emigration to an immigration country during the 1980s and 2000s. In this context, identities become more capacious analytical terms and past wounds are revised in relation to other emerging experiences of migration. For many descendants of the fourth generation, refugee/native distinctions fade significantly, with intermarriage and friendships between the refugee and the native population being undeniable characteristics of

[171] Interview with Kosmas Chatoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 11 Feb. 2020.
[172] Interview with Sophia Paloglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.

the successful integration of the third and the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees. While old distinctions lose force, hybrid identities appear.

From the mid-2000s onwards, changes marked the beginning of a new period and the passage from affluence to economic austerity, as well as political, social, and migration crises. In light of the 2015 migration crisis, Asia Minor refugee descendants across generations discussed the reawakening of past memories and identities. For instance, Charikleia Photopoulou, born in 1935, said, '[o]ur grandmothers and grandfathers were also refugees'.[173] In addition, Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958, remembered her reaction while seeing contemporary migrants and refugees, confessing that 'I felt so moved though because I thought I was seeing my own people [she is crying] I won't forget this'.[174] Similarly, Kiriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989, mentioned that the contemporary crisis 'functions as a reminder for what your people went through'.[175] In this process, past refugee identities and traumas intersect with the contemporary refugee experience, causing various reactions. Asia Minor refugees' descendants, in their attempt to either safeguard their identity, or build parallels with other stories of forced displacement, stress the main elements that compose the Asia Minor refugee identity. 'They have a completely different culture, a different religion, different beliefs' emphasised Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940. Vasilis Sakellaridis, born in 1954, added, '[w]e have to distinguish between refugees with Greek characteristics, meaning language, religion and history', referring to a community of value with certain characteristics. With religion, language, and culture being the main axes of comparison between Asia Minor refugees and contemporary migrants, it is particularly important to understand these elements as the main building blocks of Asia Minor refugee identity.

[173] Fotopoulou, 2019
[174] Interview with Euthalia Tourli, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.
[175] Fotiadou, 2019.

Conclusion

Intergenerational Asia Minor refugee identity is embedded in a complex combination of historical and social processes. Over time, this identity passes through the three stages of trauma, meaning the initial shock, forgetfulness, and recurring memories.[176] Throughout these stages, refugee identity lies in its historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural cornerstones as they are expressed by different frameworks of remembrance. Following the forced displacement, memory of trauma, religion, language, and culture shape the identification of the first generation of Asia Minor refugees, mainly in the private and the collective spheres. For the second generation, memories of forced displacement gradually lose ground, as they intersect with other memories and integration exigencies. In the light of these processes, cultural and fading linguistic particularities are confined to the family realm. As Betts notes, examining the private life in the German Democratic Republic, '[t]he domicile thereby acted as a semi-permeable refuge from public life and prescribed collective identities, as well as giving form to more private understandings of the self'.[177] In the context of a changing political, social, and economic environment, religion and language become less prominent definers of the refugee identity of the third generation, while culture and memory of displacement revive through their expression on the collective and the national level. Asia Minor refugee identity gradually acquires a collective and public dimension because of its systematic organisation through, for example, refugee associations. In this way, culture comes to the fore and appears as a salient identification element for the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees. Throughout generations, different balances of these identifying factors result in the creation of different identifications. For example, the second generation mostly appears as a religious and linguistic

[176] Druker, 'Trauma and Latency in Primo Levi's the Reawakening', pp. 63-77.
[177] P. Betts, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford, 2010), p. 6.

category, while the third generation as a memory and cultural entity. However, it should be noted that in many cases, the defining components of refugee identity are not clear-cut, but rather fluid and interplaying. Overall, for the first two generations, Asia Minor refugee identity becomes a 'refugee' being isolated in the private sphere and it is gradually transformed into a 'citizen', entering public life for the third and the fourth generation. Throughout this ongoing battle of rejection and acceptance, Asia Minor refugee identity is metamorphosised from a 'caterpillar' into a 'butterfly', ultimately obtaining positive undertones.

Identification processes are not static, but rather dynamic and complex, crossing different generations and shaping and reshaping the Asia Minor refugee identity over time. From silence, to latency, and ultimately a reawakening, the Asia Minor refugee identity changes throughout different historical periods. Reflecting on sharp changes of the sense of refugee identity, Vasos Vogiatzoglou, born in 1935, described the transmutation of his identity over time. He contrasted his early wish to hide his family name because of his embarrassment of the patronymic suffix -oglou that declares Asia Minor ancestry to his current pride about his refugee identity. He noted, 'when I was a kid at school, I used to mutter my last name. I was ashamed to say -oglou. I'm proud of it now'.[178] In this dynamic identification process, continuities and discontinuities emerge on the defining characteristics of refugee identity as they are expressed through historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural elements. These characteristics are triggered in light of the intersection of the Asia Minor refugee identity with other migration and refugee identities. In order to examine this intersection, the following chapters illuminate intergenerational Asia Minor refugee memories and identities, focusing on three regional case studies.

[178] Vogiatzoglou, 2020.

3. Just Across the Aegean: The case of Lesvos

THIS CHAPTER is devoted to the borderland island of Lesvos that constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. Lesvos is characterised by its proximity to Turkey and its position as an irregular migration route, by the flood of refugees in 1922-24, and by its longstanding left-wing political leanings, particularities of its geographic, historical, and identity composition, respectively. The chapter draws upon 70 oral testimonies, in addition to family, associational, and archival evidence, and is based on the selected towns and villages. In the case of Lesvos, large numbers of refugees, around 47,380, arrived on the island in 1922 before and during the agreement of the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, primarily from geographic regions that underwent violent forced displacement. The proximity to the Asia Minor coast and the extreme and unexpected dimension of this displacement composed the uniqueness of this traumatic memory and the shaping of the islanders' identity. Forced displacement, reception conditions, first settlement, and relations with the native population depict the main facets of the Asia Minor wound. In the context of this experience, the concept of silence emerges, leading to a nonlinear and not directly referential transmission of these memories. Private and collective narratives and myths blend, public stories are adopted into private family stories and vice versa, and throughout time, when a level of memory is silent, fading, or absent, another level of memory is activated. In this way, a strong and fluid memory with blurred distinctions between its levels is created as memory and identity inform and construct each other. The construction of Asia Minor descendants' identities focuses on the self-positioning facet of selfhood. This identification-making process is also examined regarding the views and attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards subsequent migrants. Asia Minor refugee memory leads to completely

different outcomes depending on how the subjects perceive their sense of identity, with Lesvians becoming gate openers and building bridges with other histories of displacement.



Figure 3. Fieldwork locations in Lesvos.

Asia Minor forced displacement resides in a liminal space between history and memory in the borderland island of Lesvos. Large numbers of refugees arrived on the island in 1922 by the end of the war, before the agreement of the compulsory exchange of populations, primarily from geographic regions that underwent unexpected and violent forced displacements such as Smyrna, Pergamos, and Ayvalik. Sophia Spanou, born in 1960, recalled while crying her grandfather's stories of forced displacement who 'lost 53 relatives' in the region of Ayvalik and put his mother 'in a worn-out carpet to […] bury her'.[1] Born in 1964, Stratis Balaskas recounted the forced displacement of his father, Panagiotis, who arrived on Lesvos as an unaccompanied minor from Pergamos at the age of 6.

[1] Interview with Sophia Spanou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.

> This is the story of the catastrophe […] In 1922 they left, my grandfather was executed […] the Turks took over Pergamus […] They hung him at the tree, in front of the house. […] The girls left with my grandma and their brother. On the way, nobody knows what happened. The girls were lost, my grandmother was lost, and my father, Panagiotis, someone just threw him into a boat, he got onto a boat, he can't remember anything. He never said anything. He remembered nothing.[2]

Due to the extreme nature of this forced displacement, many families were violently separated, and refugees were seeking their relatives through Red Cross announcements for many years. For example, Marios Andriotis, born in 1986, remembered that his grandfather arrived along on Lesvos and he was looking for his brother 'until he died'.[3] As Hirschon notes, 'the Greek Red Cross broadcast[ed] daily messages' even in the 1970s.[4] Once Stratis's father arrived in Mytilene, he was firstly living 'on the streets' and then in an orphanage alongside '2000 other kids', where 'he became severely ill and lost his hearing' in 1926.[5] Reception conditions were very poor, with refugees being put in public gardens and buildings. Under the provision of the Refugee Rehabilitation Committee, their first settlement mainly took place in former Turkish houses and refugee settlements that were created either as parts of existing villages and towns or independently. Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958, described the creation of the refugee village, Skala Loutron, as an uninhabited area until 1931, when 'the state built 25 houses of two rooms each and gave them to 25 refugee families'.[6] Referring to another refugee settlement, Georgia Chatzipanagiotou, born in 1946, stressed the population mosaic of the refugee settlement as well as the tense relations between the newcomers and the local population, saying that '[e]veryone in the village [Arisvi] is from Asia Minor, it is a purely Asia Minor village […] the Turkish seeds came, that's how they [natives] would call us'.[7]

[2] Interview with Stratis Balaskas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.
[3] Interview with Marios Andriotis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 2 Oct. 2019.
[4] Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 1.
[5] Balaskas, 2019.
[6] Tourli, 2019.
[7] Chatzipanagiotou, 2019.

Similarly, refugees referred to the locals as 'Turks', implying Asia Minors' cultural superiority, with Despoina Euthimiou, born in 1961, supporting that 'they [Asia Minor refugees] brought the ouzo, they brought literacy. The Mytilenians were Turks'.[8]

Forced displacement, reception conditions, first settlement, and relations with the local population depict the main facets of the Asia Minor wound. Referring to the traumatic dimension of his father's forced displacement, Stratis said, '[h]e never said anything. He remembered nothing'.[9] Stories and silences coexist in Asia Minor memories of forced displacement and their transmission. Refugee memory, as experienced directly and indirectly, through its transfer from the first to the following generations and through various frameworks of remembrance will be the focus of the following section.

Intergenerational memory

Familial frameworks of remembrance

Asia Minor refugee remembrance is firstly explored through the mechanism of family transmission. In the familial space, connections and disconnections between generations emerge and family memories are transmitted intergenerationally through stories, silences, and behaviours. In this context, the concept of silence pervades the remembrance of different generations and leads to a nonlinear and not directly referential transmission. The breaking of silence is stimulated by grandchildren, with grandparents sharing stories of forced displacement with their grandchildren towards the end of their lives.[10] Family memory appears to leap a generation since the transmission mechanism of family histories usually happens in the following sequence: from the first to the third generation and from the second to the fourth

[8] Euthimiou, 2019.
[9] Balaskas, 2019.
[10] R. Gildea, *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (London, 2015).

generation. In many cases, Asia Minor refugees were not willing to share their stories of forced displacement due to the fear of evoking pain, traumatising their descendants, or precluding their integration.

In the context of Salomi's family, Asia Minor memories are transmitted from one generation to the next through stories of her grandparents' generation. Salomi Dikidiki, born in 1946, revealed that she discovered her family story almost exclusively through her grandmother who taught her embroidery in her house that was facing the Asia Minor mountains and their village.

> [M]y grandmother still mentally lived in Asia Minor. The entire day she would say, 'when will we go back? When will we go to our house so you can see it?' If my mom would talk about these things? My mom nooo, not much.[11]

The same transmission pattern is evident in the case of Salomi's daughter, Despoina Euthimiou, born in 1961, who mentioned, 'I [learned] the most with my grandmother who would tell me stories'.[12] The transmission of memories of forced displacement happened not from her mother but from her grandmother, who had a silent role in the aforementioned excerpt. Despoina attributed her mother's silence to the survival struggle, saying that '[w]e didn't talk much with my mother because she also had [as a priority] to survive'.[13] Sophia Spanou, born in 1960, recalled her grandfather's stories, whose nickname was 'Patridas' [Fatherland] because he always talked about Asia Minor. Sophia remembered, 'my grandfather was sitting on my grandmother's coffin and was telling stories [about Asia Minor] the whole night, that was truly traumatic'.[14] Sophia explained that stories of displacement 'was something that would hurt a

[11] Interview with Salomi Dikidiki, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.
[12] Euthimiou, 2019.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Spanou, 2019.

lot' the previous generations.[15] Her son, Marios Andriotis born in 1986, recollected his family story through his grandmother's narrations and illustrated the element of overidentification with a history not directly experienced. Marios said, 'I can't remember any other family story or story in general growing up […] my grandmother who was born and grew up here did not experience it, but she would also recount events as if she were there'.[16] Rallou Spanelli, born in 1965, also remembered her family history of forced displacement through the stories of her grandmother, saying that 'all my childhood stories – I don't know children's stories – were from the expulsion'.[17] Conversely, her husband, Alexandros Koutsantonis born in 1959, recalled silent family figures and referred to the nonverbal and noncognitive forms of transmission of memories, explaining that 'there isn't an intentional act from my grandfather […] You don't need to express the feelings in words, they are expressed in one's face'.[18] Many descendants referred to their ancestors' silence and symbolic acts and Pavlos Vogiatzis, born in 1957, added, 'I have the image that he [great-grandfather] would go […] where the statue of liberty is today, every day and look across [Turkey]. They didn't talk much'.[19]

Living in close proximity with the pain and loss of family and homeland does not always lead to a direct form of expression within a familial space. Memory transmission occurs in various ways such as through members of the extended family and in the context of refugee settlements. For instance, Pavlos discovered his family history through his aunt. Stratis Pothas, born in 1951, illustrated that although he had limited knowledge of his family history, his memories of Asia Minor derive from his refugee neighbourhood.[20] Emphasising the extra-familial dimension of memories, he noted, 'I heard about Asia Minor stories and such in the

[15] Ibid.
[16] Andriotis, 2019.
[17] Interview with Rallou Spanelli, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 1 Oct. 2019.
[18] Koutsantonis, 2019.
[19] Interview with Pavlos Vogiatzis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.
[20] Interview with Stratis Pothas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 5 Oct. 2019.

neighborhood where we had refugees'.[21] Similarly, Despoina Euthimiou, born in 1961, recalled the 'the bitter and hurt women' of the neighbourhood talking about their homeland, and property, and remembering 'their old days' in Asia Minor.[22]

Collective frameworks of remembrance

Asia Minor refugee memories encompass different levels of remembrance. Family memory is formed within both the closed and the extended familial framework, while collective memory is shaped by different forms of remembrance and extrafamilial practices. The most prominent expressions are refugee settlements and associations, museums and memorials. National memory, beyond limited expressions from local Asia Minor politicians, is absent. The balance between the different levels of memory changes throughout time as we examined in Chapter 2. Asia Minor refugee memory reawakens between the 1980s and 2000s, acquiring a collective dimension that brings into life individual recollections from the collective spectrum. Collective frameworks of remembrance were established from below, starting with the creation of a memorial in the early 1980s and the establishment of refugee associations and a museum between the late 1990s and early 2000s. The stated goals behind their creation were the reawakening of memory, its commemoration, and its intergenerational transmission.

Specifically, Arisvi is a refugee settlement in the western part of the island, which is composed almost exclusively of descendants of Asia Minor refugees. One of them is Meni Atsikbasi, born in 1946, who is the creator and the first president of the refugee association named 'Unity of Asia Minors Kalloni Municipality', established in 1998. Meni referred to 'an oblivion […] that covered this whole [Asia Minor] subject' and a reawaking of memory through the creation of the local refugee association ('the first event was incredible. There was

[21] Ibid.
[22] Euthimiou, 2019.

no space to seat all the people').[23] Similarly, in the case of another refugee settlement near Mytilene, called Skala Loutron, 'a pure refugee settlement', as its current residents highlighted,[24] Asia Minor refugee memory is presented as fading until the creation of the refugee association and the museum in the 2000s. Dimitris Papachrisos, born in 1952, who is the president of the 'Refugee Association of Skala Loutron Lesvos' and the '1922 Refugee Memorial Museum', talked about a long latency period of a refugee memory that only existed in the familial sphere.

> [I]n my years there was no discussion about who is from Asia Minor and who isn't, it was something forgotten that nobody talked about. Each person would look to survive and did not talk about things like that except within each family. […] in the 1960s these things had been forgotten; they had faded.[25]

The revival of this described as fading memory is attributed to collective frameworks of remembrance. Dimitris explained how the fluid passage from family to collective memory, and vice versa, led to the creation of the refugee association in 2004 and of the 1922 Refugee Memorial Museum in 2006.

> We started to bring to our mind the memories of what each of us had heard from his parents who were refugees and in fact in a village that was purely of refugees […] and each person started saying their story. […] when we had started doing the events, we had all acquired an Asia Minor conscience.[26]

This collective reawakening of Asia Minor memories is also described by Dimitris's wife, Athoula Papachrisou, born in 1958. Anthoula linked the silent phase of memory to the traumatic dimension of the forced displacement ('you would think they kept them secret […] all these people from Asia Minor are traumatised') and attributed its revival to the creation of

[23] Interview with Meni Atsikbasi, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.
[24] Papachrisos, 2019.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

the refugee association ('with the associations, we slowly began to experience again and revive these memories').[27] According to Anthoula, 'the association intensely helped [the memories] surface – stimulation of memory – we participated in the events'.[28] Similarly, Euanthia Tourli, born in 1958, was not aware of the village's history before the creation of the association because as she explained, 'to us the children they '[our ancestors] had not conveyed feelings of misery'.[29]

> Through the efforts of the association, we managed to become conveyors of our history, this was a bridge […] My motive [for the creation of the museum] was the surprise I felt that I lived in a refugee village and did not know the history of the village.[30]

According to the members of the refugee association and the museum, the stated goals are the designation of the Asia Minor identity to their community as well as the intergenerational transmission of the Asia Minor refugee memory. Demonstrating this intergenerational transmission, Anna Eleni Karambela, born in 1992, explained that the refugee association stimulated the discovery of her family history, saying that 'due to the association various events were being held […] they certainly helped us search within ourselves and find our roots and ask the elders about our origins'.[31]

Another form of collective remembrance, a memorial, played a key role in the reawakening of Asia Minor refugee memory in Mytilene. Yiannis Patanos, born in 1945, who was the first president of the cultural association in the refugee settlement 'Epano Skala' in Mytilene and one of the inspirers of the creation of 'The Asia Minor Mother' memorial, supported that refugee memory evolved into collective memory that concerns the island as a

[27] Interview with Anthoula Papachrisou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 28 Sept. 2019.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Tourli, 2019.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Interview with Anna Eleni Karambela, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.

whole. Yiannis described the gentrification of Epano Skala, a notorious refugee settlement with refugee shacks until the early 1980s. In 1984 the brass statue was inaugurated in the presence of clerics, the Asia Minor undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, the prefect, the mayor as well as representatives of refugee organisations throughout the country. It was located in Epano Skala 'in memory of the lost and memorable fatherlands and of the terrible National disaster'.[32] On that day Yiannis mentioned in his speech:

> We invited you to this area of our town that accepted millions of Asia Minor refugees […] We, the younger generation, who did not experience but heard from the mouths of our parents the terrible days of 1922, honour all of them who taught us how to preserve the memory of the lost fatherlands of Anatolia. Today the statue of the Asia Minor mother, the symbol of the forced displaced Hellenism, is in front of us and across from the Asia Minor land.[33]

Yiannis pointed out the intergenerational transfer of Asia Minor refugee memory as well as its collective dimension, emphatically saying that 'it's intergenerational, collective memory'.[34] Yiannis further stressed the collective dimension of Asia Minor refugee memory referring to the cultural component of the refugee identity and saying that 'the identity at this point pervades the entire island […] Because you see, the Asia Minor songs are heard everywhere'.[35] Indeed, one of the particularities of the Asia Minor memory and identity on Lesvos is their imprint on people with no Asia Minor refugee background. As a local resident, Artemis Milopteri, born in 1964, acknowledged, 'our language, music, cuisine, habits, have a strong influence from the Asia Minor element. […] the local community carries as a badge of honor that it has a relation with Asia Minor'.[36] Stratis Anagnostou, born in 1962, also explained how the break of the relationships between Lesvos and the Asia Minor coast left a traumatic imprint on natives,

[32] Interview with Giannis Patanos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 27 Sept. 2019.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Interview with Artemis Milopteri, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 1 Oct. 2019.

saying that 'the catastrophe cut the umbilical cord between Asia Minor and Lesvos […] So, it existed [the Asia Minor memory] even though we did not have direct family roots there'.[37]

Overall, familial and collective frameworks of remembrance blend, and public stories are adopted into private family stories and vice versa, composing a reawaking and strong memory that shapes refugee identities throughout generations.

Intergenerational identity: Reflective self-positioning

Memory and identity inform and construct each other. Asia Minor refugee memory is transmuted from experiential to inherited and reawakens or dilutes both refugee and ethnic identity throughout time, informing the formation of descendants' selfhood as well as their interaction with the native population and other out-groups. Descendants' identities, views, and attitudes towards subsequent migrants and refugees are analysed in the following sections. In Hirschon's words, '[t]he terms people use to describe themselves are sociologically significant'.[38] This part focuses on the reflective self-positioning facet of selfhood and unpacks whether and 'at what point […] the subjects stop being explainable *primarily as refugees*'[39] and their attachment to imagined (Asia Minor), national (Greece), and local (Lesvos) identities.

Multiple forms of identities intersect in societies, forming different processes and practices of identification. The identity of Asia Minor refugees was formed through the coexistence of multiple layers of religious, educational, economic, and cultural particularities.[40] The Asia Minor community's identification was initially ecumenical and religious. Following this community's forced displacement, their identity's social component was shaped both by contested relations with the native population and by the state's attempt to cultivate a national

[37] Interview with Stratis Anagnostou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 29 Sept. 2019.
[38] Hirschon, 'Notes on Terminology and Orthography', p. xiii.
[39] Loizos, 'Ottoman Half-Lives: Long-Term Perspectives on Particular Forced Migrations', p. 245.
[40] Anastasopoulou, 'Echoes of Memories of Forced Displacement', p. 21.

identity within this out-group.[41] For them, their identification lay for years in their attachment to their Asia Minor villages, their self-characterisation as refugees, their bilingualism, their culture, their moral values and ideals, and their left-wing orientation. However, there is no reason to assume that refugees and their descendants 'are entirely stuck in their past and immune to change',[42] especially in the light of changing political, social, and cultural conditions.

In this section, identities are unpacked across geographical locations and generations. Identities change and vary even within the context of the same generation. For some, Asia Minor refugee identity is descending, 'even though I am a second generation refugee, I don't feel like a refugee',[43] while for others it is not, 'I am a refugee because I am not a local'[44] declare Dimitris Papachrisos and Olga Sachpaloglou respectively, two Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation. The extent to which Asia Minor refugee identity fades or enhances over time and throughout generations is central. The intensity of this identity varies not only intergenerationally but also within the same generation. In this context of the shaping of identities, generations are not fixed and homogenous categories but rather nuanced and varied. Identity formation is not a linear and unproblematic process, but is instead complex, multilayered, and dynamic. In this light, questions such as how, when, and under what circumstances this identity is triggered as well as what this identity symbolises for the subjects of analysis are crucial in order to unpack the identification process.

[41] H. Mylonas, *The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (Cambridge, 2012).
[42] M. L., Berg, and S., Eckstein, 'Introduction: Reimagining Migrant Generations', *Diaspora*, 18/1 (2009), p. 11.
[43] Papachrisos, 2019.
[44] Interview with Olga Sachpaloglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 3 Oct. 2019.

Triggering identities in relation to familial and extra-familial attachment

Stories, fairytales, and especially painful descriptions of the forced relocation, in cases they are transferred intergenerationally, are transferred from grandparents to grandchildren in the familial space. Born in Constantinople in 1922, Maria Anagnostou arrived in Mytilene with her family in 1924 under the compulsory population exchange. She was an English teacher and a writer with Asia Minor as her primary focus, ultimately writing a book about her old refugee neighbourhood, Epano Skala, with the aim of transmitting first-hand testimonies 'I have to write these things because they will be lost [otherwise]'.[45] As she confessed, she did not experience Asia Minor and thus her identity is shaped by her 'grandmother's fairytales',[46] the neighbourhood, and her opposition to the native population.

> Let me tell you [I have the identity] of the refugee from my grandmother, that's how I feel, I take pride in the fact that I have Asia Minor roots. I admire this! Because I see that the people from Asia Minor had nothing to do with the Mytilenians.[47]

In the same refugee settlement of Epano Skala in Mytilene, Salomi Dikidiki was born in 1946 and spent most of her years there. Despite being married to a native, her friends were exclusively from Asia Minor implying only a partial integration on Lesvos. Salomi explained, 'I didn't happen to hear a lot, but they [the locals] were always withdrawn in their houses. We had familial relationships with couples who were from Asia Minor'.[48] Like Maria, Salomi's identity is shaped through her deep familial attachment. Her ancestors' place of origin becomes her place of origin and their identity a defining part of her identity, declaring a deep and sentimental connection with Asia Minor and her refugee roots. In this context, the identity of a native is strongly rejected by Salomi, illustrating an enduring sense of Asia Minor belonging.

[45] Interview with Maria Anagnostou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 9 Oct. 2019.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Dikidiki, 2019.

> Salomi: I was born on Lesvos, so I'm Greek but my grandmother and my parents are from Asia Minor and so I am from there too.
> Marilena: Do you feel like a local or a refugee?
> Salomi: Local here? Oh, no no no no no no. But who can go there at this point? Even if you go you get angry and sad. Oh, now I feel connected to the island but my heart.[49]

The former president of the cultural association of the refugee settlement of Epano Skala and one of the inspirers of the creation of the statue of the 'Asia Minor Mother', Giannis Patanos, born in 1945, is an Asia Minor descendant only from his father's side. 'Although my mother was a native', he said, 'I prefer [the identity] of the refugee',[50] underlining his strong connection with Asia Minor. For Giannis, the realisation of the refugee identity came at an early stage 'I always had a consciousness [that of identity], I was born in a refugee settlement'.[51] However, describing his family's fight for survival he mentioned, 'we were from a poor family, we suffered, I can say that there were days when we didn't have anything to eat, those were difficult years'.[52] It was only at a later stage of his life, in the 1980s, that this identity came to the forefront and Giannis founded the association and envisioned the statue.

Triggering identities in relation to 'the other'

Based on the above-mentioned, family and neighbourhood, at an early stage, and the systematic organisation through associations and memorials, at a later stage, exert key frameworks not only of remembrance but also of the formation or the reawakening of identities. However, Asia Minor identity is also shaped in relation to 'the other'. 'The other' acquires various symbolisms. In the case of Stratis, 'the other' is constituted of the discovery of the Turkish resident of his old family house as well as by his contact with other refugees with similar experiences as we will examine in the following sections. Born in 1964, Stratis Balaskas, an

[49] Ibid.
[50] Patanos, 2019.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

Asia Minor refugee from both of his parents' sides, narrated his father's journey who arrived in Mytilene as an unaccompanied minor. Stratis is a journalist and a writer who focuses on the Greco-Turkish relations, and he is a member of the 'Coexistence and communication in the Aegean', an anti-racist organisation that deals with, among other things, the relations between neighbouring peoples. Stratis rejects the identity of a native, challenging the Greek component of his identity and emphasising his refugee, Asia Minor, and Rum -the official religious designation used in the Ottoman empire- components of his identification.

> Even today I feel that I am in Mytilene because the boat brought us here […] I am not native to call myself a native. I am a refugee, Rum in Greece. […] I am from Asia Minor, I live in Lesvos, I am in Greece. I am an Asia Minor Rum.[53]

Reflecting on what stage of his life this described identity became self-defining, Stratis revealed that it was only during his college years that this identity came to the forefront due to his trip to Pergamos in 1985 in order to find his home. For many Asia Minor descendants, trips to Turkey and mainly the discovery of their ancestors' houses exert an important parameter of their Asia Minor attachment. Stratis described in detail the day when he realised his identity by discovering his ancestors' house and the 'other'.

> And there in 24 hours everything will change […] I go and knock on the door, and by knocking, as the door opened the world of Asia Minor opened in front of me. A white-haired old man, […] Ali, […] welcomed me. He says bi dakka, one moment wait, […] and he opened the door, […] and before I realised what was happening, he pulled out a knife and slaughtered it [the lamb]. […] It is a process of meeting with the enemy in which whatever separated you, now reunites you, blood here. […] It is simultaneously the forgiveness for having enjoyed in your life things that did not belong to you. I entered the house - he took my hand, […] I painted his forehead with the blood, this was the sign of forgiveness, reunification […] I brought a bucket of water and washed the stairs, washed away the blood, that which separated us. […] I learned who I am, what I am and finally on Sunday that night of the 26th, 27th of July. […] And I stayed in my house. It's

[53] Interview with Stratis Balaskas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 4 Oct. 2019.

> not that I found it, I stayed. Something that I was ignoring in the morning, I was experiencing at night.[54]

Ali was the caretaker of Stratis' grandfather's fields and the 'eyewitness of everything'[55] who kept the family's belongings for years. Stratis gave these belongings to his father - a very silent and deeply traumatised figure in Stratis' stories. His father, Panagiotis, said to his children 'take them, keep them, they are yours, they are not mine, I don't want you to tell me anything again'.[56]

> And the story ended there. He never brought it up again. […] And somewhere there begins the identity, of the Rum, of the Asia Minor refugee, of the Rum Asia Minor refugee.[57]

Stratis described the awakening of his identity as an encounter with the discovery of his Asia Minor 'home'. Rallou's father also travelled to Turkey to find his mother's house. Born in 1965 in Mytilene, Rallou Spanelli is a teacher in a primary school, along with her husband, Alexandros Koutsantonis who is also an Asia Minor refugee descendant. Rallou confessed with surprise that although she was not initially aware, both her husband and her best friends have Asia Minor refugee roots concluding that 'maybe it drew me that there was a common way of life […] There was always a difference between the way of life and culture of the locals and that of the refugees'.[58]

Reflecting on her identity, Rallou, as do many descendants, identifies Lesvos with Asia Minor '[I am from] Greece purely. Besides, Lesvos - Asia Minor, I consider them the same, the people are the same, the culture is the same, the way we live is the same'.[59] Rallou is fully

[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Spanelli, 2019.
[59] Ibid.

integrated, in contrast to her father who was also born in Mytilene. Her father was trying to disconnect from his refugee identity and to adopt the identity of a native 'my father would try and pretend to be a local'.[60] This continuous attempt of her ancestors to find their position in the host society exerted a shaping characteristic on her identification, making her describe herself as a 'refugee'.

> Refugee, yes, because my whole life was built on that model, that we are refugees, that we try to build our life, that we don't have anything and at least until the years I lived with my family there was that in the background and were trying to find our place again in society.[61]

Rallou's identity is formed within the context of her family's attempt to stabilise its place in the host society of Lesvos and thus with respect to 'the other' that constitutes the native population. Refugee and migration experiences, and specifically in the case of Maria internal migration in combination with listening to grandparents' stories, trigger identities of past displacements. Maria Euthimiou, an Asia Minor descendant from her mother's side, was born in 1983 and raised in the refugee settlement of Epano Skala in Mytilene. Maria has limited knowledge of her family history but maintains Asia Minor customs and traditions. She considered that Asia Minor refugee identity constitutes a self-defining factor ('I have this element vividly [the temperament of the Asia Minor people])' that is comprised of elements such as the Turkish vocabulary used by her grandmother and great-grandmother, pride ('with pride we would say we were from Asia Minor'), and the institution of the family ('the bond between family members').[62]

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Euthimiou, 2019.

> Yes, we have it very vividly and in fact today I refuse to leave these roots of mine, I want them in my life, I don't want to pretend I am someone else.[63]

Maria reflected on different identities, problematising national belonging and the concept of successful assimilation, saying that 'I always felt that in general I didn't fit in with the fatherland of Greece. So I would say I am a refugee'.[64] Maria attributed her loose identification with Greece to the transmission of stories about Asia Minor from her family and especially her grandparents, 'this whole vivid element that was transferred in the family'.[65] However, her Asia Minor refugee identification became more prominent when she moved to a refugee town in Central Macedonia because of her marriage to a Pontic descendant. She said, '[t]his was mainly more vivid when I came here, because in effect I also felt like a refugee, I left from my place, came to a foreign place, knew absolutely nothing.'[66]

During his university studies in Central Macedonia too, Marios Andriotis, born in 1986 in Mytilene, understood that he had 'an attraction to descendants of Asia Minor people'.[67] His attachment is rooted in elements of a perceived cultural superiority in relation to the native population that characterised most of the Asia Minor descendants such as 'good food […] musical hearings […] Mytilene did not have music, all the refugees from across brought it' and the institution of the family 'the […] passion for nothing to happen to the kids'.[68]

The extent to which different identities are triggered in different places is discussed by Niki Chontronikola, born in 1992 in the refugee settlement of Arisvi. Reflecting on changing identifications in changing contexts, she recalled her movements in Thessaloniki where she obtained a bachelor's degree in Balkan, Slavic, and Oriental studies and in London where she

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Andriotis, 2019.
[68] Ibid.

pursued a master's degree in international and public policy. Niki illustrated the contextual dimension of identifications, saying that:

> It's difficult, when I'm here I want to say I'm from Asia Minor, when I'm in the rest of Greece I say I'm from Lesvos […] when I'm abroad I'm forced to say Greece and then Lesvos.[69]

Niki self identifies as a 'refugee', an identity of pride that emerged at an early stage and was cultivated throughout the years. As she explained, '[f]rom my father I had gotten the message, to feel proud […] Growing up […] I felt that I could identify through family'.[70] Niki's belief in 'oral tradition' for the maintenance of family stories that otherwise 'would have been lost' further strengthened her sense of identity. Towards the preservation of this family history through which her identity was formed, Niki started at the age of 14 to collect information for the creation of her family's 'genealogical tree', saying that 'I say that at some point these things will be lost, who will be able to transfer them? Isn't it beautiful to be able to see ten generations back?'[71]

Similarly to Maria, Panagiota Koutsantoni, Rallou's daughter, declared, 'I don't feel that a particular national identity encompasses me',[72] emphasising her loose national identification. Born in 1992 in Mytilene and currently a graduate student in applied sociology and art, Panagiota placed as first the Asia Minor component of her identification. This prioritisation of the imagined dimension of her identity is formed with respect to the native population. Specifically, her identity is derived from land ownership patterns and in association with one of the main occupations in Lesvos, characteristics that mark local distinctions and she considers pivotal for natives' identification, saying that 'I don't feel so much as one from Lesvos because

[69] Interview with Niki Chontronikola, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 1 Oct. 2019.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Interview with Panagiota Koutsantoni, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 30 Sept. 2019.

we don't have even one piece of land here and we haven't dealt with olives trees'.[73] Panagiota recalled that during primary school 'there was always the conversation that some are from Asia Minor, so most of my friends have Asia Minor roots' but concluded that throughout the years these memories fade.[74]

> I think that at this point as time goes on it fades more and more. […] So at a societal level nowadays, the society itself absorbs it in a balanced way that it no longer exists as an issue and as a memory perhaps.[75]

Subsequent migration: The islanders and the outlanders

Asia Minor refugee identity has various meanings and symbolisms, influencing descendants' views and attitudes in often conflicting ways. Descendants attribute to Asia Minor refugee identity diverse meanings. For instance, for some it is linked to the formation of political identities with a strong left-wing orientation 'my father was a communist with the exiles because he was from Asia Minor'.[76] In other cases, this sense of identity and the proximity to Turkey leads to a right-wing political orientation 'we have a high level of patriotism'.[77] The various perceptions of Asia Minor refugee identity are associated with descendants' views and attitudes towards the 'other', often producing conflicting outcomes ('[i]n the migration issue now you'll see a completely different stance by those from Asia Minor and by the locals').[78] Asia Minor refugee identity can simultaneously lead to empathy and hostility. Asia Minor refugee identity is also volatile when it intersects with other memories and identities. Identities of belonging such as 'we' - 'they', 'native' - 'refugee' are interchanging through comparisons between different national groups.

[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Sachpaloglou, 2019.
[77] Koutsantonis, 2019.
[78] Vogiatzis, 2019.

The construction of the identities of descendants of Asia Minor refugees is examined not only with regard to the formation of their lives but also with regard to their stances towards subsequent migrants and refugees. '[T]he borders of memory and identity are jagged' and the relationship between memory and identity, as expressed through attitudes towards those who are considered 'the other', is not linear and direct but instead dynamic and interchanging. [79]

Elements of commonality and alterity between outgroups are explored through the model of 'multidirectional memory', which illustrates the 'interaction of different historical memories'.[80] Changes in views and attitudes across historical contexts are examined through the dynamic interaction of the echoes of different historical experiences coexisting within a society. For instance, how are the memories of the 1922-24 Asia Minor forced displacement related to the memories of the arrival of the Albanians in the 1990s, which was considered by descendants to be the next important migration flow, on the island? In fact, Albanians, the focus of this section, comprised the largest group of migrants, with only moderate arrivals of Romanians and Bulgarians in the 1990s and 2000s in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the 1989 geopolitical changes.[81]

In the case of Lesvos, the population mosaic is composed of the native population (people with no refugee background) and the old settlement group (Asia Minor descendants with various degrees of integration) at its core, in addition to the recent settlement groups (mainly Albanians, Romanians, and Bulgarians) and the contemporary ethnic outgroups (unfolding migration and refugee flows). In this context, people's identities and their position in the host society are perceived both internally and externally, ultimately informing their interactions. Due to their interactions, a continual, malleable, and reconstructed space of

[79] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, p. 11.
[80] Ibid, p. 3.
[81] Voutira, 'Pontic Greeks Today: Migrants or Refugees?', pp. 400-20.

changing relational and social identities is created. In this space, hostility evolves into acceptance due to outgroups' gradual integration into the host society, where the outsiders become the established due to the arrival of a new outgroup. In the light of the contemporary 'migration crisis', changing patterns are triggered, revealing the dynamic and complex nature of the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider.

The first reception of new outsiders by old outsiders

Asia Minor refugee memories of forced displacement play a key role in outgroups' reception and gradual integration. In the refugee settlement of Arisvi, two Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation, Anastasia Papa, born in 1933, and her cousin Georgia Chatzipanagiotou, born in 1946, remembered the arrival of Albanians in Arisvi in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Georgia linked her cousin Anastasia's acts of empathy to the stories of their grandmother who described to them the difficulties of the Asia Minor first settlement, also implying the importance of cooking in the Asia Minor tradition as a form of compassion.

> Anastasia: There were five Albanian young boys sitting in a house and every night I wanted to cook […] I would stuff hens, make stuffed vegetables, moussaka and in the morning they would bring me the cooking sheets. I wanted to bring them food every night.[82]
> Georgia: We baptised the children. Everyone, whatever we had we gave it to them: clothes, children's toys, beds. [83]

'[T]he religious rite of baptism was believed to be the main vehicle of personal identification', and religion is 'intricately bound up with national identity', posing an important problem to minority groups with different religious convictions.[84] Religion plays a key role in

[82] Interview with Anastasia Papa, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 23 Sept. 2019.
[83] Chatzipanagiotou, 2019.
[84] R. Hirschon, 'Religion and Nationality: The Tangled Greek Case', in R. Pixten & L. Dikomitis (eds), *When God Comes to Town: Anthropological Perspectives on Religion and Secularization* (New York, 2009), pp. 3-16; Mavrogordatos, 'Orthodoxy and nationalism in the Greek case, West European Politics', pp. 117-36.

the sense of identity of Asia Minor refugees who were forcibly displaced based on their religious designation. For Asia Minor refugees, religious identity, as Orthodox Christians, is a defining part of national, cultural, and personal identification. In this sense, the baptism of the Albanians and their transition from Muslims to Orthodox Christians was seen as of paramount importance, facilitating their integration. Among the many people who baptised children was Dimitris Papachrisos, the president of the refugee organisation of the refugee settlement Skala Loutron born in 1952, who married and baptised an Albanian family. Dimitris described a well-known incident that occurred in the nearby village of Loutra between the Albanian community and 'the natives' who wanted to 'expel all of them [the Albanians] to the point of starting a pogrom'. [85] Drawing lines of distinction with the locals, he said:

> We, as an Asia Minor association, had taken a very different position. We supported fairness as much as possible. So if 1-2 Albanians were at fault for coming into conflict with some villagers it isn't the fault of all of the rest who have families and kids. [86]

In a similar way, Euthalia Tourli contrasted stances derived from the refugee settlement of Skala Loutron and the native village of Loutra. Euthalia, born in 1958, linked her contributions of 'clothes, food, money, medicine'[87] towards the first waves of Albanians to her family history.

> So we, the village of Skala, welcomed the first Albanians very well. In contrast to the village of Loutra where certain events transpired. […] they settled, were accommodated by people because we see a human part of our own [Asia Minor] people in every migrant or refugee.[88]

[85] Papachrisos, 2019.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Tourli, 2019.
[88] Ibid.

Similarly, connecting his family history of forced displacement to other similar experiences and discussing the 'uniformity of the refugee identity',[89] Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964, remembered a couple of political refugees from Turkey with whom he spent New Year's Eve.

> The night of New Year's Eve they wanted to go to a beach where they could see the lights across and have the year change while looking across. When they told me that, I remembered my father who would look across. At that moment I realised even more the unity of the refugee identity.[90]

Situating himself in the political spectrum, Stratis declared a hybrid Asia Minor left-wing identity, saying that 'If you ask me what I am politically today, I declare that I am a left-wing person from Asia Minor, but I insist that I belong to the Asia Minor left'.[91] Stratis, a member of the anti-racist organisation 'Coexistence and communication in the Aegean', explained that this organisation emerged due to the need 'to address the racist violence against Albanians and the care of Arab refugees […] in the 90s'.[92] Stratis, as a journalist, remembered the reception of the Albanians by the local community, noting that, 'you cannot imagine what these people suffered through'[93] and recalled tense and violent incidents between the Albanians and the natives. Stratis described his stance towards them when they worked as construction workers, one of the main occupations of the Albanian male population, as well as their gradual integration on Lesvos.

> Look, when I was making my house in the 90s, Albanians were working on it. Of course we would eat lunch together, for reasons of principle. I paid them as I should. […] I see these people today and they have families now. Then they were lonesome guys. Vaggelis, for instance, had asked me to sleep at night in the construction site. […] The day before

[89] Balaskas, 2019.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

> yesterday his kid was accepted into college, in fact is in philology, he was very good at Ancient Greek […] They have money, deposits […].[94]

In this excerpt, Stratis illustrated the role of upward social mobility and changing social class as paths of integration into the host society. Elements such as social mobility, education, daily interactions, and religion are only some of the factors that facilitated the gradual acceptable of the Albanians on Lesvos over time.

Changing perceptions and gradual integration

Hostility and scepticism evolve into gradual integration through acceptance. However, integration is a very difficult and slow process. Through the intergenerational perspective, different generations capture different phases of integration, providing a broad and complex picture regarding the changing attitudes towards minorities into the host society over time. Born in 1957 in Mytilene, Pavlos Vogiatzis is a former mayor, prefect, and Member of Parliament. He attributed Albanians' gradual integration on Lesvos to the incorporation of the first generation in the primary sector and the incorporation of the following generations into schools. However, Pavlos still finds traces of prejudice as a consequence of constructed social labelling and a discursive criminalisation of migration based on which migrants are labelled as criminals, constituting a threat.

> The extreme or criminal elements in them slowly disappeared, of course even today if something happens, a theft, everyone says it was an Albanian even though that's not the truth […] but it has remained that whatever happens, it is the Albanians' fault. But I think they have become integrated at this point. [95]

[94] Ibid.
[95] Vogiatzis, 2019.

Similarly, Marios Andriotis, who was born in 1986 and is the mayor's special consultant explained their integration. For him, there is no difference between Albanian descendants who were born in Greece and learned the Greek language, a key factor of their gradual acceptance, and the native population.

> At the time there was indeed a suspicion. Of course, it was something that could be gotten over relatively easily, they learned the language, which is very important, they participated, their kids were in school and there were kids born and raised here that had absolutely no differences. [96]

Another descendant of the fourth generation, born in 1992, Panagiota Koutsantoni recalled her contact with 'the other', in her case her Albanian schoolmates and best friend, saying that 'there was a lot of respect, they were completely integrated and had made friends'.[97] Before that, she pointed out the changing perceptions and connotations regarding the Albanians on Lesvos. According to Panagiota, Albanians were identified as 'the bad', the criminals before her school years.[98] Afterwards, however, the local society was more self-reflective, trying to think 'how much bad has the society done to these people'.[99]

> [In school] I knew that some kids were from Albania but when I went to school we had a mentality at that point that you have to respect that and it is very bad to speak about someone's origin. So, I think that before this there was a mentality of thinking about the Albanians as something bad.[100]

The outsiders become the established

In addition to factors such as integration through the labour market, learning of the Greek language, upward mobility, hard work, exogamy, and religion, the position of an outgroup in

[96] Andriotis, 2019.
[97] Koutsantoni, 2019.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

the local community can be reassessed and further stabilised in the light of the arrival of a new minority group. Both ethnic and refugee identities change over time, informing the interaction between ethnic out-groups and the native population. It seems that identities and ultimately these distinctions are reawakened in the context of the migration crisis.

Recalling the beginning of the arrivals of Albanians in the 1990s, Stratis Pothas, born in 1951 in Mytilene, as a founding member of the 'Coexistence in the Aegean', acknowledged society's negativity. He claimed that although there were benefits as these people constituted 'cheap manual labour', '[society] did not want them, truth be told'.[101] Stratis concluded that it was only after the current 'migration crisis' that the Albanians started being perceived as integrated.

> Now, due to the rise of the migration issue, nobody wants to deal with the Albanians and the Albanians are almost integrated […] but back then nobody wanted them. [102]

Mostly skeptical about the Albanian outgroup, Salomi Dikidiki born in 1946, her daughter Despoina born in 1961, and her granddaughter Maria born in 1983, described how the early suspicion towards the Albanians was overcome due to their contributions in the agricultural sector, leading to their integration into the host society. In this sense, it also seems that the Albanians' incorporation into menial work was not perceived as a challenge to the established population because the migrants occupied jobs labelled as 'immigrant jobs' that were not filled by the local population. They referred to Albanians' integration, contrasting them with the contemporary migrants and refugees, and they questioned the ability of the latest outgroup to become integrated.

[101] Pothas, 2019.
[102] Ibid.

> Salomi: With the olives they did all the hard work on the island and now too, the Albanians […] they integrated but the ones who came now have not. No, no the ones now cannot integrate. [103]
> Despoina: No these ones will never integrate […] they don't work. While the Albanians worked a lot. [104]
> Maria: We had foreigners long ago too, who integrated into society, i.e. the Albanians worked regularly as if they were Greeks […] if there were any chance for things to happen like they did with the Albanian generation that came, created families, worked, created wealth, maybe we could accept them somewhat better.[105]

Comparing ethnic outgroups, Dimitris Papachrisos, born in 1952 in the refugee settlement of Skala Loutron, recalled that in the 1990s, except for some criminals who caused trouble, most of 'the Albanians until today are very hard workers, they never beg, and they are almost fully integrated […] in contrast to the current flows that cause trouble'.[106] Dimitris continued the repeated comparisons and explained the reasons why the Albanians were welcomed, 'I don't see the others having any appetite for work, they walk around, go for coffee and are lazy in contrast to the Albanians'.[107] His wife Anthoula, born in 1958, added, 'the Albanians after the 2015 flows were assessed differently [more positively]'.[108] Indeed, it seems that the Albanians' position in the local community was reassessed in light of the contemporary 'migration crisis', further stabilising their establishment.

'Migration crisis': Historically formed subjectivities and contemporary attitudes

The ambiguous relationship between memory, identity, and attitudes as well as the role of individual and collective past as sources of formulation of the present are explored in relation to Europe's 'migration crisis'. In 2015 Lesvos became the focus of world attention, upon the

[103] Dikidiki, 2019.
[104] Euthimiou, 2019.
[105] M. Euthimiou, 2019.
[106] Papachrisos, 2019.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

arrival of large numbers of displaced people. Specifically, '[o]ver 45 percent of the 770,838 refugees and migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015 have landed in the Greek Island of Lesvos',[109] creating the establishment of overcrowded identification centres and refugee camps. My analysis goes beyond events as such, examining histories of subjectivities and 'the changing uses and meanings of that past in the present'.[110]

The extent to which past experiences of forced displacement are associated with the emergence of empathy and hostility is traced across generations and geographical locations. Geography concerns the island as a whole. The geographical proximity to Turkey, which makes Lesvos a borderland island, plays an important role in influencing descendants' attitudes in conflicting ways. For some, the island's geographic position is a means of understanding migration movements ('[i]t was always a passageway'),[111] while for others it enhances the fear of the intruder ('a border island, pay attention we are at the border. As you see me talking to you, I still have weapons at home, we are all border guards and we are ready to fight').[112]

Empathy and historical parallels

Increase of empathy and compassion is observed through intergroup contact, acknowledgement of similarity of experience of displacement, and perspective taking due to refugee descent. In this light, Asia Minor refugee identity is seen as a means of understanding 'the other'. Although there are traces of influence of an ideological divide, refugee identity appears to overshadow linear correlations between left/right wing leanings and contemporary attitudes. The 'migration crisis' reactivates homeland memories, increasing sympathy, empathy, and support. Perspective-taking is rooted in past migration and refugee experiences

[109] UNHCR, 'Lesvos Island – Greece', (12 Nov. 2015), https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/FactsheetLesvos-external-12Nov2015.pdf (17 Aug. 2022).
[110] Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', p. 26.
[111] Pothas, 2019.
[112] Koutsantonis, 2019.

on a personal, local, and national level, underlining the island's long migration history. In this context and overcoming binary distinctions, elements of commonality and mutual understanding emerge linking past and present displacements.

Specifically, increased empathy via intergroup contact and similarity of experience are present in the attitudes of Olga and Stratis who perceive Asia Minor refugee identity as a means of understanding of 'the other'. Born in 1951 in Mytilene, Stratis Pothas was one of the founding members of the 'Coexistence and communication in the Aegean' organisation, an anti-racist organisation that deals with migrants, refugees, and peaceful relations between neighbouring peoples. Reflecting on his participation, Stratis illustrated that his Asia Minor refugee identity is expressed through his involvement in the building of friendship between Greece and Turkey.

> When you're from Asia Minor you can react in two completely opposite ways. The first is to approach the issue with friendship […] The other is where you become stubborn […] I am of the first opinion.[113]

Stratis also contributed to the opening of Pikpa Camp in Mytilene, a self-organised and open refugee camp in 2012. From 2015 until April of 2016, he went every morning to the shores around the airport, giving food and clothes to the incoming migrants and refugees. Stratis and his wife also helped with the preparation food for migrants in the catholic church on Sundays, where they met their stepson [soul son], a refugee working as a translator.

> We, at the time, my wife and I, every Saturday night made sandwiches for the church to have them ready for the morning […] and we prepared them together and we would feel our [soul son] in our house, do you understand? That's why I say soul son. Now he doesn't come every day, at the time he would come almost every day, now he will

[113] Pothas, 2019.

> definitely come every Saturday when my son will also come so we can eat together as a family.[114]

Stratis concluded that the contemporary 'migration crisis' should not be seen as a new phenomenon. Migration movements were always rooted in the island history since Lesvos 'is, geopolitically, a passageway. It was always a passageway'.[115]

Another former member of the island's anti-racist organisation, Olga Sachpaloglou, born in 1946, recalled incidents that made her cry. She remembered welcoming migrants and refugees such as 'a crying infant within a travel sack' and the picture of a 'soaking wet mother with two children'.[116] Reflecting on her involvement during the 'migration crisis', Olga stressed the influence of her family history of forced displacement on her actions, overcoming migrant and refugee distinctions.

> A refugee is always a refugee, even the economic migrants for me for some reason got up and left. Being a refugee always […] it has influenced us, now it affected us positively, maybe it affected others negatively.[117]

Based on both Olga and Stratis, the Asia Minor refugee identity can produce two completely different outcomes with regard to the way you perceive 'the other'.

Overcoming binarity distinctions, similarly to Olga, and referring to the geopolitical dimension of forced displacement, like Stratis, Marios Andriotis, born in 1986 in Mytilene and he is the mayor's expert advisor about the contemporary migration. Marios compared and contrasted the Asia Minor forced displacement with the contemporary 'migration crisis', concluding that these displacements are products of 'international politics' and 'geopolitics'.[118]

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Sachpaloglou, 2019.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Andriotis, 2019.

> Now, like then, it's a matter of politics […] which has extensions to everyday people […] I'm not talking only about refugees, I'm also talking about migrants and economic migrants.[119]

Lack of democracy and respect for human rights are the main reasons why people leave their countries according to Marios, Niki, and Panagiota, descendants of the fourth generation, whose way of thinking is more distant, rational, and less identity-based. They supported that 'every person in the whole world has the right to leave when their life is threatened, when their living standard is threatened'.[120] For them, migrants' and refugees' integration is not based on people's characteristics such as cultural and religious differences, but rather on state procedures and policies ('depends on what way the country will handle it, what facilities it will develop').[121]

Lastly, they drew parallels focused on similarities of experience at the international and geopolitical level, increasing perspective-taking. Specifically, Niki Chontronikola, born in 1992 in Arisvi, acknowledged that since even 'refugees from Asia Minor who were Greeks […] felt as refugees in their own country […] not to mention some who are not and come to a country that is completely unknown to them with a completely unknown language, it's difficult'.[122] Similarly, Panagiota Koutsantoni, born in 1992 in Mytilene, referred to this difficulty and added that the same policies of integration can be used, 'Greeks came […] and again such a big issue was created and such a big dispute between them. Let alone when completely different cultures come'.[123]

Panagiota's mother, Rallou, paralleled the contemporary displacement with her family history of displacement and migration, overcoming the binary between migrants and refugees.

[119] Ibid.
[120] Chontronikola, 2019.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Koutsantoni, 2019.

Born in 1965 in Mytilene, Rallou Spanelli is a teacher in a primary school that accepted many children from the contemporary 'migration crisis'. Rallou declared tired 'not from the refugees but from the NGOs' and believed that migrants' integration will be based on their own will. 'Whether they will become integrated or not is their issue', she said. [124]

> At the beginning it was the Syrians […] we felt sorry for them because they had a life built and those people were forced to leave. They reminded me, you know of whom, the Smyrnians. The first flows were refugee flows, we believed it and felt we had many things in common with these people. The following flows were not refugee flows but rather economic migrants and with this we have a part, the Greeks. Greeks have many economic migrants, and I too have my aunt who is an economic migrant in the USA and all families have economic migrants abroad.[125]

Also, Greece's emigration history and family history of forced displacement as well as the development of a strong refugee identity are the main drivers behind Stratis's attitude towards other outgroups. Born in 1964, Stratis Balaskas is a journalist and writer focused mainly on the Greco-Turkish relations and a member of the island's anti-racist organisation. Stratis described his involvement in the context of the 'migration crisis' not only as an active journalist in the refugee camps but also as a scout. Between 2015 and 2016, Stratis, along with his troop -the Ventures from Lesvos scouts aged 15 to 18-, helped with the cleaning following boats' arrivals. Stratis narrated, 'on the 15th of December of 2015, Saturday, a boat overturned near the shore. There were no lifeguards then and we jumped in to save the kids'.[126] This act of 'underage boy scouts who saved refugee children on the beach' caused us 'to be awarded with the Messengers of Peace Heroes Award'.[127] It was awarded 'to recognise the contribution of the Scouts of Greece in response to the impact of the refugee crisis'.[128] For Stratis, empathy

[124] Spanelli, 2019.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Balaskas, 2019.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

and perspective-taking are rooted in past migration and refugee experiences at a personal, local, and national level. In his attempt to answer, 'why do people leave their countries?', he overcame binary distinctions, concluding that:

> What does it matter what is hunting him, whether it's his sexual identity, his national identity, that he is hungry, he leaves. He does not leave because he wakes up and says I will leave […] The knife of death is chasing you.[129]

He explained that his behaviour derived from a 'personal ethic' that is related to 'roots, to my refugee identity'.[130] This refugee identity is further invigorated by his ancestors' history of coexistence with 'the other' ('our grandfathers co-existed with 4-5-6 different nationalities, religions').[131] At a local level, 'Lesvos was a bridge between the east and the west', while at a national level Greece had many migration inflows and outflows 'so theoretically we should be more accepting in this situation'.[132]

Nevertheless, Stratis acknowledged the difficulty of accepting contemporary migrants and refugees due to reasons related to their volume, the questionable role of the NGOs, and their culture, noting an internal battle of hospitality and hostility.

> I confess, I don't know which are the opposing sides because sometimes I don't know what side I'm on […] what I can't stand are my Ovidian transformations. In the morning I sympathise, I am with them. At 10:00 I detest them. At 12:00 I save them. At 15:00 I hate them. At 19:00 I have to do something for them and I do it. At 22:00 I can't stand them.[133]

[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

Binary distinctions

Family history is strongly rooted in most of the interviewees' attitudes, leading, in many cases, to different outcomes and reactions. On one hand, prejudice, negative views, and in some cases competitive victimisation are mainly rooted in binary distinctions. In this context, tolerance and empathy increase towards ethnic out-groups perceived as refugees (Syrians). The term refugee has obtained a strongly positive connotation in Greece as it was linked to the successful integration of the Asia Minor refugees. On the other hand, 'competitive victimisation and hostility appear towards those considered to be migrants' (the rest).[134] The sentiments of tolerance, empathy, and understanding are traced especially towards the first wave of the 'migration crisis' in 2015-16 when organised help on the island was not prominent. Instead, support either on a personal level or on a collective level (organisations, refugee associations) came to the fore, when the unfolding flows were perceived as exclusively comprised of refugees and when descendants believed that the island constituted a transit point and not a place of settlement.

Drawing a line between the first wave, which was mainly composed of Syrian refugees, and subsequent mixed waves, Anthoula Papachrisou, born in 1958, explained how the current 'migration crisis' reactivated homeland memories, increasing sympathy and support.

> When they arrived in 2015 we helped them and we felt compassion because the Syrians came due to the war, in a violent way […] this means that you couldn't have not compared it by thinking that in a similar way Smyrna was set on fire. We ran in order to cook, collect clothes, and go to the accommodation facilities. I was cooking chicken with rice […] The kids, we would try to see what they ate there, what their habits were. […] everybody in Mytilene [felt compassion] both then and now because our memories came to light but now I feel that it is completely different.[135]

[134] Anastasopoulou, 'Echoes of Memories of Forced Displacement', p. 21.
[135] Papachrisou, 2019.

In the same refugee settlement of Skala Loutron, Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958, described the help that they provided through the refugee association by concentrating food and necessities. She said, 'in 2015 […] in my house [...] I had collected 250 servings of food'.[136] She then recalled her first in-person contact with an exhausted family of 6-7 people, remembering the way she felt and the triggered connection with her family history.

> I will never forget the emotions I felt. […] and I went and offered what I could. I felt so moved though because I thought I was seeing my own people [she is crying] I won't forget this.[137]

Family history is the main driver behind her attitudes, as she declared. However, Euthalia is divided between building bridges with refugee histories of forced displacement and deconstructing them with the arrival of migrants. She clarified, 'now though there is no relation. This changes with the inflow of migrants who have no relation with our humanitarian part'.[138]

Born in 1952 in the refugee settlement of Skala Loutron, Dimitris Papachrisos, the president of the settlement's refugee association, drew a binary distinction between displaced people that he perceived as migrants and as refugees. He underlined the sympathy that he felt for the first wave of refugees ('Syrians who came from war and were in need'), saying that 'in the beginning as an association with the first flows we had collected and sent clothes and food, 2-3 times back then there was no organised help'.[139] In the refugee settlement of Skala Loutron, Dimitris, Athanasia, and Babis, Asia Minor descendants of the second and the third generation and a native, respectively, discussed the contemporary 'migration crisis', drawing parallels and distinctions between different stories of displacement.

[136] Tourli, 2019.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Papachrisos, 2019.

> Dimitris: I agree with [the arrivals due to] the war in Syria.
> Athanasia: That's a different story. No we aren't talking only about that, now we have migrants from 40 different places.
> Dimitris: Now not even 5% are Syrians. All the others come as migrants […]
> Babis: It doesn't need to be a war with another country, the war in Afghanistan [is a civil war] […]
> Dimitris: Babi here you're dealing with 40-50 races that in order to leave from in here, yesterday set fire to the refugee camp to force them to open it so they can leave extortionately. […] Another factor is that money has also come into the picture from dealing with the migrants. […] I'll tell you something else, they didn't give any money to the Albanians who came nor did they beg for any […] They were both absorbed and worked.[140,141,142]

Comparing his ancestors' flows with the current migration and refugee flows, Dimitris emphatically explained the differences of language, morals, customs, and religion, trying to safeguard his Asia Minor identity. In this light, characteristics such as language, culture, and religion are used as elements of differentiation between Asia Minor descendants and other migrants and refugees.

> There is no similarity with the current flows because back then [in 1922-23] people spoke the same language, they had the same morals and customs, the same religion and they were able to be integrated […] now how can you integrate 40 different races, each with its own customs and traditions and different language.[143]

Hostility and competitive victimisation

Nuances characterise descendants' views and attitudes, varying from acts of empathy to thoughts of hostility. In many cases, hostility and empathy, present as interchanging facets of descendants' attitudes, lead to contested views. Contested and changing attitudes with various nuances are characterised by elements of hostility and negativity. Conspiracy theories, preclusion from integration due to prejudice regarding migrants' unwillingness to work and

[140] Ibid.
[141] Interview with Athanasia Adafioti, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 6 Oct. 2019.
[142] Interview with Babis Chotelis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 6 Oct. 2019.
[143] Papachrisos, 2019.

emphasis on language, moral, cultural, and religious differences, compose negative views and elements of alterity through which Asia Minor descendants try to safeguard their identity in opposition to the 'other'. Lastly, competitive victimisation appears in antagonistic comparisons between the Asia Minor forced displacement and the contemporary 'migration crisis'.

In between acts of compassion and negative views is Giannis Patanos. Giannis, born in 1945 in the refugee settlement of Epano Skala in Mytilene, explained his changing stance, declaring 'today my opinions are completely different'.[144] In 2015 he was transferring people, especially women with children, with his car. He and his wife filled the car with 'bottles of water' and 'fruit'[145] and they would give them to migrants and refugees. Giannis now supports that 'we are in danger as a nation',[146] attaching certain characteristics to the current flows. According to Giannis, the unfolding flows are 'guided' and may constitute 'an army that will act against us especially here on the island with some weapons that they will bring up from the shore' organised by 'Erdogan's plan'.[147] Giannis referred to characteristics that will preclude migrants' integration such as their cultural differences and their unwillingness to work due to their dependence on 'allowances'.[148] He mostly emphasised their religious differences based on the assumption that national and personal identities are rooted in religious criteria. Interestingly, Giannis's refugee identity is triggered not only by the arrival of a new outgroup but also by his fear of the intruder and of becoming a refugee again.

> We're living through bad days and as a nation and as a country and especially here on the island […] what I fear especially is their religion, which is a religion of hate, not a religion of love […]

[144] Patanos, 2019.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

> If the Muslim element in Greece comes together, we will have important problems and I don't want to be a refugee again.[149]

Similarly, Despoina Euthimiou, who was born in 1961 in the refugee settlement of Epano Skala in Mytilene, is strongly negative towards the way NGOs handle the 'migration crisis' and towards migrants themselves. She considers them a part of an organised plan with a stated goal to 'eliminate the customs, the traditions, the colour of every nation'.[150] She further stressed the impact of the Greek economic crisis that coincides with the contemporary 'migration crisis'.

> I became racist now, not that I didn't do altruistic acts when I would see them, I would give them water and a piece of bread. They caused destruction here. They would go to Moria and they give them food in the crisis when the Mytilenians didn't have to eat and they would throw it away […] But I became racist […] they put fires, walk around, go down to the port, break things, bring illness […].
> Marilena: Why did they leave their countries?
> Despoina: They are illegal! What are the Afghans and the Pakistanis who kill and stab each other […] what are they, are they economic migrants? The Syrians left.[151]

Her, often orientalist, perspective lies in phrases such as 'no they won't ever become integrated because […] they don't work', 'they give birth like rabbits'.[152] Hostility, prejudice, negative views, and competitive victimisation pervade Despoina's speech who emphatically mentioned the differences between her family story and the current displacement, making comparisons between now and then.

> There is no relation for me, there is no relation […] Because they [Asia Minors] came in pain, having left their property, their wealth behind […] I don't consider the Nigerians and the Pakistanis and the Afghans - look how they live in holes, in stone structures. […]

[149] Ibid.
[150] Euthimiou, 2019.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

> Islam fights against Christianity. […] I don't consider them ravaged, I don't consider them ravaged, I don't consider them ravaged.[153]

According to Athanasia, 'Mytilene is a modern Babylon city' and part of the migration flows seem to constitute a 'well designed game' on behalf of Turkey.[154] Athanasia Adafioti, born in 1964 in Germany, lives in Mytilene, and is a member of the refugee association of Skala Loutron. She described her internal division and contested thoughts as well as the changing of her feelings, saying that 'I felt threatened and the sympathy and sadness I initially felt for some people started to turn into fear and then anger'.[155]

In the refugee settlement of Skala Loutron, Athanasia and Babis Chotelis, an Asia Minor descendant and a native, respectively, compared different stories of displacement.

> Babis: We should have patience, accept them for better or for worse. They are many and back then they were many […].
> Athanasia: But back then they were Greeks with the same religion, with the same language, with the desire of reunification with mother Greece [...]. This here now is a mess because there are war refugees, economic migrants, but also people who are simply taking advantage of the situation and coming to an island […]. So, we can't compare these things except only in the universally human element. Everything else is completely foreign to our refugeehood […].
> Babis: I don't agree with this. For me they are all the same whether one or many, migrants or bad elements, they too left and came here came to live better.
> Athanasia: Ok I don't disagree with this; I'm just saying that we came to our mother homeland with the same language and the same religion.
> Babis: Come on, they called them Turks.
> Athanasia: Turkish seeds.
> Babis: Bravo. So, they were also foreign. They were the same.[156,157]

The main axes of comparison between Asia Minor refugees and contemporary migrants are language, religion, and their relation to the place of destination. According to Athanasia, those are the key characteristics that describe the Asia Minor forced displacement and the central

[153] Ibid.
[154] Adafioti, 2019.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Chotelis, 2019.
[157] Adafioti, 2019.

elements of alterity that constitute the two experiences incomparable ('no relation', 'I can't compare').[158] In contrast to Athanasia, Babis acknowledged elements of similarity between these displacements and equated the arrival of these outgroups in the host society ('they were the same').[159]

Similarly, born in 1983 in Mytilene, Maria Euthimiou expressed prejudice and hostility regarding the current migrants and refugees. Her attitudes will be seen in the following chapter since, due to her marriage to a refugee descendant from Pontus, she moved to Polykastro in Central Macedonia, another border-crossing area with accommodation facilities across her house. The element of competitive victimisation, as a zero-sum game for recognition, pervaded her attempt to compare the Asia Minor forced displacement with the current 'migration crisis'. Maria recalled the way Asia Minor refugees were treated by the native population, wondering why this new outgroup should be treated differently from her ancestors who were treated with hostility.

> I consider that the flows don't have any commonality between them. [...] now I can't compare the expulsion from Asia Minor with this one. First of all, the people [from Asia Minor] created culture. What did these ones come here to do? When the ones from across came, nobody welcomed them with open arms, nobody helped them. Did anyone build them houses? Did anyone give them facilities? Did anyone give them money? Of course not. They came and did not integrate because nobody welcomed them in the way we welcomed those ones here now.[160]

Empathy and historical parallels, binary distinctions, and hostility and competitive victimisation are the main themes observed in descendants' attitudes in varying intensities across generations. Asia Minor refugee memory sometimes leads to completely different outcomes depending on how the subjects understand their history and their sense of identity. For some, Asia Minor refugee memory and identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of

[158] Ibid.
[159] Chotelis, 2019.
[160] Euthimiou, 2019.

ongoing understanding and negotiation that produces sympathy, empathy, perspective-taking, and historical parallels between different groups' stories of displacement. For others, this memory and identity are perceived as a limited space in which a battle for domination and recognition and 'a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources' lead to prejudice, negative views, hostility, and ultimately competitive victimisation.[161] In this context, Asia Minor refugee memory and identity both lead to the building of bridges and parallels with histories of others ('the ones who would come back then reminded us a lot of those who came from Asia Minor')[162] and to their demolition through antagonistic comparisons ('the refugees of back then have nothing to do with the refugees now. Absolutely nothing!').[163] Examining the role of shared histories, Rothberg notes that '[i]t is often difficult to tell whether a given act of memory is more likely to produce competition or mutual understanding—sometimes both seem to happen simultaneously'.[164]

Conclusion

This chapter examines the unexpected and violent forced displacement of 1922, focusing on the borderland island of Lesvos and its long-standing tradition as an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. In the case of Lesvos, the traumatic dimension of the Asia Minor displacement, the non-linear transfer of this memory, and the dynamic interplay of the various frameworks of remembrance come to the forefront, shaping strong intergenerational refugee identities. The memories and identities of Asia Minor refugee descendants interact with the echoes of different historical experiences of migration. In the 1990s, descendants of Asia Minor refugees came across new outsiders, with past memories of forced displacement as well as factors such as education, upward social

[161] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, p. 3.
[162] Spanou, 2019.
[163] Euthimiou, 2019.
[164] Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, p. 11.

mobility, contribution to the economy, religion, and close interactions with the local population, playing a key role in Albanians' reception in the host society. In 2015 Lesvos became the focus of world attention as the entry point of large numbers of displaced people. Migration and refugee arrivals triggered past identities of displacement and immediate reactions were shaped by expressions of empathy, rooted in intergroup contact, perspective taking, and acknowledgement of similarity of experience. However, Asia Minor refugee memory leads to different outcomes depending on how the subjects understand their history and their sense of identity, with negative reactions and competition appear especially towards the most recent waves of migrants. Overall, Lesvos shows high levels of compassion and historical parallels towards both post-1989 and post-2015 migrations. In this context, Lesvians become gate openers, building bridges with other histories of displacement.

4. From Refugees to Guardians of the Borders: The Case of Central Macedonia

THIS CHAPTER brings to the forefront descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace in the region of Central Macedonia in northern Greece, elucidating the breadth and the heterogeneity of the refugee history, memory, and identity in this part of Greece. It focuses on 92 oral testimonies, in addition to familial, associational, and archival evidence derived from various regions ranging from metropolitan cities to border crossing villages. In this region, we explore the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement, the varying intensities of the intergenerational transmission of traumatic memories as well as their imprint on identities. In the case of Central Macedonia, competing claimants emerge between the various Asia Minor groups, as well as between them, and the native population, and subsequent migrants. Geography comes to the forefront, and in the borderland villages of Central Macedonia, Asia Minor descendants become guardians of Greece's northern borders and their identification is transmuted from refugees to settlers.

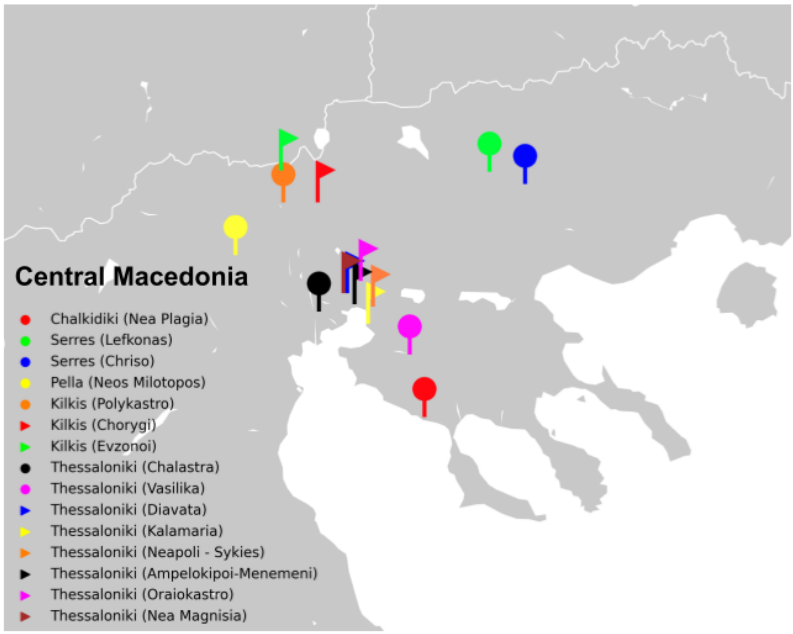


Figure 4. Fieldwork locations in Central Macedonia.

In Central Macedonia, a destination land for many refugees, the rural settlement of Asia Minor refugees had a profound ethnological impact on the homogenisation of the region, turning Asia Minor newcomers into the frontier population. Asia Minor descendants metaphorically became guardians of the borders, safeguarding the country's territorial integrity. Borders, as complex constructions, shape not only the movement of people across them, but also the identities of people who live near them.

Experiences of forced displacement vary in the broad context of Central Macedonia with descendants arriving from various places in Asia Minor and under different circumstances. To varying degrees, histories, memories, and identities of forced displacement are still present through elements ranging from settlements' names to refugee associations. In many cases, landscape characteristics of the places of origin were followed and whole villages or a combination of villages were settled together, illustrating a strong connection to the heritage of the past.

This chapter brings together diverse accounts from descendants of Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace. Although these accounts are considered complementary parts of the broader Asia Minor narrative, they are examined separately to trace in detail the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement and its impact on memories and identities. Pontus and Asia Minor are examined comparatively, while Eastern Thrace is grouped under the broader category of Asia Minor. In addition, the oral testimonies were derived from various regions in Central Macedonia ranging from metropolitan cities to border crossing villages. The following analysis is structured around intergenerational memory and identity, and it is examined, comparatively, through stories from Asia Minor and Pontus in various areas throughout Central Macedonia. Tracing both macro- and micro-geography patterns, this chapter explores the Asia Minor experience focusing on the cases of a city (Thessaloniki) and a village (Neos Milotopos)

and examines the Pontic experience throughout communities with different characteristics (cities, towns, and border-crossing villages).

Intergenerational memory

Thessaloniki and the suburbs

Thessaloniki is known and described by my interviewees as 'the mother of refugees'.[1] In Mazower's words, 'many of the Greek refugees who made a new home for themselves in Salonica had been forced from their old ones elsewhere'.[2] Among them were the refugees from Asia Minor who had settled in the city in the 1920s. Throughout the city, from the city centre and the Upper Town to the suburbs, there are refugee neighbourhoods and settlements of descendants from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace. To varying degrees, in these places the composition of the population and the refugee history and identity are still present and memorable through elements such as old houses, museums, memorials, refugee associations, and streets' and settlements' names. In many cases, settlements were named after Asia Minor places of origin with the additional designation of the word 'New' preceding the original place of origin such as Nea Magnisia. In addition, where possible, landscape characteristics of the Asia Minor places of origin were followed and whole villages or a combination of villages were settled together, illustrating a strong connection with the heritage of the past. Asia Minor refugees settled in places that 'resemble their homeland'.[3] As many informants noted, 'the port of Cesme is very similar to the port of Kalamaria […] while that of Smyrna is very similar to [the port of] Thessaloniki'.[4] This connection between past and present places of settlement is

[1] Interview with Maria Dragatsi, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 15 Nov. 2019.
[2] M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950* (London, 2004), p. 12.
[3] Nigdelis, 2019.
[4] Interview with Panagiota Fotopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 15 Dec. 2019.

described by Charikleia Fotopoulou, born in 1935 in the refugee settlement of Kalamaria 'Nea Krini', 'as I understood the world growing up, we were all almost relatives, in-laws'. [5]

Experiences of forced displacement vary in the broad context of Thessaloniki with descendants arriving from various Asia Minor places and under different circumstances. For instance, Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952 in the refugee settlement of Diavata/Nea Magnisia, remembered his ancestors' journey in 1922, recalling traumatic images that depict their displacement such as 'they put them inside a large church and set it on fire' and 'swimming he went to Samos, resting, he says on, bodies of people from Asia Minor'.[6] Konstantinos Nigdelis, born in 1950 in Neapoli-Sykies, a settlement primarily created by people from Cappadocia, stressed that his ancestors arrived in 1924 'as exchangees' and underlined the difficulties of the first settlement and the contested relations with the native population, '[t]he problem begins from the moment we set foot on the boat'.[7] Relations with the native population also varied depending on the exposure of the refugee settlements to the native population.

The concept of silence

Inter and trans-generational components encompass the intergenerational transmission of Asia Minor memories. In the familial space, fragmented stories, behaviours, noncognitive acts, and mostly silences pervade different generations. The concept of silence emerges in descendants of different generations' narrations, visible in multiple phrases such as '[n]obody talks at home […] They say my one grandfather died from his sorrow',[8] 'my grandfather […] I don't remember him telling me anything. In 1997 when he died, I didn't know he was from there'.[9]

[5] Fotopoulou, 2019.
[6] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[7] Nigdelis, 2019.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Interview with Dimitriadis Sokratis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 27 Nov. 2019.

'No, they would barely talk [about it]', Vasilis Sakellaridis, born in 1954, remembered that his family did not talk about the forced displacement.[10] The paradox in Vasilis's family story, a story of silence for both Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace, is the transmission discrepancy between the familial and the collective spheres. In particular, in the 1960s Vasilis's father was a very active secretary general of an Asia Minor refugee association in Thessaloniki. Nevertheless, his role in the context of his family was silent, as Vasilis noted, 'of course he had a very intense presence [in the association] but at home he didn't talk'.[11] Fears of precluding integration or traumatising their descendants, led many refugees of the first generation to talk about the displacement in the associations but not at home. Lazaros Sarafidis, born in 1962 in Thessaloniki, attributed silence in the family sphere to the difficulties of the experience of forced displacement and the subsequent wars that the first generation experienced.

> The people of that time […] didn't discuss this part of their history. I hadn't heard. […] I believe that people in the 1960s-70s probably wanted to forget what they went through rather than remember. […] people died, took these things with them, we don't know what happened beyond.[12]

Due to this pervasive silence, Lazaros referred to 'memory gaps' in his family history. For Lazaros, the breaking of silence was stimulated through oral tradition from members of the extended family later in time or in fragmented ways, saying that '[s]o all these things here passed onto us after these people died through word of mouth, whatever we learned from relatives'.[13] Relatives, and in some cases grandparents, share Asia Minor stories usually with a nostalgic and romantic tone but without painful descriptions. According to Ioannis Chatziathanasiou and Konstantinos Nigdelis, descendants of the second generation:

[10] Interview with Vasilis Sakellaridis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 25 Nov. 2019.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Interview with Lazaros Sarafidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 8 Dec. 2019.
[13] Ibid.

> Ioannis: [the grandmothers] didn't talk much about the catastrophe and the damage, they talked about the good days a bit, reminisced, […] they talked with nostalgia and a complaint.[14]
> Konstantinos: My grandmother […] when she would start to complain […] about her homeland […] she talked about her life there, nobody refers to the forced displacement. I learned about it later.[15]

Descendants from different generations recall their ancestors' behaviours and habits. Born in 1935 in Kalamaria, Charikleia Fotopoulou only remembered her father listening to 'songs from Smyrna' and crying.[16] The mechanism of family transmission is also described in a similar way from descendants of the following generations. Charikleia's daughter, Panagiota Fotopoulou, who was born in 1959 in Kalamaria, recalled her grandfather's 'nostalgia […] about homeland', noting that 'he may have avoided the difficult parts, this topic may have pained him'.[17] Her son, Giorgos Mavroudis, who was born in 1992, interpreted this silence of his grandfather as a lack of interest in refugee identity transmission, noting that 'my grandfather also didn't really care about this, to tell me the story […] they didn't have much interest to pass on their refugee identity to those younger'.[18] Nikos Papachrisos, born in 1997 in Thessaloniki, gave another explanation, that 'the people who experienced it logically experienced it in a tough way, so they didn't want to talk about it very much'.[19] In this light, selective silence appears in the family sphere, with traumatic memories being silenced but with other elements of refugee identity such as songs, food, and traditions being prominent elements of intergenerational transmission.

[14] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[15] Nigdelis, 2019.
[16] Fotopoulou, 2019.
[17] P. Fotopoulou, 2019.
[18] Mavroudis, 2019.
[19] Interview with Nikos Papachrisos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 8 Dec. 2019.

Language, culinary tradition, and culture

Fragmented, and in most cases nostalgic, stories deriving from either grandparents or members of the extended family shape the realm of memory in the familial space. In this context, language, culinary tradition, and customs become prominent elements of memory and identity transmission. Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952 in Diavata, said:

> It isn't hyperbole to say that I too in the first years in elementary school would speak Turkish with the other kids, among ourselves. Well, yes, I know enough [Turkish], I can communicate in it.[20]

However, it should not be ignored that the role of language fades from one generation to the other, with descendants of the third and fourth generations often knowing just a few very basic Turkish words. On the contrary, culinary tradition has a strong intergenerational effect, triggering Asia Minor memories and identities in descendants of different generations. Specifically, Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952, Lazaros Sarafidis, born in 1962, and Nikos Papachrisos, born in 1997, stressed the role of food in the transmission of memories.

> Ioannis: We also have another particularity, we have a cuisine of our own with a lot of beautiful food. […] My daughter […] she knows [how to make] […] dishes from Asia Minor [from her grandmother] […] Every season, every holiday and in fact every day we had many dishes that we have preserved and kept […] cuisine is what brings together many things.[21]
> Lazaros: For us our roots definitely begin from food […] Food is an important factor in passing along memories.[22]
> Mavroudis: The soutzoukakia from Smyrna are the most characteristic dish […] my grandmother cooks them spectacularly […] Obviously music, traditions, since I was in a dance class [in the association] I know the songs, some customs.[23]

[20] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Sarafidis, 2019.
[23] Mavroudis, 2019.

Asia Minor food, music, and dance become the cornerstones of refugee identity of the descendants of the second, third, and fourth generation and bring together families, neighbourhoods, and villages.

Refugee associations

Cultural elements such as traditions, customs, dances, and music also have a shaping role in the formation of both memory and identity. Family gatherings at an early stage and the systematic organisation through associations at a later stage, exert key frameworks not only of remembrance but also of the formation of identities. The systematic organisation of Asia Minor refugees and their descendants is traced throughout different periods. One of the earliest forms of organisation in Thessaloniki started with the establishment of the Pan-Thessalonian Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans (PAOK) in 1926, which is one of the most popular teams in Greece. A descendant of the founding family of PAOK, Maria Dragatsi, born in 1957, is actively involved in many Asia Minor refugee associations. Many interviewees, primarily from the second and sometimes the third generations, became presidents and members of Asia Minor refugee associations throughout Thessaloniki. With some exceptions of long-standing associations, Asia Minor refugee associations and the Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism in Thessaloniki were founded between the mid-1990s and early 2000s. During this period, the revival of past identities occurred, and the fully integrated descendants revisited Asia Minor refugee identity through the collective spectrum. Born in 1992, Giorgos Mavroudis, a historian in the Historical Archive of Refugee Hellenism, explained his sentimental connection with the refugee association of his place of residence in Kalamaria.

> This association was founded in 2002 and for 8 years, until 2010 when I went to university, I was in its dances, its choirs, on trips we did together abroad for events, I was

> a very active member […] maybe that's how I caught the academic virus to study history.[24]

For many descendants of the fourth generation, Asia Minor refugee memories and identities are transmitted through collective frameworks of remembrance such as refugee associations.

Neos Milotopos

In Neos Milotopos, a previously unpopulated area, refugees, primarily from Cappadocia - an Asia Minor region located in Central Anatolia -, were settled, ascribing the identity of their Asia Minor past to the settlement. Neos Milotopos was established in 1924 as a Cappadocian settlement due to the arrival of Asia Minor refugees. In 1972 Neos Milotopos was united with the settlement of Kromni, which was composed of local people. The 'Cultural Educational Association of Farmers', the cultural association named 'The Cappadocians', the 2011 'Asia Minor Memorial of Asia Minor Catastrophe', and annual memorial celebrations exert key frameworks of refugee remembrance for the residents. Neos Milotopos is situated near the largest city of the municipality of Pella called Giannitsa that hosts accommodation facilities for contemporary migrants and refugees.

Neos Milotopos was established by Asia Minor refugees from three different villages of the geographic region of Cappadocia. However, the majority of the population is descended from the village named 'Rum Koy' ('Rum village'), or otherwise the village of Romans/Greeks. Its residents worked on the cultivation of grapes and carpentry. This village was composed almost exclusively of Rums (there were only three Turkish families) and it was Turkish speaking. In addition, it had a school and two churches with two Christian doctrines: Evangelical Protestants and Orthodox Christians. Demonstrating the continuities between

[24] Ibid.

'Rum Koy' and 'Neos Milotopos', Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972, noted, 'just as they left from there they came and settled exactly like that with the two Christian dogmas'.[25] The religious organisation around two different doctrines was maintained, constituting both a continuity with their Asia Minor religious tradition and a particularity for the Greek society.

Before the compulsory population exchange, the population mosaic of this historical region comprised of Muslims and Christians. The spoken languages were Greek, Armenian, and Turkish.[26] However, the predominance of the Turkish language cannot be ignored with 49 Turkish-speaking settlements and 32 Greek-speaking settlements.[27] In Cappadocia, the forced displacement took place primarily in 1924 under the compulsory population exchange. Through the transmission of people via the railway to Mersin port and finally to Greece, more than 44,000 Orthodox Cappadocians were exchanged.[28] Cappadocia was the centre of the magnitude of the cultural, monastic, and religious presence of the Greek/Christian Orthodox population in the interior of the Asia Minor peninsula.

According to the residents of Neos Milotopos, the tensions in their Cappadocian village started in 1922 with the arrival of Çete (Muslim irregulars) and a dramatic incident that left a lasting imprint on the collective memory of the villagers and their descendants. Based on the testimonies of the first generation, almost identical incidents had occurred in various Asia Minor villages. Specifically, the town crier called all the villagers to the church as part of an organised plan to massacre the Orthodox population. According to Sophia:

[25] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[26] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Β'. Μαρτυρίες από τις Επαρχίες της Κεντρικής και Νότιας Μικρασίας* [Exodus. Volume B'. Testimonies from the Provinces of Central and South Asia Minor], p. 3.
[27] Ibid, p. κζ.
[28] T. Kostakis and E. Anakou, *Prologue by Melpo Merlier* (Athens, 1963), p. xix.

> They had filled the church with hay and wood, put everyone inside, set them on fire, burned them, 128 people were burned to death and many injured, 520 or 530 people (the population of the village).[29]

This traumatic story was also revealed by Sophia's mother, Euterpi Kosmoglou, who was born in 1945. In her attempt to explain why she did not meet any of her grandparents, she said:

> Now you ask me if I had met my grandmother and my grandfather, neither from my mother did I meet grandmother or grandfather nor from my father's, all of whom were burned to death in the same church in the orthodox church.[30]

This incident occurred on February 21 of 1923 in the church of St. George. Following this massacre, the survivors left directly either on foot or by cart to the port of Mersin and were transferred by boat to the port of Piraeus and then to Thessaloniki and to Chalkidiki where they were living in tents before their final settlement in Neos Milotopos. The refugee settlement of Neos Milotopos was established in 1924, constituting a collective 'move' of the village as a whole from Asia Minor to Greece. Euterpi emphasised that their village is composed of relatives with shared histories of forced displacement 'we are all relatives', mentioning that even now, marriages happened between cousins.[31]

> Marilena: Did the whole village from Cappadocia come and settle in Neos Milotopos?
> Euterpi: Yes, everyone here, nobody went anywhere else. Just like in the village we were all relatives, from there all together Piraeus and from there Thessaloniki […] everyone [came] here.[32]

From familial silence to collective remembrance: The role of culture

How does this memory play out on an individual level and on the familial sphere? The traumatic church incident caused Euterpi Meletiadou, born in 1945, as well as many other Asia

[29] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[30] Melediadou, 2019.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

Minor refugees, not to ever meet their grandparents. Memories of forced displacement, the Turkish language, and a strong culinary tradition were transmitted in the familial space by Euterpi's mother. However, the transmission of memories occurred at a later stage due to the existence of a national narrative derived from schoolteachers that was framed by negativity towards the Turks and the Bulgarians. The same pattern regarding the role of the national narrative in schools was also discussed by Euterpi's son, Ananias Kosmoglou, who was born in 1969, illustrating a tension between family and public narratives as well as a need to fit in with coevals as a child for both the mother and the son in their generations.

> Euterpi: My mother, my mother would say these things when we grew up a bit, when we were kids we didn't want to listen to her because we had a problem from school […] as a child I didn't want to hear her talk about Turkey. When I grew up, I learned about these things.[33]
> Ananias: I remember when I would go visit [my grandmother] from school, she had a radio and always had Turkish on, and I would get angry because then in school they would subject us to propaganda with history that that's what the Turks did to us, I would tell her to turn off the radio and she would tell me: my baby [in Turkish] my homeland is there, here they brought us with the population exchange, we are refugees.[34]

Family history of forced displacement was transmitted to Euterpi through the Turkish language and food tradition. Until today, Euterpi speaks Turkish and maintains the Cappadocian cooking tradition, 'I will cook today potatoes with flomari like a sandwich, I've made pligouri meatballs and inside minced meat, I made ischli'.[35] The maintenance of this culinary tradition is also a key connecting tie of Asia Minor memory and identity for Euterpi's daughter, Sophia Kosmoglou. Sophia, born in 1972, described how her memory and identity are shaped both by the cooking tradition within the familial space and through her active involvement in the cultural association in the extra-familial and collective space.

[33] Meletiadou, 2019.
[34] Interview with Ananias Kosmoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[35] Meletiadou, 2019.

> No, no we didn't have many conversations at home about the history from there […] what reminded us more of those to be honest is the food. The cuisine is active, meaning we didn't ever have any pauses in the Cappadocian cuisine over the years. But we didn't have historical hearings, more so my involvement with the cultural aspects.[36]

Referring to her family history and the settlement's broader shared experience of displacement, Sophia revealed that she learned about the church incident at a very late stage of her life and only from a member of her extended family, 'an aunt'. She attributed the pervasive silence of the first generation to the traumatic dimension of this story:

> I can tell you that in our village unfortunately there were no early hearings, they didn't talk much, possibly this has to do with the tragic incident at the church, some didn't want to remember, they didn't go through few things, they went through a lot.[37]

Sophia then unfolded the intergenerational transmission of memories, arguing that survival was the priority for the second generation and Asia Minor memory comes to the forefront in the following generation:

> The second generation also threw themselves into the task of surviving, and World War II happened then too […] you had to search to find a way to live, to eat, to raise kids, […] the third generation began to dig into things, my generation is digging into things […] that trauma is still present.[38]

Sophia believes that it was her generation that is associated with the reawakening of memory. In her case, traces of family history are transferred mainly through the Cappadocian food tradition and become deeper, broader, more historical, and more systematic through her 25-year involvement in the cultural association. She also mentioned her active involvement in the PanHellenic Association of Cappadocia which is based in Athens, numbers around 600,000 members, and brings together Cappadocian descendants throughout Greece. In this context,

[36] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

family memory acquires a transgenerational dimension as it is expressed through collective frameworks of remembrance.

Other members of this settlement, also Asia Minor refugee descendants of the third generation, stressed the pervasive silence or in rare cases the limited transfer in the space of the family through phrases such as 'okay, maybe my grandmother didn't talk much about these things here, maybe it pained her'.[39] They attributed the discovery of their Asia Minor memory and identity to the use of the Turkish language and to the maintenance of Asia Minor cultural traditions, ranging from food to folklore music and dances. Veziridis Konstantinos, born in 1958, Ananias Kosmoglou, Euterpi's son born in 1969, and Maria Grigoriadou, Euterpi's daughter in-law born in 1969, explained that their understanding of the Asia Minor element of their identity derives from the refugee settlement or otherwise from the collective dimension of memory:

> Konstantinos: Everyone, the whole village is a refugee village […] from [when we were] kids because I remember in the movie theatre here in the village even 50 years ago they would bring Turkish movies.[40]
> Ananias: Here if you come to the village and come to a wedding and they don't play karsilama [a folk turkish dance] it would be as if there was no wedding.[41]
> Maria: Do you know what the problem is, Marilena? Because all these songs are in Turkish, they call us Turks, but they don't know that when our people were there they had told our people you will keep either the language or the religion.[42]

Finally, one of the youngest members of the family, Charikleia Kosmoglou, Anania's daughter and Euterpi's granddaughter born in 2005, after tracing her Asia Minor heritage concluded that the Asia Minor culinary tradition as she experiences it daily as well as her participation in the association are key frameworks of transmission in her case:

[39] Ibid.
[40] Veziridis, 2019.
[41] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[42] Grigoriadou, 2019.

> From the hearings they had given us when we were young and everything more that we learn as we grow up, to our participation in associations, yes this is the most important […] We dance mainly those dances, we learn the Cappadocian ones and those foods.[43]

Pontus

The forced displacement in the geographic region of Pontus was one of the most forceful and violent. In the 1910s, the dominance of the Greek population in Pontus and its economic affluence enhanced the systematic creation of churches and schools, leading to an emerging will for self-determination, as it was expressed at the Paris Peace Conference.[44] This sentiment was brutally disrupted by mass killings and forced displacements between 1913 and 1924. The early persecutions of 1913-14, the presence of the Russian army, the magnitude and the methods of extermination of Pontic Greeks in 1919-21, and the particularities of the Pontic identity compose only some of the unique elements of the Pontic experience.[45] The internal diversity of the Pontic experience is approached through testimonies across different places of origin. The heterogeneity of the first settlement is seen through various cases within the context of Central Macedonia, ranging from the city of Thessaloniki to borderland villages. In contrast to the Asia Minor experience that focuses on the cases of Thessaloniki and Neos Milotopos, this chapter explores the Pontic experience through various communities.

Fragmented memories about 'a martyrdom exodus', 'works battalions', 'rapes', and 'severed heads' compose descendants' often blurry memories of forced displacement in 1920s in the case of Pontus. Although stories are diverse, similar patterns pervade stories of forced displacement and first settlement in Central Macedonia. Informants describe the magnitude of human losses before and during the displacement as well as during the first settlement. Linking

[43] Interview with Charikleia Kosmoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[44] *Η Έξοδος. Τόμος Δ'. Μαρτυρίες από τον Ανατολικό Παράλιο Πόντο* [Exodus. Volume D'. Testimonies from the East Coast of Pontus], p. 108.
[45] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 35.

the wounds of the expulsion and the first settlement through his family story, Nikos Konstantinidis recalled, '[d]uring the trip, one of my grandmother's children died and they threw it into the sea, the other child died in the quarantine hospitals of Kalamaria where her husband also died'.[46] In addition, Konstantinos Fotiadis emphasised the magnitude of losses regarding the displacement in Sevastia, his ancestors' place of origin, noting that 'the uprooting of the survivors who were approximately ⅖ of the residents. ⅗ of them were victims of genocide'.[47]

Following their arrival, first settlement took place in sometimes unpopulated urban and rural settings. In most cases, whole Pontic villages or neighbouring villages settled in areas where the landscape pattern was similar to their origin villages and maintained their population mosaic until today.

> The whole village originates from three villages known among one another. So, the first composition of the village was 17 families. […] each family designated a representative […] They were looking for a place that resembled their homeland.[48]

In many cases, refugees ascribed their Pontic identity to the newly established settlements, for instance, by creating dominant religious buildings in memory of buildings in their place of origin, 'the first church of our town carries the name of the church there'.[49] In places where the natives pre-existed, tense relations characterised their coexistence that led to characterisations such as 'Turkish seeds' and, in some cases, to deadly incidents.

> There the locals didn't want the settlement of the Mpafraiens Turkish speakers and went and burned their tents, and in fact 4 people had been killed.[50]

[46] Konstantinidis, 2019.
[47] Fotiadis, 2019.
[48] Konstantinidis, 2019.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Fotiadis, 2019.

Language exerted another key difficulty and source of dispute between refugees and the native population, with many refugees using only the Pontic Greek dialect, recalling that 'we would curse at them, Bulgarians [we called them] to say the truth, Turkish seeds, refugees and damned refugees [they called us]'.[51] Gradually, and through mixed marriages, these rifts started to fade. A descendant of the third generation, Romanidou Eudoksia, vividly recalled the first arrivals of the non-Pontic population in the village due to mixed marriages. Her description emphasised the absence of relations between the Pontic and the native population.

> When they brought them [brides] to the village we were babies, I was 10 years old about. I would look at them strangely because they were the sight of the village, they weren't Pontic. I thought those who weren't Pontic were something else […] I thought they were different, and I would look at them strangely and search to find I don't know what, do they have 3 legs? 4 arms? What do they have? But no, they were the same.[52]

In the case of Pontus, traces of trauma, silence, and intentional forgetfulness lie in many phrases of Pontic refugees of the first generation. However, given that 'trauma is both the event and the memory of the event',[53] in the following analysis I examine the extent to which this memory of forced displacement is experienced indirectly through its transfer from the first to the following generations.

The concept of silence

In the familial space, the concept of silence emerges, explaining the existence of fragmented memories of forced displacement. Painful descriptions of forced displacement become family or, often, collective secrets of people who belong to the same generational unit and have directly experienced the relocation. Due to the fear of evoking pain and traumatising their

[51] Interview with Stavros Evzonoi, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.
[52] Interview with Romanidou Eudoksia, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 29 Nov. 2019.
[53] Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', p. 18.

descendants, aching memories of relocation become well-hidden family secrets for descendants of the following generations. Konstantinos Fotiadis was born in 1948 in an almost exclusively Pontic village named 'Ano Zervochori' in Central Macedonia. He now lives in the city of Thessaloniki and recalls pervasive silence in the family space. It was only his mother who decided to share a few 'traumatic' stories towards the end of her life:

> They didn't want to talk about those years at home, but in every other sentence my grandfather would say "oh memleket" [homeland], a habit he gave to my father too. […] In general they didn't want to talk about the forced displacement and genocide. Among themselves they would talk.[54]

The same pattern of internal conversations between coevals about homeland and familial silence is mentioned by Nikos Konstantinidis who was born in 1951 in an exclusively Pontic village called Chorigi. Nikos attributed the familial silence to the traumatic dimension of his ancestors' experiences. As he explained, this wound was later intersected with other traumatic experiences:

> They didn't talk at home about their life there. The meaning I give now is that 'the thought, wherever you touch it, hurts' says Seferis, and the thought they were carrying was bloody. So, in this journey they buried children, they buried husbands. They would remember events that hurt them, so they didn't talk about this. […] My grandmother didn't talk […] she hurt a lot. And if something did happen, she would say 'stop, I don't want to hear it' […] They rarely spoke about the forced displacement […] but in conversations among themselves.[55]

On the level of a neighbourhood or of a whole village the generation with the direct experience expressed their traumas in a collective way, according to Konstantinos. Recalling memories through collective frameworks of remembrance, he attached a psychotherapeutic

[54] Fotiadis, 2019.
[55] Konstantinidis, 2019.

dimension to the night gatherings of coevals in the streets talking and sharing homeland stories as well as to the funeral mourning:

> Between themselves they would talk […] where in those conversations they said stories of the homeland. The night gatherings were a redemption of the soul. […] Somebody would die and then it was very natural for many to weep for the dead. But you would see that the rest who cried and mourned, in fact wept for their own who had a corresponding story. […] It is participation in a common memorial, because let's not forget that during the first years, happiness did not exist on their faces, because when 3 of 5 people have been lost, this sorrow remains etched in the first generation. I say that they passed on to the second and to the third generations. I am full of these experiences.[56]

The Pontic dialect

According to Konstantinos, non-cognitive acts and the use of the Greek Pontic dialect exerted the main means of transmission of memory and identity. Indeed, all the informants across geographical regions and generations acknowledge the importance of language both as a means of memory transmission and as a factor of identity formation. The Pontic dialect is 'far removed from today's standard language' and almost unintelligible for the native population.[57] Born in 1951, Nikos, who lives in Chorigi, a Pontic village in which residents still use this language as a form of communication, recalled that he learned the Pontic dialect from his grandparents:

> I spoke to my grandfather and grandmother in the Pontic dialect. They only spoke in Pontic to each other. Greek was a luxury. Never in the village did people speak in Greek to each other. They used Greek only when they would go to a public service.[58]

An interesting pattern regarding the continuities and the discontinuities of the use of the Pontic dialect emerge, with interviewees drawing a line between, on the one hand, familial and collective and, on the other hand, national forms of expression. With this consideration, the Pontic dialect belongs to the familial and collective spheres of a neighbourhood, a settlement,

[56] Ibid.
[57] Mackbridge, 'The Pontic Dialect: A Corrupt Version of Ancient Greek?', p. 335.
[58] Konstantinidis, 2019.

or a village and comes into sharp contrast with the public narrative as it was expressed mainly through school teachers. Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948, explained:

> They only spoke Pontic […] in the village, when I was 7, I only spoke Pontic. In elementary school I started to learn Greek. In fact, my teacher who was from my village twice punished me by making me write 100 times 'I will not speak Pontic again'.[59]

In the public sphere the use of the Modern Greek language was imposed by state policies promoting integration though linguistic homogenisation and isolating the Pontic dialect in the private sphere. However, in many cases parents discouraged the following generations from learning Pontic due to the fear of precluding their children's integration. Maria Giakousidou and Fotis Pastourmatzis, descendants of the second generation who live in Oraiokastro, a suburb of Thessaloniki, referred to this issue, stressing that the need for integration was higher in the cities compared to the exclusively Pontic villages:

> Fotis: My parents would speak Pontic when they were alone. To me and to my sister they spoke Greek. But we were in an apartment and I could hear them. And of course, they tried to assimilate in the urban web, while the people from Pontus in the villages were different.[60]
> Maria: My parents didn't let me speak Pontic so that I wouldn't have difficulty in studying and now I feel very bad […] and when I went to middle school, I would ask my mother why we speak this way and they speak differently, and she would say: they are Greeks.[61]

The aforementioned testimonies were conducted in the Pontic association of Oraiokastro, which was founded in 1993, in the context of a Pontic dialect course. Participants were aged from six to seventy years and, apart from a native, were descendants of refugees of Pontus. The teacher, Giannis Terzidis, a descendant of the third generation, talked about a linguistic

[59] Fotiadis, 2019.
[60] Pastourmatzis, 2019.
[61] Interview with Maria Giakousidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 4 Dec. 2019.

'genocide' by the Greek state that precluded the use of the Pontic dialect, underlying the violent, forced, and traumatic dimension of their Hellenisation:

> Let me tell you something, genocide is also the following, for the grandchild to not be able to understand or communicate with his grandmother, that is genocide, […] and that happened here and by the official Greek state as essentially the teachers came to the villages and to the schools and forbade the use of the Pontic dialect.[62]

Another philologist who is also engaged with the teaching of the Pontic dialect, Archontisa Konstantinidou, born in 1981, recalled that she learned the Pontic dialect as a child through her grandparents. As she stressed, her grandparents were not educated to be able to pass her their memories through systematic knowledge. However, the transmission occurred through the language. Her father, Nikos from Chorigi, was telling his parents 'not to speak Pontic' in front of her because, as Archontisa noted, '[h]e didn't want me to become part of a ghetto in any way'.[63]

Based on the descriptions, it appears that language, as the key framework of transmission, leaps a generation as its learning usually happens in the following sequence: from the first to the third generation and from the second to the fourth generation. In other words, isolating in the private sphere, the Pontic dialect constitutes a means of communication and identity transmission between grandparents and grandchildren, with the parents' generation perceiving language particularities as an element that might precludes integration. In addition, painful memories and descriptions of forced displacement are limited to internal discussions of coevals of the first generations and fade throughout generations. Aris Zopidis, born in 1973, noted, 'they didn't want to transfer them on because they didn't have pleasant experiences, you understand?'[64] Likewise, Archontisa mentioned that her ancestors did not want to evoke painful

[62] Terzidis, 2019.
[63] Konstantinidou, 2019.
[64] Interview with Aris Zopidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.

memories, saying that '[u]ntil the point that I am allowed to judge, I see an effort to forget these bad things'.[65]

Collective frameworks of remembrance

In this context, painful descriptions lose force, and the Pontic dialect is still active through its daily use in some exclusively Pontic villages or just through its understanding in mixed city centres as Kyriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989 in Thessaloniki, mentioned. Kyriaki also noted that her grandmother said that they had a very difficult life there and that she has passed her 'values and principles connected to the Pontic element'.[66] Indeed, traumatic experiences are transmuted into value systems and are transferred from one generation to the next. Descendants of the third and fourth generations refer to the 'lessons', 'value system', and ideas such as the value of 'collectivity and teamwork'. Cultural elements, as expressed through customs, traditional dances, musical instruments such as the Pontic lyre, music, and traditional food, are present in the following generations with the indirect traumatic experience. These elements are transferred from one generation to the other through familial and collective frameworks of remembrance such as refugee associations. For instance, 'Akrites' association, established in 1966 in Polykastro, and the 'Union of Pontics of Oraiokastro', founded in 1993, are important spaces of transmission, including activities such as traditional music and dance classes, language classes as well as organising annual memorial celebrations. Talking about the Pontic association in Polycastro, Aris, born in 1973, expressed his will to transmit his Pontic heritage to his children through their registration in the association, saying that 'our purpose is when they reach an age at which they can comprehend some things, they will register for the association'.[67] A strong desire for intergenerational transmission of the Pontic memory and

[65] Konstantinidou, 2019.
[66] Fotiadou, 2019.
[67] Zopidis, 2019.

identity is a pattern that pervades different generations. For instance, Konstantinos Fotiadis and Nikos Konstantinidis described their contribution and will to transfer the Pontic identity to their daughters, Kyriaki and Archontissa, respectively, as we saw in the aforementioned analysis. This wish for intergenerational transmission as well as the main components of the Pontic identity are examined in the following section.

Intergenerational identity

Neos Milotopos

Language and cultural traditions as expressed through food, music, and dances as well as through the cultural association exert key frameworks not only of remembrance but also of the formation of identities in this refugee settlement. In this case, the Asia Minor identity is deeply connected with Cappadocia, which is the descendants' place of origin. The residents of Milotopos are self-characterised as Cappadocians, underlining their regional origin, and they call themselves refugees. The extent to which Asia Minor refugee identity fades or enhances over time and throughout generations, the subjects' attachment to imagined (Asia Minor), national (Greece), or local (Central Macedonia) identities, and their self-characterisation as natives or refugees are central. Identities are contextual and as such will be seen in a continuum of different phases that the informants have experienced based on their generational unit. In this continuum, the self-positioning facet of selfhood is shaped and reshaped throughout different historical periods and it is constructed by informants in the context of the interviews that coincide with the unfolding migration crisis.

Self-positioning: Imagined versus national attachments

A sentimental connection with Asia Minor and their ancestors' place of origin characterises many Asia Minor descendants. Declaring this deep familial attachment to their Cappadocian roots, Asia Minor descendants of the second generation said, '[o]f course I feel Cappadocian […] since my parents came from there, my roots', '[m]y soul always goes there [to Cappadocia]'.[68] However, this imagined identification tie does not seem to overshadow their national (Greek) and local (Macedonian) attachments. Especially in the context of Macedonia, in northern Greece, it is worth remembering that the Rural Settlement of refugees had a profound ethnological impact on the homogenisation and consolidation of Greece. Due to the state's attempt to cultivate a national identity within this out-group and Hellenised newly acquired lands, Asia Minor refugees became 'the frontier population', safeguarding the country's territorial integrity and the norther borders of Greece. Euterpi noted with great clarity regarding the importance of these various attachments, 'I will put Greece first'.[69] Similarly, Martha Chatziliadou, born in 1949, explained her exclusive identification with Greece:

> Okay I love them [the Asia Minors] […] because they are the roots of my father but I feel 100% Greek. Now I don't feel anything, I have integrated so much that I think I am local but I am a refugee in reality.[70]

The prioritisation of the national attachment appears in the testimonies of the descendants of the third generation. Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972, despite feeling very proud of her grandparents' place of origin, emphasised her Greek origin, considering Macedonia and Cappadocia the same:

[68] Interview with Maria Papavasiliou-Andronidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.
[69] Meletiadou, 2019.
[70] Interview with Martha Chatziliadou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 5 Dec. 2019.

> I will first put that I am from Greece, then I will put that I am of Cappadocian descent, Macedonian or Macedonian of Cappadocian descent, these two things go together, I can't separate them.[71]

Likewise, other descendants of the third generation feel proud of their Asia Minor roots but also stress their attachment to Greece. This sense of pride that was cultivated over the years pervades the sense of identity of the descendants of the fourth generation. For Charikleia Kosmoglou, born in 2005, her ancestors' place of origin becomes her place of origin and their identity becomes a defining part of her identity, as she put her Asia Minor and refugee component of her identification first.

> I am personally proud of this [refugee identity] because my ancestors were like this so I also want to continue. I'm not going to be ashamed of it nor will I hide it. I want to say it, I consider myself, just like my parents were refugees, a refugee.[72]

The state's attempt to cultivate a national identity within this out-group, turning them into the frontier population, had a strong and intergenerational impact on the prioritisation of the attachment to their national identity. Almost half of Asia Minor refugees were settled 'on land in Macedonia and Western Thrace that had been previously farmed by Muslims'.[73] At the borders of Macedonia, the agrarian reforms and the land distribution led to long-standing contested relations between the refugees and the native population. Especially in borderland villages in northern Greece, Asia Minor descendants become guardians of the unpopulated borders. Accordingly, their identification was transmuted from refugees to occupiers, which had a strong intergenerational effect on their identities. According to Sophia, born in 1972:

> I consider that we [Asia Minors] played a catalytic role in Greece, in the area of the country where refugees have been placed, I consider that there is a great blooming and if there wasn't the refugee part then our borders wouldn't be what they are. […] I think that

[71] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[72] Ch. Kosmoglou, 2019.
[73] Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee,* p. 66.

> we stopped the expansion of our neighbours. […] If the population [was only] of the locals at the borders, at this point this area wouldn't exist [Maria: It would be Skopje here], in this way I think we played a crucial role and for development too.[74]

Although familial and collective frameworks of remembrance vividly shape the Asia Minor component of descendants' identity, their allegiance to Greece, as it has been shaped historically, is equally strong. Claimed to be authentic Greeks and culturally superior from the local population they gradually formed a sense of separate identity. However, their persistence in their self-designation as refugees, throughout generations, is something that needs to be seen with regards to the creation of this identity in relation to others.

We - they

> Martha: We were all refugees, but we didn't know that we were refugees.[75]
> Despoina: The difference happened when Kromni [the locals] came down, that's when the difference happened, and they saw us as refugees and Turks.[76]
> Maria: And we saw them as Bulgarians.[77]
> Martha: We thought we were Greek, because we were all the same and thought that we were all Greek and we were proud of it.[78]

In a revealing dialogue, Martha, a descendant of the second generation, and Despoina and Maria, descendants of the third generation, describe how their identity as refugees was shaped and reshaped due to the arrival of a group composed of locals in the settlement in the 1970s. Descendants' identity as refugees is expressed in contrast to the native population. Beginning in the 1970s and in the context of internal migration, this sense of a separate identity asserts that the differentiation between the two groups has been consciously maintained across

[74] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[75] Chatziliadou, 2019.
[76] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[77] Grigoriadou, 2019.
[78] Chatziliadou, 2019.

generations, with residents declaring that '[t]his [tension] still exists even now'.[79] In this battle for recognition and domination, Asia Minor refugees adopt and maintain the refugee identity, which is shaped through its opposition to the 'other'.

Contested relations 'between Slavophone and Vlach-speaking natives and refugee newcomers' started as a land distribution battle following the locals' arrival in this exclusively refugee settlement.[80] This arrival destabilised Asia Minor descendants who described the local population as less developed, less integrated, and less extroverted. In the case of the newly acquired lands of Greek Macedonia, assimilation and integration processes were taking place for both refugee and indigenous populations. According to Sophia, the natives were living in an isolated village, came 'as workers' due to Milotopos's development, and were given land by the state. As she noted, '[the natives] didn't even have electricity […] here the village was all of refugees, they wanted workers, they had farmland, there was development'.[81] Asia Minor refugee descendants argue that the land that was given to the natives could have been theirs, saying that 'if they hadn't come maybe I would have also gotten a plot of land'.[82] As they further explain, the natives questioned Asia Minor refugees' establishment in Neos Milotopos. According to Despoina, Asia Minor refugees were settled on these lands first and were economically superior:

> We felt this place as our own, because they lived in the depths in the mountains over there and they brought them down then and [the natives] said that we came. We say we didn't come here, we were born here, you came to us. And they never integrated because they are closed.[83]
> Sophia: But there was a ghettofication.[84]

[79] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[80] E. Kontogiorgi, *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922-1930* (Oxford, 2006).
[81] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[84] Kosmoglou, 2019.

Elements of alterity are attributed to the local population, shaping a long-standing tension between the two groups. In this battle for domination, Asia Minor descendants question the Greek consciousness of the natives. Born in 1972, Sophia Kosmoglou remembered that during her school years there was a mix of 'refugees' from Cappadocia and Eastern Thrace and 'natives', stressing that there was 'no sense of common origin' between them and saying that '[t]here were never any particular bonds neither with the natives nor with the people from Thrace'.[85] Sophia self-identifies as a refugee, challenges the Greek consciousness of the indigenous population, and considers Asia Minor refugees 'more Greeks'. As she emphatically explained, '[w]e don't consider a good characterisation when someone calls us [native]. There are Slavophone Greeks but not all of them with a Greek conscience'.[86]

Language becomes an idiom of national attachment and belonging, and locals are described as Slavophones. Despite that the two groups share the same language, the knowledge, or in many cases just remaining traces of another linguistic heritage, become the basis of sharp rifts of differentiation. Descendants across generations emphasise the linguistic particularity of the native population, questioning their Greekness and stressing the fading tendency of Asia Minor descendants' usage of the Turkish language:

> Maria: they still speak […] Slavic while we don't speak Turkish […] we called them Bulgarians and they called us Turks, they even have relatives in Bulgaria.[87]
> […]
> Eftherpi: Yes, they speak that language, even the younger ones do, we don't speak Turkish.[88]
> […]
> Ananias: I feel Greek. […] we call natives the ones who were born here, they were here and speak a different language, the natives' language, Slavic.

[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Grigoriadou, 2019.
[88] Meletiadou, 2019.

> Slavophones! [the other members of the family shouted from the kitchen].[89]

The persistence of this distinction between natives and refugees – that reminds us of another historical distinction between heterochthonous and autochthonous Greeks – is so prominent that, although more moderated throughout generations, it exerts an impediment to mixed marriages. Born in 1969, Maria emphatically expressed her opinion regarding this issue, also declaring her disappointment by her brother's marriage to a native:

> You know we have raised our children telling them they are refugees, my children mock me […] because I say that you'll only marry refugees hahaha I don't want you to take natives, we call natives those Slavophones.[90]

Finally, hospitality is considered a characteristic of paramount importance as both an element of refugee identification and of differentiation between the Asia Minor descendants and the native population. Euterpi's family illustrated in the most vivid way the meaning of Asia Minor hospitality. They warmly welcomed me by opening their house, inviting not only their whole family but also many other residents of the settlement, and cooking numerous Cappadocian foods. They also warmly welcomed my parents who were visiting the broader area and gave us various Cappadocian homemade products:

> Euterpi: Call your mother and please tell them to come for food the Asia Minor hospitality is famous, it is famous we don't take it lightly because for the natives that we talk about now in the village, they don't even open their houses to their neighbour, that's how secretive they are.[91]
> Sophia: They don't have feelings, the words hospitality […] they are very closed within their homes and don't have much to do even with their brothers and sisters.[92]

[89] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[90] Grigoriadou, 2019.
[91] Meletiadou, 2019.
[92] Kosmoglou, 2019.

In this light, repeated comparisons between Cappadocians, natives, and descendants of Eastern Thrace emerge regarding their culture of hospitality. Hospitality and the offering of food appear as defining characteristics of the refugee identity that are transmitted from one generation to the next. Euterpi remembered, 'my father, for anyone who came, would tell my mother to take out something for him to eat'.[93] They argued that their cultural value of hospitality surpasses national distinctions and applies to strangers of both the same and different ethnic background:

> Konstantinos: We the refugees have to be hospitable, not as an obligation, but it comes out from within us, you can't not invite someone into your home.[94]
> Sophia: The issue of hospitality I think still holds well, very few houses are those that don't open up not only for a stranger of the same race, if I may put it that way, but also even for refugees.[95]

Characteristics such as land ownership patterns, ethnic consciousness, language, and hospitality are seen as shaping elements of the refugee identity and as elements of differentiation between Asia Minor descendants and the native population. Asia Minor descendants try to safeguard their identity in opposition to the 'other'. In this case, the intergenerational transmission of the refugee identity is seen as a means of reasserting their Greek identity and national belonging by their opposition to the native population.

Pontus

Reflective self-positioning

Wounds, silences, language, and cultural traditions as expressed through various levels of memory are key factors of identity formation. This identification process is examined throughout generations, providing a long continuum of Pontic memory and identity as it is

[93] Meletiadou, 2019.
[94] Veziridis, 2019.
[95] Kosmoglou, 2019.

shaped and reshaped by similarities and discrepancies that characterised different generational units. Identities are contextual and as such their shaping is seen across historical periods and geographical locations and in relation to the reflective self-positioning facet of selfhood and to others.

A strong, imagined, and sentimental connection that is evolving throughout different life stages and is mediated by different levels of memory, characterises many descendants' sense of identity. Nikos was born in 1951 and raised in the Pontic-refugee village of Chorigi and he is the author of the village's history. Although during his childhood he was surrounded by friends, relatives, foods, and traditions from Pontus, his identity was further shaped outside the context of his village. Reflecting on key stages of identity formation, Nikos firstly mentioned his special connection to other descendants of Pontus while he was serving in the army in 1971-73, saying that '[t]hen in the army you saw someone who spoke your dialect and you felt […] like he was a relative'.[96] Secondly, while he was in Thessaloniki, he amused himself in clubs with Pontic music and through which, as he noted, 'this would start to be forged, to tie you as a tradition, as a language, as customs'.[97] In addition, when he was living in Sweden, for study purposes, he became the president of all the migration societies. In 2000, he started visiting Pontus to find his home. For many descendants, trips to Pontus and mainly the discovery of their ancestors' houses exert an important parameter of their attachment. Among different identities that coexist, Nikos prioritised his Pontic identity, which is, as he stressed, his sentimental identity.

[96] Konstantinidis, 2019.
[97] Ibid.

> That which characterises me most is my Pontic identity, which is my sentimental identity, my lingual identity and my soul's identity. My Greek identity is my functional identity, my writer's identity and my political identity. These are different levels.[98]

For Nikos and Konstantinos Fotiadis, both born in 1948, their ancestors' place of origin becomes their place of origin and their Pontic identity a defining part of their identity, declaring an enduring sense of Pontic belonging. Konstantinos is an Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Western Macedonia and his work is primarily focused on Pontus. Konstantinos explained how his Pontic identity was self-defining throughout different life stages. It started in the context of his refugee village in his early childhood and with Pontic theatrical plays in his high school years. During his college years, this identity was further evolved and became more systematic through his participation in the Pontic Student Association in 1968. As he recalled, 'the Junta abolished all the associations with the thinking that they were connected to leftist leanings'.[99] Based on this assumption about left political leanings, long standing associations throughout Greece were closed by the Greek Junta. However, Konstantinos added that they succeeded in keeping the dance classes of the association, illustrating the role of dance and saying that '[s]o we had dance, which kept us united'.[100] Through these dance classes and the three big Pontic clubs in Thessaloniki that had food and music from Pontus, his identity was maintained during this period. As he recalled, '[a]s soon as I entered university I got the stigma, "the Pontic". They wouldn't say "Kostas Fotiadis", they would say "the Pontic"'.[101] This identity followed Konstantinos throughout his life, even when he moved to Germany for study purposes. Konstantinos was teaching Pontic dances to both Greeks and Germans and became the founder of the Pontic association 'Akrites of Pontus' in Germany. Referring to his

[98] Konstantinidis, 2019.
[99] Fotiadis, 2019.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

repeated trips to Pontus and analysing his identity from his current perspective, Konstantinos declared an enduring sense of imagined belonging:

> My identity is clearly Pontic, it isn't anything else. My Pontic identity is clean and if you asked me where I would want to live in my life my answer would be in Trapezounta and Russia. […] I first feel 30 times Greek because I am Pontic.[102]

Nevertheless, contested identities coexist in the same generational unit, with descendants of the second generation, especially from borderland locations, underlining the national component of their identity. Interpreting this component, the state's efforts to cultivate a national identity upon this former outgroup cannot be ignored. For instance, Dimitrios Kapoutzidis, the son of a Turkish mother and a Pontic father was born in a border crossing village in the region of Sidirokastro in 1931. Dimitris is the last living reserve expedition major. He was born in a village that constitutes one of the main borders with Bulgaria, he served from the age of ten in the Greek army, protecting the borders 'we patrolled all the borders', and solely identifies as Greek.[103] This part of Greece was occupied by Bulgarians in 1941 during the German/Italian occupation. In this context, Dimitris transitions from a refugee to a guardian of borders, as he noted:

> Almost from the moment that I understood myself and could speak I knew that my descent was from there [Pontus]. I also had within me a major weakness for the word Greece. I wouldn't give it away for anything.[104]

Another example is the case of the main border crossing village of Evzonoi between Greece and North Macedonia. Born in 1954, Konstantinos Psomas, without rejecting his Pontic origin and identity, self-identifies as a native and prioritises the identity of the 'Greek

[102] Ibid.
[103] Kapoutzidis, 2019
[104] Ibid.

Macedonian' from Evzonoi.[105] Similarly, his cousin, Aris Zopidis, born in the same village in 1973, self-identifies with his village underlining the regional component of this identification. On the other hand, another Pontic descendant of the third generation from the suburbs of Thessaloniki, Giannis Terzidis, described the emotionally charged refugee component of his identification, despite that he self-characterises as a 'Greek of Macedonia', explaining the particularities of his imagined attachment:

> We experienced a particular idiosyncratic refugeehood, my generation that grew up with the grandfathers, in a way we are refugees, why? Because we yearn for and miss, there is a missing for a homeland we never experienced […] I know a language, with which I grew up, which was born in a land I haven't seen […] a particular refugeehood, we miss things and cry for things that we have only heard of […] I feel a mysterious kind, a particular kind of refugeehood, I think I carry it […] I think I am with one foot in the university and with the other in Bahar […] in the mountainous grazing fields of Pontus.[106]

Giannis' refugee identity is not directly referential but rather it is shaped indirectly through his grandparents' stories and language. On the other hand, Professor's Fotiadis' daughter, Kyriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989 in Thessaloniki, explained how her parents' strong Pontic identification weakened her identification. Kyriaki's identity opposes her parents' deep Pontic identities that dominated their family's daily life:

> It was to a superlative degree Pontic. So, I didn't want it anymore. It affected me in a negative way. The identity was so strong that I didn't want any more. […] I was never in an association. […] So, a very strong identity from both parents worked in a preventative way for me.[107]

Kyriaki considered the Pontic identity an identity of the past that nevertheless constitutes an important part of her selfhood. Archontisa Konstantinidou, born in Chorigi in 1981, related her

[105] Interview with Konstantinos Psomas, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.
[106] Terzidis, 2019.
[107] Fotiadou, 2019.

Pontic identity to a shared past that brings her together with descendants of Pontus from various places. She also explained that she further understood the refugee component of her identification in relation to the 'other' once she lived in non-refugee places, saying that '[a]round 18-19 I started to discover more vividly my refugee identity, because I left Kilkis where more or less the culture was the same for everyone'.[108] Archontissa is self-characterised as a refugee and has Pontus as a strong point of reference throughout her life. During her studies, she became a member of the Pontic Student Association as she realised a special attraction to descendants of Pontus. Comparing descendants from Pontus and Asia Minor, she concluded, 'the community of Pontics is closer. Perhaps we display our identity more intensely'.[109] In her attempt to explain the particularities of their identity characteristics, she argued that the Pontic genocide makes them 'want to defend their identity even more'.[110] Indeed, many descendants discuss the systematic organisation of Pontic descendants through well-organised associations and in relation the genocide issue. In this context, enlightening are the numerous cases in which people have one parent of Pontic and one parent of Asia Minor origin. Across generations, descendants who underline the Pontic component of their identification attribute their stronger attachment to a perceived more traumatic forced displacement in comparison to people from Asia Minor. Specifically, Dimitris Dimitriadis, born in 1944, noted:

> Maybe these people [Pontics] went through more, destroyed many times, many were hunted and went to the mountains, from the side of my mother they didn't go through such things. […] they [Pontics] suffered more [...] and they are also more active.[111]

[108] Interview with Archontisa Konstantinidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 22 Nov. 2019.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Interview with Dimitris Dimitriadis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 8 Dec. 2019.

Similarly, Panagiota Ioannidou, born in 1984, claimed:

> I distinguish between those from Asia Minor and those from Pontus, I consider that they are distinct histories. The latter I feel suffered more and I identify more with this, because they went through more.[112]

The genocide issue

The emergence of the narrative of genocide is rooted in several events ranging from internal political transitions in Greece in 1974 to international developments such as Holocaust memory and a subsequent 'memory boom' in the 1980s.[113] In the mid-1980s, commemorative events appear in the context of the 60th anniversary of the Asia Minor forced displacement, while collective remembrance in the case of Pontus was focused on trauma.[114] In the 1990s the Pontic trauma and its recognition 'entered the agenda of national policy makers', became an object of 'electoral force' as well as of 'controversy in public debate'.[115] From 1985 the Global Congresses of Pontian Hellenism took place in Thessaloniki due to the significant numbers of Pontic Greek descendants.[116] Emeritus Professor Konstantinos Fotiadis was one of the key figures of the recognition of the Pontic genocide in the World Congress of Pontic Hellenism that was held in 1988. In this conference, Konstantinos presented on 'The Genocide of the Greeks of Pontus' and his colleague Charalambidis talked about 'the establishment of May 19 as a day of remembrance'.[117] The 'genocide of the Pontian Greeks' was recognised by the Greek Parliament in 1994, turning this trauma into a national concern.[118] In the meantime, in light of other events such as Macedonia's name issue, the Cyprus issue, and most importantly

[112] Interview with Panagiota Ioannidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 2 Dec. 2019.
[113] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 62.
[114] Ibid., p. 63.
[115] Ibid., pp. 70, 80.
[116] Ibid., p. 67.
[117] Fotiadis, 2019.
[118] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 74.

the arrival of ethnic Greeks from the Former Soviet Union that revived memories of forced displacement, the Third Global Congress in 1992 addressed the issue of the integration of new waves/Pontic Greeks.[119]

Analysing the issue of the genocide, an issue that surpasses individual and collective memories, acquiring a national dimension, Konstantinos drew repeated comparisons between people from Asia Minor and Pontus. Elements of competitive victimisation appear to be rooted in the issue of the Pontic genocide:

> It is clearly a genocide based on the five conditions that the UN recognised in 1952. […] In this logic I don't want to fall into the trap and group them all together due to the genocide. I would say that we all have a common identity. […] The Pontics are those who have suffered the genocide in contrast to those from Asia Minor, of which the ones with money were able at the first opportunity to move with all their money and come here. And the ones from Asia Minor didn't have the other problem, that of communication with the locals. They didn't experience the irony of the locals. Nobody calls them Turkish seeds. Turkish seeds are only the Pontic Turkish speakers. […] For the majority of those from Asia Minor they didn't know they were refugees. Because when they came they had the same culture, the same education, the same clothing. While the Pontics came with their harem pants.[120]

In this context, the genocide issue becomes a shield of alterity through which Pontic descendants try to safeguard their identity and the particularity of their experience in opposition to the other. The significant other is the Asia Minor group and thus the genocide issue turns into a source of differentiation and competitive victimisation between these experiences of forced displacement. Identities of belonging are interchanging through comparisons between ethnic groups and volatile when they intersect with other memories and identities.

[119] Ibid., pp. 75-6.
[120] Fotiadis, 2019.

Post-1989 migration

How do Asia Minor refugee descendants form and reform their memories and identities in relation to subsequent migration? In the light of the 1989 geopolitical changes, the arrival of two outgroups with different characteristics coincides in Macedonia, in northern Greece, the Greeks from the Former Soviet Union/Pontic Greeks and the Albanians.

Neos Milotopos

Albanians and a limited number of Pontic Greeks arrived in Neos Milotopos in the 1990s. During this period, the economic development in the agricultural sector led to the need for workers. The incorporation of the first generation into the primary sector and the incorporation of the following generations into schools, facilitated their integration into the host society. The occupation of mainly menial labour, those known as 'immigrant jobs', was not perceived as a threat to the established population. Considering these developments, scepticism gradually evolved into acceptance. Sophia Kosmouglou, born in 1972, remembered the arrival of the Albanians, saying that '[o]kay in the beginning I think nobody accepted it in a very positive way, because we were also hearing that the prisons opened and all the Albanians went out'.[121] She then continued, reflecting on her current stance towards them and declaring an important shift:

> Flag-bearers,[122] excellent students [the children of Albanians], but their behaviour too […] and the parents of the children who were born in Albania are exceptional in their attitude and in their obligations […] in the same way our immigrants are in Germany.[123]

[121] Kosmouglou, 2019.
[122] The valedictorian holds the Greek flag during school parades. The issue of the holding of Greek flag by children with another ethnic background caused heated debates in the Greek society.
[123] Kosmouglou, 2019.

Another important factor towards the reception and the integration of the Pontic Greeks and the Albanian outgroups was the key role of Asia Minor memories and identities of forced displacement. Asia Minor hospitality, a key component of descendants' identification as we saw in the foregoing analysis, became a prominent element for minorities' reception and a source of pride. Euterpi recalled that she offered the second floor of her house as well as food to many Pontic Greeks and Albanians who worked in their fields for a short period of time.

> Euterpi: Not to congratulate ourselves, what Cappadocian refugee didn't help. Everything. The whole village helped. […] Because we saw, not only the Pontics as refugees, but any refugee that would come because when you are a refugee you hurt for them because we have many hearings from our parents about this and they have planted it in us.[124]
> Kostas: And then give give give give, we ended up without beds. After we gave everything, that's why I say we can't not do something for those people [we are] refugees, impossible by nature.[125]

Kostas emphasised that the support towards other minorities is a defining characteristic of their Asia Minor refugee identity. In this context, Asia Minor family history and identity become a means of understanding the 'other' and a source of compassion as they are seen through phrases such as 'I associated some of them with what our people had gone through',[126] 'our mind goes to that our parents also came here and some people didn't treat them well […] and we try to behave as well as possible and humanely'.[127] Perspective-taking due to refugee descent is observed for both Albanians and Pontic Greeks. Nevertheless, in some cases increased empathy towards the latter is traced in some descendants' testimonies, supporting that 'I truly consider them our people because they speak the Pontic dialect too'.[128]

[124] Meletiadou, 2019.
[125] Veziridis, 2019.
[126] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[127] Chatziliadou, 2019.
[128] Veziridis, 2019.

Finally, reflecting on the hospitality that the residents of Neos Milotopos demonstrated towards subsequent migrants, Martha built a bridge between different stories of displacement. Hierarchies of acceptability emerged in her phrase, which is otherwise pervaded by compassion. This pattern leads us to the contemporary 'migration crisis':

> We couldn't treat them any better […] It is a hospitable village and empathetic […] maybe we have this feeling because we were refugees […] we bring this out and show hospitality to them and help them and give them even the things we need. Even now we still continue doing this with the refugees who are here and already in our village there are a good number of refugees from Syria. Look, I am definitely with the refugees, but not with the migrants.[129]

Thessaloniki and suburbs

Similar patterns emerge in the case of Thessaloniki and its suburbs, illustrating changing perceptions and gradual integration of both Pontic Greeks and Albanians into the host society. Illustrated these patterns, an Asia Minor descendant of the second generation said, 'you can't distinguish them'[130] and another descendant of the fourth generation concluded 'they are fully integrated into society'.[131]

Some of the interviewees acknowledge ethnic affinity with Pontic Greeks ('they are of Greek descent, instead of the boat coming here it went to Russia')[132] and with the Greeks from Albania ('a small portion consisted of Greek from Albania, but the majority was composed of economic migrants').[133] Others recall tense scepticism and hostility, especially during the arrival of the Albanians, 'I got angry' with the Albanian arrivals in 2001, Sokratis Dimitriadis,

[129] Chatziliadou, 2019.
[130] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[131] Papachristos, 2019.
[132] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[133] Sakellaridis, 2019.

born in 1973, declared.[134] From 2001 until 2008, Dimitris, a descendant from both Asia Minor and Pontus, entered the police force and became a guardian of the border in Thessaloniki.

Nevertheless, hostility and scepticism evolve into gradual integration through acceptance. Gradual integration is rooted in the incorporation of the first generation in the primary sector 'they worked the fields the first years', 'they helped a lot in the economy', and the incorporation of the following generations into schools.[135] Born in 1950, Konstantinos Nigdelis, a retired philologist and a current president of the 'Museum of Refugee Hellenism' of Neapoli in Thessaloniki was one of the founders of a school devoted to migrants during that period, 'we created a school for economic migrants. […] in the basements of a church'.[136] As he mentioned, as volunteer teachers they taught migrants how to read Greek as well as their 'obligations and rights'.[137] According to Petros Dimitriadis, born in 1927, acts of compassion and understanding towards subsequent migration are rooted in refugee descent. Highlighting the importance of past experience of forced displacement, he noted:

> Because most of us, since we were children of refugees, we didn't take a negative stance toward refugees and we didn't turn our back to them. […] We, the ones who are refugees, greeted them in a better way. […] because when you have gone through the same thing, you cannot throw the other person into the sea. But when something similar hasn't happened to you, you don't perceive it in the same way.[138]

Finally, Nikos Papachrisos, born in 1997 in Thessaloniki, connected the migration flows in the 1990s to the current migration flows, explaining the integration of the Albanians and the Pontic Greeks into the host society and bringing to light the interchanging nature of the idea of the established and the outsider. He implied that the contemporary 'migration crisis' acted as a

[134] Dimitriadis, 2019.
[135] Dimitriadou, 2019.
[136] Nigdelis, 2019.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Dimitriadis, 2019.

catalyst for changing perceptions and for the stabilisation of the position of these outgroups into the host society.

> The last years […] populations that were present in Greece from a while back garner greater understanding due to the refugee and migration [crisis] […] so the rift of the Albanian Russo-Pontic recedes because the rift of the Afghan, Pakistani refugee comes up […] the scapegoat changes.[139]

Pontus

The Pontic Greeks

Relatives of refugees from Pontus for some, while 'Russo-Pontics' for others and in particular for the native population, Pontic Greeks were labelled and stigmatised in conflicting ways. From a present-day perspective, descendants from Pontus recall the arrival of Pontic Greeks in Central Macedonia in the 1990s, strongly rejecting the Russo-Pontic label and stressing the similarities between them that lie in characteristics such as language. Elements of similarity are rooted in a perceived sense of common origin or as it is expressed by many in shared family ties. Specifically, Emeritus Professor Konstantinos Fotiadis, called them 'brothers' referring to a long-standing familial relationship and saying that 'my mother too, if she hadn't come in 1939, would have come with them'.[140] Emphasising their shared origin, he strongly refused to categorise them as 'Russo-Pontic':

> For those who came from Russia, it's not a matter of debate, for me they were brothers, and I came in conflict with the Pontic associations many times. The characterisation 'Russo-Pontic' is funny, it is for the brainless. I consider them brothers.[141]

[139] Papachrisos, 2019.
[140] Fotiadis, 2019.
[141] Ibid.

Konstantinos Psomas, born in 1954, also referred to a shared sense of ancestry and racial belonging and explained, 'some of Pontic [descent] came […] they belong to my Pontic race'.[142] He analysed how early scepticism has easily been surpassed through language. Indeed, the first generations of Pontic Greeks use the Pontic dialect, which was seen as an important element of commonality between the two groups:

> If you come outside my house and tell me 'Uncle Kosta, how are you?' [in the Pontic dialect]. I will immediately understand that this is a Pontic child and immediately any suspicion I may have shatters and I say come my bird come sit so we can eat and drink a coffee [Pontic dialect], you understand? That is how we welcomed them, hugged them, here in the neighbouring village we even gave them space to bury their dead here.[143]

Other elements of similarity such as 'traditions and religious beliefs' positively impacted the adjustment and the integration of Pontic Greeks, according to Rena Tsitouridou, who was born in 1993 Diavata in the suburbs of Thessaloniki.[144] Despite these positive reactions, experiences of social marginality, separation, and alterity cannot be ignored as they were expressed by the host society. Being the president of the Pontic Association in Diavata in the 1990s, Giorgos Kyriakidis recalled the reception of Pontic Greeks on a collective level due to his role:

> Because I was president of the association, I tried to integrate them. And it was very difficult. They were a closed community […] their kids for instance who went to school […] they were shy and spoke Russian. I had forbidden this, I said you will speak Greek or Pontic. […] I would say you need to integrate. […] The kids who went to school assimilated more quickly. […] Only the elderly, aged 75-80, had difficulty, avoided others, stayed among themselves.[145]

[142] Psomas, 2019.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Interview with Rena Tsitouridou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 1 Dec. 2019.
[145] Interview with Giorgos Kyriakidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 1 Dec. 2019.

In his attempt to explain the integration process and its difficulties for Pontic Greeks, Giorgos put emphasis on the positive impact of the incorporation of the Russian-speaking children into schools and he implied a lack of willingness of the older generations to get integrated. Despite the positive attitudes that descendants of refugees from Pontus express regarding the arrival of Pontic Greeks in the 1990s, the local population looked down on 'the migrants as aliens ('Russians') and as 'lazy' people who wanted to milk the system', opening a discussion about 'who is not entitled to be "Greek"'.[146]

The Albanians

Immigrants of Greek descent, meaning ethnic Greek Albanians and non-Greek Albanians composed migrants from Albania. Creating hierarchies of acceptability based on shared ethnicity, Konstantinos Fotiadis noted:

> I'm not talking about the big part of those from Albania who are the Greeks of Albania. For the rest there was a problem for me in the beginning: that during that period the prisons opened and all the bad elements came and all of Albania's Kalashnikovs came to Greece.[147]

Dimitrios Kapoutzidis, born in 1931 in the city of Serres, described his views through a metaphor:

> Dimitris: It is like loving a bear. Can you ever become friends with the bear? You cannot.
> Marilena: Who are the bears?
> Dimitris: The Albanian part.[148]

Dimitris, who was a guardian of borders due to his role in the army, declared a pervasive negativity towards the Albanians. In addition, in many cases a perceived criminalisation of

[146] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 135.
[147] Fotiadis, 2019.
[148] Kapoutzidis, 2019.

migration from Albania dominated the host society's views as we saw in Konstantinos phrase 'Albania's Kalashnikovs'.[149] Nevertheless, this early hostility and scepticism evolved into gradual acceptance and integration. 'There was a distance […] fear', Konstantinos Psomas, born in 1954, declared, referring to the first years of the arrival of Albanians and emphasising the role of religion, 'if I understand you are Christian, I let you in my heart, if you are not I keep my distance, this naturally follows'.[150]

Another resident of Evzonoi, Stratos Grigoriadis added the parameter of baptism, 'we also had baptisms of Muslims here'.[151] Indeed, the baptism of the Albanians and their transition from Muslims to Orthodox Christians was seen as of paramount importance towards the facilitation of their integration. In addition, the incorporation of the first generation in the primary sector, the occupation of menial jobs, and the incorporation of the following generations into schools further eased their acceptance. The changing perceptions lie in phrases such as '[t]he Albanians were worthy of congratulations […] they became bosses […] they also learned letters'.[152]

Illustrating these changing perceptions, this part will close as it started with Konstantinos Fotiadis' current view. He now characterises Albanians as 'tidy', 'bosses', describing their relations as of 'complete trust'.[153] He provided the example of a painter migrant from Albania who arrived in a Pontic village and met a grandfather who said, 'my child, what you are going through now, we went through in 1922'.[154] Following this conversation, the painter started doing paintings parallelising these stories of forced displacement. Talking about the Albanian painter, Konstantinos confessed, 'I consider that after my brother I love this

[149] Fotiadis, 2019.
[150] Psomas, 2019.
[151] Interview with Stratos Grigoriadis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.
[152] Grigoriadis, 2019.
[153] Fotiadis, 2019.
[154] Ibid.

person most'.[155] Konstantinos concluded building bridges with migration stories of Pontic Greeks and Albanians as well as with the current refugees from Syria as we will examine in the following part.

'Migration crisis'

Thessaloniki and the suburbs

Asia Minor refugee memory and identity can lead to different outcomes depending on how the subjects perceive their history, memory, and identity. For some, Asia Minor refugee memory and identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding that produces empathy, perspective-taking, and historical parallels between different groups' stories of displacement. Acknowledgement of similarity of experience of displacement and perspective taking are rooted in refugee descent. The 'migration crisis' reactivated homeland memories and particularly stories of forced displacement, increasing sympathy for Charikleia Photopoulou, born in 1935 in the refugee settlement of Kalamaria/Nea Krini:

> We always say that we are refugees too […] wouldn't [the refugees and migrants] want some support? Won't we look at them? Isn't it a shame? Our grandmothers and grandfathers were also refugees. Of course, what can I tell you, there is no difference, why do these people bother us? […] This is what our people went through when the forced displacement from Smyrna in 1922 happened, what do you think?[156]

Similarly, Petros Dimitriadis, an Eastern Thrace descendant born in 1927, paralleled the contemporary displacement with the Asia Minor history of displacement and the arrival of refugees through Syria, as well as with Greece's migration history as a sending country. Nikos Papachristos, an Asia Minor descendant born in 1997, also referred to the arrival of Asia Minor

[155] Ibid.
[156] Photopoulou, 2019.

refugees to countries such as Syria, concluding that '[s]o just like how we took refuge there [Syria], others can take refuge here with us'.[157] In this light, he recalled the help that he provided for migrants and refugees through his university student association by concentrating food and clothes. Following a systematic comparison between past and present flows, Nikos concluded:

> The essence I think is the same, the war, so both flows are leaving to escape war, to escape [ethnic] cleansing […] it requires imagination to enter the other's position and see it, it is a lack of imagination that we all have.[158]

Nikos stressed the importance of perspective-taking and elucidated elements of commonality and mutual understanding between past and present displacements. Dionyssis Liakopoulos, born in 1981 in Chalastra, a village composed of natives near the refugee cities of Diavata/Nea Magnisia, believes that current migrants and refugees cannot become integrated into his village. This is because, as he explained, they are natives, attributing refugee descendants 'the privilege of sensitivity', understanding, and empathy.[159] Interestingly Dionyssis presupposed that these sentiments are transmitted intergenerationally:

> When some have personal experiences of refugeehood I think they are more understanding and more positive. […] It is more difficult [for us] without such personal experiences. […] The privilege of sensitivity is assigned […] usually this is transferred from generation to generation.[160]

Contrary to Dionyssis's assumption, there is no linear and unproblematic relationship between descendants' attitudes and refugee past. Others perceive this memory and identity as a limited space in which a battle for domination and recognition that leads to competitive

[157] Papachristos, 2019.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Interview with Dionyssis Liakopoulos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 4 Dec. 2019.
[160] Ibid.

victimisation and binary distinctions and is rooted in hierarchies of acceptability. The case study of Diavata in the suburbs of Thessaloniki that Dionyssis mentioned is an example that illustrates the fact that in many cases contestation pervades descendants' attitudes. Diavata is a lower-class area that hosts a refugee camp, Roma settlements, jails, abandoned train carriages by The Hellenic Railways Organisation, and the company of Greek Fuel Mineral Oils among others. Summarising the situation in Diavata, Ioannis Chatziathanasiou, born in 1952, who is a butcher and the president of the refugee Association 'Asia Minors and Other Refugees, the Lantern' said, 'it is the crucible of waste of the city of Thessaloniki'.[161] However, he immediately clarified that he is not referring to people, demonstrating increased understanding through his descriptions regarding the current migrants. On the contrary, another resident of Diavata, Sokratis Dimitriadis, born in 1973, who was a former guardian of borders in the police and currently a teacher, expressed his negative views and hostility regarding the creation of the refugee camp near his house in 2016, mentioning that 'as a reaction we closed the road, sat for a day [….] the [church] bell was ringing that day too'.[162] Sokratis drew strong binaries in his attempt to create a hierarchical order of acceptance:

> The refugee […] it is the healthy thing […] the migrant is what my father is, my father went to Germany […] with papers you are a migrant […] everyone here is an illegal migrant doing an illegal invasion […] without even a drop of blood having fallen […] it is a form of war, very insidious that ties you like a snake and you asphyxiate without realising.[163]

Sokratis considered migration flows part of an organised plan with a stated goal to spread the Muslim religion. He also stressed the differences between the Asia Minor forced displacement and subsequent migration, saying that '[t]here are no similarities' and he concluded by

[161] Chatziathanasiou, 2019.
[162] Dimitriadis, 2019.
[163] Ibid.

attributing to multiculturalism a negative connotation, 'I am very sorry to say it but our kids will be in a different world, a multicultural one, then again Thessaloniki always suffered from this'.[164]

Vasilis Sakellaridis, a descendant from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace born in 1954, created similar hierarchies of acceptability. These hierarchies are based on a perceived community of value, which is composed of people with shared religion, language, and history. In the refugee category he included Syrian refugees who leave their country due to war, drawing a binary distinction between migrants and refugees:

> Therefore, for me we have to distinguish between refugees with Greek characteristics, meaning language, religion and history, and the others who are migratory flows […] I'm sorry but today the refugees are not refugees, they are migrants, the migrants are not Greek, they are Islamists.[165]

A similar distinction between migrants and refugees pervades Konstantinos Nigdelis' views. Born in 1950, Konstantinos participates in soup kitchens for migrants that are organised by the church. However, he differentiated past and present migration flows as well as migrants from refugees saying that '[m]y opinion is obviously in support of refugees […] Refugees are Syrian, they have war. But the Indian, the Pakistani, the Afghan, etc., what war do they have?'[166]

Neos Milotopos

Hierarchies of acceptability

Neos Milotopos is near the city of Giannitsa where accommodation facilities for migrants and refugees are situated. In this settlement there are selected migrant and refugee primary families

[164] Ibid.
[165] Sakellaridis, 2019.
[166] Nigdelis, 2019.

that are hosted by the Evangelical Church. From 2015 to 2019 about 100 people were offered hospitality in Neos Milotopos, which acted mainly as a transit point, and many children were smoothly incorporated into schools. These selected families were considered to be refugees and people in need and were warmly welcomed by the local society as it was emphatically expressed in various phrases such as 'but they are very quiet, we don't have any problem whatsoever. They are Syrians',[167] '[h]ere they formed welcoming teams for the children in the schools',[168] 'and you can see them in the parade with the Greek flag'.[169]

Asia Minor refugee descendants' views and attitudes towards contemporary migrations are deeply rooted in their family history of forced displacement. In this context, tolerance and empathy increase towards the Syrians who are perceived as refugees. On the other hand, hostility and in some cases competitive victimisation appear towards those considered to be migrants (the rest). This binary distinction (Syrians/non-Syrians) and the strongly positive connotation of the term Syrian refugee are linked to the 1923-24 regional history of forced displacement of primarily unaccompanied minors who arrived in Greece through Syria. Euterpi narrated her ancestors' story, based on which two young girls of her close family arrived unaccompanied in an orphanage in Syria and after a long time they were sent to Greece:

> Despoina: Our people treated them very well because some came through Syria and the Syrians treated them very well.[170]
> Euterpi: The Syrians had taken the kids, that's why we love the Syrians because they had protected our parents and many children, not the migrants that come.[171]

Euterpi Kosmoglou, born in 1945, and Despoina Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, born in 1966, traced their attitudes in relation to their family story, elucidating this behavioural pattern and a

[167] Meletiadou, 2019.
[168] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[169] Grigoriadou, 2019.
[170] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[171] Meletiadou, 2019.

tendency for reciprocal support towards Syrians that is observed across generations. This difficult passage from Asia Minor to Syria and, finally, to Greece left a strong imprint in the imagination of the descendants of Asia Minor refugees and shaped intergenerationally their attitudes towards Syrians. An additional reason based on which this hierarchy of acceptability is further supported by the descendants is the extent to which people are coming from war zones. In this light, Syrians are associated with the war and are exclusively seen as refugees.

> Euterpi: We saw them all positively, but now because they come - the Syrians have the right to come - but the rest should not come because they have done and continue to do so many bad things […] I personally don't want them.
> Marilena: Why do you differentiate the Syrians?
> Euterpi: Because they have a war, that's why.[172]
> Despoina: We accept the Syrian refugees […] those who are indeed hurt, who are from the war, we accept them because that is how we came here but we don't accept the others who come.[173]

Despoina noted that alongside other villagers she was going to the church 2-3 times a week and was making sandwiches for these people. Sophia echoed her mother's, Euterpi, and Despoina's sayings, describing a similar hierarchy of acceptability on the collective level. She referred to the charitable contribution of the Cappadocian association through the contribution of necessities. In this case, the hierarchy started with the prioritisation of the local population, and then the Syrian refugees follow. Describing the philanthropic acts of the association she noted:

> I think we turn our eyes more to our neighbour without, though, closing our eyes to those who will come, whether Syrian, Afghan or Somalian. I differentiate them. […] I will lay out my hand and give to everyone bread, whether you are Syrian or Afghan, but I will try to see that if someone needs help, to focus on the refugee. A refugee is someone who is coming from a war zone or if that person's country is in war.[174]

[172] Ibid.
[173] Meletiadou-Kosmoglou, 2019.
[174] Kosmoglou, 2019.

Following this binary distinction between migrants and refugees and tracing potential similarities and differences between their ancestors' past and the contemporary displacement, Euterpi, Despoina, and Sophia, as well as the other informants, argued that the past and the current experience are incomparable, noting that 'I don't want to compare them',[175] primarily referring to the difficulty of Asia Minor experience 'while our people had no facilities. […] Today [the conditions] are easier'[176] and the differences in the nature of the displacement 'a treaty was signed […] here there is an out-of-control situation'.[177] However, the same does not apply to Syrians. According to Euterpi, 'there are many similarities' especially with regards to food that, as it was illustrated, has an important role in the Cappadocian tradition 'our parents did such things [food] and the Syrians did too'.[178]

Euterpi's son, Ananias, explained his views, being the most anti-immigrant person in the family. Born in 1969, Ananias Kosmoglou is an agriculturist and a former driver for international transfers. Due to his work in the port of Patras, he witnessed many attempts of people who were looking for irregular migration paths. Ananias attributed his far-right leanings to the existence of 'illegal migrants'.[179] As he mentioned, the triptych 'homeland, religion, family', a dominant phrase in the post-civil war Greek state, determined his value system.[180] According to Ananias, this value system is in danger and migrants are part of a plan organised by Islamic forces. He adopts the identity of the native or of the guardian of borders against this organised plan, saying that 'I believe that they want to change the population because we are natives here, 90% Christian Orthodox'.[181] However, Ananias' stance also follows the pattern

[175] Ibid.
[176] Meletiadou, 2019.
[177] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[178] Meletiadou, 2019.
[179] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.

of hierarchies of acceptability, further differentiating his views between the Syrian and the non-Syrian population and parallelising the former with his ancestors' forced displacement:

> But I am against migrants. […] For me the only ones who deserve to stay here are the Syrians, the only war zone is Syria. […] For the Syrians yes, there are [similarities between Asia Minor refugees and Syrians], they can come, stay here as long as they want and their kids too, but not the rest when there is no war in India or Pakistan or Afghanistan or Congo, everywhere where there is no war. I think that they are bringing them for a particular purpose.[182]

Binary distinctions also characterise Anania's daughter, Charikleia Kosmoglou, a descendant of the fourth generation born in 2005. Although more moderate in nature, Charikleia's differentiation is based on her understanding of what constitutes a migrant and a refugee:

> Personally, I will say that there is obviously a difference between a refugee and a migrant. A refugee is someone who is in effect forced to uproot himself and leave, while a migrant leaves for a better future […] I don't marginalise them personally […] but I don't group them in the same category I think with my own people.[183]

Pontus

Historically formed subjectivities, across generations and geographical locations, shape their identities and express their views and attitudes in relation to contemporary migrants and refugees. Various areas are exposed to the current migration and accommodation facilities to different degrees. The extent to which differences based on varying degree of exposure and proximity, generational units, and interpretations of memory and identity, act as shaping factors influencing descendants' views and attitudes, is paramount.

Pontic descendants' attitudes towards contemporary migrations go back to their history of forced displacement. In this light, the term refugee obtains a strongly positive connotation

[182] Ibid.
[183] S. Kosmoglou, 2019.

as it is linked to their ancestors' story of forced relocation and their self-characterisation. In most cases, this term is used to describe Syrians, with descendants emphasising past arrivals of their ancestors through Syria. In this context, tolerance and empathy increase towards those who are perceived as refugees, while hostility and in some cases competitive victimisation appear towards those considered to be migrants. Lastly, binary distinctions pervade descendants' repeated comparisons between now and then.

Specifically, Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948, started his narration about the Pontic forced displacement with a special reference to Syria, explaining that many Pontics arrived in Greece through Syria. According to Konstantinos, this historical hospitality experience, lying in various phrases such as 'they [the Syrians] are the only ones who welcomed my people and didn't take advantage of them. They kept them alive',[184] generates a positive obligation for reciprocal support towards the Syrian refugees:

> I saw that the refugees especially should treat the Syrian refugees well. […] And I am very positive about the refugees who are from Syria because it is time for us to return the hospitality also in a very critical period. […] With the Syrians there is a common solidarity. I might have never existed if they didn't give a piece of bread to my grandfather at the time.[185]

Konstantinos built a bridge between these past and present histories of forced displacement, demonstrating increased empathy and compassion, emphasising that 'the pain internally is intense for everything that happens in Syria'.[186] At the same time, he demolished these bridges of similarity of experience, by drawing binary distinctions with other minority groups.

> And I said about the refugees, yes, let's accept them. Greece does not need any more economic migrants. In the category of refugees, I categorise the ones in war. […] The

[184] Fotiadis, 2019.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.

> Syrians I am not scared of. I fear only the Pakistanis and the Afghans. There the main difficulties are Islamic fanaticism […] there is a plan to make Greece Muslim.[187]

Hierarchies of acceptability are created based on binary distinctions between migrants and refugees and shape a community of value in which characteristics such as religion play a key role in the acceptance or rejection of ethnic outgroups in the host society. Konstantinos lives in the city centre of Thessaloniki, an area not significantly exposed to contemporary migrations. On the other hand, Konstantinos Psomas, Stratos Grigoriadis, and Father Christos Papanaoum, descendants of the second and the third generation respectively, live and work in the village of Evzonoi with a population of 331 residents. Evzonoi is the main border crossing area between Greece and North Macedonia, and it is situated next to the Idomeni site, which until 2017 had more than 10,000 migrants and refugees, and near the town of Polykastro that has a refugee camp and various accommodation facilities. Binary distinction and hierarchies of acceptability also pervade the views and attitudes of the residents of this village. Born in 1954, Konstantinos Psomas who was a migrant in Germany said, '[t]hey were not refugees, [they were] illegal migrants'.[188] Based on interviewees' narratives, occurrences of sympathy and support are also present towards the first waves of migration but throughout time they shift towards hostility, negative thoughts, and binary distinctions.

Building on the aforementioned distinction between migrants and refugees, Stratos considered the current migration flows a part of an organised plan with a stated goal to 'make our countries Muslim'.[189] In this light, the role of religion comes to the forefront as an important parameter for migrants' integration into this society. Revealing are Father Christos Papanaoum's views, who was born in 1976, has Asia Minor and Pontic roots, and is the

[187] Ibid.
[188] Psomas, 2019.
[189] Grigoriadis, 2019.

village's priest. Discussing the migrants' arrivals, Father Christos Papanaoum referred to issues of public health, damages in religious symbols, and feelings of fear. Feelings of fear are rooted in the 'aggression' of others' religion.[190] He specified, '[t]he Muslim cannot live with a Christian […] we all have a fear due to religion mainly of those people because we know their mentality and are cautious'.[191] Father Christos Papanaoum further differentiated between 'real'/'civilised' refugees and economic migrants, placing the Syrian refugees in the first category and parallelising them with his ancestors' flows.

> The real refugees should come, those who truly are in need […] The Syrians who also have the war and we know what is going on and I think they are the most civilised […] because those who came from Pontus and Asia Minor more closely resemble the case of the Syrians. The others we would call more so economic migrants.[192]

Similarly, Stratos, drawing a line between the Syrians and the rest, stressed that his ancestors' displacement was a return to the motherland, noting that 'we came to our mother, of the same religion'.[193] Antagonistic comparisons based on binary distinctions also pervade the views of Dimitrios Dimitriadis, born in 1944, and Rena Tsitouridou, born in 1993. Comparing stories of forced displacement, the two residents of Diavata noted:

> Dimitris: No relation. We cannot compare unlike things, we don't compare fruits and gold, gold is a noble metal that will be compared to platinum or white gold […] As it relates to the migrants, they entered the country illegally so they are illegal […] I was a migrant in 1962 when I went to Germany.[194]
> Rena: Here we're talking about refugees and migrants, nothing to do with each other. They are completely different things, completely different things.[195]

[190] Interview with Christos Papanaoum, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Central Macedonia, 6 Dec. 2019.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Grigoriadis, 2019.
[194] Dimitriadis, 2019.
[195] Tsitouridou, 2019.

'Our people were refugees. While they are migrants', Dimitris Kapoutzidis added, illustrating that the element of competition between groups with different migration backgrounds is rooted in binary distinctions.[196] Overcoming binary distinctions, other informants perceive their family history of forced displacement as a source of empathy and historical parallels, saying that '[n]ow whether it is the same or different I don't know but it is equally tragic'.[197] Conflicting patterns permeate generational units and geographical regions. In this context, a potential correlation between interviewees' political identities and stances is observed. Descendants attribute to their refugee identity diverse meanings. For instance, for some it is linked to the formation of political identities with left-wing leanings, while for others to a right-wing orientation. Nevertheless, descendants' views and attitudes are nuanced, complex, multilayered and remind us that memories sometimes lead to completely different outcomes depending on how the subjects understand their history and their sense of identity. For instance, fading binaries are expressed by Maria Giakousidou from Oraiokastro and Nikos Konstantinidis from Chorigi, descendants of the second generation. Nikos, resembles society with a complex mosaic, explaining:

> Nikos: If you want to create a mosaic, the most successful one will be that which has rocks of all tints and sizes. Our society is something like that.[198]
> Maria: When I see a family on the street with its children […] begging, do you know what comes to mind? When my family came from Pontus […] So I remember this and cannot think if he is Syrian […] what it is, that image exactly comes in front of me and causes me to collapse.[199]

Maria attributed perspective taking to refugee descent, demonstrating how the 'migration crisis' reactivates homeland memories, increasing sympathy, empathy, and support. Similarly,

[196] Kapoutzidis, 2019.
[197] Terzidis, 2019.
[198] Konstantinidis, 2019.
[199] Giakousidou, 2019.

Konstantis Georgis, born in 1965 in Chorigi, illustrated the influence of family history on his views, concluding that racism and memories of forced displacement are not compatible:

> I don't want to be and I don't believe I am racist. The memory is still very intense and I consider it a very big shame for a person who has gone through it via very intense narratives to be a racist.[200]

Also acknowledging similarity of experience of displacement, Kiriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989 in Thessaloniki, explained how contemporary migrations trigger refugee memories and lead to compassion, overcoming religious affinities and binary distinctions:

> Due to these experiences, we must offer and be open […] what is there to talk about now? To put down who is Christian and who is Muslim and whether he is or is not worth it? They are human lives. […] This probably also functions as a reminder for what your people went through.[201]

Conclusion

In this chapter diverse accounts from descendants of refugees from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace elucidate the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement. Although these accounts are considered complementary parts of the broader Asia Minor narrative, their comparative examination sheds light on the varying intensities of the intergenerational transmission of traumatic memories and their imprint on identities. To varying degrees, histories, memories, and identities of forced displacement are still present through elements ranging from settlements' names to refugee associations. Memories and identities are transmitted intergenerationally through different frameworks of remembrance. In the familial space, the concept of silence emerges, leading to a nonlinear and not directly referential transmission of refugee memories. Family memories, when transferred intergenerationally,

[200] Georgis, 2019.
[201] Fotiadou, 2019.

usually from members of the extended family, are fragmented and have a nostalgic tone. In many cases, painful and traumatic descriptions of forced displacement become collective hidden secrets of the generational unit that experienced the forced displacement. This pervasive silence also brings to the forefront the tension between family and national narratives. The national memory was expressed primarily through schoolteachers alongside the prohibition of the use of the Pontic dialect. Language, following a fading intergenerational pattern, with the Pontic dialect having a stronger intergenerational presence compared to Turkish, is a prominent element of memory and identity transmission. Linguistic and cultural elements as expressed through strong culinary, music, and dance traditions as well as through refugee associations at a later stage, are key frameworks of identity formation. Descendants' identities are volatile when intersecting with the 'other' and become a source of tense relations. In Central Macedonia, the rural settlement of Asia Minor refugees had a profound ethnological impact on the homogenisation of Greece and refugees became 'the frontier population', safeguarding the country's territorial integrity. With this consideration, competition emerges between the various Asia Minor groups, as well as between them, and the native population, and subsequent migrants. On the one hand, particularities of Central Macedonia's regional history lead to compassion and historical parallels towards Pontic Greeks who are seen as co-ethnics and towards Syrian refugees who are linked to descendants' own history of forced displacement. On the other hand, hostility appears towards those considered to be migrants. In the case of the Albanians, early expressions of criminalisation and scepticism evolved into acceptance and integration throughout time. In the case of contemporary migrants, the patterns of hierarchies of acceptability and competitive victimisation emerge. These patterns find their strongest expression in borderland villages in northern Greece, where Asia Minor descendants become guardians of the borders and their identification is transmuted from refugees to gatekeepers.

5. Descending and Ascending Memories in a Melting Pot: The Case of Attica

THIS CHAPTER combines a wide range of chronologies and Asia Minor places of origin from which people were forcibly displaced in the context of Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region of Attica. It is based on 100 life history interviews, in addition to familial, associational, and archival evidence derived from the Oral History Tradition Archive of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies in Athens. In the case of Attica, the interplay of different balances of the various levels of memory is sketched. While public memory is absent, collective memories are more prominent and activate silent family memories. In cases where familial transfer is limited and in refugee settlements with dwindling Asia Minor refugee characteristics, the intergenerational memory is presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending history and identities. In Attica, triggering and descending identities coexist, as it is transformed to a place of settlement for subsequent migration and passes from homogeneity to multiculturalism over time. In this gradually transforming centre, hostility towards early migrations becomes acceptance, as multiculturalism and past refugee identities are seen as sources of pragmatism, understanding, and less tense attitudes towards contemporary migration.

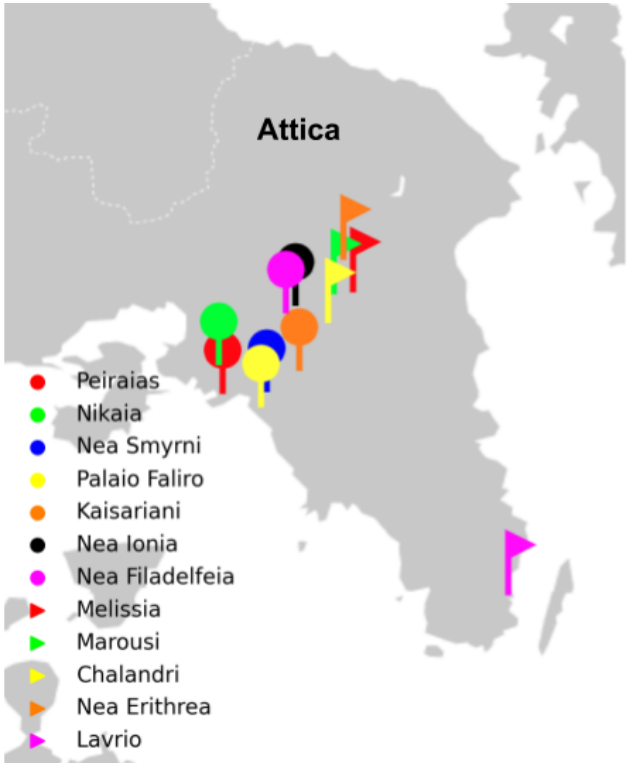


Figure 5. Fieldwork locations in Attica.

Throughout Attica, from Athens' city centre and Piraeus to the suburbs, there are refugee settlements or quarters of descendants from Asia Minor and Pontus. Between 1923 and 1929, through an emergency housing programme, the Greek Government and the Refugee Settlement Commission established settlements, creating numerous urban refugee quarters across Attica.[1] In many cases, these newly established settlements were named after Asia Minor places of origin with the additional designation of the word 'New' preceding the original place of origin. Discussing the spread of the refugee settlements in Athens, Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953 in Nea Ionia, one of the oldest refugee settlements, noted, 'they put them [Asia Minor refugees] around Athens, because they did not want them to be under their feet'.[2] In the context

[1] R. Hirschon and S. Thakurdesai, 'Housing and Cultural Priorities: The Asia Minor Greek Refugees of 1922', *Disasters,* 2/4 (1979).
[2] Christodoulou, 2020.

of the metropolis, some of these refugee settlements such as Nea Ionia and Kaisariani 'have similar character and history', while others such as Nea Smyrni differ due to 'the original house provisions [and] population composition' alongside other factors.[3] Navigating through Attica, this chapter examines comparatively diverse accounts from multicultural areas in Attica such as Lavrio, well-established refugee settlements with long-established refugee associations and working-class characteristics, such as Kaisariani and Nea Ionia, and less prominent and middle-class refugee settlements such as Melissia and Nea Erythraia. Describing this long journey from Piraeus harbour to Athens in the 1970s, Hirschon refers to the districts, known as 'the refugee quarters', recalling 'low houses appeared with twined roofs and walls, pots of geranium and sweet basil lined wooden balconies'.[4] Fifty years after these observations and one hundred years following the refugees' first settlement in these refugee quarters, the composition of the population and traces of refugee history and identity are still present. To varying degrees and mostly following a fading pattern, elements such as organisation of space and housing, churches, museums, memorials, celebrations, refugee associations, and street names illustrate a connection with the heritage of the past.

Experiences of forced displacement, first settlement, and relations with the native population also vary in the broad context of Attica with descendants arriving from various places in Asia Minor and under different circumstances. In some cases, the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor experience in Attica becomes apparent in the context of the same family. For instance, Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945 in Nikaia, narrated the massacre in her father's villages ('[m]y grandmother and grandfather and his five brothers were slaughtered') and the less forceful displacement of her mother's family ('[t]hey did not experience the massacre up

[3] Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 1.
[4] Ibid.

close, they only experienced the loss of their property').[5] Similar antitheses lie in many interviewees' descriptions even about refugees' first settlement. For example, Vasos Vogiatzoglou, born in 1935, remembered that the natives attributed negative characterisations to refugees, calling them 'baptised in yogurt',[6] while Eirini Papourtzi, born in 1968, recalled her grandmother saying about the natives that '[t]hey were good people […] They even helped us until my husband came out of captivity'.[7] Although histories are diverse and, in many cases, very fragmented, similar patterns pervade stories of forced displacement and first settlement, with informants describing human losses before and during the displacement as well as the first settlement. In the context of the metropolitical Greek society, Asia Minor refugees developed a separate sense of identity, differentiating themselves from local Greeks or 'old Greeks' (palaioelladites).[8] Attica was considered a land of 'Old Greece' in opposition to Lesvos and Central Macedonia, which were newly acquired territories as a result of the Balkan Wars, and were considered parts of 'New Greece'. In addition to this historical particularity, Attica provides us with the opportunity to examine refugee memory and identity in the largest refugee quarters of the metropolis, with Athens being the capital and the political and economic centre of Greece. In this way, urban memories and identities of forced displacement come to the forefront of this chapter and this urban locality will be examined in relation to the rural, borderland, and island identities of the previous chapters.

This chapter is devoted to Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region, Attica, with the main focus on the capital of Athens and with references to refugee settlements of the port of Piraeus and Lavrio, which is known for its mines. It examines comparatively diverse accounts from descendants of Asia Minor and Pontus that are considered complementary parts

[5] Michailidou, 2020.
[6] Vogiatzoglou, 2020.
[7] Interview with Eirini Papourtzi, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 4 Feb. 2020.
[8] Hirschon*, Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe*, p. 4

of the broader Asia Minor narrative. Experiences of forced displacement vary in the broad context of Attica, with descendants arriving from various places in Asia Minor and under different circumstances. With this consideration, the oral testimonies are derived from various regions in Attica, ranging from the capital to the suburbs and from middle-class to lower-class areas. In this context, changes across and in relation to different geographical locations and historical periods are considered in this urban locality. The following analysis is divided into three parts, examining intergenerational memories, identities, and attitudes in the context of Attica.

Intergenerational memory

Different levels of memory -individual, collective, and public- encompass the transmission of Asia Minor refugee memories and identities from one generation to the other. In the case of Attica, the complexity that characterises the processes of intergenerational transmission of memories of forced displacement lies in a combination of memories expressed in the familial and the collective spheres. With this consideration, family memories, refugee settlements, and refugee associations will be examined as the key frameworks of remembrance in the urban, populous, and cosmopolitan context of Attica. In this metropolitan region, family memories, in the private sphere, and refugee settlements and refugee associations in the collective sphere, shape and reshape the intergenerational transmission of Asia Minor memories of forced displacement.

Family memory

In the familial space, family meals, fairy tales, fragmented stories, behaviours, symbolisms, customs, and mostly silences pervade different generations. The mechanism of family transmission is based on a revealing spectrum of silence in which different intensities of

silenced and unsilenced memories coexist. Specifically, painful descriptions of forced displacement are almost exclusively limited to people who have directly experienced relocation in the family sphere. In this context, the concept of silence emerges in some cases rooted in repressed memories of trauma, while in other cases rooted in forgetting. This concept is visible in multiple phrases in descendants' narrations such as '[i]t may seem strange to you, but we had not heard anything. They never talked about these issues […] even today they don't tell you much',[9] '[g]enerally, I have no testimonies',[10] 'I don't know why, but we didn't talk [about these things] […] I didn't have any information transfer'.[11] Kyriakos Mischopoulos, born in 1943, wondered in the last excerpt why silence dominates the familial space. Some interviewees, such as Kyriaki Malinaki born in 1937 and Dimitris Deligiannis born in 1947, explained that in the case of Lavrio, which is a working-class town, survival was the priority of the first generations. As a consequence, there was no time for transmission of these memories, as Kyriaki and Dimitris noted respectively, '[i]t was the struggle for survival that didn't leave any time to talk about these [stories from Asia Minor]',[12] '[e]veryone at home worked a lot and didn't discuss such issues'.[13]

Others attribute the familial silence to the traumatic dimension of their ancestors' experiences. As Archontia Papadopoulou, born in 1952 in Nikaia, explained, this wound of forced displacement and war memories characterised Asia Minor refugees of the first generation. She remembered that her grandfather was traumatised, saying that he 'always had a wound in his soul […] He never told us about the front, he didn't want to transfer these images to us'.[14] According to Maria Chatoglou, born in 1949 in Nea Ionia, memories of forced

[9] Pantelas, 2020.
[10] Interview with Olga Polichroniadou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 14 Feb. 2020.
[11] Interview with Kyriakos Mischopoulos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 30 Jan. 2020.
[12] Interview with Kyriaki Malinaki, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Jan. 2020.
[13] Deligiannis, 2020.
[14] Interview with Archontia Papadopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 25 Jan. 2020.

displacement were secrets of coevals, 'there was a mysticism […] I believe that they wanted to forget it'.[15] Her son, Kosmas Chatoglou born in 1974, also connected family silence and traumatic experiences, referring to his grandfather who was sent to work battalions. Kosmas said, 'my grandfather never spoke to me about Asia Minor as if the part of Asia Minor didn't exist […] I believe he never transferred it due to the psychological trauma'.[16]

Similarly, Sophia Paloglou, born in 1987 in Nikaia, discussed her grandfather's trauma, describing an uprooted person without family and noted, 'I think that my grandfather was a traumatised man'.[17] Suspicions of traumatic memories are also traced in the case of Epicharis Michailidou's family, born in 1945 in Nikaia. She narrated in detail the massacre of her family, remembering her mother's refusal to recall this part of the family history, saying that '[m]y mother did not say anything, she categorically refused. […] She was very hurt and did not want to remember this part of her story at all'.[18] Her mother's answer regarding the Asia Minor forced displacement was always 'let these things go' because as Epicharis explained, 'she didn't want to talk because she was very hurt and traumatised'.[19]

This traumatic dimension of the forced displacement and its impact on the first generation with the primary experience is also highlighted by Marianna Mastrostamati, born in 1952. In many cases, traumatic parts of family histories became well-hidden family secrets for descendants of the following generations. As Marianna narrated in detail, her own family's hidden secret was the rape of her aunt during the Asia Minor forced displacement. Marianna only found out about her aunt's rape through some church documents that she discovered by accident. Based on Marianna's narration:

[15] Chatoglou, 2020.
[16] K. Chatoglou, 2020.
[17] Paloglou, 2020.
[18] Michailidou, 2020.
[19] Ibid.

> In this [document] […] they confirmed that my aunt was raped during the days of persecution in Alatsata, in the church of Agios Konstantinos, in detail, in the sanctuary on the Holy Table, in the presence of her family, relatives, and neighbours […] The shock of the rape, I don't know, it affected me so much […] And the Archdiocese of Athens gave them a piece of paper so that they could get married.[20]

Mariana concluded that 'these people who lived through this horror at this age […] were mentally traumatised'.[21] Descriptions of traumatic incidents, when transferred intergenerationally, are fragmented. Marianna provided an example of a specific event and its intergenerational transmission within the context of her family. She argued that painful family stories were transmitted at a later stage ('I heard it when I was old') and they did not include traumatic elements ('they didn't transfer this emotional charge that causes horror').[22] Using the example of a story about her mother as a child in Asia Minor who went to drink water from a source full of blood, Marianna initiated the term 'bargain of memory'.[23] As she further explained, when her mother was narrating this story to her and later to her granddaughters, she was eliminating traumatic descriptions, consciously removing the painful parts of the story.

> And we reach the water scene. […] Hey, I tell her, where did you go and return? What happened over there? […] she turns and whispers to me 'let that go now, the girls are young'. So, you see the bargaining […] I heard this story when I was old. She was skipping this scene with me too […] She never passed it on to her granddaughters.[24]

Due to the fear of evoking pain and traumatising their descendants, aching memories of relocation are rarely transmitted intergenerationally in the context of a family. However, not all Asia Minor refugee memories are silenced. Silent and unsilenced parts of family memories appear in descendants' narrations. Family memories, when transferred intergenerationally,

[20] Interview with Marianna Mastrostamati, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 30 Jan. 2020.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

usually have a nostalgic tone ('the sweetest and most magical narrative') and concern life in Asia Minor ('he was talking about the more pleasant parts of life there',[25] 'she was mostly referring to the family wealth and how prosperously they were living').[26] Vasiliki Papadopoulou, born in 1958, recalled the sweet and romantic memories of spending her childhood evenings with her grandmother talking about Sinasos.

> There was not a day that she didn't talk to me about Sinasos and about how they lived there. All this, it was for me of course a fairy tale […] it is the most beautiful thing in my soul now […] they didn't mention the unpleasant [parts]. They avoided mentioning them. You certainly understood that they are hurting.[27]

This pattern of selective transmission is noticed in the narrations of many Asia Minor refugee descendants across generations. Similarly, born in 1962, Anna Tataki recalled her grandfather's exaggerations regarding the fertility of the Asia Minor land ('if you put even a stick in the ground, it will sprout a tree').[28] She also remembered her grandmother's descriptions of the prosperous life, adding that '[s]he mainly described the good moments. […] She avoided talking about the part of the displacement […] because it hurt them. [she was saying] Leave them, let's not remember these now'.[29] In addition, born in 1968, Eirini Papourtzi illustrated that her grandmother transferred 'the cultural part of memory', talking about food, music, dances, and traditions and turning her into a 'trustee' of memory.

> My grandmother had taken on the best role, that of the memories that were transferred to me. My grandmother transmitted the culture to me. It started from her kitchen to the lullabies I heard, the songs she sang to me and the stories she lived herself, such as when

[25] Paloglou, 2020.
[26] Karamanof, 2020.
[27] Interview with Vasiliki Papadopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 30 Jan. 2020.
[28] Tataki, 2020.
[29] Ibid.

> they were reciting poems at school about Smyrna, when they were dancing to Asia Minor songs […] So my grandmother had the cultural piece of memory.[30]

In the case of Eirini, this transmission has a strong sentimental attachment, through which she remains connected with her grandmother and her memory 'does not fade'.[31] As she vividly mentioned, 'I meet my grandmother in the space of memory'.[32] Illustrating the strength and the intensity of these memories, Eirini declared, 'when I am asked, even today, 'where are you from?' My answer is: I am a refugee from Asia Minor'.[33] In this light, she revealed that her Asia Minor refugee identity is self-identifying due to her grandmother and her neighbourhood, referring to Kaisariani, which is one of the most prominent Asia Minor refugee settlements in Athens.

Refugee settlements

In the context of refugee settlements, collective frameworks of remembrance as experienced through night gatherings, celebrations, shared values, traditions, and customs are rooted in descendants' memories, shaping their identities. Although a detailed analysis of the differences of the chosen refugee settlements is outside the scope of this chapter, different balances of refugee memory and identity appear in different refugee settlements. For example, areas such as Kaisariani have a strong refugee character, while places such as Melissia present fading characteristics being fully integrated into metropolitan Athens. As we will examine in this chapter, these different balances of memories influence the shaping of refugee identities throughout generations. In the case of Kyriaki, a strong collective memory shared by individuals within her neighbourhood replaced the lack of family memories. Kyriaki Malinaki

[30] Papourtzi, 2020.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

was born in 1937 in Lavrio, a town of Attica. She was raised in an orphanage in Nea Smyrni until the age of 17 when she finally returned to the refugee settlement of Agios Andreas in Lavrio. As she recalled, everyone was from Asia Minor in this settlement, which was called 'the settlement of Asia Minors'. She remembered:

> In the neighbourhood we were organising dances, we were dressing up at carnivals, we were going from house to house, we were cooking Asia Minor food, that my mother's sister taught me.[34]

It was a very lively neighbourhood in which '[w]e the Asia Minors were all together', she mentioned emphatically, explaining that they had no relations with non-Asia Minor refugees'.[35] In the case of Kyriaki, refugee memories are discovered at a later stage of her life from her aunt and primarily from the collective level of the refugee settlement. Impressively, her family story and Asia Minor heritage were revealed by collective frameworks of remembrance and had a significant shaping impact on her identity. '[E]ven now I say that I belong to the Asia Minors' she said and discussed the transmission of her family history to her children and grandchildren.[36]

Neighbourhoods are key frameworks of remembrance and identity formation in many refugee settlements, as some of the interviews explain. For instance, Kaisariani is a prominent example of an Asia Minor refugee settlement in Athens. Eirini Papourtzi, born in 1968 in Kaisariani, emphasised the shaping impact of the refugee settlement on her memory and identity.

> [W]e were born in Kaisariani, in an environment that is purely refugee […] This helped in that we all self-identify more as refugees […] If I was in another neighbourhood this

[34] Malinaki, 2020.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

> element would be less intense […] The Asia Minor identity in Kaisariani has always been an everyday experience.[37]

Eirini further analysed the central elements of Kaisarini, emphasising housing and organisation of space patterns and the social life in the refugee settlement. Currently living in a modern apartment, Eirini recalled the architecture of the old blocks and houses. She described little houses, with two bedrooms, one bathroom, and a small garden. She also thought of women eagerly sharing food in the neighbourhood. Asia Minor 'customs and traditions were strictly maintained' she added.[38] Eirini explained that until the 1980s Kaisarini was almost exclusively composed of Asia Minor refugees and their descendants. Nowadays, traces of the refugee character of this locality lie in street names, left-wing political leanings, and the refugee association of this refugee settlement. Similarly, born in 1956 in Kaisariani, Spiros Tzokas noted, '[m]emory is the lifeblood of history', explaining how his memory was shaped by this settlement.[39] He began by stating that although only one of his parents is of Asia Minor descent, his Asia Minor origin is dominant because of the neighbourhood.

> If I was living in another area […] then it might have been different. The neighbourhood played a huge role in shaping the Asia Minor identity. […] I consider that the basic element of my physiognomy, as well as the physiognomy of Kaisariani, is the Asia Minor origin.[40]

Considering this refugee settlement as the main shaping factor of his identity, he described Kaisariani as an extended space of the family sphere. Spiros explained how 'the neighbourhood functioned like a family' by recalling their shared concerns 'the whole neighbourhood was worried when we would be late to return at night' and the open houses 'the doors were then

[37] Papourtzi, 2020.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Tzokas, 2020.
[40] Ibid.

closed only because we were cold'.[41] He further traced the main elements that composed Kaisariani bringing to the forefront 'the church, the football team, the cultural associations as elements of the neighbourhood that unite us'.[42]

Nevertheless, according to Spiros and other interviewees, the Asia Minor refugee neighbourhood/settlement as a space of remembrance and memory transmission loses force. Following a fading intergenerational pattern, Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974 and Anastasis Charalambopoulos born in 1990, who live in formerly known refugee settlements, declared respectively that 'the neighbourhood didn't play much of a role',[43] 'the neighbourhood didn't have an Asia Minor character'.[44] In the light of changing political, economic, social, and cultural conditions, the progressive loss of the first generation, the altered population mosaic, the differentiated architectural characteristics, and the replacement of refugee houses with modern buildings eliminated the Asia Minor identity of many refugee settlements throughout Athens.

Specifically, Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953 in Nea Ionia, explained the gradual transformation of a prominent refugee settlement in Athens. According to Loukas, almost 80% of the population had an Asia Minor refugee background until 1960.[45] From 1960 onwards, urbanisation, internal migration, and major reconstructions in houses led to changing scenery and influenced the conception of refugeehood and refugee settlements. This shift is also depicted in changed patterns of political behaviour and electoral results, with Loukas noting that 'electoral percentages also change', implying a connection between Asia Minor refugee heritage and left-wing leanings.[46] Emphasising the multileveled transformation of the refugee

[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Chatoglou, 2020.
[44] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[45] Christodoulou, 2020.
[46] Ibid.

settlement, he concluded, 'after 1965, the city begins to develop, the rhythms of the city change, nothing reminds us that they are refugees anymore'.[47]

These changes further altered the identity of these localities throughout the years. Indeed, walking around the most prominent refugee settlements in Athens, there are only a few traces left of the Asia Minor refugee past. Among them, are forgotten small refugee houses next to blocks of modern apartments, street names, and in some cases refugee museums, memorials, and associations. Asia Minor refugee associations constitute products of key efforts of systematic organisation through collective frameworks of remembrance.

Refugee associations

Family and neighbourhood, at an early stage, and refugee associations, at a later stage, exert key frameworks not only for remembrance but also for the formation of identities. The systematic organisation of Asia Minor refugees and their descendants is traced throughout time, bringing to light the continuities and discontinuities of collective memory. Born in 1965, Dimitris Pantelas, the co-founder of the Union of Asia Minors of Thebes, the Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece, and the website mikrasiatis.gr (asiaminor.gr), described the history of refugee associations over time. Dimitris' analysis focuses on several phases of the development of refugee associations and reveals the reasons behind the two main pauses in their operation. According to Dimitris, in the decade that followed the Asia Minor forced displacement, the creation of the first refugee associations was organised around Asia Minor geographical settlements of origin and started with the aim of registering Asia Minor refugees.[48] In addition to the role of the Refugee Settlement Commission, many refugee

[47] Ibid.
[48] Pantelas, 2020.

associations were created by refugees of the first generation, primarily serving purposes of registration of people and property, settlement, and family reunification.

Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940, who is a key member of one of the most established refugee associations in Nea Smyrni, attributed the discontinuities in the presence of refugee organisations to the Metaxas Dictatorship (1936-40) and the Greek Civil War (1946-49).[49] Metaxas' anti-Venizelist sentiment coupled with the linkage of refugees' political behaviour to the Venizelist (Liberal) Party and subsequently the rise of the Communist Party, led to the closure of many refugee organisations. Describing how class and left political leanings were identified with refugee associations, Dimitris noted, 'most associations shut down as leftist strongholds'.[50]

Discussing the re-establishment of some of the refugee associations in Athens, Loukas Christodoulou born in 1953, who is the president of a refugee association in Nea Ionia, explained that in the 1950s associations were established in privately owned buildings provided by wealthy Asia Minor refugees of the first generation.[51] However, their operation endured only until the emergence of the Greek Junta (1967-74). According to many former and current presidents of refugee associations throughout Attica who narrated the history of their associations, with the exception of the associations with bourgeois characteristics,[52] refugee associations in working-class and left-wing neighbourhoods were forcefully closed.[53] Dimitris commented, '[m]ost associations shut down and their files are burned because they are considered wasp nests of the left'.[54]

[49] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[50] Pantelas, 2020.
[51] Christodoulou, 2020.
[52] Polichroniadou, 2020.
[53] Interview with Stela Saripanagiotou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Jan. 2020.
[54] Pantelas, 2020.

Finally, between the 1980s and 1990s, the Asia Minor refugee issue reentered the public sphere as it was described in Chapter 2. In this context, there was a proliferation in the creation of refugee associations, memorials, and museums. The year 1987 was marked by the establishment of the Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece, which was composed of 42 refugee associations throughout Greece and is based in Athens.[55] According to Dimitris, this revival was followed by a new phase in refugee organisations that started in 2000, lasted almost a decade, and was marked by the creation of new organisations established by descendants of the third generation. As he concluded, 'hence, new associations are created by young people'.[56]

> [T]he third generation, which has settled and is integrated, comes and speaks and I say, 'why don't we gather to make an association, gather all the heirlooms, make a celebration, a memorial, etc.' and so the new associations were gathered throughout Greece, which start becoming more active because of the initiative of the third generation. The fourth generation is the little ones who participate in dances etc.[57]

Reflecting on different historical periods, Dimitris mentioned the changing meanings attached to the Asia Minor 'homeland', which are converted throughout the years from 'lost homeland' to 'unforgotten homeland', and finally to 'homeland of the mind and soul'.[58] These shifting characterisations pass through three key stages that depict the loss of homeland, the attempt to preserve homeland memories, and finally the imagined and sentimental connection with homeland.

> Today there is no lost homeland, the lost homeland existed until the second generation. Today we have an unforgettable homeland. The lost homeland was until the '70s. From

[55] 'The History of F.R.A.G.' http://opsehellas.gr/sample-page/istroria-opse (21July 2022).
[56] Pantelas, 2020.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

> the '80s onwards, they are unforgettable homelands. From the 2000s onwards, they are homelands of the mind and soul.[59]

The role of the various Asia Minor refugee associations is also actively reshaped over time and generations. As Dimitris noted, highlighting the diversity of the refugee associations, '[t]here are very many associations. Some are rich, some are poor. Some are big, some are small. Some have buildings, others do not. Some have activities, others do not. Some have members, some do not'.[60] Throughout these years, refugee associations serve different aims, with settlement purposes being the first stated aims and memory transmission and preservation of culture being associations' most recent priority. This multiplicity of serving purposes comes to the forefront by many current and former presidents throughout Attica.

For some, associations are seen as meeting places, with the current president of the Pontic Union in Nikaia, Olga Polichroniadou, born in 1955, remembering that for her father, 'his hangout with his friends was the association'.[61] Spiros also recalled that 'the club also functioned as a meeting point for builders, because the majority of patriots were builders and they would find work for each other, let's say'.[62] Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940, described how the Estia Neas Smyrnis, which is one of the wealthiest and most established associations with its own library, archives, and art gallery, started as a 'club […] a place where they gather and talk about their problems'.[63] Until today some refugee associations are gathering places of descendants, primarily of the second generation, with the Asia Minor refugee association of Kaisariani being a prominent example of evening gatherings during my fieldwork.

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Polichroniadou, 2020.
[62] Paloglou, 2020.
[63] Papadopoulou, 2020.

For others, refugee associations exert the extension of their Asia Minor houses and homeland, illustrating the interplay between the public and the private sphere as well as past and present attachments. The president of the Center for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Culture and the Union of Asia Minor Sparta in Nea Ionia, Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, recalled that associations were reminders of 'homeland', saying that 'this home [the association] is the continuation of our house over there [in Asia Minor].[64] Similarly, Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945, who is the president of the Bithynia Fraternity in Nikaia and the editor of a refugee magazine, noted, 'the association was our homeland'.[65] Archontia Papadopoulou, born in 1952, the president of the Union of Magnesia of Asia Minor in Nikaia and a member of the Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece, explained this connection:

> Because we do not have special homelands to visit every weekend, Easter, and Christmas, our special homelands were the associations […] So we are re-baptised and come in contact with our roots. Now some things have faded.[66]

In light of this described fading memory and the progressive loss of the first generation, associations turned themselves into repositories of memory and identity. Describing the beginning of the re-establishment of the refugee association in Kaisariani, the president Stella Saripanagiotou, born in 1956, said, '[t]he need arose because we saw that as the years went by, the old people would pass away and we would lose things'.[67] Towards the goal of memory and identity preservation, as many presidents and members of the various refugee associations describe, memorial and cultural celebrations are at the forefront of their activity.

These systematic efforts for the preservation and the revival of memory are depicted in various cases. Specifically, born in 1957, Thodoris Kontaras who is the head of the traditional

[64] Christodoulou, 2020.
[65] Michailidou, 2020.
[66] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[67] Saripanagiotou, 2020.

culture department in Nea Erythraia and the organiser of Asia Minor dancing classes, concluded, '[h]ere we are doing a memory race'.[68] Throughout the years, various attempts have been made by refugee associations towards the transmission of the Asia Minor refugee memory from one generation to another. For instance, Savas Leptourgidis from Piraeus recalled that from 1948 until the 1980s, camps for the children of Asia Minor refugees were created so that 'children get to know each other and marry their patriots'.[69]

Nostalgia trips exert another prominent activity of refugee associations. For many Asia Minor refugees and their descendants, trips to Turkey and mainly the discovery of their ancestors' houses exert an important parameter of their Asia Minor attachment. It was only after 1952 that trips to Turkey were allowed for Asia Minor refugees. Many descendants of different generations describe their recurrent trips to Turkey declaring that '[e]very year I go across [to Asia Minor] […] I feel that my roots are from there […] I feel a euphoria', [70] 'I felt amazing when I went there'.[71] Born in 1962 in Kaisariani, Ilias Molindris vividly mentioned, '[w]hen I went there [to Turkey] it was like I was electrocuted'.[72] Ilias was surprised by the resemblance between his ancestors' house in Turkey and their house in Kaisariani. In many cases, architectural patterns were followed, illustrating a strong connection to the heritage of the past. Referring to the intergenerational transmission of their refugee past, Ilias confessed, '[m]y father took three stones from there [their Asia Minor place of origin], one for each child and he always had these stones in the living room. I have them now'.[73] Born in 1987, Sophia Paloglou's identity came more prominently to the forefront due to a trip to Turkey. She said:

[68] Interview with Thodoris Kontaras, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 28 Jan. 2020.
[69] Interview with Savas Leptourgidis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.
[70] Pantelas, 2020.
[71] Chatoglou, 2020.
[72] Interview with Ilias Molindris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 4 Feb. 2020.
[73] Ibid.

> I felt like I was coming home […] I felt like I was setting foot in my village […] There was a very strong connection. I did not expect to experience it this way, but there I really felt that I am not from here [Greece].[74]

Through the discovery of her Asia Minor refugee roots, she is self-characterised as a refugee '[w]hen someone asks me where I am from, I say from Asia Minor' and she stated her wish to transmit this identity to her daughter.[75]

The transmission of Asia Minor refugee memory and identities from one generation to the other exerts one of the main priorities of contemporary refugee associations. Many presidents of these associations expressed their concern regarding the participation of the fourth generation through phrases such as '[w]e don't have youth in our association',[76] '[w]e have a declining situation because we are now in the fourth generation,[77] 'I think that memory fades in the fourth generation and our duty and effort is to transfer this part. The solution is to reach out to young people.[78]

The extent to which memory and identity fade or enhance throughout generations is central, with presidents of associations throughout Attica attempting to provide different explanations about the limited participation of the fourth generation. For instance, comparing small towns with large cities, Vasiliki Papadopoulou born in 1958, attributed the fading participation in the Athenian associations to the spread of the urban cities, saying that '[t]hings are sluggish. Of course, the fact that we are in large urban centres, where we diffuse and get lost, plays a role'.[79] Born in 1945, Epicharis Michailidou, acknowledging the multiplicity of antagonist memories and factors that coexist within a society, noted, 'we are fighting to transfer

[74] Paloglou, 2020.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Deligiannis, 2020.
[77] Christodoulou, 2020.
[78] Mischopoulos, 2020.
[79] Papadopoulou, 2020.

it [Asia Minor refugee memory and identity] to the youngest, but there are many competing factors'.[80]

Intergenerational identity

Memory and identity inform and construct each other. Stories, silences, cultural traditions, refugee settlements, and associations, as expressed through various levels of memory, exert key frameworks not only for remembrance but also for identity formation. The extent to which Asia Minor refugee identity fades or revives over time and throughout generations, the subjects' attachment to imagined (Asia Minor), national (Greece), or local (Attica) identities, and their self-characterisation as natives or refugees are central.

This identification process is examined throughout generations, providing a long continuum of Asia Minor memory and identity. The intensity of this identity varies not only intergenerationally but also within the same generation or even among coevals of the same family. In the context of identity shaping, generations are not fixed and homogenous categories but are rather nuanced and varied. Intergenerational identities are contextual and as such their shaping is analysed across historical periods and geographical locations as well as in relation to the reflective self-positioning facet of selfhood and to others. Identity formation is not a linear and unproblematic process but is instead multilayered and dynamic. In this light, questions such as how, when, and under what circumstances this identity is triggered as well as what this identity symbolises for the subjects of analysis are crucial in unpacking the identification process.

[80] Michailidou, 2020.

Triggering identities

Many interviewees refer to tense relations between Asia Minor refugees of the first generation and the native population. In some cases, descendants of the following generations also recall contestation and binary distinctions that influence the triggering of their identity in relation to 'the other'. Spiros Paloglou, born in 1950, was a long-standing president of a refugee association in the refugee settlement of Nikaia. Spiros self-identifies as a 'refugee', noting that '[i]t's something I still carry inside me […] As I was becoming more self-aware, I felt that I am a refugee'.[81] He explained that at an early stage '[y]ou would not feel very well when you were saying that [you are a refugee] […] They were not proud to be refugees'.[82] He remembered the early 'differentiated treatments' and 'racism' that he experienced because he was living in a refugee settlement and due to his surname.[83] Family names ending with the patronymic suffix -oglou originated from Asia Minor ancestry. As he recalled:

> In the army, if you were saying that you are from Nikaia or Piraeus, you would have great discrimination and suffering due to refugee roots. Because it was like saying you were a refugee. That is why so many changed their names to -poulos.[84]

Indeed, many Asia Minor refugees changed their family names adopting the patronymic suffix -poulos, which was strongly connected with the so-called 'Old Greece', signaling ancestry relations with the geographical regions that comprised the first independent Greek state such as Attica. Similarly, Vasos Vogiatzoglou, born in 1935 in Nea Ionia, noted, 'when I was a kid at school, I used to mutter my last name. I was ashamed to say -oglou. I'm proud of it now'.[85] Vasos described the gradual transition, from an introvert to an extrovert Asia Minor refugee

[81] Paloglou, 2020.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Vogiatzoglou, 2020.

identity, in recent years, noting that '[w]e are moving from an introverted identity to an extroverted identity'.[86] Reflecting on his memories, as shaped in the familial and the neighbourhood framework, he said, 'I lived in a completely Asia Minor area transplanted here' and declared, '[h]omeland never leaves from inside you'.[87] Vasos is a doctor and a writer with many books devoted to Asia Minor. As he described, the aim of his first book was to prove the Greekness of Asia Minor refugees to the native population.

> To prove how Greek we were, much more than you. […] In all my CVs it is written so proudly: Hailing from Sparta in Asia Minor, he was born in Nea Ionia.[88]

Vasos stated that he is from Asia Minor and he feels of 'refugee' origin. However, he also referred to his strong national attachment, 'I love Greece very much, I am a fanatical Greek', acknowledging that '[t]he Asia Minor/native distinction no longer exists in my mind'.[89] In this narration, the gradual transmutation of the Asia Minor refugee identity lies in the discrepancy that characterises phrases of his early selfhood such as 'I was ashamed' and his later selfhood '[n]ow I am proud of it'.[90] In addition, although he described his efforts to prove the Greekness of Asia Minor refugees in relation to the native population, 'how Greek we were', he concluded that the native refugee binary 'does not exist anymore'.[91]

Referring to population osmosis between the refugee and the native population, Themis Papadopoulou illustrated that the imagined (Asia Minor) and the national (Greece) components of her identification are inseparable, saying that 'I am from Greece, because Greece and Asia Minor were one'.[92] Many refugees, throughout generations, refer interchangeably to imagined,

[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Papadopoulou, 2020.

national, and local identification forms, stressing their inseparable nature. Born in 1940 and being a member of one of the biggest Asia Minor clubs, 'Estia Neas Smyrnis', Themis acknowledged with pride her Asia Minor refugee roots. However, she did not use the self-characterisation 'refugee' because as she explained she feels integrated.

> Now after so many years, I do not feel like a refugee. I'm proud that my family came from Asia Minor, I have Asia Minor origins, but I do not feel like a refugee because we are now integrated.[93]

Similarly, Marianna Mastrostamati, born in 1952 in the refugee settlement of Vyronas, characterised herself as 'native', explaining, 'I feel local. Definitely not a refugee. I do not even have the trauma. […] I feel my Greekness, my homeland, Greece'.[94] Mariana, a very active member of refugee associations, recalled that she discovered her identity in opposition to 'the other' during her school years. In opposition to Central Macedonia or Lesvos, one of the differences between the Asia Minor refugee descendants and the native population in Attica was the lack of a 'village' in Greece. Many people in Athens originate from regions throughout Greece, mostly referring to them as 'villages' and visiting them for Christmas, Easter, and summer vacation. Marianna vividly remembered the first time that her teacher asked her if she knew where her village was. Marianna stood up with pride and pointed to her Asia Minor 'village' on the map. Her classmates reacted by saying that 'Turkey is there'. Marianna continued, 'they were referring to me as Turkish all the time […] I was shocked. I denied my Asia Minor identity'.[95] However, this rejection did not last because she learned to be proud of her Asia Minor refugee identity through her family and the association. As she noted, memory and identity formation is a dynamic and multilevel process, '[f]or me personally, the memory

[93] Ibid.
[94] Mastrostamati, 2020.
[95] Ibid.

was formed by all these together [from the family, the neighbourhood, the association], but it is shaped gradually over time'.[96] Reflecting on the different stages of the shaping of his refugee identity, Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, illustrated that his strong refugee identity was shaped at a later stage of his life. Loukas, who is the president of The Center for the Study and Promotion of Asia Minor Culture and the Union of Asia Minor Sparta in Nea Ionia, concluded, '[o]f course you usually find the memory at a later stage'.[97]

Fading and hybrid identities

Attachments to imagined, national, and local identities vary throughout generations and geographical locations. For instance, Spiros Tzokas, born in 1956, who is a Professor of History and International Relations, a former deputy mayor of Kaisariani, and the first president of the Centre for Asia Minor Culture in Kaisariani, recalled family and mostly neighbourhood memories and used the self-designation 'refugee', saying that 'this identity has marked me'.[98] However, Spiros stated his belief that throughout the years Asia Minor refugee memory fades, noting that 'memory is declining'.[99]

Born in the refugee settlement of Nea Ionia in 1977, Dimitris Kamouzis, recalled the shaping of his identity at an early stage due to family stories, the refugee settlement, and his mother's involvement in a local refugee association. Dimitris's Asia Minor heritage impacted his education and work in Turkish Studies, his doctoral research on Constantinople, and his current post as a Researcher at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. However, Dimitris is self-characterised as 'native' and prioritises his local (Nea Philadelphia) identity because, as he said, it is a 'hybrid identity' that combines the two components of his identification. As he

[96] Ibid.
[97] Christodoulou, 2020.
[98] Tzokas, 2020.
[99] Ibid.

explained, 'for me, being from Philadelphia and being from Asia Minor is one thing, I don't separate it'.[100]

Discussing fading identities in the multicultural context of Athens, Giorgos Avgeris, also born in 1966 in Nea Philadelphia where his mother was the former president, observed that '[in Athens] these identities were lost more'.[101] In addition, Christos Doukakis, born in 1949 in Chalandri, reflecting on the low levels of familial and collective transmission of Asia Minor memory and identity, is self-identified as 'native', emphasising:

> I have nothing to do with Asia Minor. In other words, it is not a form of identity. […] Native. I do not feel like a refugee at all […] I would say that this relationship has naturally waned.[102]

Similarly, Michalis Thomopoulos, born in 1953, does not consider Asia Minor identity self-defining, noting that '[t]he fact that the Asia Minor identity was not strong in our home may have helped our integration'.[103] In cases where the familial transfer is limited as well as in neighbourhoods with dwindling Asia Minor refugee characteristics, the intergenerational memory is presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending history and identities. Fading identities find their strongest expression in the self-positioning of descendants of the fourth generation. Descendants of this generation neutralise the Asia Minor dimension of their family history, reject the refugee identity, highlight their national attachment and belonging, and abandon 'we-they' distinctions between the descendants of Asia Minor refugees and the native population. For instance, Ksenia Eleutheriadi, born in 1981, declared, 'there is no Asia Minor/native distinction, for me, they are the same'.[104] Although Ksenia was born in a refugee

[100] Kamouzis, 2020.
[101] Interview with Giorgos Avgeris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 8 Feb. 2020.
[102] Interview with Christos Doukakis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 13 Feb. 2020.
[103] Interview with Michalis Thomopoulos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 3 Feb. 2020.
[104] Eleutheriadi, 2020.

settlement, she emphasised the limited transmission of this identity from her grandmother ('grandmother barely spoke about Asia Minor') and father ('he spoke very little about our identity').[105] She also stressed her lack of involvement in collective frameworks of remembrance, saying that 'I had never been to an Asia Minor association'.[106] Her father Giorgos, born in 1951, also added regarding the mechanism of family transmission, '[t]hey didn't transfer it to us and I don't transfer it either'. In this context, Ksenia prioritised the national component of her identity, declaring 'native'.[107] Konstantinos Moustris, born in 1997 and Aristea Thomopoulou, born in 1992, both in areas (Melissia and Maroussi) with few traces of the Asia Minor elements, are self-identified exclusively as natives, noting:

> Konstantinos: For me, this identity was not particularly self-identifying. Asia Minor is a neutral identity.[108]
> Aristea: It has never been a self-identifying element… I do not feel or have ever felt that I am from Asia Minor.[109]

Both Konstantinos and Aristea discussed the absence of the Asia Minor component from the family sphere, with Aristea mentioning that 'I didn't understand this origin at home'. Their grandmothers are living in Macedonia, in northern Greece, and they did not share stories of their Asia Minor heritage ('[m]y grandmother never passed such parts to me […] My grandmother did not talk so much about the past').[110] Aristeas' father, Michalis Thomopoulos, born in 1953, referred to a fading transmission of memory and identity:

[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Interview with Giorgos Eleutheriadis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 11 Feb. 2020.
[108] Moustris, 2020.
[109] Interview with Aristea Thomopoulou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 3 Feb. 2020.
[110] Ibid.

> I think the memory was lost when it was transferred from our grandmother to us. I think it is slowly fraying. I think this is normal. […] I did not transfer it much either, because it was not intense for me as well.[111]

In the context of a family interview with close and extended family members and illustrating the interaction of different historical memories, Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990 in Faliro, said that his grandmother's Asia Minor stories were overshadowed by narrations about World War II and the occupation of Greece. His grandmother Smaragda, born in 1930, said, 'I do not remember the identity of a "refugee", nor does my mother because then came the occupation too'.[112] Anstasis's mother also noted, 'I was not talking to him'.[113] In this context, Anastasis detaches from his Asia Minor past, saying that 'it's a part that concerns my family's past, not me', self-identifies as 'Native 100%', and resembles his family history with 'information I just have in a closet'.[114] Similarly, Maria Doukaki born in 1991, emphasised that the self-designation that she uses is exclusively the one of the 'native', explaining that '[i]n other words, I do not feel like [I am from] Asia Minor'.[115] Her father Christos added in relation to memory and identity transmission, 'I never spoke to Maria, because I do not feel I have Asia Minor roots'.[116] However, tracing potential links between his Asia Minor heritage and his behaviour, he connected his left-wing leanings with his Asia Minor roots and underlined that what he transferred to Maria is that '[w]e are not anti-immigrants or anti-refugees' […] because our grandparents found themselves in similar circumstances'.[117]

[111] Thomopoulos, 2020.
[112] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[113] Interview with Olia Tsika, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 6 Feb. 2020.
[114] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[115] Interview with Maria Doukaki, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 13 Feb. 2020.
[116] Doukakis 2020.
[117] Ibid.

Subsequent migration

How do Asia Minor refugee descendants form and reform their memories and identities in relation to subsequent migration? The relationship between refugee memories and contemporary attitudes, as expressed through the dynamic interaction of the echoes of different historical experiences that coexist within a society, is not linear and direct but instead complex and dynamic. In Attica, the population mosaic is composed of the native population, internal migrants throughout Greece, and various migration waves. The degree of establishment and integration of the various minority groups changes over time, as Attica gradually transformed to a multicultural centre. Without ignoring the arrivals of people sharing the Greek identity such as the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul (1964-65) or the Cypriots (1974), the focus of this section is the post-1989 arrivals. These arrivals mark the gradual passage from homogeneity to multiculturalism in the context of Attica. During that period, migrants from various nationalities arrived such as Bulgarians, Georgians, and Romanians. However, two of the largest outgroups that coincided in the wider metropolitan area of Athens and Attica were the Pontic Greeks from the Former Soviet Union and the Albanians.

The Pontic Greeks

Pontic Greeks or 'New Pontics', as most of the interviewees call them, were labelled in conflicting ways, being 'Russian-Pontics' for some and relatives of refugees from Pontus for others. Recalling their arrival in the 1990s, Asia Minor descendants strongly rejected the Russian-Pontic label and stressed the similarities between them. However, the understanding of these elements of similarity was not an easy and uncontested process. Specifically, Archontia Papadopoulou, born in 1952, referred to changing perceptions and gradual integration of the Pontic Greeks in Nikaia. As she illustrated, their integration was a slow and difficult process, as they were firstly categorised as 'Russian-Pontics'.

> The Pontics are brothers. […] They became exploitable directly by us too. I have told them many times that 'how do you treat our brothers like this, the third refugeehood?' […] This is how they [Greeks] treated us and we were Greeks. Or later we treated the Pontics that came to the homeland again this way and we still call them Russian-Pontics. And I say, 'Why, guys, are they Russian-Pontics? Are we Turks?'[118]

In this excerpt, Archontia explained the early negativity and labelling of Pontic Greeks in Athens, through the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider and the circularity of early negative reactions from the host society. Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, recalled their first settlement in Athens ('their own settlements were created according to the model of 1923') and stressed the scepticism of the host society ('I do not think they were well-received').[119] Born in 1951 in Nikaia, Spiros Paloglou, also discussed the social labelling of Pontic Greeks during his first interaction with them in the context of a night school in 1965-67.

> Of course, at that time I also called them Russian-Pontics, but later as I was reading and learning, I realised that this was a word that was not accurate. […] they called them Russians-Pontics, while they were original refugees, like us, displaced in 1922, they just took another path [….] Thus, the New Pontics seemed to me to be flows with similar characteristics, I did not see them as strangers, they were our people.[120]

Spiros explained how early scepticism has been surpassed over time and how the categorisation of 'Russo-Pontics' has been rejected through the realisation of their shared historical past. He noted, '[i]t seemed bad to me that they were called Russian-Pontics here. The people were not Russians, they were Pontics'.[121] Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940, remembered the poverty and the difficulties of the first settlement of Pontic Greeks, recalling a story about a family with two children in her neighbourhood. As this family revealed years later, they brought with them

[118] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[119] Christodoulou, 2020.
[120] Paloglou, 2020.
[121] Ibid.

a sack of onions in order 'to eat onions every day so as not to beg until they find a job'.[122] When Themis attempted to offer food to one of the children the mother said, '[n]o, do not give [food] to him, we have, thank you very much'.[123] Themis added:

> And they were eating onions. […] I do not find differences between Asia Minors and Pontics. It is one category. […] But I can assure you that these people who came from Russia had great confidence and dignity.[124]

On the collective level, Olga Polichroniadou, born in 1955, who is the president of the Pontic Union in Nikaia, discussed the role of the association in the reception of Pontic Greeks. According to Olga, the association offered newcomers help regarding state policies and subsidies. As she further explained, 'in the Pontic [associations] we accepted them as our own people'.[125]

> As for the New Pontics, we have a lot of people in Nikaia and in our association […] We have a lot in common. […] We never singled them out. We thought they were the continuation of the generation that had come.[126]

Elements of similarity are rooted in a perceived sense of common identity as expressed through history, language, and culture. Based on this gradual understanding, interviewees build historical parallels stressing shared family ties and calling Pontic Greeks 'brothers' from Pontus. For instance, Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945, said, 'they are patriots, brothers'.[127] Similarly, Nikos Samios, born in 1942, highlighted the genuineness of their Greekness 'pure-bred Greeks'[128] and Vasiliki Papadopoulou, born in 1958, illustrated, '[w]e helped them

[122] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Polichroniadou, 2020.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Michailidou, 2020.
[128] Samios, 2020.

because we considered them our brothers'.[129] While referring to Pontic Greeks, Vasiliki problematised the arrivals of the Albanians, noting:

> [W]e welcomed [Pontic Greeks] exceptionally. […] As we welcomed the Albanians who came, of course with a reservation, because the word Albanian always had a negative connotation for the Greek.[130]

In the case of Pontic Greeks, integration was a difficult process and scepticism was overcome through the gradual realisation of shared historical past and common ancestry. In the last excerpt, Pontic Greeks are seen in relation to the Albanian newcomers, who acquired a negative connotation for years as we will examine in the following section.

The Albanians

How are the memories of the 1922-24 Asia Minor forced displacement related to the memories of the arrival of the Albanians in Attica in the 1990s? Asia Minor refugee memory and identity have various meanings and symbolisms, influencing descendants' attitudes in often conflicting ways. For some, sympathy and historical parallels connect different experiences of migration (i.e. 'I saw that they [Albanians] were hard workers like the Asia Minors when they came',[131] 'they [Albanians] were integrated. And their children are even more attached to Greece').[132] For others, negativity and antagonistic comparisons pervade attitudes towards the Albanians (i.e. 'they are not refugees like us who came from war […] There is no comparison',[133] '[t]hese people are not incorporated. Unfortunately […] it is one thing how the Asia Minors came and another the Albanians').[134] This contestation demonstrates that understanding, acceptance, and

[129] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Chatoglou, 2020.
[132] Samios, 2020.
[133] Chatoglou, 2020.
[134] Tataki, 2020.

ultimately integration are not static processes, but rather dynamic in the gradually transforming multicultural centre of Attica.

Recalling the arrivals of the Albanians in the 1990s, some descendants of Asia Minor refugees bring to the forefront ethnicity and religion, shaping hierarchies of acceptability. With regards to ethnicity, Albanians are composed of Albanians of Greek descent and non-Greek Albanians, with the last group being the main receivers of expressions of scepticism and hostility. Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945, made a distinction between Greek Albanians and non-Greek Albanians, illustrating her understanding towards the former ('I saw them [Greek Albanians from Northern Epirus] as afflicted brothers, as homeopaths') and her scepticism towards the latter ('Albanians do not love Greece as much as Albania').[135] Epicharis also added the parameter of religion and further categorised the Albanian population between Christians and Muslims, arguing that 'Christians from Albania are a little more philhellenic'.[136] As she explained, religion was transmitted to her from her Asia Minor ancestors, 'religion and faith were strongly transferred to me'.[137]

As we examined in Chapter 2, especially in the case of descendants of the earlier generations, religion is a key shaping factor regarding not only their sense of refugee identity, but also the acceptance or rejection of subsequent migrants and their integration into the host society. The baptism and the conversion of some of the Albanians from Muslims to Orthodox Christians were seen as of paramount importance towards the facilitation of their integration. Among the many people who baptised children was Despoina Tsilpiridou, born in 1962, who became the godmother of her housekeeper's child. Despoina noted, '[m]ost became Christians, most were baptised. […] I believe that Albanians were not fanatical Muslims, so they were

[135] Michailidou, 2020.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

more easily integrated'.[138] For Spiros Paloglou, born in 1951, religion is a means of understanding 'who are closer to us and who are not'.[139] Orthodoxy and nationalism merge, in the case of Spiros, whose Greekness is seen through his religious heritage. As he illustrated, 'I am Greek because I was Orthodox'.[140] Recalling the first arrivals of the Albanians, Spiros criticised the Greek state for lack of control and noted:

> They also started to damage Greek houses, as a result of which this hostility was created. They were criminal figures, they escaped from prison […] The Greek state is to blame for all this.[141]

The link between Albanian migration and crime in the urban context of Athens is also discussed by many interviewees such as Eirini Papourtzi born in 1968 in Kaisariani. Eirini described Athens as a changing city, due to the arrival of the Albanians. She recalled that before them, she was walking with her friends very past midnight 'without running into any danger'.[142]

> This has changed dramatically since the first Albanians arrived in Athens, where there is a direct link between immigration and crime. The connection is straight. What happens? […] We lock the doors now. The door to my house, here in the yard, was never closed. Now we are afraid, we do not go back alone, something changed.[143]

Eirini's descriptions of the changing Athenian scenery are rooted in the connection between migration and crime as well as in the element of fear. This fear, as she clarified, primarily derived from a discursive criminalisation of migration. In the context of a large city such as Athens, interactions between the Albanians and the host society were more difficult and

[138] Interview with Despoina Tsilpiridou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 6 Feb. 2020.
[139] Paloglou, 2020.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Papourtzi, 2020.
[143] Ibid.

therefore attitudes were formed based on factors such as media representations. As Eirini suggested, '[w]e hear […] on TV that things are happening'.[144] Nevertheless Eirini clarified, 'I have not suffered any damage from Albanians, nor has my family'.[145] In this excerpt, she expressed a discrepancy between personal experience and media discourses labeling migrants as criminals. Reflecting on her views, Eirini concluded, '[m]y opinion has definitely changed over time'.[146]

Changing perceptions and gradual integration of the Albanians into the host society are traced over time and generations and lie in various explanations that the interviewees bring to light such as memories of forced displacement, upward social mobility, the learning of the Greek language, and interactions with the local population. According to Eirini, interactions between this outgroup and the host society exerted a key parameter for Albanians' gradual integration. Due to these interactions, a reconstructed space of changing relational and social identities is created. In this space, scepticism evolves into gradual acceptance. Eirini explained that in Kaisarini the social relations with the Albanians started due to the building of blocks of flats and the subsequent settlement of the Albanians in former Asia Minor refugee houses. For Eirini, interactions through working relations and everyday life in the context of the neighbourhood facilitated Albanians' integration and their children's assimilation, given that most of them 'do not know Albanian' and self-identify as Greeks.[147]

> [P]oor Albanians come to the small refugee houses, where their owners left. So, we begin to see them closer to us. We then notice that some families are not so different from ours. Meaning that these people will work, not steal. They are not what I think. Not all Albanians steal. So my opinion changes when we come in contact.[148]

[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

What other parameters lie behind this integration process? Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953 in Nea Ionia, also referred to changing perceptions emphasising social mobility as a path to integration into the host society.

> Society did not embrace them in a nice way […] However, these people proved, within a few years, with their hard work and dignity, that there were two categories: the good, the hardworking, and the dignified, who were assimilated by the Greek and the local community, their children went to schools, etc. and one part of them were bad elements […] The Albanians have bought a lot of real estate in Nea Ionia, they now speak the Greek language fluently.[149]

Upward social mobility is expressed by hard work, education, the learning of the Greek language, and the purchase of houses. Many descendants consider these elements key factors of the integration process. For instance, Argiris Manikas, born in 1950, discussed the incorporation of the Albanians into the labour market. As an engineer, he focused on his positive collaborations with Albanian workers, declaring 'completely satisfied' and attributing an important part of Greece's economic development to these people.[150]

> At that time, the national economy was in need of them and they needed to eat. […] they are hard workers and they really earn much more than the daily wage you give them with the amount of work they do. And I have had excellent relationships so far. For me, they obviously have a positive impact.[151]

Many interviewees referred to the hard work and diligence of this outgroup as a key factor for its integration during a period that was characterised by economic development, through phases such as: 'Albanians are incredibly hardworking',[152] 'they came with nothing and now they have bought apartments'.[153] Another parameter is the incorporation of the Albanians into schools

[149] Chistodoulou, 2020.
[150] Manikas, 2020.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Kamouzis, 2020.
[153] Kontaras, 2020.

and the learning of the Greek language. According to Charalambos Samboutzakis, born in 1938, who was a teacher, '[t]he Albanian children […] spoke better Greek than the other children who were Greeks. And I had helped a lot in that. Albanians were fully integrated into the local community'.[154]

Asia Minor refugee memories and identities of forced displacement also had a significant impact on the reception and gradual integration of the Albanians. Drawing parallels between old and new outsiders, some descendants of Asia Minor refugees understand the Albanian reception and integration process through their own family stories of displacement. Specifically, for Marianna Mastrostamati, born in 1952, Asia Minor identity as well as Greece's migration and emigration history played a key role in the shaping of her attitudes towards Albanian migrants.

> I was very much influenced by the refugeehood of my people. […] [Albanians] were forcibly displaced from their houses […] Our people did the same. They left and went to America, they went to Alexandria, they went to Paris, they went everywhere. To Russia, to Romania.[155]

Marianna also recalled a story that triggered her Asia Minor refugee identity. In this story, she advised Albanians not to be embarrassed to declare their country of origin, remembering her own identity story, based on which her classmates had stigmatised her as Turkish.

> Hey, don't be ashamed. Say 'I'm Albanian'. […] What did I remember? [the characterisation] Turkish. […] Every person has his origins. To me, my origins are from there. And I carry a lot of things. Meaning the refugeehood.[156]

Illustrating these changing perceptions in the case of Albanians over time, descendants of the fourth generation recall the gradual transmutation of early scepticism into gradual

[154] Interview with Charalambos Samboutzakis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 25 Jan. 2020.
[155] Mastrostamati, 2020.
[156] Ibid.

integration during their childhood years. Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990, remembered, 'the racist behaviours' towards the Albanians and his mother's advice, '[w]atch out Anastasis, there are Albanians in the house'.[157] Reflecting on this period, he admitted, 'this [advice] was passing inside me […] when they were telling me "Albanian", there was a reservation'.[158] Lastly, Anastasis described how these early reservations were overpassed through his later interactions with Albanians in the university and the army years, saying that '[t]here is a difference between theory and practice. In other words, I understood in practice too that you do not need to worry when the other person is Albanian'.[159] Similarly, Eleutheriadi Ksenia born in 1981, considered the Albanians 'like something very ordinary', noting that 'it was a given that as we go abroad, at some point they will come here from abroad, whether they are English, Albanians or Bulgarians'.[160] However, reflecting on past behaviours of a more monocultural Athenian society in the early 1990s, Ksenia acknowledged early scepticism towards the Albanians, stressing that 'especially then, it was something different, foreign and, not so recognisable and you could not welcome them like now'.[161] In addition, many descendants of the fourth generation remember the incorporation of children into schools during their school years, with Eleni Kapakli born in the 1980s mentioning traces of racism ('he was Albanian, full stop. That could not change')[162] and her younger brother, Dimosthenis, born in the late 1990s, recalling no differences with his Albanian classmates.[163] Born in 1997, Konstantinos Moustris pointed out that he has friends of Albanian origins from his school years.[164]

[157] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Eleutheriadi, 2020.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Kapakli, 2020.
[163] Interview with Dimosthenis Kapaklis, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 30 Jan. 2020.
[164] Moustris, 2020.

The acceptance and integration of a minority group into a host society are complex and dynamic processes. In the case of Pontic Greeks, early scepticism was surpassed over time and through the realisation of shared historical past and common origin leading to historical parallels and compassion. In the case of the Albanians, early expressions of hostility and scepticism gradually evolved into acceptance and integration. Changing perceptions are rooted in Asia Minor memories and identities of forced displacement, interactions between newcomers and the host society, upward social mobility, incorporation into schools, and the baptism of some of the Albanians. This part will close as it started with Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974, drawing historical parallels, hierarchies of acceptability, and comparisons for the different groups that coexist in Attica.

> It is different for the Albanian to come as an economic migrant […] It is different for the Syrian refugee to come from a war […] It is different for an Afghan who is now looking for a better future.[165]

'Migration crisis'

The role of refugee memory and identity as sources of formulation of the present is also examined in relation to the contemporary 'migration crisis' in Attica. Historically formed subjectivities, across generations and places, shape their identities and express their attitudes in relation to contemporary migrants and refugees. Mixed migration flows include people coming from various places such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and Syria. However, most of the interviewees draw binary distinctions, differentiating between Syrian and non-Syrian refugees. Although expressions of sympathy appear towards the Syrians and skepticism towards the rest, there is no linear relationship between descendants' attitudes and refugee past. Various areas across Attica are exposed to the current migration and accommodation facilities

[165] Chatoglou, 2020.

to different degrees, with places such as Lavrio having refugee camps and the northern suburbs of Athens not having a direct exposure ('[h]ere where we live, we feel it far from us, it does not touch us, we are unharmed').[166] In the context of Attica, different degrees of exposure to the current migration, generational units, and interpretations of memory and identity coexist, exerting shaping factors that influence descendants' attitudes.

Empathy and historical parallels

For some, Asia Minor refugee memory and identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding that produces empathy, perspective-taking, and historical parallels between different groups' stories of displacement. Acknowledgment of similarity of experience and perspective taking are rooted in refugee descent. In this light, Asia Minor refugee identity is seen as a means of understanding 'the other'. In some cases, the contemporary 'migration crisis' reactivated homeland memories and particularly stories of forced displacement, increasing empathy and support.

Specifically, Vasos Vogiatzoglou, born in 1935 in Nea Ionia, was a pediatrician and a former member of the Doctors of the World. Throughout his life, he voluntarily provided his service to an old people's home, an orphanage, a home for minors, deprived children, gypsy camps, and female prisoners, for which he received an award from the Ministry of Justice. Reflecting on his long volunteering experience, Vasos declared, '[m]y refugee origin played a role'.[167] Vasos argued, '[e]very human is a citizen of the world', drew strong historical parallels between past and present migration flows, and concluded that the contemporary 'migration crisis' is not a new phenomenon.[168]

[166] Kontaras, 2020.
[167] Vogiatzoglou, 2020.
[168] Ibid.

> I think there are no differences. […] Both then and now there was at best reservation towards foreigners. […] I was subconsciously influenced by my refugee background. Refugees are brothers, you can't leave them like that […] Big population movements have always existed and will always exist throughout the historical course of mankind.[169]

In addition, Archontia Papadopoulou, born in 1952 in Nikaia, where she acts as a city councillor, discussed the proximity of accommodation facilities in this area and the settlement of contemporary migrants to former Asia Minor refugee houses, stressing the lack of negative reactions. Archontia highlighted the humanitarian element of people's movements, saying that '[i]t is a humanitarian crisis' and traced elements of similarity between past and present displacements, acknowledging that '[r]refugeehood for everybody is refugeehood. […] They are parallel lives'.[170]

Born in 1987 in Nikaia, Sophia Paloglou also made historical parallels between different stories of displacement, noting that 'I see similarities in the misery, in the persecution, in the deprivation they are experiencing right now'.[171] As a teacher and a mother, she stressed the importance of the incorporation of refugee children into schools and criticised negative reactions. Her views and attitudes towards contemporary migrations go back to her family history of forced displacement and the shaping of her refugee identity. As she explained, she perceived her history and identity as a platform of understanding and perspective-taking, highlighting that '[n]o matter how hard you try to get rid of the refugee identity, you can't'.[172]

> I said that my attitude has been shaped in some way by my family history and through the association because I understand them [contemporary migrants]. […] Having such a past - because it is my past - you can't simply consider them invaders. […] That is, you add to the already existing trauma another trauma […] having in my mind that in order

[169] Ibid.
[170] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[171] Paloglou, 2020.
[172] Ibid.

> to cross through that country here, they have experienced situations similar to those experienced by my own people, I cannot accept this situation.[173]

Asia Minor refugee memory and identity as well as multiculturalism, as a product of both internal and external migration, are seen as platforms of sympathy and historical parallels based on many interviewees in Lavrio. Lavrio is a working-class town in the southeastern part of Attica which is known for its mines. Due to the mines of Lavrio, many refugees as well as internal and external migrants arrived in Lavrio creating their own settlements. In this context, one of the particularities of this town lies in the creation of various migration and refugee settlements throughout different periods. According to Dimitris Deligiannis, born in 1947, Lavrio was initially organised around four different settlements. Over time many other settlements were added due to the arrival of different migration groups such as Asia Minors, Cypriots, French, Italians, Pontics, Romanians, and internal migrants coming, for example, from Peloponnese and Santorini.[174] Structured around separate migration and refugee settlements, Lavrio's particularities composed a long-standing multicultural population mosaic. In light of the contemporary migration crisis, the humanitarian mosaic in Lavrio comprised a long-established refugee accommodation facility and newly established refugee camps. Talking about these refugee camps and her views on contemporary migration, Eleni Malinaki, born in 1968, analysed this complex population mosaic with special reference to the Asia Minor group. As a teacher, in her attempt to explain the limited negative reactions that took place, she referred to the importance of the coexistence of different groups, noting that 'there have been no major protests in Lavrio, perhaps because the locals are very few, most are from Asia Minor […] we have become a multicultural place'.[175] Eleni noted in detail:

[173] Ibid.
[174] Deligiannis, 2020.
[175] Interview with Eleni Malinaki, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.

> In the beginning, we treated them in a very friendly way because of our own refugeehood. […] And I too treated them this way and helped as much as I could. […] the multiculturalism of Lavrio may have influenced me in how I treat these people because this phenomenon does not alienate me.[176]

In the case of Eleni, Asia Minor refugee identity and Lavrio's multiculturalism become platforms of understanding and reciprocal support. The importance of these elements was also highlighted by Anna Tataki and Malamo Tsolakidou, born in 1962 in Lavrio.

> Anna: There were no strong protests in Lavrio, perhaps because it is an Asia Minor population. […] We are a crucible, literally. A crucible of cultures. Multicultural city. […] And here in Lavrio there was always a tolerance for foreigners.[177]
> Malamo: I have this understanding, perhaps because our people were also refugees. […] Maybe this exists in Lavrio, most are foreigners.[178]

Both Anna and Malamo bring to the forefront Lavrio's regional history and its long-standing multicultural mosaic, while expressing their stances towards contemporary migrants. In this context, Anna remembered the help she offered through the refugee association ('[w]e distributed clothes, food, blankets'),[179] while Malamo shared in detail her family's refugee and migration background. Refugee past becomes a platform of ongoing understanding in various areas with diverse characteristics throughout Attica. Specifically, Christos Doukakis, born in 1949 in Chalandri, Spiron Tzokas, born in 1956 in Kaisariani, and Giorgos Aygeris, born in 1966 in Nea Philadelphia, overcame binary distinctions and drew historical parallels noting:

> Christos: We should think that our people also came in a similar way then and in a similar way they leave.[180]
> Spiros: The similarity is that the refugee element is the same refugee element over time. Either forcibly displaced or economic migrants.[181]

[176] Ibid.
[177] Tataki, 2020.
[178] Interview with Malamo Tsolakidou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.
[179] Tataki, 2020.
[180] Doukakis, 2020.
[181] Tzokas, 2020.

> Giorgos: I generally liken Greeks to refugees because Greeks have always been refugees, migrants. And my view is that we don't behave badly, because we were also immigrants in Germany, and in America, and in Australia and what they did to us we don't want to do.[182]

Understanding, sympathy, and historical parallels also pervade the views and attitudes of many descendants of the fourth generation. However, in most cases, a more rational, distant, and less identity-based way of thinking as well as potential correlations between interviewees' stances and other variables are observed. On an individual level, Dimitris Kamouzis, born in 1977, ascribed his positive stance towards migrants and refugees to an amalgam of his refugee background, political identity, and profession. He said, 'I believe that my stance towards current refugees and migrants is also influenced by […] my refugee past and political culture, but also my profession a historian'.[183] On a collective level, he attributed the lack of negative reactions in his neighbourhood to a combination of refugee background and political culture, noting that 'I do not think such a thing [protest] can happen in Philadelphia, because it is a neighborhood with a refugee, leftist and democratic past'.[184] Dimitris alongside his wife, who works at the International Organisation for Migration, have offered 'material assistance' and encouraged the smooth incorporation of a girl from Iraq in their son's kindergarten. Comparing in-depth past and present flows with regards to qualitative and quantitative similarities and differences, Dimitris concluded, '[t]here are serious similarities'.[185]

'I think history repeats itself […]. It reminds me a bit of the Asia Minor catastrophe', Ksenia Eleutheriadi, born in 1981 in Rizoupoli, noted, also parallelising past and present displacements.[186] Following a more pragmatic and less identity-based perspective, Ksenia

[182] Interview with Giorgos Aygeris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 3 Feb. 2020.
[183] Kamouzis, 2020.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Eleutheriadi, 2020.

considered war and deprivation the main reasons why people leave their countries, stressed the potential positive impact of migrants' contribution to Greece's labour force, and highlighted the importance of their incorporation into schools towards their integration. Similarly, Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990 in Faliro, characterised current migrants and refugees as 'distressed' and 'uprooted', emphasising that they 'need help and protection'.[187] Anastasis developed the idea about the tendency of the established groups to look down on subsequent migrants, saying that:

> I believe that in 10 years they will have been fully integrated, as was the case with the Albanians, etc. […] When the Greeks came here, they were insulted. When the Albanians came, they were insulted. Now they [contemporary migrants] come and they [the established population/natives] insult them again. I believe that wherever new people go, there will be the same treatment. […] But I believe that if you look at it historically, populations are constantly moving here and there.[188]

Discussing migrants' integration into the host society, Anastasis referred to the dynamic and interchanging idea of the established and the outsider, illustrating the circularity of patterns that pervade the integration process of various groups over time.

Hierarchies of acceptability and competitive victimisation

For others, this memory and identity are perceived as a limited space in which a battle for domination leads to negative views, hostility, and ultimately competition. Specifically, binary distinctions are rooted in the categorisation of displaced people into two groups, with descendants clarifying that 'there are two different categories',[189] '[s]o war refugees are one thing and migrants are another'.[190] On the one hand, tolerance and empathy increase towards those who are perceived as refugees, with Syrians being the most prominent example of this

[187] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Leptourgidis, 2020.
[190] Paloglou, 2020.

category (i.e. 'I am more positive with the Syrians. When you are a refugee, I believe you understand the refugee').[191] On the other hand, hostility and in some cases competitive victimisation appear towards those considered to be migrants (i.e. 'I will accept the refugee […] but not the migrants').[192] For instance, Kaiti Chatzisavitoglou, who is a seamstress, and Despoina Tsilpiridou, who is a teacher, born in 1950 and 1962 in Piraeus respectively, developed their views towards contemporary migrations following the Syrian/non-Syrian binary distinction, saying that:

> Kaiti: The Syrians, let's say that I will respect them, because I consider them refugees. Not everyone else. I put myself in my parents' position, who left. But I consider all the others to be a very bad race.[193]
> Despoina: I see refugees more positively than migrants. […] Because I am a refugee […] I consider it my responsibility to help refugees in the country where I live.[194]

In addition, Christos Kazos, born in 1945, who is a former police officer, also drew a similar binary distinction, noting that '[f]or the Syrians who are coming because of the war, I understand it. […] I believe that migrants, not refugees, are dangerous'.[195] Christos lives in Melissia, a northern suburb of Athens that is not exposed to contemporary flows in opposition to Piraeus. At the prospect of the creation of an accommodation facility, Christos reacted very negatively saying that 'if you want to bring refugees, the refugees will be only from Syria, not from the other places'.[196] This binary distinction (Syrians/non-Syrians) and the strongly positive connotation of the term Syrian refugee are mostly linked to the Asia Minor history of forced displacement through Syria. Illustrating this historical connection, Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974, noted:

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[191] Saripanagiotou, 2020.
[192] Interview with Kaiti Chatzisavitoglou, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 6 Feb. 2020.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Tsilpiridou, 2020.
[195] Interview with Christos Kazos, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 2 Feb. 2020.
[196] Ibid.

> It is different for the Syrian refugee to come from a war. I appreciate the Syrians very much because many Asia Minor went and stayed in Syria and [the Syrians] welcomed them and they escaped the massacre of the Turks.[197]

Many interviewees raised the point of historical sympathy, with Angela Chatzistogia parallelising stories of displacement and saying that '[t]he Syrians are people who suffered as we did'.[198] Syrians, and particularly the Christian population, is considered part of the same Mediterranean world, that suffered under the Ottomans. Also drawing binary distinctions between Syrians and non-Syrians and referring to historical sympathy, Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940, brought to light the importance of other variables such as gender, culture, and religion, creating hierarchies of acceptance and rejection.

> [I]f I found a Syrian woman or a girl […] I would be happy to take her to my house. But I would not take a Pakistani or an Afghan. They have a completely different culture, a different religion, different beliefs.[199]

In the last excerpt elements of ethnicity, religion, culture, and history form a community of value with shared characteristics. Based on these characteristics, hierarchies of acceptability form descendants' attitudes in their attempt to safeguard their identity in opposition to other migrants and refugees. In this context, competition appears in antagonistic comparisons between past and contemporary displacements. For example, elements of ethnicity and superiority pervaded Maria's views. Maria Chatoglou, born in 1949 in Nea Ionia, perceived the Asia Minor displacement as a forced 'repatriation' process, saying that '[w]hen the Greeks came from there, they came back to their homeland […]. They did not come as foreigners to

[197] Chatoglou, 2020.
[198] Interview with Angela Chatzistogia, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 10 Jan. 2020.
[199] Papadopoulou, 2020.

foreigners like these people now'.[200] In this context, Maria felt offended by any historical parallel between past and present migration and refugee flows, clarifying that:

> It's wrong that they parallel it. No resemblance. I can tell you that it offends me […] For me, it is a great lack of education to say that we look alike. What do I have to do with them? Our people came from where they came and became even richer here.[201]

Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945 in Nikaia, also refused any parallels between past and present displacements, noting that Asia Minor refugees 'had the same religion, they had to some extent the same language and therefore the same national conscience'.[202] According to Epicharis, the characteristics of common language and religion play a key role in the acceptance or the rejection of an outgroup. These elements are also prominent in the narration of Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953 in Nea Ionia. Loukas described how the crowded railway station and former refugee houses in Nea Ionia are much more exposed to contemporary migrants compared to middle-class areas, foreseeing a 'demographic threat'.[203] He declared annoyed by the linguistic difference ('it bothers me a lot […] they speak a language I do not understand'), perceived religious and cultural differences as elements of alterity ('the characteristics that differentiate them are culture and religion'), and rejected any parallels ('the refugees of the Asia Minor catastrophe do not have even one thing in common with the current refugees').[204]

Religion and particularly the Muslim religion is seen as an element of hesitation for Loukas ('because they are Muslims, I have doubts') and hostility for Maria Karamanof from Nea Smyrni.[205] For them, the Muslim religion is linked to the 'war on terrorism' and terrorist

[200] Chatoglou, 2020.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Michailidou, 2020.
[203] Christodoulou, 2020.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.

attacks in Europe and signifies a battle of values, or as Betts puts it, 'civilisation in danger' and '"Christian civilization" under mortal threat'.[206] Maria understands religion as her Asia Minor heritage ('religion […] had to do directly with the Asia Minor origin') and a part of her national identity and consciousness ('religion is clearly linked to national consciousness').[207] Maria stated, '[t]he Muslim is not integrated, full stop. If we do not change his religion, it can't happen', perceiving the Muslim religion as a precluding element for integration.[208] Paraphrasing the Biblical phrase 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself', Maria interpreted her negative stance towards migrants as evidence of love and loyalty to her country under siege, explaining that '[i]t is not that you do not love your neighbour, but that you love your country'.[209] Maria considered the arrivals of migrants part of an organised plan by Turkey, saying that '[t]here is a plan […] at the moment replacement of population is taking place'.[210] She supported that this opinion is also expressed by her parish and believed that the young male migrants can act as a potential army against Greece, noting that 'they are all an army. Most are men [aged] 25 to 35, who are combative'.[211] With religion being the main element of alterity, Maria rejected any connections between past and present displacements.

> There is no relationship. What business does the Greek of Asia Minor, of the East, who had the crescent sword on his head […] with the one who arrives through illegal means […] to claim things that do not belong to him?[212]

Reflecting on potential similarities and differences between his ancestors' forced displacement and the contemporary migration crisis, Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965, argued that these experiences are incomparable, emphasising that 'I consider it completely sacrilege

[206] Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilising Europe After the Second World War*, p. 7.
[207] Karamanof, 2020.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.

to compare', 'we are not related', 'we can't identify with them'.[213] Competitive victimisation pervades repeated comparisons between now and then. Although Dimitris, as a member of the Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece, acknowledged the humanitarian component in every displacement, he clarified that Asia Minor refugees and their descendants cannot be identified with contemporary migrants highlighting, religious and cultural differences.

> I think that in Greece we have lost the meaning of the words, their identification with the refugees of 1922 is wrong […] There are only differences with them. […] Where we can help, we help humanely, but we do not identify with them. We cannot identify. […] It is not exactly the same in order to identify with it and make everything one.[214]

In this zero-sum game of domination, Dimitris safeguarded Asia Minor refugee memory and identity in opposition to 'the other'. In the context of the contemporary migration crisis, triggering refugee identities become not only a source of sympathy, but also of competition. However, competition appears more prominently in the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation. Following a less identity-based perspective, descendants of the following generations, perceive past refugee identities, multiculturalism, and Greece's migration and emigration history as sources of pragmaticism, understanding, and less tense relations. In this context, the significance of exploring contemporary attitudes across refugee generations and locations comes to the forefront. This comparative examination is the focus of the following chapter, which brings together the three interlocking elements of this study, time (generation), place (geography), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations).

[213] Pantelas, 2020.
[214] Ibid.

Conclusion

This chapter explores Asia Minor refugee memory and identity in the context of Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region, Attica, encompassing the capital of Greece, its suburbs, and countryside. In Attica, refugee memories and identities are transmitted from one generation to the other through the interplay of various frameworks of remembrance. In the familial space silenced and unsilenced memories coexist and when family memories are transferred intergenerationally are fragmented and have a nostalgic tone. On the collective level, refugee settlements are spaces of memory transmission that gradually lose force. In this light, the systematic organisation through associations exerts a key framework not only of remembrance but also of the formation of identities. Over time different balances of memory and identity are sketched and in refugee settlements with dwindling Asia Minor refugee characteristics, intergenerational memories are presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending and hybrid identities. In this urban context, reawakening and descending identities coexist, as it is transformed to a place of settlement for subsequent migration and passes from homogeneity to multiculturalism through Europeanisation and migration processes. Its gradual transformation coincided with the post-1989 migration arrivals, during which Pontic Greeks and Albanians were the targets of expressions of hostility, criminalisation, and prejudice and their integration became a slow and difficult process. Pontic Greeks were firstly labelled as 'Russian-Pontics'. Albanians of Greek descent were distinguished from non-Greek Albanians, with the last outgroup being the main receivers of expressions of hostility. Especially in the context of Athens, where sustained interactions between the newcomers and the host society were more difficult, the connection between migration and crime, negative media representations, and ultimately fear, led to xenophobic attitudes towards the Albanians. The elements of interaction and proximity are also important in relation to contemporary migration. Various areas across

Attica are exposed to the current migrations to different degrees, highlighting the role of microgeography. In the context of the current migration crisis, in this gradually transforming urbanised centre, hostility towards early migrations becomes acceptance, as multiculturalism and past refugee identities are seen as sources of understanding, less tense attitudes, and pragmatism towards contemporary migrants.

6. The Janus-Faced Attitudes of Asia Minor Refugee Descendants: Empathisers, Antagonists, or Rivals?

THIS CHAPTER brings together the three interlocking elements of this study, time (refugee generations), place (refugee locations), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations) in order to explore the views and attitudes of Asia Minor descendants towards other migrants and refugees. Through the lens of comparative analysis, the question that this thesis addresses is: How do people with memories and identities of the 1922-24 forced displacement think about subsequent migration? Building on the richness and diversity of the oral history testimonies, as derived from the previous chapters, this chapter sheds light on the complex, nuanced, and multidirectional attitudes of people with refugee origins. With this aim, it looks at a long continuum of different migration waves and situates generation and geography at the forefront of the analysis. In this light, the geographical and intergenerational perspectives of this research and ultimately their intersection inform and further our understanding of the identities of refugee descendants in relation to the identities of other migrants and refugees.

Asia Minor refugee identity is negotiated over time and across geographical locations. Bringing geography and generation to the forefront of the analysis, this study elucidates the multidirectional and multilayered attitudes of descendants of Asia Minor refugees. Multiple forms of identity and different historical memories intersect in societies, creating different processes and practices of identification. Throughout different historical periods, Asia Minor refugee identity, composed of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities, intersects with ‘the other’. In changing contexts, ‘the other’ acquires various symbolisms and connotations. With this in consideration, it comes into question how people with Asia Minor

memories and identities of forced displacement narrate not only themselves, but also 'the others', in this case subsequent migration. As this study examined in the previous chapters, Asia Minor refugee identity has various meanings and interpretations, influencing descendants' attitudes in often conflicting ways. Descendants of Asia Minor refugees stress the nonlinear relationship between their attitudes and refugee past, with Stratis Pothas explaining, 'when you're from Asia Minor you can react in two completely opposite ways. The first is to approach the issue with friendship […] The other is where you become stubborn'.[1] Indeed, on the one hand, Asia Minor refugee identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding that produces empathy, perspective-taking, and historical parallels between different groups' stories of displacement. On the other hand, this refugee identity is perceived as a limited space in which a battle for domination and recognition leads to negative views, hostility, and ultimately competitive victimisation. The Janus-faced attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants sometimes pervade the same geographical location, generation, or even the same informant. Describing this complexity, Stratis Balaskas confessed, 'I don't know what side I'm on […] In the morning I sympathise, I am with them. [...] At 22:00 I can't stand them'.[2] While tracing descendants' complex attitudes, the multiplicity of the shaping variables in action becomes apparent. In this process, other shaping factors such us political leaders, media discourses, and public narratives focus on '"desirable" and "less desirable" migrants',[3] can also have an impact on the cultivation of descendants' identities. However, the detailed analysis of this question is outside the scope of this study.

[1] Pothas, 2019.
[2] Balaskas, 2019.
[3] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 206.

Geography matters

As King acknowledges when describing the 'under-valued' role of geography in the study of migration, 'as a phenomenon that unfolds across space (and time) migration is quintessentially geographical'.[4] Although there is not a single theory explaining the variety of migration attitudes, given the manifold shaping factors in play, the role of geographic identities is stressed by some studies. For example, in a research study about undocumented immigrants in the United States, scholars conclude that 'attitudes toward immigrants vary considerably across place'.[5] In another study about anti-immigrant stances in Europe, the authors argue that 'people's attitudes about immigration are influenced by the local and regional environment'.[6] The role of contextual features and geography in particular, as a key variable in tracing the multidirectional attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants, arises in the previous chapters, devoted to regional case studies across Greece.

In this study, the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor experience, memory transmission, identification-making processes, and different degrees of exposure to subsequent migration are [only] some of the varying characteristics that bring geography to the forefront. The circumstances under which different patterns of identities emerge are elucidated based on the geographic particularities of the three case studies, namely the island of Lesvos, Central Macedonia in northern Greece, and Attica. Diversities also exist in the microgeography of these areas, with selected locales ranging from metropolitan cities to border crossing villages, presenting significant differences within the context of the same case study. Therefore, this

[4] R. King, 'On migration, Geography, and Epistemic Communities', *Comparative Migration Studies*, 35/8 (2020), p. 1.
[5] L. Frasure-Yokley and B. Wilcox-Archuleta, 'Geographic Identity and Attitudes toward Undocumented Immigrants', *Political Research Quarterly*, 72/4 (2019), p. 954.
[6] M. Czaika and A. Di Lillo, 'The Geography of Anti-immigrant Attitudes Across Europe, 2002-2014', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration* Studies, 44/15 (2018) p. 2470.

analysis goes beyond the rural-urban distinction, providing a complex understanding of various types of geographic (rural, urban, suburban) and community environments (cities, suburbs, villages, neighbourhoods) that influence attitudes towards different waves of migration. This variation in the type of geography is explored at both the macro- and micro-levels.

The existence of different senses of identity traces back to the historical and geographic particularities that shaped the heterogeneity of the Asia Minor forced displacement and settlement. Specifically, Asia Minor refugees primarily of the western coastal regions of Asia Minor arrived on the island of Lesvos and created refugee settlements throughout the capital and surrounding villages. In Central Macedonia, refugees from Asia Minor, Pontus, and Eastern Thrace often moved as whole villages or a combination of villages and settled together. In Attica, with a main focus on the city of Athens, refugees from all these places of origin arrived and spread throughout the capital. As we examined in the previous chapters, these different settlement patterns impacted issues such as the intergenerational transmission of language and culture, ultimately having an imprint on memory transmission and identity shaping. Intergenerational refugee identity appears to have a striking persistence on the borderland island of Lesvos, while in the cosmopolitan capital of Athens it is presented as fading, introducing the concept of descending identities. For example, Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964 in Lesvos, self-characterised as a refugee, noting that 'I don't see myself as a native to call myself a native. I am a refugee, Rum in Greece',[7] while Christos Doukakis, born in 1949 in Athens, used the self-designation 'native', saying that 'I have nothing to do with Asia Minor. In other words, it is not a form of identity. […] Native. I do not feel like a refugee at all'.[8]

[7] Balaskas, 2019.
[8] Doukakis, 2020.

Geography also exerts a shaping factor regarding the varying exposure and regional contexts of Lesvos, Central Macedonia, and Attica to subsequent migration. The numbers, nature, and characteristics of migrations arriving in these areas differ, composing diverse humanitarian geographies, population compositions, and interactions. Following the contemporary migration crisis, our regions' population mosaics comprise the native population and the established group of Asia Minor descendants as their core, in addition to the post-1989 settlement groups and the contemporary migrations. Moreover, due to the 2015 Europe's migration crisis, new humanitarian geographies emerged in these areas, with the creation of refugee camps and accommodation facilities. Areas highly exposed to current migrations due to their proximity to these facilities as well as non-exposed areas were examined in this thesis, taking into account the potential impact of exposure on triggering attitudes. Across the selected case studies, some of these regions include the island of Lesvos and the Moria refugee camp, which became the largest refugee camp in Europe. In Central Macedonia, the border crossing village of Idomeni also became the focus of world attention upon the arrival of large numbers of displaced people, while Diavata, in the suburbs of Thessaloniki, hosts, among others, a refugee camp, Roma settlements, and jails. In Attica, Lavrio is a town known for its mines, with refugee camps and various migration and refugee settlements that were developed throughout different historical periods due to internal and external migration. Most of these facilities are located in Asia Minor refugee settlements and villages, altering the micro- and macro- geography of Lesvos, Central Macedonia, and Attica.

Lesvos

Specifically, the borderland island of Lesvos constitutes an entry port, a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves. Lesvos is characterised by geographic, historical, and identity particularities such as its proximity to

Turkey, its position as an irregular migration route, its long-standing left-wing political leanings, and the flood of Asia Minor refugees in 1922-24. The memories and identities of descendants of Asia Minor refugees interact with the echoes of different historical experiences of migration. In the 1990s, Asia Minor refugee descendants came across new outsiders, with the Albanian outgroup dominating this migration wave. In the context of these arrivals, past memories of forced displacement played a key role in Albanians' reception in the host society of Lesvos. Descendants attribute acts of empathy to their refugee past, with Anastasia Papa, born in 1933, recalling her immediate reaction, 'I wanted to bring them [Albanians] food every night'.[9] Asia Minor descendants also draw lines of distinction with the native population and contrast the reactions of refugee and non-refugee settlements, further emphasising the role of family history of forced migration and bringing microgeography to the fore. For example, Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958, explained that:

> [T]he village of Skala, welcomed the first Albanians very well. In contrast to the village of Loutra […] because we see a human part of our own [Asia Minor] people in every migrant or refugee.[10]

However, acceptance is described as an uneasy and contested process, 'you cannot imagine what these people suffered through', Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964, acknowledged, referring not to personal, but rather societal reservations.[11] Asia Minor descendants refer to the gradual evolution of hostility into acceptance and attribute Albanians' integration to factors such as their learning of the Greek language, upward mobility, hard work, and transition to Orthodox Christians. Reflecting on the positive impact of Albanians on the island's economy, interviewees describe their incorporation in the primary and secondary sector, saying, 'when I

[9] Papa, 2019.
[10] Tourli, 2019.
[11] Balaskas, 2019.

was making my house in the 90s, Albanians were working on it',[12] '[w]ith the olives they did all the hard work on the island and now too, the Albanians',[13] 'the whole island of Mytilene was not become stone-built by me and you and the craftsmen of Mytilene. It was made by Albanians'.[14] This proliferative activity of the newcomers, as menial workers, resulted in close interactions with the local population, an effect that was significantly slow and difficult in the context of big cities, promoting the reduction of prejudice and acceptance. Discussing these regional differences, Rallou Spanelli, born in 1965 in Lesvos, noted:

> [F]ortunately for the island, those who started coming from Albania to the island were people who wanted to work and start families. I think 'the bad elements' of Albania remained in the big cities, Thessaloniki, Athens.[15]

Finally, descendants also reflect from a current day perspective on their attitudes towards the Albanians and conclude that, in addition to the above parameters, the position of this outgroup was further reassessed and stabilised during the contemporary 'migration crisis' and the arrival of new outsiders.

In 2015 Lesvos became the focus of world attention as the entry point of large numbers of displaced people. The arrival of vast numbers of migrants and refugees marked the beginning of a 'migration crisis' and caused reactions at a local level. These immediate reactions were shaped by expressions of empathy, rooted in intergroup contact, perspective taking, and acknowledgement of similarity of experience. Migration and refugee arrivals triggered past identities of displacement and descendants of Asia Minor refugees discuss this reawakening. Anthoula Papachrisou and Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958, referred to the reactivation of refugee memories, explaining, 'everybody in Mytilene [felt compassion] both then and now because

[12] Ibid.
[13] Dikidiki, 2019.
[14] Sachpaloglou, 2019.
[15] Spanelli, 2019.

our memories came to light',[16] 'I felt so moved though because I thought I was seeing my own people [she said through tears] I won't forget this'.[17] Similarly, Rallou Spanelli, born in 1965, paralleled stories of refugeehood and migration and referred to the similarity of the nature of the violent forced displacement between Syrians and Smyrnians, noting:

> [W]e felt compassion because the Syrians came due to the war, in a violent way […] this means that you couldn't have not compared it by thinking that in a similar way Smyrna was set on fire.[18]

Perspective-taking is rooted in past migration and refugee experiences on a personal, local, and national level. Underlining the island's long migration history, Stratis Pothas, born 1951, said that Lesvos 'was always a passageway'[19] while Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964, added, 'so theoretically we should be more accepting in this situation'.[20] The geography of the island as an irregular migration route, the magnitude of the arrivals on the island's shores, and their first settlement under poor conditions, resulted in intergroup contact between the established population and the newcomers. Although scholars suggest that intergroup contact and exposure are not likely to reduce hostility due to the transient migration arrivals, incidents of compassion emerge throughout Lesvos.[21] Asia Minor refugee descendants describe these interactions recalling the humanitarian assistance they offer through various means such as the provision of food, which is a form of compassion in the Asia Minor culture, saying that 'my wife and I, every Saturday night made sandwiches for the church',[22] 'I was cooking chicken with rice […]

[16] Papachrisou, 2019.
[17] Tourli, 2019.
[18] Spanelli, 2019.
[19] Pothas, 2019.
[20] Balaskas, 2019.
[21] Hangartner et al., 'Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?', pp. 442-55; Dinas et al., 'Waking Up the Golden Dawn: Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Increase Support for Extreme-Right Parties?', p. 444.
[22] Pothas, 2019.

The kids, we would try to see what they ate there, what their habits were',[23] 'I had collected 250 servings of food'.[24] Vasiliki Chavoutsioti, born in 1976, talked about sea arrivals in the village of Molyvos, which is one of the main entries and nearest crossing points from Turkey, remembering:

> I will never forget the shipwreck on the 28th [of October], it is very strongly etched in my memory. […] We go down to the port as every time to drink our coffee, with my children and suddenly people go out. We see children, people, wet, drowned. We helped, we gave everything, the larders are empty. […] The Asia Minors just lived it more intensely because some have heard and experienced [refugeehood].[25]

Bringing food and necessities, transferring refugees by cars, and welcoming them on the shores of Lesvos, Asia Minor descendants came in close contact with the newcomers. In the context of these interactions, Stratis Pothas, born 1951, met his stepson [soul son], a refugee that Stratis considers a member of his family.[26] These expressions of empathy and historical parallels are traced especially towards the first wave of the 'migration crisis' in 2015-16 when organised help on the island was not prominent, the unfolding migrations were perceived as composed of refugees, and the island constituted a transit point and not a place of settlement. Reflecting on these shifting points, Giannis Patanos, born in 1945, noted, 'today my opinions are completely different' and attributed his fears to 'Ergogan's plans' and the island's proximity to Turkey.[27]

Central Macedonia

Central Macedonia, known in Greece as 'the mother of refugees', includes a range of geographical areas from metropolitan cities to border-crossing villages. Geography comes to the forefront, and in borderland villages in northern Greece, Asia Minor descendants

[23] Papachrisou, 2019.
[24] Tourli, 2019.
[25] Interview with Vasiliki Chavoutsioti, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 5 Oct. 2019.
[26] Pothas, 2019.
[27] Patanos, 2019.

metaphorically become guardians of the borders and their identification is transmuted from refugees to settlers. Borders, as physical, legal, and imagined complex constructions, shape the movement of people across them and influence the identities of people who live near them. In the context of Macedonia, the rural settlement of Asia Minor refugees had a profound ethnological impact on the homogenisation of Greece and refugees became 'the frontier population', safeguarding the country's territorial integrity. Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972 in a Cappadocian settlement in the province of Pella, said, 'if there wasn't the refugee part then our borders wouldn't be what they are'.[28] This historically constructed identity of the 'guardians of borders' characterises Asia Minor refugee descendants and leads to the emergence of competing claimants between the various Asia Minor groups as well as between them and the native population and subsequent migrants. Specifically, during the post-1989 migration arrivals, two groups with different characteristics -the Greeks from the former Soviet Union and the Albanians- coincided in Central Macedonia. In the case of the Albanians, early expressions of hostility, criminalisation, and scepticism evolved into acceptance and integration over time. Sokratis Dimitriadis, born in 1973 in the suburbs of Thessaloniki, remembered that he 'got angry', perceiving Albanians as a threat. For this reason, he entered the police force and became a guardian of the border in Thessaloniki.[29] Illustrating the gradual integration of the Albanians, Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948, started describing them as 'Albania's Kalashnikovs' and finished characterising them as people of 'complete trust'.[30] Similar to Lesvos, changing perceptions were rooted in values of hospitality derived from descendants' refugee past, the transition of some of the Albanians from Muslims to Orthodox Christians, the occupation of the first generation of 'immigrants jobs' that was not perceived

[28] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[29] Dimitriadis, 2019.
[30] Fotiadis, 2019.

as a threat to the established population ('they helped a lot in the economy'),[31] and the incorporation of the following generations into schools ('excellent students').[32] Meanwhile, increased compassion and historical parallels are noticed towards migrants who are considered to be co-ethnics. The most prominent example is the case of Pontic Greeks who are seen as relatives from Pontus, especially by Pontic descendants who are one of the most numerous Asia Minor groups in Central Macedonia. From a present-day perspective, descendants from Pontus reject the stigmatisation and labelling of Pontic Greeks as 'Russo-Pontic' and stress elements of similarity between them. Paralleling their regional histories and emphasising their shared origin and characteristics, Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948, concluded, 'my mother too, if she hadn't come in 1939, would have come with them […] I consider them brothers'.[33]

In Central Macedonia, regional history is also significant in relation to the contemporary migration crisis. Specifically, Syrian refugees acquired a strongly positive connotation as they were linked to descendants' 1922-24 regional history of forced displacement through Syria. In this light, historic sympathy, hospitality, and reciprocal support are rooted in these memories of forced displacement, with Euterpi Meletiadou, born in 1945, noting 'that's why we love the Syrians because they had protected our parents and many children, not the migrants that come'.[34] Euterpi differentiated refugees (Syrians) from migrants (the rest). Hierarchies of acceptability, hostility, and competitive victimisation appeared towards those considered to be migrants. Born in 1931 in a border crossing village, Dimitrios Kapoutzidis, brought to light the element of competition, rooted in binary distinctions, noting, '[o]ur people were refugees. While they are migrants'.[35] Illustrating further this sense of competition, Ananias Kosmoglou, born in 1969 in a Cappadocian settlement in the province of

[31] Dimitriadou, 2019.
[32] Kosmouglou, 2019.
[33] Fotiadis, 2019.
[34] Melediadou, 2019.
[35] Kapoutzidis, 2019.

Pella, adopted the identity of the native or of the guardian of borders in opposition to contemporary migrants, explaining, 'I believe that they want to change the population because we are natives here'.[36] These patterns find their strongest expression in refugee settlements composed almost exclusively of descendants of refugees and borderland villages, where descendants transmuted into guardians of borders.

Attica

Greece's most populous and cosmopolitan region, Attica, has been the transit point and destination for various migrations over time, extending from the Athens city centre to the Port of Piraeus and towns and villages in Attica. As in the case of Central Macedonia, microgeography transpires, illustrating the complexity of various community types (rural, urban, suburban) and residential patterns (refugee settlements and neighbourhoods) as well as the varying degrees of migration exposure at the local level. In the context of Attica and in particular Athens, the capital of Greece, refugee identities of the past are shaped and reshaped in relation to different experiences of subsequent migration. During the 1989 geopolitical changes, Albanians and Pontic Greeks were two of the largest outgroups with different characteristics in Attica. In the case of Pontic Greeks, their integration was a slow and difficult process, with Pontic Greeks being firstly labelled as 'Russian-Pontics' and negatively stereotyped. Reflecting on this stigmatisation, from a present-day perspective, Archontia Papadopoulou, born in 1952, noted, '[t]hey [Pontic Greeks] became exploitable directly by us too. I have asked them many times, "how do you treat our brothers like this, the third refugeehood?" […] This is how they [Greeks] treated us and we were Greeks'.[37] However, scepticism was later overcome and through the gradual realisation of their shared historical

[36] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[37] Papadopoulou, 2020.

past and common ancestry in some cases. Vasiliki Papadopoulou, born in 1958, compared the two concurrent groups in Attica, saying that 'we welcomed [Pontic Greeks] […] As we welcomed the Albanians who came, of course with a reservation, because the word Albanian always had a negative connotation for the Greek'.[38] In the context of Attica, Albanians of Greek descent are distinguished from non-Greek Albanians, with the last outgroup being the main receivers of expressions of scepticism and hostility. Recalling the first waves of Albanians, Spiros Paloglou, born in 1951, noted, '[t]hey were criminal figures, they escaped from prison'.[39] Especially in the context of Athens, the connection between migration and crime, negative representations, and ultimately the element of fear, fuelled xenophobic attitudes towards the Albanians. As in Lesvos and Central Macedonia, in Attica, early expressions of hostility gradually evolved into acceptance and integration. Changing perceptions were rooted in various factors such as the role of past identities of forced displacement, the Christian baptism of some of the Albanians, their positive impact on Greece's economic development, their incorporation into schools, learning of the Greek language, hard work, and upward social mobility, and intergroup contact. In contrast to Lesvos and villages in Central Macedonia, in the context of a large city such as Athens, sustained interactions between the outgroup and the host society were more difficult and therefore attitudes were formed based on factors such as media representations. Asia Minor descendants attributed their changing views to the positive effect of intergroup contact, with Eirini Papourtzi, born in 1968, noting that '[w]e hear […] on TV that things are happening […] my opinion changes when we come in contact'[40] and Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990, adding that 'I understood in practice too that you do not need to worry when the other person is Albanian'.[41]

[38] V. Papadopoulou, 2020.
[39] Paloglou, 2020.
[40] Papourtzi, 2020.
[41] Charalambopoulos, 2020.

The elements of interaction and proximity are also important in relation to contemporary migration. Various areas across Attica are exposed to the current migrations to different degrees, highlighting the role of microgeography and the neighbourhood-level dynamics. For instance, areas such as the town of Lavrio and the port of Piraeus have accommodation facilities, while areas such as the prosperous northern suburbs of Athens are not directly exposed to contemporary arrivals. Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953, described the dominance of migrants in the railway station and former refugee houses, comparing Nea Ionia to non-exposed suburbs of Athens.[42] Reflecting on the issue of exposure based on geography, Thodoris Kontaras, born in 1957 in the northern suburbs of Athens, discussed the flood of migrants in Mytilene on Lesvos and Idomeni in Macedonia and acknowledged, 'I abstain as if this is far from me. […] Here where we live, we feel it far from us, it does not touch us, we are unharmed'.[43] Similarly, Michalis Thomopoulos, born in 1953, added, '[h]ere in our neighbourhood [in the northern suburbs] we are not directly exposed to current flows'.[44] In the context of the Athenian melting pot, Michalis's Asia Minor refugee identity appears as fading as he calls himself a 'native' and implying a high degree of assimilation, an urbanised refugee identity, and a passage from homogeneity to multiculturalism. Following a less identity-based and rational perspective, Michalis discusses Greece's culture as 'a country of emigration', the difficulties to 'distinguishing the migrant from the refugee', and the potential contributions to the country's prosperity of the newcomers' integration.[45] In the southeastern part of Attica in the working-class town of Lavrio, the role of geographic identity and historic particularities emerge in the light of the contemporary migration crisis. Lavrio's regional history and its long-standing multicultural population mosaic, which was shaped throughout

[42] Christodoulou, 2020.
[43] Kontaras, 2020.
[44] Thomopoulos, 2020.
[45] Ibid.

different periods through the creation of various migration and refugee settlements, become platforms of understanding. Born in 1962 in Lavrio, Anna Tataki explained:

> There were no strong protests in Lavrio, perhaps because it is an Asia Minor population. […] We are a crucible, literally. A crucible of cultures. A multicultural city. […] And here in Lavrio there was always a tolerance for foreigners. [46]

In another refugee suburb of Athens, Dimitris Kamouzis, born in 1977, also noted, 'I do not think such a thing [protest] can happen in Philadelphia, because it is a neighbourhood with a refugee, leftist and democratic past'.[47] In the context of the contemporary 'migration crisis' in Attica, multiculturalism as well as past refugee identities are seen as sources of pragmatism, understanding, and less tense attitudes towards subsequent migration. In the urban Athenian centre, different balances of memory coexist, with triggering identities primarily emerging in refugee settlements, where refugee identity becomes not only a source of sympathy, but also of competition, with Maria Chatoglou, born in 1949, emphasising that '[i]t's wrong that they draw parallels. No resemblance'.[48]

This analysis brings together the borderland island of Lesvos, Central Macedonia that encloses Thessaloniki, the second largest city of Greece and border-crossing villages, and Attica that encompasses Athens the capital of Greece, its suburbs, and countryside. It examines them both at the macro- and micro-levels and places geography to the forefront, tracing the multidirectional attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants. In this context, the regional and historical particularities of the three case studies inform elements such as the existence of different senses of refugee identity and varying degrees of exposure to subsequent migrations. At the macro level, Lesvos has a long-standing history as an entry port, a transit point, and a

[46] Tataki, 2020.
[47] Kamouzis, 2020.
[48] Chatoglou, 2020.

place of settlement for significant migrations that trigger past identities of forced displacement. Asia Minor refugee descendants' attitudes towards subsequent migrations are shaped by expressions of empathy and historical parallels, rooted in intergroup contact, perspective taking, and acknowledgement of similarity of experience. Conversely, in Central Macedonia Asia Minor descendants become guardians of borders. On the one hand, particularities of Central Macedonia's regional history lead to compassion and historical parallels towards Pontic Greeks who are seen as co-ethnics and towards Syrian refugees who are linked to descendants' own history of forced displacement. On the other hand, hostility appears towards those considered to be migrants. In the case of the Albanians, early expressions of criminality and scepticism evolved into acceptance and integration throughout time. In the case of contemporary migrants, the patterns of hierarchies of acceptability and competitive victimisation emerge and find their strongest expression in borderland villages, where descendants transmuted into settlers. In Attica, different balances of triggering and descending identities coexist, as it is transformed to a place of settlement for subsequent migration and passes from homogeneity to multiculturalism over time. Its gradual transformation coincides with the post-1989 migration arrivals, during which Pontic Greeks and Albanians became the targets of expressions of hostility, criminalisation, and prejudice and their integration became a slow and difficult process. In the context of the contemporary migration crisis, the elements of multiculturalism and past refugee identities are seen as sources of pragmatism, understanding, and less tense attitudes towards migration.

Microgeography also transpires through the comparative examination of Lesvos, Central Macedonia, and Attica and of the different geographic types that these regions encompass. In some cases, differences between urban and rural or frontier and interior areas are more significant in comparison to the variations observed among the three regional case studies. Specifically, Asia Minor refugee descendants who are residents of large and

cosmopolitan cities such as Athens and Thessaloniki generally adopt more pragmatic and less tense views towards subsequent migrants (i.e. 'there was multiculturalism in Thessaloniki').[49] In addition, within the small-scale city environments, descendants in refugee settlements present more persistent refugee identities compared to descendants living in neighbourhoods where the refugee element is not prominent. In this way, different microgeography creates different balances of memory and identity. Outside urban spaces, and particularly in border-crossing areas, descendants are more likely to express hostility and competition towards newcomers (i.e. 'we are all border guards and we are ready to fight').[50] Providing support to these patterns, other studies exploring geographic identities in the United States and Europe also suggest the differentiation between more and less positive stances about immigration in urban and rural contexts respectively.[51]

Generation matters

Although the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants vary across places, the nuances that characterised the existence of conflicting and congruous views across or within the context of the same geographical units, bring generation to the forefront of the analysis. Tracing the attitudes of people with memories and identities of forced displacement towards subsequent migration, is necessary to examine whether the patterns revealed through the comparative examination of different geographical areas further vary based on generation. The role of generation as a key element in exploring the transmission of traumatic memories, the identification-making process, and ultimately the multifaceted views of descendants of Asia

[49] Thomopoulos, 2019.
[50] Koutsantonis, 2019.
[51] L. Frasure-Yokley and B. Wilcox-Archuleta, 'Geographic Identity and Attitudes toward Undocumented Immigrants', *Political Research Quarterly*, 72/4 (2019), pp. 944-59; R. Maxwell, 'Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?', *American Political Science Review*, 113/2 (2019), pp. 456-74.

Minor refugees, has been discussed in the previous chapters. Generation represents 'a particular kind of identity of location, embracing related "age groups" embedded in a historical-social process'.[52] Generation location is shaped by 'the way in which certain patterns of experience and thought tend to be brought into existence'.[53] In addition, generational units are contextual as they are formed within different historical, social, and economic conditions and develop different senses of identity, as this thesis examines in Chapter 2. The shared experiences that characterise different generations of Asia Minor refugees have in turn a shaping impact on their identities and attitudes. Asia Minor refugee descendants' identities in relation to subsequent waves of migration are seen as a continuum of different phases as successive generations capture different stages of integration. Exploring 'generational change and attitudes to immigration' among Europeans, McLaren and Paterson stress the understudied role of generation, noting that '[v]ery little research addresses the question of how and why attitudes to immigration might change over time (if at all)'.[54] Through the intergenerational perspective of this study, the continuities and discontinuities of descendants' attitudes towards subsequent migration has been examined across time and geographical locations, examining comparatively the second, the third, and the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees.

The second generation

The second generation of Asia Minor refugee descendants was formed by the legacy of the civil war and left/right political divisions as well as efforts of gradual recovery and economic growth between the mid 1940s and 1960s. Within this period, descendants' struggles to integrate in the host society and the state's orientation towards homogenisation policies,

[52] Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', p. 292.
[53] Ibid.
[54] L. McLaren and I. Paterson, 'Generational Change and Attitudes to Immigration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46/3 (2019), pp. 666.

confined the Asia Minor refugee identity to the family sphere. Reflecting on the marginalisation and the accentuation of the refugee identity over time, Vasos Vogiatzoglou, born in 1935 in Athens, noted, 'I was ashamed […] I'm proud of it now'. He perceived his Asia Minor ancestry as an element of Greekness and described his endeavour '[t]o prove how Greek we were', as he stressed, to the native population.[55] With the notion of homogeneity being predominant this period, during which Greece was an emigration country, Michalis Thomopoulos and Giorgos Eleutheriadis, born in the early 1950s in Athens, noted respectively: '[i]n Greece it is true that the whole issue [migration arrivals] came to us suddenly and we did not have such a welcoming culture, because we are more of an emigration country',[56] 'I do not live in […] a multicultural society and I cannot easily understand it [the migration phenomenon]'.[57] In their attempt to understand subsequent migration in the context of the post-1989 and post-2015 migrations, the identities of Asia Minor descendants intersect with other migration and refugee identities. Due to this intersection, the defining characteristics of the refugee identity of descendants of the second generation, rooted in historical, religious, and cultural elements, come to the fore. These elements form a community value and shape descendants' attitudes towards subsequent migration, leading to hierarchies of acceptability and competitive victimisation.

In the context of a relatively homogenous society, Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation met other migrants in the 1990s, mainly Pontic Greeks and Albanians. From a present-day perspective, descendants described the members of the two outgroups as 'very hard workers',[58] 'tidy', 'bosses', 'people of complete trust',[59] and 'dignity'[60] stressing

[55] Vogiatzoglou, 2020.
[56] Thomopoulos, 2020.
[57] Eleutheriadis, 2020.
[58] Papachrisos, 2019.
[59] Fotiadis, 2019.
[60] Chistodoulou, 2020.

their integration into the host society. However, Asia Minor descendants take a step back recalling their early reactions, their gradually changing perceptions, and the key factors behind this integration process. Specifically, as they clarify, highlighting the qualitative characteristics of the newcomers and the role of shared ethnicity, both groups comprise people of Greek descent. With regards to Pontic Greeks, the realisation of shared history, ancestry, and language exerted the key elements of understanding, acceptance, and rejection of the Russo-Pontic label imposed on the newcomers by the host society. Emphasising their shared origin and language, as elements that surpassed scepticism, Konstantinos Psomas, born in 1954 in Central Macedonia, noted, 'they belong to my Pontic race'.[61] Konstantinos Veziridis also added, 'I truly consider them our people because they speak the Pontic dialect too'.[62] Similarly, Spiros Paloglou, born in 1951 in Athens, explained how the understanding of their common historical past, ultimately, led to historical parallels, 'I also called them Russian-Pontics […] while they were original refugees, like us',[63] while Nikos Samios, born in 1942 in Athens, stressed their Greekness, 'pure-bred Greeks'.[64] Taking into account all these reasons, Vasiliki Papadopoulou, born in 1958 in Athens, explained, '[w]e helped them because we considered them our brothers'.[65]

Shared ethnicity was also considered a key characteristic regarding the formation of attitudes towards the Albanian newcomers. Differentiating between Greek Albanians from Northern Epirus and non-Greek Albanians, Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948 in Central Macedonia, noted, 'I'm not talking about the big part of those from Albania who are the Greeks of Albania. For the rest there was a problem for me in the beginning'.[66] Epicharis Michailidou,

[61] Psomas, 2019.
[62] Veziridis, 2019.
[63] Paloglou, 2020.
[64] Samios, 2020.
[65] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[66] Fotiadis, 2019.

born in 1945 in Athens, drew a similar categorisation, declaring her understanding for Greek Albanians, 'I saw them […] as afflicted brothers', scepticism for Albanians, 'Albanians do not love Greece', and preference for Christian Albanians, 'Christians from Albanians are a little more philhellenic'.[67] For the second generation of Asia Minor descendants, religion was seen not only as defining characteristic of their identity, but also as a key element for migrants' integration. The baptism of some of the Albanians and their transition from Muslims to Orthodox Christians was seen as a central parameter that facilitated their integration. Many descendants of the second generation recalled this religious transition, with Georgia Chatzipanagiotou, born in 1946 in Lesvos, saying that '[w]e baptised the children',[68] Stratos Grigoriadis from Central Macedonia adding that 'we also had baptisms of Muslims here',[69] and Despoina Tsilpiridou from Athens concluding that the '[m]ost became Christians'.[70] As Konstantinos Psomas, born in 1954 in Central Macedonia, noted regarding the role of religion in the integration of Albanians, 'if I understand you are Christian I let you in my heart, if you are not I keep my distance'.[71] Overall, religion and shared ethnicity acted as accelerators for Albanians' integration. For the rest of the Albanian immigrants, their integration was gradual and was attributed by most interviews to their hard work, the learning of the Greek language, their incorporation into schools, and their upward social mobility, with Pavlos Vogiatzis, born in 1957 in Lesvos, concluding that, for all these reasons, Albanians 'have become integrated at this point'.[72]

Hierarchies of acceptability also permeate the attitudes of descendants of the second generation in relation to the post-2015 migrations. These hierarchies shape a community of

[67] Michailidou, 2020.
[68] Chatzipanagiotou, 2019.
[69] Grigoriadis, 2019.
[70] Tsilpiridou, 2020.
[71] Psomas, 2019.
[72] Vogiatzis, 2019.

value, which is composed of people with shared history, religion, language, and culture. Like many descendants of the second generation, Vasilis Sakellaridis, born in 1954 in Central Macedonia, referred to the defining characteristics of this community of value, saying that 'for me we have to distinguish between refugees with Greek characteristics, meaning language, religion and history, and the others who are migratory flows'.[73] Also referring to 'the other', Themis Papadopoulou, born in 1940 in Athens, clarified that they have 'a completely different culture, a different religion, different beliefs' and further differentiated between Syrian and non-Syrian refugees.[74] Specifically, rooted in the element of shared history and similarity of experience, a binary distinction is formed, according to which understanding, empathy, and historical parallels increase towards ethnic out-groups perceived as refugees (Syrians), while negativity, hostility, and competitive victimisation emerge towards those considered to be migrants (the rest). The positive connotation of the term Syrian refugee is linked to the history of forced displacement of Asia Minor refugees through Syria, the positive obligation for reciprocal support towards them, and the acknowledgment of similarity of experience. This similarity is based on the term 'refugee' which is used for the self-identification of descendants of Asia Minor refugees. In this light, the belief that Syrians, as war refugees like Asia Minor refugees, are the only 'real refugees' who are entitled to the refugee designation leads to the strongly positive connotations and attitudes towards the Syrian refugees. Reflecting on this binary, Euthalia Tourli, born in 1958 in Lesvos, noted, 'I felt so moved though because I thought I was seeing my own people […] This changes with the inflow of migrants'.[75] Similarly, Kaiti Chatzisavitoglou, born in 1950 in Attica, stated, 'I will accept the refugee […] but not the migrants'.[76] Putting Syrians in the first category and linking them to her family

[73] Sakellaridis, 2019.
[74] Papadopoulou, 2020.
[75] Tourli, 2019.
[76] Chatzisavitoglou, 2020.

history, she said, '[t]he Syrians, let's say that I will respect them, because I consider them refugees. Not everyone else. I put myself in my parents' position'.[77] Stella Saripanagiotou, born in 1956 in Athens, also solely identified with the Syrian refugees, clarifying that 'I am more positive with the Syrians. When you are a refugee, I believe you understand the refugee'.[78] Thus, history of forced displacement generates sentiments of reciprocal support. Syrian war refugees, as the only 'real refugees', formed the attitudes of the second generation and shaped sharp distinctions of acceptable and unacceptable newcomers, with Euterpi Meletiadou, born in 1945 in Central Macedonia, stressing that 'the Syrians have the right to come - but the rest should not come'.[79] Lastly, Konstantinos Fotiadis, born in 1948 in Central Macedonia, referred to all of the above elements that shaped the migrant/refugee distinction, highlighting:

> I am very positive about the refugees who are from Syria because it is time for us to return the hospitality […] And I said about the refugees, yes, let's accept them. Greece does not need any more economic migrants. In the category of refugees I categorise the ones in war.[80]

Adding another qualitative dimension to the hierarchies of acceptability, Konstantinos prioritises religion, saying that 'the main difficulties are Islamic fanaticism […] there is a plan to make Greece Muslim'.[81] For descendants of the second generation, religion plays a key role not only in the way they understand themselves, but also in the acceptance or rejection of newcomers in the host society. Particularly around Islam, as Gatrell notes, 'opponents of migration invoke the spectre of Islamic fundamentalism and a permanent terror threat'.[82] For

[77] Ibid.
[78] Saripanagiotou, 2020.
[79] Meletiadou, 2019.
[80] Fotiadis, 2019.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 206.

instance, Loukas Christodoulou, born in 1953 in Athens, expressed his hesitation regarding Muslim attitudes, saying that 'because they are Muslims, I have doubts'[83] and Maria Karamanof understood religious differences as a precluding element for integration, '[t]he Muslim is not integrated, full stop. If we do not change his religion, it can't happen'.[84] Maria considered contemporary migration flows as a part of 'an organised plan' and Stratos Grigoriadis, born in Central Macedonia, explained that the goal of this plan is to 'make our countries Muslim'.[85] Giannis Patanos, born in 1945 in Lesvos, also shared this opinion about 'guided' migration flows, emphasising religious differences and saying that 'what I fear especially is their religion, which is a religion of hate, not a religion of love […] If the Muslim element in Greece comes together, we will have important problems'.[86] Ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences further perplex hierarchies of acceptability, ultimately leading to competitive victimisation.

Based on the foregoing analysis, historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities shape the community of value of Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation and bring about the element of competition. Whereas most studies refer to 'competition over limited resources', such as jobs, education, or welfare state provisions, in the case of descendants of this generation, the identity threat is a more prominent element.[87] As previous research has pointed out 'cultural or identity concerns are often more important for explaining opposition to immigration in Western countries than economic concerns'.[88] Comparing the Asia Minor forced displacement with the contemporary displacements, Dimitris Papachrisos, born in 1952 in Lesvos, analysed the differences of language, religion, and culture

[83] Christodoulou, 2020.
[84] Karamanof, 2020.
[85] Grigoriadis, 2019.
[86] Patanos, 2019.
[87] Thravalou, Martinovic, and Verkuyten, 'Humanitarian Assistance and Permanent Settlement of Asylum Seekers in Greece: The Role of Sympathy, Perceived Threat, and Perceived Contribution', p. 552.
[88] Hangartner et al., 'Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?', p. 445.

in order to safeguard Asia Minor identity in relation to other identities and specified that '[t]here is no similarity with the current flows because back then [in 1922-23] people spoke the same language, they had the same morals and customs, the same religion'.[89] In some cases, antagonistic comparisons are multidirectional and the descendants of the second generation who were shaped in the legacy of the civil war, wondering why people left their countries due to war, with Dimitris noting that 'we had five years of civil war, 1944-49, and no one left to go anywhere; very few'.[90] Building on these differentiations between now and then, Epicharis Michailidou, born in 1945 in Attica, added the element of shared ethnicity saying that '[t]hey [Asia Minor refugees] had the same religion, they had to some extent the same language and therefore the same national conscience'.[91] For these reasons, Asia Minor descendants strongly reject historical parallels between past and contemporary displacements, as it lies in various phrases such as '[i]t's wrong that they parallel it. No resemblance. I can tell you that it offends me',[92] '[n]o relation. We cannot compare unlike things',[93] 'the refugees of the Asia Minor catastrophe do not have even one thing in common with the current refugees'.[94]

Overall, history, religion, language, and culture, as the defining elements of the Asia Minor refugee identity of the second generation, come to the forefront when intersecting with subsequent migration, shaping a community of value. Based on these characteristics, descendants' attitudes are expressed by hierarchies of acceptability. In this context, empathy and historical parallels emerge between Asia Minor refugee descendants and Pontic Greeks, Greek Albanians, and Syrians, while early hostility and competition arise towards the Albanians and contemporary migrants. In light of these destabilising processes and in the

[89] Papachrisos, 2019.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Michailidou, 2020.
[92] Chatoglou, 2020.
[93] Dimitriadis, 2019.
[94] Christodoulou, 2020.

descendants' attempt to safeguard their position and identity in relation to others, the cornerstones of Asia Minor refugee identity become 'signals of cultural difference' and competitive victimisation.[95] The Asia Minor refugee identification of the second generation can be seen as a negotiation battle, in which descendants' early struggle to stabilise their position in the host society and fears due to the contemporary migration crisis, are captured by the phrase of Giannis Patanos, born in 1945 in Lesvos, who confessed, 'I don't want to be a refugee again'.[96]

The third generation

The third generation of Asia Minor refugees was shaped by the 'regime change' from the military junta to an environment of social protests and mobilisation, and ultimately to the establishment of the Third Hellenic Republic and the passage from monoculturalism to multiculturalism during the mid 1960s and 1980s. It was also formed by primary experiences of migration of this generation and the realisation of Greece's emigration culture. In light of the post-1974 democratic and pluralistic context and while gradual processes of secularisation and Europeanisation were taking place, various forms of identification emerged and the reawakening of past identities occurred. In this context, the fully integrated descendants of the third generation revisited Asia Minor refugee identity through the collective spectrum and organised systematic efforts for its public recognition though, for instance, the establishment of refugee organisations. Reflecting on this reawakening, Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965, explained, 'I am [an Asia Minor refugee of] the third generation. […] the third generation, which has settled and is integrated, comes and speaks'.[97] Within an environment characterised by sharp transitions -from silence to reawakening, from dictatorship to democracy, and from

[95] Hangartner et al., 'Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?', p. 445.
[96] Patanos, 2019.
[97] Pantelas, 2020.

monoculturalism to multiculturalism- Asia Minor descendants of the third generation also experience the transition of Greece from an emigration country until the late 1970s to an immigration country with the post-1989 and 2015 migration arrivals. Within this changing environment, Asia Minor refugee identities of descendants of the third generation intersect with the other identities of displacement, ultimately shaping their attitudes towards subsequent migration.

In the context of the 1989 geopolitical changes, Asia Minor descendants of the third generation came across Pontic Greeks and Albanians. In contrast to descendants of the second generation, they follow a less identity-based perspective, presenting fading hierarchies of acceptability and distinctions between Pontic Greeks, Greek Albanians, and Albanian newcomers. In the case of Pontic Greeks, mentions of a shared 'pontic identity' are limited and their integration is framed by a distant rather than sentimental way, with descendants noting that 'they did not cause any problems',[98] '[they were] a little marginalised […] But they integrated smoothly, we did not have a problem. In other words, we saw it as something normal'.[99] The lack of contested reactions can also be attributed to state policies, given that '[t]he Greek government pursued an elaborate integration policy toward Greeks from the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s but not toward Greeks from Albania'.[100] In the case of the Albanians, however, memories about tense relations are more prominent. From a present-day perspective, descendants recall the arrival of the Albanians, their changing stances, and the newcomers' gradual integration. At first, descendants of this generation expressed negativity, with Sokratis Dimitriadis, born in 1973 in Central Macedonia, remembering 'I got angry',[101] and Eirini Papourtzi, born in 1968 in Athens, discussing 'a direct link between immigration

[98] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[99] Pantelas, 2020.
[100] H. Mylonas and M. Žilović, 'Foreign Policy Priorities and Ethnic Return Migration Policies: Group-Level Variation in Greece and Serbia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45/4 (2019), pp. 613-35.
[101] Dimitriadis, 2019.

and crime'.[102] According to Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972 in Central Macedonia, 'in the beginning I think nobody accepted it in a very positive way, because we were also hearing that the prisons opened and all the Albanians went out'.[103] Discussing the multiple shaping factors behind expressions of scepticism, Tasos Avgeris, born in 1974 in Athens, explained, 'you are definitely not moving alone, it is a family, social, and media context. From all these you receive pressure. At some point you start to think for yourself and when you start socialising with people, you understand'.[104] Building on this, most descendants focused on intergroup contact with the Albanian migrants, as experienced through working relationships. For example, Rallou Spanelli, born in 1965 in Lesvos, remembered her relationship with Albanian housemaids and their poor working conditions, critically noting that 'I believe I took advantage of them [Albanians]',[105] while Stratis Balaskas, born in 1964 in Lesvos, remembered, 'when I was making my house in the 90s, Albanians were working on it'.[106] In a period of economic prosperity, this generation considers the incorporation of the Albanians in the primary and the secondary sector as a key factor facilitating their integration, with Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972 in Central Macedonia, noting that 'there was a need for labour in the country, many became builders, others land workers, there was a need'.[107] Further elucidating her current stance towards them, Sophia added that the Albanians 'are exceptional in their attitude and in their obligations […] in the same way our immigrants are in Germany'.[108] Historical parallels with Greece's emigration history come to light for descendants of the third generation. Without ignoring early incidents of hostility and negativity, Giorgos Avgeris, born in 1966 in Athens, concluded, 'my view is that we are not behaving badly, because we were also migrants in

[102] Papourtzi, 2020.
[103] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[104] Interview with Tasos Avgeris, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Attica, 3 Jan. 2020.
[105] Spanelli, 2019.
[106] Balaskas, 2019.
[107] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[108] Ibid.

Germany and in America and in Australia and what they did to us we do not want to do'.[109] Just before the 2015 migration crisis, Arcel notes in her book about the third generation of Asia Minor refugees that 'all [grandchildren] have a sensitivity for refugees and the persecuted as a whole', implying the understanding of the uniformity of the refugee identity.[110]

When Asia Minor refugee descendants of the third generation meet other refugees and migrants in the context of the 2015 migration crisis, complex reactions come to light. While forming and reflecting on their attitudes towards contemporary migrations, they refer to Asia Minor refugee identity as a means of understanding 'the other'. For instance, Eleni Lemonia Malinaki, born in 1968 in Attica, traced the influence of her family history in her views, saying that 'we treated them in a very friendly way because of our own refugeehood'[111] and Grigoris Molyviatis, born in 1965 in Lesvos, explained that hostility against migrants was equivalent to 'erasing our [refugee] memories'.[112] Racism and memories of forced displacement are not compatible, according to the account of Konstantis Georgis, born in 1965 in Central Macedonia, who said, '[t]he memory is still very intense and I consider it a very big shame for a person who has gone through it via very intense narratives to be a racist'.[113] Family histories of forced displacement and Greece's emigration culture become elements of understanding and historical parallels, with Giorgos Avgeris, born in 1966 in Athens, stating that 'Greeks have always been refugees, migrants'.[114] Also, stressing the importance of Greece's migration and emigration history and overcoming binary distinctions, Rallou Spanelli, born in 1965 in Lesvos, highlighted:

> The first flows were refugee flows, we believed it and felt we had many things in common with these people. The following flows were not refugee flows but rather economic

[109] Avgeris, 2020.
[110] Arcel, *Με το Διωγμό στην Ψυχή* [Persecution in the Soul], p. 440.
[111] Malinaki, 2020.
[112] Molyviatis, 2020.
[113] Georgis, 2019.
[114] Avgeris, 2020.

> migrants and with this we have a part, the Greeks. Greeks have many economic migrants.[115]

Attributing his positive attitude to an amalgam of his refugee background, political identity, and profession, Dimitris Kamouzis, born in 1977 in Athens, reminded us of the multiplicity of variables in-play, stating that 'I believe that my stance towards current refugees and migrants is also influenced by […] my refugee past and political culture, but also my profession [as a historian]'.[116]

In some cases, binary distinctions and competition also form the views of the descendants of the third generation, echoing the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants of the second generation. Although less intense in the way they are expressed, binary distinctions are present in the stance of Sophia Kosmoglou, born in 1972 in Central Macedonia, who said, 'I will lay out my hand and give to everyone bread, whether you are Syrian or Afghan, but I will try to see that if someone needs help, to focus on the refugee', clarifying that '[a] refugee is someone who is coming from a war zone'.[117] Similarly, Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974 in Athens, recalling the arrival of Asia Minors through Syria noted, '[i]t is different for the Syrian refugee to come from a war' and Father Christos Papanaoum, born in 1976 in Central Macedonia, differentiated between 'real refugees' and 'economic migrants'.[118] Informants of this generation draw distinctions between themselves/Syrian refugees (as 'real refugees') and the other newcomers (as 'economic migrants'). Opening a parenthesis, this categorisation is also found in other cases with people of refugee origin such as Estonian refugees who arrived in Canada after the Second World War and differentiated themselves

[115] Spanelli, 2019.
[116] Kamouzis, 2020.
[117] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[118] Chatoglou, 2020.

from Vietnamese boat people.[119] What is striking in the case of Asia Minor refugee descendants is the persistence of these comparisons. In the context of these distinctions, although elements such as religion play a key role in the integration of outgroups in the host society, descendants of the third generation appear more tolerant compared to descendants of the second generation. Implying that religion is not insuperable in relation to contemporary migration, Sophia Kosmoglou noted, 'Albanians are Muslims, but we never had a problem'.[120] For descendants of this generation, religion remains one of the cornerstones of their refugee identity but it loses its strictly religious character, adopting a cultural dimension, and constituting a connective tie with the Asia Minor refugee past. As Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965 in Attica, and Kosmas Chatoglou, born in 1974 in Athens, noted respectively, '[a]s refugees from Asia Minor, our characteristic was religion, whether we like it or not',[121] 'it [religion] is part of our identity'.[122] Comparing past and present displacements and in the cases that descendants put the cornerstones of the Asia Minor refugee identity to the forefront, comparisons and demolitions of historical parallels emerged, with descendants noting that 'I don't want to compare them'.[123] Dimitris Pantelas, born in 1965 in Attica, whose quote opens this section regarding the reawakening of the Asia Minor refugee identity and the systematic organisation of the third generation, concluded, '[t]here are only differences with them [contemporary migrants]. […] Where we can help, we help humanely, but we do not identify with them. We cannot identify'.[124]

[119] L. Mannik, *Photography, Memory, and Refugee Identity: The Voyage of the SS Walnut, 1948* (Vancouver, 2013).
[120] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[121] Pantelas, 2020.
[122] Chatoglou, 2020.
[123] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[124] Pantelas, 2020.

The fourth generation

The fourth generation of Asia Minor refugee descendants is shaped within an environment of globalisation, secularisation, Europeanisation, immigration, and multiculturalism, as declared by Greece's EU membership in 1981 and its shift after 1989 from an emigration to an immigration country during the 1980s and 2000s. Under circumstances of increased population movements, the transformative years of this generation were framed by 'the presence of "Others", in this case migrants', and the passage from homogeneity, that shaped the previous generations, to multiculturalism.[125] In this growing Europeanised environment, Greece's 'participation in international Holocaust commemoration and education' coupled with the growing migration to the country and 'the need to embrace the notion of multiculturalism', lead to the adoption of hybrid identities.[126] In this context, hybrid identifications emerge and refugee/native divisions are attenuated for the fully integrated descendants of the fourth generation. Reflecting on this multiplicity, Niki Chontronikola, born in 1992, noted, 'when I'm here I want to say I'm from Asia Minor, when I'm in the rest of Greece I say I'm from Lesvos […] when I'm abroad I'm forced to say Greece and then Lesvos'.[127] Building on Niki's hybrid identity, a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the self-identification of the fourth generation comes to light. In this context, descendants of this generation adopt a more complex and multidimensional view not only of the way they recount themselves, but also in relation to 'others'. In this case, the 'others' are two subsequent waves of migrants that descendants interacted with, during their childhood in the 1990s and adulthood in the context of the 2015 migration crisis. In this way, Asia Minor refugee descendants of the fourth generation, passing

[125] McLaren and Paterson, 'Generational Change and Attitudes to Immigration', p. 668.
[126] Sjöberg, *The Making of the Greek Genocide: Contested Memories of the Ottoman Greek Catastrophe*, p. 121.
[127] Chontronikola, 2019.

through different stages, shape themselves in relation to others and capture different phases of arrival and integration of various migrations.

In the 1990s, the fourth generation was shaped within an environment of increased population movements and interacted with newly arrived migrant children of Albanians and Pontic Greeks during their childhood years in the environment of their neighbourhoods and schools. According to scholars, this direct contact with migrants can facilitate intergroup contact and prejudice reduction given that 'younger cohorts have been socialised in a climate where the presence of "Others" […] is commonplace when compared to previous generations'.[128] Descendants reflect on these early interactions and criticise the negativity of the previous generations, providing a broad picture about the changing attitudes towards these minority groups into the host society over time. Referring to the changing perceptions of the previous generations, Ksenia Eleutheriadi, born in 1981 in Athens and Panagiota Koutsantoni, born in 1992 in Lesvos, respectively noted, 'especially then, it was something different, foreign and, not so recognisable and you could not welcome them like now',[129] 'there was a mentality of thinking about the Albanians as something bad'.[130] Further stressing the sharp difference between intergenerational perceptions, Panagiota described her school years, saying that 'I knew that some kids were from Albania but when I went to school we had a mentality at that point that you have to respect that and it is very bad to speak about someone's origin'.[131] In the context of school interactions, Konstantina Sarafidou, born in 1999 in Thessaloniki, without drawing distinctions between Albanians and Pontic Greeks, said, 'I had friends from both Albania and Russia […] I believe that in my generation there was no such thing [as separation between migrants and natives] in schools'.[132] Similarly, Konstantinos Moustris, born in 1997

[128] McLaren and Paterson, 'Generational Change and Attitudes to Immigration', p. 668.
[129] Eleutheriadi, 2020.
[130] Koutsantoni, 2019.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Sarafidou, 2019.

in Athens, referred to his early interactions with his Albanian classmates and the maintenance of their friendship, 'I have friends who are from there'.[133] Also, recognising the importance of intergroup contact during these early years, Eirini Laskari, born in 1994 in Lesvos, explained, 'we were children and we played and we did not think of anything more […] We became friends and we are still friends'.[134] For these reasons, many descendants such as Marios Andriotis, born in 1986 in Lesvos, rejected binary distinctions between natives and migrants, highlighting that 'there were kids born and raised here that had absolutely no differences'.[135] At a more abstract level, Archontisa Konstantinidou, born in 1981 in Central Macedonia, analysed her views concerning these arrivals, mentioning that '[i]t does not cause any surprise or negativity. On the contrary, anyone can become a foreigner or a refugee. We do not judge a person on the basis of his or her national origin'.[136] Finally, connecting the migration flows in the 1990s to the contemporary migration flows, Nikos Papachrisos, born in 1997 in Thessaloniki, discussed the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider, concluding that 'so the rift of the Albanian Russo-Pontic recedes because the rift of the Afghan, Pakistani refugee comes up […] the scapegoat changes'.[137]

In the context of the unfolding 'migration crisis' and in the midst of an ongoing economic crisis, descendants of the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees, in their adulthood, interact with yet another wave of migrants and refugees. Following a generally more distant, sophisticated, and less identity-based way of thinking, descendants attempt to understand population movements as products of 'international politics' and 'geopolitics'.[138] War, deprivation, and lack of democracy and respect for human rights are the main reasons

[133] Moustris, 2020.
[134] Interview with Eirini Laskari, conducted by Marilena Anastasopoulou, Lesvos, 25 Sept. 2019.
[135] Andriotis, 2019.
[136] Konstantinidou, 2019.
[137] Papachrisos, 2019.
[138] Andriotis, 2019.

why people leave their countries for descendants of the fourth generation, with Chontronikola, born in 1992 in Lesvos saying that 'every person in the whole world has the right to leave when their life is threatened'[139] and Nikos Papachristos, born in 1997 in Thessaloniki, comparing past and present flows, '[t]he essence I think is the same, the war, so both flows are leaving to escape war, to escape [ethnic] cleansing'.[140] Therefore, they overcome migrant/refugee distinctions and hierarchy of acceptabilities based on characteristics such as cultural and religious differences ('what is there to talk about now? To put down who is Christian and who is Muslim')[141] and stress that migrants' integration 'depends on what way the country will handle it' and the state policies that will be developed.[142] Moving beyond binary distinctions and stressing the geopolitical dimension of forced displacements, Marios Andriotis, born in 1986 in Lesvos, said, '[n]ow, like then, it's a matter of politics […] which has extensions to everyday people'.[143] Nikos Papachristos, born in 1997 in Thessaloniki, explained, 'it requires imagination to enter the other's position', spotlighting the role of perspective-taking and elucidating elements of commonality between past and present displacements.[144] Across regions, descendants of the fourth generation paralleled the Asia Minor forced displacement and the contemporary migration crisis, saying that 'history repeats itself',[145] either on the basis of geopolitics or refugee descent. As they explained, their refugee past, triggered by contemporary flows, should be seen as a means of perspective-taking, with Kiriaki Fotiadou, born in 1989 in Thessaloniki, emphasising that '[d]ue to experiences we must offer and be open […] This probably also functions as a reminder for what your people went through'.[146] Also

[139] Chontronikola, 2019.
[140] Papachristos, 2019.
[141] Fotiadou, 2019.
[142] Chontronikola, 2019.
[143] Andriotis, 2019.
[144] Papachristos, 2019.
[145] Eleutheriadi, 2020.
[146] Fotiadou, 2019.

building historical parallels, Sophia Paloglou, born in 1987 in Athens, said, '[h]aving such a past - because it is my past - you can't simply consider them invaders'.[147] Finally, without following a refuge identity-based perspective, Anastasis Charalambopoulos, born in 1990 in Athens, referred to circularity of the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider, noting:

> Now they [contemporary migrants] come and they [the established population/natives] insult them again. I believe that wherever new people go, there will be the same treatment. […] But I believe that if you look at it historically, populations are constantly moving here and there.[148]

In the preceding analysis, the role of generation as a key element in examining the multifaceted attitudes of descendants of the second, the third, and the fourth generation of Asia Minor refugees is explored through the intergenerational perspective of this study. Tracing the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants towards subsequent migration, requires an understanding not only of the way descendants recount themselves, but also how they speak of 'others'. Continuities and discontinuities emerge when the identities of Asia Minor descendants intersect with other migration and refugee identities in the context of the post-1989 and the 2015 migrations. When descendants of the second generation meet other migrants and refugees, the cornerstones of their Asia Minor refugee identity become prominent, shaping a community of value rooted in shared history, religion, language, and culture. These characteristics form hierarchies of acceptability, leading to empathy and historical parallels towards Pontic Greeks, Greek Albanians, and Syrians and expressions of hostility and competition towards the Albanians and contemporary migrants. Safeguarding their position and identity in opposition to 'others', descendants of the second generation turn the defining

[147] Paloglou, 2019.
[148] Charalambopoulos, 2020.

characteristics of their identity into elements of competitive victimisation. Although more moderate in nature, competitive victimisation and binary distinctions also pervade the attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants of the fully integrated descendants of the third generation, whose refugee identity was triggered by the 2015 migration crisis. Family history of refugeehood and Greece's emigration history become drives of compassion and simultaneously shield the individuality of descendants' identity. A less identity-based approach shapes their views towards post-1989 migrations. In this case, interactions transform early scepticism into acceptance and ultimately historical parallels with Greece's emigration culture. Similarly, intergroup contact, during childhood years, forms the relationship between descendants of the fourth generation and the newcomers in the 1990s, bringing about acceptance and integration. The fourth generation of Asia Minor refugee descendants is shaped by the presence of migrants, multiculturalism, and hybrid identities. Compared to the previous generations, descendants of this generation follow a more distant, sophisticated, and less identity-based way of thinking expressing their attitudes towards contemporary migrations. In this way, they overcome hierarchies of acceptability and parallel the Asia Minor forced displacement with the contemporary 'migration crisis' on the basis of the circularity of the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider.

Intersecting identities

How do people with memories and identities of the 1922-24 forced displacement think about subsequent migration? Are they becoming empathisers, antagonists, or rivals? Without ignoring the multiplicity of variables in-play, this chapter sheds light on this question by bringing the geographical and intergenerational perspectives of this research and ultimately their intersection to the forefront of the analysis. In this way, the interplay of the variables of geography and generation is examined in relation to attitudes towards the post-1989 and 2015

migrations. Attitudes are expressed through the potential outcomes of empathy, hostility, and competitive victimisation. The examination of attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants in relation to other waves of migrations across time (generations) and place (geography) elucidates the complex and nonlinear relationship between their views and their refugee past and unfolds key patterns about the multidirectional role of refugee identity.

Examining the different senses of identity that coexist in generations and geographical locations, reveals the nuanced attitudes of people with memories and identities of the 1922-24 forced displacement. At the geographical level, Lesvos and Central Macedonia have the sharpest differences, with the sentiment of empathy being dominant in Lesvos and hostility dominant in Central Macedonia. With this consideration, regional and historical particularities inform the existence of different senses of refugee identity and varying degrees of exposure to subsequent migrations. Specifically, Lesvos, as a transit point, and a place of settlement for significant past and contemporary migratory waves, shows high levels of compassion and historical parallels towards both post-1989 Albanians and post-2015 migrations. Conversely, Central Macedonia, with its regional history as the guardian of the borders, is divided between hostility concerning Albanians and contemporary migrants and historical parallels about Pontic Greeks and Syrian refugees. In Attica, the gradually transforming multicultural centre, hostility shapes the reactions about the Albanians in the 1990s and understanding and empathy - although more neutral or moderate in nature - comes out respecting Pontic Greeks and contemporary refugees and migrants, with the presence of elements of competition for the latter. Schematically, Lesvians may be presented as gate openers, Macedonians as gatekeepers, and Athenians as being in-between of the Janus-faced reactions. However, are those general Lesvian, Macedonian, and Athenian ideas or do they vary based on generation?

Different attitudinal facets come to light based on the generation variable, further perplexing any assumptions about causal relationships. Generational units also appear

different, with the second and the fourth generation presenting Janus-faced discontinuities. These discontinuities are traced in relation to how people of these generational units see themselves, and based on this understanding, how they recount 'new' migrants. Taking into account the contextual characteristics of different generations, the varying senses of integration and the varying intensities of refugee identity are the key components behind the unfolding of the identification making process in relation to other waves of migrants. Specifically, the second generation is the most hostile and antagonistic towards subsequent migrants because of the perceived destabilisation threat that they experienced due to the arrival of the newcomers. 'New' immigrants act as reminders of this generation's integration struggle and 'old migrants' feel the need to safeguard their position by entering into an identity battle. In this identity battle, Asia Minor refugees of the second generation make the cornerstones of their refugee identity (history, religion, language, culture) a shield against the newcomers, in a battleground of competitive victimisation. In accordance with these characteristics, hierarchies of acceptability are formed, showing hostility and competition towards the Albanians and the contemporary migrants and empathy and historical parallels to Greek Albanians, Pontic Greeks, and Syrian refugees. This identity shield rusts over time and its cornerstones are not used as safeguards for the integrated third generation, but rather as compromising mechanisms. In this way, hierarchies of acceptability and strong binary distinctions lose force, with moderate expressions of hostility towards Albanians and moderate expressions of empathy about Pontic Greeks and contemporary migrants and refugees. In the context of the contemporary migration crisis, the triggering refugee identities of this generation are both used as means of understanding and competition. The fully integrated fourth generation does not shield its perceived stabilised position in opposition to the newcomers. Descendants of this generation have a more complex and hybrid view not only of themselves, but also about 'new migrants'. In such a manner and through their refugee identity, they stress the circularity of the idea of the established and the

outsider, displaying empathy and historical parallels towards all of the subsequent migration waves. In contrast to the previous generations and given that their sense of identity is not complete, but rather on the making, they follow a less refugee identity-based approach to position themselves in relation to others. Starting with a domination battle, continuing with an understanding battle, and ending with an integration battle, different generations express different attitudinal patterns based on their varying levels of integration and the diverse intensities of their refugee identity. Symbolically, using Janus, the God of gates and transitions, beginning and endings, to parallel each generation, the second generation sees into the refugee past with one face and the fourth generation into the future with the other faces, leaving the third generation in the middle of this fluid duality.

Narrowing down the above patterns, it is worth examining some of these continuities and discontinuities through their intersection in further detail. What happens if we bring generation and geography together? Across geographical areas, the second generation of Asia Minor refugees appears as the most hostile towards subsequent migrants, creating hierarchies of acceptability, rooted in a community of value, which is shaped by their refugee identity cornerstones. Based on these characteristics, Central Macedonians of the second generation embraced Greek Albanians, Pontic Greeks, and Syrians because of their common history and identity. However, they looked down on the Albanians and the contemporary migrants, making repeated comparisons based on their distinctive identity characteristics. Athenians of the second generation present the same patterns of hostility and empathy towards the post-1989 and 2015 arrivals, with the exception of Pontic Greeks in the 1990s, where Athenians were hostile until the realisation of their shared history. This attitudinal discrepancy stresses regional history's shaping impact that lead to different outcomes between Athenians and Central Macedonians concerning Pontic Greeks. This impact is more prominent in the second generation of Lesvians who are, in comparative terms, the most empathetic regarding

subsequent migration, expressing mostly compassion and historical parallels, rooted in shared history and interactions, without, however, lacking the element of competition concerning contemporary migrants. Regional history and interactions in the context of Lesvos also shape the views of the third generation, leading to expressions of sympathy and historical parallels concerning the contemporary migrants and to only moderate expressions of negativity in relation to the Albanians in the 1990s. Sharp distinctions are noticed in the stances of Central Macedonians and mostly Athenians of the third generation, who express prejudice towards Albanians and stress the role of media discourses due to the lack of interactions in the context of big cities, adding the role of other shaping factors. In the case of Pontic Greeks, elements of historical parallels or prejudice that shaped the views of the previous generation of Central Macedonians and Athenians respectively, are not present in this generation. Asia Minor refugees of the third generation express understanding, fading hierarchies of acceptability based on their identity cornerstones, and a more distant perspective. Concerning the contemporary migrants, third generation Asia Minor refugees in Central Macedonia maintain, although in a more moderate and less identity-based way, their identity as guardians of borders referring to binary distinctions and competition. Competitive victimisation also pervades, in some cases, the third generation of Asia Minor refugees in Athens, whose identity is also triggering in the context of the 2015 arrivals, mostly producing sympathy and understanding in the context of a gradually evolving multicultural society. Across geographical locations, Lesvians, Central Macedonians, and Athenians of the fourth generation demonstrate empathy in relation to Albanians and Pontic Greeks in the 1990s, as a result of their intergroup contact as well as empathy and historical parallels with regards to contemporary migrants and refugees, overcoming binary distinctions. However, in contrast with the previous generations, historical parallels for this generation, whose identification making process is rather complete, are mostly

rooted in less of an identity-based perspective that derives from the understanding of the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider.

Conclusion

Bringing together time (generation), place (geography), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations) allows an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of Asia Minor refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competition. In this light, different intersections bring about different outcomes. For instance, the two cases with the utmost differences are second generation Asia Minor refugee descendants in Central Macedonia and the fourth generation in Lesvos. Specifically, second-generation Central Macedonians were the most hostile to contemporary migrants in 2015, while they had welcomed Pontic Greeks but not Albanians in the 1990s, as opposed to fourth-generation Asia Minor refugees in Lesvos who were the most sympathetic towards both Albanians and contemporary migrants and refugees. With this consideration, it calls into question under what circumstances different attitudinal patterns emerge? To answer this question, the foregoing analysis examined the various shaping variables lying behind the formation of attitudes, illuminating geographical and generational patterns. Asia Minor refugee history, memory, and identity acquire various meanings and interpretations, influencing descendants' attitudes in often conflicting ways and illustrating the nonlinear relationship between attitudes and refugee past. This complexity pervades geography with Lesvians becoming the empathisers, building bridges with other histories of displacement, Central Macedonians adopting the identity of the guardians of the borders, demolishing historical parallels through antagonistic comparisons, and Athenians showing pragmatism as they gradually transformed into members of a multicultural environment. However, different senses of generational identities coexist in these geographical locations, further perplexing this

attitudinal conundrum. Formed through multiple layers of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities, the Asia Minor refugee identity presents varying intensities throughout generations. For the second generation of Asia Minor refugee descendants this identity is perceived as an intense battle for domination. Its strength loses force for the integrated third generation and ultimately becomes a platform of understanding in a battle for integration, however the descendants of the fourth generation adopt less of an identity-based perspective. These emerging nuances elucidate attitudinal patterns and correlations but also remind us that it is unwise to overgeneralise about attitudes towards subsequent migration that 'can be quite volatile and contradictory'.[149]

[149] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 206.

Conclusion

THE CONCLUSION revisits the question of whether people with refugee past are more sympathetic or more hostile to subsequent waves of migrants, exploring the attitudes of those who were refugees in the past towards refugees in the present. It focuses on how Asia Minor refugee memory and identity are bound together and explains how this study informs and furthers our understanding of the complex relationship between attitudes and refugee past. By portraying some of the interviewees, it reconstructs individual stories, collective memories, and the wider societal narratives of the Asia Minor forced displacement. Finally, it elucidates the main research contributions and provides suggestions for further research.

The stories of two descendants of the second generation illustrate the significance of regional history, generation, and geography. Konstantinos Fotiadis was born in 1948 in an almost exclusively Pontic village in Central Macedonia and now lives in Thessaloniki. Michalis Thomopoulos, born in 1953, lives in the northern suburbs of Athens, where there are just a few remaining traces of the Asia Minor past. Narrating his family history of displacement, Konstantinos recalled silence in the space of the family as well as in the public sphere. The second generation of Asia Minor refugee descendants was shaped by the legacy of the civil war and left/right political divisions as well as efforts of gradual recovery and economic growth between the mid-1940s and 1960s. During this period, integration struggles and the state's orientation towards homogenisation policies confined the Asia Minor refugee identity to the family sphere. Reflecting on the marginalisation and the accentuation of the refugee identity, Konstantinos stressed the role of language, dances, music, and food towards the preservation of his Pontic identity. Revealing his self-identification, he declared, '[m]y identity is clearly

Pontic […] I first feel 30 times Greek because I am Pontic'.[1] Michalis recalled a fading transmission, stating that 'I think it [Asia Minor memory] is slowly fraying'.[2] In the context of this dwindling transfer in the Athenian melting pot, Michalis's Asia Minor refugee identity appears as fading as he called himself a 'native', implying a high degree of assimilation and an urbanised refugee identity. In light of subsequent migration, the defining characteristics of Konstantinos's refugee identity, rooted in historical, religious, and cultural elements, come to the fore, forming a community of value and leading to hierarchies of acceptability. In this context, empathy and historical parallels emerge between Asia Minor refugee descendants and Pontic Greeks ('brothers'), Greek Albanians, and Syrians ('I am very positive about the refugees who are from Syria because it is time for us to return the hospitality'), while early hostility and competition arise towards the Albanians ('Albania's Kalashnikovs') and contemporary migrants ('there is a plan to make Greece Muslim').[3] Discussing subsequent migration in the context of the post-1989 migrations, Michalis emphasised the predominance of the notion of homogeneity and ultimately scepticism towards Pontic Greeks and Albanians, noting that 'we did not have such a welcoming culture, because we are more of an emigration country'.[4] In relation to post-2015 migrations, he reflected on the gradual passage from homogeneity to multiculturalism and referred to the potential contributions of the newcomers' integration.

Sophia Kosmoglou was born in 1972 in a Cappadocian settlement in Central Macedonia and Rallou Spanelli was born in 1965 in Lesvos. Analysing the intergenerational transmission of memories of forced displacement, Sophia revealed that she only learned about her family history at a very late stage of her life, attributing this pervasive silence to the traumatic

[1] Fotiadis, 2019.
[2] Thomopoulos, 2020.
[3] Fotiadis, 2019.
[4] Thomopoulos, 2020.

dimension of the displacement experience as well as to the survival priority of the second generation. Rallou added another reason, that of the integration struggle, referring to the silence of the previous generation and ascribing her knowledge of family history to her grandmother's stories. For Sophia, cooking tradition within the familial space and her active involvement in the cultural association in the extra-familial and collective space contributed to the maintenance of her refugee memory and identity. In light of the post-1974 democratic and pluralistic context and while gradual processes of secularisation and Europeanisation were taking place, various forms of identification emerged and the reawakening of past identities occurred. Connecting this reawakening to her generation, Sophia said, 'the third generation began to dig into things […] that trauma is still present'.[5] Sophia self-identified as a refugee who became the frontier population, emphasised her Greek origin, and challenged the Greek consciousness of the indigenous population. Also being fully integrated and declaring her attachment to Greece, Rallou identified Lesvos with Asia Minor and described herself as a 'refugee'. Within an environment characterised by sharp transitions -from silence to reawakening, from dictatorship to democracy, and from monoculturalism to multiculturalism- Asia Minor descendants of the third generation, such as Sophia and Rallou, also experience the transition of Greece from an emigration country to an immigration country with the post-1989 and 2015 migration arrivals. Referring to the Albanians in the 1990s, both Sophia and Rallou discussed the transition from early scepticism to integration and the incorporation of the Albanians in the primary and the secondary sectors in a period of economic prosperity, noting that 'there was a need for labour in the country'.[6] In addition, descendants of the third generation were also formed by primary experiences of migration of this generation and the realisation of Greece's emigration culture. In this context, Sophia paralleled the Albanians with the Greek migrants in Germany,

[5] Kosmoglou, 2019.
[6] Ibid.

mentioning that '[Albanians] are exceptional […] in the same way our immigrants are in Germany'.[7] Similarly, focusing on the post-2015 arrivals, Rallou built a bridge between stories of refugeehood and migration, saying that '[t]hey [Syrians] reminded me, you know of whom, the Smyrnians. […] The following flows were not refugee flows but rather economic migrants and with this we have a part, the Greeks. Greeks have many economic migrants'.[8]

Niki Chontronikola was born in 1992 in the refugee settlement of Arisvi on Lesvos and Anastasis Charalambopoulos was born in 1990 in a formerly known refugee settlement in Athens. Niki self-identifies as a 'refugee', explaining her belief in 'oral tradition' for the maintenance of family stories that otherwise 'would have been lost' as well as in collecting information for the creation of her family's 'genealogical tree'.[9] In the context of the most populous and cosmopolitan city, Anastasis stressed the limited transmission of Asia Minor refugee memories both in the familial and the collective sphere and reflected on fading refugee/native divisions for the fully integrated descendants of the fourth generation. Declaring detached from his family past, he said, 'it's a part that concerns my family's past, not me'.[10] Asia Minor refugee descendants of the fourth generation are shaped within an environment of globalisation, secularisation, Europeanisation, immigration, and multiculturalism. In this context, hybrid identifications emerge. Reflecting on this multiplicity and her changing identifications in the context of her movements, Niki explained, 'when I'm here I want to say I'm from Asia Minor, when I'm in the rest of Greece I say I'm from Lesvos […] when I'm abroad I'm forced to say Greece and then Lesvos'.[11] Building on Niki's hybrid identity, descendants of this generation adopt a more nuanced and multidimensional view not only of the way they recount themselves, but also in relation to 'others'. Niki talked about her friendly

[7] Ibid.
[8] Spanelli, 2019.
[9] Chontronikola, 2019.
[10] Charalambopoulos, 2020.
[11] Chontronikola, 2019.

interactions with newly arrived migrant children from Albania during her childhood years in school. Recalling the arrivals of Albanians in Athens and the positive effect of intergroup contact, Anastasis described how early reservations were overpassed through his later interactions with Albanians in the university and the army years. During her adulthood, Niki remembered the 2015 migration arrivals supporting that 'every person in the whole world has the right to leave when their life is threatened'.[12] Referring to war, deprivation, and lack of democracy and respect for human rights as the main reasons why people leave their countries, Niki concluded about the contemporary migrants that 'we should cut them some slack'.[13] Anastasis paralleled different stories of displacement, referring to the circularity of integration processes and the interchanging idea of the established and the outsider. As he noted, 'in 10 years they will have been fully integrated, as was the case with the Albanians […] I believe that wherever new people go, there will be the same treatment'.[14]

This thesis includes multiple connected and disconnected life histories of Asia Minor refugees and their descendants that have hitherto not been part of the broader Asia Minor refugee account. These stories derive from refugees from different places of Asia Minor origin, generations, and geographical locations, providing us with a nuanced picture of refugee memory and identity as well as the ways they inform attitudinal patterns. The regional and the oral history approach -through the combination of archival evidence and conducted interviews- gave us access to a long continuum of life stories. Following an intergenerational and interregional perspective, Asia Minor refugees and their descendants made sense of their pasts and uncover their memory and identity in light of subsequent migration. This approach allowed us to explain the circumstances under which different patterns of memories emerge while

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Charalambopoulos, 2020.

addressing the following questions: How have memories and identities of the 1922-24 forced displacement changed over time from one generation to the next? How do people with these memories and identities think about subsequent migration?

Memory and identity inform and construct each other. This study has explored individual, collective, and public memories and identities of forced displacement. Throughout time when a level of memory is silent, fading, or absent, another level of memory is activated, shaping refugee identities. From silence, to latency, and ultimately to a reawakening, intergenerational refugee memory and identity pass through the different stages of trauma and change throughout historical periods. Asia Minor refugee identity is formed through the coexistence of historical, religious, linguistic, and cultural particularities and their transmogrification over time. These elements become an identity shield against the 'other', in this case waves of other migrations, that rusts throughout generations. Starting with a domination battle, continuing with an understanding battle, and ending with an integration battle, different generations express different attitudinal patterns.

How do people with memories and identities of forced displacement think about subsequent migration? Are they becoming empathisers, antagonists, or rivals? Exploring the attitudes of refugee descendants towards other migrants and refugees, I brought together time (generations), place (geographies), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations). I have argued that the intersection of these three elements allows an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities that characterise the Janus-faced attitudes of refugee descendants, leading to empathy, hostility, and competition. Overall, Lesvians are presented as gate openers, Macedonians as gatekeepers, and Athenians as pragmatists being in-between of the Janus-faced reactions. Different generations express different attitudes based on their levels of integration and their sense of refugee identity. Using Janus, the God of gates and transitions, beginning and endings, to parallel each generation, the second generation sees into the refugee

past with one face and the fourth generation into the future with the other face, leaving the third generation in the middle of this fluid duality. These emerging complexities remind us that it is unwise to overgeneralise about attitudes towards migration that 'can be quite volatile and contradictory'.[15] Describing this complexity, Stratis Balaskas confessed:

> I don't know which are the opposing sides because sometimes I don't know what side I'm on […] In the morning I sympathise, I am with them. At 10:00 I detest them. At 12:00 I save them. At 15:00 I hate them. At 19:00 I have to do something for them and I do it. At 22:00 I can't stand them.[16]

At the heart of this thesis is the contention that refugee past influences descendants' attitudes in often conflicting ways, leading both to the building of bridges and parallels with histories of others and to their demolition through antagonistic comparisons. Highlighting the multidirectional attitudes of people with refugee origins, I have provided many examples of empathy, perspective-taking, and historical parallels but also of negativity, hostility, and competitive victimisation. The literature on attitudes towards migrants usually follows a quantitative approach, providing a limited understanding of qualitative characteristics and long-term patterns and changes. In addition, most of the studies on the Asia Minor forced displacement either have a descriptive approach or a limited scope focusing on single-location case studies. Unlike most accounts, this work has offered an intergenerational, interregional, comparative, and in-depth perspective, illuminating memories and identities of forced displacement among Asia Minor refugees and their descendants in the context of subsequent migration. In this thesis, I have sought to explain the complex and nonlinear relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past. Offering insights about the role of the refugee past as a way of formulation of the present, this study has wider implications for the

[15] Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, p. 206.
[16] Balaskas, 2019.

fields of history, memory studies, sociology, psychology, political science, and migration and refugee studies.

The year 2023 is the centenary of the Asia Minor expulsion that marked the establishment of population transfers and displacements throughout the world. Today, in light of the current migration and refugee crises, the critical understanding of past relocations echoes with new relevance. Many examples compose the unsettling of the modern world throughout different historical periods and regions such as Central and Southeastern Europe, South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. In this context, further comparative research is needed, bringing together connected and disconnected migration stories and rethinking population movements and displacements in the long 20th century.

Coming to Terms with Forced Migration sheds light on the convoluted relationship between contemporary attitudes and refugee past, providing a comparative – intergenerational and interregional – history of the 1922-24 memories and identities of forced displacement. Refugee identity is a capacious and dynamic platform of ongoing understanding as well as a limited space of domination and competition. Elucidating the Janus-faced attitudes of refugee descendants as well as unfolding key patterns about the multidirectional role of refugee memory and identity, this thesis brings to the fore the intersection of three interlocking elements, time (refugee generations), place (refugee locations), and subsequent migration (waves of other migrations).

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