

Visual and Material displays of Migration Histor(ies) in
Museums/Exhibitions in Germany.

Case Study: Greek 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany.

Towards a *Bottom-up archive* of migration experience(s) and
knowledge.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Outline of the Thesis.....	4
1.2. Literature and Research Review.....	7
Chapter 2. Methodology	21
2.1 Ethnographic observations, access to the field of study, methodological challenges	24
2.2.1 Archival Ethnography	27
2.2.2 Interviews, oral histories	30
2.3 Methodological Choices and Analytical Procedure.....	37
Chapter 3. Subjectivity, Representation I, Film/Visual Displays. Visual and material representations of Greek postwar labor migration: The documentary work of Lefteris Xanthopoulos.	57
3.1. Visual representations of migration.....	59
3.2. Visual representations of migration: short overview of Greek Documentary genre (1960– 1980). Historical and sociopolitical background.....	62
3.3. Ethnographic analysis.....	65
3.3.1 Comparison of two films.....	94
3.3.2 Ethnographic eye – Participatory Filming.....	97
3.4. Unearthing stories from the archive.....	98
3.4.2. Story 2. Giorgos aus Sotirianika: Story with Bees.....	103
3.5 Revisiting Xanthopoulos & Giorgos aus Sotirianika; Giorgos from Heidelberg (Kostas Maxairas, 2001/NET).....	106
3.5.1 Themes and Methods of film.....	107
3.5.2 Reworkings-Flashbacks; Giorgos from Heidelberg (Kostas Maxairas, 2001).....	113
3.6 To perasma tou Chronou (TV Doc, Xanthopoulos, play Akylas Karazhshs, 2009 Cinetic)..	120
3.7. Output – museum practice; Learning/unlearning from Xanthopoulos.....	123
3.8. Synopsis	127
Chapter 4. Subjectivity, Representation II, Reactivating the film archive.....	132
4.1. First contacts with women's group	133
4.2. The films	140
4.2.1 Letter from Charleroi The deferred homecoming (nostos) of a Greek miner in the Belgian coal-mines (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965)	141
4.3. Women in the group discussion, first round of comments and memories	145
4.3.1 Aesthetic references of Migration; Music score, and Film	148
4.3.2. The severed finger of my aunt Antigoni, family ties.....	164
4.3.3 The Conflict.....	169
4.3.4 The now and then	172
4.3.5 GENDER. Labour Worker does not have a gender.....	178
4.4. Concluding thoughts	183
Chapter 5. Subjectivity Representation III, Where is the film of Giorgos Karypides? Re-assembling the filmic archive	188
5.1. Tracing Endstation Kreuzberg.....	189
5.2. What preceded EndStation Kreuzberg ?	198
5.3. Thematic analysis of EndStation Kreuzberg (1975).....	205
5.3.1 Thematic analysis of the film	207
5.3.2 Thematic Section II : Education Issues, Integration Discourse, Structural Racism	215
5.3.3 Third Thematic Section: The Demonstration	222
5.4. Bayaderas: a symbol of resistance.....	230

5.5. Conclusions	238
6. Subjectivity, Representation IV, Archive.....	244
6.1.The Greek- Bavarian Festival	246
6.2.Description of Conflict, identity politics	258
6.3. Conclusions.....	271
6.4. Griechische Sendung, Bayerisches Rundfunk (1964-1981): The letters of the viewers.....	274
6.4.1. Historical, sociopolitical background of the Radio broadcast Griechische Sendung .	274
6.4.2.Voices from the archive I: Informants' perspective of the radio show	286
6.4.3. Voices from the Archive II: Letters of the audience/listeners (labor workers) of the Elliniki Ekpompí/Die Griechische Sendung (BR, 1964 – 1974).....	299
6.4.4. Conclusions.....	318
Chapter 7. Conclusions.....	320
APPENDIX I	329
References.....	331

Chapter 1. Introduction

Where lies the importance of a film about Greek labour migration in Germany, someone may ask. Or some forgotten letters that had been sent to a Greek Radio Broadcast by guest workers back in the 1960's? The following anecdote underlines the importance of my research. While editing his movie "Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg" in 1976, the director Lefteris Xanthopoulos came across a Greek migrant worker, who asked him about the content of the film. After letting her know that it dealt with Greek guest workers, he urged her to have a look and tell him what she saw. The Greek migrant, emotionally charged, exclaimed: "Oh goodness, I can see our lives through that lens". These lives and their stories are diachronic and require the researchers' attention and rigorous examinations. It was this realization that motivated me to embark on this research.

In the current introductory chapter of my dissertation, I start with my research questions and why I chose the topic. Then, the chapters of the paper are being outlined and consequently I give a thorough description of my literature review.

This proposed study is placed in the convergence of disciplines, such as museology, social history cultural and social anthropology. In regards to our initial theoretical topic, migration in museums, it is widely held that the movement of "New Museology" (Vergo 1989), which has made its appearance in the scholar tradition of social and cultural studies since the middle 1980's, thoroughly discussed, re-examined and scrutinized precisely these two features in the museological discourse: identity and difference. Under this new wave of critical and self-reflexive stance, new modes of representing came to surface along with a whole radical re-evaluation of the role of museums. Moreover, the "museum boom" of the last decades and the more open context of globalization phenomena (Baur 2009), trans-national and hybrid identities, mobilities and the emerging self-confidence of migrants' communities and minority groups previously "unspoken" and unheard", gave rise to the issue of immigration.

Additionally, the increasing demand for participation, more "active engagement" of the actors themselves and their practical collaboration with museum professionals in this type of exhibitions is linked with the idea of democratizing history (Crooke 2006 :183) and broadening the museum's scope and horizon, thus giving impetus in staging spherically aspects of migratory experience(s). "Although migration flows within the European continent and within Europe's individual nation-states have shaped its sociopolitical and cultural status" (Motte, Ohliger 2002; Bade 2003), an array of researchers allege that there is almost no room for the representation of trans-bordering phenomena alike in recent public history debate. Migrants are written into European national memories and historiography as 'Others' (Motte, Ohliger 2002; Motte, Ohliger 2004).

In the case of our particularly examined minority group, a bilateral state agreement (“Anwerbeabkommen”) between West Germany and Greece, initiated in March 1960, led to a massive *exodus*, which saw until 1973 almost 400.000 Greeks settling in West Germany as a new “labor force”. Whether the migration phenomenon represents and constitutes an integral part of the Greek cultural tradition and mentality, or appears as a forced consequence of specific economic-political circumstances, it should be pointed out that it has proved to be a transformative factor for the lives of people involved in it (Boura 2006), as well as an essential and significant historical “embodied experience”, which has every legitimate claim for representation.

In this instance, I should clarify the reasons for selecting this particular case study: this is a historical period, part of contemporary Greek history, which has been under-represented, or rather insufficiently represented or displayed in Greek public history, in any forms: museum, memory-work, oral history projects. Mostly stereotypical representations, ethnic-national narratives have taken place, adopting more or less: the discourse of Greekness, the spirit of *Hellenism*, perpetuating the myth of a thriving Greek diaspora, abroad, that Greeks can succeed abroad, and not at home. It is also essential to illustrate that the “genealogy and representations of migration in Greek culture reveals the ways in which labor migration changed the content of the idea of Greek Diaspora. The intervention of images of migration in national culture introduced the elements of ambivalence, contradiction and impossibility” (Ember et al., 2005:89).

In the course of the last fifteen years, I have detected very few cases, if not exceptions, of exhibitions, archives with collaborative – participatory format , critical reflection, dialog, new concepts from critical museum education, oral history/memory projects within the German context. Additionally, it is rendered as a misrepresented and unknown historical period in contemporary Greek historiography, and public debate. According to my critical reflection, I take this historical period of Greek labour migration as a point of departure and discussion, as I am not interested either in examining national and ethnic aspects, or re-presenting another narrative of migration experience(s), confined along ethnicity and national citizenship criteria, to put it in other words, on *how to tell the story of Greek labour migration in Germany*, and even reproduce standard notions of national narrative, ideals of homeland and belonging.

Through the theoretical lens of concepts such as multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009) I have acknowledged the significance that “recognizing the multidirectionality of memory encourages us to pay close attention to the circulation of historical memories in encounters whose meanings are complex and over-determined, instead of proceeding from the assumption that the presence of one history in collective memory entails the erasure or dilution of others”. (Rothberg 2009: 179) . Via the lens of such a relational concept I have come to realize and conceive

holistically intertwined hidden stories and memories of postwar Greek labor migration, associated with other, lesser known or under-researched parts in contemporary Greek historiography, connected with the Nazi occupation of Greece, the dictatorship era during the colonels' regime in Greece (1967-1974) and related repercussions, affects and effects for Greek labour workers in Germany (as will be mentioned through the three relatively unknown film archives/documentary films I discovered through my research)¹.

The initial research questions according to my research proposal read as follows: Along with the representational issues (“From which side are the stories being told? Who is using what and for what purpose”), we focus on the curatorial practice upon such exhibitions. Is there a sufficient and significant involvement of migrants in related exhibition projects? Furthermore, which are the prevailing images-archetypes of subjects/actors of Greek postwar migration? It would be challenging to observe how these representational images and figures interact and coincide with the mentality and attitude of the generation of so called „guest-workers“ in Germany. Additionally, which objects will people – from all generations of Greek Migration – choose to donate or lend for a potential exhibition project on the history of Greek labour migration in Germany and will they personally participate in such an effort? Is the museum the right medium to *narrate* such stories? What is defined as cultural heritage of the *post-migrant society* and under which premises should it be preserved and presented? Conclusively, how can migration stories be represented in contemporary European museum institutions? How can themes of mobility and migration be embedded in museums/exhibitions? Which representational strategies and techniques can be used to avoid othering? In doing so, I am interested in allowing such representational strategies to flow into museum displays of *multiple readings* and polyvocality in order to push the project of a dialogue-oriented museum (Harrison, 2013), as well as to institute the activation of the “affective properties of heritage”(ibid.).

With regard to the contribution of my thesis to the scientific community, I will highlight the following aspects. In the first place, my research work can be conceived within the framework of the critical school of thought of the perspective of migration and “ways of seeing from the perspective of migration” to fuse Berger's (1987) term, thus standpoint of the postmigrant society to unite the demands of the aforementioned streams of critical migration research. In detail, I reveal the demand for a polymorphic archive of the memory culture of labour migration, which accentuates the unknown experiences of its protagonists. a significant aspect lies in working and seeing through different or mixed media (films, visual archives, photographs, letters) testimonies, oral and social memories and visual representations of labour migration in Germany. I do admit that

¹ Here, I refer to the films of L.Xanthopoulos (see chapter 3) and the film of Giorgos Karypidis (see chapter 5).

within the course of this research I have developed a critical ethnographic approach and positionality, inextricably intertwined with a deconstructionist approach, as I strive to affirm the need for more interdisciplinary and critical research in transnational memory in various forms, such as transnational archives with global experience(s) of migration coupled with interrelations of race, gender and class issues.

In what follows, I provide a short summary of the thesis' chapters.

1.1. Outline of the Thesis

The first chapter of this dissertation gives a brief overview of the theoretical background of the study. In particular, we delve into the theoretical connections and entanglements of this work's central notions and categories: *Museum* and *Migration*. Which theoretical movements, intellectual schools and legacies influenced and paved the way for museums to endorse and eventually display issues, tied to migration? Which institutional policies and processes played an integral role in finally inserting aspects of migration in *Museum* and *Heritage/Memory* institutions particularly in Germany, and Europe in general over the last years?

Chapter 2 discusses my chosen methodology, research perspectives and phases of research, along with methodological problems and challenges along this ethnographic endeavor.

Chapter 3, *Subjectivity, Representation I, Film/Visual Displays* analyzes a facet of my fieldwork on the historical period of Greek guest labor workers in West Germany (1960-1973), confining my attention to the visual and material representations. Particularly, I refer to visual sources and how I use them in my ethnographic analysis, analyzing two documentaries by the acclaimed Greek director Lefteris Xanthopoulos, as well as extensive parts of my fieldwork at the director's private archive. Thus, I aim to suggest what we can learn from Xanthopoulos' participatory and self-reflexive documentary production, the configuration of this "bottom-up" archive with semi-private, semi-public, public and unknown facets of Greek labour migration histories, and finally formulate some crucial thoughts in regards to exhibiting and archiving migration histories in museums and related memory sites.

Chapter 4, *Subjectivity, Representation II. Re-activating the filmic archive* discusses my fieldwork in Hamburg between 2016 and 2017 with various informants, who basically belong to second generation of Greek labour workers in Germany. This chapter is comprised of fieldwork, interviews, as well as discussion and tentative conclusions from a closed event, I co-organized with an unofficial female network of Greek migrants, called *Greek Women of Hamburg*, which entailed a film screening & group discussion. One of the films we watched, which activated discussion and

triggered the sharing of embodied experience(s) and memories of the participating group, the majority of whom are part of the so-called *Gastarbeiterkinder/the children of the guest-workers*, is the first film by *L. Xanthopoulos* trilogy on migration-diaspora *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976), which constitutes central part of my ethnographic data analysis, as analyzed in *Chapter 3*.

A description of the group discussion, highlighting “relational ethics” in research, experiences of participants, memory work (feminist perspectives), gender aspects, identity articulations, subjectivity, inter-generational transfer of traumatic memories (see *Post-memory*, Hirsch 1997), labour exploitation, psychological effects of labour work is to be read in this chapter, while this whole effort and reflexive ethnographic experience can be conceived as a part of community work, or at least a short-term effort of reactivation of a small network of Greek migrant women who reside in Hamburg, and belong to the so-called second generation of labour workers' in Germany.

Chapter 5, *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975): Where is the film of Giorgos Karypidis?*

Subjectivity, Representation III. *Re-assembling the filmic archive*, charts my ethnographic endeavor of tracing the trails of a presumed lost film on Greek labour migration filmed at the time, by Greek director and artist *Giorgos Karypidis*, titled *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*. As I recount in the respective chapter, on the occasion of a workshop in the framework of an international anti-racist assembly in Berlin, in May 2022, which included the projection and (re-)activation of such unknown archives of labour migration in Germany, I finally managed to find the restored copy, and project it for the first time in its exact physical location, the city district Kreuzberg of Berlin, Germany.

Along with the fieldwork discussion, based on film/visual and material culture analysis, I attempt a thematic analysis of this film material, which can be considered as rare document/*Zeugnis*, practically unknown, under-researched archive of my examined case study. Through this filmic/visual case study, which acts as a discussant and dialogic partner with the films and visual archive of *L. Xanthopoulos* in *chapter 4*, this chapter proposes an alternative, reflexive perspective in regards to this 'mnemonic device' through which we browse and analyze testimonies and embodied experience(s) of Greek (and not only) labour workers in Germany. Last but not least, apart from contextualization of the problems that so called guest-workers have encountered during that given period, a crucial filmic/visual and *memory politics* space is given to discuss issues of racism, political participation, empowerment, the need for a common transnational struggle for social justice.

Chapter 6, *Subjectivity, Representation IV. Archive*, illustrates two strands of my fieldwork in the city of Munich, a significant city for the history of labour migration in Germany, First, during

my research stay in Munich where through fieldwork and interviews, I intend to observe the initiated collaboration with central actors of urban memory politics, such as the *Palladio Foundation*, *Griechisches Haus Westend München*, *Stadtmuseum München*, *Stadtarchiv München*, as well as other networks of Greek Diaspora in Munich, which will be embedded in the exhibition/project on the oral history of Greek migration in Munich envisaged by these actors.

The second part featured archival research in the central archive of the *Bayerisches Rundfunk* (as of now *BR*) in Munich. There, I aimed to document and examine the archival material of the legendary radio program *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí* (1964-1998), broadcast by the *BR*, located in the archives of the *BR*. I concentrated on the documentation and analysis of the *listeners' letters*, which have not yet found their way into the historiography of Greek migration in Germany. Listeners' letters to the editorial staff and their reading aloud during the broadcast provide - as a scarcely researched data source - a fascinating insight into the articulation of narratives of the everyday coping of Greek guest workers and their media environments. Additionally, I listened to, documented and transcribed digitized pieces of the broadcasts, which were recorded and stored in the *Audio Archiv, BR* (as of now *AA, BR*).

A central research objective was to compare and understand the different *voices* and agencies from these unofficial and official sources, i.e. from documents, texts, personal photos and archival material from the Munich City Archive. Furthermore, I intended to explore this ongoing critical dialogue between orality/orality, social memory, materiality, objects as *mnemonic devices* (Jones 2012) and archives, be it official or unofficial and informal documents, in its polymorphic and multi-layered formats, and how these different *voices* and agency of the actors of this often underrepresented historical period enter into a resonant space within museographic practice and its representations.

All in all, the elaboration of the *mediality* of testimonies in migration corresponds with a central analytical figure of my dissertation work: the museographic display, or in other words, the visual and material representations of Greek migration history in Germany by means of artifacts (audience letters) that breaks with the stereotypical *iconography of migration*, such as the so-called “suitcase syndrome”, work documents, consumer objects cars as symbols of capitalist wealth and certification of the success story of migrants in Germany, as we have browsed in our literature review and scanning of related exhibition projects.

Chapter 7 Conclusions discusses the results draws conclusions and further implications in relation to critical museum education, memory-work, oral histories, testimonies and alternative, non-institutional, bottom-up archives.

1.2. Literature and Research Review

In the context of our literature review, I will give an overview of the theoretical debate and state of research in three clusters of topics, which are connected with the topic of my dissertation: first, the so called 'memory boom' phenomenon, which has influenced subsequently the second cluster of topics, which is the whole phenomenon of *musealising* migration or how migration is thematized, contextualized and displayed in museums and exhibitions – I review trends in Germany, as well as international ones – and then the connection and interrelation of migration histories and memories with archives, either institutional or “bottom-up“ approaches.

In the last two decades a concern with memory has become prolific in most academic disciplines within the humanities and in the public sphere, to the extent that reviewers identify a memory ‘boom’ or ‘industry’ (for overviews see Connerton, 2006; Klein, 2000; Misztal, 2003; Roediger and Wertsch, 2008; Rowlands and Tilley, 2006; Taithe, 1999; Wertsch, 2002). However, as Berliner (2005:197) has argued “the list of contributions in this recent field of research is too voluminous to even begin to report. In every new anthropological publication, there is another article about social, cultural or material memory². According to Jones (2012) an important strand of recent memory studies focuses on the practical and relational aspects of memory (e.g. Lambek, 2003; Smith, 2006; Wertsch, 2002). From this standpoint, “memory is not something we have or possess. Processes of remembering and forgetting are associated with particular practices and particular inter-subjective relationships” (Jones 2012: 270). Through these practices and relationships people engage in cultural processes of memory work through which the past is continually interpreted and negotiated in a dialectical relationship with the present. Memory then is a transient product of the activities of remembering and reminiscing, which take place in the context of social interaction, and interactions between people and their environments. Another related thread in recent research focuses on the cultural forms that mediate personal and social forms of oral memory (Feuchtwang, 2003). Many have focused on how social memory is ‘text-mediated’, but a far more diverse range of ‘memory props’ mediates social memory including images, objects, oral histories, stories, folklore, myths, events, and places (Wertsch, 2002). Certainly, the extent to which social memory is mediated by these mnemonic devices depends to some extent on how far removed people are from direct experience of the events, people and places concerned (Jones 2012: 270). Admittedly, many factors (historical, social and societal) have been invoked to explain the emergence of the memory concept in the humanities: above all the Shoah (Lacapra 1998), but also the influence of identity politics in the U.S, the marketing of memory and *rétro-mania*, the

² In anthropology in particular, a vast number of scholars are currently occupied with research about memory. (Candau 1998, Climo and Cattell 2002, Olick and Robbins 1998) (Berliner 2005:197).

reassessment of national identities in Europe (Klein 2000), while (Urry 1996:50) declares that there are complex rhetorics involved in the discourses surrounding memory-work³. At the same time, there exist forms of institutional commemoration in societies which can silence alternative memories of the past, particularly those of women, of the working class, youth, of subordinate ethnicities and minorities and so on. Indeed, forgetting is as socially structured as is the process of remembering.

In this instance, I should mention a concept situated in critical museum studies/heritage studies which helped me acquire a wider notion the topic of my research, at least in the theoretical discussion. This is the concept which is referenced as *difficult Heritage* and/or *conflict Heritage*, with multiple variations in the related bibliography⁴. Macdonald's (2009:1) definition reads as follows: “that is, a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity. ‘Difficult heritage’ may also be troublesome because it threatens to break through into the present in disruptive ways, opening up social divisions, perhaps by playing into imagined, even nightmarish, futures“. Although the genealogy and legacy of this concept associated with the influential ethnographic work of Macdonald is inextricably connected with Nazi atrocities and the broad sphere of Holocaust Education/memory studies, which lies outside the scope of this study, nevertheless its social implications related to unwanted, awkward or troublesome memories presented and contextualized in various public history terrains, is definitely connected with a central analytical entity of this thesis: namely, with marginalized, disenfranchised and uprooted histories and memories of labour migration, stories which have largely been ignored and silenced in public history. As Gazi (cf. 2012:27) considers, there is a recent dimension concerning an increasing preoccupation with the issues of the so-called “difficult heritage” and their management in the present. She indicates that research interest is now focused on the study of the memory shaped by various groups or collectives, rather than that shaped by nation-states. This approach treats the process of remembering as a struggle or negotiation between opposing narratives and points out that

3 This whole extensive discussion related to the so called memory- boom, can be found according to MacDonald (2008) in various articulations: References for these terms include the following: ‘memory fever’ – Huyssen 2003; ‘memory mania’ and an ‘obsession with memory’ – Huyssen 1995; ‘commemorative excess’ – Eley 1997: viii; ‘memory crisis’ – Terdiman 1993; ‘the memory industry’ (talking especially of historians’ emphasis on memory) – Klein 2000; ‘the memory boom’ – Berliner 2005 and Blight 2009; ‘the memory craze’ – Berliner 2005; a ‘remembrance epidemic’ – Bodemann 1996: 85; ‘commemorative fever’ – Mistzal 2003: 2; and a time of ‘archive fever’ – Nora 1989 and Derrida 1998 (though used somewhat differently by each).

4 This concept has been also referenced as Heritage that is not positively used in the construction of collective identity has been variously defined as *dark* (cf. Lennon & Folley 2000), *negative* (Meskell 2002), *Dissonant* (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996), *ambivalent* (Chadha 2006) or *hurtful* (Dolff-Bonekaemper 2002) (Gonzalez – Ruibal 2008:256); cf MacDonal (2008). For the discussion in *difficult Heritage* which demands rigorous interdisciplinary work (Simon & Ashley 2010) see Lehrer, Milton & Patterson (2011); Butler & Lehrer, forthcoming; Failler 2015; Witcomb 2013; Trofanenko (2014); Segal (2014); Arnold -de Simine (2013); Hansen -Glucklich (2014), Macdonald (2009); Simon & Bonnell (2007); Welz (2005).

the dynamics of commemorative rituals contains a constant tension between the creation, preservation and destruction of institutional/nation state memory (cf. Gazi 2012: 31).

Moreover, both in theoretical terms and empirical research I am largely influenced by discourses, interrelated understandings and practices which are connected to the so called critical/public archaeology, or *archaeology of the recent past*, where many of the aforementioned scholars can be conceived. Specifically, the notion of *Mnemotopos*, by Ruibal (2008) was particularly influential. By *mmemotopoi*, which as a neologism plays with the words 'memory' [*μνήμη*] and place/space [*τόπος*] in Greek, Ruibal (2008:56) in his seminal study means “places of abjection, which are sites where no memorial is built and no commemorative plaque is to be found“. Additionally, theoretical underpinnings on the constructed nature of Heritage (Lowenthal 1985; Zimmermann 2011), as well as the notion of the „dialogic model of critical Heritage (Harrison 2013:9) shifted and activated my perspective into democratic, affective, critical, relational and dynamic understandings of aspects of Heritage and museums/memory sites, which are connected with trajectories and histories of migration.

Before moving into the literature review in regards to migration in museums and exhibitions, especially in the German museological space, I should acknowledge that theoretically I am also indebted to concepts such as Bennett's (1995) *exhibitionary complex*, the ways in which new orders of visibility attended the birth of the public museum and their connections to governance and citizenship (Bouquet 2006:3). Additionally, the innovative mode of Clifford's (1997) conceptualization of museums as contact zones where people who were formerly spatially and politically separated through colonialism are brought together through historical collections in new unpredictable ways (as cited in Bouquet 2006:3). In this groundbreaking and multireferenced concept in museum studies and anthropology, I take into account Sternfeld's (2017)⁵ critical reworkings of the term, which broadened my horizons in terms of understanding holistically and in a wider notion the work that museums and related institutions do and how they are inextricably connected with aspects of citizenship, visual regimes, governance, established authorities and power structures. All in all, critical museums studies and the so called *New Museology* movement (Vergo 1980), discussed and thematized issues of underrepresented identities, and/or communities and their claims for representation and visibility in public history/memory debate and criticized the role of the classical authority of museums.⁶

5 See Sternfeld (2017 :254-271 *Belonging to the Contact Zone*; Sternfeld, (2011) *Memorial Sites as Contact Zones, Cultures of Memory in a Shared/Divided Present*. See <https://eipcp.net/policies/sternfeld/en.html>. (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

6 Transitional museology (Badescu 2018); Radical museology (Bishop 2013); Post- representational curating (Sternfeld 2018), Post-critical museology (Dewdney et al.2013) can be conceived as sub-currents, critical derivatives follow-up discussions, of New Museology. See also transformative museology (2016) and related debates in

This call for “greater “reflexivity” led to a flourishing of work that sought to “deconstruct” cultural products, such as texts or exhibitions, in order to highlight their politics and the strategies by which they were positioned as “objective” or “true,” and to probe the historical, social, and political contexts in which certain kinds of knowledge reigned and others were marginalized or ignored. It is important to connote that the critique of representation at the level of cultural products and disciplines was itself part of a broader critique of the way in which the “voices” of certain groups were excluded from, or marginalized within, the public sphere. The challenge came especially from postcolonial and feminist activists and scholars who argued that existing, broadly liberal democratic, political models were inadequate to tackling the fundamental representational inequities involved (Maconnald 2005: 3).

It has been observed that the phenomenon of musealizing migration experiences a boom at least the last fifteen years, especially in the European framework. Yet, this conjuncture is as relatively new, as the related and involved with the topic research. Scanning the literature and research being conducted so far on this issue, we should indisputably mention Joachim Baur's essential study on the topic “*Die Musealisierung der Migration: Einwanderungsmuseen und die Inszenierung der multikulturellen Nation* (2009). In his work, regarded as a “must read” in the literature concerning migration museums, he criticizes museums' nationalization of migration memories, taking three museums of the genre as case studies: Ellis Island Museum -USA, Pier 21 in Canada and the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, Australia. In these museums, multiculturalism and the diversity of migrant memories are compressed to a national identity of migration (I. Glynn, O. Kleist, 2012) with divergent similarities and differences, under various political agendas and memory politics. Moreover, one of his main arguments is that immigration museums serve as a strategy for managing a crisis in representing the nation (Baur 2009), while the idea that this type of museums challenges the national narrative in museums is characteristic. A key aspect, which seems to find many involved analysts agreeing with: such as ethnologist Kerstin Poehls, who has been thoroughly occupied with 'Migration in Museums' in many articles. Specifically in “*Europe, Blurred: Migration, Margins and the Museum. Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research, Vol.3 (2011)*” among other issues, she accentuates this idea, namely the provocation of the relevance of the nation, specifically “the historical idea that initiated the invention of the public museum (Benett 1999) and the political fundament of European integration today” (Poehls 2011:337). What is more, it is argued that “migration unveils the constructed character of geopolitical entities and indicates that mobilities have always been omnipresent and quintessential

Sociomuseology (2013); ASSUNÇÃO, P. (2008). Sociomuseology: Museology and Community Development in the XXI Century. Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias. Sociomuseology Research Centre. ASSUNÇÃO, P.; PRIMO, J. (2013). To Think Sociomuseologically. Sociomuseology 4.

for European societies” (Ibid). She goes on demonstrating that the very nature of this topic challenges the traditional museum work itself, especially on the issue of “migratory objects” and how they should be disposed and arranged in related exhibitions. (ibid.)

An idea, already discussed in Hampe's (2004) “benchmark” volume “Migration und Museum: Neue Ansätze in der Museumspraxis. 16. Tagung der Arbeitsgruppe Sachkulturforschung und Museum in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Ulm”, among other key issues concerning the display of this trivial phenomenon in the conventional and rigid space of museums. In this conference publication there is a significant collection of essays and investigations on the topic, as well as reports from local, national or international joint projects regarding the display of migratory flows in the exhibition room. Furthermore, we should point out an intriguing and fascinating article from Barbara Wolbert (“Studio of Realism”, 2010), where she reviews aspects of the benchmark exhibition project “Project Migration” (1.10.2005 - 15.01.2006 , KUNSTVEREIN Cologne), while introducing and stressing out the need for artistic interventions in such exhibitions, whereas ordinary objects are re-presented and re-contextualized in another aesthetic direction, evoking different and multiple meanings (Wolbert 2010). In regards to the use of so called „migratory“ objects and iconography that Wolbert demonstrated in her intuitive analysis, there has been also extensive discussion in this type of exhibitions. As Poehls (2011: 346) illustrated “personal objects have always been more or less present in exhibitions on migration. In contrast to the way political debates, movies, or print media operate, these three-dimensional objects allow for a physical and simultaneous multi-sensory perception of the materiality of migration. The object of migration that continues to be the ‘classic’ is the suitcase (Baur 2009; Poehls 2010), used so frequently that it has turned into heavy luggage in itself”.

Mentioning the *Project Migration* (2005), an initiative project from the German Federal Cultural Department, which featured interdisciplinary research, art and film productions, an exhibition, two international Symposiums, cultural events, discussions and workshops, as well as academic publications we should indicate one of them: *Turbulenten Raender: Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an der Grenzen Europas* (Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe, 2007), where the research team TRANSIT MIGRATION (featuring a wide range of researchers and activists from political sciences to History, Sociology, Contemporary Art) has studied migratory flows in southeastern Europe and delivers exciting theses and essays on a region that increasingly becomes the interface and the focal point of external, internal, re- and trans- migration of people. Theoretical schemes and concepts, such as “Methodological Nationalism”, “Transnationalism”, and “Europeanization from below”, “Regime of Migration” are analyzed, as well as the interdisciplinary analytical tool of the team, “Ethnographical Regime-Analysis” is presented. Along with the featured

essays, it is regarded as a beneficial and instrumental tool in the mapping of migratory movements in Southern Europe and their multiple medial representations. Additionally, as we may assert from Chapter 6 'Crossing Europe' of Kaiser et al. (2014), exhibitions devoted to migration connect migration to mobility in the ongoing process of Europeanization. In this respect, the exhibitions we deal with do not necessarily make any explicit connection to Europe and the EU, but they all address the relationship between the physical and geopolitical borders of Europe and the symbolic differentiation of one's own from the foreign (Kaiser et al. 2014: 13). Migration here appears to be less an exception than a social constant. The exhibitions on migration offer an image of Europe that consists precisely in the wiping away of older ideas of Europe and the symbolic geography of the continent. (Krankenhausen 2011: 274). Additionally, migration exhibitions contribute to a cultural practice of Europeanization by placing Europe's diffuse borders in a larger context that is not necessarily direct and outspoken (Kaiser et al. 2014). Migration as a local or global phenomenon, together with global flows (Hannerz 2003, 2004) as cause and condition of transnational social spheres in Europe, forms an idea of Europe that continually 'blurs its boundaries' (Beck and Grande 2007) (Kaiser et al. 2014: 181).

However, Hess (2015) in the accompanying book of the exhibition project *Movement of Migration Neue Positionen im Feld von Satdt, Migration und Repräsentation* (2013-2015, *Kunstverein Göttingen*) in her critical overview of migration exhibitions especially in Germany, discusses this thesis from another perspective and demonstrates among other issues four modes of representational modes, patterns and narratives (pp.16-19) which appears in museum/exhibitions in Germany, namely that of "Methodological Nationalism" (Glick & Schiller 2013) or methodological functionalism (Hess 2015), a plain linear categorization based on nationality, although sometimes disguised in transnational dimensions, a triumphal celebration of multiculturalism (cf. Hess 2013; Bayer 2015; Bayer 2017), and neoliberal notions of diversity.

Actually, in another groundbreaking article, Hess (2013) identified, sketched and scrutinized the current central discourse strategies and hegemonic conceptualizations in the field of migration and its representation in politics and the public sphere: The central dominant discourse position would be, first, the perspective that conceives migration as fundamentally in need of explanation and as a problem. Second, there are approaches that interpret migration primarily as an experience of cultural difference and thus contribute to a far-reaching culturalization of migration and a "de-socialization of the social" (ibid: 109). Third, these two ways of addressing and conceptualizing migration culminate in the "integration paradigm", which, on the one hand, in its socio-technological orientation - cut off from the level of rights and participation - denies migration and otherness almost exclusively as a cultural and economic problem area and is absorbed in a

restrictive, sanctioning policy of "promoting and demanding" (cf. Hess et al. 2009). Additionally, she has extensively and convincingly illustrated that the majority of recent exhibitions on migration - which mostly represent narrativizations of the "history of guest workers" - also correspond to the perspectivizations elaborated above: the problem discourse, culturalist ethnicization or nationalization, and the integration paradigm. The explosion of images that accompanies the museumization of migration is thus to be met with enhanced scepticism, critical rigor. Moreover, Bayer (2015: 76-97) in the same volume, connected with the research/exhibition project *Movements of migration (2013-2015)* in her influencing and critically nuanced article, she highlights the urge to conduct exhibitions and research on migration from the *perspective of migration* and suggests critical - reflexive and inclusive representational strategies and techniques, which encompass and meet the demands of post-migrant society. The aforementioned scholar and curator, situated in this school of critical migration research, apart from crucial theoretical contributions in this whole thematic – since 2018 has undertaken the direction of a city-district museum in Berlin, Germany, already a fundamental memory/museum actor in this short tradition of critical exhibitions on the issue, a fact which renders her a key person/stakeholder in the production and initiation of latest projects concerning newer debates on the connection of museums, memory-work, migration with racism, anti-racist education and curating⁷ as well as the latest developments in decolonizing museums and decolonial memory in the German public history debate.

Yet, a more theoretical- museological and historical-cultural approach on migration in museums, as a sole type of historical Museum is given by M. Schlutow in "Das Migrationsmuseum: Geschichtskulturelle Analyse eines neuen Museumstyps" (2012), where also two Emigration Museums in two respective German States, Bremerhaven and Hamburg, are being scrutinized: the *Deutsches Auswanderungsmuseum, Bremerhaven* and *Ballinstadt Auswanderungsmuseum, Hamburg*) in terms of representation, politics, aesthetics and social- historical ideas.

Accordingly, as Arnold-de Simone (2008) has critically claimed „a migration museum can focus on on the history of immigration or emigration, but it can also focus on different migration different migration movements in the past and the present under one roof highlighting parallels or differences“. The question addressed in this article is related to which migratory movements in Germany have been commemorated in recent years and in which form they have been displayed and commemorated in various exhibition and museum projects.

Moreover, it would be erroneous to neglect mentioning two influential historians on this initial effort of propagating the idea of a national migration museum in Germany, along with the

⁷ See also Bayer, Sternfeld, and Kazeem-Kamiński, *Kuratieren als antirassistische Praxis*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017. (German)/*Curating as Anti-Racist Practice*, Espoo: Aalto University, 2019 (English).

initiative “DOMID e. V” with the form of publications, essays, articles and conferences on the issue of museal representations of migration history and its inclusion in contemporary European historiography: Jan Motte and Rainer Ohliger, who have already been rigorously working on that direction since early 2000. “Geschichte und Gedächtnis in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. Migration zwischen historischer Rekonstruktion und Erinnerungspolitik” (2004) is considered as an emblematic study, offering a series of detailed and multi- perspective essays from various experts and analysts in an effort to cover all possible aspects of the phenomenon in the convergent fields of (social) history, memory politics and migration research in the German context. On the verge of memory and migration, specifically within the German context we find intriguing, illuminating and thought- provoking essays, both on theoretical and practical, project-related point of view in “*Enlarging European Memory: Migration Movements in Historical Perspective*” (2006), Mareike König / Rainer Ohliger, as well as “Geschichte und Diversität: Crossover statt nationaler Narrative?” by Viola B. Georgi and R.Ohliger (2009) and “European Encounters: Migrants, Migration, and European Societies Since 1945”, by Karen Schoenwaelder, Rainer Ohliger, Triantafillos Triantafillopoulos (2003).

At this point we should indicate that many significant conferences on both German and International level have set the issue of Migration in the ‘Museum’ agenda. Most of them organized by **DOMID e. V**, the most important initiative and non-profit organization, based in Cologne, already working twenty years towards the objective of an Immigration museum in Germany, with its own collection and implementation of essential exhibitions of the genre⁸.

Besides, a handful of NGO’s, as “Netzwerk Migration in Europa e. V.” along with internationally acclaimed institutions, such as ICOM Europe have implemented significant conferences on the topic⁹, while 2010 saw the inauguration of the work-group “Migration” of the “Deutsches Museumsverbund”, endorsing the issue in the main core, tasks and activities of the Museal Institution The annual conference of the “Deutschen Museumsbund 2012” had the title “Alle Welt in Museum?” (Every world inside the museum?), where the topics of migration, intercultural education, integration, participation and cultural diversity were emphasized. In the

8 For a general overview of “DOMID” publications, see <https://domid.org/en/service/publications/>. The Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany (DOMiD) is one of the very few examples for institutional and research based engagement with migratory archives in Germany. On its website, the organizers outline that “DOMiD collects and conserves material which documents migration history. We believe this perspective can provide a basis for developing a shared, transcultural identity.” DOMiD (website) <https://domid.org/en/> (last accessed 10 March 2023).

9 See “Network Migration in Museums: Narratives of Diversity in Europe, 2008 - 2009, http://www.networkmigration.org/pr_migration_museum.php); http://www.museumsbund.de/de/fachgruppen_arbeitskreise/migration_ak/); See also Museums, migration and cultural diversity Recommendations for museum work. Original edition published by: Deutscher Museumsbund e.V., Berlin, February (2015) English edition published by: NEMO – Network of European Museum Organisations, Berlin, May 2016.

same year, an enlightening and indicative from all possible sides conference, titled “Stand der Dinge” (Rautenstrauch Joest Museum, April 2012, Cologne) organized by DOMID e. V, gave a multidimensional perspective and status of the debate so far in Germany, illustrating trends, convergent and dissonant approaches, from theory and practice as well, showcasing the somehow ambivalent, fluid, yet promising and capable of further development and upgrade future situation of museal displays of migration in Germany.

Deuser's “Migration im Museum” (2012), as part of the project “Kulturelle Vielfalt im Museum: Sammeln, Ausstellen und Vermitteln” in commission of the *Deutschen Museumsbund*, delivers an overall account of how museums in Germany have been involved with migration and cultural diversity the last years in the basic domains of museum work; collection, display/exhibition, mediation and communication. She accurately demonstrates the problem in collections, suggesting four collection-strategies, namely “research in existing collections, acquisition of new objects, visual /web-based collections and renewed/change of perspective” (Deuser, 2012: 7-8), while positively evaluating the on-going process of the topic's institutionalization, yet, with many issues to be tackled with. Apart from Deuser's (2012) detailed account, at least for the museological debate in Germany at that period, the intellectual gain lies also in new concepts, such as *Migration mainstreaming*, which is owed to Baur (2009) and Terkessidis (2010) and one the hand intersects intellectually with the aforementioned school of thought of *perspective of migration*, based in critical migration research in Germany, on the other hand is connected with suggestions stemming from institutional critique and eventually institutional reform, which is a due demand in related institutions in Germany (cf. Deuser 2012:27). Related conclusions and a full overview regarding museums, exhibitions on migration in the German museological landscape can also be read by Töpfer (2017) in her detailed account of the IMIS publication (2017), which paid an extensive tribute and focus on the scenography of migration, as the title suggests. There, Töpfer (ibid: 36-42) deploys six theses, rereading and giving a synopsis of the trends to be detected in exhibitions on migration, namely: 1. Migration as immigration history in the postwar period, 2. migration from an intercultural perspective, 3. migration in the context of the construction of foreign images and identities. 4. migration as a force that shapes society. 5 Re-selection of existing collections. 6. Migration und Participation.

We should mention that in her PhD research about the *Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration* in Paris, researcher Mary Stevens argues that the migration museum in France puts the nation together again (or “re-members” the nation) (Stevens, 2008); following Joachim Baur, who analyzed migration museums in New York, Canada and Australia in *Die Musealisierung der Migration* (“The Museumization of Migration”, Baur, 2009), this type of museum serves some

nations in their staging of “multiculturalism” and thus reinforces national narratives which are grounded on diversity and migration processes. Furthermore, Tamar Blickstein’s study on Argentina’s national migration museum in Buenos Aires gives an account on how the migration museum re-members a nation through oblivion; the fact that this museum presents the Argentinian nation as “built up by European migrations only” minimizes the presence of other migration flows (Blickstein, 2011). Gisela Welz also reached this conclusion in her study about the *Ellis Island Migration Museum*, in New York, as she described that the focus of this museum lies in the representation of migrations from Europe, thus minimizing other processes such as the slave trade, migrations from Asia and from Mexico and South America to the United States (Welz 1996). (Meza Tores 2014:8).

As we have grasped through our literature and exhibition review on the topic, many museums - either regional, national or with an international focus - which have exhibited migration, either in temporary forms, or in their central thematic permanent exhibit, they have adopted the concept of Europeanization¹⁰. Some, in a critical-reflexive position, thus implicitly or explicitly critiquing the founding concept of nation-state, and how migratory processes unsettle our 'Eurocentric' and 'ethno/omfaloscopic' perceptions. Others, adopt 'Europeanization' or strategic 'Europeanization' (De Cesari 2017) under a veil of another reinforced Euro-national narrative, coupled with a transnational oeuvre. In Europe for example, a major international research project (Whitehead, Eckersley, and Mason 2013) and an international conference (Tamdgidi 2011) have recently been devoted to this topic, and examples in the German-language literature (Baur 2010; Poehls 2010; Wonisch and Huebel 2012) demonstrate that the ‘musealisation of migration’ (Baur 2009) is gaining more attention even in countries which historically have not been considered as countries of immigration (Schorch 2015: 48). In regards to the European trends, Macdonald argues (2013: 183) “there is also a growth in numbers of museums of emigration, for example, in Denmark, Ireland and Portugal. The cultural dynamic of these differs from the focus on immigration – and the increasing multi- and fusion- culture of Europe – but they act as a reminder nonetheless of global movement”. A full detailed account of the trends in Europe is given also in Baur's (2009: 15-16) aforementioned seminal study.

In regards to the “participative” paradigm shift in such exhibitions in Germany there is even

¹⁰ Regarding European projects and trends, see also Whitehead et al. (2015), Gourévidis (2014), Innocenti (2014), and Levin (2017); MELA Project 2009-2015 The special issue of *Museum International* provides a review and detailed making, of these museums in Europe. MeLa – European Museums in an Age of Migration, <http://www.mela-project.eu/>; Eunamus 2010-2013 ; LEM 2010-2013; AEMI Conferences & Publications (2006-2018); Severo (2009) The International Network of Migration Institutions: Promoting the Public Understanding of Migration. *AEMI Journal* , Association of European Migration Institutions, pp.148- 153. <http://aemi.eu/category/aemi-journal/publications/>, Kistemaker & Tietmeyer (2010).

more current, up to date and on-going review and research accompanied by implemented exhibitions, which goes up to the last ten to fifteen years. We should specifically mention the groundbreaking publication “The participatory Museum“ by Nina Simon (2010), where she primarily configures a typology of four characteristics in forms of participation in museums, namely the 'contributory, collaborative, co-creative and hosted' forms of participation (N. Simon, 2010), not to mention her emphasis on the imperative of the visitor's transformation from a passive consumer to an “active cultural participant” (Simon 2010). The aforementioned schema has been extensively applied in exhibition projects in Germany the last years. In “Das partizipative Museum. Zwischen Teilhabe und User Generated Content. Neue Anforderungen an kulturhistorischen Ausstellungen” by Susanne Gesser, Martin Handschin, Angela Janelli, Silylle Lichtensteiger (2012), we encounter an extensive and detailed account of both, theoretical essays and practice-oriented projects, hailing from the new “participation” paradigm, not only within the German museum scene, but other European countries (Sweden, UK). As a matter of fact, this publication is a result of the collaboration of two institutes that have already, since the 1970's, been extensively occupied with issues of participation and actual historical topics in the museum: The “Historische Museum Frankfurt” and the “Stapferhaus Lenzburg” in Switzerland. The former, one of the first historical museums in Germany working with participatory methods and conducting successful exhibitions is paving the way for analogous cases¹¹: Such as the re-configuration and re-conceptualization of the “Stadt Museum Stuttgart”, which also redefines its concept setting “migration” in its core topic due to its re-opening in 2016 (Dauschek 2010).

Moreover, a groundbreaking exhibition, in the spirit and tradition of “Project Migration” (2005) with involved academics and researchers of the field, combining aspects of science, art and activism “Crossing Munich, Orte , Bilder und Debatten der Migration” (10.07- 15.09.2009, *Rathausgalerie* Munich) aimed to “narrate history from the perspective of Migration” (Bayer 2010), which is conceived to be a “central and terminal moment of social development” (Hess, Engl 2009:14). In this exhibition which is a product of a research project from the LMU University of Munich, every exponent stood as a fruitful product of collaboration between citizens, researchers and activists, while the avoidance of stereotypical 'migratory' objects is predominant and intended, as more 'contentious narratives and controversial views were the subject of the exhibition' (Poelhs 2009, as in Wonisch 2012: 24). This exhibition, along with exhibition projects, drawn from the neighboring country of Austria and illuminating essays and thorough debate on aspects of Museum and Migration is also highlighted in “Museum und Migration. Konzepte Kontexte Kontroversen” by

11 See exhibitions “Frankfurt Jetzt” and *Stadtlabor*, cf. <http://www.historisches-museum.frankfurt.de/>)

Wonisch and Hubel (2012).¹²

In an effort to make a synopsis of all trends, I argue that during the middle of 2000s with a peak in 2010, there was a *boom* on exhibitions on migration in Germany, along with coordinated efforts by non institutional actors to establish a central museum on migration, as in the case of France (i.e. *CNHI*). This coincided with law and migration policy changes and the official declaration of Germany as an immigration country/*Einwanderungsland*, as well as the fifty-year-long anniversaries of bilateral state agreements for labour recruitment in the then Federal Republic of West Germany. This tendency continued roughly, yet with lower intensity between 2012 up until 2014. Then, I detected a short gap in exhibitions and debate on the issue with sporadic exceptions, and around the summer of 2015 and the so called *refugee crisis or summer of migration* (Mezzadra 2015) there was a renewed interest in the issue, or should I say a new "boom", this time on the debate with refugees and undocumented migration in the EU borders. This phenomenon not only produced a plethora of visual and media representations of the topic, but more exhibitions and cultural projects related to the following axes: migration, integration, integration of refugees in the EU and the European society, intercultural work, diversity work and so on^{13 14}.

If we now turn to the third cluster of topics in regards to our literature review, specifically on migration and archives in German public history debate and relevant areas, we should mention the following: For over two decades there has been a growing interest in the archive among artistic practitioners. This *archival turn* refers to the inclusion of archival materials in artistic works, and—following the theoretical reflections of Foucault ([1969] 1981) and Derrida (1995)—above all to the intellectual engagement with the archive as a conceptual entity and political construct that can function equally as a repository of knowledge and memory and represent claims to hegemony (Azoulay 2019; Bühner 2016; Callahan 2017; Enwezor 2008; Foster 2004; Rosengarten 2012 cited in Goldhahn, & Ricciardo 2021). It is indisputable that Derrida and Foucault's subversive work and thought has inspired and authorized a huge body of archival discourse that references them. Their work has spawned theories and counter theories of the archive, it has pointed the way toward

12 For discussion of museum work with 'communities' see Karp and Lavine 1991; and for more recent work, framed in terms of 'source communities' see Peers and Brown 2003; Smith (2006) Crooke (2006); Watson (2007); Golding & Modest (2013); Onciul (2013); Meijer van Mensch & Tietmeyer (2013).

13 In the framework of this literature review, I decide to leave out this indicative literature review, discussion and museum/exhibition practice in relation to undocumented migration and refugees. For a fundamental introduction to this whole debate and field of academic research, I deem relevant to refer to the following authors, publications at least in regards to the German context; <https://www.focaa.blog.com/2015/11/12/manuela-bojadzijeve-and-sandro-mezzadra-refugee-crisis-or-crisis-of-european-migration-policies/>; <https://movements-journal.org/#>

14 Last but not least, in regards to publications (either publications of exhibition catalogues documentations of research projects, or monographies) on this broad thematic, roughly around the last four years, we should mention the following ones: *Migration bewegt die Stadt*, (2018-2019, Stadtmuseum München), Bayer & Terkessidis (2019); Bayer/Sternfeld (2019) Curating as anti-racist praxis; *Manuel Gogos (2021) Das Gedächtnis der Migrationsgesellschaft – ein Verein schreibt Geschichte(n)*.

adopting archival theory as a way to explore a variety of problems and issues in contemporary scholarship and it has contributed to explorations of the function of the archive in both democratic and totalitarian societies. At the very least, archive theory, as formulated by Derrida and Foucault, has introduced a strategic shift in the winds of intellectual fashion and induced scholars in many fields to join the evolving conversation (Manoff 2004:19).

Yet, as Siegenthaler, F., & Bublatzky (2021) have illustrated, in the aforementioned volume, the potential of anthropology—and of visual and material culture studies in particular—in/for archival research in migratory settings lies exactly in the research of actual social practices within this field, opening up perspectives that allow us to think about archives beyond Derrida's (Derrida and Prenowitz 1995) and Foucault's (Foucault 1970, 1977) understandings of archives as “hegemonic, characterizing ways of thought, modes of colonization, and the control of citizens” (Zeitlyn 2012: 461). Furthermore, Appadurai (cf.2003) has illustrated that in the dynamic and ever-changing sphere of the internet, participatory repositories and archives are created that cater for publics who identify with increasingly diverse, complex and transnational histories and memories beyond dominant national narratives, potentially co-creating new notions of community and nationhood. These practices transgress notions of the archive as static and conservative and stand out as an “active, interventionist and open-ended collective building of archives” (Appadurai 2003:17).

In the vein of this last part of the literature review let me suggest some publications, research projects, which encapsulate the multifaceted work of archives and migration, specifically in Germany. A very fresh and recent publication, by Siegenthaler & Bublatzky (2023), entitled *Un)sighted Archives of Migration* “acknowledges that migration is a fundamental part of social practice and collective memory. However, archives which were established by individuals or communities with migration experience gain little public and institutional attention”. As it is stated in the book description “This volume with its transversal perspective across the fields of art, anthropology and social activism, offers new perspectives on the enormous potential of migratory archives as resourceful spaces for encounter and remembrance, and as a contribution to the plural collective memories and identities of post-migratory societies. Emphasizing the archival agency by migrants, the chapters raise new questions with regard to the multi-directional, collaborative forms of knowledge production within and beyond an archive, its boundaries, and its materiality” (Book abstract, 2022). Acknowledging migrant archives as part of social and societal practice means to acknowledge them as an important part of social identities and histories, and thus as a “civil archive” of migration that reconstructs photographs, letters and objects “as shared documents of potential history” (Azoulay 2017 as cited in Siegenthaler, F., & Bublatzky 2021: 292).

The interdisciplinary research, exhibition and archival project, entitled *Versammeln antirassistische Kämpfe*¹⁵ (2021) has been a crucial and successful interdisciplinary research project, which builds on past experience(s) from relevant projects in Germany following the tradition of the aforementioned *perspective of migration* school of thought in critical migration research. As we read in the initiative's declaration:

Our project, along with many others who have already set out, aims to change this national ladder narrative and tell the country's story from the perspective of struggles against racism - and to do so with those affected themselves. Yet we ourselves have been active in various movements against racism for years. We started this project to gather all the different experiences and perspectives of the last 70 years of resistance history in East and West Germany and to look for new ways of collecting, processing (e.g. in archives) and communicating (e.g. through exhibitions). The goal is to intertwine knowledge about the intertwined histories of anti-racism with today's debates and struggles and, on this basis, to shape new paths for a tomorrow of solidarity (Ver/sammeln antirassistischer Kämpfe 2021).

In their essay “Objects of Migration—Photo-Objects of Art History: Encounters in an Archive,” Goldhahn and Ricciardo (2021) engage with objects that remain as the only visible testimony of a risky trans-Mediterranean journey, and have mostly been found left behind in abandoned refugee boats. The traces of undocumented migration (Hamilakis 2018) thus encountered objects in an archival space that had already played an important role in Western art historiography. The resulting installation stimulated questions about the value and significance of the objects of migration and their place in relation to established archives. (Siegenthaler, F., & Bublatzky 2021).

Last but not least, some very crucial and thought-provoking projects which worked on thematics related to migration, archives, counter-archiving, combining artistic practice research and activism with focus on anti-racist education/work, as well reworking on colonial, imperial legacies' of German history are the following: VULNERABLE ARCHIVES. ON SILENCED ARCHIVES AND DISSENTING VIEWS (savvy contemporary 2021); MONUMENTAL SHADOWS. RETHINKING HERITAGE (savvy contemporary 2021)¹⁶.

In the subsequent chapter I move on to the methodology, which, together with the literature review, rounds off the theoretical part of this thesis.

15 Roughly translated in English as “collecting anti-racist struggles”. See <https://versammeln-antirassismus.org/> (last accessed 15 March 2023).

16 See <https://savvy-contemporary.com/en/projects/2021/vulnerable-archives/>. (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

Chapter 2. Methodology

This section of the thesis deals with the methods I decided to adopt for my research after a thorough reflexion and intense scrutiny. I begin with the phases of the research development, followed by critical ethnological observations that go hand in hand with the access to the field. Finally, the methods applied for every chapter along with the outcomes are presented.

This research started in the form of a pre-research, typically from my official registration as a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Cultural anthropology the University of Hamburg, around May 2014 to summer 2014, and completed, through different stages, and breaks in the research, around May 2022. Certainly, theoretical research was continued as my fieldwork got intensified, along with the re-conceptualization, re-arrangement, critical filtering and reflection of my initial research questions and goals. The research activities were focused around the following areas of work: the collection and classification of ethnographic material, as well as interviews, biographical interviews, and expert-interviews from various involved cultural producers, i.e. museum curators, artists, organizers, filmmakers, subsequent indexing of historical and archival material from written sources, mainly in the third part of the fieldwork, as I would describe it, which was the archive research at *Bayerisches Rundfunk*, (as of now *BR*), both in the *Historisches Archiv* (as of now *HA*, *BR*) and the *Audio Archive* of the radio Broadcast (as of now *AA*, *BR*), but also in more conventional archives, such as the *Stadtarchiv München*, but also the *FZH, Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg*¹⁷. As far as the ethnographic material is concerned, I need to emphasize that apart from the observations and notes from my fieldwork, the informal talks and conversations, there are also photographs, posters, bulletins that I found, both from old exhibitions on the subject, such as the *Museum Der Arbeit*, Hamburg, under the guidance of the curator of the archive at the time, Mrs. Gün,¹⁸ as well as other ethnographic data, consisting of my own photographs, taken with the research participants.

This research was held in three cities: Berlin, Hamburg and München. After Berlin I commenced in Hamburg, where I relocated for the official beginning and pursue of my PhD research. This signaled the start of the second phase of my ethnography, comprised of fieldwork, interviews, as well as closed event, a film & group discussion with an unofficial female network of Greek migrants, called *Greek Women of Hamburg*. Particularly, on February 12, 2017, along with this group in Hamburg, we watched two films on Greek labour migration, and then for about two

¹⁷ See <https://www.zeitgeschichte-hamburg.de/contao/index.php/startseite.html>. (Last accessed 20 March 2023).

¹⁸ Mrs. Gün was museum curator/wiss. Volontariat at the *Museum Der Arbeit, Hamburg* in that period and assisted me with significant material from past exhibition on the topic. Since 2020 she works at the *Behörde für Kultur und Medien Hamburg*. See <https://www.guadrat.art/vortraege>.

and a half hours we discussed impressions, experiences and memories of the participating group, the majority of whom were second generation immigrants. I took photographs and along with my partner, we filmed the event under full consent by the group. One of the films we saw and discussed was the film by Lefteris Xanthopoulos *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976), which is itself an ethnographic data and part of my analysis, as I had the original copy, which the director himself had given me at the beginning of my fieldwork.

Later on, I examined unknown and private archives, especially from the point of view of a filmmaker of labour migration films, Lefteris Xanthopoulos. Through this fieldwork I have excerpts from talks we had in his archives while we were examining material together, interviews, several of the films on DVD, but also unreleased photographic material from the shooting of the films and the so-called pre-research for the two films, which consisted of a series of negatives, in an absolutely clear and thorough classification by the director himself, as well as newspaper clippings entrusted to me by the filmmaker, his own publications with poems and other chronicles.

Additionally, a special part is the films on labour migration, which I found during the preliminary research phase. And as I will document below, I also mean the films, which were suggested to me, or given to me by the contributors themselves, as in the case of the field observation in the private archive with Lefteris Xanthopoulos. Thus, an important and multiple bottom/up audiovisual archive of migration experience(s) and migration memory culture in Germany was beginning to form and take shape.

The third part of my fieldwork took place in Munich, had already officially started at the beginning of 2017, as part of a scholarship I won from *CeMoG*, Modern Greek Studies, FU Berlin, for conducting fieldwork and archival research for my dissertation project. It entailed the following mixed character in terms of the methods I used, and I would categorize it in the respective time phases: 1) During my research stay in Munich where through fieldwork and interviews, I intend to observe the initiated collaboration with central actors of urban memory politics, such as the *Palladio Foundation*, *Griechisches Einwandererhaus Westend München*, *Stadtmuseum München* *Stadtarchiv München*, as well as other networks of Greek Diaspora in Munich, which will be embedded in the exhibition on the oral history of Greek migration in Munich envisaged by these actors. 2) The second time phase featured archival research in the *Stadtarchiv München*, and mostly in the central archive of the *Bayerisches Rundfunk (BR)* in Munich. There, I intended to examine, document and review the archival material of the legendary radio program *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi* (1964-1998) broadcast by the *BR*, Munich, which is located in the archives of the *BR*. I concentrated on the documentation and analysis of the listeners' letters, which have not yet found their way into the historiography of Greek migration in Germany. Listeners'

letters to the editorial staff and their reading aloud during the broadcast provide - as a scarcely researched data source - a fascinating insight into the articulation of narratives of the everyday coping of Greek "guest workers" and their media environments. Additionally, I listened to, documented and transcribed digitized pieces of the broadcasts, which were recorded and stored in the *Audio Archiv, BR*.

The final ethnographic phase comes several years after the fieldwork in Munich and all these short-term visits, and starts around February 2022 until May 2022, starting with an unexpected ethnographic discovery during my fieldwork in Munich, namely, after the interview I had with the person in charge of the *Stadtarchiv München*. There, I found the first traces of an important film about labour migration, which I had been searching for years and really considered "lost", titled *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)* by *Giorgos Karypidis*. As I recount in the respective chapter, on the occasion of a workshop in the framework of an international anti-racist assembly in Berlin, in May 2022, which included the projection and activation of such unknown archives of labour migration in Germany, focusing on the Kreuzberg area of West Berlin, that is the very physical location of the aforementioned workshop, and after relentless research and putting together the threads of the traces of the film, I finally managed to find the restored copy, and project it for the first time in this setting in Berlin, Germany.

In this instance, it is significant to indicate that my initial research objectives were restructured and developed over time, parallel with fieldwork and my subsequent immersion into the unknown, "bottom-up archives": other material and oral ethnographic data emerged through interviews, where a microcosm of experiences, subjectivity, identity articulation, often traumatic experiences, direct or indirect (cf. *Postmemory*, Hirsch 1997). This process influenced and reconfigured my research questions, as well as my perspective and position in the research itself, of which I am an integral part.

My research objectives include: investigation of cultural practices (cf. Zaimakis 1999:47; Cohen 1985; Nitsiakos 1998) such as dance, singing, and representations in films, images, photographs) of the so-called domestic or local community or micro-groups and networks of Greek immigrants in Germany, in the three cities I investigated, and the meanings that their ritual realization and their representation in the films I found. Additionally, an examination of the sociohistorical conditions of the formation and transformation of the communities and the way in which important historical events of labour migration in Germany were experienced and, until recently, selectively recalled and recreated in collective memory.

During the phases of my research, the bulk of the information material was collected and documented, biographical interviews were conducted, various ethnographic data were recorded as

mentioned above, and group meetings were held, especially in the first phase in Berlin, but also in Hamburg and Munich with occasional recreational practices, mainly at festive events of Greek communities or small groups, where I made the participatory observation. The development plan for the field research included the compilation and documentation of research archives from different types of sources: biographical interviews, ethnographic observations, visual and final film archives from the filmmakers themselves, with whom I conducted , also expert interviews.

In conclusion, it is important to stress here that cross-referencing the material with ethnographic observations can enhance the biographical archives and the visual archives, thus assisting us to understand in a profound manner all informants and actors under study. In this way, the development of the field research aimed at the dense description of experiences and memories of the various local micro-communities, micro-networks, and the multitude of informants, either from the first or second generation of Greek migrant workers in Germany, under an interpretive prism, where anthropological perspectives converse and intersect with social history, oral testimonies, as well as film studies and material culture/museum studies.

2.1 Ethnographic observations, access to the field of study, methodological challenges

Methodologically, the study is based on systematic social and cultural studies research, in the context of which biographical interviews, ethnographic observations and historiographic material is utilized. The research bridges in a way the biographical and ethnographic approach with historiography, especially social history, under the perspective of empirical and interpretive sociology and cultural anthropology (cf. Zaimakis 1999: 30). The fieldwork served the aim of accessing so-called micro-networks, groups, and so-called communities of Greek immigrants in Germany, recording and understanding their experiences and memories in Germany and in the respective cities, and analyzing, describing and interpreting these experiences in connection with ethnographic and historical material, audiovisual material (film), visual (photographs) and the compilation of the “bottom-up files”, which I finally collected and assembled during the fieldwork in the three cities in question: either through observations and conversations, or through interviews, as well as participation in small events, mainly of celebratory nature, as in Berlin and Hamburg, but also in institutional events of the Greek diaspora, such as the *Greek-Bavarian Cultural Festival /Griechisch-Bayerischer Kulturtag* in Munich on July 2, 2017.

Besides, through secondary data analysis I analysed extensively after finding through

intensive fieldwork, three *rare films* about the period in question, shot almost at the same time, by two filmmakers: the two films of a conceptual trilogy on migration/diaspora by acclaimed filmmaker *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*; *Greek Community Heidelberg (1976)* and *Giorgos from Sotirianika (1978)*, and *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, directed by *Giorgos Karypidis*. Films which meet, intersect and converse with each other critically and dialectically: Not only chronologically, but also aesthetically, thematically, stylistically, but also because of the specific and experiential involvement of the directors themselves, who had been living in Germany, either for a few years, as in the case of *Giorgos Karypidis* in West Berlin as a student for film and television studies, or for many years, and in many ways related to the Greek community of Heidelberg, including being himself a seasonal migrant worker, like *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*. These films eventually become *primary sources of ethnographic analysis*, since I found the original copies - in all three cases – which eventually become the multi-prismatic medium through which I tried to see and examine in depth the experiences of migrant workers in Germany: From the way of presenting experiential situations and social practices, how the orality of testimonies interweaves with the materiality of memory, how archives, testimonies and visual displays are woven into a fertile dialogue, how the personal is also political - without any of the filmmakers adopting explicit feminist attitudes or theories - how the forgotten, disenfranchised and uprooted memories of labour migration come to the surface, and in many moments, in these films, are heard in public conversation for the first time. How these demands demonstrate and reveal the influences of the era, from the late 1960s and mid-1970s with a politicized and sensitized cinema, and a rhetoric that is not limited to the image, but in other ways reveals the issues of migration of the era, as well as the institutional and socio-economic context of the period of the *German miracle*.

Besides the material, the contacts played admittedly a crucial role during the course of this ethnography. One of the most significant interlocutors was the director *Lefteris Xanthopoulos* whose trust I gained after extensive meetings and telephone calls. I managed to reactivate his interest in his specific work and period of his life, approximately 40 years after his extensive documentary research and film production. As a result, he invited me to his home and to his huge personal archive for further research (short terms visits between 2017 and 2019, short term visits), which, as one can understand, had many unpublished and unreleased documents and artefacts of that period. Thus, I came in contact with and wanted to analyze a huge original archival material, *another archive*, consisting of film, DVD's, published and unpublished photographs, short writings, chronicles, as well as the negative print contacts of photographs from the shooting of the 2 films of the trilogy of migration made in Germany by the author, from 1975 to 1978.

In regards to my fieldwork in Hamburg, I definitely admit that social networks and the

power of getting to know each other, as well as suggestions and recommendations from the informants themselves, as to which persons to interview, played a decisive role. Through *Zoe*, as I explain in the corresponding chapter, I was able to join the group, and to continue in-depth research. *Zoe* was definitely a key person, there was rapid acquisition of trust, and a different process in another context took place, as compared with my fieldwork in Berlin. It is also important to mention, though, one suggestion to interview people from Hamburg came from one of my basic interlocutors from Berlin/*Griechisches Haus*, *Pigi Mourmouri*, who was very well connected in many cities in Germany – she had suggested me many people to talk to – so again the role of social networks among various informants with so called Greek communities played a crucial role.

Finally, in Munich, my main informant, *E. Iliadou*, not only gave me invaluable assistance with material, ideas and suggestions for informants, as well as access to archival research of the historical archive and the audio archive of the *BR*. It was also due to her recommendations that I met other members of the Greek diaspora in Munich, such as *Fanny Athera* - who also agreed to be interviewed and became a valuable informant. At this point I would like to emphasize her role as a member of a Greek diaspora intellectual foundation, the *Palladion Stiftung*, which plays a key role in promoting Greek identity and diaspora in Munich with various projects, from cultural, educational to historical. Additionally, through *E. Iliadou* I got to know acclaimed intellectuals of Greek diaspora in Munich, such as the well-known and award-winning author and translator, *Petros Markaris*, in a book presentation at *Literaturhaus, Munchen*¹⁹. Additionally, during my first visit to Munich and after the Interview with *E. Iliadou*, at her suggestion, I was able to attend the *Griechisch - Bayerisch Kulturtag/Greek Bavarian Cultural Day 2017*, a huge festival in the city center, basically the largest I have ever observed of this kind, where I had the first opportunity to make ethnographic observations, either by talking to people, or by documenting the dance groups and all cultural and music events with photographs, trying to decode images and experiences of this day-long festival, which attracted approximately more than 3.000 people in the main square, *Odeonplatz* in Munich.

Regarding the challenges of finding the actual copies of the films themselves, as well as the authors or relatives of the authors, for the film *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)* by *Giorgos Karypidis*, which was a result of my fieldwork in Munich, I did not manage to meet the author alive, as he passed away in January 2019. Nevertheless, within the fieldwork I undertook, or rather continued after a long break and with the impression that the film does not exist or that I will never find it, I managed not only to find the restored copy of the film, which had been commissioned by the *Hellenic Film Academy/EAK*, as part of the “Motherland I see you” project (2021), but screen this

19 See event, <https://www.literaturhaus-muenchen.de/veranstaltung/offshore/>

rare film archive in the context of a major anti-racist conference in its *natural* place, Kreuzberg in Berlin, Germany in May 2022. Next, I managed to find and have extensive conversations online with the director's former wife, who owned the copyrights to the film, where I also managed to get important information about *Giorgos Karypidis* biography and work, which revealed and clarified in my ethnographic universe unexpected, as well as new historical and ethnographic data, which I could not elicit during the careful viewing and focused analysis of this film.

The usefulness of ethnographic research was crucial in many ways, especially in areas and topics where the historical archives and biographical interviews were reaching limitations. Participating in the micro-events of the daily routine of group members is a unique way to get to know, and as far as possible, understand the group's communication codes (Goffman 1994:14), ethos and behaviours. As Nitsiakos (1997: 273) points out “through established and participatory observation, continuous and in-depth contacts with individuals and groups are established, autopsies of interpersonal contacts are carried out, qualitative information is collected which is not easily obtained from interview source”.

Therefore, the in-depth research process itself, the critical processing and readjustment of my questions through empirical research, and the gathering of all this vast ethnographic material, elicited by heterogeneous sources, along with relevant literature for cultural studies and social sciences related to „bottom - up archives“ notions and concepts of *anti-archives* , *anti-memory*, *anti-monuments*, diasporic memory as resistance, and so on, rearranged and shaped my research as *archival ethnography*. In what follows, I am to share some crucial thoughts on archival ethnography, affiliated with my research, and then in the next sub-section I highlight the methodological and conceptual reasons for choosing to conduct interviews and collect oral – histories, testimonies in this research.

2.2.1 Archival Ethnography

Ethnologists are schooled in ethnographic thinking and ethnographic methods. A subject is subdivided into fields, which are mastered and analysed using interactive observations, field notes, conversations and interviews. Culture, in its anthropological sense, comprises interpretational frameworks and knowledge-related goals: “Ethnography is the interpretation of cultures” as the anthropologist James Clifford has pointed out. (Clifford 1988: 15). The term ethnography has the strange tendency to denote both what ethnographers do – the wide spectrum of methods and practices within fieldwork, such as conversation and interview, field-note taking, photography, audio and video recording, and geographical movement – as well as the products of these exercises.

Completed ethnography is often conceived as a text; it can certainly also be a film, exhibition or lecture. Mixing process and representation can lead to a certain confusion of ideas. Yet, there is good reason for allowing the concept to denote the entire process of events, from the first tentative steps into a new field to its representation, from the collection of material to analysis. (Lenartsson 2012:1).

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz summarizes the entire intellectual process of ethnography with the concept of *thick description*.²⁰ First, ethnography is interpretative. Second, it dedicates itself to defining and depicting flows of social discourse as well as, third, aiming to interpret them. A fourth characteristic of ethnography is that it operates on a micro level. (cf. Geertz 1973). These characteristics are no different for an ethnographer working with historical material. (ibid.).

The complex relationship between archives and ethnography has been a central concern of social science for the past few decades, and there is now an exciting body of literature, especially from historians and anthropologists, that addresses the limits, possibilities and necessities of using them together to study a range of issues across times and locations (e.g. Axel 2002; Bennett 2014; Camaroff and Camaroff 1992; Cohn 1987; Cunha 2006; ; Zeitlyn 2012; Papailias 2005; Lenartsson 2012). In recent decades western scholarship has witnessed a rapprochement between history and ethnography. Cultural historians, in particular, have acknowledged their debt to anthropology and ethnographers have called increasingly for the need to include and ground their work within larger historical frameworks (Wilson 2012). Archival ethnography describes a methodology of historical research based on archives – public, private, organizational – that considers the archive as a site for fieldwork. This entails an ethnographic sensibility that focuses on observation of ordinary, daily details as well as a focus on practices and what is not immediately obvious. Some, but by no means all, historical archives are rich and detailed enough to provide extensive records on past practices, events, and people, their communications and interactions. (Decker, Alan McKinlay 2020)

By elaborating this approach, we seek to clarify the elements that set archival ethnography apart from other forms of archival research: 1. The archive as a research site; how the creation, maintenance, and forms of accessibility as well as the search strategy affect what data can be collected and how it is interpreted in context. 2. A focus on social documents over narrative sources;

²⁰ Here it is important to mention the exact footnote 4, by Lenartsson (2012:2) ; Thick description has become a highly popular working method in disciplines where historical perspectives and ethnographic methods combine, such as microhistory, historical anthropology and new cultural history. Not least in German-speaking parts of Europe, historical studies characterized by ethnography have proved successful. Cf. Michaela Fenske, Micro, Macro, Agency: Historical Ethnography as Cultural Anthropology Practice, in: Journal of folklore research, 44,1 (2007), pp. 67-99, here p. 74; Alf Lüdtke (Ed.), The History of Everyday Life. Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life, Princeton 1995. Geertz has undeniably contributed to developing and disseminating the concept – yet originally he adopted the idea from the British philosopher Gilbert Ryle.

prioritizing accounts that are informal, close in time and place, and relatively uncensored yet more difficult to interpret than the polished accounts found in memoirs, speeches, and histories.

3. An analytical approach to searching, identifying, and interpreting records that engages with ethnographic theory and historical methods influenced by ethnography, such as micro-history and subjunctive history. We believe this rich qualitative technique opens up the past as a site for organizational research (Decker, Alan McKinlay 2020). It is true that employing ethnographic approaches in the study of historical topics enables scholars to focus on practices and processes, thereby illuminating how things unfolded on the ground. Certainly, this is more challenging with regard to communities of people who are no longer alive, as scholars must work with the traces that remain. (Wilson 2012). Ethnographic perspectives can also lead this endeavor to more rich and creative sources, drawing, for example, from material culture, as well as cultural and literary narratives. Detailed study of processes and practices reveal the tensions that exist between the everyday and grand narratives both of the period and with regard to subsequent historiographic treatments. Such approaches do not do away with large-scale narratives but problematize them in potentially productive ways. (cf. *ibid.*) In this sense, echoing the reflexive voice of Lenartsson (2012:4) regarding the ethnography of the archives and what she calls the narrative level of the analysis, I am also asking „what does the material say?“ Is there a pattern, a lurking motif or *Canon* under all this seemingly chaotic material ? What types of archives have I collected myself through this research process?

Howard S. Becker (1998) points out that even in the most apparently, even the most seemingly chaotic data material has an underlying order, insofar as all of the decisions made by the field researcher that went into that data material are not based on chance or arbitrariness, but on (often implicit) ideas and intuitions of what is interesting and relevant. It is now a question of finding out what one had in mind when one did all this. Becker recommends the following perspective: “The data I have here are the answer to a question. What question could I possibly be asking to which what I have written down in my notes is a reasonable answer” (Becker 1998: 121). If one follows Becker, then ethnographers have found answers to a question, they did not ask and could not ask - because they did not yet know the field, but also because exactly what interested them in this field and did not let go of it can only be found in their writings.

Yet, we have to point out that, immanent in the discipline of ethnography is the aim to produce a body of *archive material*, to reproduce a true version of the reality being studied. Ethnography thus connects with modern power as described by Michel Foucault, manifested in the aim of an archive to collect, categorize, preserve, classify and thereby control the world (Lenartsson 2012:5). In this

respect archival ethnography differs from the ethnographic study of the modern world. At the same time as a consciousness of the relationship between power, politics, epistemology and representation has become established in the cultural sciences following the cultural turn, the possibility to freeze a piece of reality in textual form has, however, lost its legitimacy. Being present is no longer any guarantee of a less distorted or truer image of reality (cf. Denzin 1997).

Nevertheless, using archive material does not necessarily mean working with its categorical constructs or reinforcing any of its inherent political functions and power. Quite the opposite, I would agree with (cf. Lenartsson 2012:5) that the work of an ethnographer involves questioning and destabilizing truths that have been established in archive material. Besides as (Dávila-Freire 2020) argues, we have to examine and unearth the subjective nuances in the – apparently solid – archival structure. These work as functional cracks enabling productive glimpses into an intellectual construction that is otherwise hidden, which is what an archive is: an organizational framework aiming to attract attention and provide easy access to the records it holds and, at the same time, to camouflage itself as much as possible”. (Mela Dávila-Freire 2020: 99). The research process, as many have pointed out, is not some crystal clear course of events from inception to representation. Only after spending some time in the intended context of study do repetitions and concentrations in the material become apparent. (Lenartsson 2012: 6). Finishing this subsection on methodological challenges and choices, I take into account the notion of ethnographic contingency. Following Kalatzis (2019:19), „among the most fruitful aspects of so-called reflexivity in anthropological writing is the recognition that ethnographies are products of contingency and of people’s situatedness in specific positions (see, e.g., Panourgiá 1995). Thus, one has to accept certain constraints on observation and participation” (Kalatzis 2019: 19). What an ethnographer notes down is a never social discourse in its ‘raw form’, but instead only small parts of what the informants can communicate. Ethnography is always interpretation, regardless of field. (Geertz, 1973 : 20).

2.2.2 Interviews, oral histories

Regarding my choice to do interviews I would like to make the following comments. On the part of the ethnographic interviews I make the above categorization:

1a) Informal, open-end, semi-structured and conversational interviews (Whitehead, 2005:15) with individuals with migration background. In my case study that is, labour workers of Greek citizenship/origin who roughly belong to the first or second generation of so called guest-workers in Germany, under our examined historical period, from 1960 to 1973. This type of narrative interviews will intermingle with Oral history methods which retain “a more biographical approach

and due to their focus on the subjective, these stories can provide insights not normally found in more traditional reviews or summaries” (Russell, 2005:1).

“Oral history is a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting historical information through recorded interviews with people, communities and participants in past events and ways of life (..) Those interviewed do not have to be famous or of historical importance; they can be everyday people talking about their ordinary lives” [...] It is both a research technique and a method of preserving history. It provides a method to research personal perspectives and gather detailed information on a wide range of subjects (ibid). The spread of oral history as a research technique and a documentary process has “democratized” the historical record to include groups such as women, minorities and common people, giving a more inclusive and accurate view of the past” (Historical society of Cecil County, Maryland 2005: 1-3). The interview process practiced by oral historians affords participants in historical events an opportunity to address the historical record directly, to clarify what they see as misconceptions in third-person accounts, to discuss their own motives and those of other participants, and to provide their own personal assessment of the significance of the events in which they took part. This approach makes possible a clearer understanding of the intent of the participants than could be inferred from a record of the events alone “(ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM DONALD C. DAVIDSON LIBRARY, 2005).

Additionally, I conducted : (2) Semi-structured interviews with *experts*, which follows “the open-end approach that is characteristic of ethnographic and qualitative research” (Bernard 2002:205; Whitehead 2005:17). Additionally, a method borrowed from *Qualitative interview analysis* (Bogner et al., 2005), *expert-interview* with a variation of “exploratory and systematic” structure (“*Explorative und systematisierendes Experteninterview*” (Ibid.) can be beneficial in acquiring either technical or scientific information and empirical insight on the topic. Such *experts* could be for example cultural producers, curators, historians, museum staff from past exhibitions on the related subject, as well as writers, film directors, artists and journalists who have been involved with this topic.

Over the course of all these years for my research, from the beginning of my fieldwork in Berlin, around September 2014, up to the last phase from February 2022 to May 2022, as I describe further in section 2.3, along with intensive fieldwork, I conducted and completed 25 formal semi-structured interviews along with informal talks and interviews mostly with Greek speaking migrants in all the aforementioned cities; From the 1st and the 2nd generation of so called guest-workers in Germany, trying to cover roughly the period from 1960 to 1973, that is the official beginning of the bilateral agreement between the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland/BRD* and the *Kingdom of Greece in 1960*, up to the ban of recruitment of labour workers, the so called *Anwerbeabkommen (1973)*.

In regards to the semi-structured interviews I relied on a standardized questionnaire, whose questions I developed and gradually re-arranged in the course of this research. After consultation with my supervisors, I gained a “green light” to proceed. The questionnaire assisted me in being consistent in attending to the key themes of my research, while leaving sufficient space and time for my informants to explore and comment on themes they found relevant was crucial and deeply relevant for my critical reflexion and positioning in my ethnographic description. As aforementioned in 2.1 in regards to sensitive, personal and emotional topics that we discussed, and particularly I listened to, it was important for me to establish a sense of trust, rapport and to maintain confidentiality. Particularly, in family issues and family ethics, there were really strong stories connected with hardship, either social or economical, trauma and psychic/mental illness and I am more than grateful that informants trusted and shared these stories with me, not to mention the majority, which insisted on speaking with real full names. For those of course who wished to stay anonymous, I use pseudonyms.

Furthermore, along the stages of my participation observation, influenced by focused ethnography (Knoblauch 2005) and multi-sited Ethnography (Marcus 1995), I gained more and more informants who wanted to talk and share their stories. Formal and informal interviewees represented as broad as possible my main case study of inquiry, the so called *guest-workers* in Germany, especially in these cities where I employed my fieldwork, namely Berlin, Hamburg and Munich. At this point I should mention that in my fieldwork at the *Griechisches Haus/To Spiti* Berlin – Neukölln, I gained access, interacted and talked more with seniors, who belong roughly to the first generation of workers. With some of them, due to age and various health problems, some interviews developed rather difficult, yet, I was able to be attentive to their accounts and grasp basic themes which were proved to be central for my research. In Hamburg and Munich, the majority of Greek-speaking informants belonged to the second generation, the so called *Gastarbeiterkinder*. Additionally, three of them, as I explain in my fieldwork stations in Munich, functioned with a double role : both as *experts*, as cultural producers, intellectuals and community leaders in various networks of Greek diaspora in Munich, and people who belong to the second generation of Greek labour workers, thus having their own memories and experience(s) of migration in Germany for more than forty years.

Moreover, another important aspect developed in the sampling of interviewees: it turned out that the majority of speakers were women, which revealed to me unnoticed, unknown and under-researched themes on gender and labour migration, and undeniably made me realize that these women articulated their need and will to to speak and share their stories and embodied experience throughout the historical period under examination. In addition, the informants ranged in age from

fifty five years old to eighty seven, who was the older one in Berlin, and included in the vast majority women. All of them, were permanently settled in Germany, where interviews were conducted, with an exception of two-three, who had returned to Greece around 1974-1976, during the huge wave of repatriation at the time, yet, around early and middle 1990s, even later, some of them, migrated again to Germany, especially due to economic and family reasons.

Our interlocutors, due to our interview framework division, can be divided in to two groups : 1) the Greek labour workers and the second generation, *their children*, to put it more broadly, where I employed semi-structured narrative interviews, as well as the group discussion which I analyze in chapter 5 – film and talk with the self-proclaimed group” Greek Women of Hamburg”.

2) The so called experts in the *experts-interviews*. Such experts were, for example cultural producers, such as curators, historians, museum staff from past exhibitions on the related subject, as well as writers, film directors, artists and journalists who have been involved with this topic. With the German-speaking curators, and those based in Germany, we conducted the interview in English, where I was more capable on handling in the conversation, while I had handed them the questionnaire in both, German-speaking and English-speaking versions. With the Greek-speaking experts, of course the interviews took place in Greek – my mother tongue – as with all informants, who can be typically perceived in the group of labour workers, and/or their children generation.

Additionally, we kept all semi-structured narrative interviews to an average of two hours – with the exception of three informants in Hamburg where the interview extended more than three hours . Also, there were cases where the emerging discussions and emotional responses stretched the time of the conversation, or where some topics in our questions were either deviated or remained unanswered. Regarding structured interviews, all of them were kept to an average of forty five to sixty minutes. In most cases we managed to systematically cover all questions of the questionnaire.

As a result, this biographical archive I compiled included life stories, interviews, semi-structured, formal and informal interviews with the individuals themselves. I always informed the interviewees that they could see the questions beforehand, but nobody wanted to, especially in the narrative interviews with 1st and 2nd generation of labour workers. Quite a few of them did not even sign the consent form, because they said they had complete trust in me. In general, I classified the interviews into 2 categories, as mentioned above, and as I will point out in the next section, in all interviews, I applied the first stage of open coding within the framework of grounded theory, trying to find key themes in the words of the informants, and then categories on which to base my analysis. All things considered, following conventions and the ethnographic mode of description, I

tried to include in my thick description²¹ extracts and fragments from interviews as *voices* and authentic testimonials, echoing statements on the respective topic of analysis.

In this instance, I should argue that the collection of a body of interviews from the members of a group or community and the creation of narratives and life stories of its characteristic persons can provide valuable material for the study of the cultural content and social organization of localities and the interpretation of the conditions of social experience (cf. Zaimakis 1999: 56).

„The time of narrative is the lived time of every human being who looks to the future, looks back to the past and is determined by the present“ (Kyriakidou -Nestoros 1993: 262, cited in Zaimakis 1999: 38). It is a qualitative and complex time of experiential reference with its own logic and continuity, which reflects interpretations and evaluations of events that are imbued with ideological references. Here the task of the scholar is to reinterpret interpretations of events and not the events themselves (cf. Zaimakis 1999: 38). Admittedly, as illustrated by Zaimakis (1999), the social world is formed through human communication and interaction in the context of everyday social interaction and reality, as experienced and recreated by the human being, thus being a form of creation, a cultural product (Berger & Luckmann 1966). Hence, social world is an experienced reality which, as Williams (1994: 107) demonstrates, is defined and created in the context of a culture of a group or society and through the particular cultural norms or models by which individuals are constructed and interpret the world. Individuals incorporate these norms into their everyday actions and are able to change or extend them by introducing new or differentiated rules. (cf. Ibid. 39). So, knowledge of a particular social world requires a type of *viewing*, a practical knowledge from the point of view of the subjects living in that world, which requires approaching the conceptual texture of the social world, the performances and rhetorics of the people in a group, with the aim of bringing out its basic organizing principles (ibid.).

With regard to oral narratives, of course, if we accept Kyriakidou-Nestoros' (1993: 261) view that the “narration of an event that belongs to the past is not the experience of the event but a construction of memory”, then we have to be extremely careful about the interference of the temporal element in the oral account. We should always keep in mind the issue of construction, when it comes to the narration of ones memories and we should acknowledge the importance of

21 Here it is important to cite the exact footnote 4, by Lenartsson (2012:2) ;

Thick description has become a highly popular working method in disciplines where historical perspectives and ethnographic methods combine, such as micro-history, historical anthropology and new cultural history. Not least in German-speaking parts of Europe, historical studies characterized by ethnography have proved successful. Cf. Michaela Fenske, Micro, Macro, Agency: Historical Ethnography as Cultural Anthropology Practice, in: Journal of folklore research, 44,1 (2007), pp. 67-99, here p. 74; Alf Lüdtke (Ed.), The History of Everyday Life. Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life, Princeton 1995. Geertz has undeniably contributed to developing and disseminating the concept – yet originally he adopted the idea from the British philosopher Gilbert Ryle.

contingency. We know that “memory is fallible, that it is impossible to recall or report on events in language that exactly represents how those events were lived and felt; and we recognize that people who have experienced the "same" event often tell different stories about what happened” (Tullis Owen et al., 2009 cited in Ellis et al. 2010 : 6-7).

Moreover, the following statements on the interview as interpretative and performative practice by Denzin (2001) assisted me in understanding profound, concepts and themes that emerged in the interviews, either from the verbal articulations or the mode of expression, dimensions that I realized with the passage of time, along with continuous, relational, self-reflexive nature and process of conducting interviews.

“The interview is a way of writing the world, a way of bringing the world into play. The interview is not a mirror of the so-called external world, nor is it a window into the inner life of the person” (see Dillard, 1982: 47, 155). The interview is sort of a virtual image, a perfectly miniature and coherent world in its own right (ibid.: 152), so perceived in this way, the interview functions as a narrative device which allows persons who are so inclined to tell stories about themselves. In the moment of story-telling, teller and listener, performer and audience, share the goal of participating in a experience which reveals their shared *same-ness* (Porter 2000 cited in Denzin 2001: 25). The interview’s meanings are contextual, improvised and performative (Dillard, 1982: 32). The interview is an active text, a site where meaning is created and when it's performed, the interview text creates the world, giving the world its situated meaningfulness. From this perspective, the interview is a fabrication, a construction, a fiction, an ‘ordering or rearrangement of selected materials from the actual world’ (Denzin 2001: 25). But every interview text selectively and unsystematically reconstructs that world, tells and performs a story accordingly to its own version of narrative logic (Denzin 2001: 25-26). Thus, reflexively listening to the calls of Denzin:

I seek an interpretive social science that is simultaneously autoethnographic, vulnerable, performative and critical. It is a way of being in the world, a way of writing, hearing and listening. Viewing culture as a complex performative process, it seeks to understand how people enact and construct meaning in their daily lives. This is a return to narrative as a political act; a social science that has learned how to critically use the reflexive, dialogical interview. This social science inserts itself in the world in an empowering way. It uses narrated words and stories to fashion performance texts that imagine new worlds, worlds where humans can become who they wish to be, free of prejudice, repression and discrimination. (Denzin 2001: 43)

Furthermore, on the notion of orality, I would like to make the following statements. Post-colonial cultural studies have led to a general re-evaluation of the importance of orality and oral cultures and a recognition that the dominance of the written in the construction of ideas of civilization is itself a partial view of more complex cultural practices (Ashcroft et al. 2005:151). In post-colonial societies, the dominance of writing in perpetuating European cultural assumptions and Euro-centric notions of civilization, as well as the view of writing as the vehicle of authority and truth, led to an undervaluing of oral culture, and the assumption that orality was a precondition for post-colonial writing, which subsequently subsumed it. Both of these misperceptions are being rapidly redressed in postcolonial theory (*ibid.*). Thus, through my research, as I explain in my research objectives, but also in section 2.3 in the analytical process of my fieldwork, I strive to highlight the close relationship between orality and archives. Here, again the thinking of post-colonial theory and research on post-colonial archives made me think differently about the relationship between orality and archives or archiving of orality. Having said that I do not only mean the act of documentation and archiving of oral testimonies and their use in public history, museums, and/or heritage and memory sites.

On the dimension and interweaving of orality and archives, we still have to refer to Harris (2002: 83) theorizations; “both in the work that has been done and in the planning of future projects related to oral history, there is a worrying tendency to underestimate, or simply not to grasp, the problematic of converting orality into material custody”. There, three aspects are underlines: a determination to view and to utilize recorded oral history as “source” for historiography rather than as “history” in its own right; a failure to understand the extent to which orality, or in the words of Isabel Hofmeyr, “live(s) by its fluidity” (Hamilton 1997:17 cited in Harris 2002:84) and an inability, or refusal, to engage orality as a form of archive”. Archives, then, are not passive storehouses of old stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed. The power of archives, records, and archivists should no longer remain naturalized or denied, but opened to vital debate and transparent accountability. (SCHWARTZ, COOK 2002: 1). Our work is at the same time one of remembering and forgetting, of memory and mourning. The decisions we make in appraisal are impossible, determining those “stories [which] will be consigned to the archive and which will not” (p. 104). That fundamental activity of archivists, contextualization, is impossible, as contexts shift, change, and reshape in the telling, thus context is elusive, ever partial, always interpreted (Marshall 2008: 563). Additionally, we have to acknowledge that “postcolonial scholarship has demonstrated how the colonial archive was shaped by the aims of its creators and

how interpretation of the archive always depends on the perspective of its interpreters” (Manoff 2004:16). The writing of history always requires the intervention of a human interpreter. All things considered, according to Michael Lynch, “the archive is never ‘raw’ or ‘primary,’” because it is always assembled so as to lead later investigators in a particular direction (Lynch 1999: 69). For these reasons, rephrasing Steedman (cf. 2001:1165), researchers working with archives read for what is not there: the silences and the absences of the documents always speak to us.

2.3 Methodological Choices and Analytical Procedure

During the first stop of my ethnographic observation, specifically in Berlin, I adopted a mixed-methods approach, as in all main stations of my fieldwork. Admittedly, I started rather conventionally in the sense that after having completed the theoretical preliminary research on the basis of a research proposal in its initial stage with solid research questions and methods, I decided that I would commence with my participant observation at the social center *Griechisches Haus/Elhniko Spiti*, Berlin – Neukölln. My fieldwork tactic was, first to get to know people and enter this *microcosm* of potential *informants* and then after their expression of interest, to kick off with a round of initial interviews. Admittedly, my main motivation was that I had entire access to the age group in relation to the historical period under examination of the so-called first generation of migrant workers, who came to Germany around 1960. In what follows next in this subsection, I will present themes and tentative conclusions, and then describe the methods by which I deduced them in every station of my ethnographic fieldwork.

Phase 1: Fieldwork and the archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos (time framework: Early 2016, 2017-2019, until June 2020)

Based on the following questions from my research proposal : Which were the prevailing images-archetypes of subjects/actors of Greek postwar Migration? It would also be challenging to observe how these representational images and figures interact and coincide with the mentality of the *real protagonists* of Greek migration in Germany. How do these visual representational motifs function in individual and collective memory and migrant identification, for example for Greek migrants in Germany? I had already done a preliminary search for films, either documentaries or fiction films related to the subject, especially for the period in question. Two of the primary films that appeared in internet searches, as well as in the relatively bibliography on Greek documentary films on

migration²², were two films that comprise a trilogy on migration/diaspora by Lefteris Xanthopoulos; *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg*, (1976), and *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978).

Having already completed the first part of fieldwork in Berlin, while organizing the steps of my next fieldwork phase -in the beginning of 2016- in a rather informal context with my informants in Hamburg, who belong to the second generation of Greek migrants in Germany, I thought that a plain theoretical analysis and critique of filmic/visual representations of migration that appear in those films would not be adequate for my research. Instead, while grasping and filtering the calls of multi-sited ethnography, “engaged” and collaborative anthropology²³, being more and more immersed in the accumulation of ethnographic material and data for my topic, I thought it would be crucial to try to contact the director himself, as I had gathered information at that time he was living and working in my home town, Athens, Greece. This was successful, so at this stage of the research I conducted a semi-structured *expert interview* with him, after two initial lengthy informal talks, where I finally gained the trust and rapport of the director.

In that interview I employed the technique of *photo-elicitation*. Along with my prepared questions, I began the interview process showing a photographic picture from the first film, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976), and the conversation started directly with the director's experiences and memories of the first, as he calls it, “experiential film”. *Photo elicitation* enlarges the possibilities of conventional empirical research and produces a different kind of information. Photo elicitation evokes information, feelings, and memories that are due to the photograph's particular form of representation (Harper 2002: 13). This method is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview. “The difference between interviews using images and text, and interviews using words alone lies in the ways we respond to these two forms of symbolic representation. This has a physical basis: the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words; exchanges based on words alone utilize less of the brain's capacity than do exchanges in which the brain is processing images as well as words”. (ibid.)

In regards to the analysis of the two films which belong to the conceptual trilogy of migration-diaspora by the director, I employed visual analysis and cultural studies analysis of films.

22 See two significant volumes “Η μετανάστευση στον Κινηματογράφο/Migration in Cinema” F. T. Konstantopoulou (2004) and “Σε ξένο τόπο. Η μετανάστευση στον Ελληνικό Κινηματογράφο/In a foreign land. Immigration in Greek Cinema 1956-2006”, Karatalou et al. (2006).

23 Considering the debate on 'engaged anthropology' see Beck, Maida, (2013); cf. Beate Binder/Sabine Hess (2013): Eingreifen, Kritisieren, Verändern. Genealogien engagierter Forschung in Kulturanthropologie und Geschlechterforschung. In: Beate Binder u.a. (Hg.): Eingreifen, Kritisieren, Verändern!? Interventionen ethnographisch und gendertheoretisch. Münster , S. 22-54.

According to Delgado (2015), “Visual research methods are effective in eliciting ideas and experiences that might otherwise be difficult to express through discussion or language and are often used in settings where there is a language barrier between the participant and the researcher. Some researchers consider visual methods as effective tools through which they demonstrate social issues and groups that would remain otherwise invisible, particularly in work which addresses issues of social exclusion and ‘hard to reach’ groups”. Regarding the context of the film, the *Grounded Theory* method in content analysis was extremely helpful in detecting main themes of the film, which I categorized in thematic sequences (TS) so I could build up my analysis, strengthening my ethnographic description. “Grounded theory (GT) makes a nice segue from researcher-made or elicited images to research into images produced as elements of culture. Ethnographers have long used the tools of GT, as Charmaz and Mitchell (2001:160) noted in: 1. simultaneous data-collection and analysis, 2. pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis, 3. discovery of basic social processes within the data, 4. inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesize these processes, and 5. integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the process(es)” (Margolis & Zunjarwad 2018: 616). GT will work equally well in research into historic or other images harvested from digital collections and archives (ibid.).

The main topics detected in the film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg, (1976)* are : Perspective, representation of the community as collective medium for the demands of the Guest-workers; labour conditions, labour exploitation; housing conditions - life in the *Arbeiterheim*; the first shock of the Guest-workers in Germany. Sociopolitical critique, issues of political participation, demonstration, citizenship. Family issues, gender issues / *Role of women labor workers*. Notions of Greekness, social class, milieus consciousness, daily/structural and institutional racism. Education; Debate of integration and institutional policy of West Germany towards guest-workers. Rituals, memorials, dynamic editing depicting graves of guest-workers and German corporate firms. Performative elements, dance and music of the members of the Greek community in Heidelberg. The notion of *Xenitia*, homesickness as psychosomatic pain. Psychic, mental issues of Guest-workers.

The main topics detected in the film *Giorgos aus Sotirianika (1978)* are: Focus on personal experience and individual perspective of guest-workers: problems of labour migration/ social, financial consequences of migration/ economy/ savings/ deprivation/ the social space “Back home”, meaning the country/region of the sending country, as registered in the film/ rural evacuation/ Dismantlement of social norms/values/ social critique – demonstrations, political participation of guest-worker/ social role of rituals/ notions of national - cultural identity (Greekness) /institutions/

family ethics/ notions of religiosity/ changing individual identity of former guest workers transforming into entrepreneurs/ stereotypes/ memories and representations of labour migration in film, photography, testimonies.

All things considered, the application of the aforementioned mixed type of methods, placed in *multi-sited Ethnography* (Marcus 1995), fusing fieldwork, interviews accompanied with photo elicitation, visual research analysis of documentaries and *Grounded Theory* lead me in collecting this type of “bottom-up” audiovisual and material archive of migration memories and experience from the „perspective of migration”.

In regards to conclusions of this chapter and ethnographic “station” in my work, I provide the following outline: The importance of Xanthopoulos' documentary work, his usage and thematization of moving images in the context of labour migration, regarding this specific historical period of the Greek “Guest-workers” in Germany is multiple and vital in regards to the interplay of the following matters: subjectivity, oral histories, orality (as part of tradition) and equivalent with the notion of *Xenitia* [=Ξενιτιά], the Greek word for the state of being in a foreign land. *Xenitia*, as anthropologist Nadia Seremetakis has suggested, is a “foundational taxonomy” whose imagery informs Greek dreaming, death rituals, kinship systems, marriage, geography, history, ethnicity, and politics: “*Xenitia* . . . encompasses the condition of estrangement, the outside, the movement from the inside to the outside, as well as contact and exchange between foreign domains, objects, and agents” (1991: 85). In Xanthopoulos' films there were many references on folk songs of *Xenitia*, with “recurrent motifs of sickness, death, and physical degradation, being common elements in the depiction of the alienation, displacement, and suffering associated with *Xenitia*” (cf. Papailias 2005: 190).

Moreover, thematization of personal testimonies, lived and embodied experience, memory, visuality and the notion of *intensive viewing* (Becker 2002) in which he invites us. One of Xanthopoulos' main contributions lies in his specific way of filming; anthropological, profound and humanistic, the director portrays images of the world through the modalities, the ways the involved subjectivities, social actants live, experience and narrate, make meaning out of their daily lives. Evidently, Xanthopoulos does not succumb to dramatization or sentimentalism (cf. Kymionis 2003), is not being carried away by the subjects' opinion or his ideological articulations, nor does he find refuge to cheap didacticism, direct or dogmatic denunciation of the system and its mechanisms.

Xanthopoulos in other words, practices the *ethics and politics of encounter* (Nichols 2001:182), as he meets his actors, they interact and talk with each other. Oral word, oration, which maintains a pivotal role in the narratives of his documentaries, stems from the interactions between observer and observant, a fact that highlights the subjectivity of both, process of filming and

director's perspective ²⁴.

Oral-histories and testimonies are not piled up in order to confirm the director's own opinion and/or ideology, preconception, or to ascertain predetermined notions of social categories and groupings (i.e. minorities, migrants), but they constitute basic axes of thematization, dialectic thinking and an on-going dialogue with the viewers-spectators (cf. Kymionis 2003). Hence, Xanthopoulos proposes a wider shaping and contraction of the visual archive, as a carrier of social memory and invites us to a broader participation in the dialectics of memory formation and storytelling (cf. Harris 2002: 83). Xanthopoulos reiterates and establishes what Harris (2002) among others, have illustrated on the need for *voices* in these discourses – memory work, museums, representations – employing conceptual frameworks for meaning-construction, which are rooted in local and indigenous societal realities and pasts²⁵. In this archive, as Membe (2010; 2015) rightfully reminds us, it is a due demand to transform the archive from a collection of seemingly past affairs and dead matters into a series of vital procedures, that is into an exercise of living power and possibilities. This is exactly one of the gains we inherit from Xanthopoulos documentary approach and his perpetuating *visual ecosystem* (cf. Edwards, Lien 2014).

Definitely, Xanthopoulos invites us to observe and delve into this multilayered prism of fragmented portions of reality and subjectivity, while he responds to the call from Italian anthropologist Alessandro Triulzi (1977) for research on evidence of memory that has escaped the control of political power. As such, he considers “family memories, local stories, family stories, villages, personal memories, in all this vast grid of non-formal, non-institutionalized, knowledge that has not yet been crystallized in formal traditions, the collective consciousness of whole groups or individuals” (Leontaris 2010).

Equally important, Lefteris Xanthopoulos, while drawing on the lives and oral-histories of his characters, pays tribute to this so called non-institutional memory, or “bottom-up” memory/”memory from below”, achieving small and multiple cracks (Holloway 2011) on the wall of institutional memory. He creates a visual archive, a *memory topos* from *below*, which pays tribute to the unheard and unvoiced histories and embodied experiences of the real protagonists of migration, particularly in reference to our case study. In this case, oral testimonies and their specific contextualization serves to challenge the official historiographic position in a pivotal degree,

²⁴ See related typology, participatory filming; Bill Nichols, Introduction to Documentary, Bloomington, Indiana University Press (2001: 115-123).

²⁵ Verne Harris (2002) discusses these thematics in the specific context of the *transformation discourse* placed in the post-apartheid era in South Africa and the role of archives in the paradigm shift and change of material but also theoretical 'opening' of the archives to alternative epistemologies, methods, derived from indigenous-African experiences. I find this schema and cluster of thoughts invaluable for my case study, particularly in the opening of archives, re-telling, and re-presenting *histories from below* as it is illustrated in the work of Lefteris Xanthopoulos.

causing institutional memory gaps and introducing alternative approaches to events, illuminating them from different perspectives. His documentary work reflects the voices of the emerging, both in scientific discourse and the field of documentary, current of oral history/memory research, which covers group and social categories of individuals who are not the protagonists of history but those *silent majorities*, until recently ignored, such as workers, refugees, immigrants, ethnic and religious minorities, the elderly, women (Vaz 1997:1).

All in all, the work of Xanthopoulos, along with this “deepening of the understanding” and “intensive viewing” (Becker 2002) that the images of his films accomplish, echoes the demands of a postcolonial museum (Chambers et al. 2014), the need to endorse marginalized, suppressed voices, where embodied knowledge, namely memory & experience (Chakrabarty 2002), can be thematized and presented in an on-going sustainable dialogue. It is through Xanthopoulos' innovative work that we view and contemplate on social worlds, the social worlds of migration via another window, another *way of seeing* (Berger 1992).

Phase 2: Greek Women of Hamburg; Fieldwork, Film & talk, Group Discussion (time framework: October 2016 – April 2017)

In this ethnographic piece, I continued the mixed methods strategy, while gathering and critically filtering experience from the previous fieldwork *stations* in Berlin, and at the same time as I emerged more extensively in the archive of Xanthopoulos. While I was in the process of changing or adapting my research questions, I thought this time I would try something for the first time : alongside the interviews I would conduct with mostly Greek migrant women of the second generation, I decided to organize a group discussion with an unofficial female network of Greek migrants, called *Greek Women of Hamburg*. Yet, I thought about a non-conventional group conversation and setting, so I decided to enrich it via a film projection. Thus, I organized this as sort of *closed event* with the aforementioned group applying this enhanced/mixed type of group discussion, where I used film as a form of elicitation and activation of the whole group discussion. I regarded this as the best opportunity to combine Xanthopoulos' material and show it to the informants and based on this material and my prepared questions to activate the discussion.

Hence, for the most part, this time with another variation, I employed mixed methods with a “bottom up” approach, such as: fieldwork, multi-sited Ethnography/“Follow the people, stories” strategy (Marcus 1995), along with interviews with informants of the second generation of Greek labour workers, accompanied with influences from community work, autoethnography, group discussion, film & talk, image elicitation (Harper 2002) and memory work inspired by feminist

memory work (Haug 1992).

In regards to the use of qualitative research methodology, memory work, the pioneering work of Frigga Haug (1987, 2000, 2008) stands prominently. It is true that “the endorsement of memory work offers qualitative researchers a useful way into personal insights and an interesting way to connect the personal and political, as well as the past with the present and future” (Heather Fraser & Dee Michell, 2015:2). Qualitative and narrative in orientation, memory-work has been historically conducted with groups of women, and assumes that people often know more about themselves and their worlds than they might imagine (Haug, 2000 cited in Fraser & Dee Michell 2015:23). Even though memory is key to identity (Booth, 2008), political environments, structures and institutions also affect what memories are made and whether they may be publicly recounted without penalty. As Haug (2008:538) has said, memory “always runs the risk of reflecting dominant perspectives.” While people do not always do as they are told, social conventions still circulate about how people *should* think and behave as a woman, man, white person, person of colour (and so on). These expectations influence our experiences, including whether we consider them ab/normal, and how we might speak of them. (Fraser & Dee Michell 2015:4).

It is crucial to accept, though, that researchers do not exist in isolation. We live connected to social networks that include friends and relatives, partners and children, co-workers and students, and we work in universities and research facilities. Consequently, when we conduct and write research, we implicate others in our work (Ellis et al. 2010 : 6). These “relational ethics” are crucial for ethnographic research. In using personal experience, autoethnographers not only implicate themselves with their work, but also close, “intimate others” (Adams 2006; Etherington 2007; Trahar 2009; *ibid.*). Furthermore, autoethnographers, often maintain and value interpersonal ties with their participants, thus making relational ethics more complicated. Participants often begin as or become friends through the research process. We do not normally regard them as impersonal “subjects” only to be mined for data. Consequently, ethical issues affiliated with friendship become an important part of the research process and product (Tillmann-Heally 2001, 2003; Tillmann 2009; Kiegelmann 2010 cited in Ellis et al. 2010 : 6).

In terms of my sampling strategy, echoing Frisina (2018) “Sampling is the keystone of good qualitative research design. Focus Group participants are selected through a *purposive sampling strategy*, which aims at reflecting a *diversity of cases* within the population under study. (Frisina 2018). Recruitment strategies can take two routes; they can either be “top down”, using lists of names provided by local organizations or by resorting to public announcements in newspapers and social media, or “bottom up”, through informal social networks, gatekeepers or direct knowledge with some preliminary fieldwork. In either case, the motivation of the participants remains key to

generating interesting data. In my case I followed completely a “bottom up” approach.

As a result, the dominant themes that I have been able to elicit through these mixed methods are in a synopsis: Labour conditions and labour exploitation, psychological effects of labour work, dependent labor, connotation of the notion of migrant/ Conflict and different opinions on the topic of labour, which revealed various aspects of identities, subjectivity, social class and social milieus, economic status, the historical and economic context upon those recruitment agreements came into place, especially regarding the Greek case study/ Issues on the centrality of acquisition of foreign language in Germany, the educational issue, education of children, support of official actors and institutions, life between two worlds and two societies, the Greek and the German one, the cultural shock all those guest workers experienced in Germany (rural life - life in the city, especially in a foreign place), housing condition (then & now), family matters, the presence and absence of parents, gaps between the first and second generation, the role of women, crucial gender issues, as well as the presence or absence of women in the two films we watched.

The notion of *Xenitia*, homesickness as psychosomatic pain. Mental illness and psychological problems of guest-workers, including gambling, drinking, overtime. Making economies, savings, deprivation. Many informants in their account narrated their parents' traumatic experience in regards to labour migration as if they were their own personal experience(s), a process which is connected with the concept of *Postmemory* (Hirsch 2008:103). In this widely referenced concept, Hirsch (1997:2008; 2012) describes the relationship of the second generation 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. Identifying tropes that most potently mobilize the work of *postmemory*, it examines the role of the family as a space of transmission and the function of gender as an idiom of remembrance.

In regards to my tentative conclusions, I point out the following points: It is true that in the midst of all the discussion, I found three points of disagreement, mainly on the issue of how some participants experienced differently and more positive the whole experience of migration, the topic of labour exploitation and housing, whether there were positives to immigration, whether the films had a one-sided narrative, which eventually does reflect reality. It occurred to me rather frequently that my questions were not even necessary for the women to express themselves, as they articulated a tremendous and sincere speech. Additionally I observed a ”spontaneous growth in confidence and solidarity as women realized they were not alone, a powerful harking back to the consciousness raising groups of old and the enduring value of connecting the personal with the political” (Fraser & Dee Michell 2015:23).

Furthermore, I acknowledged the women's need to speak, to feel that they have a voice, that

they are being heard. I believe that even if only temporarily and ephemerally, we created a safe space for expression, even as a one-off event. What struck me was the agency, performativity to express and quote personal facts, mainly in the sphere of family, work relations, how they experience and communicate their identities, their position in this endless cycle of migration, not only psychological and emotional, but material, between Greece and Germany, adopting and using rather often stereotypes to establish their argument. Moreover, elements of social class consciousness, social milieus, and critique were expressed and the necessity, for a type of community, which ultimately plays a huge role for me as a migrant in Germany. Even though some researchers still assume that research can be done from a neutral, impersonal, and objective stance (Atkinson 1997; Buzard 2003; Delamont 2009), most now recognize that such an assumption is not tenable (Bochner 2002; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Rorty 1982).

We should not neglect that in group discussions, as in everyday life, social actors use different forms of socially shared knowledge and bring it into play in the conversation. Yet, the focus group is a particular form of dialogue, it is an institutionalized space for dissent and for change (the facilitator introduces the discussion encouraging divergent views to be expressed and supports the discussion by asking for examples and clarification for oblique dissent, stimulating a more direct comparison) (Frisina 2018).

The appropriation of this variation of group discussion therefore, appears to be not only a valuable method for investigating how the social order is maintained throughout, but also to study the cracks, tension, ambivalence created by the discursive practices of daily resistance against various sources of normativity. In migration research, this method can be useful to understand how multiple belongings (ethnic, national or religious) are constantly negotiated and to explore the daily confrontation between the nationalistic binary logic “either/or” vs the “both/and” transnational logic of multiple memberships (Amelina and Faist 2012: 7 cited in Frisina 2018).

Following the proposal of a more reflexive sociology (Melucci 1998: 22–31), “it is desirable to practice writing up the results in various ways for different audiences, thus, not merely writing for the scientific community”. As qualitative migration researchers (De Tona et al. 2010: 3–4) proclaim, that first, we are called to be *reflexive*, positioning ourselves in the research process and being responsible for the power imbalance in the relation researcher-researched, and to recognize the reflexivity of research participants (they are also able to reflect on and question the research process). Secondly, to respond to ethical and political challenges concerning contemporary migration, we need to be attentive to “open dialogues with civil society”. (Frisina 2018)

Phase 3 : Fieldwork in Munich (time framework: 2017-2018, including follow - up visits in

summer 2019, January 2020)

The third part of my fieldwork took place in Munich, officially started at the beginning of 2017, as part of a scholarship I won from *CeMoG*, Department of Modern Greek Studies, FU Berlin, for conducting fieldwork and archival research for my dissertation project. It entailed the following mixed character in terms of the methods I used, and I would categorize it in the respective time phases:

a) During my research stay in Munich where through fieldwork and interviews, I intend to observe the initiated collaboration with central actors of urban memory politics, such as the *Palladio Foundation*, *Griechisches Haus Westend München*, *Stadtmuseum München*, *Stadtarchiv München*, as well as other networks of Greek Diaspora in Munich, which will be embedded in the exhibition on the oral history of Greek migration in Munich envisaged by these actors.

b) The second part featured archival research in the *Stadtarchiv München*, but mostly in the central archive of the *Bayerisches Rundfunk (as of now BR)* in Munich. There, I aimed to examine, document and review the archival material of the legendary radio program *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí (1964-1998)*, broadcast by the *BR*, located in the historical archive of that media establishment. There, I concentrated on the documentation and analysis of the *listeners' letters*, which have not yet found their way into the historiography of Greek migration in Germany. Listeners' letters to the editorial staff and their reading aloud during the broadcast provide - as a scarcely researched data source - a fascinating insight into the articulation of narratives of the everyday coping of Greek guest workers and their media environments. Additionally, I listened to, documented and transcribed digitized pieces of the broadcasts, which were recorded and stored in the *Audio Archiv, BR (as of now AA, BR)*.

Particularly, a) In this first phase I adopted once more a mixed type of methods strategy, placed and conceived within “*multi-sited ethnography*” (Marcus 1995) and “*focused ethnography*” (Knoblauch 2005), along with expert interviews. At this point, it is important to point out that conventional and focused ethnographies differ with respect to their demands on time. The former may be called time extensive since they require continual work of long duration, as a rule for most students about a year. At the same time, the researcher is getting deeply involved into the field, as to make intensive multi-sensory experiences (Lüders 2000:391). In this sense, they are “experientially intensive”. As opposed to this kind of experience-based ethnography, focused ethnographies are short-ranged and not continual. Fields are visited in various intervals (they may even exist only in certain intervals, such as “events”) (Knoblauch 2005).

At this phase, four semi-structured “*Experts-Interviews*“ were conducted: three with

representatives of the key interlocutors from the communities involved, or what I would call, actors of *memory politics in Munich* : *F. Athera*, (interview date : September 25, 2017), staff member of the Bavarian Broadcast editorial team, 1985- 2000, and Head of the Association “Greek Academics club Munich”, not to mention 2nd generation Greek migrant in Munich; *E. Iliadou* (interview date : July 3, 2017), Head of the Bavarian Broadcast editorial team (1984-2002) and of the radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi (1984-1998)*, also 2nd generation Greek migrant in Munich; one collaborator of the *Griechisches Haus Westend München* , who is also a Greek migrant raised in Munich („between first and second generation“ as he would personally suggest) (for the purpose of anonymity I would call him from now on *L.*, interview date: June 28, 2017). One informant in this series of expert-Interviews, from a German institutional side, is *P. Zölls* , historian/archivist at the *Stadtarchiv München/City Archive of Munich* (Interview date: September 21, 2017). I also had numerous informal talks and discussions with various members of the Greek community in Munich during my fieldwork there. Access was also granted to the archives of the City Archive of Munich, the historical archive of the *BR* , as well as the audio archive of the aforementioned institution. I am especially grateful for the assistance and support of *E. Iliadou*, especially on this part of the archival research in both archives of *BR*.

Additionally, after the execution of interviews, I applied the „Follow the people/stories” strategy (Marcus 1995) along with *Follow the Conflict* (ibid:110), as I understood after the first round of interviews that there was clash of interests, political, ideological, as well as *identity politics* conflict between the various actors of Greek diaspora in Munich in terms of planning, documenting and finalizing an initially proposed and agreed public history project on the oral history of Greek migration in Munich. In regards to “Follow the Conflict” strategy, we can reflect that „finally, following the parties to conflicts defines another mode for generating a multi-sited terrain in ethnographic research. In the more complex public spheres of contemporary societies, this technique is a much more central, organizing principle for multi-sited ethnography” (Marcus 1995: 110). „Consideration of this foreshortened version of the multi-sited project gives us the opportunity to ask what sorts of local knowledges are distinctively probed within the sites of any multi-sited ethnography” (ibid: 111). In practice, multi-sited fieldwork is thus always conducted with a keen awareness of being within the landscape, and as the landscape changes across sites, the identity of the ethnographer requires renegotiation (ibid: 112).

Via these methods I was able to detect and decode the following themes and tentative conclusions: In the majority of the Greek diaspora actors' narratives, apart from the accentuation of non-collaboration between the involved stakeholders, either based on stereotypes or platitudes, such as “Greeks cannot collaborate with each other” or that “wherever there has to be a coordination with

finance, it is always a disaster” or that “everyone expresses an intension, but more or less it gets stuck only on good intentions”, there is also common ground on the need for external experts, either historians, archivists, museum practitioners/curators in order to collect the material for an oral history archive on Greek Migration in Munich and then properly document, preserve and exhibit it.

In all accounts, there is reference on the width and plethora of material that exists, but either in the form of lack of collaboration, or the *identity politics* involved, lack of funding, and bureaucratic procedures, all endeavors are paused and until today there is not a steady or viable, sustainable form of an archive or a platform with the history of post-war Greek migration in Munich (or Germany). Apart from some anniversary events, or sporadic exhibitions, the whole project was left on a halt.

All in all, no keen ground was expressed in creating a collaborative platform on a joint community project and/or an oral history archive of this specific history, not to mention its interrelated thematics, multilayered aspects, but a constant complain about, either the lack of collaboration and funding, structures, logistics, or that is futile per se to work with so many different and heterogeneous actors, who look after their own interest. This whole procedure I detected throughout my fieldwork can be seen as an internal conflict, based on *identity politics* among all these various actors and stakeholders in this *memory assemblage*. This ethnographic strategy of *following the conflict* (Marcus 1995) I adopted, revealed to me unresolved topics related with community participation, open democratic procedures, traditional political party and ideological conflicts, tied with identity politics, even structural problems traditionally to be found in Greek communities and micro-networks in Germany. Hence, all this highlights a discrepancy to find in between spaces for dialogue, or even contact zones (Pratt 1992; Clifford 1997; Sternfeld 2018), spaces for constructive critique, which could be used and thematized, for example in a museum exhibition, or a museum educational program, regarding issues connected to labour migration history, having the 'Greek case study' as a starting point.

All these actors displayed an inability in handling the materiality of this archive, in any of its formats (real historical archive, on-line/digital platform, museum exhibit, audiovisual documentary, etc), with two exceptions: first, that of German representatives of *Stadtarchiv München* and *Stadtmuseum München*, who used parts of the aforementioned material (especially rare archival material from *Griechisches Haus, Westend*) and contextualized it in the exhibition and documentation project “Migration bewegt die Stadt“ (*Stadtmuseum München*)²⁶. Second, connected with those illustrated Greek of actors of *memory politics* in Munich, the case of guest-worker and

²⁶ See the website of the exhibition, which still runs in Stadtmuseum München. <https://www.muenchnerstadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen/migration-bewegt-die-stadt-perspektiven-wechseln>. See also a review here: <https://www.hsozkult.de/exhibitionreview/id/rezausstellungen-336>.

prominent figure of Greek labour migration in Munich, *E. Tsakmaki*, who finally assembled parts of her personal archive and existing material (*Tsakmaki collection*), gathered experts from local public history/museum scene and finally implemented the exhibition *MIGRED* (7-21.3.2020, Kösk, Munich).

Hence, apart from some one-off events, or few temporary exhibitions there is not any central oral/public history documentation project under construction, or a platform which will handle this historical period of Greek labour migration, as a point of discussion or insert it as part of a public history project, based on sustainable collaboration. One that should proceed some steps further, taking into full account the inherent political, social, economical, ideological, class, ethnicity, gender, work-ethics facets that will appear, thus providing the ground, or setting the seeds for an open democratic participation and a constructive living dialogue, based on these past experience(s) of labour migration in Germany.

On this second time phase, as well as throughout the whole fieldwork process in Munich, I have to accentuate that one of central informants, *E. Iliadou* apart from being diligent and helpful in assisting me into this whole fieldwork/participant observation in Munich, she also stands out as a key person to the whole story, holding a double role; apart from her professional involvement to the Bavarian Broadcast as a journalist, she is a 2nd generation Greek migrant in Munich, following a typical life trajectory of the so called “Gastarbeiterkinder“, so her whole account in our semi-structured interview was significant in multiple ways. With *E. Iliadou* we were already in a regular contact per telephone, already since the first steps of my Dissertation, when I relocated at the University of Hamburg. She had expressed back then her interest for the topic of my research and was willing to give not only a narrative/biographical interview, but as much material (photos, documents, newspaper abstracts) possible. Additionally, she assisted me in gaining access for the second part of my fieldwork, in both sections of the *BR* Archive.

In this part of my archival ethnography, I was engaged with the presentation, tentative documentation and analysis of the letters of the viewers of the Greek radio Broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, *BR*. I have categorized the content of these letters, based on seven overarching thematic categories, where I employed an initial open coding analysis of the material, based on Grounded Theory methods (Crotty 1998; Glaser/Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006). I treated this data as a set of testimonies, narrative accounts of the guest-workers themselves in this type of letter-writing, which is solely addressed to the editorial team of the aforementioned radio broadcast, based in *BR*. I contend that this overload of the Letters that I found at the *HA*, *BR* is considered to be a rich, significant and indicative sociological and ethnographic signifier for the lives of the workers of this period, which has been unfortunately not properly thematized, and its interpretation

can reveal various dimensions of those workers' social worlds. Over time, the study of migrant letters has developed in multiple directions and has acquired methodologies ranging from the publication of complete collections and excerpts to the close analytical and computational readings of letters and their authors examined through the lens of gender, identity, family, and emotions. Regardless of the methodology, the history of migrant letters remains tied to the history of the family (cf. Borges & Cancian 2016: 281). Furthermore, a crucial question in terms of the representativeness of those letters, raised once more by the same researchers: 'Can migrant letters speak for themselves?' asks to what extent the presentation of a letter collection provides a reading into the experiences of migrants and their significant *others*? (ibid.: 284). In which degree are these material artefacts carriers of sociocultural beliefs, diasporic identities and and what type of memory work is produced here?

Among this plethora of the viewers' letters of this legendary radio show, mostly guest-workers, especially during the first period of the show (1964-1974), which I found during my ethnographic/archival research at the premises of the *BR*, the basic themes include :

1) The radio show *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi (BR)* itself, especially the first period until the end of the *Anwerbeabkommen, (BR, 1964 – 1974)* appears to function as an informative medium, actually the most important journalist valid and reliable source of information regarding news from “home“/Greece with detailed and valid reports.

2) It also broadcast news regarding important matters for guest-workers, such as labour rights & conditions, practical advice for the life in Germany, issues of social and health insurance, pension, so many letters had either general or more focused questions on this trivial issues. As a result, the radio show acted as a *social counseling center*, reminiscent of the work of similar institutions, like the *Griechisches Haus* (and relevant social centers, funded by the Evangelical Church) so many questions in the letters were addressed in a personal tone regarding social security issues, health, education, civic rights. welfare, pension, as well as repatriation issues. Especially in the second phase, of the so called return/migration, around 1973-1974, of our case study, many Greeks were desperately asking to be clearly informed about those economic and insurance matters -many even asking about their car insurances – while complaining about their status of ignorance, and not being directly informed by Greek Institutional actors, in regards to their safe and orderly transition back to “homeland”. Economic concerns discussed in these letters included the use of migrants' remittances, details of domestic economics and market prices for essential goods, management of family property, and the hardships of relatives who stayed behind. Money matters were often

discussed from the point of view of emotions, using language of affect and emphasizing family ties and expectations. (cf. Borges & Cancian 2016: 286)

3) Several letters narrate stories or incidents of labour exploitation and labour conditions. Many of those bear a rather denouncing and complaining tone, while others just report such incidents or share anecdotes. What is important to connote is that the radio broadcast also functioned as an

4) entertainment forum and a communication platform, through which hundreds of poems, as well as photos, songs, graphic sketches, caricatures, were included in the letters, constructing a forum of artistic expression and experimentation of the workers/listeners of the show. Many of the letters I found, roughly eighty per cent of those, bear a resemblance to their structure. That is, opening up with warm regards, appraisal and congratulations to the radio show. Expressing their gratitude to the contributors of the radio broadcast, either directly to Pavlos Bakoyiannis, or to other hosts, and then, very often, sharing their poems, with the request to the moderator to read this poem out loud in the live show. Most of the Letters address to the speaker(s) with a very personal and affective tone. Furthermore, the majority of the letters read as a place to share their problems : nostalgia, mental pain due to migration, homesickness, but it also functions as a *topos* in a symbolical , as well as material level, where one can view various social, psychological and educational dimensions. Many letters reflect pure, simple statements of the popular psyche.

5) Gender issues, domestic violence among the couples of the guest-workers, as well stereotypical views against women, reflection of gender roles, traditional- patriarchic notions. In an extensive letter we will analyze, among gender aspects we are confronted with the so called “disease of Guest-workers, that is gambling (cf. Crossing Munich 2009: 22). Moreover, 6) one can read various aspects of *marginalization*, *liminality*, many social and educational issues can be detected, such as: social exclusion, analphabeticism, social, cultural background, notions of family traditions and ethics, national and regional identity, layperson and popular/folk sentiment, and class, processes of memory work and identity-making, while we should not forget that the show functioned also as an *integration course* for all labor workers, who did not have the time or the opportunity to go through language courses and related activities. Letters can be conceived pretty much as *social arenas*, where deliberations and struggles over the right to interpret actions and events are played out and judged (cf. Lenartsson 2012: 6). Additionally, letters functioned as a 7) *political forum*, where can read : political comments against the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), many poems written by labor workers/listeners, with anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist, antifascist messages, against NATO influenced by the anti-American, anti-imperialist movement of the period, very common to voters

of the Greek communist party/KKE). Later, its multiple role in the anti-dictatorial struggle was proved to be pivotal.

All in all, as aforementioned, this overload of the viewers' letters of this historical radio broadcast, found at the *HA, BR* is considered to be a rich, important and indicative sociological and ethnographic signifier for the lives of the workers of this period, which has been unfortunately not properly thematized. Even in anniversary tributes, as of lately, i.e. the tribute on the Greek diaspora magazine *Doryforos* (2021) of the show, the reference to the letters and the agency, affects of the viewers is mostly neglected, or under-thematized, and the indisputable character and contribution of its producers is mostly highlighted.

Phase 5 : Film of Giorgos Karypidis (time framework: February – May 2022)

Regarding the last part of my fieldwork I employed a variation of mixed type of methods, within multi-sited Ethnography. For the most part, this ranges from the strategy of *Follow the people, stories* (Marcus 1995: 109) to *Follow the thing* (ibid:106) or to rephrase it, *follow the traces of the film*, as I ask in my chapter “Where is the film of Giorgos Karypidis?“. I also endorsed within my fieldwork personal informal talks and interviews, trying to gather as much information as possible for the background of the making and the the goals connected to the production of the documentary film *Endstation Kreuzberg*, which was shot in 1975 in Kreuzberg, West Berlin, as well as the mentality of the director *Giorgos Karypidis*.

In this chapter, I demonstrated how I eventually managed to find the original film copy, which I projected and presented in a workshop in Berlin in the framework of an international assembly, called *Antirassistische Kämpfe versammeln, archivieren und aktivieren* (19. – 21. Mai 2022, HAU Berlin).

Along with information I had found on admittedly very few sources on the internet about the biography and work of the director, I attempted an analysis of the film material, drawing inspiration and methodological implications by Nikielska-Sekula, Amandine Desille (2021); Sanderien Verstappen (2021); Trencsényi and Naumescu (2021); Krase and Shortell (2021); Sebag and Jean-Pierre Durand (2021); Berger and Mohr (1975); Becker (2002); Bischof et al. (2012); Mitchel (2012); Friedrichs (2012), as well as Kesting (2017) ; Banks and Vokes (2010). In regards to the main themes of the film, I list the following themes:

Apart from its rich consistency in historical facts and ethnographic data, via mostly actual testimonies from the workers at the time (1975), we bear witness to the crucial problems labour workers face during their stay in West Germany: problems of labour exploitation, racism and

discrimination in the labour market in finding a job, as an expression of “institutional racism” (cf. Miles 1989, Balibar 1992, Gomolla/Radtke 2002, Jäger/Jäger 2002). Themes of care, precariousness, uncertainty are thematized in testimonies, as well as the burning topic of that era, regarding difficulties and harsh housing conditions or even finding descent accommodation. Moreover, the issue of residency, passports, oil crisis and its consequences for foreigners in Germany, is articulated. Furthermore, the difficult sociopolitical and historical context of the epoch is thematized, such as the described *terror sentiment*, implemented by pro-dictatorial Greek state official actor and tried to suppress any opposition and subversion against the regime of Colonels in Greece (1967-1973), as well as the anti-dictatorial struggles, issues of political participation of labour migrants, the common demonstration (at the end of the film), 'acts of citizenship', demands for social justice, a transnational call to a common social struggle. Educational issues of *Gastarbeiterkinder*, the integration/assimilation debate of the era, denouncement of structural racism, critique on Germany's institutional policy on migration, mental illness, psychosomatic problems of guest workers.

The aforementioned methods assisted me in reaching the following tentative conclusions as well as the place and effect this film exerts in the context of my research as a rare, and until recently unknown audiovisual document and archive.

1) The director in this film leaves a sufficient amount of filmic time and space to the labour workers' voices. Through original testimonials we bear witness to the various problems they face : from the educational issue – where there is a special focus throughout the whole film – the education of their children. Their words convey the main problems they face in their everyday lives: educating their children, institutional and structural racism, in its various facets, the constant threat of deportation (cf. Kymionis 2006 : 49), racism and discrimination in the labour market, from the job itself to the payment, labour exploitation, absence of social and medical security, the major difficulty in renting an apartment – BRD/West Germany's housing policy against foreigners, as well as the standard notions, that in any form of crisis (as in the oil crisis of 1966) it is the *foreigners*, who will pay the price. Furthermore, the controversial topic of integration, back then, is mentioned in many oral histories. Themes, such as the heated debate on Integration, education, housing, West Germany's hostile housing policy towards migrants, institutional racism, health and social security.

2) It is a rare and relatively unknown audiovisual document/*Zeugnis* of the specific era. The director documents one of the first mixed demonstrations of guest-workers, their families, along with organized and union labour members in Westberlin. We bear witness of the collective effort of the Greek-Turkish initiative of teachers in Berlin. We observe the slogans in the placards in Greek/Turkish, but also in German. We read in some of them: “Wir wollen gleiches Kindergeld, we

want to learn our mother language, equal rights. Gleichzeitigkeit in der Schule, in der Fabrik. Wir wollen Lehrer, Räume, Material, we ask for democratic laws for the foreigners/für ein demokratisches Ausländergesetz”.

3) From denunciation tone to a call for transnational struggle for social justice, fight against structural racism in Germany; Throughout the film we bear references which reveal indicators of a cinema of social change, social commitment, a *politicized* cinema. The internationalist character of the film is also evident in the choice of the music score: beyond the verbal testimonies, the silence, as if a loner is walking through the neighborhoods of Kreuzberg (a scene with children playing, migrant women with children, a lonely old man with a limp and walking with a barge), as well as the symbolic and decisive importance of Bayaderas' appearance, from the point of view of, shall we say, Greek representation, we saw that two musical themes with reference to Turkey, and the wider Anatolian region, were heard. Moreover, as aforementioned, there was also a piece with direct political references to the left-wing working class of Italy. These references reflect the director's strong sociopolitical engagement and transnational working class spirit. as we saw in sub-chapter two, reinforce this transnational call for struggle of labour workers, delivering a decisive message of class unity, regardless of ethnically-based background. Transnational migration unsettles and complicates the processes of grappling with and remembering national history; this is true both for those who migrate and those who think they have staid put, whether or not either group acknowledges it (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 37). The movie also reinforces and establishes the *ethics of struggle*. As Edward Louis comments, it is important for artists to take to the streets to demonstrate, to take a political stand, to get involved or to intervene in schools and universities, for example. I believe that this is an attitude, a more general ethics of creation - an ethics of generosity, an ethics of struggle, which consists in trying to spread the ideas of justice in as many fields as possible (Louis 2022:54). Creatively inventing new forms of social and political participation and new ways of thinking about rights and responsibilities, labour migrants, as depicted in the film become ‘activist citizens’ (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 40).

4) Symbolic reference of resistance with the presence of renowned urban musician of *Rembetiko* music and EAM ELAS resistance fighter, *Dimitris Gogos*, mostly known by the nickname *Mpagianteras/Μπαγιαντέρας* ; the choice of placing this acclaimed Greek musician in the film indicates a symbolic reference that combines a leftist and social justice approach, a call for resistance along with notions of *Greekness*. Yet, this time via a *reversed* differentiated notion of *Greekness*, one that combines popular sentiment, social class consciousness and the duty to struggle for social change, via this tribute to the renowned singer/composer. Specifically, the last and third song which is featured right before the end the film is the unpublished song *Λευτεριά/Freedom*,

which as illustrated, has a clear political and anti-dictatorial message, as it was conceived and written nearly at 17. November 1973, the day of the fall of Greece's dictatorial regime. The political message is crystal clear, and the song's placement in the very last sequence of the film is of course a clear statement by the director.

5) I argue that through the theoretical concept of *multidirectional memory* (Rothberg 2009) I realize differently and conceive in an holistic manner the multilayered histories of labor migration, in regards to my case study, which might not appear from a first glance, even one or two viewings of the film. Through the common struggles of Greek guest-workers in Germany, depicted in the film, and via the presence of the legendary personality of *rebetiko* musician *Bayaderas, a member of EAM - ELLAS* republican army, as we observed in his biography, we can also discern hidden stories from the Resistance against the Nazi occupation era in Greece (1941-1994), the Greek civil war (1945-1949), as well as the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece (1973) with the symbolism and political connotation of the third song which appears in the film. To reflect on Rothberg (2009: 3) against the framework that understands collective memory as competitive memory – as a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources – I suggest that we consider memory as multidirectional : as subject of ongoing negotiation, cross -referencing, and borrowing : as productive and not privative“. This interaction of different historical memories illustrates the productive, intercultural dynamic that I call multidirectional memory. (ibid.)

6) This movie of Giorgos Karypidis constitutes an alternative, “bottom- up” archive of migration in Germany. The importance of taking alternative migrant archives seriously. In seeking to make such archives visible, we do not pretend that they represent a pure or always oppositional resource, but we hold, nevertheless, that they can surprise us with their unexpected configurations of heterogeneous pasts and a mobile present (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 38). These migrant archives, thus help us to reconceive the subject of remembrance at a more general level. They prompt a re-conceptualization of memory as transcultural that leaves behind residually and unwittingly ethnicized models of remembrance and founds itself instead on a social and political form of collectivity. (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 34). The way Karypidis films migrants, either as personal entities or in their dynamic collective mobilizations, shows not only respect, devotion, but understanding and a true grasping of the migrant experience, but also reinterprets and dynamically gives meaning to those *devalued images* (Banks, M., & Vokes 2010), assigns them a new value, on a social, visual, and material culture level, rendering them a unique audiovisual memorial archive of migration in Germany.

7) Furthermore, Karypidis implements a *cinema of care* (Kuster 2022), which is implemented from the “standpoint of migration”. Reflecting on Hess (2013) “Narrating and

exhibiting the history of migration from the perspective of migration not only breaks with the hegemonic image regimes, but also opens up a view of an as yet untold story of small and larger attempts at "self-integration," of organized and unorganized, spectacular and unspectacular everyday struggles and defeats; it gives us a glimpse of sufferings and joys, of ploys, tactics, and strategies for organizing a life in *Almanya*". (Hess 2013: 119). However, a critical knowledge production on migration - be it academically institutionalized or art oriented - goes beyond a mere deconstructionist stance; It not only breaks with the dominant images, but also attempts to bring the most invisible politics of everyday life, of resistance as well as of withdrawal and flight into a new narrative and to bring such subject positions, such a protagonism of migration into multipositionally situated speaker positions (Hess 2013: 120).

Those *ordinary images*, are depicted in Karypidis film, but reinterpreted and re-contextualized in a dynamic manner. Moreover, Karypidis acts not only as a historical visual archivist, but as a dynamic photographer and collector of stories and testimonies. The role of the photographer, as Ariella Azoulay has demonstrated, consists of: "gathering testimonies ... even if they strike him as disturbing or meaningless" (Kesting 2017: 9). Viewing documentary materials is always a relational experience that engages the spectator with cognitive and affective processes that may involve identification, memory, and sometimes (secondary) trauma (ibid.: 11). According to Santu Mofokeng, photographs and related images are tools of "world-making" and "language" since by making something visible, it becomes discussable, and it can be turned into a political agenda. (cf. Hayes (2009: 43) cited in Kesting 2017: 8). Certainly, images play a key role in the distribution and intensification of affect and may become political. Thereby, as highlighted by Kesting (cf. 2017:12) we understand the visual realm always inseparably entwined with the political and affective realm. It is towards this realization, sensitization and raising awareness of topics of labour migration, which are inherently political that Karypidis introduces us with his engaging filmic ecosystem, while proposing and proclaiming the moral and social duty for a common fight towards social change, for a fairer life, especially in the case of migrant workers in Germany.

Chapter 3. Subjectivity, Representation I Film/Visual Displays. Visual and material representations of Greek postwar labor migration: The documentary work of Lefteris Xanthopoulos.

In this chapter I analyze a facet of my fieldwork on the historical period of Greek guest labor workers in West Germany (1960-1973), confining my attention to the visual and material representations. In particular, I refer to visual sources and how I use them in my ethnographic analysis, analyzing two documentaries by the acclaimed Greek director Lefteris Xanthopoulos, as well as segments of my fieldwork interview with the director himself. Thus, I aim to suggest that we can learn from Xanthopoulos's participatory and self-reflexive documentaristic production with a view to formulating some crucial thoughts in regards to exhibiting/curating migration histories in museums.

3.1. *Visual representations of migration*

I consider it crucial to begin this essay with some thoughts on visibility, visual signs and images of migration, which can be proved essential for museum curating, as well as visual and material representations of migration histories. Following Friedrichs (2010:32), I understand images in a double sense: as metaphors on a textual level (Barthes 1999), and as photographic pictures that served to illustrate the written text (Hall 1997).²⁷ So, images depicting migrants and migration primarily in terms of a threat and an object of regulating policies (especially those representing illicit forms of migration) have shaped the contemporary perception of immigration in several ways (ibid.). We should also not forget that, according to Mitchell (2010:13), “the ‘problem’ of migration is structurally and necessarily bound up with that of *Images*; images ‘precede’ the migrant, in the sense that before the migrant arrives, his or her image arrives first.”

In my analysis, I take into account how regimes of representation (Hall 1997) function and how museum representations and exhibits on migration issues can be seen through this prism, in the case of photographs, moving-animated pictures, images and visual signs. As mentioned by Bleiker

²⁷ See Friedrichs (2010), as well as the whole Chapter “Milieus of Illegality, Representations of Guest Workers, Refugees, and Spaces of Migration” in *Der Spiegel*, 1973-1980, pp.31-43, where Friedrichs decodes aspects of a ‘regime of representation’ (Hall 1997), particularly regarding images of ‘guest-workers’ in the German newspaper, *Der Spiegel*. His insight on visual metaphors regarding migration as a threat and an object of regulating policies, as well as spatial indications (the image of the *ghetto*, *Camp*) reads as a quintessential analysis on visual representations of migration of the epoch, while illustrating the climate of fear and threat that many media representations had cultivated back then in West Germany after the official end of Labor migration (Anwerbestopp 1973).

et al. (2013: 400),

Images shape what can and cannot be seen and, indirectly, what can and cannot be thought. They influence not only what can be said legitimately in public but also what cannot be said. They help prevent some political positions from being established while leaving a discursive space open that can be occupied by others. (Bleiker et al. 2013: 400)

Media and visual representations are crucial because all knowledge of political issues is unavoidably and inherently mediated (ibid.: 399), and this function of mediation along with the construction of meaning in exhibiting and museum spaces in general is one of the issues at stake regarding display of migration phenomena. Furthermore, images are particularly influential and can be thought of as providing snapshots of a given situation. They function as ‘visual quotations’ (Sontag 2003: 22) that often linger in the mind of viewers and shape their emotional attitudes.

Images play a key role in this process – they lie at the heart of how we see and understand the world (Bleiker et al. 2013: 414). Thus, we should be wary, not only of what type of images we consume and interact with, but which we produce, re-produce and construct and the implications of these visual signs, these optical statements for our social world. As many researchers argue, even the social realm is itself visually performed (Campbell 2007).

What’s more, we should be inquiring into the following questions: what are the connotations and repercussions of displaying such images within the museological context, in particular when it comes to images of migration. Hence, we need a critical reading of visual representations, but also a critical and careful planning when preparing, staging and actually displaying and/or curating such phenomena in the museum space and related Heritage-Memory institutions.

It is also vital to assert that visual images, like linguistic metaphors, not only transmit different points of view but also produce and modify the consciousness of civic society, and can produce certain patterns of behavior, stance and mentality towards social phenomena (Schaukat 2012:1). Imagery of immigrants structures public perceptions and political debates through its symbolic and material dimensions (ibid:2). This dynamic between ‘moving images’ and migration enables the emergence of new scholarly perspectives, and thus a more critical and complex understanding of the issue. The problem is that within our globalized and fast-paced digital and digitized society, where content is reduced to or replaced by image, to communicate ‘their’ image, museums need artwork, or even artefacts, which translate easily into images – visual material for strengthening their brand name (Rollig 2005).

What follows is an attempt to reexamine and decode Lefteris Xanthopoulos’s visual iconography and the means by which he constructs and presents this material, bearing in mind his own involvement and biography, his place in the *field*. Here, it seems appropriate to be reminded,

accordingly, of the director's personal experience: Lefteris Xanthopoulos lived in Germany, commuting between Heidelberg and Stuttgart to work in a factory in order to pay the tuition fees for his film studies in London (see interview to Kyriakos Hatzimichailidis, June 2015). To use the words of Negri referring to Foucault-ian methods of mechanisms, we shall be

plunging into the archive, a dive into reality to talk about its multiple sides, expressing the dynamics of its coefficients. If there can ever be a serious difference between the history that actually happened, the events, and its representation, it is clearly set out here. 'Res gestae',²⁸ a story narrated through the writer's plunging into the archives, in order to trigger the emergence of a statute of temporality and a historical passage: contemporaneity is pushed into the past in order to bring it to life. (Negri 2016:36)

Additionally, I immerse myself in the field in order to comprehend the particular sensitivity, responsibility and reflexivity with which Xanthopoulos treats his moving pictures. I also endeavor to observe this material via the notion of *mnemonic trails*, which bear traces of the past and instances of the present, but also activate signifying lenses allowing us to re-think, re-interpret and even re-narrate experiences of the past (in the given 'Chronotope',²⁹ the specific material premises and infrastructure of museums and Heritage sites) and practices and processes for the future, regarding migratory embodied experiences.

I shall consider this multifarious ethnographic material in the sense of *mnemonic devices* (Jones and Russell 2012) and its material efficacy to be presented or translated in the museological space, or an equivalent site/topos with a related function.

Furthermore, I aim to interpret its multilayered aspects within and beyond notions and domains of visual and material representations. For instance, I observe orality and oration, and how they are thematized and contextualized in the work of Xanthopoulos. How oral-histories and testimonies³⁰ undoubtedly reveal aspects of social milieu, class, gender, nationality, cultural identity,

²⁸ [*res gestae* : what actually happened (history), *historia rerum gestarum* : historiography - or any form of representation, narrative] (Negri 2016:36-37)

²⁹ For the notion of *Chronotope*, see Bakhtin's concept (1931, [1984]) initially within literary theory and critique, which has been extensively used in Anthropology, Archaeology, Museum studies and social/cultural sciences in general. See indicatively Bemong et al. 2010; Brandão 2006; Bakhtin, M.M. (1984) *The Dialogic Imagination*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press; Ssorin-Chaikov, N. (2017) *Two Lenins. A Brief Anthropology of Time*. Chicago: HAU Books.

³⁰ In this instance I find the Greek term "μαρτυρία" applicable. Athanasatou (2003:101ff.) makes a significant accentuation on the vitality of the term, as she draws on Derrida's (2000) theorization: Therein, he argues commencing from the origin of the word: testimonial from the Latin word

meaning-making, subjectivity, social memory and memory practices, but also how orality and oration can be documented and thematized.

Evidently, Xanthopoulos's documentaries present orality not only under the banner of *oral-history* and interviews, regardless of typology, or as a raw methodological and epistemological axis in order to understand and analyze lived social worlds. Rather, orality should also be understood in the framework of a long tradition and genealogy of the protagonists (for the sake of my research, the first generation of guest-workers in West Germany, roughly 1960-1973), especially regarding the oral tradition, or documented and recorded themes they sing in various moments and sequences of the films, which entail vectors of memory, performativity, affect, articulation of sociocultural identification, sense of place/*Topos*, homesickness, origin, roots, heritage and inheritance. In other words, these archetypal modes of expression, which go beyond words and verbal articulation, like dance, singing and other related rituals (i.e., mourning songs), which are indispensably connected with the notion of 'foreignness', emigration, up-rooting and exile.

As Xanthopoulos reminds us, Greek folk/demotic poetry, with a strong oral tradition spanning five centuries, is the result of the collective effort of a traditional society to identify itself (Xanthopoulos 2004: 32). In the songs of *Xenitia*, which can be framed as a major category in demotic poetry, the 'anonymous poet' tries to understand the meaning, conditions and moral implications of immigration. 'Foreignness' (*Xenitia*) is identified with *evil*, and the *foreigner* (*xenos* – ξένος in Greek) comes to signify the miserable, the wronged, the innocent victim of evil. Overseas emigration is synonymous with death. These important poetic achievements of the Greek people have their origins in the great wave of immigration that followed the invasion of the Ottomans and the collapse of the Byzantine Empire (1453) (ibid.) A conceptual link for this reading might be found in the notion of *Xenitia* [=Ξενιτιά], the Greek word for the state of being in a foreign land.

"Testimonium< testis<tertis = one who stands as a 'third person'" (Athanasatou 2003: 101), thus, someone who was present, as a 'witness', who was near the event or experienced it, survived and thanks to this survival, we have a 'witness/testimonial' (*Zeitzeugen* in German) account from him/her. As Derrida asserts, it is not matter of proof, as the prevailing juridical term (witness/testimony) connotes, but the status of a testimony presupposes survival (as cited in Athanasatou 2003: 103). The witness states "I was there, present, in the duration of the event . . . and now, through memory, I am again present to what has happened before." The witness brings along with oneself the experience, experiential traces [*my emphasis*] and not proof or evidence [Athanasatou 2003: 101ff.]. Along with these thoughts, I also take into account the christian root of the Greek word "μαρτυρία" connected with martyrs on the context of The New Testament of the Bible, assuming also that witnesses (*Zeitzeugen*) have been through a difficult, painful even traumatic experience. Indicatively, in one of the oral histories assembled and presented in Xanthopoulos's first film *Greek Community Heidelberg* [1976], a labor worker bluntly states, "we, all labor workers, psychologically, we suffer, we are sick" [29:56]. On the 'inherently paradoxical nature of testimony' see Murray (2008); Hirsch (2008) *Postmemory*.

Xenitia, as anthropologist Nadia Seremetakis has suggested, is a “foundational taxonomy” whose imagery informs Greek dreaming, death rituals, kinship systems, marriage, geography, history, ethnicity, and politics: “*xenitia* . . . encompasses the condition of estrangement, the outside, the movement from the inside to the outside, as well as contact and exchange between foreign domains, objects, and agents” (1991: 85).

This is additionally confirmed by the work of acclaimed migration researcher, Lina Venturas, which has focused particularly on postwar labor workers in Belgium (1999). She demonstrates that the depiction of emigration as synonymous with death has a long tradition in the civilization of the rural population and agricultural periphery of Greece, as illustrated by the mourning character of the cycle of folk songs for foreigners (Venturas 2004: 111). Here, it is vital to assert that the drama narrated by Theodore Angelopoulos in the film *Αναπαράσταση/Reconstruction* (1970) (cf. Xanthopoulos 2004:32) resembles this type of mourning song, and more precisely, it is a lament to foreignness in its narrative style and its structure.³¹

Let me return to visuality and re-assert the crucial question articulated by Becker (2002): how do photographs, and by extension visual images, or pictures in motion, provide evidence for social science arguments? Analysis of *A Seventh Man*, a book about migrant labor in Europe by John Berger and Jean Mohr (1975) suggests that they do this by providing *specified generalizations*, which state a general idea embodied in images of specific people, places, and events (Becker 2002:1). Their book can be seen, not unreasonably, as a work of social science. It analyzes the organization and functional significance of migrant labor for host countries, labor exporting countries, and for the migrants themselves, providing solid textual and photographic evidence to support its arguments (Becker 2002:4). In *A Seventh Man*, the authors present a lot of material and leave it to us to connect it all. I try to observe this work and the function of these images dialectically with the visual ecosystem and approach of Xanthopoulos.

Of course, all these entities, *Word/Logos* as verbal or oral speech, are intertwined dialectically; orality serves and correlates with the visual word, visuality and cinematic speech approaches, clings to and interprets spoken word and its various formations, everything is rotated in

31 In this very important film for Greek cinematography, particularly on the theme of migration and how it is embedded in this *new wave of Greek Cinema (NEK)*, which we will refer to in the second sub-chapter, the labor-worker returning from Germany is violently killed by his wife and her lover. The story touches the limits of the tragedy. It is the reversed myth of Clytemnestra, who will kill Agamemnon. *Topos* of the drama is mountainous Epirus, everywhere there is stone and barren land wilderness, along with silent and persistent rain, a place hard and affectionate, unable to keep and preserve the people who live in it (cf. Xanthopoulos 2004: 32). A superb analysis on this magnificent film by Angelopoulos, titled *Angelopoulos' aesthetic materialism* is written by Micciché, Lino (2000) pp. 127-143.

a constant dialectic, as Xanthopoulos emphatically connotes in our most recent fieldwork meeting and through the work in his private archive. All these aspects are captured through Xanthopoulos's special filmic approach and treatment, which can be interpreted as a blend of participatory, reflexive and performative modes in documentary making (Nichols: 1998: 109-209). Before analyzing and re-reading Xanthopoulos's immense output, let us look at the historical and sociopolitical background of the genre of Greek documentary.

3.2. Visual representations of migration: short overview of Greek Documentary genre (1960– 1980). Historical and sociopolitical background.

As a social-historical phenomenon, immigration has a long history in Greece. From the late 19th century (the so called Greek *paroikies*³²) and the first departures for a new life on the other side of the Atlantic, to the 1960s and the role played by Greek and other Southern European labor workers, to the German post-war miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*), migration as a consequence of violent structural changes in society has served as an individual and collective survival strategy, as well as a literary and artistic inspiration (Demertzopoulos 2006). As a result, various forms and genres of the emerging Greek filmography, in both its commercial/popular and artistic articulations, could not remain passive to immigration phenomena, and particularly of post-war international immigration in the 1960s. It was basically the genre of *documentary*, which dealt systematically with migration and constitutes the main mode of expression for Greek cinematographic approaches to the subject (Kymionis 2006: 47).

It is essential to note that representations of Greek cinematic production oscillated between reflecting the image of mainstream and popular culture imposed by the prevailing ideology, and leaving room for alternative interpretations, which might even clash with this ideological spirit or even be termed counterproductive, anti-patriotic, 'communist' and the like (cf. Demertzopoulos 2006). There was also a highly widespread view that both the controversy over the 'restoration' of rebetiko music and the dissemination of versified poetry through popular music have been an expression of the political and social movements' demands for renewal and rupture with the conventional past (Vatopoulos 1996 cited in Athanasatou 1999: 111). Cultural rifts have been part of a pervasive artistic sensibility that has begun to counter the social and aesthetic conservatism of formal post-war education in all arts, including cinematography (1950s and later) (Athanasatou

32 Regarding Greek communities established around the world (*paroikies*) see for example Saloutos, 1973; Fairchild, 1911; Stavrianos, 1958; Kolodny, 1992; Arnold Costa, 1988; Tsoukalas, 1987; Dubisch, 1977; cf. Hionidou 2002; Zakharov et al. 2012; Motsis 2011.

1999: 111).

All things considered, as Dermentzopoulos (cf. *ibid.*:31) asserts, the so-called commercial cinema of genres was perceived to be one of the pivotal mechanisms for social production and the reproduction of stereotypes, ideologies, myths, socially accepted norms and positions in Greek society at the time, consigning the tragic memories of the most turbulent period in contemporary Greek history, 1935-1960 – Nazi Occupation, 2nd World War (1941-45), Civil-War (1945-49) – to a forgotten and silenced past.³³ Nevertheless, it was within the ground-shaking period of the *roaring* 1960s, also in Greece, especially from 1966-67, in the midst of the Greek military dictatorship (1967-1974), when a significant cultural production began to appear. However, the imposition of the dictatorship of the colonels intercepted this promising evolution of Greek cinema, and the young filmmakers who were either withdrawn and silenced, or opposed to the settled regime, resorted to emigration and self-exile in the countries of Central and Western Europe (Xanthopoulos 2004: 28).

Along with the intense political climate and a slight boom in arts and literature that had preceded (especially in the period from 1963-1965), for the first time since liberation, the democratic opening of the Liberal government (*Enosi Kentrou*) resulted in an adequate degree of freedom of expression (cf. Xanthopoulos 2004: 26-28). A body of different films began to emerge and take shape in these years, which would later lead to the formation of the so-called *New Greek Cinema (NEK)* in the 1970s. A different cinematographic style, new ‘subject-matters’, differently organized productions, the Festival of Greek cinema in Thessaloniki that boosted and supported this new wave and the appearance of the director/auteur, can be defined as crucial aspects of these films (cf. Dermentzopoulos 2006: 33). As a result, at that time a handful of mainly young filmmakers produced documentaries and short fiction films which document and depict the complexity and difficulties embedded in the issue of migration in a creative and innovative manner (cf. Pagoulatos 2006).

From an aesthetic point of view, the most outstanding documentaries of this fertile decade adopt a progressive political approach and modernist artistic norms (cf. Kymionis 2006), due to the influence of certain modernist *Neo-realist* films in particular, as well as other filmic genres (*Cinema Vérité. Direct Cinema, Nouvelle Vague, British Free wave*), while echoing and grasping the aura of social movements of the 60s in Europe, with their subsequent sociopolitical claims and aesthetic ruptures. Let us not forget that most of the films had been produced from filmmakers who had

³³ It is vital to read again the meaning from the Greek word [“λήθη”, λησμονιά =] 1. to forget or to be forgotten;

(psych.) the complete disappearance from the consciousness of a perception so that it is no longer possible to revive it. On the notion of forgetting, silencing and collective Amnesia in Greek Historiography and its relation with Greek Cinematography, see Athanasatou 2001.

studied abroad, or were ‘self-exiled’ due to the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), so they were indeed closer, literally experiencing the momentum within social movements and the widespread demand for a radical sociopolitical change in Europe during this period.

The filmmakers’ efforts to raise awareness of the consequences of migration on a societal and personal level – such as the drain of the country’s active labor force recruited as cheap and unskilled labor in wealthier northwestern societies, dreadful living conditions, housing, economic aspects, as well as psychological factors, such as homesickness and transformation of identity (national, regional, sociocultural) – were connected with the utilization of the cinematic medium as a means of revealing this dismal reality through the expressive and experiential modes of the documentaristic genre³⁴ (cf. Ibid.).

These documentaries on migration display *avant-garde* tendencies that left their mark on the genre, which, specifically during that period, was militant and mobilized around the world against the prevailing capitalist ideology and in support of human and civil rights, progressive new social movements, minorities and the so-called ‘history from below’ (cf. *ibid.*). The filmmakers managed to produce a personal cinema with a social conscience, even under the banner *personal is political*,³⁵ developing interpretative paradigms which enhanced our insight into the migration experience (cf. Kymionis 2006: 47). In this relatively short, albeit nuanced and fruitful period of documentary production, these works shone a light on Greek national and migrant identity, stressing their popular/folk character.³⁶ They also made claims regarding the so-called *Greekness*, or the spirit of *Romiosyni* as a sociocultural identity to be protected, rather differentiated from nationalistic conceptions of the period, especially during the Colonels’ dictatorship.³⁷ It is within this historic and

34 For a detailed analysis see Sotiropoulou (1995); Pagoulatos (2004: 86-98); Kymionis (2006: 47-51); Pagoulatos (2006: 36-39); Xanthopoulos (2004: 25 – 41).

35 Although the origin of the phrase “the personal is political” is uncertain, it became popular following the publication in 1970 of an essay of the same name by American feminist Carol Hanisch, who argued that many personal experiences (particularly those of women) can be traced to one’s location within a system of power relationships. Hanisch’s essay focused on men’s power and women’s oppression; for example, if a particular woman is being abused by a male partner, then societal oppression of women is an important factor in explaining this abuse. The statement sometimes is misinterpreted, however, as the opposite—that women’s personal behaviour is of political significance (Kelly, n.p < <https://www.britannica.com/topic/the-personal-is-political>> Retrieved 14.12.2018). Within this specific context, NEK as a cinematographic genre did not have clear feminist direction, yet an array of filmmakers, especially those who studied and worked in western Europe, were definitely influenced by such discourses.

36 Here, I attempt to translate the Greek word ‘λαϊκό’ (Laiko) and the notion of ‘Laikotita’, which is more connected with notions of (lower) class, proletariat/sub-proletariat, social milieus, somewhere in between traditional, folk/folklore, and popular/public (German = Volkstümlich). More on the aspects of ‘laikothta/λαϊκότητα’ will be discussed in chapter 3.2

37 We should indicatively mention the following representative films of this genre: *Ellas xwris kolones [Greece without columns]* (1964, Vassilis Maros); *Letters from Charleroi* (1965, Lampros

sociopolitical background that we shall begin viewing and *reading* Xanthopoulos's examined documentaries.

3.3. *Ethnographic analysis*

It was approximately two years ago when I was fortunate enough to meet the director himself, *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*. Through a network of friends who work at the *International Film Festival Thessaloniki*, I found his contact details and immediately reached out to him. In spite of my doubts that he would return my email or call, Lefteris's response was quick and direct. Around February 2016, we met for the first time, and after an immense and thought-provoking three-hour discussion, we decided to stay in touch. I had the sense of having established a degree of trust and mutual understanding and rapport. After regular emails, we eventually met again and had our first fieldwork interview at his favorite *hub*, the art cafe at *Gavrielides' Publications*, where Xanthopoulos's works have been in print throughout recent years, as besides his massive filmography, he also writes poems and essays.³⁸ Aside from the interview I conducted, we were in continuous dialogue, and from October 2018 I was given access to his own private archive in order to conduct fieldwork and research.

Lefteris Xanthopoulos's important film trilogy deals with the various categories of postwar Greek migration in Germany. In this Chapter, I discuss the first two films of this conceptual trilogy on migration-diaspora, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg/Greek Community Heidelberg* (1976) and *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978), in terms of thematics, as well as filmic style/narrative and cinematographic approach. After a comparative analysis of the two, I will outline the significance of the participatory and reflexive filming that Xanthopoulos supports and utilizes, how he works with visual images, and how he invites us to ponder and witness the multifarious angles of migration phenomena. Finally, I will proceed with accentuating the relevance of his *ethnographic eye*, his deeply anthropological approach and *grounded* take on his material, as well as its repercussions and reverberations on social sciences and museum practice, especially the display of migration histories.

Liaropoulos) ; *Achilleas* (1965, Milly Giannakaki); *750.000* (1966, Alexis Grivas); *O Stefanos paei sth Germania [Stefanos goes to Germany]* (1966, Ermis Velopoulos); *Prespes* (1966, Takis Xatzopoulos); *Letters from America* (1972, Lakis Papastathis); *Antigone's narration* (1974, Thanassis Netas), *Immigrants* (Giogos Antonopoulos, 1972); *Vangelis' Narration* (1974, Giorgos Karypidis); *Endstation Kreuzberg* (1975, Giorgos Karypidis); *Sta Tourkovounia* (1982; Xanthopoulos) - third film, part of the trilogy of Lefteris Xanthopoulos regarding internal migration in Greece, which is not discussed in the framework of this essay.

38 See the director's official website <http://leftxanthopoulos.gr/>. Gavrielides publications is also where his most recent book would be released the same year – *Block 25*, on the history of a Jewish couple, Holocaust survivors from Kavala, Greece.

***Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* [1976, 16 mm, Col/BW, 30'. Screenplay-direction: Lefteris Xanthopoulos. Production: Greek Community of Heidelberg]**

The first film of this trilogy on migration-diaspora, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976) (henceforth *GGH*), emerged as a collaboration with the Greek Community of Heidelberg. The Greek Labor Workers' Association of Heidelberg wanted to fund a film documenting the formation, organization and goals of this communal initiative, but it was also perceived as a tool to demonstrate the prevailing problems labor-workers faced during that specific period. Indicatively we read in the press letter, given to me by the director himself:

In 1974, and on the occasion of a spontaneous fundraiser for Cyprus, the Greeks of Heidelberg, of the Federal Republic of Germany, after realizing that their claims can be achieved in a team rather than individually, decide to establish the Hellenic Heidelberg Community. In order to make the problems of foreign workers in Germany more widely publicized, the general assembly of the community, in collaboration with director Lefteris Xanthopoulos, decided in the spring of 1976 to produce a documentary film. The production is funded by voluntary contributions from Greeks in the area. The film crew works voluntarily. (Xanthopoulos, n.p, Press Letter for *GGH*, 1976). The documentary is orchestrated as a firmly structured essay. Its introductory part disputes a dominant ideological narrative on emigration of the time, namely that it is due to a constant predisposition of the Greek tribe to travel and resettle – as a reincarnation of the widely spread Myth of Odysseus as the traveling soul – in order to call the viewers' attention to the real dimensions of the phenomenon, especially the socioeconomic ones (cf. Kymionis 2003:36).³⁹ It then presents the formation of the Greek Community of Heidelberg as an active initiative, mostly formed by labor workers, students and other supporters. This collective instrument is presented as an indispensable tool for the workers to act collectively to effectively resolve all the pertinent problems they were experiencing in that period. In subsequent thematic sections and through a gradual dialectical logic, Xanthopoulos bluntly demonstrates the most significant challenges for Greek migrant workers in Germany. He presents us with the illustrative narrative of a woman who describes the reasons, mostly socioeconomic, that she left Greece, and the difficulty to adjust in a practically unknown country like Germany. Then we are shown the issue of the insufficient

³⁹ see Venturas (1999: 86-101); Venturas (2002: 40-42), especially on dominant stereotypes on Greece; Matzouranis (1974), especially the introduction by Kostas Hatziargyris, (pp.11-30).

education of migrant children, specific problems concerning the average female migrant worker and her multiple ‘roles’ in the new country, as well as the arduous working, housing, health and hygiene conditions, especially the accommodation in a factory *Arbeiterheim*. A final thematic unit shares a Greek community celebration. In my field-interview with Lefteris Xanthopoulos, he came across as perspicuous from the outset, regarding the making of this film: “This film was made due to a huge support of the Greek community, but also from many German people. Germans helped us a lot, they embraced the idea of the film” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017). He went on to share the following anecdote:

I get goosebumps at this moment because at that time, back in 1975 when I went to Germany and the first contacts for the movie started . . . German friends of the community introduced me to the Darmstadt film club. There I found a complete *shooting unit* ! [...] it was a club that had a bunch of professional machines, I was shocked, back then we had nothing, not a simple visor to put in our eyes! And from the very first moment they offered to give us everything, and not only that, but for a great part of the filming, they gave us their sound engineer . . . The Germans helped us a lot in both films. This was the Darmstadt student club, and there, in a great office in the underground, I finished editing the film. And there, every now and then, came a cleaner, a Greek one, a tired lady with many years in Germany, and at some point, as I was editing in the ‘muviola’ (*μουβιόλα*: Greek – editing machine/Greek slang) all alone, she came in with the sponge in her hand, looking at me and staring at me. It takes one minute, it takes two minutes, three minutes, she doesn't go away . . . it takes four minutes, and I suddenly shut down the machine. And all of a sudden I ask her, I don't even remember her name:

[L.X/Director]: *What do you see?*

[Cleaner/Female Greek labor worker]: *Ah my child, I see our lives!* There I began to cry. (L.Xanthopoulos, Interview with Kyriakos Hatzimichailidis, June 2015).⁴⁰

Another anecdote by Xanthopoulos also showcases the great support he received from local Germans, reinforcing his claim that it was a *handmade film*. As he recalls:

Germans helped us a lot. For example, I remember I wanted, by all possible means, to shot the last scene of the movie, the one where a worker walks and slowly gets lost

40 See the interview at: <http://www.shortfromthepast.gr/play.asp?id=71&interviewID=1733&size=l&lang=>). On the same website, devoted to Greek short films of all kinds, one can see two interviews of the director talking to Kyriakos Xatzimichailidis, as well as all movies of the Trilogy on Migration-diaspora by Xanthopoulos.

with the corridors and premises of the factory. Supposedly these are arcades, you can hear factory machines sounding and buzzing, I wanted to do a 'traveling shot'. This is when you have the camera on wheels . . . and we realized of course that there was no way of doing this traveling shot, so we came up with the idea of borrowing a wheelchair, and having the cameraman sit on it with the camera in hand. And we went immediately, via the German people who were helping us, to the Rehabilitationszentrum in Heidelberg, and they lend us a wheelchair, without a second thought, so we managed to film this scene! . . . It is a handmade film, very improvisational . . . A lot of people, helped, first of all, we ate free of charge in many local restaurants owned by the Greeks. They all embraced the idea very much and we ate every day at a different restaurant. (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017)



Figure 1 : Director with a worker and his daughter (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, (source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, unpublished footage from Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg 1976).

So, this film marks a shift in the approach to the immigration issue when compared with previous, more classical attempts (cf. Kymionis 2006; Kymionis 2004; Pagoulatos 2004; Dermetzopoulos 2006, Kartalou et al. 2006). It expands beyond consequences to focus on the causes of the phenomenon through an examination of its sociopolitical and historical dimensions (cf. Kymionis 2006: 49). Here, migration is related with the subjects' social mobility and initially traces the causes that led to this massive influx, especially in the case of BRD/West Germany: poverty in Greece and the lack of opportunities in the labor market rendered immigration a viable and unavoidable solution.

The film embraces the necessity of the workers rallying to a common goal through the Greek community and working together to solve their problems, the most fundamental of which are presented thematically in the film: the particularity of the female migrant position, women as workers, wives and mothers, problems with housing, terrible living conditions in the *Arbeiterheim*, health care, education, language, integration and related issues on migration policy, especially for the so-called *Gastarbeiterkinder*, homesickness and nostalgia (cf. Ibid:49).

In *GGH*, by employing a series of creative techniques also found in *British Free cinema*, *Cinema vérité*, *Direct Cinema*,⁴¹ such as 'off-voice', image/sound distinction, interviews with a focus on personal histories and testimonies, merging influences from Jean-Luc Godard, Jean Rouch, John Berger, Jean Mohr, this emblematic film showcases the dialectic of the Greek workers' indicative collective along with personal experiences (cf. Kymionis 2006:49). Thus, the director depicts both the historical and experiential dimensions of immigration, while also spotlighting the cohesive function of 'Greekness' in the workers' daily reality (ibid.). In this instance, he had to emphasize that the *experiential* element is quintessential for the director. As he stresses in our fieldwork interview, "*Greek Community Heidelberg* is a *handmade* film, it was made out of nothing . . . everything was *borrowed*. It is experiential" ((L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017). On the experiential dimension, he emphatically argues:

Everything that is not lived, experiential, is fake . . . I knew the life of the workers, I lived it.

41 Regarding the slight differences between *direct cinema* and *cinéma vérité* Nam (2015) suggests: In comparison, both direct cinema and *cinéma vérité* aim to uncover truth in two different ways. The former hopes to unveil truth through the camera's observation of events and subjects; the latter uses any means possible to seek out truth and is intrinsically an internal process being gradually revealed. Nevertheless, documentary is rarely a matter of pure, untouched observation, but within both methods lies an opportunity for revelation – regardless of the degree of mediation by both the camera and the filmmaker. As such, they are viewed equally as two alternative methods of documentary filmmaking whose use of particular cinematic philosophy and new technology had a huge influence on many generations of filmmakers which is still felt today.

I lived the factory, so yes the film was experiential, and I loved it as my first newborn. If the film is not experiential, then it is fake! (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017)

We should also recall Xanthopoulos stating that “The movie fulfilled its ideological role, and the goals of the Greek community” (ibid.) while reflecting the political left ideas of the director, who was influenced by the sociopolitical climate of the epoch. As Xanthopoulos explains in my fieldwork interview, “The film was grounded”.⁴² He argues that the community used it as a tool to raise awareness of the Greek guest-workers’ problems, bringing them all into the public eye, “it really opened up the discourse.” Xanthopoulos recalls:

There was also a collectivity back then which slowly dissolved in the following years, it does not exist anymore . . . they acted collectively and managed to achieve some things, and when the film was done, and I sent them the Film-copy, they used it very much, in screenings all over Germany, this copy of the film ‘traveled’ from community to community and got screened in order to raise awareness of some actors, some individuals, some German services, that is to say, it played its role pretty well in Germany, right after its production, and let’s not forget that it was broadcast on German public television, this was a huge success (Ibid.).

Although the gender issue is not explicitly articulated as such in the film, there are many instances where the problematic situation of women is underscored. For example, the only female voice that we hear in the film [06:00- 08:10], to a background of a traditional folk musical theme from Epirus, is very indicative in her testimony. She relates the difficult economic and social situation, namely the poverty and unemployment they faced in Greece, as well as the motivation and decision to migrate, to ‘find something better’, to earn some money, to stay ‘at least one or two years’ and then return home. She is given the space to express the psychological stress and fear she had felt during her first years – isolation, insecurity, dis-orientation (as she could not easily navigate in the urban space), difficulties in raising her children and other related issues.

According to one of the many conversations with the director during our fieldwork, when asked about the presence of women or ‘why women are not visible in the film’, Xanthopoulos indicated emphatically that most of the male protagonists in the film and members of the

⁴² Taken from the field interview I conducted with Xanthopoulos (28.12.2017, Gavrielides Publications, Plaka-Old town, Athens). Xanthopoulos said “η ταινία έπιασε τόπο”, which in a free translation can be understood to mean that the film is ‘grounded’. This is an expression in Greek that has a multitude of meanings: That the film had meaning, that it found its place (topos), that there was something substantial in it, that it ‘materialized’. The notion of ‘topos’ can be read both symbolically and literally.

community did not allow their wives to participate. “They were living in the dark. They had no clue . . . I only managed to get this ‘off’ narrative from this woman . . . it was very difficult to have access” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

In this thematic unit, in terms of techniques and methods, at the beginning of the scene [06:00], as aforementioned, there is a sound and image distinction: we hear the traditional instrumental piece from Epirus while viewing images of a big shopping mall, where a couple – presumably workers – do their daily shopping. These images denote a ‘new society’, a wealthy consumer society, juxtaposed with the rural tradition and habitus of all the then labor-workers. The musical piece underscores this contradiction, yet carries another connotation as the director is making a kind of tribute to this specific music. As aforementioned, this type of oral music has a strong tie and connotation with migration-uprooting, the notion of *Xenitia/foreignness*.

As Venturas (2004:111) asserts, the depiction of emigration as synonymous with death has a long tradition in the civilization of rural peoples of Greece, as illustrated by the moral character of the cycle of folk songs by foreigners. As for the lament, which is mostly structured on a pentatonic scale Kavakopoulos (2016) characterizes it as a particularly popular type of song that accompanies every regret and joy of ‘the man from Epirus’, and connects this joy with the phenomenon of foreignness/migration:

The lament was and continues to be . . . throughout Epirus the starting point of every feast, festivity and marriage. It is paradoxical, but true: Epirotes [the people from Epirus] are only pleased with the lament. The musical fulfillment of the ‘Epirotis/man from Epirus’ is achieved as long as it reaches the point of crying. Perhaps this is what the reasonable state of nostalgia, as a result of permanent immigration, has contributed (Kavakopoulos 2016: 130, cited in Dalianoudi 2017: 16-17).

Furthermore, one of the recurrent themes presented in the film is the crucial matter of education, language, and subsequently the huge topic of integration for this whole generation of labor workers who eventually decided to stay in West Germany and had families or brought their spouse/children with them to the host country, especially after the official ending of the recruitment agreement (Anwerbestopp, 1973). This is displayed with various techniques. For example, we hear again some ‘off-speak’ testimonies from labor workers [12:06-14:25] regarding the problems they face raising children within the German school system, and particularly the mixed schooling system. The spirit of denouncement, disappointment and critique is once again vivid and palpable, “Our children should receive a better education than us, otherwise they will end up guest-workers, like us . . .” Another worker says, “With this system they don’t learn sufficiently either German or Greek. They will be ‘blind’, uneducated, something worse than us,” while a third person testifies on

the exploitation of the system, both in Greece, and now in Germany, “they look at and treat us as a *Deutsche Mark* (German currency/money) . . . they keep us uneducated, and all they want to do is exploit us.” The theme of labor exploitation is also one of the recurring topics in the film. It is important to indicate that this sequence with the testimonies of labor workers is juxtaposed with parts of an interview with a Greek consulate member/official authority who speaks about the problems of integration and the institutional promises for support of migrants, something which is constantly repudiated throughout the film. This goes hand in hand with the huge issue of integration in Germany, a debate which, despite transformations and variations, is still vivid in the public discourse.

The following sequence, one of the documentary’s highlights, is when Lefteris approaches schoolchildren and conducts interviews with them [17:38]. It clearly depicts his pure humanistic and anthropological approach. He lets the children speak for themselves. He gives the word to the schoolchildren, chatting with them in an absolutely realistic manner, while producing raw, rudimentary, yet rich socio-ethnographic material.



Figure 2 : Pupils in school (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, footage from Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg 1976).

As Xanthopoulos confessed in our interview, “I have had the most exciting and thought-provoking discussions with children. We have to focus on pupils, especially those of secondary education, these ages, from 12-15 years, where they are still molded . . . I get goosebumps when I recall those discussions with the schoolchildren!” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

In the next thematic unit, while Xanthopoulos accentuates the triple role of female labor-workers – “mother, worker and householder” – and pays tribute to the cultural references, especially the folk culture (*λαϊκή*) of Greek labor workers of the period. We view scenes from a self-organized show of *Karagiozis shadow theater*, a very special folk tradition, which has its roots in the Ottoman period and ever earlier.⁴³ This cultural event functions as a rare opportunity for the physically overwhelmed female labor-worker to be entertained alongside her whole family. Next we hear, again in an ‘off-speak manner’, testimonies of a male labor-worker:

Person 1: The female worker unfortunately does not participate, because we, the Greeks, but *we [emphasis]* have the Greek mentality we say, we are men, you are for the house, we are out. We underestimate our women and that is why our women are ‘left behind’ compared to the others in Europe.

Person 2: Because we have not made integration, assimilation, so that women have equal rights with men.

Person 1: Aah, bravo!!! *[emphasis]*. (*GGH 1976*)

So here, apart from the bold acknowledgment of the male worker that it is this default mentality of Greek laborers who assign all household chores and family responsibilities to women, even not allowing them to go out, we observe one of the main recurrent topics once more: the integration/assimilation debate. On the above-mentioned segment of the interview, the male workers eventually blame the ‘system’ or some ‘other’ in a vague manner, for not accomplishing integration. Admittedly, all this is expressed through the labor-workers’ usual discontented bemoaning of their legitimate problems, complaints and distress. In the following sequence [24:11], the subject-matter shifts to the crucial dimension of labor exploitation, as well as the terrible housing conditions in the *Arbeiterheim*:

Person 1: The exploitation of the Germans is enormous for foreign workers, on the one hand, from the work that they have ‘struck’ us, on the other hand, with the unemployment benefit (*Arbeitslos*) . . . they throw us in the dirtiest jobs, they bully us that you will immediately return to Greece, the houses where we stay are inappropriate, there cannot be a normal person, in the houses that we foreigners live

43 As we read in the history of this type of *shadow theater* with roots in Southeast Asia, around the 12th century A.D, “The Greeks met the Shadow Theater during their contact with Turks during the Ottoman domination, as at that time Turkish Karagiozis was played in the enslaved Greeks as a means of entertainment for the Turks”, see <http://kostasmakris.weebly.com/eta-iotasigmatauomicronrho943alpha-tauomicronupsilon-thetaepsilon940taurhoomicronupsilon-sigmakappaiota974nu.html#> (Bekiaris, cited in *Kostasmakris.weebly.com*, Kostas Makris, school of shadow theater).

in (GGH 1976).

Another raw and direct testimony follows, adding to the disturbing portrayal of the situation regarding housing for guest-workers,

Person 2: You have to pay 100 German marks (DM) rent, so that you (and) four people can sit in a room, in a shack, without bathroom, without these and that . . . and let them say what they want. This is the pure truth, so that (one) can be able to save some money, to send to Greece, to buy some piece of land, get a house . . . I don't know (ibid.)

In a voice-over resembling a newsreel, Xanthopoulos reads an advertisement from a small ads newspaper: “a large farmhouse to rent, suitable for horses or residence for guest workers” (ibid.).



Figure 3: Toilet for 'Gastarbeiter' (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, footage from Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg 1976) .



Figure 4 : In the 'Arbeiterheim' (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home Archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, footage from *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* 1976).

To conclude this thematic module, we view a more extended section of an interview with two labor-workers [23:00-28:00]. The workers discuss various issues, especially labor accidents, such as one of the workers losing his eye – a common occurrence among guest-workers. The film closes with images of logos from large firms and companies that employed Gastarbeiter juxtaposed with grave-memorials of dead guest-workers, editing that clearly reveals the film's ties to Free Cinema and social critique methods. In another powerfully emotional scene [23:54], one of the workers, who is speaking in front of Xanthopoulos's lens, bursts into tears, break down and manually stops the filming process when he remembers that on his first return to his village during his first leave from the factory, his little child, who he had left as a newborn when he emigrated to Germany, did not recognize him as his father. When the father asked him/her, "Where is your dad?", the child replied, "My dad is not here, he is in Germany" (Xanthopoulos 2004: 33).

At this point, I should refer to the director's own statement in one of our field interviews. Xanthopoulos connotes that migration is a *survival strategy*, that most of the people of this milieu

never tried to integrate, but were trapped in a ‘sick’, problematic situation. Lefteris reveals:

These people didn’t know, they had no idea . . . they were so tired people, all they cared about was to get some rest so that they would go to work the next day, make money, save money so that one day they will be able to return back in Greece. (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

Especially for the 2nd generation, he asserts that, “They are lost, doomed, they suffer an identity loss, *almost every Gastarbeiter was psychologically sick*, they were part of the machine, of the German ‘fließband’”. That reverberates with another testimony from the film, in which another worker talks about life in the *Heim* and admits that, “psychologically, all we, the migrants, we are sick!” [30:05]. Right before that, a testimony from another worker about life in the *Arbeiterheim* complements the narrative:

From the factory to the *Heim*, and from the *Heim* to the factory, it was like rural detention, like prison. . . . A normal person cannot live there . . . you cannot find piece there, to relax or to sleep an hour . . . we stay there because it is cheaper, we cannot afford a house of our own [30:05].

Xanthopoulos recalls,

These people were entrapped in the system, exhausted by work. I remember . . . oh my god . . . three night shifts in Lorenz factory, there I saw it all and I heard it all [emphasis]! I remember shocking situations, especially with couples of Greek people. There were meeting only on Sundays, at the change of shifts . . . Families have been dismantled from this mode of exhausting work. Those people had been ‘objectified’, I felt sympathetic and compassionate for them. (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

Here, we can see the connection with the seminal work of Berger/Mohr (1975). In John Berger’s classic study of the experience of guest workers in Europe, he begins his account of their arrival as if the migrant is a somnambulist (Papastergiadis 2009:149):

His migration is like an event in a dream dreamt by another. As a figure in a dream dreamt by an unknown sleeper, he appears to act autonomously, at times unexpectedly; but everything he does—unless he revolts—is determined by the needs of the dreamer’s mind. (Berger and Mohr 1982: 43)

Berger also notes that the repetitive and exhausting motions carried out in the industrial workplace lead to an effect whereby the “body loses its mind in the gesture” (Berger and Mohr 1982: 96). The final image he offers in this penetrating account of the splitting of the migrant’s subjectivity is that of a person trapped in a state of bereavement, a state in which “everything [the bereaved person] sees reminds him of what he can no longer see; and what he is reminded of

becomes the essential experience, not what he sees” (Berger and Mohr 1982: 177, cited in Papastergiadis 2009: 149).

To summarize, through an essayist, militant mode, this documentary highlights the challenges and miserable living conditions of the Greek guest-workers. It denounces the official institutions and actors responsible, as well as criticizing the absence of the state⁴⁴ or any form of institutional support. It sensitizes the viewers without needing to over-dramatize, and constitutes itself as a bold sociopolitical commentary on the politically-charged topic of guest-workers in BRD/West Germany (cf. Kymionis 2003:37).

Giorgos aus Sotirianika/O Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika (1978) [16 mm, super -8, Col, 47’.

Screenplay-direction: Lefteris Xanthopoulos. Production: Giorgos Kozompolis]


In the second film of this conceptual trilogy about migration-diaspora-uprooting, Xanthopoulos continues his examination of the migrant reality and status, though avoiding a clear-cut denunciation (cf. Kymionis 2006:49) in comparison with the first film. In *O Giorgos aus Sotirianika (1978)*, the director offers a different perspective, not only thematically but in terms of ‘poetics’ and different techniques in his representations. In comparison with the more essayist and militant first film, Xanthopoulos develops and makes use of free forms, mixed techniques, fragmented elements and a non-linear narrative, while more reworked and refined influences from participatory and reflexive documentary style to the genre *cinéma vérité* are also visible. Before analyzing features of the film, let us view the plot and thematic spine of the documentary.

The first thematic section – TS 1 – is our initial acquaintance with Giorgos Kozompolis, the main character of this documentary, whose name lends the film its title. Giorgos presents his restaurant, followed by footage of a big Easter feast in the restaurant’s backyard. This section is also complemented by two short interviews with German customers who regularly visit Giorgos’s tavern, featuring affirmative statements and a great deal of sympathy for Greek people and the Greek way of life in general. Subsequently, TS 2 consists of footage portraying Giorgos’s sense of religiousness during a church service at the Greek Orthodox Church in Heidelberg, as well as a short extract from an interview with the German Archbishop Eirinaios of the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* at the time, about the unfavorable working conditions of Greek migrant workers. In TS 3, we are transferred to a well-known nightclub that is a favorite of the Greeks living locally (again of the so called ‘Greek Style’, mostly with Greek popular/*laiko* music), where the owner of the club attributes his success to his intelligence and canny attitude and shares his outlook on life in general,

44 A very frequent statement expressed by interviewees during my fieldwork in Berlin (2014-2016), Hamburg (2016-) and Munich (2017-2018).

as well as specifically in Germany. In the same section, there is another short extract with a singer talking about his career prospects as well as his family status.


The film's next thematic and central section, TS 4, depicts *Giorgos* as he drives his silver Mercedes car across the imposing mountains of Mani to visit his hometown, the village of Sotirianika, which completes the film title.



Ο ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝΙΚΑ
Ναι, το αφεντικό μας άφησε μόνους, τρία παιδιά δουλεύουμε μαζί, πηγαινε κι έπαυε στον υποδρόμο, τότε γυρνούσε ευχαριστημένος τότε στενοχωρημένος όμως όταν πλησίαζε η μέρα του υποδρόμου ήταν πάντα νευρικός. Εγώ δεν τα καταλάβαινα αυτά τα πράγματα τότε γιατί δεν είχα αρχίσει να παίζω κιθάρα, όμως μετά, εδώ στην Γερμανία στις αρχές που ο κόσμος έμεινε στις παράγκες και οι άνθρωποι κοιμόνταν σε σιντλ οριστικά δηλαδή το ένα κρεβάτι πάνω στο άλλο, και χαριτιά παίζαμε μετά και κάρια ρίχναμε...
Ο Γιώργος από τα Σωτηριάνικα. Χαϊδελέρη, 1978

Ο Γιώργος από τα Σωτηριάνικα
 Ελλάδα 1978
 Σεναριο/Μοντάζ/
 σκηνοθεσία:
 Λευτέρης Ξανθόπουλος
 16 χιλ., 47 λεπτά, εγχρ., ελλην.

Κεντρικός ήρωας είναι ο Γιώργος από τα Σωτηριάνικα της Μάνης που σαν μετανάστης στην Γερμανία γνώρισε την επιτυχία. Η ταινία πήρε το βραβείο "καλύτερης ταινίας μικρού μήκους" το 1978 στο Φεστιβάλ Θεσσαλονίκης.



Giorgos aus Sotirianika
 GR 1978, 16 mm, 47 Min., F, OmU.
 Regie/Drehbuch/Schnitt:
 Lefteris Xanthopoulos
 "Bester Kurzfilm" Filmfestival Thessaloniki 1978

Figure 5 : *O Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978)/ *Giorgos from Sotirianika* (source: Home Archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, Press letter from the film).

In this section, information about *Giorgos* within his family environment is documented and elicited via interviews, along with visual material that illustrates the prevalent state of desolation the village faces due to mass emigration. We also view motion pictures from a national parade in the city of Kalamata, Peloponnese, particularly scenes depicting the national independence anniversary enactment of the Greek national revolution of 1821. The camera wanders around the overcrowded central square of Kalamata documenting folklore dance groups, the clergy, representatives of the Greek state and local authorities, Greek flags and crowds of people attending, while we listen to a folk song glorifying politician Konstantinos Karamanlis⁴⁵ as the country's national benefactor and 'savior'.

Then, in the 5th module, TS 5, we return to Heidelberg and view some further fragments of interviews, this time comprised of the biographical stories of various Greek migrants. We meet a

45 A well-known and highly controversial politician and historical figure of modern Greek history. For his biography see <http://www.presidency.gr/constantinos-karamanlis/>

plasterer friend of Giorgos, Kostas Savoulides – a figure whose ‘trails’ we will return to later in this chapter. Also Drama’s story and those of two other Greek migrants, who comment on their successful integration and acceptance into German society thanks to their small businesses.

A special section is the TS 6 in which we are introduced to an elitist association, the Hellenic-German Society of Scientists/*Ελληνογερμανική Εταιρεία Επιστημόνων*, with diametrically opposed principles to those of the Greek Community Heidelberg of the first film (tightening relations between the two countries, promoting exclusively intellectual and cultural events, excluding politics and political parties).

Finally, the last thematic block includes a brief interview with Giorgos and his wife Urania about their relationship, a depiction of the tavern decoration through a haze of smoke, gambling in the ‘secret’ back room of the restaurant, an almost cryptic sequence, an enigmatic one with a small child running along a stone street in Sotirianika, and the last scene of the film with Giorgos walking slowly down a central street of Heidelberg.

In this film, the focus is still on the lives of Greek migrants in Germany, but Xanthopoulos appropriates an individual angle in contrast with that of the collective instrument, namely the Greek Community of Heidelberg, which was presented in the first film. Here, he traces the personal biography of Giorgos Kozompolis in order to search for the mechanisms that construct various parameters of his *Greek identity*. As Sotiropoulou (1995: 124) argues, “it is a film that takes off with one individual history, in order to develop via the documentation of testimonies/oral histories and given situations, to a very complex, intricate and layered picture of reality.”

By engaging with wealthy professionals, the director tries to ascertain the cost of his subjects’ success. In addition to affirming national mythologies and stereotypes, which praise the progress and success of Greeks abroad, attributing these to diachronic characteristics of the Greek race and spirit – an argument that, surprisingly, enjoys great popularity even now among the Greek diaspora in the world – the director, as he claims, indirectly portrays their tragic situation (cf. Kymionis 2004). As Xanthopoulos notes in another interview:

They ‘possess’ a tragic element, they are in a big stalemate and channel it into business. They are so obedient in social imperatives and standards, trying to get something, to ‘make a money grab’ [slung: to make money fast and easy], that is, to take pride in socially, both with their peers and people from the same social circle, and with those who they leave behind. A series of ‘explosive contradictions’ characterize their lives. (Vakalopoulos 1979: 42; cited in Kymionis 2004: 121f./author’s translation)

In TS 1, we witness aspects of Giorgos’s cultural and national identity through his working

environment. The protagonist, Giorgos Kozompolis, with his characteristically slow-paced walk and a ‘leader-look’ style, introduces his restaurant. During the Easter feast celebration that takes place in the backyard of his restaurant, *Alte Gundtei*, we view an almost classical picture, almost like a postcard of a traditional ‘Greek Style’ festivity – dance with *laiko/λαϊκό* music, traditional Greek food and drinks – but we also witness Giorgos, dressed in a traditional folklore costume, as *tsolias* or *Euzonas*.⁴⁶

It is essential to note that Xanthopoulos does not reproduce such stereotypes in his filming, but rather ‘observes’ and focuses on Giorgos as a bearer of such a stereotypical commonality. From the very beginning, the director acknowledges Giorgos as an agent of a stereotypical Greek persona, who uses this trick in order to attract more customers to the tavern. This affirmative relation or attitude towards Greece shared by most of the German customers of the tavern is documented through a set of short interviews Xanthopoulos conducts inside the restaurant. One of them customers admits that “he and his family come there in order to relax, to have a good time, eat and drink, to feel a bit like how life or holidays are experienced “in a south country” [05:30-05:49].

According to Venturas (2002), this stereotype of Greeks was formed largely with reference to classical Greek heritage. The accounts of travelers and newspaper correspondents – both important sources of information for literate people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – compared contemporary Greeks with their ancient ‘ancestors’ and the ‘West’, and thus elaborated and promoted the stereotype of a modern Greece with ‘oriental’ characteristics (Venturas 2002: 41). The Greek state and travel agencies played an important role in shaping this stereotyped image of the country, used exoticism, or “the sensationalizing of cultural difference”, in their drive to advance tourism (Ibid., Venturas 2002: 41; Herzfeld 1998:3). Moreover, visual representations from commercial Greek cinematography (i.e. the huge commercial success of the renowned actress, Melina Merkouri, in the film *Never on Sunday* (1960), also played a huge role in the stereotypical

46 For the history of *Euzones*, see <http://www.presidency.gr/organosi-leitourgia/proedriki-froura/>. As we read in this official website of the Greek Presidency & Parliament: “As we know it today, the *Evzone* costume is seen in the paintings of the Ottoman period (1453-1821), worn by thieves [*Ärmatoloi kai kleftes*] The *tsolias* with its fuselage and *tsaruchi*, becomes a symbol of national revolt of 1821. After the Revolution of 1821, *Evzon*’s uniform was formally established as the National Costume of all the chieftains and militants of the revolution. After the Second World War, the *Evzonein* Regiments were reorganized and formed into modern Infantry Units within the framework of the modernization of our country’s Armed Forces” (Greek presidency.gr, 2018). Another filming of related representations of a national celebration is seen later in the same movie [24:27], as the camera ‘takes off’ from the village *Sotirianika*, and goes to the capital city of *Kalamata* to observe the festivities of the national celebration of 1821. The leading costume of *tsolias/euzon* is to be seen among State representatives, police officer, the clergy, and the crowd.

iconography of Greece.⁴⁷

In the next scene, as Xanthopoulos strives to examine those prominent vectors of Giorgos's national identity and 'Greekness', his religiosity becomes the center of attention. We observe him visiting a Greek Orthodox Church and part of a typical Sunday service.⁴⁸ While the camera explores the whole spiritual event, typical of a Christian-Orthodox service, we are shown the interior of the sacred building as we listen to a Byzantine psalm, accentuating the religious atmosphere. Here, the role of the church as a gathering *Topos* for immigrants is emphasized, conceived of as a condensation of Greek-Orthodox ideals and a unifying institution that the Greek Diaspora holds in high regard (cf. Kymionis 2004:125). Xanthopoulos confirmed this in our field interview (2017). Particularly, when I asked how he would describe the notion of cultural heritage, for him and for the labor-workers, as he experienced them during all those years in Germany, he responded:

For the average Greek, it is Orthodoxy, in the broader sense of Orthodoxy, ethos and customs, however, even this was distorted among the Greek workers of Germany. Because, cultural heritage is not a swamp, but a river constantly flowing, and *they* were far from change and developments, they could not digest those, so they stayed with the old-fashioned tradition of their fathers and grandparents, which is something sort of 'museal'. I mean, what? Is it '*tsamiko dance*' and the obelisks, Easter holidays our cultural heritage? It is not . . . they could not . . . it is by nature impossible to connect with the flow of culture in the country you leave behind. And then when they came back, after years, as retired people, they did not recognize the country they left behind, they did not know where they were, because everything around them had changed. (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

To wrap up this module on the topic of the church and religiosity, Xanthopoulos inserts a short abstract from an interview with an official representative of the Greek clergy in Germany, *Archbishop Eirinaios*. Xanthopoulos asks:

[director]: What are the consequences of the recent immigration boom?

[Archbishop Eirinaios]: This immense migration, from 1955 to the present, is a very big event that we have not seen so deeply. To imagine what loss of work wealth these thousands

47 «Ποτέ την Κυριακή»/«*Never on Sunday*», 1960. Production: American/Greek: United Artists/Melinafilm/Lopert Pictures, screenplay-direction: Jules Dassin. On the so called 'Greek style' see Kyrtsis (1984:406-410).

48 As we learn from the other documentary on Diaspora-Migration with the same protagonist, *Giorgos Kozompolis, O Giorgos apo th Heidelberg* (Maxairas 2001), and as we have found out during our fieldwork, it was standard practice for German local authorities to rent church buildings of the Protestant religion to the Greek communities and/or church representatives so that they could practice their religious faith.

of people represent . . . Once I went to visit a factory that makes the famous wursts, the German sausages, where about six hundred to seven hundred Greeks were employed. I went through all the departments, I stayed for about two or three hours, I got myself tired, and struggling to breath due to the atmosphere, and at the end when I left, I thought that a man who stays there for six-seven hours a day, in the end will become sausage himself (*Giorgos aus Sotirianika* 1978)

In this commentary, we can definitely acknowledge that the official representative of the church in Germany makes unexpectedly progressive statements on the subject of labor workers in Germany, highlighting their problems. Here, we understand a conceptional link to the first film, (*GCH*, 1976), which was full of such statements highlighting labor exploitation and working conditions. Accordingly, we ‘read’ this as a strong contradiction to the conservative and almost reactionary commentary of the Greek official in the first film – the Greek consular of Baden-Württemberg.

Additionally, as we are reminded through the films and aesthetic of Ken Loach, who has undoubtedly influenced Xanthopoulos, particularly in *GCH* (1976), “Church and/or religion is not the opium of the people, and church is a social structure, an institution of the community in which one can recognize himself and find refuge to save not his soul but his own life” (Linaras 1998:85). The church, according to Loach, could and should stand in the trenches, in the struggle to survive, rather than regulating, controlling, or punishing from the pulpit (*ibid.*).

As Xanthopoulos acknowledges in our discussion, “The Greeks (labor-workers of the period) wanted to ‘grapple with’ someone, something and they turned to the church. The church had a *tension* at that time” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

In another magnificent showcase of Xanthopoulos filming, which reveals its participatory-reflexive manner, the sonic landscape of the film shifts. The spiritual sound of the Byzantine psalm fades out and the characteristic sound of ‘mpouzouki’, another ‘ritual instrument’, takes its place. We are at a ‘Greek-style’ nightclub, and one of the highlights of the film takes place – the *zeimpekiko dance* of Kostas Savoulides.



Figure 6 : Filming the Zeimpekiko dance (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, unpublished footage from *O Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika* (1978)).

What is additionally underscored in this film is the *social role of rituals*, which take place in two spaces/*topoi*, immaculately juxtaposed in the film, revealing its anthropological posture: the Orthodox Church and the notion of religion/religiosity, and that of the ‘laiko’ music/entertainment club. Both signify dimensions of sociocultural and ethnic identity that define Giorgos’s mentality, which is representative of a vast portion of this ‘guest-workers’ generation.

At this point, it is essential to note that in both films, there is a specific tribute to the ritual of dance and its social role and significance. In *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976), right before the end, we watch people from the community dancing to *zeimpekiko* (<ζειμπέκικο) dance, a single individual dance *Hasapiko* (<χασάπικο), and then a collective traditional dance from Pontus, in which, as in other Greek traditional dances, people embrace one another and dance in a circle. There is definitely a contrast, as we also observe Kostas Savoulidis’s *zeimpekiko* dance in *Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika* (1978) as an expression of a more individual, proud Greek male dancer alone on stage, while the other customers entertain themselves and break plates (also a customary tradition from the 70s and 80s in the *laiko* music genre, which was very popular among Gastarbeiter at the time).

Regarding collective dance and its symbolism, it seems appropriate to cite a part of the remarkable work of Nitsiakos (1995) on northern communities in Epirus, «Χορός και συμβολική

έκφραση της κοινότητας» [dance and symbolic expression of the community] from the book «Οι ορεινές κοινότητες της Βόρειας Πίνδου» (The mountainous communities of Northern Pindos) («Πιλέθρον»):

The call to this social event, uniting the members of the community and renewing its bonds once again, puts into operation all those mental and ideological processes that keep the community alive and shielded from external dangers, real and symbolic, centuries now . . . In a huge circle, the community protests its unity by dancing and, most importantly, perhaps proclaims in this magnificent way that it is there, in the place where for many centuries its ancestors reiterated the same thing, reproducing the idea and ideals of their community. (Nitsiakos 1995:138-139, author's translation)

Regarding *zeimpekiko* dance, we can see its representation in the legendary films of New Greek Cinema (NEK), for example in the film *Eudokia* (Damianos 1967), as well as in *Thiasos/The travelling players* (Aggelopoulos, 1975). It is significant to consider that the use of the individualistic *Zeimpekiko* dance signals the so-called 'lumpen', sub-proletariat sense, which is dominant in music venues such as the one portrayed in *Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika* (1978), as it differentiates from the collective folk/'demotic' dances (*xasapiko*, *syrtaki*) that were also popular in such music venues.⁴⁹ As Nitsiakos (1995) states in his seminal study,

Dance is a good medium. The need for social cohesion must assimilate new social data. Hence, there are effective automatic processes for this. The unwritten rules that work in collective consciousness. Without the need for meetings and decisions. The need to maintain balance and to confirm and strengthen unity is a key factor. Something that should ultimately be ritually exposed and socially enshrined. The symbolic dimension of the integral components of dance helps in this direction. As A. Cohen rightly observes, the structures themselves do not speak. The symbols are the ones that speak (A.P. Cohen 1989). And the dance is full of symbols. (Nitsiakos 1995:136)

So, in this whole thematic unit, there is a particular reference made to the notions of *greekness* and popular sentiment [λαϊκότητα-ελληνικότητα]⁵⁰. Portions of the educated layers of

49 See Ventoura Lina, *Metanasteush kai Ethnos, Metasxhmatismoι stis sullogikothtes k koinwkines theses*, Athens EMNE; Mnimon (1994); Venturas 1999 ; Charitopoulos 2002); See the "poetics of Manhood" by Herzfeld (1985); Nitsiakos (1995).

50 See the discussion in such thematics in Athanasatou 1999, Chapter. 2; Athanasatou 2001; Andriakaina (1996); Skarpelos (2011), especially the chapter "Τόποι Ελληνικότητας" (pp. 83-111) where there is an extended reference on visual representations by the acclaimed Greek Photographer Nelly's (Elli Sougioultzoglou), echoing the claim of Jusdanis that the modernist paradigm was slightly different in the Greek case (see Athanasatou 1999:111; Jusdanis, Gregory (1987). "Is postmodernism possible outside the 'West'? The case of Greece", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 11, 69-92; Papanikolaou 2005) See also the discussion on the notions of

various political and ideological spaces attempted to elaborate necessary elements to reshape national identity through the re-labeling of ‘Greekness’ and ‘popularity’, concepts that implied a resistance to the ‘foreign’ and western hegemony (cf. Athanassatou 2001: 109-110; Andriakaina 1996: 225-228, cited in Venturas 2004: 111). The promotion of Greekness in art and the distancing from the West became important axes of cultural production at this time, without breaking the links with what is meant as a single Western culture or the total disputation of its co-ordinates (Venturas 2004: 111). In cinema too, the creators construct an image of *Laikothta/secularism* (Liaropoulos 1965) through which they attribute the characteristics of passion, immediacy of experience and experiential features, this notion of indigenous authenticity, which is united and indifferent to foreign, especially so called ‘western’ elements. (Venturas 2004: 111; Athanassatou 2001: 109-129).

To cite Athanassatou (2001) once more, the major determinants of this field, which extend to different areas of art, were the concepts of Ελληνικότητα/Greekness and λαϊκότητα/popular-folklore culture. In this sense, the search for Greekness as a counterbalance that transcends the East-West divide (Andriakaina 1996: 255), but also as the image of the suffering people, the carrier of the vital momentum, is believed to be imprinted on the *rembetiko* folk music⁵¹. As Andriakaina (1996: 237) highlights, “Bitterness, greed, truth, passion, spontaneity, immediacy are the elements that characterize popularity”/λαϊκότητα [“πίκρα, καημός, αλήθεια, πάθος, αυθορμητισμός, αμεσότητα” είναι τα στοιχεία που χαρακτηρίζουν την λαϊκότητα; from the original citation]. The positive or negative connotation of the song is linked to the political problem of forgetting and remembering, of *a-mnesia* and *Mneme*/memory, as Athanassatou (1999) points out, as summed up in the phrase of the well-known music composer Mikis Theodorakis, “The light song makes us forget, our folk song makes us remember” (Marten: 106).

Even if this is not the case, the creation and scope of contemporary Greek folk songs, either as Kazantzidis’s lament for immigration, or as Theodorakis’s lament for the losers of the 1940s (Psychoghios 1992), is critical in denouncing social conditions via a cultural genre (Athanassatou 1999: 109). As Kyrtis points out, the Greekness of the period is an “open Greekness”, not closed or aggressive with a particular connection of folklore and ethnicity.⁵²

Greekness, and popular sentiment/ελληνικότητα, 'λαϊκότητα', Kotarides (1996); Panagiwtopoulos (1996); See also the historical movie *Rempetiko* (Kostas Ferris 1983).

51 See also Giannis Zaimakis study on *Rembetiko* music and so called *Rembetes*, (1999) “Καταγωγή ακμάζοντα στον Λάκκο Ηρακλείου Παρέκκλιση, Πολιτισμική δημιουργία, Ανώνυμο ρεμπέτικο” (1900-1940).

52 See the critical description by Kyrtis (p.406) on the international phenomenon of the ‘Greek Style’, the aesthetics of the Aegean landscape and culture, blue and white colors, the chair of the *cafèneion* and the oriental ‘*karagiozis*’. In his view, there is no particularity in the version of Greek modernism: as has been the case throughout Europe since the beginning of the 19th century, higher education milieus and, of course, sections of the student world, are pivotal in this turn to the

Finally, in another, much older interview (Vakalopoulos 1979) very shortly after the end of the second film, Xanthopoulos reflects on whether Greekness is the central theme for a cinematic approach to the problem of immigration:

Greekness is the key element of our determination, of a nation of persecuted and refugees. Beyond the element of suffering and troubles, beyond the interests of those who oppress us or those politics (which do so), the characteristic of refugee or the ‘indirect refugee’ determines ways of behavior. Temporality, the amateurism that characterizes us as a people, are elements of our ‘Romiosyne’,⁵³ elements that I dare to attribute to these characteristics of a refugee (Vakalopoulos 1979: 43 cited in Kymionis 2004 :130).

At this point it seems appropriate to reflect on Stuart Hall’s (1981) observation, “the culture of the oppressed, the excluded classes: this is the area to which the term ‘popular’ refers ... The popular culture, in particular, is organized around the opposition: the popular forces against the blocks of power/authority” (Hall 1981 cited in Athanasatou 1999:29-30).

Xanthopoulos, who was naturally influenced by the critique of social theory and by the social movements at their height during that time, also echoes theorists such as Bourdieu (1984:83), who posits that a social class, as well as social categories by gender or age, are defined by their existence, by the dominant classes and groups within them, which have a certain self-perception of their existence within the context of class-social relations, but also by their self-perception (cited in Athanasatou 1999: 28). We can assume that in this suppressed social class, which Xanthopoulos portrays in both films, albeit with different methods, rhetoric and ‘poetics’, he sees the potential for radicalization or uprising.

To sum up, in this broad thematic section, apart from the sociocultural references of Giorgos and the debate on *Greekness* and its construction, many dimensions of the participatory filming in documentary are materialized. Experience and memory, emotional involvement, the precise context, questions of value and belief, and commitment and principle all enter into our understanding of

‘popular’, which is integrated in each era in a different way in the pioneering expressions of modernity p.408).

53 See Ritsos 1954; The word *Romiosini* (Ρωμιούσινη) or ‘Greekness’ derives from the Byzantine idea that the Greeks are the true *Romioi*, the heirs of the Roman Empire. For hundreds of years under the Turkish occupation the flame of Romiosini was kept alive in codes of honor, loyalty, bravery, love of the land, religious devotion and patriotism. For the Greek poet Yiannis Ritsos, the Greek Partisans of EAM/ELAS in the Second World War were the heroic heirs to the *Romiosini* of the mountain klephtes, the medieval epic hero Digenis Akritas, and the revolutionaries who fought against the Turks in the 1820s. First published in 1954, *Romiosini* was later set to music by Mikis Theodorakis. This is the first time the poem has been published in book form in English. Translated by Bill Berg.

those aspects of the world most often addressed by documentary. Namely, the institutional framework (governments and churches, families and marriages) and specific social practices (love and war, competition and cooperation) that make up a society (Nichols 2001:201f.).

Returning to the film, after the *zeimpekiko* dance scene with Kostas Savoulides – a personal friend of Giorgos, who reappears in the film and who we will be ‘following’ in a later sub-chapter – there is yet another interesting sequence: an interview with the club owner, which is very indicative and representative of the mentality and world-view of the particular entrepreneur.

I was able to own this store because I was smart, with my great experience, and because of the great savings I made, I managed, through this German, with a lot of flattery, and care, to be his right hand, and to give me this opportunity to be the manager of this club . . . Today, I managed to make some money, to have fun as I want, to help my parents and siblings as I did in the perfect level for this job. It’s not just work, the biggest thing for Greece is ethics, this is what counts. Certainly, in every capitalist system, in a capitalist country, and so on, nothing counts more than money. Human personality does not matter, because today, if you have no money, you are nothing. (*Giorgos aus Sotirianika* 1978)

This is the point where we grasp the mentality and beliefs of this Greek club owner, his worldview with its hierarchization of values: money, work, success – definitely in economic terms – which is attributed to the clever characteristics of the ‘canny’ Greek. Eternal and stable characteristics that every Greek possesses in order to succeed in his goal, and the means by which he assisted his family by sending money/paychecks back home. This director’s choice is intended to reveal the entrapment of these professionals in a distorted notion of a byproduct of individualism, and the high value these micro-entrepreneurs have placed on money (cf. Kymionis 2004: 129). We also realize how this club owner evaluates and defines success, linking it purely to economic wealth, while striving for recognition, which still reads as ambivalent and contradictory. Or to put it in different words, there are two separate value codes: one of tradition and family ethics, the other of completely capitalist materialist values.

The next sequence not only introduces the viewers to another thematic, but the filming technique is remarkable. The music (16:35) gradually fades out from the sounds of broken plates (still in the night club) and the historical ‘rempetiko’ song of Stratos Mpougiumtzis: “Αλήτη με είπες μια βραδιά”/One night you called me a bum (author’s translation)⁵⁴. We then hear Giorgos’s car, an impressive silver Mercedes – a classic iconographical element in the history of labor

54 See lyrics and full credits here :<<https://kithara.to/stixoi/MTAwNzc4MTQ1/aliti-eipes-mia-bradia-pagioumtzis-stratos-lyrics>>.

workers in Germany, also displayed in many exhibitions – arriving in the village of Sotirianika. As the wheel turns slowly through the impressive mountainous landscape of Mani, we can already hear the song *Veligkekas*, this time in a rare oral version by an old man from Sotirianika. It is a piece that represents authentic orality, which Xanthopoulos masterfully managed to record and collect.

Not only do we have direct references to the sociocultural elements of Giorgos's identity – either in the modern form, such as the 70's popular Greek music (*λαϊκό*), or the traditional rural roots, such as *Veligkekas*⁵⁵ – there is a symbolical use here as well. The song connotes a man, who is usually fierce and harsh and wants to boast about his accomplishments (like the historical figure of *Veligkekas*); in our case we have Giorgos, who returns to his village for a short time to visit his family and place of origin. For Xanthopoulos, this provides a splendid opportunity to 'dig' further into the sociocultural references and dimensions of Giorgos's personality. This sequence of the film is rather central. Amidst various depictions of rural life, featuring Giorgos's family and other locals engaged in their daily farm work, Giorgos is shown spending time and enjoying essential moments of family life. Those close to him become the leading protagonists of the film – his mother narrates their family biography, focusing on her children's careers, either in Athens, or abroad like Giorgos. Then, follows an emblematic scene in the backyard of Giorgos's country-house (18:40-20:00) where we listen to the oral histories of three old women, accompanied by Giorgos's father. We hear the memories of his mother, his aunt and a neighbor, comprising a classic or frequent, one would argue, familial-societal constellation in a village in the Greek periphery. An extended notion of family, socialization, friendship and companionship is highlighted here.

From 'Aunt Anna', Xanthopoulos elicits important information about rural life and micro-economy in this isolated village in Mani, and then, Giorgos's mother takes over. She describes an anecdote from the historical period of German Occupation in Greece (1941-1944). Giorgos's mother vividly narrates how she had hidden Giorgos among some bushes and old trees outside their house as a baby in order to protect him from the bombings of the German SS forces (20:00-20:24).

Apart from all the rich sociocultural and ethnographic material, we gain insight here into an important historical point, which can also be read as an ambivalent and contradictory moment, when we have to imagine Giorgos as a newborn child having this experience, and then later on, as an adult, migrating to Germany, like so many other youths from the Greek rural periphery.

Throughout TS 4, the notion of family codes and values is accentuated. Family ethics, a

55 See <http://mousikobostani.github.io/post/veligkekas/>. It is noteworthy that there are many variations of that theme, in areas, ranging from mountainous *Epirus*, *Zagoria*, to *Roumeli*, Central Greece up to Albania and Bulgaria. We also have to note, as it is mentioned in the credits of the film that this song was performed by a 90 year old resident of the village Sotirianika, named as Grandfather Nikolis/O παππούς Νικολής, and recorded by the director himself on a tape recorder.

subject underscored in the film in various ways, leads us back to Foucault (1974), who explains that towards the end of the 18th century, family morality has no absolute appreciation for popular circles, whereas at the beginning of the 19th century, these became one of the means by which the proletariat could somehow demonstrate its honesty. The popular virtue, the *good* worker, the good father, the good husband who respects the laws, this is the image the bourgeoisie proposed and imposed on the proletariat to prevent any form of violent insurrection or attempt to seize power and enforce its own rules. This image was borrowed, and was in fact used successfully enough by the proletariat to support its struggles. This ‘morality’ was to a certain extent the marriage contract between the proletariat and the ‘petite bourgeoisie’ during the second half of the nineteenth century, from 1848 to Zora and Zola (Foucault 1974:17)

This thical code, which was very strong, especially for many guest-workers of the period, is surely connected with the whole sociocultural background, such as Giorgos’s, which Xanthopoulos tries to detect here. In this endeavor of course, it is unavoidable to depict the widespread poverty and deprivation that were dominant in the Greek rural periphery, and which were clearly most primary reason behind this massive migration flow to Germany.

In the next sequence, (20:15) Xanthopoulos enters the main store of the village, a small grocery store (*pantopolion*) – as Giorgos later recalls, “it was not a small store, it was a mega-store!” (Xanthopoulos 2009, *To perasma tou Chronou*) – and he films its interior, portraying and documenting in the most realistic manner a place that sets us right in the late 1970s in rural Greece. The place resembles an old *Kafeneion*, although it is not – the owner characteristically says: “I do not bake coffee, I am too old!” (20:48) – but a place which functioned as the center of social and commercial life back then in the village nonetheless. Afterwards Xanthopoulos asks the owner of the store,

[L.X]: Do you have a pension?

[Owner]: (Athanasios Klydwnas): Yes, I have, 1500 drachmas. For me ... if you want me to tell you, *and don't take these* [(do not film this) emphasis] They do not care, they think farmer(s) are a waste – *you take it (you do film) I see it, and I say it* ⁵⁶[emphasis], and they are maintained by the farmers, they come only for votes, let them get lost! ((*Giorgos aus Sotirianika* 1978)

In the next sequence, after conversing with Giorgos’s father, eliciting more important sociocultural and family background information, when asked by the director if he will get a pension, Giorgos’s

⁵⁶ In this extract it is essential to highlight the intention of the old man, *Mr. Papacharalampis*, to advise the director not to film this part, and then, when proceeding in the narrative account, he realizes that the director still shoots, and then he notes “I see that you film, and I will say what I have to say”, as a short intro to the harsh critique he offers in the following seconds.

father responds,

Nothing, poorly! But who will look at us? It seems that only the *Capital* is supported today, and no one supports the farmer. When a farmer had to enter a bank, an office, *they* had to take the hat off and salute him because that's where it all came from! And if the farmer woke up today and raised the flag and went tomorrow morning, no one will go down to the vegetable market, no one will enter the market, neither for egg nor for oil, *the whole world will die!* [Emphasis] (*Giorgos aus Sotirianika* 1978)

In both these statements within these oral histories, we clearly deal with social critique, damning accounts by invisible protagonists, the people of rural periphery, the kind of people who migrated to Germany precisely due to the overwhelming and unsustainable socioeconomic conditions in Greece at that time, which disproportionately affected farmers and farm laborers. We also observe, through Xanthopoulos's pervasive cinematographic lens, a depiction of rural life, the abandonment of the village⁵⁷ and the Greek state's neglect of its farmers. We encounter a harsh social critique of the 'customer-oriented' attitudes of corrupt politicians, who would only visit the Greek countryside during election periods, to 'gather votes' from the mostly poor and underprivileged electorate.

As Andrea S. Walsh claims (1984:10),

Surviving elements of modern culture, such as the nostalgia/desire for the rural community, can form currents of opposition to the dominant culture. However, the resistance force of the surviving culture is often weakened by its basis in previous modes of production, symbolizing an impossible alternative model, a lost golden age.

In addition, as Athanassatou (1999: 36) argues in her thesis, following Walsh (1984), it is precisely because of the ambiguity and complexity of folk cultural traditions that the study of folk culture as embodied in particular morphological material could provide valuable conclusions on both the dynamics of the dominant historical currents and the exploration of underground ones.

The next TS (5) is coupled once more with interviews. Here we meet two self-proclaimed successful entrepreneurs, as well as Kostas Savoulides, the proud male dancer we saw earlier in the *Zeimpeiko* dance scene, who unravels yet another significant perspective, through a theatrical monologue, reminiscent once more of aesthetics and methods employed in Angelopoulos films (*Anaparastasis* 1970; *Thiassos* 1975).

This short introduction by Kostas reveals elements of a vivid and multilayered migration

⁵⁷ It is characteristic that while Giorgos's father narrates his personal family story and his difficult relationship with him, he recounts how the village is deprived of young people, and this is coupled with scenes from a funeral which takes place in the village so as to depict how the Greek periphery experiences this 'slow death', deprivation and lack of youth.

history. He was the son of a political exile from Russia. After the Greek civil war (1946-1949), he relocated to Drama, Northern Macedonia, then again due to war, Savoulides was forced to emigrate to Thessaloniki, where he was occupied in various professions as a salesman, street vendor, construction worker, etc. Then he migrated for the third time from Thessaloniki to Germany, as a guest-worker for a better future.

Regarding Savoulides's migration biography, and this 'triple migration feature', this is illustrated in another significant documentary, entitled *400,000 pieces, The Guest-workers* (2011), and shot for the journalist documentary series *Reportage without borders, TVXS.Gr* for the Greek Public Television Broadcast by acclaimed journalist Stelios Kouloglou. In the aforementioned documentary (*400,000 pieces, Reportage without borders, The Guest-workers, part A/Ert1, 2011*), Xanthopoulos reveals that,

At some point he (Kostas Savoulides) comes to me and tells me: "You know I'm a refugee three times". I ask him what does that mean? He tells me "I came from Smyrna the first time, the second time I left with the Democratic Army in one of the socialist democracies, and the third time I crossed the wires and arrived in Germany to find a job! Such quality people were they!" Savoulides was a hunted man, living in Thessaloniki. (Kouloglou 2011)

Going back to the 1978 film, we only have a brief 'encounter' with Savoulides, who is a key figure in reference to Giorgos's life thanks to their respective experiences as guest-workers in Germany and a relationship with commonalities, differences and asymmetries, as we shall observe in the analysis of two further documentaries within our ethnographic research.

For now, let's leave behind Kostas's iconic image as the dancer and the introduction to his biography in the context of the semi-theatrical, Aggelopoulos-influenced monologue, and move to the next part of TS 5 – segments of two interviews with Greek business owners.

The first is the owner of Cafe Adonis,⁵⁸ a typical cafe-bar of the time with *flippers* full of mostly young regulars. The other, an owner of a coffee shop. The director keeps asking questions regarding their place within German society, and how they cope with elements of their Greekness. Both entrepreneurs answer in the same way and reveal aspects of their admittedly 'petty bourgeois' mentality. We would agree with Kymionis's statement in this instance that "these entrepreneurs want to keep their Greekness inside, in what constitutes their conscience, but in terms of their public image, they seek to be treated as successful professionals, according to the prevailing criteria of

58 The facade of this cafe appears in a short scene from the fourth and final documentary that we will refer to and analyze in the context of this Chapter, *To pérasma tou χρόνου /To perasma tou Chronou* (TV Documentary, Xanthopoulos, 2009, Cinetic/Ert1).

emancipation of German society” (Kymionis 2004: 134/author’s translation).

Here, the responses from both these self-righteous businessmen seem to be in line with the owner of the club in TS 3, revealing the ambivalent and contradictory nature of their outlook: success, meaning money, is the ‘safe ticket’ to acceptance and a smooth integration into German society. Nevertheless, they adhere to and have faith in the ‘right’ and normal values of being, feeling and acting like a Greek person – family values, cleverness, wittiness, all these elements of Greek cultural and ethnic identity are what Greeks abroad boast about when referring to their success. Characteristically, we ‘read’ in this testimony from the 2nd Greek restaurant owner,

It is the son’s great and very serious relation to his parents and vice versa, and this great inner union that a Greek feels. Greater than these values do not exist anywhere in the world, and these are things that even money cannot make them *ersetzen* (!), That is, to replace intrinsic values with what they refer to today as *Kapital* and money.

(*Giorgos aus Sotirianika*, 1978)

Furthermore, Xanthopoulos intervenes here and makes an indirect comment on the aforementioned statements. An example of the director’s skepticism and criticism can be seen when he asks the 2nd owner whether there are conditions for a revolution in Germany. Yet, despite the claims of this self-confident Greek businessman that social conditions no longer exist for revolution to break out, Xanthopoulos’s dynamic editing – in the style of *British New Wave*, *Nouvelle Vague*, *Cinéma Vérité* – presents a social critique by including footage of a demonstration in Heidelberg in which protesters clash with police.

Conversely, similar images are to be seen in another equally important documentary by Giorgos Karypidis, *End Station Kreuzberg* (1975) (see chapter five). Social critique and the direct connection with the political situation and social movements of the time, as mentioned before in this Chapter, were on the agenda of this generation of *New Greek Cinema* documentarists, and in this sequence, we can clearly see those influences.

This film allows the viewer not to necessarily identify with the anti-heroes, but to feel their stubborn vitality, to be aligned with their patience to fight their daily battles in their own way. Following this path of *critical realism*, the viewer can experience the director’s conscience and empathize: all the battles worth fighting, like all the changes worth making, must be realized not in cinema, but in life (Savvatis 1998:15). Here, the possibilities of the director serving as mentor, critic, interrogator, collaborator or provocateur arise (Nichols 2001:184). Additionally, it seems appropriate to add a small detail from TS 6, where we view the encounter of the director with the president of the Greek - German scientific association. Xanthopoulos cleverly comments on the situation by using brief, almost blurred images in which the director looks kind of helpless or

frustrated with the whole setting of the interview, creating a subtle critique of the whole ‘bourgeois’ setting. It is characteristic, as Kymionis notes (cf.2004:136), that the members of this association strive to embrace an ‘Elitist culture’ to avoid being identified by Greekness or connected to traditional values or working class/lower class. We saw something similar earlier with Giorgos and his sociocultural background and references.

What Kymionis (2004; 2003) does not point out regarding this scene is the following – there is a member of this ‘society club, a teacher’, who expresses a totally different opinion to the president. He affirms that there are many issues for the guest-workers in Germany, perhaps in a dialogical manner with the first film, “I am a teacher in the secondary education. I know the problem pretty well; I experience it very vividly” (34:53). The teacher poignantly stresses that the problems around labor and the education of the workers’ children are interrelated and, indeed, a political issue, reminding us the spirit of critique in *GGH* (1976).

As he articulates his thoughts while answering a question from Xanthopoulos, he makes it clear that the cultural phenomenon is inseparably connected with the political. It is appropriate to accentuate that the teacher expresses a widely disseminated opinion that echoes the political demands of the period, and particularly the Gregoris Lamprakis Youth Democratic Movement/*Δημοκρατική Κίνηση Νέων Γρηγόρης Λαμπράκης (ΔΝΛ)*⁵⁹. As Athanasatou puts it (1999: 108), “There is a huge demand [at that time] on Greekness in culture, and way of life in general as a progressive stance. The folk/demotic tradition and memories meet the radicalization of youth, one that this organization brought up as a major category with a specific social and political discourse in a period of social movements and the *roaring 60s*.”

To finish our analysis of the Thematic Sections, we will briefly mention that in TS7, there are several sequences in which Giorgos’s personality is presented in a fragmentary manner – a conversation with his wife in an interview-like setting with Xanthopoulos, or a characteristic long shot (40:37) of the interior of a secret/back-room in Giorgos’s smoky tavern where we barely make out a group of men gambling with cards. Then, right before the end we have a cryptic scene, the slow-paced panning of the camera in a cave or a mine, and the final scene, in which a small boy – presumably Giorgos – runs freely in the fields of Sotirianika. We can definitely argue that psychoanalytic influences are more than clear, echoing the pursuit of filmmakers of the period. To quote Stavrakas (1978:46) from a review written at the time of the film release,

Starting from this person (George), Xanthopoulos radically expands his research to all

59 See Athanasatou (1999) sub-chapter: *Ο ριζοσπαστισμός των λαϊκών μαζών και η πολιτιστική ανθοφορία* embedded in the same discussion on *Greekness/Laikotita*, as we saw above in TS 2,3 and 4.

directions, reconstituting the environment and the social and emotional surrounding, no longer only of his hero, but of all heroes of this kind. So ‘*George from Sotirianika*’ where his physical presence in the film does not exceed 7 or 8 minutes, ‘ceaselessly’ exists and ends up being the component of the social mechanisms that surround him and shape him. In this way, the real agony of the immigrant is gradually portrayed, an immigrant, who is desperately trying to find a new ‘identity’ and weld his lost memory (that is to rediscover his ‘roots’), to stop being the ‘the product’ of a society that thrives (and where he thrives as well within it) and redefines a human existence with ‘History’.

3.3.1 Comparison of two films

One sharp contrast between the two films in terms of content is the shift of focus to the protagonists. We may still be encountering Greek migrants in Germany, but our center of attention has moved from the labor workers to the lower-middle class, and especially restaurant owners and professionals. The film is woven around the central figure of Giorgos Kozompolis, president of the Greek Community in Heidelberg, who also funded the film, but deals mostly with another group of Greek migrants, whose social and economic ascent portrays their values. They regard themselves not as ‘miserable labor-workers’, but as ‘successful’ entrepreneurs, who have used aspects of their Greekness – mostly stereotypical elements of the ‘canny, smart and inventive’ Greek man (following the myth of Odysseus) – to move up through the social hierarchy. Money and economic prosperity has made them more loose and unconcerned than the workers in the first film (Kymionis 2003:41), and they have acquired individualist notions based on capitalist values in order to be further integrated and accepted into German society.

Additionally, we observe a shift in the narrative, which is constructed differently than the *Greek Community Heidelberg* (1976). There is a seemingly free structure with fragmented information and segments on the actors, ranging from this new *target group* to official representatives, a church Bishop, an intellectual Greek-German society, as well as a ‘dive’ into Giorgos’s past. This happens in the middle of the film when we follow him on a journey to his home place, the village Sotirianika, where we meet his family and witness the isolated and abandoned state of rural Greece, as a result of the massive emigration and youth-drain.⁶⁰ There is

⁶⁰ An aspect which is powerfully illustrated in the emblematic film of the era, *Anaparastasis* (1970) by acclaimed filmmaker Theo Angelopoulos. Particularly the abandonment of rural Greece, which

still an element of social critique, but realized differently from the first film. There are also many interviews, particularly with the established restaurant owners and the elitist, upper-class Greek-German Intellectual Society, and the director manages to express skepticism, doubt, irony, sarcasm, and political commentary thanks to his careful editing.



Figure 7: Logos from companies which employed *Gastarbeiter* (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, footage from *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* 1976).

By using voice-over commentary, as in *GGH* (1976), Xanthopoulos steps away from poetic meditation and his fly-on-the-wall perch and becomes a social actor (almost) like any other. (Almost like any other because the filmmaker still holds the camera, and with it, a degree of power and control over events) (Nichols 2001: 182).

Not all participatory documentaries stress the ongoing, open-ended experience of the filmmaker or the interaction between filmmaker and subjects. The filmmaker may wish to introduce a broader perspective, often one that is historical in nature. How? The most common answer involves the interview and the archive. The result often takes the form of a compilation film and

is emptying as the young population migrated to Northwestern Europe in the early 60s, the vivid black and white photography which clothes the film, the socioeconomic dismantlement and social violence under which the people of the village suffer. We will refer later to an extended scene and thematic unit in the documentary *George from Heidelberg* (Kostas Maxairas 2001), which is based on the original film.

recounts history from above (about major figures and events), or from below (about the experience of ordinary people in relation to a historical event). The vast archive of previously shot footage that now exists provides historical footage to accompany the voices of those who were there or who know about what happened (Nichols 2001:188f).

Furthermore, in this film, the interviews are used differently, in a fragmentary and synthetic dialectical structure. Going back to Nichols (2001), the presence of the camera “on the scene” testifies to its presence in the historical world. This affirms a sense of commitment or engagement with the immediate, intimate, and personal as it occurs. It also affirms a sense of fidelity to what occurs that can pass on events to us as if they simply happened when they have, in fact, been constructed to have that very appearance. One modest example is the “masked interview”. In this case the filmmaker works in a more participatory way with his subjects to establish the general subject of a scene and then films it in an observational manner (Nichols 2001: 177).

Giorgos from Sotirianika (1978), as aforementioned, consists of unconventional narrative structures and more subjective forms of representation. The referential quality of documentary that attests to its function as a window onto the world yields to an expressive quality that affirms the highly situated, embodied, and vividly personal perspective of specific subjects, including the filmmaker, on that world (Nichols 2001:203). Xanthopoulos’s work, as will be shown in his later films – especially *Happy Homecoming Comrade/Καλή Πατρίδα Σύντροφε* (1986) about political refugees in the village of Beloyiannis in Hungary – resembles Ken Loach aesthetically, as he managed to compose two different (not necessarily contradictory) movie genres: the documentary and the drama (invented story, fiction). This combination was christened docu-drama – a stylistic form that seemed ideally equipped to approach social and political issues (Kolovos 1998:75).

In essence, Xanthopoulos is regarded as one of those filmmakers who is thoroughly committed to the subject matter, form and ethics of filming reality to which he did not remain neutral, nor did he take it for granted. His approach was innovative and fresh, he sought for the real instances often hidden in phenomena and experiential situations (βίωμα) and examined both reality and myth, which together make up life (cf. Kymionis 2003: 33).

In these films, Xanthopoulos illustrated the problems of the guest-workers as people devastated by exhausting labor conditions, as well as *dis-placed*, uprooted. In these documentaries, as well as those by other prominent directors from the same genre, (Liaropoulos 1965; Papastathis 1974; Karypides 1974; Karypides 1975) as Sotiropoulou (1995:120) comments, for the first time in Greek filmography, the causes of the migration phenomenon are named and displayed: labor problems, housing issues, education, family situations and even daily racism.

It is important to note that Xanthopoulos immersed himself in the field, experienced the

problems and mentality of guest-workers, and functioned as a mediator, give voice and space to transmit all the anxieties, expectations, oral memories and life histories these people wanted to share. Equally important is how he intervened in the material by commenting and interpreting it. He staged a certain representation, a version of reality, not as a neutral observer, but as an active participant in the whole processes, thereby producing meaning (Spyridakis 2003). After all, according to the theory of documentary, filmmakers do not simply record or ‘document’ a natural external or self-evident reality, but also interpret it and configure various patterns of exploration and explanation.⁶¹ Furthermore, Xanthopoulos engages with the shift that *reflexivity* produces, meaning that we now attend to how we represent the historical world as well as to what gets represented. Instead of seeing through documentaries to the world beyond them, reflexive documentaries ask us to see documentary for what it is: a construct or representation (cf. Nichols 2001:194).

3.3.2 Ethnographic eye – Participatory Filming

Xanthopoulos’s ethnographic take in these documentaries is quintessential for social sciences in regard to analyzing matters of subjectivity, memory, ethnicity, migrant identity, biographical trajectories and meaning-making by social subjects, incorporating vital elements and influences for museum theory and exhibiting. As Spyridakis (2003: 72) illustrates in the same volume, Lefteris’s cinematographic lens fully respects the ‘acting subjects’, or what I would call actants⁶² of the involved premises, practices and processes, which he examines. He treats them as personalized cases and individual subjectivities, not as objects that are indexed in prior analytical categories. From this perspective, he focuses on personal experiences (*βιώματα*) and biographies, as well as individual and collective perceptions. Thus, the ‘active subjects’ do not exist through the given conditions alone, but through the ones they have created and constructed for themselves. So, their own agency and voice is accentuated, which fulfills one of the demands of the social sciences, that we finally allow the subjects’ voices to be heard without the holistic mediation and interpretation of social theory (ibid.) In this way, we deal with a *participatory* filming that focuses on practices and

61 For a compact and wrought analysis on the innovative strategies of documentary, see Nichols (1991); Nichols (2001); Barnouw (1993).

62 Here I prefer to apply the word actants, rather than agents. *Actants* in the notion of Fernandez (2008), who differentiates between agents and actants, “All the actors according to Boltanski, have possibilities of critique at their disposal, which they employ in the everyday life of society almost without interruption . . . Boltanski’s ‘pragmatic sociology’ rejects the model of ‘agents’, who find themselves in a permanent state of lying, dissimulation or schizophrenia . . . Boltanski defends ‘common people’ against assumptions of this kind, whom he does not call ‘agents’ like Bourdieu, but rather ‘actants’”, in Ulf Wuggenig’s ‘Paradoxical Critique’, *Transform*, (2008), <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0808/wuggenig/en#redir>

their related representations (Ibid:73). In other words, it is Xanthopoulos's participatory camera that reveals the invisible, the mundane or that which we take for granted, including habits, customs and rituals.

Moreover, with the participatory mode, this transforms the 'I speak about them to you' formulation into something that is often closer to 'I speak with them for us (me and you)', as the filmmaker's interactions give us a distinctive *window* onto a particular portion of our world (Nichols 2001: 179f.).

All in all, the ethnographic character and deeply humanistic approach of Xanthopoulos' documentaries on migration resonates with one major aspect of anthropological methods and the social sciences, that of self-reflexivity, contemplation and research on places/social milieus of urban west societal structures. To quote the director himself once more, "I believe that there are many realities. Conventional documentary believes there is only one. I consider that there are so many ambiguities, contradictions, and revisions with one another (αλληλοαναιρέσεις) in what we all call 'reality'" (Vakalopoulos 1979: 42 as cited in Kymionis 2003:31). The viewer becomes an active participant in the making and reading of photographs, not just the passive recipient of information and ideas constructed by an active author. By selecting the connections to be made from the very many that could be made between the images in any sequence of richly detailed photographs, the viewer constructs the meanings that form the experience of the work (Becker 2002: 4f.).

Exactly as in Berger/Mohr's work, Xanthopoulos intends for the reader/spectator to keep all the images in mind, seeing the connections between each to some or many or all the others as they revolve around whatever the substance of the material is. Berger speaks of "the stimulus by which one memory triggers another, irrespective of any hierarchy, chronology or duration." He goes on to say that,

In fact, the energy of the montage of attractions in a sequence of still photographs destroys the very notion of *sequences* – the word which, up to now, I have been using for the sake of convenience. The sequence has become a field of coexistence like the field of memory (1982:288; *ibid*:4).

3.4. Unearthing stories from the archive

In this chapter, I want to share, in a supplementary and dialectic manner, two short stories from my fieldwork research at Xanthopoulos's private archive. Two stories that are narrated, portrayed and born out of two pictures he gave me while working in and discussing his private archive. Fortunately, these stories were published in a monthly short column of the Greek

newspaper, *Ta Nea/TA NEA*, to which Xanthopoulos had been a regular columnist writing short stories.

I want to share them in the vein of what Berger/Mohr shared with us in the quintessential work *The 7th man* (Berger and Mohr 1982 [1975]), and in support of Becker's argument (2002:10) on how photographs and visual images function as *specified generalizations* that contribute to a *deepening of the understanding* and *intensive viewing*.

These stories will also serve as a further bridge to two more documentaries, as clusters of representations and themes visually portrayed and discussed in a dialogical manner with the film *O Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978). These two latter films were given to me by Lefteris Xanthopoulos during the first part of my fieldwork in his private archive (December 2018), and I deem this material equally important and relevant to this chapter. Additionally, it was a proposal from the director himself, which I regard as a stimulating invitation, to view his work through the prism of two additional works in order to grasp multilayered aspects which surface in the process. I consider it an on-going dialogue with Xanthopoulos's initial documentary, and how it is interpreted and further developed, for example in the case of Machairas's documentary, *Giorgos from Heidelberg* (2001/ *Ο Γιώργος από τη Χαϊδελβέργη*).

On the other hand, as with the case of *To perasma tou Chronou/The passing of time* (Xanthopoulos 2009, Kinetic), the director re-uses, re-examines and discusses some of the features of *Giorgos* (1978) with the theatrical director, Akylas Karazisis, who had actually directed a play called *Ο χορός της μοναχικής καρδιάς/Dance of the lonesome heart* (2009, Εθνικό Θέατρο/National Greek Theatre), with Giorgos Kozompolis as the protagonist. But for now, let us look at the pictures and related stories from Xanthopoulos's private archive.



Tattoo

Ελληνικός γάμος και παραδοσιακό γλέντι στην αίθουσα του Δημαρχείου του Ντόρμστατ, Δυτική Γερμανία, Ιούλιος 1976.

Μια γερόντισσα ξεχασμένη στο τραπέζι, ολόμορφη, ανάμεσα σ' ένα πλήθος Ελλήνων μεταναστών που διασκεδάζουν.

Τη φωτογραφίζω από μακριά χωρίς να με αντιληφθεί. Η γιαγιά, κάθε τόσο κατεβάζει το κεφαλομάντιλο χαμηλά στο μέτωπο, σαν να ντρέπεται άσχετη ή σαν να προσπαθεί επίμονα να κρύψει κάτι ή να κρυφτεί. Με τις ιαχές της του κεφαλιού, το μαντίλι ανεβαίνει και της ξεσκεπάζει το πρόσωπο.

Πλησιάζω και συνεχίζω να φωτογραφίζω. Με αναλαμβάνεται και κρύβει πάλι το πρόσωπό της. Κάθωμαι κοντά, βάζω τη μηχανή στην άκρη, ανοίγω το μπουκάλι στο τραπέζι και της προσφέρω το αναψυκτικό που ως εκείνη την ώρα διατάζει να πει, σαν από συστολή ή σαν να περιμένει κάποιος να τη φροντίσει. Η ζέση στην αίθουσα είναι θαριά και υγρή, το γερμανικό καλοκαίρι.

Η γερόντισσα είναι διψασμένη, πίνει το ποτήρι με τα δυο της χέρια, πίνει και το πρόσωπό της φωτίζεται. Καθώς την παρατηρώ, διακρίνω ένα σημάδι στο μέτωπο. Σχεδόν από

τις ρίζες των μαλλιών ξεκινάει ένας σταυρός, που κατεβαίνει ως ανάμεσα στα φρύδια. Το τατουάζ έχει απλώσει, το έχουν καταπιεί οι ρυτίδες, έχει γίνει ένα με το σταχτι πρόσωπο. Δυο θολές γραμμές που λίγο διακρίνονται, μια οριζόντια και μια μεγαλύτερη κάθετη, σαν φλέβες που ακόμα κτυπούν.

Θέλει να μιλήσει, τη ρωτάω και μου τα λέει όλα... Έχει μείνει μόνη της, όλοι ξενητεμένοι, την έφεραν εδώ για να είναι κοντά τους, μαζί με τα παιδιά, μαζί με τις νύφες και τα εγγόνια της. Η γέννησή της χάνεται στα τέλη του 1800, δεν θυμάται. Μου λέει για τους πληθυσμούς στα μέρη της: Έλληνες, Σέρβοι, Τούρκοι, Αλβανοί, Βλάχοι..., ταξιδευμένοι. Μου λέει για τα μικρά κορίτσια του χωριού και τον σταυρό του Χριστού που τους κτυπούσαν στο μέτωπο, μόλις αρχίζουν να περπατούνε, με βελόνι και μπαρούτι, σταυρός για να ξεχωρίσουν οι χριστιανοί από τους αλλόθρησκους. Μου λέει για τα βουνά της Ηπείρου, τον καπμό της ορεινής πατρίδας που της λείπει, τον καπμό της πέτρας, «γιατί εδώ στην ξενιτιά, μόνο κάμπος είναι, γιε μου, μόνο κάμπος και τίποτε άλλο...».

Επιλέγει και σχολιάζει ο
Λευτέρης Ξανθόπουλος

22/07/2000 ΤΑ ΝΕΑ

Figure 8 : Photo – Newspaper extract, (source: Private Archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos , text: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, July, 22, 2000. Newspaper Ta Nea/Ta νέα, Column Prisma/Πρίσμα, Title: Tatto).

An old woman forgotten at the table, all alone, among a multitude of Greek immigrants enjoying themselves. I photograph her from afar without her realizing it. The grandmother always lowers the headband down to the front, as if ashamed or as if trying to hide. With her head movements, the scarf rises and reveals her face. I approach her and continue to photograph. She understands and hides her face again. I sit close, I put the machine on the table edge, open the bottle on the table and offer her some, which she hesitates to take, like waiting for someone to take care of her. The heat in the room is heavy and humid, German summer. The old woman is thirsty, she grasps the glass with her two hands, she drinks and her face lights up. As I notice, I see a sign on the face. Almost from the roots of the hair begins a cross, falling between the eyebrows. The tattoo has spread, the wrinkles have swallowed it, it has become one with the crumpling face. Two blurred lines that cannot be a bit distinct, one horizontal and a larger vertical one, like veins. She wants to talk so I ask her and she tells me everything. She is alone, among all foreigners, brought her here to be with them along with the children, as well as their spouses and grandchildren. She was born in the late 1800s, she does not remember the year. She tells me about the nationalities that make up the population: Greeks, Serbs, Turks, Albanians, Vlachs . . . traveling people. She tells me about the little girls in the village and the cross of Christ who were beating them on the front, as soon as they start to walk, with a needle and gunpowder, a cross to distinguish the Christians from the altars. She tells me about the mountains of Epirus, the poverty of the mountainous country, "because here in foreign lands, only plain is, for my part, only plain and nothing else" (Lefteris Xanthopoulos, 2000/TA NEA/my translation).

This extract gives us information about an old tradition and social practice, lost over the centuries. This is not only about the ritual of tattoo, which has an almost ancient tradition and genealogy, but with tattooing for a slightly different purpose, particularly in the ethnic-religious minority group of the Vlachs in Greece. This 'tattoo' we encounter in the Vlachs tradition in various parts of Greece, and especially on women, has a completely different function from tattoos in general, and was much widespread in the past. Even today there are many who remember women who had a cross between their eyebrows (*avea andna crutsi tu frîmti*) and some other symbols on the wrists. Some grandmothers with such signs can be found in various Vlach villages to this day, although they are now scarce. In the Vlach language, these signs are known as *seamni* (signs) or *crutsi* (crosses) (Papagahi 1974: 390). As Philippidi remarks (1974):

These stigmas were often referred to as ‘dots’ or ‘embroidery’. The ‘Saracatsani Vlachs’ typically as Christian Orthodox were formally accepted by the Christian religion without abandoning their pagan customs. According to their perceptions all the elements of nature with their innate attributes, sun, moon, stars, animals, trees etc. they took on a dynamic and miraculous status wherever they were depicted. Their dominant symbol was the cross. Often the shape of the cross includes the sun or moon. (Philippidi 1974/My translation)

According to Argyropoulos (2006), the expediency of tattoos varies from people to people but bears remarkable similarities. In the case of the ethno-religious group of the Vlachs, it is difficult to investigate the original meaning behind this ritual as it has long been forgotten, so the old women give varying interpretations. Most probably, as mentioned above, it is a custom that was maintained throughout antiquity and linked to the indigenous peoples of Macedonia, who used this type of body punctuation as a tribute, and later as a mark of their Christianity. Tattoos on the Vlach populations may have initially been used to signify social hierarchy and distinction of social groups, as was the case with other peoples of antiquity. Of course, it had aesthetic function but it was also a symbol of identity.⁶³ In this account that, though short, is very rich in sociocultural, historical and folkloric information, Xanthopoulos once again reveals his perspective and attitude, whether filming or photographing, towards the ‘real protagonists’ of migration. He approaches this woman, another unknown protagonist of migration of the period, in order to immerse himself in her life. She is dressed in black, like a mourner in an Epirus lament, or reminiscent of the women who frantically chase ‘Eleni’ in the last scene of *Anaparastasis* (Angelopoulos 1970) seeking some sort of ‘divine justice’ or *Katharsis*. A classic depiction of a grandmother in rural Greece, she reminds us of the

63 For the whole custom and ritual of tattoo and its historical, aesthetic value for the ethnic minorities of Vlachs in Greece, see the extended reference of Argyropoulos which I roughly translated from this source : <https://www.vlahoi.net/ithi-ethima/to-tatouaz-stous-vlahous> (Last accessed 20 February 2023). In one of these extracts we read :

According to Prosotsani Vlach women, had a cross to show that they were Christians because they were *wandering travelers* throughout the years of the Turkish occupation in many places. “If they did not have a cross, the women were not Vlachs,” Prossocani’s Vlachs testify. This cross was focused between the eyebrows. In fact, this point of the front, the midriff, was always called a cross. This key part of the head has always been considered the center of life. That is why the people have always considered this point decisive for killing the enemy [52] [54]. The phrase “I will bore you on the cross” or the Vlachs “Va tsă dau tu crutsi” is proverbial [53] [55]. The cross was entered at this point to show their faith and that they were not afraid of the Turks. When they had a cross on the front, the Turks did not chase them, according to testimonies, and did not take them to their harem. Those who were in the fight against the Turks got tattoos. If a girl was raped by the Turks, they would decapitate the girl in order to prevent their ‘race’/φάρρα from being contaminated with blood of the religious. The Saracachans again stated that they did it out of love for Christ. (Argyropoulos 2006).

scene in *Giorgos* (1978) back in the protagonist's home village.

All things considered, in this short story accompanied by its black and white photo, we gain a rich insight into social practices in the Greek periphery, not to mention the whole geographical space of the Balkans, as well as rituals connected with religion, ethnic and sociocultural identity and power hierarchies.



Figure 9 : A man at the wedding in Darmstadt, July 1978 from the aforementioned story (source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, unpublished footage).

3.4.2. Story 2. Giorgos aus Sotirianika: Story with Bees

In this instance, we read exactly another short story written by Xanthopoulos published in the same newspaper TA NEA, in another column of that magazine, where the central figure is once again, Giorgos from Sotirianika, who has returned to Greece :

Giorgos Kozompolis or George of Sotirianika, central character and protagonist of the homonymous film, meets his father, who is a beekeeper on a neighboring hill. He brings him a chainsaw as a gift. The silver Mercedes which brought us from Germany to shoot the film crosses the narrow streets and countryside that cannot conceal its abandonment and decline. The pictures

and faces we film, from Sotirianika and nearby Kalamata, are part of Giorgos's former life. Here we can trace his childhood years, his teenage years. Giorgos tries to connect with what he has left behind. The time that has passed and the foreign host country does not allow him to. The successful Greek of the Diaspora is divided and exists in a no man's land between two countries. At the top of the hill is the cistern. Bees try to get out of the water, half-drowned. Giorgos takes them and spreads them over the cement that still holds the heat of the day. Then he catches them one by one in his hand. He closes the palm tenderly, bends and blows many times. The bees warm up, dry, open their wings, and fly away. The bees return to the hive. Giorgos, then, while resurrecting those bees with his breath, is connected with his childhood. Like a miracle, the intervening time diminishes and disappears, and for a moment, for an infinite moment, it is like Giorgos never left his father's house, his home. *Who will direct today Giorgos, who returned to Greece with his family after 30 years in the foreign country?* (Lefteris Xanthopoulos, May, 20-21, 2000, TA NEA/Πρόγραμμα/author's translation).



Figure 10: Photo – Newspaper extract, (source: Private Archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos Lefteris Xanthopoulos, May, 20-21.2000, Τα νέα/Πρίσμα. Ο Γιώργος από τα Σωτηριάνικα/Village of Sotirianika of Mani, spring of 1978. [photo, unpublished, Lefteris].

This very question leads us to the next documentary in our ethnographic analysis, *Ο Γιώργος από τη Χαιδελέβεργη/Giorgos from Heidelberg* (Kostas Maxairas 2001). In the next sub-chapter we will go through the plot of the film, then browse thematics and methods, always in comparison and discussion with the two films of Xanthopoulos's trilogy. Finally, we will look at six sequences of the film, which we shall refer to as *accentuations-reworkings*, as we deal with the same central thematics as we encountered in the analysis of Xanthopoulos's documentary work. We will also revisit five of them through another prism – another *item* from Xanthopoulos's private archive, the documentary entitled *To Perasma tou xronou* (2009/Kinetic).

3.5 Revisiting Xanthopoulos & Giorgos aus Sotirianika; Giorgos from Heidelberg (Kostas Maxairas, 2001/NET)

The film was screened on public television as part of a series of five documentaries entitled *Second Homeland/Δεύτερη πατρίδα* (2001/NET), intended to address issues of expatriate Hellenism and Greek Diaspora around the world, repatriation, return-migration and related issues of ethnic groups and minorities, who were returning back then to Greece. Additionally, some of the films in this cycle included the hot topic of domestic migration in Greece, and touched on issues of racism, xenophobia, integration and social sensitivity to the then pressing issue of immigration to Greece, especially from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe.

Having said that, from the outset this documentary is contextualized in another logic and via another prism, so one can detect many differences, both thematically and at the level of narrative and techniques with the two films of Xanthopoulos's trilogy. Admittedly, the title refers directly to Xanthopoulos's original film of 1978, and as we shall observe in the sub-chapter of *reworkings-accentuations*, Kostas Machairas has used several original scenes and footage from the original film, *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978). Here, we will focus on which sequences and themes he chooses to highlight or revisit from Xanthopoulos's film, to analyze parameters that are of interest to us in our ethnographic research. As aforementioned, it is of significance that the director himself gave us the film, inviting us to view it in an open dialogue and critical reflection with the original one.

Unquestionably, the first and most striking difference has to do with the main plot in connection with Heidelberg's Giorgos, the main character. He returned to his homeplace in Greece in the early 2000s, and Kostas Machairas's camera is trying to detect details of his individual

identification and biography. The main plot is based on a journey taken by the director and Giorgos, in two sections. The first section depicts a visit to his village Sotirianika, Mani in South Peloponnese, and in the second section, the director and Giorgos travel by car to Heidelberg to visit the city, but most importantly his old tavern, where Giorgos had enjoyed such success professionally.

3.5.1 Themes and Methods of film

The basic themes the film presents are mainly connected with the problems associated with return-migration, in a symbolical, as well as a psychological and social level. What is essential to note is that the film takes place more or less in the past, that is, in a metaphorical journey, which is supported by an on-set ‘journey’ technique, and functions as a constant reverse in the memories of Giorgos between Heidelberg and his private home-place.

Director Kostas Machairas (2001) who responds to this call by Xanthopoulos to “film Giorgos who returned to Greece after 30 years in a foreign land” (Xanthopoulos 2000, TA NEA/Πρίσμα/author’s translation) presents very few details of Giorgos’s current daily life at the very beginning of the film. There, in a privately owned gas station in Kalamata, the return-migrant, the ex-expatriate Giorgos from Sotirianika kicks off with a negative statement, “We returned back in Greece in 1985, which was proved to be a very wrong decision!” (*Giorgos from Heidelberg* 2001/02:05), and he admits that he cannot adjust to this new reality. He repeats emphatically that he feels lost, while simultaneously feeling relieved at the idea of his village, Sotirianika, to which he can escape. The essential themes are the following:

Meteoric stance, the in-between status; Living in the Borders

Between the two phases of the film, which are split equally in terms of duration – A phase: the trip to the village of Sotirianika; B phase: the trip to Heidelberg – Giorgos’s psychological chasm is portrayed in various instances. Throughout the film he declares bluntly, “we are not here, not there, somewhere in the middle, *we live in the border!*” (18:32). It is clearly the filmmaker’s intention to showcase Giorgos experiencing this meteoric, *in-between* status. During the 1970s it was commonplace for migrants to describe their identity as being split between two different places (Papastergiadis 2009:148). To follow Papastergiades’s line of thought and his reflection on Berger/Mohr’s *Seventh man* (1975),

In Berger’s account of the migrant as ‘a seventh man’ – a person who carries a small portion of his own self-portrait photograph, either with the intention that one day he will return home to reunite the fragments and become whole again or with the dream

that by posting back the small portion of himself he will announce his rebirth. [Herein lies] the assumption that the migrant was prepared to make a tactical play at the part of being a ‘cog in the machine’. Silence was meant to be temporary. The migrant, according to Berger was prepared to become a mute in order to exchange his closed destiny for an open future. (Papastergiadis 2009: 156)

This *meteoric* sentiment is coupled with confusion, anger, and a certain dysfunctionality, leading to a psychological ‘dead-end’. Giorgos characteristically admits, “We couldn’t become rooted here, and that was a big mistake. It was our daily thought that one day we would return to our base. We woke up and dreamed of the sea, the sun, our parents, our brothers, everything!” (*Giorgos from Heidelberg* 2001/13:18- 13:38).

And in another segment, aside from this sentimental *in pendulum* status he experiences, the sense of alienation (estrangement), of being a stranger in his native land, is accentuated. Giorgos notes emphatically,

maybe we got what they say, “we are neither there nor here”, we live somewhere, *around the borders, at the borders!* We do not belong to Germany or Canada or Australia, wherever people went, we created families there, we created businesses, a thousand of things, nevertheless, we did not create roots. So, neither did we root there, we were uprooted here, we did not root there, we are . . . maybe we are continuously, for our whole lives at the borders, for our whole lives! [Giorgos’s emphasis] (ibid./18:32-19:22)

As Sotiropoulou (2006: 57) contends,

Borders are shown to be more powerful as symbols than as reality, and the deprivation they cause – the deprivation of one’s homeland – is shown to be more than an external and local phenomenon; it is turned into a timeless event that essentially renders people home-less and at a profound level, hope-less.

Nearly halfway through the film, we encounter the second theme at the start of the trip to Heidelberg. There is an affirmation of this notion of uprooting, this transient psychological status Giorgos feels, which leads him to admit that he lives in the border, or between the borders. While driving his car along this familiar route, from Heidelberg, Germany through Italy, all the way to Greece, Giorgos admits that he never managed to integrate due to this endless homesickness, despite his financial and professional ascension and having had a family, “We had a contact with our homeland, and that’s why perhaps we did not get *rooted here, we did not see that far/είχαμε επαφή με την πατρίδα μας , και για αυτό ίσως δε ριζώσαμε, δεν είδαμε μακριά*” (29:48 –

29:54/ibid/author's translation).

Afterwards, Giorgos accentuates the fact that he and other friends who emigrated to Germany had a somewhat closer relation with Greece, with *Home*, compared to those who were in Canada or Australia, who finally got rooted, and “integrated faster” into society. In the next sequence he admits, I would venture to say that we consider Heidelberg, Germany in general, a second home. I say this unreservedly and I can say I am proud. Really, oh dear (surprise!), this thing is like second home. But we have other elements, we have, namely this dream of return, family, grandfather, grandmother, father, brother, cousin, this bonding, it does not come out easily, it does not come out easily. (ibid./34:30- 34:53)

A striking scene that also depicts this “meteoric”/in-limbo status and reveals Giorgos's ambivalence, insecurity and this psychological confusion is the following: In this sequence (35:20-36:45) Giorgos is dressed in an elegant and intellectual European look, wearing a hat, a scarf, affirming on the one hand his supposedly European/German identity, on the other hand regretting his decision to return and admitting, “If I was younger, I would come back!”

Giorgos seems to incorporate and acknowledge the positive aspects of German identity, the advantages of living in a country like Germany, highlighting that everything works like clockwork, praising the tidiness and order of the German way of life, its healthcare system as well as its meritocracy. At the same, shifting to another more critical and condemning stance, and while admitting that the “harm is already done” (35:45), he mentions a typical problem cited by many Greek guest-workers and return-migrants as their final reason for returning – that of family, children and matters of their upbringing and education has proved eventually to be a wrong decision.

Distress, disappointment and bitterness color Giorgos's speech when discussing this subject. At this point Giorgos reiterates regretting his decision to return to Greece, “We carried Greece with us, homeland can be never forgotten...but *mother Greece* offers nothing, healthcare, school? ... Nothing, absolutely nothing [emphasis] . . . how can you not be sad and sorry?” (ibid./36:10-36:48)

Nostalgia, homesickness

According to Kymionis (2004), Machairas explores the desolation of the village (2001) not only for its factual but also for its symbolic dimensions, as the narratives of Giorgos's compatriots in the village can be perceived as indications of their inner reality. The depiction of the desolation of the village and the emphasis on the style in which they make their statements reflect the mental desolation and sense of abandonment they are experiencing (Kymionis 2004: 147). In one thematic

unit within the A phase, the topic of *nostalgia* and *deprivation*, prominent among returning migrants, is presented, this time coupled with another narrative from a friend of Giorgos who was also a migrant in Germany and then returned.

Nostalgia has always existed. If you know a place, you were born here, you remember the old times, friends, regardless if they have forgotten about you. Because when you go back, you need to race in order to get into your cycle, in your own cycle *you have been forgotten!* [Emphasis] They have other interests. I encountered this in Germany as well, as soon as I came back with one work permit, I saw them, they saw me as a stranger! The same thing had happened here. Before we left for Germany, George, you remember, we were a big company of friends, twenty people, great companionship, with guitars, with serenades, at that time there were still. As soon as I returned, after five-six years, I was alienated (14:32 – 15:15/ibid.)

Along the same lines, Giorgos admits,

When someone leaves at the age of eighteen, well I left, at the age of 23/24, and you create such a situation that we created, myself and so many others, and maybe much more than me, better situations, next thing, one thing is for sure, that you feel *nostalgic*.(10:55-11:10/ibid)

This pertinent feeling of nostalgia and homesickness, which pervades the whole film, is accompanied by the next prevailing theme in the movie, c) *deprivation and alienation*, which is also showcased in the A phase of the film. In this thematic block, Giorgos wanders around the village and talks to some of the few locals left, mostly old men and women. We are also introduced to some of Giorgos's friends. In the only *Kafeneion* left in the village, the owner, *Liakos*, the 'guard' of the village, as Giorgos nicknames him, states to the camera,

[Giorgos]: unfortunately, Mani is a tough place.

[Liakos]: Look, you see, our place is rogue. Not now, from those years back then.

They say that from Messinia they cut the stones, and threw them away here, and Messinia held the soil. Well ...and it has shaped the characters according to the look of the field, tough people (06:17- 06:34/*Giorgos from Heidelberg*, Kostas Machairas 2001/author's translation).

Right after, a nephew of Giorgos comments,

I wish we had some more people, like my uncle, in the village, that is, five people like my uncle, to come and go . . . we would all become a little bit better people, that is, we would hear a new opinion, we talk about now, a descent/correct talk, avoid a

little bit the punishments we have between us, the passions we have between us, the jealousy . . . these things are wrong . . . well we don't, unfortunately we are orphaned by humans. (07:02-07:26/ibid.)

So, in this first acquaintance with the sociocultural milieu, especially Giorgos's friends and relatives, we gain an insight into rural and agricultural life in this part of Peloponnese. Once again, the notion of the abandoned periphery, of deprivation and alienation, is accentuated, through the narratives of the locals who still live there. They claim that apart from the obvious financial underdevelopment, they are being deprived of young, witty and dynamic people (like the main protagonist Giorgos), who would enliven and contribute so much to this place. This leads to Giorgos's natural confession, "we wanted to leave. We had to leave!" Two elderly farmers make a short social commentary on their living conditions, complaining of feeling forgotten and neglected by the Greek state. From all the interview segments of this unit, it is more than obvious that migration seemed like a natural solution for the young people back then in order to escape this distressing situation and pursue a 'better life'.

This is related to another topic highlighted in the film, that of d) *Poverty, dispossession in the rural periphery*, which established migration as the only viable solution, an escape from the aforementioned harsh socioeconomic conditions. Later, in the *reworkings* sub-chapter, as well as in the oral memories of Giorgos's long-time companion from Heidelberg, Kostas Savoulides, we will comment further on the centrality and significance of this subject-matter.

Furthermore in an effort to showcase Giorgos's nostalgic connection to the village, we are acquainted with: e) *Symbols of social-cultural references and background of Giorgos*.

While strolling in the village and talking with an old woman, one of the few inhabitants left in the village, Giorgos searches to find another Giorgos, the so-called *Meraklis*,⁶⁴ a local violinist. In a short scene, Giorgos talks to him and suggests that they should meet up and listen to him play. He emphatically notes that, "we were brought up by your songs", paying a small tribute to his sociocultural references, a symbol of his identity. *Meraklis* stands as a referential point to Giorgos, offering him this unifying sense of common culture, this feeling of community belonging (Kymionis 2004: 150), equivalent to being 'at home. According to Sofokleous (1998), Greek immigrants coming from rural areas were carriers of a traditional culture, with a high sense of cultural identity. In this context, the migrant was identified with symbols of that culture, the idealization of the former life begins and its transformation into something stable and unalterable,

64 Μερακλής <Greek slang> – a person who is cheerful, who communicates joy and fun, and generally enjoyable feelings, a fancier.

because it gives him a confidence in the chaos created within the individual when he loses his normal growth rate (Sofokleous 1998: 161-164; cited in Kymionis 2004: 150).

Regarding the methods employed in this film by Kostas Machairas, we would mention some notable techniques.

- a) Technique of *Flashback*. Machairas employs a standard narrative strategy of *nostalgia*. Giorgos seems to feel nostalgic for his time in Germany when he is present in the village, and vice versa, feeling homesick when he is in Heidelberg. This psychological state is enhanced by this flashback technique in order to show his ambivalence, this *memory struggle* that takes places in Giorgos's mind. This is supported by inserting original scenes from Xanthopoulos's film, which serve as introductory platforms, as 'memory vaults', where new material is being produced and presented in the film.
- b) Technique of *Journey/Road Trip* is employed throughout this documentary. Both Giorgos and, as we shall see later, his long-time friend and comrade, Kostas Savoulides, are filmed driving their cars while recounting their stories, particularly regarding their migration experience in Germany.
- c) Certainly, *oral-histories* and *interviews* constitute the basic methodological tool that Machairas applies throughout the film in order to approach the subjective reality of his informants. His use and contextualization differ completely from Xanthopoulos's, since Machairas succumbs to the conventions of a 'realistic-observatory documentary', although the director does not speak and the aesthetics are more reminiscent of a journalist/television report. Having said that, this is a standard pattern, especially in the early 2000s, in many Greek documentaries, mostly within the public Television/Radio Broadcast (*ERT*). This is also accompanied by related techniques, such as d) *sad, melancholic music* in order to underscore emotional states and/or highlight difficult topics, such as return-migration, state negligence of rural Greece, an atmosphere of homesickness and nostalgia. These techniques can be seen within this prism of e) *psychological realism* (cf. Kymionis 2004:147).

Although the film cannot be categorized under the genre of the 'performative documentary', there are nevertheless three sequences where we can detect such influences. Nichols's theory and typology remind us that this type of documentary, "restores a sense of magnitude to the local, specific, and embodied. It animates the personal so that it may become our port of entry to the political" (Nichols 2001:209), and in this sense, we can argue that the two documentaries, the original by Xanthopoulos (1978) and the one under examination by Machairas (2001), converge and interact with each other, no doubt with different techniques. The first sequence is the scene where after Giorgos's outburst in the backyard of his village house (27:40- 29:10), he sings in a kathartic

way a traditional rural song with his friend [“τ’έρημο το αηδόني, Δημήτρης Ζάχος, παραδοσιακό/Dimitris Zachos, Traditional folk song]. Here, Giorgos symbolically celebrates his bonds with his village, paying tribute to his roots and all aforementioned sociocultural references that matter to him, and that according to his perspective, allowed him to ‘succeed’ abroad.

The second sequence is a flashback to the village in Sotirianika, where *Meraklis* the local violinist plays and sings a traditional wedding song in the village street on a sunny day (36:46).

The third sequence is the final scene of the film (54:04), where Giorgos meets his friend from the village again and they sing the same song and walk together happily, thus establishing Giorgos’s contentment and the joy of returning to his *Topos*, back to his roots, back to the village and the surrounding landscape that he cherished so much.

3.5.2 Reworkings-Flashbacks; *Giorgos from Heidelberg* (Kostas Maxairas, 2001)

In this sub-chapter we will browse six thematic scenes of the film *Machairas* (2001), which we call reworkings-flashbacks, as they feature original footage from Xanthopoulos’s film and via the technique of *flashback*, the director accentuates or thematizes further aspects, which can be read as central topics of the film. The six flashbacks are the following :

- 1) In Giorgos’s home village, Sotirianika, we view snapshots of his family, as well as rural and agricultural life and work. The strong ethical and familial code of that particular region of Mani is highlighted when Giorgos helps his father, working with bees (20:14-22:27).



Τελευταίος σταθμός: Κρόιτσμπεργκ / Last Stop: Kreuzberg

Ο Γιώργος από τη Χαϊδελβέργη / George from Heidelberg



Figure 11 : Photographs from documentaries on migration. From top to bottom; pic (I) *Endstation Kreuzberg* (Karypidis 1975), pics (ii) and (iii), Giorgos in the village of Sotirianika working as a beekeeper, *Giorgos from Heidelberg* (Machairas 2001), (Source: Kartalou et al. 2006: 52)

In this first flashback, while we see snapshots of the original with Giorgos's father talking, we witness Giorgos "now" in the village, practicing the work of a beekeeper (s. photo). Giorgos strongly references this family and ethical code and the responsibility he feels when doing this work. It is some sort of a tribute that he pays to his family values and rural upbringing.

2) The next scene (23:08-27:31) includes two flashbacks between an extensive, emotionally-charged, and quite rich, in regards to our ethnographic research, testimony of Giorgos himself. The spatial point where he stands and tells his story plays an invaluable role – at exactly the same spot in the courtyard of his father's house, Xanthopoulos's first interview with Giorgos's family had taken place. This is where the second flashback begins [23:08]. His accounts are striking in their description of those harsh childhood years. He speaks of the poverty, deprivation and how he had tasted his first ever chocolate, thanks to the 'Marshall Plan'. He remembers how his grandmother used to weave underwear for the children with cheap materials (sugar and water). One of the most powerful scenes of the documentary, which positions *dialectically* with the original film and Giorgos's father's statements (see TS 3 from the 1978 film), is when Giorgos's narrative shifts from sentimentality to anger, and eventually his denunciation and social critique against politicians, the Greek state and all related institutions.

This alternates with another flashback from the original film, the third one in chronological order, where we view again the inside of (3) *The store of Charalampis* (*Μπάρμπα Χαραλάμπης*). This scene underscores the depiction of rural life, abandonment of the village, social critique and commentary regarding the Greek state's neglect of Greek farmers. After this reminder of the social critique articulated by the old man, Charalampis, regarding the 'customer-oriented' relation between the state and its voters, especially in the periphery, we witness one of the most intense and emotional moments of the whole film – Giorgos's sentimental explosion :

No one looked at them in the meantime, no one! No one looked at them (those people), *they* [politicians] came only for the votes, came to uncle Charalambis's shop and 'bought' five votes with five chickpeas, with some good words, and promise to appoint your son as a hospital driver or put [the daughter] maid in a hospital to clean, they were buying the votes! It was all promises, promises then, to their children, and now to our children. *That's why we all left, and why not leave?* [Giorgos's emphasis] (25:20-

25:55) (whole extract, 23: 08-27:31/ibid.)

This commentary reminds us of the documentary *Ellas xwris Kolones/Greece without columns* (B. Maros, 1964, BBC Production),⁶⁵ another film from (mid 1960s to mid 1970s) the *New Greek Cinematography* (NEK). Right after this outburst, Giorgos admits, in a very sentimental manner, that,

*We carried foreignness*⁶⁶! [Giorgos's emphasis] We brought along all the good things, everything they taught us here, church, catechism, baptisms, weddings, whatever was good, we carried these things with us, they might be lost here, we tried to keep them there. And I can say that the Germans embraced us, it was all right! They gave us churches, they gave us buildings to house communities, we got the best places from them, to open up our business, spaces, nice spaces. But, I did/brought the Caryatids in my restaurant, I did, I tried to make the Parthenon, my first restaurant in 1969 was the 'Parthenon'. Of course, the Caryatids were kind of plastic, because I had brought plastic [replicas] from Italy. But after, I made them with plaster that was like marble, like regular ones, as it is in the Parthenon, the Caryatids are waiting for me, standing there . . . that once upon a time, (one) Giorgos Kozompolis from Sotirianika, *George from Sotirianika [Emphasis]* passed and left a *monument* there. That's where my children were born, we developed there, we grew up there. From here we left . . . as if being chased. (26:08-27:32/ ibid.)

Here, the world of trauma, emotion-laden memories of poverty, hardship and unemployment, leading to emigration and the aforementioned sense of critique and accusation, turns into a recounting of success, the story of triumph: not only Giorgos's personal success as a restaurant-owner, but of all his peers who managed to succeed also.

What is striking – particularly in TS 5 with the interviews of the two restaurant owners in Heidelberg (see Chapter 3.2) – is that success is conceived of as the triumph of the 'Hellenic spirit/soul', of this capacity to endorse all those "good elements" (26:20) – traditional habits, customs, rituals, mostly connected with Christian Orthodox identity and tradition. Along with hard work and the assistance of Germans, "who gave them the best places" (27:03), they managed to succeed, and this is perceived as a triumph of Greekness, thus sustaining and reproducing the myth

65 For a thorough review and critical analysis of the film see Pagoulatos (2004: 88-91).

66 We find equivalent comments such as "carrying Greece on one's shoulders" in another historical documentary of the period, one of the first on labor-workers, in this case, those employed in the coal mines of Charleroi in Belgium, entitled *Letters from Charleroi* (1965, Lampros Liaropoulos). For an exceptional review of the film, see Venturas (2004:103-114).

of the inventive and ‘canny’ Greek’ who always succeeds abroad. It is also essential to add that Giorgos materializes his ‘success story’ with the Greek monument of the Caryatids, which at least at a symbolical level represent his ‘Greekness’. The way he talks about them reveals that he is a bearer, a signifier of a long, unceasing tradition, from the glorious ancient Greek times to the modern new Greek history.

The next flashback-reworking is another mnemonic ‘return’ (4) to Heidelberg. Here we browse scenes of *Alte Gundtei*, the Greek Easter festivity, in Giorgos’s tavern, while we see extracts from another interview, this time with the only representative of Giorgos’s ‘circle’ in Heidelberg, the current owner of the restaurant, Mahmut. In a short but compact account, Mahmut speaks with the most affirmative and appraising words of Giorgos and his wife, and verifies that Giorgos and his restaurant constitute an urban legend for the city of Heidelberg.

The 5th and 6th flashback-reworkings can be fused into one thematic unit, a rather long one in the film, [40:25- 49:44], lasting almost ten minutes. They pay tribute to Giorgos’s long-time friend and companion, the iconic dancer in *Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika* (1978), Kostas Savoulides. After a first short acquaintance with Kostas at the time of filming (2000-2001) in Heidelberg, we gain some background information on how he came to Germany. His account is ‘interrupted’ by the 5th flashback, where we see the 5) *Monologue of Kostas Savoulides* from the original film.

Right after, there is an extended unit in Machairas’s film, once more in a ‘journey’ setting, just as before in the B phase of the film, when Giorgos and the director were driving to Heidelberg together. Most of the interview with Savoulides takes place as he drives the car and reveals explicit memories from his period in Germany. He makes some crucial statements regarding the unemployment, poverty and hardship – as aforementioned, important facets of the film – which led to this massive migration movement in Germany.

Additionally, significant quotations from his testimonial regarding labor exploitation, loneliness, withdrawal, nostalgia and social life reveal his particular mentality. One can argue that from the very beginning, Savoulides’s accounts differentiate from Giorgos’s. It is also striking that Savoulides repeatedly emphasizes the notion of illegality (00:41:26) of uncertainty, the fact that he and other compatriots were facing frequent problems with the authorities, depicting a life of constant struggle and an adventurist attitude.

On the topic of poverty and deprivation, as Giorgos had mentioned earlier, he says, “why? . . . As what did we come here, as immigrants?? Zero . . . nothing! We borrowed, we were deprived, until we reached the point that we reached.” (11:14-11:22)

Conversely Savoulides highlights the hardship and distressing years of his adolescence,

when he had to go to work in order to help support the whole family, and for a moment feels satisfied with his decision to emigrate to Germany. At least, “here we found work, a piece of bread to eat!” (44:56-45:32) he confesses.

Then, he goes on to make one of the most crucial statements of the whole film regarding labor exploitation and unhealthy labor conditions. According to Kymionis (2004), Savoulides does not embellish or glorify but rather demystifies his stay in Germany. In his opinion, the disadvantaged position of immigrants domestically and later abroad prevented them from perceiving significant problems with living and safety conditions in their workplaces precisely because they came from very poor economic environments. Germany met their basic needs, which their home country could not, pushing them to the solution of immigration (cf. Kymionis 2004: 156f).

I say “we had a good time, nice”, because . . . after we were starving and waiting in line and (they) didn’t get us (for work), we came, we found a piece of bread, we found some work, I don’t know, we made something, we’re good. But the bottom line, if you look at it, was the *modern slave trade*, in the modern form, to sale people off, the outpouring of those people who sent them away, they told them, “Get out of here, leave, and go and find it elsewhere.” (46:15-46:46)

In this sequence, we observe one of the major themes, not only of this film but of the whole historical period. In *GGH* (1976), as we mentioned before, all the issues of labor exploitation were named and presented, depicted in a certain way by Xanthopoulos.

With a different perspective and worked from another, more personal angle via the mnemonic narratives of Giorgos in the greater part of the film, Savoulides accentuates the topic of labor exploitation. As Xanthopoulos confirms in our interview,

Migration of the 1960s drove people away, there were agreements to deliver a workforce for which the host country had spent nothing for their upbringing, neither for their medical security, nor for their education, for nothing. They took a piece of meat, complete, strong, with strong arms, and threw it on the machines. That is to say, in the dungeon with the Lions . . . There are many dimensions . . . how much Central and Northern European countries have benefited is immeasurable. (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

As Giorgos admitted earlier, at the time of his recruitment to work in Germany back in 1960, “They took all the foam, all the strong and healthy young men/πήραν όλη την αφρόκρεμα” + γεροδεμένα παιδιά” (30:27). Although Giorgos’s accounts of his period in Germany and his

achievements are different from those of Kostas, it seems as if they fully agree on this issue.

Furthermore, the emotional cost, this feeling of being ‘far from home’, this sense of alienation, the unbearable feeling of nostalgia is stressed again, now through the voice of Kostas, But we are a people who make compromises and say “we are good/OK, we’re good, what are we good at?” What is good? What does it mean well/OK? What does this mean to me where I have my ‘Mercedes’, I have my business, I have my life, and I am lonely all my entire life, life is gone, my mother died, my father died, my relatives died, friends, and we are left alone, we didn’t see them. Life, all the beauties, these beauties, if you get deprived of them . . . I came here, 23 years old, I’m 65 and what I gained in life? I had some money left. And what can I do with the money? The whole world demands a little, say, to live in an environment of a human, of a friend. Let’s not be fooled and say “development, Europe, this beauty of the world” . . . It says nothing. When you leave your home, when you leave this corner where you were born. (47:38-48:23)

Later on, Kostas expresses this vivid feeling of loneliness, his difficulty in really integrating in German society. Despite his initial description of the German people as nice and friendly, he goes on to point out that he feels alienated, and does not really understand their mentality,

A 'heavy' atmosphere that you can see it in the face of being mocked, if you have learned to do so, you will see/understand. And when you see Giorgos, you say “Hi, Giorgos” and as if you were holding a bill/document, you say, leave that! Let’s eat it all (the money) here tonight, *my buddy has come!* [Savoulides’ emphasis] (48:25-48:59)

As we saw earlier with Giorgos and his other friend from the village, now we view alienation, nostalgia, loneliness – the emotional cost of migration – through Kostas’s eyes and voice. Hence, we would argue that these are standard emotional states experienced by returning migrants, regardless of nationality. This topic features in another magnificent film by Theo Angelopoulos, *Voyage from Kythira* (1984).⁶⁷ In an insightful review, Roussos (18/5/2016) writes,

The film deals with the place and way of return of the uprooted man who searches for

67 See reviews of the film in Andreou (2/9/2016) <<https://tetartopress.gr/%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BE%CE%AF%CE%B4%CE%B9-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1-%CE%BA%CF%8D%CE%B8%CE%B7%CF%81%CE%B1-1984-%CE%B7-%CF%84%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%AF%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%B9%CE%BD%CE%AF%CE%B1/>>; Cine guerilla civil.blogspot <http://cineguerracivil.blogspot.com/2010/11/blog-post_4617.html>; Roussos (18/5/2016) <<https://tvxs.gr/news/sinema/thodoros-aggelopoulos-kai-manos-katralis-sto-taksidi-sta-kythira>>.

his identity and prospects, who still believes in Utopia and wonders about it. Returning home is difficult. In his place he is confronted with his memories, his opponents and friends, their dead and alive, their expectations and futility. The past invades the present which looks as if it was incompatible with what he expected or imagined to see. The exiled fighter who is back is a foreigner, a refugee again (Roussos 2016).

The sixth and final flashback closes this thematic unit with the (6) *Scene with Zeimpekiko of Kostas Savoulides*. [49:00-49.44]. A special tribute to this scene, which we will also see in another documentary – *To Perasma tou Xronou* (Xanthopoulos 2009) – comprises just a few snapshots lasting only seconds. We also see Giorgos dancing the same zeimpeiko dance, the same song, in order to establish their long-term friendship.

All in all, director Kostas Machairas, using different techniques and methods, endeavors to underscore themes that were either mentioned in Xanthopoulos's original film, reworked of course through another prism, or topics stemming from his own field-research and interviews with Giorgos, as well as persons from his close social and family milieus.

As aforementioned, many of the themes are connected with topics of return-migration – which is not the focus of our research – but it is nevertheless worth reflecting on the importance and tension of what Xanthopoulos persistently referred to in our interview as the lived experience (“βίωμα”). Certainly, as we acknowledged earlier, this is all being presented through a documentation style that meets the conventions of a ‘realism-observational’ documentary, which works with oral histories and tries to detect various aspects (symbolical, psychological) of the subjective identity of a dynamic, intense personality like Giorgos's.

At this point we would strongly disagree with Kymionis's (2004) assessment that Xanthopoulos does not listen enough his informants, or that he applies a plain sociological, semiotic and structural, influenced by Neo-Marxist dialectics, approach in his filming and narrative. Likewise, it would be unfair to place him in a modernist film context. According to the same author, Machairas is placed within a post-modernist one. As we have illustrated, there are fragments of Xanthopoulos's work that touch upon a postmodern/post-structural perspective, even a postcolonial aesthetics and ethics. We shall look at this in the final chapter, which explores his focus on lived, embodied experience. Particularly in the way he handles oral-histories and orality, how he weaves the personal with the political and visa-versa, Furthermore, the nodes of contextualization of visual images and material, ‘listening to’ and showcasing his pluralistic influences from the various cinematic, political and social agencies of the period. In the following chapter, we shall demonstrate how Xanthopoulos, even in 2009, would continue to browse, reflect and re-read his own original

material – the second film of the trilogy, *Giorgos aus Sotirianika 1978* – based on another dialogue, this time with a play.

3.6 To perasma tou Chronou (TV Doc, Xanthopoulos, Play Akylas Karazhsis, 2009 Cinetic)

The passage of time/Το πέρασμα του χρόνου (2009) is another short documentary directed by Lefteris Xanthopoulos, which was given to me during my fieldwork-research in his private archive. After the first two original films of the trilogy we analyzed, and the film by Machairas (2001) which can be viewed as a response to that preliminary question posed by Xanthopoulos (see p.59), the 4th and final visual document we will consider in our ethnographic research is this production by Kinetic on behalf of Greek Public Television, NET and the historical documentary series of Paraskhnio/ΠΑΡΑΣΚΗΝΙΟ, EPT, which was shot and filmed in 2009.

During my time spent exploring his archive, Xanthopoulos asked me if I had seen this film. When I responded that I hadn't, he told me, "Take it and watch it and tell me what you think, because it also contains the great work of Akilas Karazisis, who produced a theater play based on my film, *George from Sotirianika*" (fieldwork-interview, 2018).

The director and actor Akylas Karazisis, who had also had emigrated to Germany, approached Lefteris Xanthopoulos as he wanted to write and direct a play based on the experiences and life of his now friend, Giorgos Kozomplis, the *George from Sotirianika* (1978). The play was staged in 2009 as a National Theater production entitled, *The dance of the lonesome heart/O χορός της μοναχικής καρδιάς* (2009, Greek National Theater).

Consequently, the documentary by Xanthopoulos was conceived as a new reading of the second film, *Giorgos from Sotirianika* (1978), and featured scenes from Karazisis's play, with Giorgos himself in the lead role. The film is comprised of alternate sequences from theatrical footage and a post-movie discussion event held at Trianon Cinema, Athens (March 2009), where the directors Xanthopoulos, Karazisis and Kozomplis discuss and respond to questions from the audience, as well as primary footage from the original 1978 film.

Moreover, in the third and final section, after the end of the play, an intimate scene is set where the three main actors (Xanthopoulos, Karazisis and Kozomplis), seated at a table, look at photos from Xanthopoulos's archive, sharing musings and recollections. As I was watching the film, I realized that a corresponding scene unfolded in Xanthopoulos's private archive as we viewed and discussed unpublished photos, the director unpacking memories from the time spent shooting

those films, stories from backstage and other anecdotes from his time in Germany. In our analysis here, we will focus on the six flashbacks that the director attempts to illuminate, always centered on the original film, as well as two short stories that emerge from this archive – in particularly the second story unearthed from the archive (see Chapter 3.2).

Six Flashbacks from the original – interventions and accentuations

(1) *Scenes from the Easter Festival in the backyard of Giorgos's tavern* [01:37-02:44]: The film kicks off with footage from the original score. The first flashback, or accentuation as we call it here, shows the scene from a typical Greek Easter festival in the backyard of Giorgos's historical tavern in Heidelberg, *Alte Gundtei*. Right after that, a scene from the Karazisis's play [03:30] attempts to comment on this occasion. A woman sings an altered musical theme from an old *laiko* song, which is fused with sounds from distorted electric guitar and howls from the actors, while everyone, including Giorgos, engages in a frenzied dance. We can tentatively suggest that confusion, anger and this 'meteoric' status, which we discussed in Chapter 3.4, is underscored via this experimental theater approach.

(2) *The trip to Sotirianika* [04:24-07:30]: original footage from the 1978 film, where the director meets and interviews people from Giorgos's close family and social milieu. In the first place there is a focus on Giorgos's mother's description of her children's careers (except Giorgos's), in public service jobs, either as school teachers, police-officers or clergy, revealing a typical trajectory for most internal migrants in Greece during the boom of internal migration from the periphery to the capital city of Athens, roughly from mid 1950s- mid1960s. In many cases, Athens served as a transitional place before migrating to Germany.

Again, there is a focus on the oral testimony of Giorgos's mother where she shares the anecdote of sheltering and protecting Giorgos while the village was being bombarded by Nazi Germany during the Occupation. Additionally, the narration of Giorgos's grandmother is highlighted as she shares details of her demanding and burdensome daily life on the farm and in the village.

In the next scene (07:33-10:59) the director comments once more through Giorgos on this notion of poverty and hardship that we have seen in this thematic unit of the original film (see TS 3, Chapter 3.2). In the setting of this post-movie discussion, Giorgos reveals, this time in response to a question from the audience, "Mani is a rough place!" (08:41). This statement directly reminds us of a similar one made by one of Giorgos's close friends in Machairas's film (2001) where he spoke emphatically about the rough and unsophisticated nature of the people in the area of Mani,

Peloponnese in general. Characteristically, Giorgos uses the same anecdotal metaphor to highlight the same attribute of the people of that specific area. Consequently, he engages in yet another vivid account in order to mention that these places were utterly poor. He says indicatively, “From the construction of the buildings, and generally the people’s way of life, you had the feeling that they were either being chased or hidden from someone” [09:31].

Later, in the same account, we gain invaluable information about family and societal structures, and the micro-economy of the period in rural Greece, namely the “Boom of family” and the “autonomy of the farmer” to cite the Giorgos’ exact descriptions. As in Machairas’s film (2001), Giorgos concludes that while he feels blessed for his childhood years in the village, as he grew and wanted to gain independence, the only solution was *escape*, migrating either inland migration to Athens, or outward to Germany. He emphatically confesses, “*Δε μας χόραγε ο τόπος*”, a metaphorical expression that uses this topological notion, where people are suppressed, or confined in a place, and the only solution was to *get out of this place!*

The third flashback is the scene and interview at (3) *The store of Charalampis*. Once more, we are spectators of rural life, the abandonment of the village and a social critique of the Greek state’s neglect of Greek farmers, the blaming of corrupt politicians (11:00-12:40).

Later in the film, in the final setting of this short documentary, namely the ‘poker table’ where the three main actors browse black and white photographs from Xanthopoulos’s archive (some of which are featured in the Appendix of this chapter), Xanthopoulos asks Giorgos, “Who is this guy? Who is dancing here?” (13:52). Giorgos grabs the picture, pauses for a second, and then responds with feeling, “This is Kostas, Kostas Savoulides ... dancing to this song, I will never forget this song... Kostas is a fighter.” The iconic scene with Kostas Savvoulides’s Zeimpekiko dance (4) then plays, with the director paying a special tribute to this scene (13:52-14:50), revealing influences from the genre of ‘performative documentary’.

In the fifth flashback-reworking we connect again with this central figure – in *the Monologue of Kostas Savoulides* (5) he summarizes his experience of working in Greece, his subsequent decision to migrate again, this time to Germany, and his multilayered migration background (14:51-17:00).

The sixth and final flashback (6) is the scene in the back room of the tavern where Giorgos and other friends, though a haze of smoke and the sound of coins, play poker (18:08). Here, we once more observe the slow-paced shooting of the camera depicting the interior of the tavern, focusing on the paintings of ancient Greek gods, as well as the plaster statues of the Karyatids, this monumental symbol that Giorgos repeatedly referred to in Machairas’s film (2001). Afterwards, we

see scenes from the actual play by Karazisis, where Giorgos engages in a witty monologue (18:48-21:30). He then narrates a fascinating story from a poker game, one night at the tavern, with ‘old’ experienced Greek players from all over Germany. At one point in his captivating description he admits that, “Bluffing (in poker) is such a major pleasure”, and from this we can indirectly detect a reference to this widespread habit of gambling, especially on cards, which was so popular among the laborers of the time.⁶⁸

Another anecdotal story definitely worth referencing in this analysis is the story of Giorgos with the bees, from our sub-chapter 3.2.2. As Xanthopoulos talks with Giorgos and Akylas Karazisis, they browse this picture (see page 105), and then Giorgos starts telling a story from his time in Sotirianika. In his mnemonic account of how he saves and resurrects the dead bees in the pen in the village, he reconnects with his childhood, his memories, that is with his particular *Topos*, to which he is so utterly and sentimentally connected, and feels blessed that he ‘carried with him’ all those years in Germany. Admittedly, and as we emphasized in our analysis of the film *Giorgos from Heidelberg* (Machairas 2001), these bonds were so tight that they eventually led to Giorgos and his family’s repatriation. Sotirianika and all its related culture and practices, including that of bee-keeping, stands as a diachronic reference and value. It constitutes the characteristics of his sociocultural and ethnic identity, which, by his own account, he transferred and ‘inserted’ successfully during his time in Germany. The film ends with the three men staying seated at the table, looking at pictures, talking and recollecting, as the lights turn off as if in a theatrical *outró*, lending the film a bitter-sweet and melancholic tone.

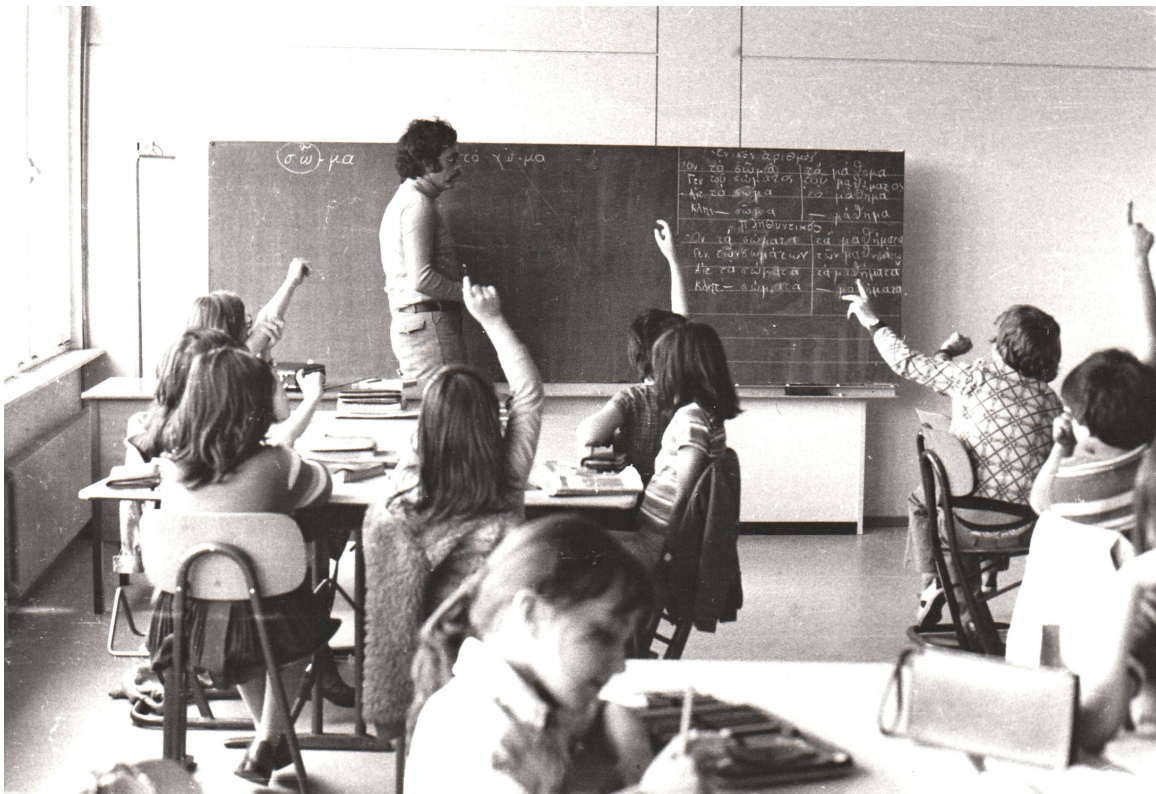
3.7. Output – museum practice; Learning/unlearning from Xanthopoulos

This chapter has underlined the importance of Xanthopoulos’s documentary work, especially his usage and thematization of moving images, in the context of migration, regarding this specific historical period of the “guest-workers” in Germany. Conclusively, after scanning these parts of my

⁶⁸ There are several accounts and oral-histories concerning this issue of gambling, which was very popular with male labor-workers, especially the very first wave. Significant references have been made in the book of Yiannis Matzouranis, *Ellines ergates sth Germania* (Gastarbeiter), 1973, with first-hand testimonials from guest-workers of the period. See chapter 4, “Εξω από τη Φάμπρικα, Χαρτοπαιξία και άλλες κοινωνικές πληγές”, p.162-164. Also, in the groundbreaking exhibition *Crossing Munich* (2009), in the exhibition catalogue, one can see, on page 23, a letter written by female guest-workers complaining about their husbands’ constant pathological gambling. A lengthier reference will be made in chapter six, in our ethnographic analysis of our fieldwork in Munich and the letters of the radio broadcast of the State Bavarian Radio Broadcast, *the Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, BR.

fieldwork, I stress the following questions: What is the implication for museum practice on migration? What do we learn from Xanthopoulos's filmic and visual approach? The gains are multiple and vital regarding the interplay of the following matters: subjectivity, oral histories, orality (as part of tradition), personal testimonies, lived and embodied experience, memory, visuality and the notion of *intensive viewing* (Becker 2002) to which he invites us.

One of Xanthopoulos's main **contributions** lies in his specific way of filming; anthropological, profound and humanistic, the director portrays images of the world through the modalities, the ways the involved subjectivities or social actants live, experience, narrate, and make meaning out of their daily lives. More importantly, Xanthopoulos does not succumb to dramatization or emotionalism (cf. Kymionis 2003) and does not get carried away by the subjects' opinions or ideological articulations. Nor does he find refuge in ready-made solutions, cheap didacticism, or in direct or dogmatic denunciation of the system and its mechanisms. In other words, Xanthopoulos practices the *ethics and politics of encounter* (Nichols 2001:182) – he meets his actors, they interact and talk with each other. Oral word, oration, which plays a pivotal role in the narratives of his documentaries, stems from the interactions between observer and observant, a fact that highlights the subjectivity of both the process of filming and the director's perspective.⁶⁹



69 See related typology, *participatory filming* in Nichols,(2001: 115-123).

Figure 12 : Pupils and teacher in a school in Heidelberg. Teacher appears in *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978) (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, unpublished footage from *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* 1976).

Oral-histories and testimonies are not gathered in order to confirm director's personal opinions, ideology or preconceptions, or to ascertain predetermined notions of social categories and groupings (minorities, migrants etc.). They constitute basic axes of problematization, dialectic thinking and an on-going dialogue with the viewers-spectators (cf. Kymionis 2003). Hence, Xanthopoulos proposes a wider shaping and contraction of the visual archive as a carrier of social memory and invites us to a broader participation in the dialectics of memory formation and storytelling (cf. Harris 2002: 83). Xanthopoulos reiterates and establishes what Harris (2002), among others, has illustrated on the need for *voices* in these discourses – memory work, museums, representations – employing conceptual frameworks for meaning-construction, which are rooted in local and indigenous societal realities and pasts.⁷⁰

Following Harris's (2002) thought-provoking text on the interweaving of power, memory and archives in the South-African context, it is exactly these sub-narratives and counter-narratives that have been excluded from the official public discourse and historiography that we have to re-contextualize and re-insert into the museological *Archive*. On this point, Xanthopoulos asserts,

We should put as many as possible objects, artefacts in the museums, the more different, contrasting as possible with each other. They should be contradicting, in a conflict, in a constant dialogue, the topic of migration should be unfolded like a matrix [να εξακτινώνεται το θέμα] . . . how many 'beam rays' and which, would be placed . . . all those aspects . . . dimensions, old, new objects, theatrical plays, videos, installations, painting, artistic interventions. All the objects should be in a synthesis, they should narrate a story, even a contradictory one . . . (Xanthopoulos 2017, field interview).

The point is not only for archivists, but anyone committed in all aspects of museum work to (re)search thoroughly for the missing voices, for the complexity of the human or organizational functional activities under study during appraisal, description, or outreach activities, so that archives

⁷⁰ Verne Harris (2002) discusses these thematics in the specific context of the *transformation discourse* placed in the post-apartheid era in South Africa and the role of archives in the paradigm shift and change of material but also theoretical 'opening' of the archives to alternative epistemologies, methods, derived from 'indigenous-African' experiences. I find this schema and cluster of thoughts invaluable for my case study, particularly in the opening of archives, re-telling, and re-presenting 'histories from below' as it is illustrated in the work of Lefteris Xanthopoulos.

can acquire and reflect multiple voices, and not, by default, only the voices of the powerful (cf. Schwartz and Cook, 2002:17). Memory, like history, is rooted in archives, and without archives, memory falters, knowledge of accomplishments fades [...] (Schwartz and Cook, 2002:18). On the aspect of *orality*, we still have to refer to Harris' (2002: 83) theorization. Both in the work that has been done and in the planning of future projects related to oral history, there is a worrying tendency to underestimate, or simply not to grasp, the problematic of converting orality into material custody. There are three aspects to this: a determination to view and to utilize recorded oral history as "source" for historiography rather than as "history" in its own right; a failure to understand the extent to which orality, in the words of Isabel Hofmeyr, "live(s) by its fluidity" (Hamilton 1997:17 cited in Harris 2002:84), and an inability, or refusal, to engage orality as a form of archive.

Let's not forget that post-colonial cultural studies have led to a general re-evaluation of the importance of orality and oral cultures and a recognition that the dominance of the written document in the construction of ideas of civilization is itself a partial view of more complex cultural practices (Ashcroft et al. 2005:151). So, in this archive, as Achille Membe (2010; 2015) rightfully reminds us, we are overdue a transformation of the archive from a collection of seemingly past affairs and dead matters into a series of vital procedures, that is into an exercise of living power and possibilities. And this is exactly one of the gains we inherit from Xanthopoulos's documentary approach and his perpetuating *visual ecosystem* (cf. Edwards, Lien 2014). This claim is essentially interwoven with museum practice as an interactive, manifold, multi-sensory process between the curator/director, the work of art/exhibit and the audience, the receivers of this intellectual product of the fusion of material and immaterial elements that fluctuate in an exhibition. Let me conclude by tentatively suggesting the following theses:

- Innovative and critical paths in facilitating such *embodied* experiences in museums
- Involvement of the protagonists of migration
- Inclusive and pluralistic dimensions of oral-histories/social memories in museums
- The opening up and creating a platform on a permanent basis, not only temporary exhibitions and one-off events
- Change of glossary/syntax in museum practice (Antony Shelton 2015)

To rephrase Bleiker et al. (2013: 414), there will never be neutral ways of depicting migration phenomena – or any political issues – but greater awareness of the performative power of images ought to be integral to how mature democracies approach their difficult political and ethical responsibilities towards migrants. Conversely, and to extend that point to exhibitions/museums, an exhibition is never neutral, it is always a political statement (Clifford 1997). Not in the strict sense

of reflecting a certain political ideology, but more as “way of seeing the world” (cf. Bennett 1995; Berger 1972), or a certain perspective, a prism through which we can observe migration histories and related experiences. And it is definitely this multilayered prism of fragmented portions of reality and subjectivity that Xanthopoulos invites us to observe and delve into.

The phrase ‘ways of seeing’ usually refers to a ‘patterned’ mode of perception that reflects a personal inclination, a cultural disposition or at best a global consciousness. Among artists this pattern is expressed in a specific aesthetic form. It provides a reference point that coils its way throughout their life’s work. This process of aesthetic reiteration is usually addressed as a consequence of psychological drives or as a persistent response to intractable social issues. It is presumed that the artist returns to this *topos*, or persists with a specific *tropos*, because the psyche has been locked into an obsessive and compulsive mode. Or else there is the view that the structures of social conflict are of such indomitable force that the artist cannot help but keep coming back to confront social tensions (Papastergiadis 2013: 358). Furthermore, Xanthopoulos responds to the call from Italian anthropologist Alessandro Triulzi (1977) for research on evidence of memory that has escaped the control of political power. As such, he considers “family memories, local stories, family stories, villages, personal memories, in all this vast grid of non-formal, non-institutionalized, knowledge that has not yet been crystallized in formal traditions, the collective consciousness of whole groups or individuals” (Leontaris 2010).

All in all, the work of Xanthopoulos, along with this “deepening of the understanding” and “intensive viewing” (Becker 2002) that the images of his films accomplish, echoes the demands of a postcolonial museum (Chambers et al. 2014), the need to endorse marginalized, suppressed voices, where embodied knowledge, namely memory & experience (Chakrabarty 2002) can be thematized and presented in an on-going sustainable dialogue. Therefore, the claims for a dialogical museum (Harrison 2013) are fulfilled, or in the word of Xanthopoulos, “a museum as a matrix, a livelier and dialogue-driven museum, as long as you consciously choose it, a museum which breaths, where one can speak and interact with the artefacts” (Xanthopoulos 2017/field interview).

3.8. *Synopsis*

While drawing on the lives and **oral-histories** of his characters, Xanthopoulos pays tribute to this so called non-institutional memory, or ‘bottom-up’ memory/ ‘memory from below’, creating small and multiple cracks (*ρήγματα*) (Holloway 2011) in the wall of institutional memory, especially in the historical period of Greek guest-workers in Germany. He creates a visual archive, a *memory topos* from ‘below’, which pays tribute to the unheard and unvoiced histories and embodied

experiences of the real protagonists of migration, particularly in reference to our case study. In this case, **Oral testimonies** and their specific contextualization serve to challenge the official historiographical position in a pivotal degree, causing institutional memory gaps and introducing alternative approaches to events, illuminating them from different perspectives.

The search for otherness, difference, the recruitment of the ‘other’, both through official (state) discourse and in the realm of informal, everyday practice are research fields with endless material for interdisciplinary approaches, since ‘diversity’ and ‘historicity’ is culturally mediated and cognitively correlated.” (Papataxiarchis 2006: 412)

Xanthopoulos listens to the voices of the emerging – both in scientific discourse and in the field of documentary – current of oral history/memory research, which covers groups and social categories of individuals who are not the protagonists of history but those ‘silent majorities’, until recently ignored, such as workers, refugees, immigrants, ethnic and religious minorities, the elderly, women (Vaz 1997:1).

It is true that the action of these unknown and often marginalized groups offers interesting material for multiple readings as their testimonies emerge as new sources of history, overturning their original view of life and activity as minor (Boutzouvi, 1999: 24). As Vilanova argues, “It is a kind of ‘popular’ story that is incorporated into history by opening new ways” (Vilanova, 1998: 45). After all, to follow Sakka (2008: 3), the purpose of oral history/ies is on the one hand to produce primary documents, as a basis for the creation of archives offered for successive readings, on the other hand the interpretation, the process of *making history* from oral sources. It is exactly this oral and primarily visual archive that Xanthopoulos carefully builds, offering up new and multiple readings of those lived realities. Theoretical schemes are overturned, certainties are shaken: oral testimonies can even violently disrupt seclusion of archives, the closed world of the written source, the more or less static view of history (Vilanova, 2000: 65).

At this point, the work of Simon (2006a; 2006b; 2014) on public memory and curation as public pedagogy seems crucial. He states that “Remembrance is inherently pedagogical” (Di Paolantonio, 2014, p.vii, cited in Taylor 2014: 2). As Taylor (2014) argues,

Public memory is thematized in Simon’s scholarship as a praxis that is central to civic life. It is noteworthy to rethink Di Paolantonio and Clamen’s 2002 exploration of this relationship in which they argue that ‘public memory needs to be a praxis of learning, a “creative historical study” that seeks not a sociological understanding of the past nor an extraction of moral lessons but rather “a way of re-thinking the present and the terms on which

commitments and responsibilities are constituted.”” (note 4, cited in Taylor 2014: 2-3)⁷¹

According to this concept of public memory, the educational dimension embedded in every organized practice of remembering the (traumatic) past, and manifest in the pedagogical design of that practice, consists in the possibility that engaging representations of the past can intervene in the present, that is, can initiate the cultivation of new forms of identification, sociality, ethical and political commitments and vigilance undergirding and organizing one’s conduct in the present (Taylor 2014: 177f.).

As acclaimed Greek historian Liakos asserts (2004: 60-61)

the problem is not *what* we expect to hear, but *how* we can hear that which we do not expect to hear. For this reason, we need to question our self-evident categories that organize research or reading, archives or museums. Not only once, but a continuous deconstruction. But questioning the obvious requires standing away from ourselves and self-questioning. Let us see things from opposite points of view; here is the educational value of carefully listening. In this way, what we call ‘cultural heritage’ might not only serve as a positive affirmation, but could gain a critical dimension as well. (cited in Nakou 2005: 9).

To return to Xanthopoulos, we follow Papastergiades in his insightful reading of the work of Berger’s, who is intellectually connected with Xanthopoulos. He refers to Berger’s claims that throughout an artist’s work, there is an underlying but illusive theme, “a kind of hidden but continuous subject” (Berger and McQueen 62). This quality recurs like fingerprints, but since it lacks overt characteristics, it also defies classification. At one point Berger defines this quality as a sense of place (Papastergiadis 2013: 362). Conversely, Angelopoulos notes [2017/ 15:00-17:50],

I was always searching for - in a *mnemic* manner,⁷² a stone village, perhaps because it reminded me of my father’s village which was a stone village built by craftsmen from Epirus . . . suddenly this landscape, this voice . . . a village pillaged by immigration, all the men had left for Germany, became what we would call a native/origin (source, descent) landscape/*Topos* . . . I think this image has remained and it is the basic picture I try to develop in one way or another in my later work. When someone asked me what you wanted to keep, what image you wanted to keep from

71 See also notes on Testimony, public time and inheritance. As Taylor quotes “Simon (2006a, pp. 194-5) theorizes inheritance as the ongoing labour of creating a living legacy through the work of taking in, taking care of, and taking into account the life of another” (Taylor 2015: 188).

72 Here I sense that Angelopoulos uses the word “μνημικά” [=mnemic], which is a neologism on the notions of

μνήμη/mneme = memory, and memorials/memory sites. It also means the ability to retain memory. I attach the whole segment in Greek, from a video uploaded in YouTube, where one can view this interview on Greek Public Television *Ert1/EPT1*, for the broadcast: *Η ιστορία των χρόνων μου, Θεόδωρος Αγγελόπουλος/ History of my times, Theo Angelopoulos (2012).*

your life, this would be the picture. It was a picture of acquaintance with my place and at the same time acquaintance with myself. That's what I wanted to do, this image represented me, I was a man of asphalt, gas, 'a man of Athens', suddenly I knew a Greece, I knew *the Greece* [emphasis], the inner Greece, the unknown Greece (Aggelopoulos 2012, Ιστορία των χρόνων μου/15:00-17:50).

As this acclaimed director has stated in another segment of this interview, he is in a constant search of a "virgin gaze, the old 'new' gaze", this old *new* perspective. This new *panorama*, is what we see in these early works on migration by Xanthopoulos, certainly with various influences, agencies and through a very particular visual language that can be translated for, and benefit material culture representations. As Vakalopoulos (1979:42) indicates (especially regarding the second film of the trilogy), "I contend this film is full of 'starting points', segments of research which is somehow never fulfilled or finished, and stress cinematography's inability to approach innocently one social space/milieu". Conversely, Xanthopoulos argues: I would rather say 'openings', I see in these films many 'lacunae', a series of beginnings (Vakalopoulos 1979:42, cited in Kymionis 2004: 141).

Hence, art, filmic art and subsequently documentary work, not only reveals an existing truth but also provides the means for exploring new connections and wider resonances (cf. Papastergiadis 2013: 356). Enhancing our view on the work of Xanthopoulos, we deem it essential to reflect on a segment of a thought-provoking review of the second film from the year of its release, 1978, which we think substantiates the whole work of Xanthopoulos:

Without false embellishments, without empty lyricism, sarcastic and tender at the same time, the *look/gaze* of Lefteris Xanthopoulos sees, records and exposes through a very advanced maturity of his expressive means, namely cinematography. *Giorgos from Sotirianika* is a film that contributes in two ways: getting to know our country and the people who inhabit it even better, also – and this is perhaps the most important thing – to our own personal self-knowledge (Stavrakas 1978: 46/author's translation).

Finally, we should not forget, in accordance with Bouquet (2012), museums' particular and multiple modes of materializing culture.

The transformations wrought by museums on the objects, images, texts and people brought within their frame raise questions about agency and structure, process and change. Through its windows we look at and interact with things that are valued through the distinctive ways they are brought into the present. And we look again at the world, with their presence in mind. (Bouquet 2012: 8)

It is through Xanthopoulos's innovative work that we view and contemplate social worlds, the social worlds of migration, via another window, *another way of seeing*.

Chapter 4. Subjectivity, Representation II, Reactivating the film archive

In this chapter I will attempt to analyze fieldwork material from an official event I organized with an informal network of Greek women in Hamburg, mainly of the 2nd generation. The goal and structure of the event is reflected in the following brochure that I had distributed to the women of this network before the event.

Screening + Discussion in the context of the meetings of the 'Hamburg Women's Cultural Group'.

Dear Members of the Hamburg Women's Cultural Group,

On Sunday 12/2/2017 (time_place_) in the context of the meetings of the group, there will be a workshop, which will include : 1. screening of two short films on post-war migration of Greek workers to the Federal Republic of Germany in the early 1960s.

2. A discussion moderated by Christos Zisis, PhD candidate for post-graduate studies in the field of Cultural Anthropology, University of Hamburg. The conversation on Diaspora, migration issues is on the one hand, on the occasion of part of the moderator's current research on 'historical chronicle of Greek "GastarbeiterInnen" in Germany and depictions in the Museum', and in particular on the analysis and deepening of oral history themes, oral testimony, memory, remembrance and visual depictions/representations of the migration experiences (film, photography, museum), on the other hand, to look at the visual-archival material together and to discuss, exchange, share opinions on the resulting themes. The conversation will be recorded on a digital camera, and the archive will be of course made available to the group.

The films are: 1. Letter from Charleroi (Liaropoulos Lambros, 1965, 12')

Synopsis: Ten years after the first emigration mission of Greek workers to the Belgian coal mines, the director sees from a particular personal point of view the position and problems of these workers, for whom emigration was not a search for fortune but a search for the everyday, in a European country that materially offered them everything except the possibility of returning to Greece.

2. Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg/ Ελληνική κοινότητα Χαϊδελβέργης (Lefteris Xanthopoulos, 1976, 31')

Synopsis: The documentary Hellenic Community of Heidelberg/Ελληνική κοινότητα Χαϊδελβέργης (1976), shot in the premises of Greek migrant workers (Gastarbeiter) in West Germany, is the first

part of an award-winning trilogy of documentary films on the Greek diaspora. Two more films will follow: George from Sotirianika (1978) and In Turkovounia (1982).

This paper is divided into 4 sections. The first section gives a brief overview of how I organized and orchestrated the whole event. I will depict how I initially approached my informants, the so called “intimate others” (Adams, 2006; Etherington, 2007; Trahar 2009) (Ellis et al. 2010 : 6), The second sub-chapter provides some important information regarding the two films that I projected in the framework of this community event. In the third section I analyze the most crucial topics of this group discussion (as of now *GD*) after the film projection, along with effects in conversation, conflicts, confrontation, which I deem important to discuss. My reflexive conclusions are drawn in the final section.

4.1. First contacts with women's group

Before diving into the material and the conversation, I consider as necessary to shortly narrate how I came across this particular group of Greek Women in Hamburg, because not only did it happen accidentally, it also played a pivotal role for my fieldwork. Additionally, it is crucial to accept that researchers do not exist in isolation. We live connected to social networks that include friends and relatives, partners and children, co-workers and students, and we work in universities and research facilities. Consequently, when we conduct and write research, we implicate others in our work (Ellis et al. 2010 : 6). These “relational ethics” are crucial for ethnographic research. In using personal experience, autoethnographers implicate with their work both, themselves and close, “intimate others” (Adams 2006; Etherington 2007; Trahar 2009 cited in *ibid.*). Furthermore, autoethnographers, often maintain and value interpersonal ties with their participants, thus making relational ethics more complicated. Participants often begin as or become friends through the research process. We do not normally regard them as impersonal “subjects” meant only for retrieving our data. As a result ethical issues affiliated with friendship become an important part of the research process and product (Tillmann-Heally 2001, 2003; Tillmann 2009; Kiegelmann 2010) (Ellis et al. 2010 : 6).

In terms of my sampling strategy, echoing Frisina (2018) :”Sampling is the keystone of good qualitative research design. Focus Group participants are selected through a *purposive sampling strategy*, which aims at reflecting a *diversity of cases* within the population under study”. Recruitment strategies can take two routes : they can be either “top down”, according to which lists

of names are being pursued (e.g. in local organizations, public announcements in newspapers and social media), or “bottom up”, where informal social networks, gatekeepers or direct knowledge are utilized, along with some preliminary fieldwork. In either case, the motivation of the participants remains key to generating interesting data (cf. *ibid*). In what follows I will describe my “bottom up” approach.

I became acquainted with my very first informant, *Zoe*, in Hamburg, by pure coincidence, and therefore, for other reasons already mentioned, I am now about to focus on this random meeting at a random bar. “Are you Greeks? I don't believe it!” : a common utterance by fellow Greek migrants when they get to realize the people next to them speak their language. In retrospect, I have to admit that this meeting was far from common and it initiated a series of further acquaintances, research material and realizations regarding my fieldwork. During this and another subsequent meeting, the ice break quickly, as it tends to do among people of migration background, we open up and manage to find some common ground; me, a PhD student, researching on Greek labour workers' history, and *Zoe*, a *Gastarbeiterkind*, eager to connect people and keep the Greek spirit awake. These meetings precede an appointment for a biographical interview and a neighborhood charity bazaar, organized by the protestant church *Winterhude Kirche Hamburg*⁷³, in the premises of which, *Zoe* lived with her family. There, I come across a social and engaged *Zoe*, interested for her community and the people around her. At this moment I become confident that she is a crucial informant. This is triumphantly confirmed by *Zoe*'s huge revelation that the church accommodates a weekly meeting for the group “Greek women of Hamburg“.

[me] : “*Hamburg Women's Group?* what is this exactly?” I reply with utmost excitement.

And there, *Zoe* explains to me how almost every Sunday afternoon, the group of *Greek women of Hamburg* get together in a parish hall, drink coffee, share their news, and help each other. Language, work and education matters are the main issues, which occupy these self-organized community meetings.

Then, *Zoe* adds:

[*Zoe*]: “Do you want to come over sometime? You can come by yourself, no problem!”.

[me] : ”Sure, because okay, if it's a women's place, and you tell your news and stuff, I don't want to be an intruder”.

[*Zoe*]: “No” she says, “No, I'll tell the girls and we'll sort it out sometime!”

73 See <https://www.winterhude-uhlenhorst.de/>.

(Zoe, personal talk, 2017).

Between the bazaar and my attendance to the weekly meetings intervenes ” *I kopi tis Pitas* “⁷⁴, a Greek new years custom which takes place in various events of social life ; at family meetings on New year's eve and at workplaces by February. There, people cut a cake which contains one and only coin, and share the pieces among the participants. The person who happens to find the coin is meant to enjoy the best year of their lives : a good opportunity for coming together and celebrate with music, dance. Besides the tradition, in this celebration of February 2016, I got to enjoy the companionship of the group of *Greek women of Hamburg*, again in these Church premises.

I distinctly remember Zoe telling me: “Come on, it will be a chance to meet the girls from the group, we get together every year and have a little party!”(ibid.)

In contrast to other equivalent meetings I had attended in the past – I had attended similar events of Greek communities and groups in the past, mainly in the fieldwork I had done in Berlin with the Greek elderly women at the *Griechisches Haus Berlin in Neukölln* , 2014-2015, s. Photos 1, 2) – the one in Hamburg was self-organized and relied upon the willingness of the few members of the group and indeed on Zoe's motivation and organizational spirit.



74 See <https://www.sansimera.gr/articles/871>; See also Doryforos (2021) regarding the annual gatherings of the journalists-contributors of the radio show *Griechische Sendung*, BR Munich: <https://www.doryforos.org/2021/01/24/%CE%B5%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B7%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C-%CF%80%CF%81%CF%8C%CE%B3%CF%81%CE%B1%CE%BC%CE%BC%CE%B1-%CE%B2%CE%B1%CF%85%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE%CF%82-%CF%81%CE%B1%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%BF%CF%86%CF%89%CE%BD%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82/>).



Figures 13, 14: Photos from the event of Christmas celebration at the Griechisches Haus Berlin/Το ΣΠΙΤΙ, Berlin-Neukölln. The seniors are dancing, exchanging Christmas gifts, socializing with food, wine and Greek music (source: Private fieldwork Archive, 20.12.2015).

In regard with filmography, which is a central axis in the present chapter, the gathering resembled admittedly community gatherings, celebrations, occasions, like those uniquely filmed by Lefteris Xanthopoulos' *participatory camera* in both films – the one, *Greek community Heidelberg* (1976) that we watched together with the women ; the women I matter-of-factly I met at the *Kopitis Pitas* event : *Elli, Dimitra P., Dimitra K., Eleni, Litsa*, some other ladies with their husbands, all Greeks, and *Nikoletta*, who is a musician, contributed to the music entertainment of this informal event.

At the beginning, I must admit that my partner and I felt a bit uncomfortable, because, either due to the age difference, or due to habit or mentality, we were not used to going to such *Greek community gatherings*. I, especially in this matter, was almost linear and stubborn and during my stay in Berlin, the first years of my coming to Germany, and afterwards in Hamburg, I was quite negative about the notion of a “Greek community” abroad, either because of political or ideological beliefs or aesthetic criteria or differences or, in any case, I did not feel particularly comfortable in such Greek community events, which always had a folkloric conservative element, which did not fit

my temperament and attitude. Despite our initial awkwardness, and basically, as the evening unfolded, and as we talked to the few people of this event - we are talking about 15 people - and enjoyed the dishes that the attendees had prepared with so much care, I can say that we felt a warmth, and we finally participated in this event of a small Greek community. Usually on these kinds of occasions, I take some photos, either to capture the moments, or to have some further ethnographic data. In this case, I just enjoyed the evening, and chatted with most of the attendees.

A further person in the event needs be mentioned separately, as she represents the close ties that Greek communities in Germany keep; this person is no other than *Thomai*, of whom I had known before i moved to Hamburg through *Pigi Mourmouri*, one of my key informants from the *Griechisches Haus Berlin* (See Photo 3). *Pigi Mourmouri* had suggested me in the interview an amateur theater group in Hamburg, called *Theatrikon e.V. Hamburg*, which cooperated with a similar group in Berlin that would be worth visiting in order to find informants and interviewees.



Figure 15: Photo taken at the Griechisches Haus Berlin/Το ΣΠΙΤΙ, Berlin-Neukölln. Pigi Mourmouri, and Eleni Wert – my first interview informants at the begin of my fieldwork in Berlin, Winter 2014 (source: Website: Το SPITI Interkulturelles Frauen- und Familienzentrum im Rollbergkiez; <https://www.diakoniewerk-simeon.de/beratung-migration/to-spiti/>).

Mrs. Mourmouri had insisted characteristically: “When you go to Hamburg, you should find guys from this group, they are people of all ages, but you should definitely find a lawyer, a friend of mine, who is very active there. She used to live in Berlin, and we used to know each other, you have to find her” (Mourmouri Pigi, field-interview 2015, Berlin), which I did on February 2, 2016, when I conducted a rather extensive biographical interview with *Thomai* at her house in Hamburg.⁷⁵ So, a rather happy coincidence, among others, took place at that event.

Suffice to say, this evening was of great significance for two reasons ; on the one hand, I felt included and part of a small Greek community, and on the other hand, it was a great advancement for my research work. As time went on, and I went on with my work and university commitments, while conducting interviews and collecting material in Hamburg⁷⁶, this idea was swirling around in my head, namely when to go to attend the *Hamburg Greek women's meetings*.

Finally, around December 2016, and specifically on December 17, 2016 and January 15, 2017 after phone calls and frequent contacts with *Zoe*, I managed to go to two meetings of the group. The meetings were usually held at Sunday noon, once a month. Usually, around seven to eight people, would gather and talk with coffee and pastries. The structure of the discussions was relaxed, and the topics revolved around work, language issues, children's education, and especially help from the older women to the newcomers, many of whom did not know the language, the bureaucratic issues, the complexities of the German system, and needed some support and help. An informant told me emphatically at that meeting : “The group here, helps in matters of solidarity, in matters of labour exploitation, for better integration into German society. Here, we are one to help the other. Especially, the older ones, who have passed on, have a debt to the new ones. We must help them! And I'll tell you something else, it's nice to be here, talking, drinking our coffee, and gossiping about our men, because we're sick of them! [laughter]”. (anonymous, personal talk, December 17, 2017).

My presence in these meetings was very discrete. In these two meetings I partook, I tried to have a humble, almost passive role, in the sense of being more of an observer, something that proved to be beneficial, as I collected a plethora of narratives by the participants. At the second discussion, I remember two new members, women in their 40s, who had spent a few months in Hamburg, and wanted guidance and information on issues of bureaucracy, employment, education,

⁷⁵ Elsewhere in the thesis I will quote from the analysis of this interview [[8.2.2016, with Thomai Latsou, Hamburg).

⁷⁶ In this aspect I have to mention colleague & museum educator, *Gülay Gün*, who was then employed at the *Museum der Arbeit Hamburg*, around 2016, and assisted me by giving me fascinating interview material, as well as posters from a past exhibition, titled *Geteilte Welten – Einwanderer in Hamburg, Ausstellung im Museum der Arbeit Hamburg, 31. Oktober 2003 - 31. Mai 2004*.

or information about children's education. Often, I heard almost always the same story, a woman, a Greek woman in her mid-40s with a middle-class education, working in a Greek tavern, had problems with the *Job Center*, but also with her children's school. Older and more experienced women were alternating between giving advice and finding a practical solution.

My role became more active at the meeting of January 15, 2017, when I got to present my idea to the group : For approximately one hour and a half, we would watch two films regarding Greek labour migration, and then, we would have a group discussion, moderated by me. Everything would be recorded and filmed via a digital camera, and all material would be available solely for the group *Greek women of Hamburg*. This whole discussion and material would be tremendously helpful for the scope of my dissertation, as I directly explained to the whole group. The idea was accepted with enthusiasm, and we proceeded to planning the event.



Figure 16 : Photo from the event/Group discussion with the “Greek women of Hamburg”. In the back row, from the left, seats : Zoe, Thomai, Anastasia. Second row in front, from the left: Dimitra P., Nikoletta, Dimitra K, Eleni T., Dominiki. At this moment we watch the first film, Letter from Charleroi (Liaropoulos Lambros, 1965, 12') (source: Private fieldwork Archive, 17.2.2017).

“*Iraklis* from the community” was presented to me by these women as someone who could help with the project's implementation. He was, as they claimed, a key figure for the Greek expats in Hamburg, because not only was he an active member of the Greek Community and politically active, he was also a teacher of German as a foreign language at the *Volkshochschule*. Undoubtedly would he have a network and could assisted me with my idea, I thought back then, which proved to be right, as the event finally took place in a classroom of the *Volkshochschule* after his assistance.

Certainly I should note that his help was crucial, as the hall was fully equipped and had all the conditions to host our small event and it is also important to stress that he was receptive and positive from the beginning. Moreover, in our conversation he informed me about the events they are organizing with his political group (KKE Hamburg) and that of course they are interested in immigration issues. He mentioned to me that a week before our event, they screened the film *The Greeks of Ludlow* (Vardaros 2011)⁷⁷ on Greek labour migration to America and the mobilizations of Greek miners, accompanied by a conversation with the director Leonidas Vardaros. My pleasure was double as I am a friend and keep contacts with his son, also a filmmaker, *Xenophon Vardaros*⁷⁸!

All the above shows that the networks of social contacts can be proven pivotal in gaining access to this type of micro-networks of migration, and how essential these contacts can be conceived for migration communities. My involvement and engagement in this small, but fundamental group of Greek migrant women, was a profit, both for me and for these women, as shown in the following : “Well done, my child, for coming and remembering us, and doing this work, who is thinking of us? Nobody!” (Anonymous, personal talk, January 15, 2017). The fact is that I felt welcome and included into the circles of this small informal community and apart from access to people who wanted to tell their story in the form of an interview, the foundations had been laid for the realization of this closed event. In the following I will recount what exactly happened and was discussed into this event. But before that, I will provide insight on the projected films.

4.2. The films

This chapter focuses on highlighting some significant aspects of the two films we watched together with the group *Greek Women of Hamburg*, which served as a kick-off to our group discussion that followed. The films are the following : *Letter from Charleroi* (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965) and

⁷⁷ See <https://vimeo.com/164340894>; <http://ludlow.gr/>.

⁷⁸ See the film *Παρτιζάνοι των Αθηνών*/The partisans of Athens (2018) <https://www.circogreco.gr/2019/10/14/oi-partizanoi-twn-athinwn-ena-suglonistiko/>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AlaGFmnOjAI>.

Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg (Lefteris Xanthopoulos, 1976). These two films were chosen due to their content and visual representations of Greek labour migration, they are regarded to be two of the earliest documentary films on Greek labour migration. I was also convinced they would act as a powerful stimulus for discussion among the group of participants.

4.2.1 Letter from Charleroi The deferred homecoming (nostos) of a Greek miner in the Belgian coal-mines (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965)

In his documentary (11 minutes) Lambros Liaropoulos, outlines the battle of Greek emigrant coal-miners in Belgium. Ten years after the first migration wave of Greek laborers to Belgium's coal-mines, the director gazes from a particular and personal vantage-point, issues and problems confronting these laborers in a European country, which provides them with all their material needs, except for the possibility of returning to their homeland (Tainiothiki.gr, n.d)⁷⁹.

In the film, Greece is the reflected image in the eyes of a migrant in this Belgian town, where he works in the coal mines; a country he has left behind, the one he longs for, the one he dreams of, the one he has lost, the one that appears before his eyes from time to time, the one brought to him by his illness, his place in the foreign land that he experiences every day in his family and in his surroundings, all these pass as images that try to translate the words, the ones he writes to his mother, whom he has left behind. The narration is in the first person singular, but very quickly the director invites us to get involved in this narrative.

From the very first moment we are told that we are dealing with a cinematic narrative, filming the crew making the film. Thus, the 'I' of the protagonist is transmuted into the 'I' of the viewer, who becomes a reader of the filmic text, and this second 'I' becomes 'we'. (cf. Fragkoulis 2014).

In detail, the migrant who appears to write a letter to his mother does not appear in the picture, and it is as if the voice encapsulates the many faces of the migrants that appear in the altarpiece (Venturas 2004: 108). According to the same source, we all assume in this way that this is a letter that could have been written by any Greek coal miner. Sadness, pain, the loss of joy, the agonizing search for forgiveness, all this is an unspeakable pain that comes effortlessly out of Liaropoulos' cinematic discourse. Ultimately, the viewer experiences the desire for a better Greece, a more just, more humane and more democratic Greece, without the director expressing this demand explicitly (cf. Fragkoulis 2014). Lambros Liaropoulos sensitively outlines the struggle of the Greek migrant miners. Ten years after the first migrant mission of Greek workers in the Belgian coal mines, the

79 See <http://www.tainiothiki.gr/el/tainies/278-gramma-apo-to-sarleroua>.

director sees the position and problems of these workers from a very personal point of view. While examining the film, *Rizospastis.gr* comments on the following: “That's why you rarely hear them talk about returning to Greece. They have accepted their exile, the absurd conclusion of an emigration that was not a search for fortune, but a search for the everyday in Charleroi. In the evenings in the cafés of the *Boulevard Bertrand*, the Greek miners absentmindedly fix their eyes on the colour *EOT* TVs hanging on the walls. From the jukebox, songs by Tsitsanis, Tsaousakis, Kaiti Gray, complete the illusion of fleeing one place for another... their homeland. It is for these Greeks that "Letter from Charleroi" was made. It is the least of my gratitude, for what they taught me, for what they made me feel during the days I lived near them, preparing and shooting my film” (Rizospastis.gr 2020). What is more, Venturas (2004:103) notes in her apt, well- argued and documented article on this film, it is the only Greek film that deals with the Greek immigrants who worked in the post-war Belgian coal mines. Its importance, however, lies not so much on this fact, but on its innovative, for Greek standards, depiction of migration in cinematography.



Figure 17: Photo, Scene from the documentary *Letter from Charleroi* (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965) Source: Page 106, Tomai-Konstantopoulou, F. (2004). *Η μετανάστευση στον κινηματογράφο* [Immigration in Cinema] Athens: Papazisis.

This documentary “was the first film in the history of Greek documentaries that fully approached, with unique resourcefulness and flexibility on the part of its director, without rhetorics or melodrama the issue of migration, a particularly crucial issue in Greek society” (Pagoulatos 2006 : 37). “With Mediterranean humbleness, frugality and precision, the film recounts the difficulties of a Greek migrant in his daily unhealthy work in the Belgian coalmines of Charleroi, as well as the hero's bitter sweet nostalgic Sunday moments. The style of the film is defined by the richly annotated letter that the protagonist sends his mother, which is set against – either in harmonious

blending, or in counterpoint to – the highly expressive and evocative shots wonderfully photographed by *Stavros Hassapis*, against a song of *doric purity* by acclaimed musician and composer of rembetiko music Vassilis Tsitsanis” (ibid.)

As for the film's historical background, Liaropoulos' film is set during the restless and creative historical juncture that preceded the dictatorship in Greece and the 1968 uprisings in Western Europe. Greece was then undergoing the brief period of its rule by the *Enosi Kentrou*⁸⁰ during which there was a significant flowering of artistic and intellectual creativity (cf. Venturas 2004: 103). Hopes which were created by the expansion of democracy and the relaxation of censorship, combined with the earlier establishment (1960) of the *Greek Cinema Week* in Thessaloniki, gave the opportunity to young directors to emerge and communicate their new aesthetic and thematic choices by making low-cost short films (Soldatos 1999: 292-297; 352-353 cited in Venturas 2004: 104).

It is important to emphasize that the director had emigrated to Paris at the beginning of the 1960s to watch and study cinema in France and was an assistant to *Henri Langlois* at the French film library for many years. He traveled to Belgium and lived for about a month in Charleroi with the Greek coal miners before making his film (see also *Etaireia Ellinon Skinotheton*, Trouzas 2019) and that's how he shares the migrants' feelings. With the effective editing of Antonis Tembos, he is able to introduce an intensively poetic dimension to his documentary, one with a subject, structure and general aesthetics very close to Neo-realism (Pagoulatos 2006 : 37); Pagoulatos quotes this significant detail in Stavrakas' commentary on this issue at the 14th Festival of *Cinema and reality* : “Liaropoulos - long live in our memories- was studying cinema when he made the *Letters of Charleroi*. When we met again in Paris after the enforcement of dictatorship in 1967, and I witnessed his pain at having to live away from Greece, I realized that the Charleroi workers were the expression of his own exile, as voluntary (he could not study what he wanted in Greece), as the peasant who leaves his barren field to go and work... *in the German factories and Belgian coalmines*”. [These last words marked in italics are taken from the aforementioned Greek song of Tsitsanis]. (Pagoulatos 2006 : 39 ; cf. Pagoulatos 2004: 85-98). The imposition of the dictatorship of the colonels (1967-1974) will halt this promising development of the called *NEK (Neo Elliniko Kyma/New Greek Wave)* and young filmmakers will either withdraw and remain silent or, disagreeing with the established regime, will flee into self-exile to the countries of central and

80 *Enosi Kentrou (EK)* stands for The *Centre Union*, a major centrist political party in Greece, created in 1961 by Georgios Papandreou. See <https://www.sansimera.gr/articles/1270>. See Featherstone, K., & Sotiropoulos, D. A. (Hrsg.). (2020).

western Europe (Xanthopoulos 2004: 28).

All in all, with respect to the film's contribution we should mention that the film, as Venturas (ibid:104) points out, responds to the often exhortative discourse of the Greek political power in favour of adopting, even if necessarily, the solution of immigration, by providing the audience with the viewpoint of the other side, i.e. those who suffer the consequences of the aforementioned policy. At the same time, by highlighting the human and psychological dimensions of emigration, it responds to the exclusively economic approach to the issue that prevailed at the time (cf. Venturas 2004: 104 - 105). Still, it is a film that reacts to the dominant images of emigration that were shaped by Greek commercial films (see Vamvakas 2004: 41-62; Georgakas 2006: 24-29; Sotiropoulou 1995: 71, 230-236). *The Letter from Charleroi* (Liaropoulos 1965) is considered one of the first Greek films that describes with images and words the daily life of a group of expatriate Greeks in their own place of settlement abroad. In response to the stereotypical representations of commercial cinema, this film, on the issue of depictions of the migrant phenomenon, draws a line of demarcation between earlier Greek films and those of the so-called new or qualitative cinematography that would follow (Venturas 2004: 105).

2. Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg⁸¹ Lefteris Xanthopoulos (1976)

The first film of this trilogy on migration/diaspora by Lefteris Xanthopoulos, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976) (as of now *GGH* (1976)) emerged as a collaboration with the Greek Community of Heidelberg. The Greek Labor Workers' Association of Heidelberg wanted to fund a film that presented the formation, organization and goals of this communal initiative, but it was also perceived as a tool to demonstrate the prevailing problems that labor-workers have faced during that specific period. So, this film marks a shift in the approach to the migration issue – in relation with previous, more classical attempts (cf. Kymionis 2006; Kymionis 2004; Pagoulatos 2004; Dermetzopoulos 2006, Kartalou et al. 2006) – which now expands beyond its consequences to focus on the causes of the phenomenon through an examination of its sociopolitical and historical dimensions (cf. Kymionis 2006: 49). Here, migration is related with the subjects' social mobility and traces initially the causes that led to this massive influx, especially in the case of BRD: poverty in Greece and the lack of opportunities in the labour market rendered immigration as a viable and unavoidable solution.

This film embraces the necessity of the workers rallying to a common goal through the Greek community, and working together to solve their problems, the most fundamental of which are

81 *Ελληνική Κοινότητα Χαϊδελβέργης* (1976, 16 mm, Col/BW, 30'. Screenplay-direction: Lefteris Xanthopoulos. Production: Greek Community of Heidelberg).

presented thematically in the film : the particularity of the female migrant position, women as workers, wives and mothers/bearers of the family, problems with housing, terrible living conditions in the *Arbeiterheim*, health care, education, language, integration and related issues on migration policy, especially for the so-called *Gastarbeiterkinder*, homesickness and nostalgia (cf. Ibid:49).



Figure 18: Photo from the film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg/Ελληνική Κοινότητα Χαϊδελβέργης* Xanthopoulos Lefteris (1976) (source: archival photo by the directors' private Archive, fieldwork 2017-2019).

4.3. Women in the group discussion, first round of comments and memories

Eventually the day of the event arrives. It is February 17, 2017, the room is arranged, the women start showing up. Among them, there are two I haven't met before, *Dominiki and Anastasia*. After sharing some basic information, mainly about the time of the event, we watch both films.

And then, the conversation begins. It's about 18:35 and the film *GGH (1976)* is approaching the end, we are somewhere in the last scene with the community dance and the woman dancing a so called „Zeimpeiko“ dance. Not half a minute later, *Dimitra P.* takes immediately the speech:

However, it [the film] went through my soul, and through my blood, because my parents were first generation, the first immigrants, I experienced as a child the whole thing that the film describes, and the separation and the problem with school, and the "come and

go, Germany - Greece" and the working hours of the parents, and the way we lived, the houses, locked up all day, in a room after ten hours of school, that is, literally it is a harsh reality, which we, the first generation of immigrants experienced "in all its glory". [...] I refer to both films, because in the first one, the description of this man, the way he described his life in Germany [abroad] and the letters he sent to his mother in Greece, were exactly the same feelings that people had at that time, who were coming here [Germany], that is, I have read many such letters from my father, but we as children, it was something similar when we lived in Greece and our parents in Germany, and unfortunately at that time, families were also broken up because of the situation, that is, mothers and their children were left behind and the husbands often created new families here, and we experienced this too, and it was a tragic situation, tragic stories. (Dimitra P, GD 2017 ⁸²).

In addition, *Dimitra P.* alleges “what has not been mentioned in these films is the conventions that were made at that time to the new migrants, especially to the couples, that they could not live together for the first period of time, even the couples were separated, or even illegally together, especially in the *Arbeiterheim*, they were men and women separated and they were only on weekends, as *Zoe* [another informant] said, illegally, and were not allowed to have the children with them”. (ibid.) *Dimitra P.*'s first statement and commentary is telling in every respect. In fact, she attests to the issues that both films deal with, from work, education, family issues and separations, to life in the *Arbeiterheim*, the typical “back and forth“ that all these families experienced : labour conditions, family issues, the presence/absence of parents, gaps between 1st and 2nd generation, the huge issue of housing for the guest-workers back then, themes that both films deal with clearly.

In correspondence with the filmic style and narrative of the film, I am reminded of a part of my fieldwork in L. Xanthopoulos' archive. There, L. *Xanthopoulos* had confided to me in one of our countless conversations during the fieldwork in his archive, that Liaropoulos with this first film in 1965 had influenced him a lot in terms of stylistic and technical issues (Lefteris Xanthopoulos, fieldwork 2017). It is crucial, though, not forget, that this is the first documentary film that deals with the issue of labour migration. As Xanthopoulos (2004: 28) points out characteristically: “In 1965, there will be the first testimony about migration. Liaropoulos's documentary *The Letter from Charleroi* (11 minutes, 1965) investigates the living and working conditions of Greek immigrants in the Belgian coal mines and the film is an elegy for lost lives, a lyrical poem about the desire to

82 Here I refer to as Group Discussion.

return home, the nostalgia. The real protagonists, along with the miners of the Charleroi region near the French border, are the dark mine galleries, the dust, the humidity and the coal”.

After *Dimitra P's* narration, *Thomai* exclaims: “Excuse me, can I ask a question?” to which I respond affirmatively. So, she takes the lead and after a short pause, she claims “I didn't experience it the way you did, to be honest!” and she starts describing her coming to Germany, which was due to a holiday, somewhat by coincidence, and then for studies, and generally mentions that she experienced a completely different situation as a migrant herself and her family, back then in Germany than the one described in both films. During the description of this differently experienced situation on her part, two informants - *Dimitra P*, and *Dimitra K*. - constantly interrupt her with various questions to make sure she is a *Gastarbeiterkind*, either in a didactic tone, or with reassuring questions. For example, *Dimitra K*. corrects *Thomai*, explaining that she is referring to a generation later than her father, who was a fur processing worker from Kastoria⁸³, and points out that *Thomai's* father was the exception who found a home of his own, as *Thomai* claimed earlier in the conversation that he had another profession and did not stay in a *Heim*, thus making it clear that she and her family were not guest-workers. *Dimitra K*, also explains in a didactic style how labour migration to Germany began, that women came first, and then for accommodation in the *Heim*, while *Thomai* abruptly insists that she knows these facts.

At that point I decide to intervene and deem appropriate to ask *Thomai* about the film and if there was over-dramatization of facts, as earlier in the conversation she mentioned that the film presented the life of all labour workers (in the film, in Belgium but implicit for all guest-workers in Germany) as somewhat “black and grainy” and if she fell in a dark mood. There she replied “No No...” and then she asked about an earlier comment about the percentage of workers who lived in hostels, but was surprised at the high percentage, and a facet of reality she didn't know, falling into several contradictions, and citing experiences of miners she had met in West Berlin at the time, who had made good money, despite the adverse conditions they had experienced. After this point of disagreement, *Dimitra P*. spoke again and insisted:

However, for the most part the situation was as the film describes it, and it has to do with the psyche of every Greek at that time, and his educational level, because that also played a decisive role, most of the Greeks who came at that time, the post-war period

83 With the informant *Thomai Latsiou*, I conducted a biographical interview at her house (date February 7, 2016), almost a year before the Group Discussion, February 2017 with the so-called Greek *Women of Hamburg* group, and with whom I had already built a relationship of trust, which in combination with the frequent conversations with my then neighbor, *Zoe*, gave me access to approach the group and participate in their Sunday meetings.

were the *illiterate workers*, that is, my mother, who was indeed illiterate, that is, to this day she cannot sign correctly, described a case where she went to a shop to ask for eggs for us for the children, and she didn't know how to ask for eggs, and she pretended to be *a chicken!*⁸⁴ These people had an additional problem, and they couldn't learn the language, and in general they couldn't integrate as easily as a person who had another level of education, or a background of cultural knowledge, let's say [...] some people were condemned to follow a one-way street that they had been offered from the beginning. Others had the possibility to choose other paths, this played a decisive role at the time. (Dimitra P., GD, 2017)

Here the informant, as she does many times in conversation with the majority of women, stresses the importance of education as a key component of successful integration into German society. Learning German is presented as the unique and utmost prerequisite, so that foreign migrants can be accepted and normally integrated into the German host society, and goes on indicating :

And what I can emphasize is that the second generation of immigrants, to which I belong, could not see with the same eyes the situation our parents experienced. I, as a child, could not experience the emotional world of my parents. I remember my father used to listen to those songs of migration [*songs of the Xenitia*] by *Kazantzides, Gavalas, Tsitsanis*, as in the film, but as a child I was disturbed by this music, I felt it was heavy, this psychological downer, because I needed to experience childish, youthful, happy situations [...] and I was in conflict with my father who wanted to listen to the recorder, the traditional, he wanted to listen to *Kazantzides'* wining and moaning! It was certainly the difference of generations. Today, I understand everything very different. (Dimitra P., GD, 2017)

4.3.1 Aesthetic references of Migration; Music score, and Film

This reference to the songs of migration encourages a short interruption of the discussion's analysis, in order to unfold yet another vital aspect in Guest-workers' lives that is also apparent in the films: the music and musicians.

Here, it is important to connote that the first film *Letter from Charleroi* (*Liaropoulos*

⁸⁴ Similar accounts are to be found in the documentary *Tvx.gr, Γκασταρμπάιτερ: Ανάμεσα σε δύο πατρίδες/Gastarbeiter in between two countries, Kouloglou 2011*) by informant S.Piperidou, revealing the shock and uneasiness of Greek labour workers to communicate due to the utter lack of German language.

Lambros, 1965), despite the exceptional innovative character of the point of view and the cinematographic writing, the break that it created in the representations of migration, is simultaneously inscribed in multiple ways in its era; it touches, first of all, on problems that were then preoccupying broad sections of the Greek population. Moreover, it bears a simplistic depiction of migration as a representation of the *evil foreign land*, as the aforementioned singer, *Stelios Kazantzides* has sung about it, which was widespread during this period (cf. Venturas 2004: 112). These constant references to the expression of „life in a foreign land”, the so called „Xenitia“ remind us of a series of references, both in films and in books that we have drawn from the literature on the examination of this period (cf. Xanthopoulos 2004; Venturas 2004; Saunier 1983; Papailias 2005). A conceptual link for this reading might be found in the notion of *Xenitia* [=Ξενιτιά], the Greek word for the state of being in a foreign land. *Xenitia*, as anthropologist Nadia Seremetakis has suggested, is a “foundational taxonomy” whose imagery informs Greek dreaming, death rituals, kinship systems, marriage, geography, history, ethnicity, and politics: “*Xenitia* . . . encompasses the condition of estrangement, the outside, the movement from the inside to the outside, as well as contact and exchange between foreign domains, objects, and agents” (1991: 85).

As Guy Saunier (1990) notes in his introduction to an anthology of folk songs of *Xenitia*, motifs of sickness, death, and physical degradation are common elements in the depiction of the alienation, displacement, and suffering associated with *Xenitia*. *Xenitia* also can be considered a root metaphor for death; according to a long array of traditional folk songs, to be in *Xenitia*, is to suffer a social death before one’s physical one (cf. Ibid.). On this matter, I find the ethnographic note cited by Venturas (2004: 110, footnote 18) noteworthy to mention : “According to the testimony of *Theo Angelopoulos*, published in the tribute that the newspaper *Rizospastis* made for Liaropoulos, on September 9, 1983, on the occasion of his death, the latter, back in the early 1960s, had the following verse written in his student room in Paris: 'We cannot even think of another place other than Greece’”⁸⁵.

Additionally, it is also indicative to connote that throughout the film there is music by *Tsitsanis*, and in fact, when a migrant dances a *zeibekiko* dance, the first lyrics of his song ““*Kapia mana anastenazi*”⁸⁶ can be heard. Only in one moment, when we see the migrants coming out of the coal mine, more specifically the well of the mine, some lyrics of a folk song about *Maro* going to

85 Theo Angelopoulos, cited in Rizospasits *Πιζοσπάστης* newspaper, 8.9.1983. See tribute to Lambros Liaropoulos, Greek directors Society/Εταιρεία Ελλήνων Σκηνοθετών, 1983.

86 See <https://www.ogdoo.gr/apopseis/xristos-asimakopoulos/o-apagorevmenos-ymnos-tou-vasili-tsitsani>. As

Asimakopoulos (2017) points out at the beginning of the article: “The song which was recorded on 31.5.1947 with the top performers *Stella Haskiel*, *Markos Vamvakaris* and *Vasilis Tsitsanis* was a cry of desperation against the fratricidal war that destroyed what was left in the country from the destructive onslaught of the conquerors”.

the well for water (05:00 - 05:20) are played to emphasize the contrast. The director constantly uses the sound of “civilized” *rebetiko music*, while avoiding the songs of *Stelios Kazantzides*, which are identified - in everyone's consciousness, whether they lived in Greece or abroad - with emigration (Venturas 2004: 112-114, footnote 29).



Figure 19 : Photo of a vinyl record by *Stelios Kazantzides*⁸⁷ and renowned female singer *Marinella*. (Album title 6, 1976, EMI) (Source : *DOMID* virtual collection series Motif series "Migration history in images" “Guest worker” music between self-empowerment and commercial success: <<https://domid.org/en/news/guest-worker-music-between-self-empowerment-and-commercial-success/>>)

Due to the significance of the songs of *Stelios Kazantzides* for the lives of the guest-workers, I am quoting the translated lyrics of the song *Stis fabrikes tis Germanias/In The Fabriques of Germany* by *Stelios Kazantzides*. The lyrics of the song (1961) are indicative⁸⁸ in a rough translation by myself:

87 As it is quoted in the source: „ (...) The Pontus- Greek singer Stelios Kazantzides was one of the most popular singers among Greeks in Germany. In his songs he sang about homesickness, the longing for the abandoned homeland and gave a voice to the attitude towards life of the workers recruited from Greece“ (source: *DOMID Archive, Cologne, E 1473.0471*).

88 “Στις φάμπρικες της Γερμανίας και στου Βελγίου τις στοές
πόσα παιδιά σκληρά δουλεύουν και κλαίνε οι μάνες μοναχές.

Κακούργα μετανάστευση, κακούργα ξενιτιά μας πήρες απ' τον τόπο μας τα πιο καλά παιδιά.

Στη μακρινή την Αυστραλία και πέρα στην Αμερική στον Καναδά στη Βραζιλία πόσα παιδιά πονούν κι εκεί Κακούργα μετανάστευση... Κάνε κουράγιο μετανάστη, κάνε λεβέντη μου υπομονή του γυρισμού σου το καράβι πάλι μια μέρα θα φανεί .Κακούργα μετανάστευση κακούργα ξενιτιά μας πήρες απ' τον τόπο μας τα πιο καλά παιδιά”. (Virvos 1961).

ΣΤΙΣ ΦΑΜΠΡΙΚΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑΣ-ΣΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΙΔΗΣ Lyrics :Kostas Virvos. Music, *Stelios Kazantzidis*. s. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5KwkQjSk-bk>.

In the factories of Germany and in the mines of Belgium how many children work hard
and lonesome mothers cry.

Evil immigration, evil foreignness, you have taken away our best children from our
land.

In far-off Australia and beyond in America in Canada in Brazil how many children are
in pain there too, wicked emigration...

Be brave, migrant, be patient, my friend, and wait for your return, the ship will come
again one day.

Bad immigration, bad foreigner, you have taken our best children from our land. (Virvos
1961)

In a dialectic manner, I cite the lyrics and some crucial information regarding the song of
Vassilis Tsitsanis, which is actually heard in the film of Liaropoulos (1965):“*Kapia Mana
anastenazei*”⁸⁹,

In a rough translation ;

“A mother sighs
day and night she worries
her child is waiting

89 Κάποια μάνα αναστενάζει

μέρα νύχτα ανησυχεί
το παιδί της περιμένει
που έχει χρόνια να το δει
Πάνω στην απελπισιά της
κάποιος την πληροφορεί

ότι ζει το παλληκάρι

και οπωσδήποτε θα 'ρθει
Με υπομονή προσμένει
και λαχτάρα στην καρδιά

ο λεβέντης να γυρίσει

απ' τη μαύρη ξενιτιά.” (Τσιτσάνης 1947)

ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΜΑΝΑ ΑΝΑΣΤΕΝΑΖΕΙ ΧΑΣΚΙΑ-BAMBAΚΑΡΗΣ-ΤΣΙΤΣΑΝΗΣ. Lyrics : Vassilis Tsitsanis. Music
composition:Tsitsanis 1947, Parlophone GA 74100. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cn7b5ozshlg>. Zeibekiko for
voice and piano (with chord guide).

who hasn't seen him in years

In her despair

Someone informs her

That the boy is alive

And he'll definitely come

With patience she waits

And longing in her heart

For the gentleman to return

from the black foreign land” (Tsitsanis 1947).

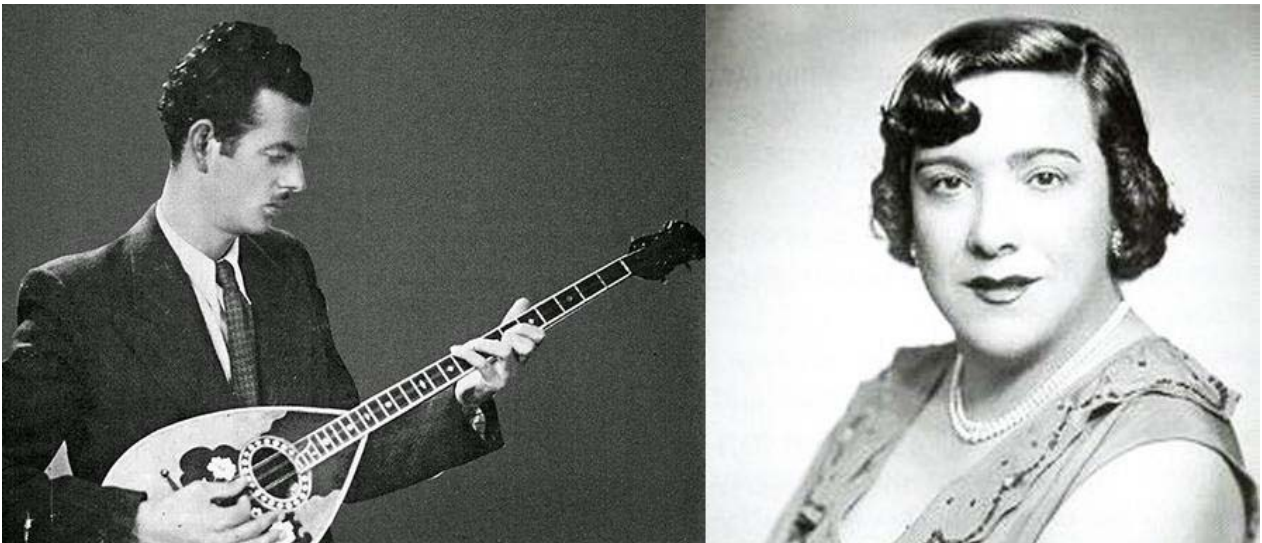


Figure 20 : Photo taken by the online article The forbidden hymn [Ο απαγορευμένος ύμνος του Βασίλη Τσιτσάνη] of *Vassilis Tsitsanis*, written by Christos Asimakopoulos, 3.12.2017. In the photo on the left, Vassilis Tsitsanis, in the right, renowned rembetiko singer of Greek jewish origin, Sarah Haskiel. (Source: <https://www.ogdoo.gr/apopseis/xristos-asimakopoulos/o-apagorevmenos-ymnos-tou-vasili-tsitsani>, ogdoo.gr.)



Figure 21 : Photo of Sheet music of the song *Kapia Mana anastenazei*/ΚΑΠΟΙΑ ΜΑΝΑ ΑΝΑΣΤΕΝΑΖΕΙ, by Vassilis Tsitsanis (1947). This is a torn page from a magazine that published sheet music. Source: Virtual Museum of Kounadis Archive/Αρχείο Κουνάδη, "Κάποια μάνα αναστενάζει", 2019, <https://vmrebetiko.gr/item?id=3229>.

In this song by Tsitsanis (1947), “Mother” becomes a symbol of the unity of the warring “brothers”, and the silent waiting for her child, the constant anxiety for his life and the silent “why?” of the hideous Greek civil war transcends ideologies and political expediencies and opposes the most selfless and undiluted love to the bottomless hatred of the opponents (cf. Asimakopoulos 2017).

As we learn from an insightful historical and music journalism account by Asimakopoulos (2017) this great song, which at first glance praises the love of the mother, bridges the raging river of political passions and becomes a hymn symbol of lost national unity. The 'black foreign land'

allusively refers to the battlefield and then to the captivity, exile and exile of the guerrillas in the countries where communism was established. The censors were only a few months late in realizing the allegorical references of the song and on December 6, 1947, they explicitly banned it on the grounds that ““it has an allegorical meaning, which can create controversy, incidents and disturbances of order”” (ibid.). The Ministry of Public Order had an additional reason for prohibiting the public performance of the song as it considered that it undermined the morale of the government army as well. However, despite the ban, the soldiers continued to sing it, ignoring the danger, as *Renos Apostolidis*, writes in his prominent literary book on the Greek civil war “Pyramid 67/ Pyramida 67” (1950) confirms:

In the night streets of the cities, drunk, in the taverns and cafes, in the shacks and in the mountains, in the hillsides and in the outposts of the bridges, for three years this whole bloody, broken country, sunk to a horrible bottom, plunged in despair, without a light from nowhere, without hope - everywhere where there was an army, everywhere where there was a guerrilla, everywhere where there was smoke, ruin and ruins! This whole country, a whole three years, sang one song, the same, with perseverance, with unseen pain, with heartbreak and tears in all eyes: Something simple, folksy⁹⁰.(Apostolidis 1950 cited in Asimakopoulos 2017).

Additionally, Vournas (cf. 1961:277-294)⁹¹ indicates:

The song *Kapia mana anastenazei* conquered the working masses with such lightning speed, because of its anti-war message, that it came at one moment to be the connecting link of national contact between a people who were in the cruel vortex of the civil war. Soldiers and guerrillas alike sang it on the battlefields and in the climate of a civil conflict, "which by its very nature, as Lenin said, is a thousand times more cruel than a

⁹⁰ Here, the actual text by writer Renos apostolidis in the literary magazin *Pyramid* (67), 1950 in Greek reads: “Κάποιο απλό, λαϊκό, σερέτικο”. [Seretiko/σερέτικο] is actually a colloquial expression used in the Rembetiko music and semiotics, as a synonym of one having the behavior of a vagabond, punk. See the lyrics by Tsitsanis [iv] : *Για σένα[i] εγώ αλήτεψα και έγινα ρεμπέτης, μπερμπάντης και ξενύχτης και σερέτης*“ (Στον Άγιο Κωνσταντίνο, Τσιτσάνης). See <https://rembetiko.gr/t/%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BD%CF%8E%CE%BD%CF%85%CE%BC%CE%B1-%CF%81%CE%B5%CE%BC%CF%80%CE%AD%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%89%CE%BD-%CF%8C%CF%81%CF%89%CE%BD/6259/2>. (Last accessed March 10 2023).

⁹¹ All the magazines of the journal *Epitheorisi technis/Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης* in its digitized form can be retrieved at the ASKI website, <http://www.askiweb.eu/index.php/el/71-2015-09-25-11-37-32/anakoinoseis/234-2015-09-17-09-57-18>. (Last accessed March 10 2023).

war between two states", it brought a serenity and a sweetness unprecedented in the souls of the opponents. Result: the then government banned it.

The impact of the song was enormous and left an indelible mark on this era, proving once again that people can endure its misfortunes, but these misfortunes should be publicly sung.

Beyond the semantic, cultural and symbolic aspects of this song, I believe there is also a central quality of ethnographic and historical importance, mainly in regards to how the film of Liaropoulos (1965) was made and the central role played by the musical score of *Vassilis Tsitsanis*, which I think is important to mention in the discussion. I read in the extensive report of the music critic *Fontas Troussas* (2019), as he dissects the events in an extensive tribute to the life and work of the director Liaropoulos :

I note these details, from my time at the French Film Archive, where i worked as first secretary of the french director of *Henri Langlois*⁹², to show how impossible it was, in that fever and incessant relevance to cinema, to find a way "to do something", as I would say to him from time to time, and he would reply with the classic "bon, on verra", that is, we'll see, and continue to dictate as if nothing was going on. When I insisted and managed to talk to him "about my plans" (...) he listened to me in silence and said nothing. I would, of course, become a beast and say in an unkind tone whatever came into my hot head: irrelevant complaints, criticisms of "his inability to understand me", he would reply calmly, "Cessez vos jérémiades" that is, to stop those that's what he called those outbursts of mine (...). The fever of that time had (however) a happy consequence that I would forget the stress of the "career". So one afternoon, early, when the *boss* (that's what we all called him at the Cinematheque) came to my house for the first time to ask me if the day after tomorrow (which was Christmas) I could help him edit some *Lumière* pieces on the machine and I said yes, he sat down. We talked a bit about everything. "I'd like to make a film about Greek immigrants in Belgium. "Listen to this music" I said and put the *Tsitsanis* music piece [taxim] on the turntable. While the piece was playing I was talking. When it was over, I started over and went on. I don't remember exactly what I was saying. But I do remember how warm I felt by that strange silent attention from the boss... At the end of the month, on payday, the

92 Regarding Henri Langlois, an influential personality in the history of cinema and film preservation, see <http://www.tainiothiki.gr/el/tainies/1054-synomilia-me-ton-anri-langkloua>. (Last accessed March 10 2023).

accountant gave me another two and a half thousand francs with my salary. "Langlois told me to give you this money for the film. For what film?"

And Liaropoulos continues:

I spent almost all of January '65 in Charleroi. It is difficult for me, today, to remember events from that contact. I went with the purpose of seeing, documenting, noting down. Without realizing it, this purpose went by the wayside along with my "status" as a director and the "destination" I had set for myself, namely to make a film. Everything I saw and felt in the first days, hanging out in Greek cafes and later in the homes of the workers, erased the image of the film I had brought with me. The reality of the outside world did not fit into the "molds" I had prepared. And to explain myself more clearly on this delicate subject, everything I knew and assumed about the nature of the work in the mine, the wages of the workers, the living conditions, the climate, etc., proved to be more or less true. I was not late, after all, in terms of information to "cover" the issue. But I could see that this, so essential, was not enough. The film as a perspective was slipping from my grasp. As for my notions of "cinematic aesthetics", of which I was so proud, they too *went out the window*, adding to the confusion (and despair) that had gripped me. I didn't see the film being made, I *was sitting in the shallows like a ship*. Shock and, without exaggeration, despair. "Don't worry, we'll make the film," the workers would say to me in the café at night, the way they saw me pensive and distracted. "We'll do it" I'd say, and *the snakes would eat me up*⁹³. It would take a whole book or a film to explain how, without my realization, the miners themselves eventually led me to the film: and not only because their friendship, their trust, their stories brought me close to their lives. Mostly, because in that closeness they brought to life and made sensitive deadened or numbed cells within my own self. That is, they didn't let me stand across the street and look at them to make a film, they put me next to them to see the world together(...). Eventually the film was made, it was a short film of course, about twelve minutes long and had music by Vassilis Tsitsanis (at one point Polly Panou is heard in the song "Kapia Mana anastenazi"). It was the first Greek documentary film on migration, a phenomenon that plagued the society of the time (1965), shot not in a (Greek) port or a train station, but directly in the foreign land. (Troussas 2019)

93 Rough translation from the slang expression "Με έτρωγαν τα φίδια" [Greek] which stands for overwhelming, unbearable stress.



Figure 22: Photo of the director Lambros Liaropoulos on the settings of the film *Letter from Charleroi* (Liaropoulos 1965, 12') (source: by the website article in the web magazine LIFO by Fontas Troussas, 19.4.2019, <https://www.lifo.gr/culture/cinema/o-proora-hamenos-skinothetis-lampros-liaropoylos-ypirxenas-apo-toys-protoporoyis>).

After this historical and cultural studies' extended reference to the songs and aesthetics of songs of the so called guest-workers' era, and the ethnographic details in regards to the background filming of the first film we watched with the *Greek women of Hamburg*, it seems appropriate to argue that the significance of the choice of music in any film is immense, as it directs/influences the viewers' emotions inevitably as the discussion led to psychological issues, and traumata of Guest-workers' and how these could have been eliminated had there been a proper education, as one of the informants in the discussion alleged.

If we now turn to our group discussion, it was *Dimitra P.*, who made again a strong and emotional commentary regarding the generation gap of guest-workers' families, those unbearable psychological gaps between the first and second generation, as well as how crucial as a tool is education of children in order to have a normal integration and not to become unskilled workers as their parents.

In the last part of this round of discussion the main issues participants further commented upon can be summarized as follows: As a direct response to the line taken by the film of Xanthopoulos (*GGH 1976*) where a labour worker bluntly states: “we, all the labour workers are psychological sick“, *Dimitra P.*, hints the grave problem of the so called guest-workers era : mental illness of migrants. Specifically she argues : „most people became depressed because they missed their place and their family, so they became *de facto* sick” (*Dimitra P.* , GD, 2017). This statement is more or less accepted by all participants and then *Zoe* goes on highlighting this notion of temporality, adopted by almost all guest-workers and featured in many testimonies in my research so far. Here, *Zoe* recalls her father, who was saying almost every year : „ Ah come on! Two more years and next year we leave Germany! Next year we'll be gone!“ (*Zoe*, GD, 2017). Furthermore, *Zoe* mentions once more the topic of education as a means of escape from the *conservative Greek family*, especially for women, but also the problems in education, specifically the difficulty with the double system of the period, where children had to attend two schools, one Greek, one German, a theme which is broadly thematized both, in the aforementioned film of L. Xanthopoulos (*GGH 1976*), and the film of *Giorgos Karypidis, Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, which I analyze extensively in chapter five of this dissertation.

Besides, another informant, *Dimitra K.* confirms this notion of temporality and the broad topic of the actual absence of parents, who were employed as Guest-workers in Germany, and more than often , used to leave their children, back in rural Greece, where they were usually brought up by the Greek grandmother. This informant, in other parts of the discussion accentuates the absence of parents, as she experienced it herself, as well as this endless “back and forth“, which has characterized especially this 2nd generation of Greek migrants in Germany. Moreover, all informants in this part, agree on the absence of institutions and support, back then by the Greek government. They all align in illustrating the Greek state as “non-existent”, while stating that at least in Germany there is some institutional assistance with a goal of integration.

Additionally, *Dimitra K.* and *Thomai* touch upon the issue of economic hardship, and this continuous struggle to save money, or to buy a car and build a house, back in the Greek periphery, where they would finally wish to return, summarizing effectively this dream of the so called 'petite-bourgeois' Greek citizen, which so prevalent especially during the period of return migration, from Germany back to Greece, roughly around 1974-76⁹⁴. It is more than striking that *Thomai* shares an anecdote where she recounts of people she knew, who used to rent cheap apartments in order to save money and after one point and on, used to buy domestic appliances, decorative artefacts for the

94 See indicatively the critical and rather cynical account in Matzouranis (1973), pp.301-308 in his seminal study on Greek labour workers in Germany.

house, which eventually they never used. These wrapped parcels stayed as such in those “small dark“ apartments, along with the dream of return, which was due to be prolonged every year. As soon as the expression of “dark apartments” fell into the discussion, *Zoe* again, started to describe some miserable conditions of housing by some cousins of her in Frankfurt. She bluntly says: „These houses were like stables! I mean, actually they used to be horse stables! Unbelievable!” (*Zoe*, GD, 2017). Yet, regarding the issue of cheap housing, living conditions, and economic hardship, it is *Dimitra P.*, who shares a shocking personal experience regarding those *houses – horse stables*:

No we didn't live in a *Heim*, but the houses we lived in were as he described in the film, it was a communal building, where many families lived together with a shared toilet and a shared kitchen, and we lived in a room, always locked, as I described before, and in *Saltzkirchen*, we lived in a room, which was made of grass, still with clay and grass, of hay, but one night it caught fire, from the stove, and one night, when my father came back after the night shift, I was sleeping right under the wall, which was burning inside, and [as] he went in, he smelled the smoke, and he realized that the house was burning from somewhere, and he took the [tool] from the stove and he was hitting the walls to see if there was something [...] I don't remember how it caught fire, but where I was sleeping, and I knocked, the wall opened and the fire came out! I mean, the toilet and the water was in the basement, we were on the second floor, so you can understand what kind of situation a kid is in [...] I must have been five or six years old at the time. (*Dimitra P.*, GD, 2017).

According to Venturas' view (cf. 2004: 107) regarding the film, Liaropoulos avoids the trap of easy impressions with images of misery, showing, for example, the interiors of workers' houses equivalent, in terms of amenities, to the petite-bourgeois houses of that period in Greece, or simple dormitory rooms⁹⁵.

However, this materially tolerable life is lonely and empty and while there may be no material destitution, the whole film is set up to highlight the psychological and emotional depression immigration brings about. The choice of images is made in order to highlight the uncomfortable, the alienation, the lack of communication, melancholy and loneliness in the “foreign place”. Any scene where we would logically expect some form of communication, interaction, sociability and positive emotion is completely eliminated (cf. Venturas 2004: 107) and would be

⁹⁵ A topic also thematized in both films of L. Xanthopoulos, both the inhumane conditions in *Gastarbeiter* housing, as well as the dream of purchasing a small apartment in Germany.

intentionally filled in.

Here it seems appropriate to connote that it was bitter sweet and unsettling to witness these women relieve some of their past experiences, often traumatic and painful memories through the films. The method with the re-activation of memories through the film had proven fruitful in order to awake also awkward and unwanted memories, as the participants were able to put themselves in the protagonists' shoes and travel back in time, as well as comment on all open issues raised by the films. Instantly, for some seconds, during the discussion as I was still undecided which direction the discussion is supposed to take, one of the women managed to take the lead and wrap everything up with a heartbreaking, raw and performative speech. It was *Nikoletta's* turn to be the protagonist :

Okay this, and all that we're talking about, is a perspective completely *from above*. I, who lived in *Wandsbek* a year ago, I remember, a huge department store was being built, and people were working 24 hours a day inside to deliver the building, because they didn't want to pay them extra overtime, and you're talking to me now about ... ! But to talk about the conditions, people now who were coming from the village, the sea, the sky, the mountain, the farm, and suddenly they are taken away, and they are locked up in it, in Dachau⁹⁶! It was over there the houses where they lived, ten people at a time, and they're shoved into the earth, into the coal mines. And there they couldn't breathe. Do you know what it's like to work so many hours? How many hours did they work? [...] Over twelve, underground ? And breathing the coal ? It's not only a psychological downer, your body alone, your breathing! Here, nowadays we do yoga to calm down, they did like this, [she shows it vividly, puffs!] and they were breathing 'blackness', in ten years he tells [in the film] they were retired, do you know what that means ? And those who lived, 10 years underground and you (they) had to breathe coal? In the second little film [*G G H, Xanthopoulos 1976*] showing the concrete pipes, by these workers, the whole earth, the whole of Europe, was drilled through, all the pipes and pipelines and all that, how did they get through all that? It's a situation that started then and changed the whole system. And what can you say, that it's too much? No! And few things it showed! Just the first film [Liaropoulos] was a little bit sweet and showed a little bit of *mommy*,⁹⁷ but it wasn't too much, because when he [the protagonist, the

96 The metaphor in question concerns the Dachau concentration camp, equating *housing facilities of guest-workers* with concentration camps. It is often mentioned in related testimonies, by many informants, as I have noticed in interviews, as well as in secondary sources. See for example, the documentary *Gastarbeiter/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: "400.000 τεμάχια/400.000 items*, Stelios Kouloglou (2011) < <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/xirx7e>>.

97 In that moment *Nikoletta* sounds rather ironic, as she comments on the fact that the lead protagonist of the film, who

labour workers] came from his village, that is a small world, including his family, his mother, he would of course, write letters to them! (Nikoletta, GD, 2017)

At this point, we are dealing with a dynamic and passionate testimony, a talk which is characterized by social class consciousness and social milieu elements, as well as raw performativity. *Nikoletta* unravels all the unpleasant information and bleak reality regarding labour, exploitation, equating the housing conditions of labor workers with concentration camps, like *Dachau*, as well as the shock of migrant workers experienced in this brutal transition from rural life to the industrial zones, and urban industrial landscapes of Germany. It is also noteworthy to indicate that *Nikoletta* uses many slang expressions, as well as the word *Coals/karvouno* [κάρβουνο]⁹⁸ as a direct reference from the first film we watched together. As Venturas (cf. 2004: 110) rightly points out, the discourse and atmosphere produced by the film is not so much aimed at informing, as it is in accentuating a certain mood and emotions, ranging from resignation, despair, nostalgia, to unbearable loneliness⁹⁹. Lets recall some of these expressions: “the coal and the wilderness choke me”, “Sunday had better not come”, “In the coal, once you get used to it, you don't escape easily”, “I go back to our cafes and get drunk in order to forget Europe” (*Liaropoulos 1965*).

In addition, Nikoletta continues:

And now the one about the parents, that came to my mind, now with *Dimitra K.*: It was the time when couples were getting married at a young age, that is, at the age of fifteen or seventeen, women were getting married, and they already had children, the children of these women had gone to Germany, so the grandmother who was raising the children of the immigrants, she was about forty five years old, now they give birth at that age, so they could raise children! The grandmothers at that time, they were young women and they can bear everything, you can bear whatever comes in your way! Anyway [...] Now the thing about the children who stayed, *you* [pointing to *Dimitra K.* who was sitting next to her] were lucky to be raised by your grandmother, and that's why you're so strong! The others, half the children stayed *down* [in Greece], the others were taken away, and then brought back [...] I know brothers and sisters, who had so much

reads aloud this letter, refers constantly to his mother. Right, after, she sort of understands this strategy.

98 *Ntalia, Mpouchos, karvouno* [ντάλια , μπουχός κάρβουνο] slang expressions for coal, used by coalminers.

99 See more specifically the expressions from the film in the same article by Venturas (2004 : 110). Our purpose here is to extract some important information and themes from the film, which, after its viewing, triggered some of the participants to position themselves accordingly in relation to the film. For the analysis of such films, I have devoted sub-chapter 4.2, where I analyze and review visual representations of Greek labour migration in documentary films.

animosity, they were the worst enemies, because "you left me in the village, and suddenly you take me at ten, and I find you with a baby in your arms, I don't know your body, I don't know your breast, I don't know anything!" This had created so many things, and we see it now in property issues, and in all this, because these children are the ones who divide the property, and there are killings, we are talking about tragic situations between brothers and sisters, *you* who are also a lawyer [*pointing to Thomai*], you must have seen a lot! (Nikoletta, GD, 2017).

With a compelling torrid speech *Nikoletta* in just a few lines depicts the psychopathology of Greek workers' family, the young grandmother, who was raising the children in the Greek rural periphery¹⁰⁰, the endless inter-family rivalries and animosities, the endless “come and forth“ relationships of siblings regarding property and so on. Yet, she continues :

And as for the houses, there were indeed so many people living there. My mom would say, at work they wouldn't let them go to the bathroom, she would say 'I was holding the shit up my ass, because they wouldn't let me!' They weren't allowed to, and so they arranged their food, and their water so that they didn't go to the toilet often ! And they got used to it and the bowels, they were not allowed to get up from the workplace to go to the toilet, the other one, *Mrs. Vasiliki*, she worked in the fish factory, her feet in the water all day long, now she can't walk, in the water and the humidity all the time ! The houses of the workers, then not only of the Greeks, but also of the Germans, had no toilet, now I can tell you and in Hamburg, even today, my roommate's wife lives in an apartment that has no bathroom”. [...] back then, they didn't have, no bathroom, the bathroom was a luxury, they had these potty [...]

¹⁰⁰In relation to the phenomenon of *Pendelerziehung*/commute education and upbringing within migration families, see Dunkel & Stramaglia-Faggion (2000), pp.284-289.

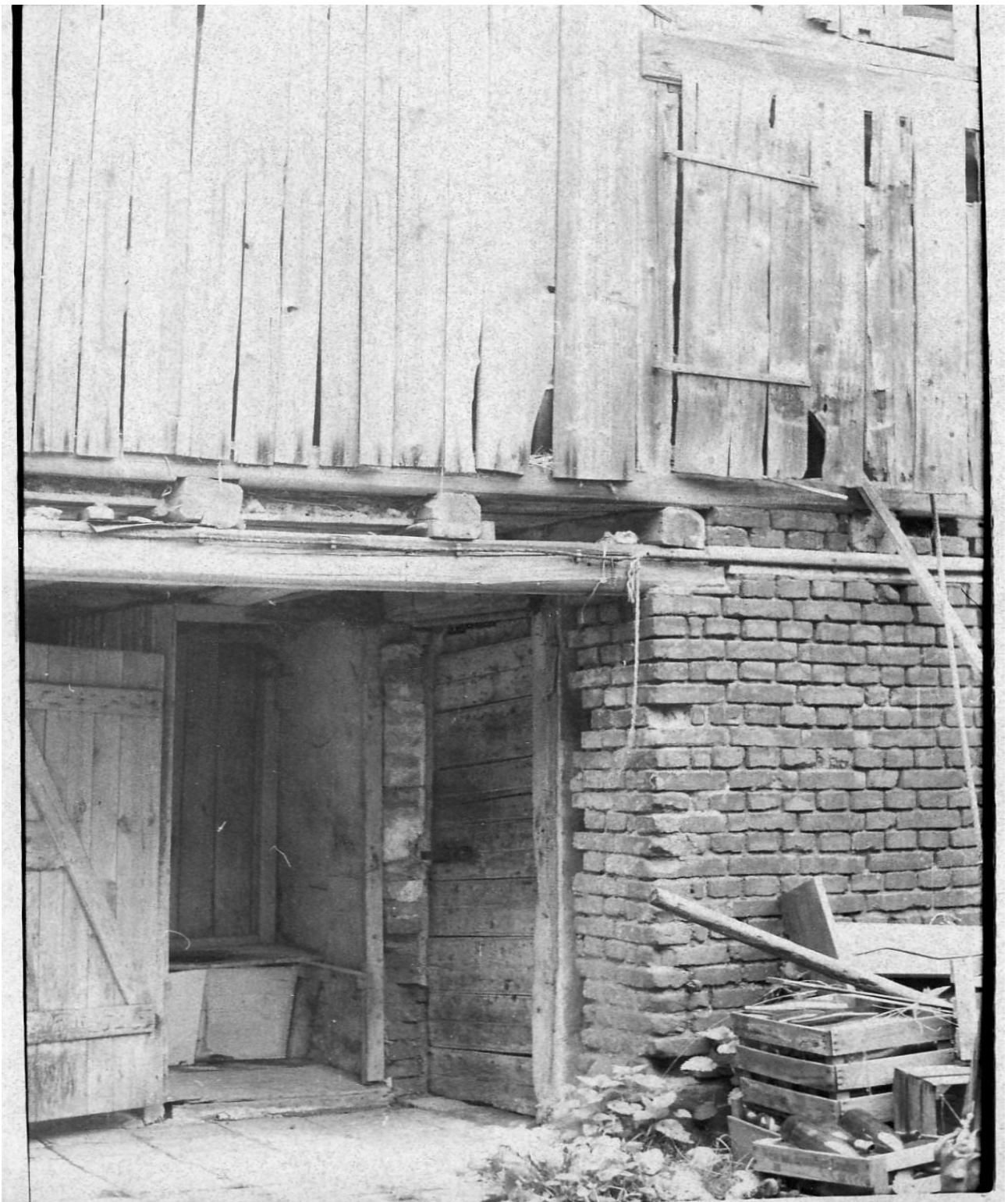


Figure 23: Toilet for 'Gastarbeiter' (photo: Lefteris Xanthopoulos, source: Home archive of Lefteris Xanthopoulos, footage from the film Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg 1976).

I remember, my father got tuberculosis, because he worked in places with chemicals, cleaning and stuff, those big boilers, here in Hamburg, and I remember the pictures I see

from his youth, being down, white as a sheet, the conditions were miserable, it wasn't just the jobs, *they took the worst jobs*. And even today, guys, those who come, who don't know the language or anything, they still get the worst, as I said above, with the construction in Wandsbek, until they deliver that huge building, the department store, they work twenty-four hours a day, what can we say now? (Nikoletta, GD, 2017)

Particularly, this phrase by Nikoletta “*they took the worst jobs*” is in connection with the whole idea that labour workers were totally exploited by the German economic system, which assigned to them the “worst jobs”. This idea is reflected in most of the interviews I conducted, as well as during my fieldwork with L. Xanthopoulos in his private archive (2017)¹⁰¹. To sum up, in a vivid and sentimental account by Nikoletta, we are confronted with the issue of labor conditions and labour exploitation regarding that specific period.

4.3.2. *The severed finger of my aunt Antigoni, family ties*

As Nikoletta recounts these stories of labor exploitation, especially with her father, and Mrs. *Vasiliki* in the fish factory in Hamburg, I am reminded, as an *epiphany*, of the image of my aunt *Antigoni*, one of my first first degree relatives, who was employed as a *Gastarbeiterin* in Germany. With “epiphanies” I refer to remembered moments perceived to have significantly impacted the trajectory of a person's life (Bochner & Ellis 1992; Couser 1997; Denzin 1989), times of existential crises that force a person to attend to and analyze lived experience (Zaner 2004), and events after which life does not seem quite the same. “While epiphanies are self-claimed phenomena in which one person may consider an experience transformative while another may not, these epiphanies reveal ways a person could negotiate “intense situations” and “effects that linger—recollections, memories, images, feelings—long after a crucial incident is supposedly finished” (Bochner 1984: 595 cited in Ellis et al. 2010 : 2).

First there was her husband, my uncle *Vassilis*, *Uncle Willy* as we used to call him, a very beloved uncle, my father's brother, who had migrated to Dusseldorf as a worker in 1955 and after working in a factory, then became an interpreter, opened a beer store and later became a professional tram driver.

101 See also Xanthopoulos talking on this very issue in the documentary by *Stelios Kouloglou* (2001), *Gastarbeiter, 400.000 items/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: “400.000 τεμάχια”*, Tvxs.gr. See <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/xirx7e> [02.45-03:15].



Figure 24 : Photo of my uncle Vassilis Zisis, Guest-worker , and then, driver in tram/public transportation services in Dusseldorf in late 1970s (source: private fieldwork archive. Sent from Aristidis Zisis, son of Vassilis Zisis' son, in a personal message on social media, approx. 2018).

He was a very beloved and sympathetic figure, and now that I think about it, the first relative from whom I have experiences and memories of Germany: Mainly, in the summers in Greece as a child and teenager, we used to go on holiday to the village, and that's where the big family meetings and dinners with relatives took place. Especially in my village we had many relatives who had migrated to Germany as labour workers. I remember, some gifts that this *Uncle Willie* would send us from Germany: arm watches, toys, the first *Grundig* television set for the whole family. I also recall him sometimes speaking in German with his wife, *Antigoni*. But here, I was reminded of the figure of my aunt *Antigoni*, who had two severed fingers, one on each hand. I remember once, as a boy in my home village – a small mountain village in *Thesprotia, Epirus, Northwestern Greece* – which we used to visit every summer, having asked her, the following which I reference here as a short dialogue, reconstructing that incident:

[Me] “Auntie, how did this happen to you?” And she would respond:

[Aunt Antigoni] “It's nothing, my little boy, it was a little accident in Germany in the factory”.

In time, she told me the story of how a lathe operator at the factory, where she worked, cut off her finger and I remember being shocked. As I'm writing these memories, in the first attempt to analyze all this material with the women of Hamburg, it's about January 18, 2022, noon, when the phone rings. It's my cousin *Vasso* - I've mentioned her in a chapter of the thesis, as I have implemented an extensive biographical interview with her - a very dear cousin, who is the daughter of another Gastarbeiterin from close relatives, my aunt *Areti*, who worked in a wire factory in a town outside Frankfurt. I answer and she says “Hey *Christo*, I hope you're well, today aunt *Antigoni* passed away...”. After, we had the conversation about the unfortunate way she passed away, alone and forgotten in an almost abandoned village with several health problems, I think of this coincidence, recall the image with the severed finger of aunt *Antigoni*, and simultaneously think about *Nikoletta's* father, as she describes him above, “pale, like a white rag”, *Mrs. Vassiliki*, with water up to her feet in the fish factory in Hamburg and all the workers with work accidents, especially at that time. Furthermore, a similar incident as with my aunt, is illustrated in the documentary *Gastarbeiter: 400.000 items/Γκασταρμπάιτερ:400.000 τεμάχια* (Kouloglou 2011). There, *Mrs. Valasiadou* narrates: “In a moment, the factory press ate my finger, squeezed it and smashed it! How you press a cherry and it opens like this (Emphasis), that's what the finger had become”. (E. Valasiadou, *Gastarbeiter/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: 400.000 τεμάχια/400.000 items*, 2011). This is a recurring theme, which is very present in the films of *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*, which highlight the basic problems of labour migration in Germany, especially this sequence with the two workers sharing personal testimonies - from the desperation of poverty in rural Greece, labour exploitation in Germany, accidents, the uncertainty of unemployment and abroad, problems with the family back in the country of origin - comes back to my mind and here I reference the photos while we are watching the film. It is also a theme that comes out in several interviews I have conducted with 1st and 2nd generation workers throughout the spectrum of my fieldwork.

All things considered, the above work accidents go hand in hand with the broken family ties among guest-workers and children/relatives. For the relatives and especially children left back in Greece, the guest-workers' lives in Germany was occasionally covered by a mysterious veil and smaller or bigger incidents were revealed delayed, something that hindered bonding in many occasions. As a result, children grew up traumatized. As we will see below, it is also a recurring theme in this group conversation, with updates and tensions, but also disagreements.



Figure 25: Photo from the event/Group discussion with the “Greek women of Hamburg“. At this moment we are watching the sequence [from Xanthopoulos Film „Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg“ (1976) (source: Private fieldwork Archive, 17.2.2017).

Family problems were experienced at a large scale by another speaker, *Litsa* who shared with the group:

Now this, with the different experiences in the family, both good and bad, that he said in the film *that families were broken up* [line from the film Xanthopoulos, GGH (1976)] I experienced it from my ex-husband's point of view [...] he created an (illicit) relationship and in order not to recognize this child, he left to Greece, so that he created many psychological problems for the children, which exist up to now¹⁰². I have experienced this intensely! Now, on the other hand, we had my aunt, who was an immigrant here, who, as I remember at the time, had very good and positive impressions

¹⁰² The informant here implies all the children that her ex-husband had from both relationships, the one with her, and those from his extramarital affair.

of Germany, she had a very good time, she brought us things, chocolates, bananas!
(Litsa, GD, 2017)

By that she meant that she sent things from the village in Greece to her Greek relatives in Germany, a common practice of migrant workers, especially from the Greek periphery, ranging from sending money in the form of remittances, to material objects, consumer goods¹⁰³.

Litsa, proceeds:

[...] On the other hand, for purely personal reasons, because I stayed for my children, what struck me here at the beginning ... on the contrary ... what I experienced ... not racism, I experienced more racism the other way round, more bad times from the Greeks and not from the Germans ! [...] There was a Greek *Hausmeister* in particular, who exploited us because we didn't have a house, and he exploited the Greeks, we didn't know the language, we didn't have any money and he took *black* money from us, a lot of money in German marks, 2000 DM, to put us in some miserable houses back then, with damp, and with that [...] we shouldn't just talk about the Germans, we should also talk about the other side. (Litsa, GD, 2017)

In this short but comprehensive account, *Litsa*, who had not talked at all by that time of the discussion, depicts family problems, gaps between 1st and 2nd generation, sharing a personal inter-family anecdote, while regarding the trivial matter of housing, which had been discussed earlier by all participants, she reports this "reverse racism" she experienced, from the Greeks, and not from the Germans, as had been expected.

103 See the sequence in the Film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (Xanthopoulos 1976) with the supermarket and the couple of labor workers who do their daily shopping, while simultaneously a female labour worker shares her first shocking experiences from her life in Germany.

4.3.3 The Conflict

Then, in the flow of the conversation, *Thomai decides to speak* asks whether there are positive elements in the whole migration experience, as throughout the conversation we were focusing on the negative ones. This triggers among all women who want to share their opinion a second conflict, which takes place in the group discussion. Specifically *Eleni T.*, who had also not spoken until that point, obviously upset, utters:

“To be honest, actually what's happening to me is very ... [pause]. What's going on is too much for me, I can't concentrate on one person [pause] we're all talking at the same time! What's happening is very emotional. *Thomai* asked something and immediately all the negative things came, and that's how I felt it too, and the question she asked was how to say, *berechtigt/entitled*, and what she said is justified, because my parents also lived in a normal house [...] *not all Greeks lived in shacks!*”, (Eleni T., GD, 2017).

It is significant at this point to reflect that in the narrative of the letter which is read aloud in the context of the first film, by choosing to present the initial attitude of an even numerically significant portion of migrants towards things, provides a one-sided image in order to create the sense of absolute loneliness and the psychological dead end of emigration/*Xenitia*, while at the same time, with this one-sidedness, the ideal of *homeland* is indirectly exalted (cf. Venturas 2004: 109). In this instance we would agree with Venturas (cf. *ibid*; footnote 12), who argues that what the director is mostly interested in is to anathematize the solution of separation from the motherland, an admittedly recurring motif in the film.

As we observed above, because of this deliberately emotive narrative and storytelling of the film, we had a first conflict in the group conversation with the female informants, which continued and was presented with intensity, variations and upgrades in the conversation as well. This discourse, as Venturas (2004: 110) rightly points out, is not so much aimed at informing, as it insists on highlighting a mental mood and mostly negative emotions, from resignation, depression nostalgia, and unbearable loneliness for those living in the *Xenitia*. This is additionally scored by the following lines, where the labor worker reads his letter to his mother, echoing his thoughts; “I have nothing left but to think of you“. “I went to the café, there was no one there, I drank coffee alone“. “After church, all the others were gone“. “What am I to do with life in a foreign land, to live with your grief and as days go by without anything changing“. “The rain has swept us away” (Liaropoulos 1965).

It is more than obvious that the director's aim is to represent the intense homesickness of migrant workers, and perhaps this mood successfully influenced some of the participants judging by

their comments and interpretations.

So, after this disappointment expressed by *Eleni T.*, *Zoe* took the initiative and started to bring some psychological arguments, regarding Greek mentality and how they like to indulge in victimization. She argues : “We always like to play the victims“ (*Zoe*, GD, 2017) trying to support *Eleni T.'s* sentiment, that both films were exaggerating, and that the life of guest-workers in Germany was not all about misery and hollow.

After some comments and a constant comparison and reference between “then and now” in regards to life of Greek migrants in Germany, I felt somehow I was not facilitating the conversation with a clear focus, and got carried away in hearing the conversation, and mostly the conflicting arguments.

Later, on the most discussed topic of this part of the conversation, regarding labour exploitation and dependent work, *Thomai* at one point asserts:

I believe that the worker, who for whatever reason is in dependent work, will have a lousy time! It's over! He's got 25 drachmas in cash, a day's wage back then in the cotton fields, in Greece, he might get in Germany, 10 to 20 more, and whatever in order to be able to meet his obligations. But apart from that, other horizons were opened up, but from then on I saw that many people decided to stay [in Germany] as *normal people*, in an expensive house, they fell into the trap of saving money to leave at some point...and suddenly the man [an ordinary labour workers] comes back sick and you say why? They didn't know their rights, they didn't get their unemployment benefits, they didn't get anything (*Thomai*, GD, 2017).

Indirectly, the blame is put on the guest-workers who, according to *Thomai*, did not know how to fight for their rights, or just enjoy their roles as victims. In a supplementary note, then, *Dimitra K.*, reminds to the whole plenum the historical context in an effort to debunk *Thomai's* argument and highlight the trivial role that labour workers played for the reconstruction of Germany. She emphatically argues: “That post-war Germany was built by immigrants, the *Wirtschaftswunder* happened because of us!” (*Dimitra P*, GD, 2017). Let's not forget that in the same decade, migration from Greece, mainly to Western European countries, is exploding. The post-war Greek governments had adopted immigration as a solution to the problem of, among others, unemployment, and at times used a variety of ideological arguments in an attempt to legitimize their policies (*Venturas* 2004: 104). Towards the mid-1960s, however, criticism of

Greece's immigration policy increased and its critique intensified outside the left (Venturas 1999; 79-102).

Besides, the housing situation, which was discussed in the first part, either regarding past experience(s) or current ones, consists also a source of conflict among the discussants. On the one had, Dimitra P. confirms : “Those years were so black, the films depict reality as it was”. (Dimitra P, GD, 2017). It is indicative to consider that in this film there are images that seem unthinkable for the Greek audience of the time: images of the characteristic conical hills formed by the soil from the excavation of the mine galleries, images of the industrial and urban landscape of a relatively small town in Northern Europe, where the light is pale and the sky is grey, often spotted by the wires of the overhead coal transport wagons, images of the coal mines themselves, with the workers wearing the characteristic lamp helmets and getting lost at the mine entrance; images alternating with shots in houses, or in the dormitories, with the unusual architecture and aesthetics where the coal miners eat and sleep, with shots in the church, and above all, in Greek cafes. (Venturas 2004: 105 - 106). It is worth emphasizing that these documentary-like images with their achromatic dull colour, convey a grey and dull atmosphere, underlining the difference with the stereotypically constructed "Greek" landscape (Greek nature, islands, light, white and blue), and related notions of Greekness, which have been emphasized in Greek commercial cinema, and the alternation of these same images, the majority of which are static, indicates a rigidity, and symbolically depicts the limited alternatives that this environment offered to foreign workers (cf. Venturas 2004:106).

On the other hand, *Eleni T.*, who made the initial complaint in this so called *second conflict*, intervened and claimed that she does not doubt this truth, she just insists that it's a one-sided narrative, especially when it comes to the houses, and the unfortunate stigmata as depicted in both films. She admits: “I've listened to people, they've told it back then the way things were ... They made a community of their own, they came together, it wasn't all pretty, but they weren't just having a bad time. If you ask them today, they'll tell you the same thing” (Eleni T., GD, 2017).

Right after, Thomai refers again to the psychological effects and problems of guest-workers with drinking, dice/gambling¹⁰⁴. Thomai admits: “Well, it wasn't for everyone... there were many who fell into drinking because they couldn't stand it, others into *chicks* (meaning extramarital affairs) because they experienced freedom... the dice, I've lived all that” (Thomai, GD, 2017).

Nikoletta again achieves to sum everything up through an emotional testimony, regarding the troubling family matters and gaps between 1st and 2nd generation: , while trying to serve as a

104 I have devoted space for this topic in previews chapters of my fieldwork, both on how is thematized in the films of Xanthopoulos, and in my fieldwork in Munich (letters of viewers of the *Griechische Sendung*, 1960-1974, HA, BR).

mediator in this conflict:

I wanted to say that, as a child, I lived in good conditions, with the two-storey house, my parents didn't separate, in Dusseldorf, I lived wonderfully, but I remember hearing my father say that if I stayed in Germany any longer, I would die! My brothers on the other hand, because they were this 'up and down, up and down', I remember all their lives having the why and the blame in them, which is a huge difference to what I experienced. I remember it all as a child, all very nice, I don't remember having a bad time, I grew up in good times, with a big garden, some cherry trees, Christmas and presents with the people downstairs, but I remember my parents' stories about the working conditions when they came, about how hard the years were, and I remember all my life my brothers and I remember this *why and blame*, which I took a lot of, and it took me a long time to realize it wasn't my fault [...] a Turkish roommate with a similar experience helped me to understand that it wasn't my fault, and I stopped taking it personally, that in my relationship with my brothers it was my fault, that I had stolen something from them, I had stolen our mother's breast! That I had everything and they had nothing... but I lived a different reality, as a child of immigrants born here, a different reality for my brothers, who grew up there, ten years before me. (Nikoletta, GD, 2017)

At this point I seize the opportunity and intervene by commenting on the interviews and the interviewees' constructions of memories, issues of subjectivity, verisimilitude, validity, trying to emphasize of course that everyone speaks and reinterprets on the basis of their own subjectivity, and that of course it is acceptable to have different perceptions and opinions about lived experiences and situations. Yet, we should always keep in mind the issue of construction, when it comes to the narration of our memories and we acknowledge the importance of contingency. We know that memory is fallible, that it is impossible to recall or report on events in language that exactly represents how those events were lived and felt; and we recognize that people who have experienced the "same" event often tell different stories about what happened (Tullis Owen et al., 2009). Certainly, the air is somewhat clear and it seems that all participants agree on the individual reality each and everyone has experienced.

4.3.4 The now and then

In what follows, I tried to continue the conversation and asked the following question from my

prepared fieldnotes: *Do you see similarities and differences with today, in terms of the new generations migrating Greeks, "Crisis"¹⁰⁵ with "then" or the 2nd generation? How do these films touch on the "now"?*

It was *Dimitra K.*, and *Thomai*, who take up the baton alternatively and in my surprise they don't focus on the question. Basically, they insist on personal recollections, experiences, and to be honest I didn't intervene to clarify or explain, but let the conversation flow.

Dimitra K., always based on her own experiences, stresses the importance of learning the language, getting an education in order to integrate into German society, and how this has helped her personally in this whole struggle of integration, yet, I was impressed by *Thomai's* response, who emphatically argues: "I don't feel like an immigrant!" To my remark if she presents it as something negative, she says it's not, and then, with various personal anecdotes, she quotes stories of separation, e.g. with her father, the first trip to Germany, family relations as something sad or negative, and on the other hand she stresses that there were also good moments, with gifts from Germany, but she also points out 'how things have changed for the better in general', the issue of distances, the awareness of the foreign country, that things have improved now compared to then (communication, distances, mobility, means of transport).

At the same time, *Nikoletta*, makes a crucial critical comment on working conditions of the guest-workers in Germany within the wider socioeconomic context of that period. She considers that when she saw the first film about the coal mining in Belgium, it occurred to her "then it was the coal mines, now they go to the kitchens!" and while recalling some scenes from L. Xanthopoulos' film (*GCH 1976*) she makes a critique of the so called dream of development, the dream of Europe, of that type of development that was promised to the workers at that time, in contrast to what they knew so far, their prior experiences with rural life, and asks herself what was finally better for those people? She points out emphatically: "[...] How they were persuaded what is best for them? To go away for ten years and go under the earth and breathe the coal or to dig the earth with claws and teeth and plant it and make it blossom... that is, what was presented to them, that is good and that is development... what is good, to have ten pairs of shoes and not know where to put them or to have the super latest model of car?" (Nikoletta, GD, 2017).

Via this testimony, I am strongly reminded of the critique of *Kostas Savoulidis*, one of the protagonists of Xanthopoulos' films, *Giorgos aus Sotirianika (1978)*, which is presented in the later

¹⁰⁵At that time, in my research questions I included questions comparing the new generation of so called crisis migrants to the Gastarbeiter*innen of Germany, 1st and 2nd generation. However, over the years the focus of my research has shifted only to the embodied and unknown experiences of the 1st generation, and the 2nd generation through their narratives.

film by *Kostas Machairas*, *Giorgos apo Heidelberg* (2001), a film that serves as a dialogic response to the initial film of Xanthopoulos, following the traces of *Giorgos Kouzompolis*; the acclaimed Greek tavern owner and “successful entrepreneur” in Heidelberg who finally returned to his native hometown in Peloponnese. Thus, in a thematic scene in the film of Machairas (2001), [40:25-49:44], where the director and *Kostas Savoulidis* take a long drive, *Savoulidis* shares memories and stories of labour migration, as they pass by the *BAMF* factories in the outskirts of Mannheim, while he emphatically wonders “if it was all worth it”. At that point, he goes on expressing one of the most crucial statements in the course of the whole film, regarding labor exploitation and unhealthy labor conditions. According to Kymionis (2004) not only does *Kostas Savoulidis* embellish or glorify but instead demystifies his stay in Germany. For *Kostas Savoulidis*, the disadvantaged position of immigrants domestically and later abroad prevented immigrants from perceiving significant problems with living and safety conditions in their workplaces, precisely because they came from very poor economic environments and Germany met their basic needs, which their home country could not satisfy by pushing them to the solution of immigration (cf. Kymionis 2004: 156f). *Savoulidis* confesses:

I say "we had a good time, nice", because ... we were starving and waiting in line and (they) didn't give us any work back home, and we came *here* and we found a piece of bread, we found some work! I don't know, we made something, we're good. But the bottom line, if you look at it, was the *modern slave trade*, in the modern form, to sale people off, the outpouring of those people who sent them away, they told them "Get out of here, leave, and go and find it elsewhere". (*Giorgos apo Heidelberg*, Machairas 2001)

This is what *Kostas Savoulidis* was wondering in that film: “Is this the kind of development we wanted, is this the Europe and the progress we were promised?” Similarly, Nikoletta wonders and all ideas of post-war industrial and urban development according to western capitalist models are questioned and contrasted with the rural life that this world had and left behind.

After the conversation, and in what I call schematically as the third part of this discussion there is a *third conflict* among the participants, which I present again in the form of reconstructing the dialogue.

– [Thomai] : “I'll tell you something else, about those you said that they work 24 hours a day, I doubt it”.

- [Nikoletta]: “What are you saying, dear? They bring in crews, work inside the construction site and sign a contract until the construction is delivered, the workers themselves told me, I can't get it out of my mind... But didn't you hear the other time about those worker, twenty people stuffed in an apartment?”
- [Thomai] : “So you're talking about undeclared work, yes, that's one thing, but I'll tell you, in the 1990s and 2000s, they 'made a mess', the labour inspectorate has done some inspections and they've been heavily fined”.
- [Nikoletta]: “And the conditions with the restaurants and the jobs, where people come from Greece, work 8 hours and 12 hours and are declared for three and four hours, uninsured, Greeks, by Greeks, and 'children' [addressed to the other women], it's not only Greeks to Greeks, below my place there is a Persian who exploits another Persian, who is a teacher and left his country because he had a different ideology, he was exploited and they kept him in the cold all day. I mean, it's not just Greeks on Greeks, it's exploitation on everyone” (Nikoletta, Thomai, GD, 2017).

For instance, this is the moment where I detect a *third conflict* between the participants about working conditions and labour exploitation in Germany, both then and now. Once again, clearly the issue of labour exploitation is raised as an ongoing situation and standard feature among migrant workers in Germany. Not only then, for the *Gastarbeiter*, but also in modern working conditions, especially in construction, building sites and in gastronomy, as Nikoletta explains. It is worth noting that Nikoletta, admittedly, touches on the burning issue of exploitation in Greek restaurants by expatriates. This is a fact that I recall being intensely discussed in the past in discussions in the Greek Community in Berlin (2013-2014), where many complaints and incidents of violations were observed and recorded, as well as various incidents that I have read from time to time in the electronic press of the Greek diaspora in Germany and in social media¹⁰⁶. Certainly, Nikoletta does not fail to reflect that this is not peculiar to Greeks, as other interviewees try to pass on, but this exploitation also occurs in other ethnic groups, and is a rather classic characteristic of this type of precarious work, even in a country like Germany, where the concept of law and order prevails.

In general, once again I see a dialogue between the informants, where we alternate between dissent and agreement, and this third time, it is Thomai who disagrees mainly with Nikoletta on the

106 See <https://www.ethnos.gr/greece/article/23044/helpidaegineefialthsgiatoyselfhnesstherc2b5ania> <
<https://www.tanea.gr/2014/01/22/greece/deutsche-welle-ellines-tis-germanias-ekmetalleyontai-neoys-metanastes-apo-tin-ellada/>>.

issue of labour exploitation, trying on the one hand to present such cases as isolated incidents, and perhaps exceptions to the well-functioning gears of the German machine, a widespread perception of the German system, adopted by many immigrants. On the other hand, the informant in question, tries at various points in the conversation to emphasize the positive aspects of immigration and life in Germany, while of course differentiating her position, as earlier in the conversation she stated that she does not feel like an immigrant in Germany after many years of residence, giving a peaceful connotation to the term. In contrast, Nicoletta was seen in the conversation to keep highlighting issues of labour exploitation and taking a more critical look at institutions and acknowledging issues of oppression stemming from power relations, gender and racism against immigrants and minority groups in German society.

A comparison between then, and today is also attempted by a newcomer in the discussion, *Dominiki*, who shares her experience as a new migrant in Germany. She chose to sort of accentuate stereotypes about Greece and Germany in order to establish the view that the people from these two countries are different, basically with arguments regarding different culture, different interests, that Germans “are more cold” and distant people, not easy to catch up a friendship, and that language plays a role for integration, all in all that it's a matter of personality, individual goals and how you set to perceive them. Later, Zoe insists about knowing how to navigate between two cultures, “two islands” and the conversation just circled around those issues, as well as language and integration into German society, education of children, and the whole educational level, the issue of institutional support, counseling, in the vein of comparing both countries, Greece and Germany. Afterwards, as *Dimitra P.* continues and stresses the generational gap and the different generations migrating to Germany:

[...] how the younger generation sees migration, and how the older generation sees it. There is a *gap* and it is very, very normal, because people have evolved, both Greeks and Germans, countries have evolved, possibilities, horizons, technology, situations have evolved, they are two dissimilar things, I believe, there is immigration today, there was immigration then, but they are not the same, the conditions and circumstances are different, the present conditions are different. Differently, this young child comes today, with a different education, and with different visions, with different stubbornness, with different perspectives, and different is the illiterate one who came then, who didn't know how to ask the grocer for the egg. (Dimitra P. GD, 2017)

Dimitra P. continues after that and shares significant personal information in regards to the housing problem, her experience on return migration and re-locating again in Germany, while commenting on the economic crisis in Germany in 1973, the economic *debt crisis* in Greece around 2012, and the so called refugee crisis that came out in the conversation. I add this last part as a short dialogue:

[*Dimitra P.*]: [...] (That crisis in Germany) it's not far away, with the current one, it's under what conditions and circumstances people, immigrants come to Europe. For example, I, who pressed the button, and I said I'm leaving again at my fifty-seven years old, after 40 years, on April 3, 2014 I returned in Germany because of the crisis, I'm not here all the time, I left in 1976 in Greece [...]"

[Me]: "Oh you were one of those who returned, and then returned to Germany?"

[*Dimitra P.*]: "Yes yes, when the others were coming, and there was an already *made-up* Germany, which we were talking about above, I left (and returned to Greece) and I came back with the *Crisis*, in 2014. But even then, as I chose a city where I had no relatives, I lived again in a communal space, with my own room, 8 square meters, for 620€ a month, with a shared toilet and kitchen, where anyone could pass by, every day, and I didn't know who the next flatmate was, who would share the same toilet, and I lived through that for 15 months, until I found my own place, and it's generally hard to find a place in Hamburg and Germany, in general! *It's a bit more embellished!* It's a little bit different, but it's not too far from then. You don't have the stables, and the barns that were left then, but now they're called hostels, hotels, but it's the same pattern, just a little more sophisticated. It's not the same, but I lived it again, in another form. I didn't mention it above, but I knew I was going to ask for it, I came prepared for it, it didn't cost me as much as it cost the first generation of that time, where really there were not many houses to rent [...] After 1970 things started to change" (*Dimitra P.*, GD, 2017)

All in all, this part finishes with a vivid account again by *Dimitra P.*, who, apart from this comparison of labor workers' generation, gaps between 1st and 2nd generation, the difficulty with housing, presents into the plenum the actual problems that migrants face in nowadays Germany. Particularly, in regards to housing, employment, eventually agreeing with Nikoletta's account above in the discussion that there is a continuity in labor exploitation in Germany and the need to look into the wide economic context which creates such tensions.

4.3.5 GENDER. *Labour Worker does not have a gender*

Towards the end of the discussion, as we have already reached one hour and a half of continuous discussion, it is true we have covered a wide range of topics. The intensity of these themes and how they are underscored, presented or over-dramatized in the film narration, is certainly an issue connected with the tropes, aesthetics, representational strategies and techniques, as well as the historical and sociopolitical background of production of two Greek documentary films by migration/diaspora filmmakers, respectively in Belgium, 1965 and Germany, 1976, and I take this full into consideration.

The viewing of these films in this closed event- group discussion, within this specific context has activated affects and emotions of the informants, resulting in this content-rich, and in all aspects intense debate. Yet, I realize that we have not discussed, or touched more directly on the subject of gender, either from a representational point of view, for example how women appear in films, or from a female, feminist point of view, if there are any women in these films at all. Are their voices, their opinions and their lived experiences heard? Is there a presence of women?

Apart from some indirect comments that were mentioned, I realize at this moment, looking at my notes and my predefined questions, that “I have to ask about gender”! It is the question that has been left unanswered and unaddressed. I have ten women in front of me, who make up such a significant network of migrant women, my partner, *A.* who has taken over the recording/filming of the group discussion, I keep in my mind all the issues that have been raised, the constant anxiety of whether I'm asking the right questions, whether my interventions in the conversation are meaningful and productive for critical dialogue and not taking up too much space, and I think “now, it is the right moment to ask this question”. In contrast to the female representation in the event, men dominate both films' narrative. The discussion could not end without giving some further tribute and reference to this realization.

In this instance, the considerations by *Ellis et al. (2010)* are highly constructive and helpful in my ethnographic orientation and perspective: „Narrative ethnographies refer to texts presented in the form of stories that incorporate the ethnographer's experiences into the ethnographic descriptions and analysis of others. Here the emphasis is on the ethnographic study of others, which is accomplished partly by attending to encounters between the narrator and members of the groups being studied (Tedlock 1991), and the narrative often intersects with analyses of patterns and processes“ (Ellis et al. 2010 : 4). Let's look at this piece in a dialogue sequence in a wider framework of a narrative ethnographic account.

– [Me] : “So trying to summarize the conversation, there is something that the film left out, I mean ... and I wanted to ask this from the beginning, and the conversation evolved, but, we didn't discuss some gender issues, was there a woman's place in the film ? [...] How do you see it as women? And secondly, what else do you think the films didn't address ?”

Nikoletta takes the floor and states:

– [*Nikoletta*] : “Actually the worker has *no gender*. Workers were treated the same way, but it had to do with the specific jobs“.

– [*Dimitra P., Litsa* [almost together)] : “No! He says, how to see it more globally, and within, from the family. Let's say, last Sunday, *Iraklis from the community*, in the other film he showed us ...”

– [Me] : " A! You mean the documentary about the coal miners, *The Greeks of Ludlow*¹⁰⁷ - oh I missed it!”

– [Litsa] : “Yes yes, and it was very good documentary, better than the ones we saw, to be objective. And there, it showed the difference with the women, and the revolution, and how the woman supported the children, and the house, it covered all issues“.

– [me] “Did it strike you that there was a narrative central to the role of the male worker, either the coal miner [s. first film] or the worker in Germany [s. second film]?”

- [*Dimitra K.*]: “I think if the women, the mothers, would have spoken, they would have raised other issues. How did they do it, because they all worked!”

At this point, 2 participants are talking at the same time, while *Dimitra K.* corrects *Nikoletta*, who insists that it was “a film about the coal mine”, saying that she's not asking us about the first film, but if we missed something in the film. *Nikoletta* continues:

– [*Nikoletta*] : „Yes, but if *you* had searched and found more films, maybe there were women in it, in a factory, where let's say working women, there were jobs only women did, in Germany back then [...] maybe there are [audio, video] tapes (with such stories). He made a little film about the coal mine, who knows now why he did it?”.

– [*Anastasia*] : “And the pictures he had were of the factories where men worked“.

– [*Nikoletta*] : “Yes, so yes, maybe it was easier for him to approach men, maybe at that

¹⁰⁷We already referred to *Iraklis from the community*. This film discussion event had taken place one week before our group discussion/closed event with the *Greek women of Hamburg*.

time women didn't talk so casually“.

In regards to the film of Liaropoulos and the presence of women, we have to argue that while there are several scenes depicting a family setting, with children, at no time are the wives of the migrants shown. Moreover, the female presence in the film is completely marginal to non-existent (cf. Venturas 2004: 107). All figures are shown to be introvert with a sad expression, and rather frequently, faces appear motionless on tables smoking or sitting in a reverie. A typical sequence from the film is where, three immigrants sit at a table in the courtyard with several bottles of beer in front of them, not exchanging a single glance or conversation, while at one point one of them gets up and dances a *zeibekiko* dance alone¹⁰⁸(cf. Ibid.). Finally, “cafés are usually empty, but even when they are not, patrons sit alone or quietly smoke. It is a lonely, and predominantly male, world. Definitely, except for the shots of people on trams, or at the entrance to the mines, it is a world of Greeks, from which Belgians and immigrants of other nationalities are absent”(Venturas 2004: 107).



Figure 26 : Photo, Scene from the documentary *Letter from Sarleroi* (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965) (source: Trouzas (2019), tribute in the online magazine *LIFO*, <https://www.lifo.gr/culture/cinema/o-proora-hamenos->

¹⁰⁸ On dance and rituals, as well as the symbolic meaning of such dances I have made a thorough analysis in chapter 3 regarding my fieldwork in L. Xanthopoulos' private archive. See also *Kymionis (2004: 127-129)*; *Nitsiakos (1995)*; *Zaimakis (1999)*.

[skinothetis-lampros-liaropoulos-ypirxe-enas-apo-toys-protoporoys](#)).



Figure 27: First photograph upfront; scene from the documentary *Letter from Sarleroi* (Lambros Liaropoulos, 1965) (source: page 40, in Kartalou, A., Nikolaidou, A. and Anastopoulos, T., (eds) (2006) Σε ξένο τόπο : Η μετανάστευση στον ελληνικό κινηματογράφο 1956–2006 [Immigration in Greek Cinema 1956 - 2006])

In the meantime, the conversation goes on :

- [Dimitra P.] : “However, women worked more back then!”
- [Nikoletta] : “They (and women back then) were at home a lot, there was [in the second film] a woman in the foreground who danced. On the other hand, the first film is addressed to a woman, his mother!”
- [Dimitra K.] : “What you say is correct, it's just that if there were women, we would have heard their opinion“.
- [Dimitra P.] : “I think that at that time, the woman was the big victim of that period, if we look at it from all aspects. If we look at it, from the point of view of the woman who was left behind with the children, and had all this burden on her, and not living finally as a woman married to her partner, not having that male support, on the other hand, the unfortunate fact that the husband had another family, things that we all experienced, and in fact lived a broken life, and probably continued that life because of financial necessity, to stay in a marriage, already broken, at a distance. But I also think all these women who came, without

their children, apart from all the burden of work, oppression, adjusting to a foreign language, they had the great *stress* of their children, and the sadness, and the grief, the uncertainty, what happens to their children back home! It's well known that many children were abused, they were abused very seriously, that's why they have a lot of psychological problems later on when they grew up. But these women, who had their families and their children here, played *multiple roles* most of the time. My mother, especially, I know that she left one job, from 4 o'clock in the morning, on foot, in the winter, in the snow, in order not to pay the ticket, to save money, to work in the factory. After the shift in the factory, she'd go to the market, and with her bags loaded, she'd get another bus, which would take her to another town to clean a floor, as a cleaning lady, and she'd come home in the evening, dry as a bone, she'd have to wash the baby's laundry, take care of the rest of the family, and make the bread for the next day, so we could take it to school or work together. So *the woman is the big victim and the big hero of that period, which unfortunately is always neglected, and always takes a back seat, while she usually plays the biggest role*“.

Dimitra P. After this intense long testimonial, continues in short:

[Dimitra P.] : “And it's always the woman who's more daring. It's no coincidence that *Dimitra K.* said above that women came first, then men, and for me, my mother came first“.

[Nikoletta] : “At that time, if you think of the villages in Greece, the cafes... let's say, because *he* [the director of *GGH (1976)*] went to some places, where the community meeting was held, it seemed, it was only men. But if you think about it, at that time, back in the 1970s, in the Greek cafes, or in the meetings, and in the communities and all that, women were not participating very much“.

- [Dimitra K.] : “Well, how could they catch up?”

- [Nikoletta] : “Well, it was not that there was no time to catch up, I remember, even in my father's village, women were not allowed to go to cafes. So these Greek migrant women were carrying the *Greek reality* to Germany, they were not integrated, so the Greek men went and made relations with German women who were more comfortable [more emancipated], so their cafes and their gatherings were like they left them back in Greece. So for the person making the documentary, it was easier for him to approach the men in the community”.

In this instance I consider stimulating to refer to a commentary by the director himself, meaning L. Xanthopoulos and the film *GGH (1976)* that *Nikoletta* commented. According to one of our many conversations with the director during our fieldwork, L. Xanthopoulos when asked about the presence of women or to put it differently “why women are not visible in the film”, he emphatically indicated that most of the male protagonists in the film and members of the community did not let their female husbands participate. He had argued in emphasis: “They were living in the 'dark'. They had no clue [...] I only managed to get this 'off' narrative from this woman [...] it was very difficult to have access.” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017). In order to return in the dialogic sequence, *Nikoletta* insists :

– [Nikoletta] : “But he presented the reality, as it is, then *the social face of the family was the man! It was not the woman*”.

– [Dimitra K.]: That's what we're talking about, *Nikoletta*, that's the point, we missed the woman¹⁰⁹.

– [Nikoletta] : “Yes, but if *he* [the director] would find and interview a girl, maybe he would have had access and if he would go from house to house, then his final project would be different”.

– [Dimitra K.]: “Yes, but the point is how he raised the issue. In the communities back then, women participated in the assembly, but they met on Sundays, after church, at the *kafeneion*/coffee shop, only women, women went to the community, but in separate groups, more or less like that. There was the possibility for women to participate”.

That's where the conversation stops, I thank everyone wholeheartedly, and the whole discussion comes to an end, while everyone expressed their will for a similar event/discussion in the future. While discussing the last organizational details, as we had to clear off the space, *Dimitra P.* asks if it was worth it for me, and I replied positively. In what follows I share my tentative conclusions from this group discussion, as conceived in my ethnography.

4.4. Concluding thoughts

I would like to finish the analysis of this vast empirical material and my own experience, both as a researcher, and migrant in Germany with the following thoughts. This whole experience was a part of community work, or at least a short-term effort of reactivation of a community within a small

¹⁰⁹At this instance, the discussion admittedly had reached a level of intensity, and mostly three to four participants were all talking together simultaneously, but I decided not to interrupt and let the conversation flow.

unofficial group of migrant women of Greek origin in Hamburg, mostly of the so called second generation. Throughout the whole discussion, and after, I think about my role as facilitator, if I tried to stay neutral, although I believe that in such sort of research there is no neutrality. Researchers do not exist in isolation. We live connected to social networks that include friends and relatives, partners and children, co-workers and students, and we work in universities and research facilities. Consequently, when we conduct and write research, we implicate others in our work (Ellis et al. 2010 : 6). These “relational ethics” (Ellis 2007) I mentioned in my introduction were central in conceiving my position and what, at least I attempted to do with my informants, those close precious “intimate others” (Adams 2006; Etherington 2007; Trahar 2009 cited in Ellis et al. 2010 : 6), whom I implicate in my work , using personal and interpersonal experience. I am fully aware that I was not a plain moderator, but I am in the data, part of the process, realize my power and authority, and due to social sciences and social commitment „ethics“, I thought significant at some points in the discussion to position myself, comment and ask again some clarifying questions, be creative in the process and contextualize better. I realize after having watched numerous times this material that all those women spoke directly and took a stand on all the issues raised by the films.

The dominant themes were in synopsis: Labour conditions and labour exploitation, psychological effects of labour work, dependent labor, connotation of the notion of migrant, for some it bears a negative connotation. Conflict/Different opinions on the topic of labour, which revealed various aspects of identities, subjectivity, social class and social milieus, economic status, the historical and economic context upon those recruitment agreements came into place, especially regarding the Greek case study, issues on the centrality of acquisition of foreign language in Germany, the educational issue, education of children, support of official actors and institutions, life between two worlds and two societies – the Greek and the German one – the cultural shock all those guest workers experienced in Germany (rural life - life in the city, especially in a foreign place), housing condition (then and now), family matters, the presence and absence of parents, gaps between 1st and 2nd generation, the role of women, and the topic of gender regarding its presence or absence in the two films we watched.

It is true that in the midst of all the discussion, I found three points of disagreement, mainly on the issue of how some participants experienced differently the whole experience of migration, the topic of labour exploitation and housing, whether there were positive aspects to the whole migration experience, whether the films had a one-sided narrative, which eventually does reflect certain dimensions of reality. It occurred to me rather frequently that my questions were not even necessary for the women to express themselves, as they articulated a tremendous and sincere

speech.

Furthermore, I observed : the women's need to speak, to feel that they have a voice, that they are being heard. I believe that even if only ephemerally, I/we created a safe space for expression, even as a one-off event. What struck me was the agency, performativity to express and quote personal facts, mainly in the sphere of family, work relations, how they experience and communicate their identities, their position in this endless cycle, not only psychological and emotional, but also material, between Greece and Germany, many times adopting and using stereotypes to establish their argument. Moreover, elements of social class consciousness, social milieus, and critique were expressed and the necessity for a formation of a type of community, which ultimately plays a huge role for me too, despite my stubborn denial at the time. This event went beyond the limits of the needs of my thesis, which was certainly my original goal.

Apparently I have been urged and asked frequently to repeat it, or to do something more formal, with an official institution/representative of the Greek community in Hamburg, as a couple of months after this group discussion, together with *Zoe* we visited the premises of a Greek Community center in *Eimsbüttel Hamburg*. There, I spoke with some people, who expressed their interest in a community event, more or less with the same form, that of a film projection, relevant to migration, coupled with a discussion.

As we are reminded by Ellis et al. (2010) “community autoethnographies use the personal experience of researchers-in-collaboration to illustrate how a community manifests particular social/cultural issues” (e.g., whiteness; Toyosaki, Pensoneau-Conway, Wendt & Leathers 2009). “Community autoethnographies thus not only facilitate "community-building" research practices but also make opportunities for "cultural and social intervention" possible” (see KARDORFF & SCHÖNBERGER, 2010:59 cited in Ellis et al. 2010 : 5).

What I now realize is that with this event I am also searching for a short community in Hamburg, Germany where I live, there was some sort of communicative need, which I finally had as a new migrant in Germany – having lived in general eight years by that time in Germany - at least quantitatively compared to all women, to find a community in the foreign country, as stereotypical as it sounds, and not only for the scope of my research.

What is more, I did not find the informants solely for the purposes and parameters of my research. Eventually, I reflectively acknowledge my deeper need to communicate with some familiar persons, who reminded me of relatives, people from close family environment, persons with whom I would not only discuss topics and questions of my research, but also personalities with

whom, even if only for a short time, I connected, listening to their problems, discussing, sharing my point of view, as a relatively new migrant in Germany, at least in Hamburg at that time. People who, without my realization at the time, fulfilled for me also the need for company, communication, bonding, even a representation of family, which in one way or another, you miss being an migrant, experiencing a minority status. To quote acclaimed guest-worker and sociologist in Hamburg, *Eleni Manos* (2013) from an interview discussion:

Of course my experience and the whole process I went through as an emigrant play a very important role, there's no denying that. When it comes to women, when it comes to girls - no offense to the men - but so they are much closer to me, also when it comes to older people, I am also an older woman, then it is more intense because we have a common history. And when it comes to the poor in general, intense enough, I would say. So I don't know any decent researcher or any decent researcher who didn't identify with the so-called object, actually the subject of the story. I can't imagine that. You can't do research while being cool/neutral. (Syndikalismus.wordpress.com 2013)¹¹⁰

Even though some researchers still assume that research can be done from a neutral, impersonal, and objective stance (Atkinson 1997; Buzard 2003; Delamont 2009), most now recognize that such an assumption is not tenable (Bochner 2002; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Rorty 1982). In his seminal work *Cinema and History*, film historian Marc Ferro observes “The film, image or not, of reality, documentary or fiction, authentic story or invented narrative, is History. (...) People's beliefs, intentions, and imagination are as much History as History is History” (Ferro 1998 cited in Leontaris 2010). It was those *histories from below* that I wanted to investigate and bring into light via this film and group discussion with the *Greek Women in Hamburg*.

We should not neglect that in group discussions, as in everyday life, social actors use different forms of socially shared knowledge and bring it into play in the conversation. Yet, the focus group is a particular form of dialogue, it is an institutionalized space for dissent and for change (the facilitator introduces the discussion encouraging divergent views to be expressed and supports the discussion by asking for examples and clarification for oblique dissent, stimulating a more direct comparison) (Frisina 2018). The focus group, therefore, appears to be not only a

¹¹⁰ See <https://syndikalismus.wordpress.com/2013/01/08/in-memoriam-helene-manos-aus-einem-radiointerview/>. (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

valuable method for investigating how the social order is maintained throughout, but also to study the cracks, tension, ambivalence created by the discursive practices of daily resistance against various sources of normativity. In migration research, this method can be useful to understand how multiple belongings (ethnic, national or religious) are constantly negotiated and to explore the daily confrontation between the nationalistic binary logic “either/or” vs the “both/and” transnational logic of multiple memberships (Amelina and Faist 2012: 7) cited in *ibid.*), a logic and a pattern which we can see being reproduced in many museums and exhibitions on the topic, as we have seen in other sections of this research.

Following the proposal of a more reflexive sociology (Melucci 1998: 22–31), it is desirable to practice writing up the results in various ways for different audiences, thus, not merely writing for the scientific community. As qualitative migration researchers (cf. De Tona et al. 2010: 3–4), we are called to be *reflexive*, thus positioning ourselves in the research process, being aware of the power hierarchies, asymmetries and relations between the authority of the researcher and those who are being researched, as well as recognize the reflexivity and capacity of research participants, who can reflect on and question the research process. Finally, in order to respond to ethical and political challenges concerning contemporary migrations, we need to be attentive to *open dialogues with civil society* (cf. Frisina 2018).

Chapter 5. Subjectivity Representation III. Where is the film of Giorgos Karypidis? Re-assembling the filmic archive

In this chapter I will analyze fieldwork material centered on the documentary film *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, directed by *Giorgos Karypidis*. In the first section, I provide an overview an overview of how I found the – previously thought of lost film in the course of my fieldwork. Through an accidental twist in my fieldwork in Munich, around 2017, I found the first clues that led me to a copy of this film. Then, after four more years, I eventually managed to find an original copy of the film, which I presented and projected in a workshop in Berlin, during the large international assembly, *Antirassistische Kämpfe versammeln, archivieren und aktivieren*, which took place at HAU Berlin¹¹¹ in Mai 2022.

The second section of the chapter examines important information regarding the life and work of Giorgos Karypidis, with a special focus on what had preceded this film - his short stay and studies in West Berlin at the *Sender Freies Berlin (SFB)* - as well as the two short films he directed before *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, that, I argue, can be seen as forerunners.

Due to the limited sources on the biography and work of the director, I deem it essential to include information I gleaned from conversation with the wife of late Giorgos Karypidis, the director of the film, who died on January 19, 2019¹¹².

In the third section, I analyze the most critical themes, depicted and (re) presented in the film mostly through testimonies from the workers of the time. These themes cover a range of problems guest-workers faced in their time in West Germany : housing issues, labour exploitation , the urgent topic of their children's education, and their views regarding a longer or even permanent stay in Germany. I also will discuss issues raised by the film regarding precarity and insecurity, the so called integration discourse and structural racism and its effects. A significant part of the film is dedicated to a depiction of a demonstration, held by Greek and Turkish guest-workers in Kreuzberg at the time, which I discuss in the third section. In the fourth section, I analyze the physical and symbolic presence of renowned Greek *rembetiko* songwriter and musician *Dimitris Gogos*, also known as *Μπαγιαντέρας/Bayaderas*, who appears in the film and whose music is featured in the film. The final section considers the contribution of this film to my research.

111 Hebbel am Ufer Berlin, a theatrical venue in Berlin where the assembly took place.

112 Lefteris Xanthopoulos himself had informed me about this tragic event by email and SMS, as we were in contact at that time and in regular communication about Xanthopoulos's work and film archive, especially for the period I am researching.

5.1. Tracing *Endstation Kreuzberg*

In this section, I will recount the story of how I finally found the original cut of *EndStation Kreuzberg* (1975), through traces I found of the film in three important *stations*. Despite the importance of the film, as an audiovisual document of the period, both in terms of visual representations of labour migration in Germany, especially in the Kreuzberg area, then West Berlin, as well as the multilayeredness of the stories of labour migration it presents, the film was truly 'unclaimed': until recently¹¹³ the film could be found neither in official audiovisual archives in Germany or Greece, nor in any online platform (like other films, uploaded by either creators and relatives or ordinary users).

Station 1: Munich, *Stadtarchiv München*; the first traces

Munich 2017. In 2017 as part of a small grant I won from a Modern Greek Studies department in Germany (*Centrum Modernes Griechenland*, FU Berlin), I made several short fieldwork trips to Munich. Part of my fieldwork plan included expert - interviews with various actors involved in *memory politics* in Munich, both institutional and non-institutional, as well as members of Greek diaspora in Munich. So, it is that I find myself on a September day at the *Stadtarchiv München* (State archive of Munich) for an expert – interview with historian archivist *Philip Zöels* (whom I will refer to in the following as P.), who has been involved in many memory/migration history projects, from an archival-historical perspective, including the interdisciplinary research exhibition research project *Crossing Munich* (2009)¹¹⁴ to mention but a few.

Admittedly, P. was very friendly. He not only allocated a large amount of time to answer my questions, but also gave me important advice on how to further search things regarding my research questions, as well as tips for my archival research during my remaining days in Munich.

At some point towards the end of the interview, I shared with him information and insights on some data I had gathered for my research that time: not only the archival - historical content of the interviews I had conducted until then, but also the names of some films that were central for my research. After my short reference to the two works of Lefteris Xanthopoulos (which I analyze extensively in Chapter 4), I mentioned another film I was researching, entitled *Endstation Kreuzberg*, which was filmed around 1975 by a director named *Giorgos Karypidis*. Up until then, I had found absolutely no clues or information regarding this film, except a few references in the

¹¹³Here I would clarify that I mean before 2022, which was the year that the film got digitized, republished and distributed by the *EAK/Hellenic Film Academy*, as I will mention in detail in this section.

¹¹⁴See Bayer, N., Engl, A. Hess, S., Moser, J. (Hrsg.) *Crossing Munich* (2009) *Beiträge zur Migration aus Kunst, Wissenschaft und Aktivismus*. München.

context of past film festivals that had taken place in Greece, especially during celebration events of the bilateral recruitment agreements between Germany and Greece, such as an anniversary event held at the *Goethe Institut of Athens* around 2010¹¹⁵. I instantly and spontaneously thought of asking *P.* if he even heard about this film. Below I reconstruct our short dialogue¹¹⁶ :

- [Me]: “ [...] So, I am also searching for this film called *Endstation Kreuzberg*, filmed by Giorgos Karypidis, around 1975, and yeah... I have not found any information regarding this film on guest-workers in Berlin!”
- [P.] : ”What was the name of the film again? Something with *Kreuzberg* you said?”
- [Me] : “ Yes, *Endstation Kreuzberg*, by *Giorgos Karypidis*“.
- [P.] : “Oh, I think we have that film at the *Stadtarchiv München* for restoration!”
- [Me] : “Really, seriously?”
- [P.] : ”It was given to me by Mr. *Yannakakos* from *Griechisches Einwandererhaus München*!
- [Me]: “Oh, wow! Can I perhaps have a chance to watch the film?”
- [P.]: ”Yes, sure, when we finish with the restoration, I will send you a copy“.

So, the months go by, years pass. *P.* Never contacted me, never sent me a copy of the film. It is now around the end of 2021, and I, along with the assistance of my second supervisor Prof. Vassilis Tsianos, to whom I will refer from this point as *V.*, have managed through our diasporic networks to acquire a copy of the film from Munich. So, *V.* calls me into his office at the university in order to watch the film. The suspense is enormous. I press "play", the film starts and in the first seconds, on a black and white background appears the figure of a middle-aged man with a bouzouki in his hand, with an obvious sign of a physical impairment in his left eye.

He starts by greeting the *Greek community*, which had apparently invited him to this event. One can understand from the background setting in the black-and-white image, as well as from the two black-bearded men escorting the elderly man/singer on to the stage, that this is a musical event of a Greek community in the late 1970s'. Only a few seconds pass and the picture freezes. It restarts and there is no synchronization between the image and the audio. *V.* And I realize immediately that the copy is defective. One could listen to the full soundtrack, but the image paused from the very

115 The specific tribute was entitled «1960-2010: 50 χρόνια ελληνική μετανάστευση στη Γερμανία-Η Ιστορία στον κινηματογράφο» and was held at the Goethe Institute of Athens (October 18, 19, 20, 25 2010). See also <https://www.clickatlife.gr/cinema/story/617> (last accessed March 15 2023).

116 This dialogue took place right after the end of our interview with *P.*, 23 September, 2017.

beginning. Comparing to the original, it would ne like watching 1/10 pictures from the entire documentary. The good thing, though, I instantly thought was that there was some form of the material. Fortunately in this copy, the soundtrack was untouched and I could start the transcription.

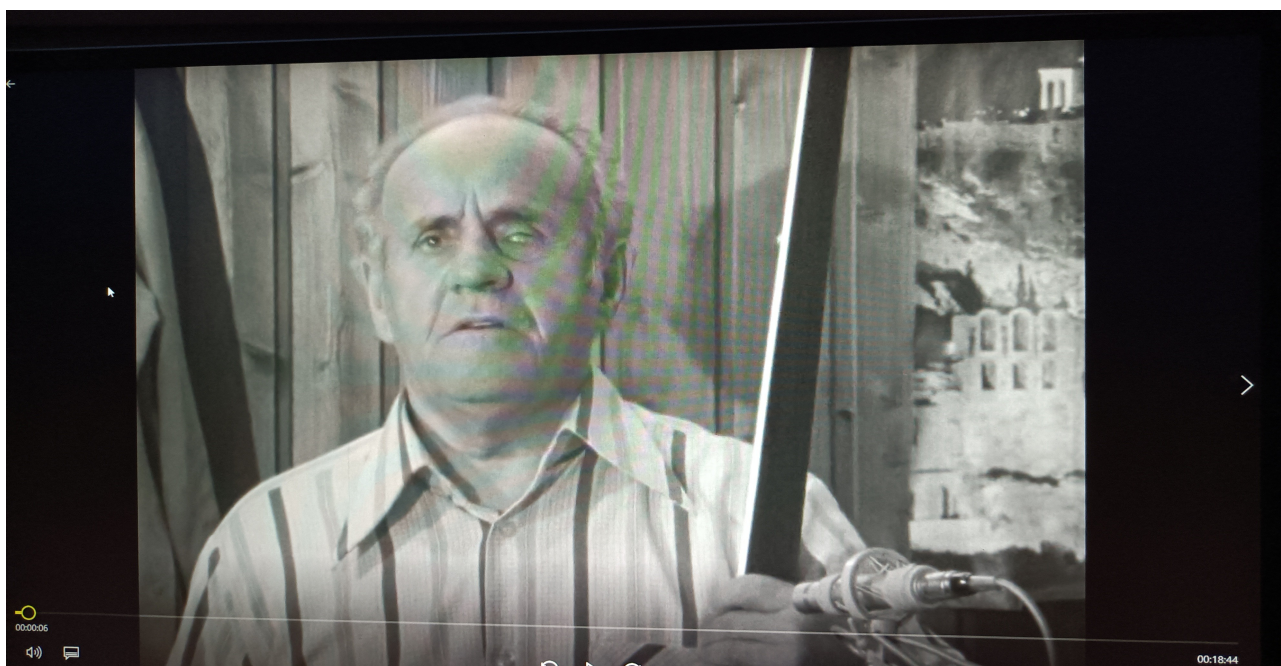


Figure 28 : Image of Dimitris Gogos, also known by the nickname *Μπαγιαντέρας/Bayaderas* . This is the sequence where the film paused at 06:00 seconds (source: Screenshot photo taken after watching the defect copy of the film *Endstation Kreuzberg* (1975)).

Station 2: Find the original copy! For the assembly in Berlin

It is around February 2022, and I am preparing for another working group session for my dissertation with *V.* This time, he is joined by a friend and longtime collaborator, *Tobias M.*, archivist and historian at a well-known German media archive. Before we start the session, *V.* tells me: “Well, I finally want you to be part of a part of our Project, entitled *Versammeln antirassistische Kämpfe!*”

I also knew that in May 2022, the final conference/assembly would take place with the participation of activists, researchers, artists and groups/collectives, not only from Germany and Europe but als from many other places around the world¹¹⁷. After my initial feeling of puzzlement and enthusiasm when I asked him about details, he told me that he was planning to do a workshop with a focus on the area of Kreuzberg when it was part of West Berlin. The main goal was to

¹¹⁷ See website for all involved actors, as well as teh description of teh Workshop, entitled *REDLINING IN KREUZBERG. VON ZUZUGSPERREN UND GRENZEN: EINE AKTIVIERUNG*, <https://versammeln-antirassismus.org/programm/>. One of the eight speakers participating in this "activate the Archives" Workshop was also *Tobias M.*

reactivate various forms of material archives and other materials, whether historical, urban or sociological studies, maps, and/or audio-visual archives on the Kreuzberg area. The emphasis would be on the so-called phenomenon of *redlining* and the *Zuzugssperre*, which had taken place in the area and affected migrants, leading to their subsequent *ghettoization*.¹¹⁸ For instance, *V.* tells me characteristically: “As you understand, this film of *Karypidis*, which you told me you had found, is extremely important. I want to show the original copy in the context of this huge assembly that will take place in May. I would be very honored if you could find the original copy of the film so that we could show it to the public, and in this way make an *activate the archive* interactive workshop!”

This was, in any case, not only a great honor as an invitation to such an important international project, but also the main driving force for me to trace the initial tracks of the film and finally find the original copy. So, I engaged in some more “diasporic networking”, asking friends and colleagues in this field, who were involved, either in research on film/media studies, or making films themselves. I realize that I have a fairly good friend and fellow researcher, whom I remember, works seasonally at the internationally acclaimed *Thessaloniki International Film Festival*. I think to myself: “I’ll ask *Geli*. She will know for sure“. And indeed she did. Thanks to *Geli*, I receive the invaluable information that this film is part of a special restoration program run by the *Hellenic Film Academy (EAK)*¹¹⁹. Thus, my next step is get to find access through Mrs. *Mprillaki – Karypidi*, (as of now *M.*), wife/widow of the late *Giorgos Karypidis*. *M.* is the person who owns the rights of the original restored film. After the wise guidance of *Geli*, on whom to approach among involved actors in this *film traffic* process, I finally found access to *M.* So, I sent an initial email to *M.* Within a day she replied,

Mr. Zisis, good morning,

I was touched by your Email. I particularly appreciate your interest in my husband's work. As the preservation and promotion of George Karypidis` work is very important to me, I am at your disposal to discuss the issues you mentioned. My telephone number

118 See footnote 2 for the description of the Workshop. Furthermore on the issue and with special focus on Kreuzberg see the magnificent article by Friedrichs (2010: 31-43) "Milieus of Illegality, Representations of Guest Workers, Refugees, and Spaces of Migration in Der Spiegel, 1973".

119 This special restoration program entitled *ΧΩΡΑ, ΣΕ ΒΑΕΠΙΩ/Motherland I see you* is a project for the preservation, digitization, screening and study of films from the rich heritage of 20th century Greek cinema, which occurred in the context of the 200th anniversary of the Greek Revolution. As the website of the organization, *Elliniki Akadimia Kinimatografou/Hellenic Film Academy*, states: “A fascinating journey through time and space, not just of a cinematography but of an entire country. One (and many) different ways to answer the question "what is our country?"- by mirroring it in the works of Greek filmmakers”. See https://hellenicfilmacademy.gr/event/motherland_i_see_you/ (Retrieved March 15 2022).

is ... If you have the opportunity, you can call me today or tomorrow morning to talk or set up a more extensive telephone appointment. Kind regards¹²⁰.

My enthusiasm was indescribable. On the one hand, I was now entering the procedural phase to finalize the organizational arrangements for the screening of the film, on the other hand, I kept on my on-site research, trying to find out some further details, including biographical details about the life and work of the filmmaker, and ultimately what led him to make the film.

Station 3; original copy found & seen!

In the context of my effort to access the film, I asked M. for an interview, hoping she might possibly tell me some details about Karypidis' work. My main questions were the following:

1) *Endstation Xberg (1975)*; For which radio broadcast did your husband work? One of the few citations I had found my research so far, states that the film was shot in West Berlin at a film and television school where Giorgos Karypidis studied.

2) Could you tell me background regarding the *rembetiko musician Bayanderas*, who appears in the film? Kymionis (2006) and Pagoulatos (2004; 2006) are the only scholars who have written about this film have remarked that he need to take part in the collective struggle, coupled with an emphasis on preserving folk traditions, and drawing strength from them as evinced by the brief but definitive appearance of *Mpagiaderas*, renowned Greek rembetiko/urban folk musician (cf. Kymionis 2006 : 49)". Why does he appear in the film? How did Karypidis find him and come to invite him to Berlin back in 1975?

Finally, I am also searching information about the first films that *Karypidis* made in Germany. As emerges from my preliminary theoretical research and based on the three references that exist in the literature about this film by the two aforementioned researchers, Karypidis appears to have made two other films before *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, during the same period he studied and worked in Germany. These films are entitled *Parastasis Karagiozi (1974)*, and *Vangelis Story (1974)*. I am particularly interested in a piece of information I gleaned regarding *Vangelis Story (1974)*, from the only two references in Greek documentaries about migration, in Konstantopoulou (2004), Kartalou et al. (2006). These sources indicate that the film was censored by the West Berlin Public Radio Broadcast. Why was a film made by a Greek migrant in West Berlin censored?

Regarding my second question, it is also noteworthy to mention that when I did some

¹²⁰ I received this email on April 22, 2022. The original email in Greek is roughly translated by me from Greek to English.

research on the internet, I happened to find a couple of references to the rembettiko musician , mainly from Greek sites and blogs of left-wing orientation . Soem of the sources were ideologically close to the Greek communist party; others were from an archive of Greek public television and Greek national radio station, *ERT*, as well as other random blogs. In one of the searches, I was shocked and surprised to find that the photographs on the internt sites resembled the figure of the man with the injured eye holding the *bouzouki* in the film. Namely the gentleman who speaks in the copy, the faulty one in which I managed to see his figure for a few seconds. My curiosity was piqued even more!



Figures 29, 30 : Photos of Dimitris Gogos, [nickname Μπαγιαντέρας/Bayaderas] (Source: photos in the

website articles; *Sansimera* (2022) ; Pournaras (2021)).

During April 2022, I had three telephone conversations with *M.*, not to mention numerous emails and follow-up emails. Initially, she refused to be interviewed, considering herself unfit to talk about her ex-husband's work. When I explained to her that I was also interested in biographical information about the author's career and work, mainly about his German period, which might inform my research regarding the positionality and wider social perspective of the director, she changed her mind and was willing to speak with me.

Apart from my three aforementioned questions, I was also eager to find out why a Greek director, who had spent a few years in West Berlin studying film and television, would want to make a documentary on migration in Berlin, raising all various social and political issues. In our first conversation (April 14, 2022), *M.* mentioned *Thodoris Margkas*, a long-time friend of *Giorgos Karypidis*, and the film's director of photography. She suggested that “he would definitely know, since they returned to Germany together. He knows about Karypidis' German period”. She said that he would be the key person to help me. However, in our next conversation (April 15, 2022) she was categorical but in a negative manner. To my great disappointment, she alleged having spoken to *Margkas*, who she told me had refused to speak with me. She stated: “No, *Margkas* doesn't want to talk! About this period in Giorgos' life, I know nothing, I can't help you. *Margkas*, he's turned his back on this area, he lives in a village somewhere in nature and he doesn't want to talk about this past anymore.” (*M.*, Fieldwork discussion notes, April, 15, 2022)



Figure 31: Photo of Thodoris Margkas [figure in the middle of photograph], director of photography of the film Endstation Kreuzberg (1975), long time friend and collaborator of the director Giorgos Karypidis. From left to right : Giannis Daskalothanassis, Thodoris Margkas, Lakis Papathathis. (Source: photo shot during the film O kairos Twn Ellinwn, Lakis Papathathis (1981). Footage taken from the personal website of acclaimed documentary director and writer Lakis Papathathis/Λάκης Παπαστάθης).

In our next conversation (April 15, 2022), as we finalized the details regarding the rental of the film, she told me to inform her about the questions for our potential interview. In another conversation later the same month, (April 21, 2022) she repeated things she had already mentioned in the previous conversation. Then, we were consumed with finalizing the details for the logistics of renting the film for the workshop in Berlin. Finally, after repeated emails and calls, the film arrived on May 6, 2022. As soon as I received the package, I tried the copy in M4 format to make sure it played properly. This time, things went smoothly. Finally after almost four years of searching, I had the newly digitized copy of the film in my hands. With the film in hand, we could now screen in at the workshop, which took place at HAU Berlin on Saturday May 21, 2022 in the context of the aforementioned international assembly. *V.* in his introductory speech warmly welcomed the audience and revealed:

“Dear friends, dear residents of Berlin and Kreuzberg. For you, especially tonight we have a rare screening, a real first screening, an avant premiere!”

Before giving the floor to me, he invited all the participants to come close and observe, as well as touch, feel and process for a while the materials that were set up on the main table : books, maps, drawings, photographs. Cameras were documenting the workshop, while live images were simultaneously sent to the main projector. After letting people process the items in the table for about 5-10 minutes, I started with a 12-minute introduction to the film – trying to summarize the highlights, and somehow warm up the atmosphere. Then, finally, we watched the 18-minute film.



Figure 32: Prof. Tsianos invites the audience to 'activate the archive' table at the workshop “Redlining...”, Assembly. On the right, near the column, the historian Tobias M., one of the invited speakers. (Source: Photo by Chris Zisis, May 21, 2022).

The workshop was well received and well-attended, by a mixed and diverse audience of researchers, activists, artists and people who attended the assembly, which as mentioned above had a focus on anti-racist work and education. Moreover, right after the screening, as the workshop continued, there remained five speakers with prompts for the audience. The first intervention came from *Annita Kalpaka* (as of now *A.K.*), a renowned feminist activist and professor of social work in Hamburg, herself a Greek migrant from the middle 1970s. With her direct style, *A.K.* shared with everyone gathered in the room: "I would like to say some things, I know what this film is talking about, I was in that demonstration, shown in the film, I would like to talk about it!"

I will return in *A.K.*'s intervention a little later, after discussing the life and work of the author, preceding the making of the film and providing context about the film's key themes.



Figure 33: Photo from the closing day of the Assembly Versammeln antirassistische Kämpfe, Berlin Kreuzberg Museum. (Source: Photo by Chris Zisis. May 21, 2022. 21.5.2022 which took place at the Berlin Kreuzberg Museum).

5.2. *What preceded EndStation Kreuzberg ?*

The date is January, 19, 2019. I was with my supervisor, Prof. Kerstin Poehls (as of now *K.*) and a group of students visiting a local archive in the city of Hamburg, as part of our seminar on archives, local communities, history and memory politics. At a certain point, I glanced at my mobile phone, where I had received the following message :

„Giorgos Karypidis, end credits” (L. Xanthopoulos personal email, January 19,2019)¹²¹.

I was startled and I settle down and think. After a few seconds, the words of *Lefteris Xanthopoulos* (as of now *L.X*) echoed in my head from one of many visits to his private archive at his home in Athens between 2017-2020. As we were talking about his past works on migration – especially the two films of his trilogy – he asked me:

– [*L.X*] : “Have you seen the film Endstation Kreuzberg by Karypidis?”

– [Me] : “Oh! Not yet, if I tell you the story ...”

– [*L.X*] : “ Find it in any case! This film is a must-see. It's very important for your work, as you understand it [...] You have to find him too. He's very important in this whole story [...] I've lost him recently, I don't know where he is, but generally he doesn't appear in many places [...] Look, we're not friends, but we belong to the same circle of creators, who have dealt with these issues, find the film and watch it, in any case !”

(*Xanthopoulos/Fieldwork discussion Notes*, December 2018).

Unfortunately, due to his sudden death I never managed to meet Yiorgos Karypidis. Drawing on a tribute to him at the Thessaloniki International Film Festival shortly after his death and my conversations with M., I pieced together some key aspects of his biography, critical to analyzing his films.

Karypidis was born in 1946 in Thessaloniki. A restless person, he left high school before graduating the Netherlands where he studied painting at the School of Fine Arts and Directing at the *Film Academy of Amsterdam*. During this time, he also began his long journeys, first in Europe and then around the world. His last major stop before returning to Greece was Berlin, where he lived

121 Regarding this fatal event, see <http://www.efsyn.gr/arthro/pethane-o-skinothetis-giorgos-karypidis> (Retrieved on 27.1.2019).

and worked as a documentary filmmaker at the public television film school *Sender Freies Berlin (SFB)*. The iconic film *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, filmed in Berlin, won the second prize for short film at the *Thessaloniki Film Festival* in 1975. Radical politically, with intense social and cultural activity, he collaborated with newspapers and magazines, publishing articles and short stories. He published his first book *Diving Champion* in 1991, followed by *The Dialect of the Scorpion* (1998), *East of Zanzibar* (2011). He was president of the Society of Greek Directors (1988-1990), as well as one of the main organizers of the *Anti-war Cinema week* (2003), and editors of the magazine *Diagogy Miden*. Karypidis stood out not only for his work, but also for his intact and unique personality. Those who met him in person spoke of a man whose attitude towards life was completely in line with his political beliefs. Uncompromising and visionary, with an ideal of a just society, he was throughout his life modest, serious and deeply noble with an immense tenderness for the underprivileged¹²². In 1974 Giorgos Karypidis directed two short films, produced by German television in Berlin, (SFB). As a student himself in Germany, he experienced the problems of Greek immigrants at first hand. His first short film *Parastasis Karagiozi (1974)* is about a performance put on by Greek students in Berlin. The film addresses political and social problems faced by young migrants. The second film, entitled *Vangelis' Story (1974)* concerns the treatment of the Greek minority by the host country. The film annoyed its producers, who banned it from being shown on German television.

A year later, Giorgos Karypidis directed another short film *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)* about the Greeks of Germany (cf. Flashteam 2010). In this film, the director presents the living conditions of Greeks, but also Turkish, Italian and Yugoslavian workers, the places where they live, their working conditions and their general treatment both in the country where they live and in the country from which they came. As Pagoulatos (2006 : 39) argues “Of equal interest are the short documentaries Giorgos Karypidis shot in Germany - where he studied – on Greek migrant workers and Greek students in Berlin. The subject of the first documentary, a German television production, is a shadow theater performance, entitled *Karagkiozis (1974)*¹²³ that Greek students set up in Germany”. Through the figure of the performance, the film deals with various social and political topics that young migrant intellectuals were grappling with and reviewing through their theater show. The second documentary, *Vangelis' Story (1974)*, another German television production depicts more directly problems of migration. The main narrator in the film, *Vangelis* is a worker

122 This is a press letter document, given to me by M. (Fieldwork protocol April 2022).

123 I have made a thorough analysis in this particular folk theater tradition, on my chapter regarding my fieldwork in L. Xanthopoulos' private archive. See also the film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg (Xanthopoulos 1976)*; *Drapetis (Xanthopoulos 1991)*; The essays of *Xanthopoulos (2004: 25-40)* ; Moudopoulos (2020: 137-141) ; Püchner (2003: 115-120).

who recounts the problems that Greek – and other – migrants were facing in Germany (cf. *ibid.*).

On the occasion of *Karypidis'* death, as I did a research on the internet, two references appeared, both of them, in which filmmaker and vice-president of the *Thessaloniki International Film Festival*, Board of Directors, *Achilleas Kyriakidis* (as of now *A.*) gave a speech, honoring the work and life of his longtime friend. *A.* spoke of a dynamic and versatile personality, of a person who never stopped searching and seeking on an artistic, social and political level. We read indicatively in the website of the Festival :

Emotions ran high at *Olympion* theater, as the 60th Thessaloniki International Film Festival honored the memory of director Giorgos Karypidis (1946-2019) on Saturday, November 2nd, with a special screening of his film *In the Shadow of Fear*. [...] Screenwriter, translator, filmmaker and vice-president of the Thessaloniki International Film Festival Board of directors, *Achilleas Kyriakidis*, talked about the work and the personality of Giorgos Karypidis, a close friend of his. He began mentioning the short film *Last Station Kreuzberg*, screened and awarded at the 1975 Thessaloniki Film Festival, which stands even nowadays as a landmark movie, an exemplary sociological documentary, since Karypidis, a modern-day ingenious *Ulysses*, does not allow himself to get carried away by the siren song of cheap sentimentalism and demagoguery”, as he said. ”*Kyriakidis* also observed that “if Karypidis as a director is a filmmaker that meditates par excellence, Karypidis as a writer is a thinker who par excellence visualizes, while his obsessions remain the same: wandering as escape, death as wandering, escape as death, the ghost as wandering.” (*Kyriakidis* 2019, *Special Screening: In the Shadow of Fear, by Giorgos Karypidis*).

The event drew to its end in the presence of *Rania Brilaki*, wife of *Giorgos Karypidis*, who was in a state of emotional turmoil due to the recent loss of her beloved husband: “Giorgos’ vision was immense and went far beyond the limits of artistic creation: he envisioned and strive for a world of justice, free of poverty and human exploitation. He stood by it with every thread of his being, both in his films and his writings, and well as in his way of living, on a daily basis”, she said, making a special mention to his generosity, his love of beauty, his erudition, his close affinity with books. “He had an excellent knowledge of world history, people’s cultures, and of contemporary political and social developments”, Ms. Brilaki concluded, thanking the Festival for honoring her belated husband’s memory. (*International Documentary Festival Thessaloniki* 2019)¹²⁴.

¹²⁴See <https://www.filmfestival.gr/en/news/27058-special-screening-in-the-shadow-of-fear-by-giorgos-karypidis>; <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/to-festival-timise-ti-mnimi-tou-spoudaiou-giorgou-karypidi>; <https://parallaximag.gr/sygkinitikos-logos-tou-achillea-kyriakidi-gia-ton-giorgo-karypidi-57779> [Retrieved 5.2.2022].



Figure 34 : Photo taken from the obituary tribute event of Thessaloniki International Film Festival to the late Director (Source: <https://parallaximag.gr/thessaloniki/to-festival-timise-ti-mnimi-tou-spoudaiou-giorgou-karypidi>; <https://www.filmfestival.gr/en/news/27058-special-screening-in-the-shadow-of-fear-by-giorgos-karypidis>).

These elements of Karypidis' restless nature, and inquisitive personality were confirmed to me and enriched with details by *M.* in the extensive discussions we had in April 2022 regarding the life and work of her late husband. She argued emphatically :

Giorgos was suffocating in Greece. He was a man from a fairly well-off family. He was a mind of incredible power, and he was suffocating in an extreme 'petite-bourgeois' environment in Thessaloniki. From an early age, from a very young age, roughly 13, 14 he had read philosophy, politics, everything. He wanted to find something beyond the ordinary [...] I have kept Giorgos' manuscripts. He had written in a diary, being 19 years old, "I don't read books, I eat them! [...] He was always on the side of the oppressed, with the workers. He gave up everything and left Greece. He went to the Netherlands to study fine arts and cinema. He went back and forth to Germany, and was a very free spirit. Giorgos always had an incredible sensitivity for the suffering of other people. He had no financial ease, he was working, here and there for a daily wage. Together with *Thodoris Margkas* on various things. And all his work, all his life was

driven by deep political and social knowledge“ . (M. , personal talk, April 14, 2022)

When I asked M, about *Thodoris Margkas*, Karypidis friend, collaborator and director of photography, she shared with me invaluable information about him and this whole generation of film-makers and engaged artists :

[...] with *Margas*, they went generally, completely DIY, they went as „vagabonds“ to shoot films. To dig politically, socially, with the arts and cultural production. They took a camera in hand to shot. From Amsterdam, and then to Berlin! [...] *Margkas*, [director of photography] he's finished with that phase of life. He's retired, he's no longer involved in cinema. He used to work in commercials, now he has taken a different path. Now, about the films and what Giorgos went through, only *Margkas* knows, because he never talked about his work. [...] They were all a generation that did a lot of things in cinema [...] [...] the people of that generation had this *spirituality*, and I'm not talking about education, but spirituality, they had entered into social struggles, then were isolated, and were recognized among themselves. But each one went on his own solitary path. [...] What I was very jealous of, of this generation, when they were creating, while I was living with Giorgos, was that this generation was like a group. It wasn't "I'm going to the theater now to go and rehearse". *It was their whole life!* They were *inside life*, something they were reading was going to be made into a movie. They would go somewhere to see a movie. They'd meet a friend, they were ONE! Their whole artistic work was their life. It was like that, this generation." [...] all of them (directors, photographers, artists, writers) acted as a group! It was all experiential. It was their life! And also, this generation of people hasn't learned to talk, they keep it all inside! (M. , personal talk, April 14, 2022)

M.'s last comment regarding the experiential and collective way of work, social life and political commitment of this generation of engaged Greek artists and filmmakers/*auters* reminded me of a statement by another filmmaker, *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*, whose works are in a critical and dialectical relationship with the film under examination about the migrants in Kreuzberg, West Berlin. Xanthopoulos had pointed out to me how critical the experiential element was in his first work, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg (1976)*. As he stressed in our fieldwork interview: “*Greek Community Heidelberg was a handmade film. It was made out of nothing [...] everything was borrowed. It was experiential! Everything that is not lived is fake [...] I knew the life of the workers,*

I lived it. I lived the factory, so, yes, the film was experiential, and I loved it as my first newborn. If the film is not experiential, then it is fake!” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28, 2017).

In the context of the tribute to Karypidis' work, organized by the International Festival Thessaloniki, *Achilleas Kyriakidis* admittedly touching speech captured the filmmaker's restless nature just a few months after the sudden death of the filmmaker:

Among those who, after the fall of the junta, repatriated from the diaspora and regained contact with Greek things – and not only cinematography – Karypidis was a creator who proved to be: a unimpeachable, a man of integrity, independent, unattached, uncompromising, unbiased, uninhibited, intelligent, imaginative, noble, fanatical... unsophisticated and, above all, a free man: Giorgos Karypidis. Born in Thessaloniki in 1946, with a significant presence in intellectual circles of this city, *Karypidis* returned to Greece after studying art and cinema in the Netherlands and Germany (Berlin). By (not strange) coincidence, his short film screened (and awarded) at the 1975 Thessaloniki Festival as a documentary on the scourge of immigration. *Kreuzberg's Last Station/Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)*, a look at the miserable living conditions of Greek immigrants in Berlin and a reflection on the generally miserable living conditions of immigrants in general and everywhere is still a film of reference today, a model of sociological documentary. As a "polymath", Karypidis avoids the sirens of easy sentimentality and demagoguery, focusing his "cold" dialectical gaze on recording the traumas involved in violent severing of the umbilical cord that connected immigrants with the language, traditions and cultural values of the metropolis. (Kyriakidis 2019)

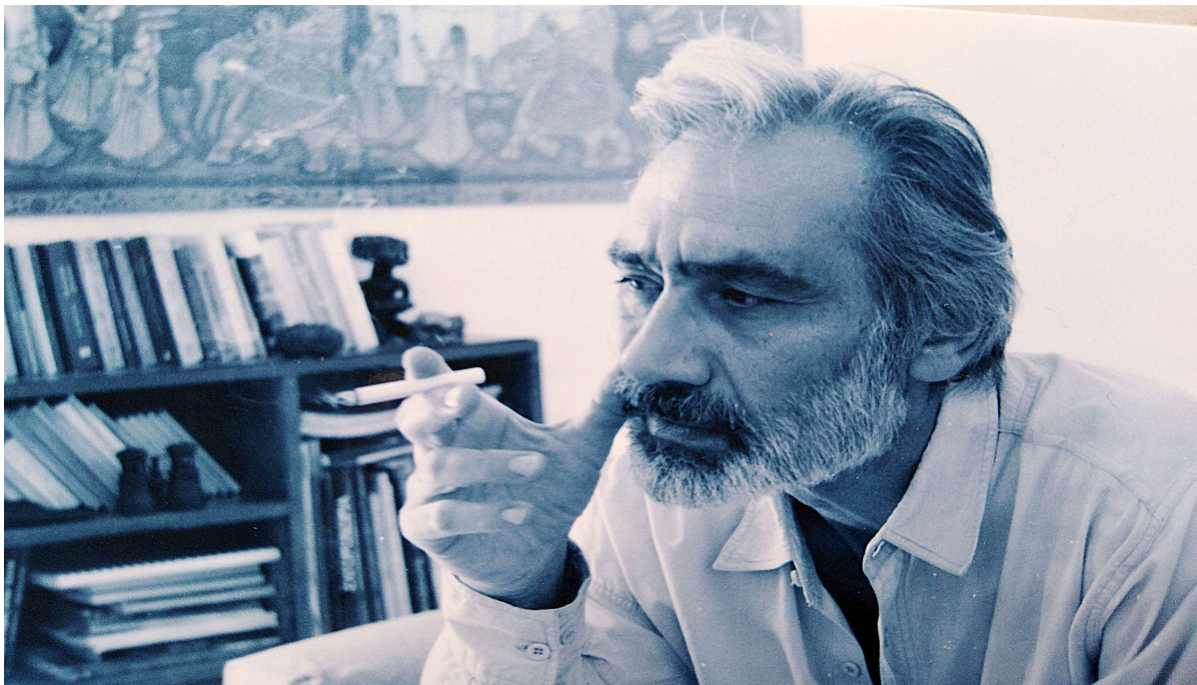


Figure 35 : Photo of Giorgos Karypidis sent to me by M. per email. This is also a photo which can be seen in the two referenced sources regarding the obituary tribute of Thessaloniki International Film Festival to the late Director (Source: private archive of M.).

In our discussions, M. confirmed this description of Karypidis:

Giorgos with a backpack and two changes of clothes – went around the world by himself. He went alone to South America, around 2001, alone, and he went alone to the *favelas* in Brazil where he got robbed. Giorgos Karypidis is a great figure [...] and he moved in dangerous places, not because he was seeking danger, but because he was confused by the everyday world. He was going, meeting people who were eating in neighborhoods, in popular hangouts. [...] Giorgos was a very, very lonely man and fought to the end. [...] Giorgos has made over 100 documentaries for ERT, and five fiction films. He's done a lot of great work. They have political connotations. Giorgos was never on the official *Left*. He was very open-minded. He never judged. He had a leftist conscience, but he didn't belong to any party. His articles were also about immigration, but not just immigration, he wrote more generally about the working class. Giorgos was a huge resource on these topics, but not fanatically – "and we're left-wing", which was in fashion back then. He was thoughtful, very open and to the point. A difficult and humble personality, nothing was given to him [...] The film was very warmly received at the festival, a lot of young people, that's what impressed me. (M., personal talk, April 5, 2022)

Regarding the legacy left by his works (films as well as novels and other writings), M. shared with me the following thoughts:

Giorgos' reputation and memory is now beginning to be somewhat restored these days, somewhat [...] you can see that conversation on Youtube, with *Rafailidis* - with whom they had a mutual appreciation, intellectual, and excellent connection - and *Savvopoulos* about the film *Frida Liappa had filmed*. Giorgos was then president of the filmmakers' company, and he spoke on the show. You'll see it, how he took on *Doxiadis*, *Savvopoulos*, and he said that they were maintaining a regime, that there was control and censorship in cinema¹²⁵. [...] Giorgos had a great cinematic eye, he listened to

125 For this particular story, there is a footage video on this platform, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?>

classical music, and yet Kreuzberg begins and ends with *Bayaderas*, because that was Greece, back then. [...] His memory starts now after death and is somehow recognized, especially in this film, Giorgos is inside *Kreuzberg*, *he is inside this film!* [...] *So this film is Giorgod*, and he made it when he was only 29 years old, he was an incredible spirit [...] and I think it's very important to move on and do whatever I can for his work and memory. (Ibid.).

5.3. Thematic analysis of *EndStation Kreuzberg* (1975)

In this subsection, I will attempt a thematic analysis of the film, similar to what I have done with the films of Lefteris Xanthopoulos (chapter 3). That is, I will start with a synopsis of the film, and then with a rudimentary separation of scenes, integrated into thematic sections. Then, I will attempt an analysis of the material, drawing inspiration and methodological implications from Nikielska-Sekula, Amandine Desille (2021); Sanderien Verstappen (2021); Trencsényi and Naumescu (2021); Krase and Shortell (2021); Sebag and Jean-Pierre Durand (2021); Berger and Mohr (1975); Becker (2002); Bischof et al. (2012); Mitchel (2012); Friedrichs (2012), as well as Kesting (2017); Banks and Vokes (2010).

I have divided the film into three *thematic sections* (as of now TS), in three parts and will analyze sequences of the film, sometimes small sections, without words, but mostly snippets comprised of testimonies, as they are heard and presented in the film. Following the narrative structure of the film, I will define the parts according to three musical themes, which function as an interlude or short intervals in between the testimonies and the accompanying scenes.

The musical score, as I have noted, was performed by a historical Greek *rembetiko* musician

[v=qfHA0mlNivo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfHA0mlNivo), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fug-yOJ8Las>. M., informed me and incited me to see this video material. Regarding the content and background of this story and related incident we read in the above source: „1992. On the initiative of Apostolos Doxiadis and Vassia Panagopoulou, the mistreatment of a child during his participation in the shooting of Frida Liappa's latest film "The years of great heat" becomes a major issue. In the television show "Profiles" the host Panos Panagiotopoulos (before he became a politician) and the guests Dionysis Savvopoulos, Vassilis Rafailidis, Apostolos Doxiadis, Giorgos Karypidis deepen the "national division" that had already been created (characterization of Rafailidis). In the show there is an interview with Frida Liappa herself, as well as an intervention by Anna Psaruda Benaki, Minister of Culture at the time. Two years after the show Frida Liappa dies. Four years after the show, Apostolos Doxiadis and his wife Vassia Panagopoulou divorce with terrible recriminations in the media. The noise caused would surely damage their daughter. Possibly more than the one suffered by the other little girl on the set of the film". (User thc 276, February 16, 2011) [Last accessed 22 March 2023].

Dimitris Gogos, better known by his pseudonym *Bayaderas*¹²⁶. He speaks – in the beginning of the film – but thereafter, mainly sings and plays bouzouki.

In this section, I will not analyze the musical pieces by *Bayaderas*, as I find it more useful and productive for my analysis to do so in the following section. While, these songs do constitute an organic part of the film, two of three of his songs are connected to new unknown stories that I discovered during the course of my fieldwork. I also realized that behind the presence of *Bayaderas*, there lies not only a symbolic message, which has to do with identity politics, or with the different meanings and templates of Greekness, nationality, ethnicity, regional identity or even diasporic identity, social class/milieus, which several filmmakers of the time were working through (see chapter 3). These songs also sent a decisive social and political message, stemming from the life and the oeuvre of the musician, one critically and dynamically connected to the whole film, as I will consider in the next section. For the time being, let's start with the synopsis of the film, taken from the website of the *International Film Festival Thessaloniki* and the aforementioned institution that digitized the version of the film :

The Kreuzberg district of West Berlin is home to foreign workers – Greeks and Turks who are struggling for a better future while trying to maintain their national identity. The lives, problems, and collective political action of the Gastarbeiters are explored in this great documentary by Giorgos Karypidis, who had himself lived and worked as a director for SFB national television in Berlin. Karypidis is a filmmaker with comprehensive knowledge of the constantly evolving international socio-political situation, which he gained through working and studying in different countries. He had all the tools for creating a cinema with an open antenna to international social issues. Whether through documentaries or through his later classic noir films, the common thread always returns to situations and heroes who carry their existential weight with a hopeful eye to the future. In this exemplary social documentary, far from any attempt to establish a narrative of emotional ease, Karypidis captures the collective anguish of entire generations who found themselves rootless. The film will be screened in a newly restored digital copy (DCP), created for the purposes of the event “Motherland, I See You,” with English subtitles and Greek subtitles for the Deaf or Hard-of-Hearing

¹²⁶It is frequent, almost the rule for all singers/musicians, mostly men, of this specific genre of Greek music, the so-called *Ρεμπέτικο/Rembetiko* music to have nicknames or pseudonyms. For general information on *Rembetiko* music see Zaimakis (1999/2008); Damianakos (1976) ; Damianakos (1996); Andriakaina (1996); Petropoulos (1989); Astrinakis (1991);Georgiadis (1993); Kottaridis (1996); Barbatsis (2022). Also the landmark film of *new wave of Greek Cinema* on the topic by *Kostas Ferris, Rembetiko (1983)* https://archive.org/details/rembetiko_movie.

(SDH). (International Film Festival Thessaloniki, 2022)

5.3.1 Thematic analysis of the film

The film begins in a ritual manner. Silently and slowly on a black and white background and on the premises of a restaurant, a live music scene is being set up. An elderly gentleman with white hair and an obvious problem in his left eye, enters the space. It is *Bayaderas*, accompanied by two men. Before he sits on the stage and starts his musical program, a voice from the organizers announces to the audience : “And now *Bayaderas* wants to say a few words“. The elderly man, the figure I first saw on the defective copy, but now in normal flow on the copy I have in my hands, takes the floor and says:

“Good evening. My dear migration brothers and sisters, I am filled with joy of spirit for the honor of being here with you tonight at this gathering. I will therefore perform for you and try my best since I am not from here, and not so well organized here, a little musical program which, of course, due to the lack of many things, you may judge me a little leniently. Thank you, and good listening” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

After the first musical piece *Zousa monahos xwris agapi*, one of the composer's most famous, we are confronted with the first verbal testimonials of the film. Alongside scattered landscapes of West Berlin, from German passers-by at *Checkpoint Charlie*, to house yards and deserted landscapes with children playing, in Kreuzberg, we hear the first worker narrating : “I came to Germany in 1969, through a Greek-German contract, a contract signed in Athens for a year. And we were introduced here, for work. Houses for us foreigners are difficult, um, we would go and ask for houses, as soon as we said we were foreigners, we were told we don't let foreigners in”. (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975). Then, right after that we hear a second testimony, this time from a child, judging by its voice, as well as the content of the statement, a young Greek pupil of secondary education, who lives and goes to school in West Berlin:

„ In the morning I leave here, and at seven-thirty I take the *U bahn* [Metro] and then I get off, and I take the other *U bahn* and go to school, and we do Greek and German [classes in school] we do it until half past twelve, then we get off, then we take the bus and go to the [Kindergarten] and there are German kids there, and we all get off together, and we play. We are in another class, and the little Germans are in another class” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

What follows next, are two sequences without words which are inserted in between the extracts of interviews by workers (or children as we saw earlier). One is a strangescene [03: 43 – 04: 53] displaying a wedding of a white German couple, who pass by *Naunnynstrasse*, in the heart

of urban Kreuzberg, via a carriage with a horse. The camera focuses with a slow pace on the couple, which enters a rather ordinary neighborhood bar, the *Gaststätte Grünwald*. Then, interspersed with scenes from the same district, mainly courtyards, and deserted houses in *Mariannenstrasse*, a song is heard, which from the first listening recalls some mourning songs of southern Italy. The song (04:52 - 05: 29), called Nati Nana Bobò (Italy), sung by *Il Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano*. Nati Nana Bobò, from the album *Ci Ragiono E Canto*, is a social song, derived from the tradition of popular and proletarian songs from all over Italy, collected by the *Nuovo Canzoniere Italiano* and the Ernesto di Martino Institute, performed in a production by Dario Fo, the well-known engaged theatrical director of the Left in Italy.¹²⁷

At this point, as well as we will see, with two other cultural references from Turkey and the Mediterranean, the internationalist character of the film becomes apparent, and especially the class origins of the popular workers' movement, including Greeks, Italians and Turks. These song references give a tone of solidarity to the film, by referencing the common struggles of the migrant workers and, as we will discuss later, the collective political demonstrations of the migrant workers. After these scenes, the director moves forward with the presentation of the main themes of the film. Thus, we hear the following extract from a Greek migrant teacher, presumably a union trade member, who seems to have some sort of role as a community representative, as he speaks on other occasions in the film: “Dear compatriots, at today's assembly, we discussed the problem at school that our children are facing, in elementary, middle school, junior high, middle school, and vocational/technical school. Colleagues, and parents will report on this situation and explain all this in Greek” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).¹²⁸In the meantime, in the sonic background, we can hear a mourning instrumental theme, which resembles a dirge, presumably from Turkey or the wider Anatolian region. Then, another worker shares this testimony:

The children have great difficulties at school, because there are two schools. One is run by the Labours' Union, together with the [Senat]/Senate, which has teachers dismissed by the junta, and the Consulate, as a diversion, runs another afternoon school, where Greek children also go. And, finally. the Greek children are on the street all day long, from morning till night. They leave home at 7.30 in the morning, at 8 they go to school,

¹²⁷For the song credentials, see <https://www.jiosaavn.com/song/nati-nana-bobo/IVeBdxMAe14>.

¹²⁸Here again I am using random acronyms for the sake of anonymity because especially in this film I was not able to find any source for the names of the speakers. The particular teacher I have named *L.*, is heard three times in the film, once in TS 1 and twice in TS 2 during the thematization of the education issue, so we assume that he is an organized Greek worker trade unionist who might have had leading organizational roles. His harsh criticism of the German trade unions is characteristic at several points in TS 2.

they do three hours in the morning until eleven. From there they go to the *Kindergarten* until one. At two o'clock they go to afternoon school until five, and from five until six they come home. In the end, they are on the street all day. They are in trouble, and they don't get educated. (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

In this testimony, we briefly come to terms with the controversial topic of education of migrant workers and their children, which is one of the main and recurring themes of the film. As we learn from the testimonies in the film, there are several problems in the schools for Greek immigrant children. Indicatively, the teachers, as always claimed by the German officials, apart from being selected by the Greek government on political criteria, are constantly being replaced without being given the opportunity to become familiar with the environment and its problems. Thus, all the difficulties encountered are dealt with inconsistent procedures and stopgap measures. The result of this policy is that the shortcomings of the Greek educational system and textbooks in the diaspora setting would become more obvious and acute. Teaching staff was also lacking and inadequate, as stated by the workers-teachers in the film. Equally remarkable is the fact that “the Greek children in these schools, growing up isolated from their German peers, do not learn enough German, to be able to communicate with their immediate environment, and in case they stay in Germany longer than their parents originally expected, a quite common phenomenon, they will not have the opportunity to attend a higher or vocational school”(Matzouranis 1973: 225).

Another burden for the Greek as a foreign student in Germany, is the special course in his mother tongue, the so-called "Greek day". Because these lessons take place after the lessons in the German school, the children do not have the time to rest and play, which is important for their mental balance. Nor do they have time to prepare their lessons for the next day. Sometimes, moreover, the lessons in their mother tongue take place at the same time as the lessons in the normal school, so they are obliged to be absent from one or the other (Matzouranis 1973: 226-227). It is also important to note that the vast majority of migrant workers' parents are unable to help their children in preparing for the lessons, especially when it comes to German language lessons. The migrant home with its extremely limited space is not suitable for concentration and study. The student has to prepare his lessons in the same room where the mother cooks, the father watches TV and the younger siblings play (ibid.)¹²⁹

During the 1970s when this film was being shot the German education system was reaching

¹²⁹According to a statistical survey carried out in 1970 in NRW, only 37.7 % of foreign pupils obtained the school leaving certificate of the main primary school and only 2 % continued their studies. 60,3 % left school without a school leaving certificate. By way of comparison, the state in question is considered to be the predominant federal state in the BRD which takes measures to educate foreign children.

its limits, as an increasing number of children and young people who had not initially been taught German and whose parents often did not speak German had migrated to the FRG, seeking an education and possibly a future here (zur nieden 2015: 129). In many cases, however, it was primarily migrant self-organizations that founded associations and schools to meet the need for education, especially mother-tongue instruction (ibid.:129- 130). It is not only due to failures in school policy that most of the children of immigrant workers were inadequately educated. It is undoubtedly the case that children, who have a more difficult time in their psychological development due to living in two cultures, will have other problems at school. German teachers were often inadequately prepared for this new educational task - foreign students often slipped into the role of troublemakers or retreated behind a wall of silence (cf. Dunkel, Stamaglia – Faggion 2000: 303).

Moreover, in regard to the two aforementioned testimonies, I consider it important to mention the following detail, which reveals the interplay of language, minority and migratory status: namely, the use of German words in a simplistic or wrong manner. For example, in the testimonies, the word „U bahn” which means the German Metro, but also the word „Kindergarten” were mispronounced in so-called *gastarbeiter* language. In addition, in the testimonies they also create neologisms with components of German words and Greek words. On the one hand, on the basis of strict linguistic approach to this discourse, errors in language are revealed, while the confusion caused to the students due to their irregular education is not only discussed, but also demonstrated. More recent approaches from a critical migration, postcolonial and critical whiteness studies perspective, however, suggest another view of this linguistic errors: as traces of a flexible and intelligent tactic and survival strategy. Alternatively, these slips could even be seen as examples of *dopiolalia*, or vernacular, as characteristically discussed in the influential, multilayered and innovative at the literary historical work *The double Book (1979)* by Greek diaspora intellectual and political exile, *Dimitris Chadtzis*. In this book, *Chadtzis* renders the language of heroes, their idiom with phonographic exactitude. Thus, in the main protagonist *Kostas'* narrative, German, Turkish and Spanish words are used, which are integrated into the speech of the Greek immigrants. The words are *Hellenized*, rendered in the Greek alphabet and adapted to the Greek language, just as they were used in the spoken language and probably written by the immigrants themselves. With other characters, he employs the idiom of other local ethnic background, used, which they often do not discard even in exile and diaspora.



Figure 36 : Sequence from TS 1 of the film depicting three female migrants chatting in the street in Naunynstrasse (Source: screenshot photo taken while watching the film *Endstation Kreuzberg* 1975).

Returning to the testimonies in the first section, just before before the end of the second testimony by the migrant teacher, as I noted, an orchestral mourning song has already begun to be heard, (07:10 – 07:19). Then for roughly ten seconds, a Turkish colleague/teacher also reports on the situation in the schools (07:20 – 07:29). While we listen to the second musical theme, which resembles a dirge from the wider Anatolian region, we observe footage of Kreuzberg: deserted streets, scenes of abandonment and loneliness, an old man limping. As Kymionis (2006 : 49) has highlighted: "The scenes accompanying the verbal fragments reveal a metaphorically and literally cold and inhospitable city: (establishing) general shots of deserted streets, an old man with a limp, a sad wedding, children playing in poor areas". After a short while, we observe and listen to further testimonies from the labour workers/teachers. Teacher *L.* who spoke in the second testimony introduces a German companion named *Lankner* from the Berlin Teachers' Council (07:56- 08:09). The German trade union member begins to speak: "Ladies and gentlemen, dear parents, my colleagues, the management of the board. The union of education and science has entrusted me to welcome you this evening and to wish this meeting a successful course. One of the most serious problems of our society and therefore also of our trade union policy is [...]". (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

Suddenly the voice of the German trade unionist is interrupted, receding with a *fade-out* and

followed, as if dubbed, by the voice of another worker. For a moment, one might reasonably think that this is a translation of what the German, announced as *comrade Lankner*, had begun to report, but after several views of the film I realize that the voice of a Greek worker is interjected. As we will discuss, he later on gives a very powerful lengthy testimony, which can be read as an intervention, as well as a political statement. This testimony, rich in historical and social information, lists with precision and an indirectly ironic tone the basic problems of guest workers in Germany. At this point, we hear the worker say:

The working conditions for foreigners here are very difficult compared to for Germans. The Germans don't look kindly on us. They put us in the hardest jobs. The factories take Greek workers to exploit them (better) and they do the hardest jobs compared to the Germans, but they are also paid less than the Germans. In many cases this happens. For example, a Greek guy goes to get a job, and when he says that he is a foreigner, they don't take him for a job, but they employ a German. And this happens all the time, but the worst thing is that the Greeks here have no certainty. For example, the factory doesn't ensure that you will have a job here for two or three years, if you work all the time. He can tell him, if there is an unemployment or a crisis, or whatever, or he doesn't have much work to say, they can send him a dismissal¹³⁰ and in fourteen days he is fired. And it's hard to get a job, let's say, for the foreigner. It's the same with the issue of residency. The foreigners' Police gives a stay of six months, a year, some people even give three months, and the foreigner here has no security to work all the time. Today he's here, tomorrow he can be fired and sent away. That's what happened in 1966 with the crisis that happened here. 50,000 Greeks left for Greece, from West Germany, because unemployment was falling, and foreigners took over again, that's what we hear here. And now we can say, according to the German news, that from the winter onwards, in 1975, unemployment will rise from 577,000 in Germany today to one million, and the storm will be taken by foreigners again, foreigners will run for jobs, foreigners will run for houses, foreigners will run for stays, for work permits, and eventually most of them will go back home. (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

This long and powerful testimony is indicative of all the main problems that guest-workers in Germany deal with. The speaker bears witness to the standard problems of labour exploitation, racism and discrimination in the labour market, the difficulties of finding a job, as an expression of “institutional racism” (cf. Miles 1989, Balibar 1992, Gomolla/Radtke 2002, Jäger/Jäger 2002, among others). His words testify to discourses and practices of state and civil society institutions that systematically produce exclusion and discrimination without explicitly and intentionally

¹³⁰ Again here, the worker adopts a linguistic twist, using the German word *Kündigung* in Greek and adopting the pronunciation to Greek phonetics (*Tou stelni to Koundigung*).

making use of racist patterns of justification and interpretation. The hegemony of the dominant society is ensured even though the attributions and procedures appear to be appropriate or value-neutral (cf. Gomolla/Radtke 2002: 45, cited in Ronneberger/Tsianos 2015: 148). Regarding the themes of care, precariousness, uncertainty, that are referenced in this testimony, Matzouranis has noted in his seminal book (1973) on the uncertainty about the future that surrounds immigrants is one reason for this 'dark number' of unemployed children. The migrants' inability to plan their lives, their precarious position, the lack of certainty about the continuation of their work and the renewal of their residence permit in Germany, together with the lack of any information and education on the part of those responsible for the need to educate their children, counteract their intentions even in the fundamental matter of the progress of their family. (cf. Matzouranis 1973: 221).

This testimony also touched on the burning topic of that era regarding difficulties and harsh conditions in housing, as well as issues of residency, passports, the *oil crisis* and consequences for foreigners in Germany. As we are reminded by zur nieden (2015: 129): "In the mid-1970s, the economic situation had long since changed from that at the beginning of recruitment, and unemployment began to become a problem in the BRD. After the recruitment stop, many migrant workers brought their families - family reunification remained almost the only legal form of migration to West Germany and West Berlin". In regard to passports, and this constant threat of insecurity, even fear for deportation for foreign migrant workers, *Giorgos Matzouranis*, reminds us in a statement, taken from the second part of the documentaries made by journalist **Stelios Kouloglou** and his team in (2011):

The work and residence permit were written inside the passport. If you didn't have a passport, you didn't have a work or residence permit. The Germans could ask you to leave. But they didn't. We had a lot of support from the Germans, and well-known people, well-known names, for example Rudi Duschke, who is known for what he was, Rolf Polle, who was also a young lawyer, who was extremely helpful there to people who needed support. Daniel con Petit, (currently a member of the European Parliament with the Greens) (*Tvxs.gr/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: Ανάμεσα σε δύο πατρίδες 2011*)

In the two years since the first edition of *Matzouranis'* (1975) seminal study on guest-workers, in which the main feature was the economic crisis, the life of migrants had already become more difficult. Their employment was more more precarious and their right to stay in the country where they were earning their living in question. There was fear that the *Law on foreigners* – until

then a vague thread – might actually be implemented. The trade unions were limiting their activity and the defense of foreign colleagues. The German workers themselves, influenced in the large part by the German press, believed and openly showed that foreign workers were the cause of the crisis.

In this atmosphere, the policy of integrating foreigners into German society was weakening and had gone from “a controversial intention to a dead letter“ (Matzouranis 1973: 309). As Matzouranis continues “In this climate it became clear that neither the country hosting and exploiting foreign workers, nor the country supplying them had taken any measures to protect them in times of economic crisis. The migrants in Germany paid the price of the crisis in nightmarish conditions, without meaning that they enjoyed their offer during the period of prosperity”(ibid.).

Regarding the critical issue of housing and accommodation for labour workers at the time, the issue of finding a suitable home, in terms of space and sanitary facilities as defined by German law was decisive for male workers who wanted to bring their families from Greece to Germany. Without the existence of such a house, no entry and family settlement permit could be granted. Rents were very expensive and the exploitation of foreigners by landlords common. (cf. Koch 1970:17; Matzouranis 1973: 219-220). According to the same source, an average calculation shows that in order to provide a house for a family of four in accordance with the legal requirements, a worker would have to spend 60% of his salary. Therefore, in order to avoid the exorbitant rent expenses and to have enough salary for the rest of the expenses, the migrant declares fewer than the actual family members. This is facilitated by a „loophole in the law“, which does not oblige children under sixteen years of age to be declared¹³¹. The extremely limited space and inadequate sanitary facilities have a negative impact on the normal life of the family, on the relations between its members, on their mental state and on the character development of each member. Another consequence of the difficulty of finding suitable housing or of meeting the costs of such housing is that children are left in the hands of grandparents back in Greece, a very typical phenomenon which almost all of my informants from the second generation have confirmed with shocking accounts¹³². Another main reason that forces migrants not to register their children even in the school registers is the need for one of them, usually a girl if there is one, to stay at home to look after younger siblings or the household. This explains the very low number of Greek female migrant students. (Matzouranis 1973: 220-221, cf, footnote 7, Ibid.).

We also should not forget the tense sociopolitical and historical context during the period in which the film was shot, and the fear-mongering of Greek state actors. During the seven-year

131 See Par. 2, 1 of the *Ausländergesetz*, 28.4.1965, as cited in Ibid.: 220.

132 See also Dunkel-Stamaglia/Faggion (2000:284-289) „Ich war für ihn wie eine Fremde. – Kinder und die Pendelerziehung“.

period of the military dictatorship, the policing of Greek workers reached its peak. Consulates were transformed into centers of snitching and migrants who did not comply with the suggestions and orders of the consulate and Greek state officials, as well as of low-level informers and thugs who operated in communal buildings, factories, work places and community social events would lose their passports and, not infrequently, their citizenship. Hundreds of Greeks applied for and received political asylum from West Germany during this period. Gradually, these Greek state services turned into warring factions where migrants were policed, while the migrants themselves tried to organize their lives and establish mass forums, sometimes occupying huge areas to defend themselves. This activity of the state services, which had an impact on the life, not only of the immigrants in Germany, but also of their relatives in Greece, forced a large number of immigrants to pursue an anti-social way of life, give up all their rights, not join trade unions, not learn German, and not participate in cultural events or in the struggles of others (Matzouranis 1973: 311). As we read in Matzourani's (1973) influential study, the director of the Ministry of Labour *L. Polychronis*, stated in a 1964 report addressed to the Greek Minister of Labour: "A visitor from Greece, as soon as he meets immigrants, 'finds himself in the presence of oppressed people, frightened, suffering from internal guilt, considering themselves obliged to work only and having no right in society having the impression that any protest will result in persecution, interruption of work, deportation to Greece and expulsion back to their homeland". (L. Polychronis 1964 in *ibid.*)

Faced with the anachronistic law for foreigners/*Ausländergesetz* mentioned in the film, which has essentially racist roots and is dominated by the logic and practices of discrimination and of course structural racism, the unions began a direct struggle seeking in every possible way to equalize the wages of foreigners with those of German workers. These basic demands are expressed in the historical protest march featured later on in Karypidis' film. To sum up, the first part of Karypidis' black and white documentary *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)* keeps to the essential, recording with spare cinematographic means the complex and stressful daily problems of Greek and Turkish labour workers and migrants in the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin: unfamiliar working conditions, inevitable loneliness, widespread racism (cf. Pagoulatos 2006 : 39).

5.3.2 Thematic Section II : Education Issues, Integration Discourse, Structural Racism

The second song performed by *Bayaderas* acts as a musical bridge and -perhaps- a therapeutic break relieving the tension developed after listening to the workers' direct and fierce testimonies. We listen for about two minutes the second song "*Chadtzikiriakio, Tha Klepso Mia Melahrini (Apo Vradis Xekinisa/I will steal a brunette . I set out at night)*" (10: 58 – 12: 00).

After the musical theme, the film again takes up the urgent burning topic of education - this time with a dynamic and escalating rhythm and structure. Along with shots from a general assembly, which includes German trade unionists, but also Greeks, Turks, Yugoslavs, and other ethnic minority migrant workers, we observe among the white-black photography that creates an atmosphere of militant reporting and activist documentaries, many men with long hair and a n appearance that reminds us of the late 1970s. They are smoking and talking passionately with each other or making symbols of victory. We can also make out teachers and various workers, militant members of the left and member of social movement. A poster titled “*Chile Kämpft/Chile struggles*” captures the spirit of internationalist social struggle at the time in West Germany. Through off-screen technique we listen again to the teachers' voices – without seeing their faces, with voice - off/O.S¹³³ narratives testifying in turn :



Figure 37 : Sequence from TS 2 of the film devoted to the assemblies of Greek, Turkish labour workers along with German trade union members and various leftists/supporters (Source: screenshot photo taken while watching the film *Endstation Kreuzberg* (1975)).

“That our children should study in their mother tongue until they reach primary school, and that German should be their first foreign language, well that is not included here, this is the spirit of *integration*, which should be denounced” (*Endstation Kreuzberg* 1975).

133 Off-screen (O.S); This term is used when a character physically appears at the scene location but does not appear in the camera view. When a character is off-screen, therefore, the audience will hear their voice but not see them even though they are at the primary scene location (s.<https://bunnystudio.com/blog/voice-over-vs-voice-off-and-why-you-should-learn-the-difference/> [Retrieved 15.9.2022]).

“Our children will become the reserve guard for the German factories. We, on the other hand, oppose this, and say if our children continue to go to ... classes, our children will become workers, but worse than us”. (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

“This so called integration dictates that our children have to learn German so that they won't have a hard time tomorrow and the day after tomorrow when they are factory workers, in short“ (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

At this point in the film, there is reference to the future integration of immigrants in Germany, which was expressed at the time through the term (ensomatosi)/ assimilation. In regard to the integration debate, it is interesting to observe that German language skills have increasingly become synonymous with successful integration, as taking the side in the then contentious integration debate in Germany. Notably, the 2005 Immigration Act stipulates integration as an achievement to be made individually by migrants and verifiable through a German language test (zur nieden 2009: 70).

In today's debates about German language skills and integration of "immigrants", the long history of "integration" as an appropriation of rights, living spaces and also of German language is often forgotten. It is also rarely mentioned that in the course of the recruitment of so-called guest workers in the FRG, it was not foreseen that they would learn German. There were no invitations to learn the German language in the factories, neither during working hours nor outside of them. It was assumed that the work processes, tasks and regulations could easily be communicated and that further communication was not necessary. Several companies had language guides written in various languages that explained the vocabulary necessary for work (such as the colliery train station, uniforms, or spot-welding tongs) with the help of pictures (ibid.).

In some larger companies, certain individuals were trained as auxiliary interpreters to facilitate communication between supervisors and non - German employees (especially in this one direction). It would become an important demand of many migrants, partly articulated by trade unions and works councils, to offer German classes during or alongside working hours in the factories so that workers could better represent their interests and assert their rights. Even outside the workplaces, there were hardly any opportunities to attend German courses until the 1970s. Many who wanted to learn German despite full-time work and shift work failed due to the lack of opportunities. Others acquired knowledge on their own from books (zur nieden 2009: 70).

On the other hand, the alternate position – of integration through integration of migrant

children into the German school system – has its own disadvantages. Given the uncertainty about the length of stay of foreigners in West Germany, integration into the German education system and language could have an inhibiting effect on the educational progress of the child (cf. Matzouranis 1973: 225).¹³⁴

“Integration”, as prescribed by the Immigration Act, is to be performed individually and becomes a prerequisite for access. The promise associated with it, however, remains unclear: what is one supposed to actually gain access to, what can one participate in? Especially in the post-Fordist situation, integration through work is precarious. Thus, the prospect of inclusion in German society and economy through work. The legislation appears to conceal the fact that society has nothing to offer individuals as long if they do not appropriate for themselves what they want to have in struggles (zur nieden 2015: 135).

Here, as others have correctly argued, the percentage of immigrant children who found a place in kindergartens was very low, while the creation of more kindergartens would be the most basic step and inexpensive for the state to take to integrate foreigners into German society. (Matzouranis 1973: 222). In no way does the creation of kindergartens by the immigrants themselves solve the problem, except as a temporary measure relief. Their children still live isolated from their social environment. They do not develop relationships, they do not learn the language of the country in which they live in and of the school they will later be obliged to attend. They always remain in a social ghetto and get used to this idea (Matzouranis 1973: 223). As regards the problem of integration, the unions provide a more critical and confrontational approach than the actions of other bodies, mainly social organisations or churches, which have a more charitable agenda (cf. Matzouranis 1973; 259). However, it is obvious that the new policy of the time was not yet understood entirely by the middle and lower ranks of the trade unions. As a result, there was not adequate participation of foreigners in the trade union process and in the timely development of plans and strategies for the solution of their particular problems.

In terms of migration policies today, the *völkisch* ethnic/popular component of integration ideology, reflected in categories such as "ethnic Germans" and "foreigners" or "guest workers" and "Aussiedler", continues to make itself felt. When, in the late 1950s, a growing need for labor led to the recruitment of "guest workers" with a limited duration of stay, the notion of "non-integration" was constitutive of the rotation model implied by this term (Ronneberger/Tsianos 2015: 138). The discourse on migration is articulated around a notion of “problem”, in two respects: on the one hand, the discourse involves measures directed against being considered a country of immigration;

¹³⁴ See advantages, disadvantages in Matzouranis (1973: 225-226).

on the other hand, demands for an integration program to avoid feared disintegration consequences for society at large are intensified (Ronneberger/Tsianos 2015: 139). In the course of the 1970s, the SPD thus developed the socio-technocratic model of partial integration, which attempts in particular to handle the children of *guest workers*. The CDU and CSU, later will denounce this approach as, among other things, the "forced Germanization of Turkish children" and advocate "return-oriented" integration (cf. Ronneberger/Tsianos 2015: 139).

To conclude the analysis of thematic section 2, it is important to stress that similar testimonies from children and adults are presented in a different style, but with a similar aesthetic which resembles the in a militant art and engaged cinema style used in the first film of Xanthopoulos, *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg (1976)*, discussed in Chapter 3. At this midpoint of the film, in an increasingly strident and dialectical tone, Karypidis, through the voices of workers and engaged activist migrants gathered in an assembly presents the following testimonies in relation to the educational problem of the time:

“Parents and guardians, if we look at the situation that prevails in schools, their legislation, we see that even what the Senate proposes, which is circulated as laws for our children, for the school education of our children, is not implemented.” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

“With Greek colleagues and with Turkish colleagues, also with German colleagues in the trade union, we have repeatedly experienced and seen the multifaceted problem of the educational issue, and the solutions we have thought of and proposed are well-known.” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975)

“Colleagues ! If we look at the curricula of our children's schools, we should be ashamed and saddened by this state of affairs in the schools. As parents we have taken too many actions to the relevant authorities but no response, no change in the whole situation. We are told that we are equal to them, we have equal rights with them, but where is this equality??” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

“We have also proposed that all Greek parents, and Turkish colleagues, Italian, Yugoslavian, and Turkish colleagues, go and pick up our children, for a week if necessary, and go to Schöneberg in front of the mayor here, in the local parliament and demonstrate from 7 o'clock, our children leaving home, until 7 o'clock in the evening when they go home again” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).

On the controversial educational issue, we can affirm that the main problem for Greek parents - and

for all migrant parents - who send their children to school is the difficulties of adapting young pupils to the German educational system. Many scholars have argued that it is remarkable that immigrant parents remain completely unaware of the rights and opportunities provided by the country they live in with regard to the education of their children. Greeks find a temporary way out in the so-called Greek schools, which in reality do not solve the problem (cf. Matzouranis 1973: 222).

It is not only due to failures in school policy that most of the children of immigrant workers were inadequately educated. It is undoubtedly the case that the children, who have a more difficult time in their psychological development due to living in two cultures, also have problems at school. German teachers were often inadequately prepared for this new educational task. As a result, foreign students often slipped into the role of troublemakers or retreated behind a wall of silence (cf. Dunkel, Stamaglia – Faggion 2000: 303). The parents were rarely able to help their children with problems at school, since they were mostly unfamiliar with the German school system. For many children it was difficult to find a connection in German regular classes: “At the beginning I felt like an animal. It is either poked or stroked, but it cannot express itself - so I had to learn to speak” (Dunkel, Stamaglia – Faggion 2000: 305)¹³⁵. Several authors, such as Matzouranis (1973; 1992) have called into question West Germany's educational policy along with the lack of a strategic policy or even indifference from the side of the official Greek state towards Greek migrant families in Germany :

From a report of the situation regarding the education of Greek children in West Germany, a very confusing picture emerges, but it is the harsh reality. The Greek authorities are following a rudimentary educational system, completely ignoring the special circumstances of immigrants' lives and their particular problems. The so-called Greek schools operate in a manner similar to that of a remote Greek village. They are financially dependent on the German state, which pays for classrooms, playgrounds, sports facilities and most of the teachers, and they are subjected to severe criticism, both for the way they operate and for the content of the curriculum taught, by foreign officials and experts. (Matzouranis 1973: 229).

On the German side, things are even more confusing, as there is no unified policy towards

¹³⁵ The original source is referenced on footnote 210 in Dunkel, Stamaglia – Faggion (2000), and it is an excerpt of an interview with a Turkish student, Ismet, 8 years old, cited in *Initiativgruppe Betreuung von ausländischen Kindern e.V.* (1982), p.44.

the problem. The topics of education of foreign children are the responsibility of the Ministers of Education of the federal states, each of which has a different policy. German authorities give the impression that for reasons of sensationalism they issue various decisions on the education of foreign children, while in fact they seem to prefer a renewed army of illiterate and untroubled people who will have no objection in a few years to being called and living, as their parents are today, as *Gastarbeiter*” (cf. Matzouranis 1973: 229).

This opinion is not only reflected in the testimonies of the workers in the second thematic section of the Karypidis’ film, but also in the film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (Xanthopoulos 1976). The following testimony from the Matzouranis' (1973) seminal study also confirm the centrality of education for workers' families and reveals the problems and obstacles faced by migration families:

I tell you, I'm lost. My daughter goes to German school. She's a big girl now, she's thirteen. Well, she's going to school, but what will happen there? I can't even help her in Greek [...] She learned German well, but now I'm losing her. She's become the neighborhood interpreter. Anyone who wants something comes to my Maria. The boy goes to the Greek school. It's a little far away and someone has to take him. He's in the second grade. And I can't help him and his father can't. Besides, he can't see him because he's always working in the afternoon so someone has to be home. Morning me, afternoon him! He is also a nervous man, when he doesn't understand the child, he consuses him. That's what Germany did to us. You know he never had an issue with his nerves! The teacher says, "Vassilakis is not diligent. What should I do for him? I come home at 5 o'clock. Until I manage to do two chores, it already gets dark. How to help him with reading and studying? He asks me something and if I don't know it, he makes fun of me. He's a boy and he has to be educated, but I think it's better to send him to the German school, the children are more civilized there, so we don't want to leave Germany. (Anonymous Greek male worker, in Matzouranis 1973: 230)

In the above testimony we observe the theme of mental illness and psychosomatic problems of guest workers, a theme which we saw them thematized in the first film of Xanthopoulos, (*GGH* 1976) in Chapter 3 . This issue has also been mentioned and attested to, in various aspects of my fieldwork: for insance, in the group discussion with the Greek Women of Hamburg (Chapter 4) as well as in, interviews with informants in Munich and Berlin, especially from first and second

generation of Greek migrants. Furthermore, in the above testimony, we see conservative ideas of gender role connected with the Greek religious and national tradition, with higher priority given to the education of male children over that of females.

To summarize our analysis in the second thematic section, all the personal testimonies of the migrant workers depicted in the film, expressing their demands, problems, stemming from the educational issue of migrant families in Germany, the *Integration/Assimilation* debate, the denouncement of structural racism, constitute the central narrative of the film, leading organically to the third and final part of the film: the collective common march of all migrant workers together with German workers.

5.3.3 Third Thematic Section: The Demonstration

Resembling the work of Xanthopoulos, Giorgos Karypidis' film features the dynamic mobilizations of Greek and Turkish migrant workers in the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin. The foreign workers, who live on the margins of social and political developments, are demonstrating collectively for better working and living conditions, for equal treatment, and for a better life (cf. Xanthopoulos 2004: 35- 36). In this last part of the film, the voices and the image are dedicated entirely to the mass march of the teachers and workers along with their families, Greek and Turkish, together, which is happening for the first time. As a result the film constitutes a significant historical and audiovisual document. Alongside the images of the demonstration, we hear a worker at the bullhorn shouting vigorously:

We, workers sell our labour power to the big economic conglomerates, like our West Berlin colleagues, our problems and concerns are common. But as foreign workers we are doubly damaged, we are doubly exploited. Once again, we are having our rights curtailed, with the new tax law and the new child benefit regulation, on the one hand we have to pay more tax, and on the other hand we are having our child benefit reduced. The allowance for our children back home has been reduced, while the huge profits of big business remain untouched. With this inequality against us, the West German government and the West Berlin Senate are trying to serve the interests of businessmen, employers, and the common struggle against the working people in general. And even if we bring our children here, it doesn't solve the problem. The state of our children's education, both educational and vocational, is disastrous. There are no places for our children in day care, no teaching positions in schools. There are no teachers and books, our children cannot learn, study, neither German nor their mother tongue, our children

grow up illiterate in both languages. Of our children, very few, after they finish, literally, after they have been wrongly expelled from primary school, find it very difficult to find a place to learn a trade, any trade, and rarely do any of our children finish high school. Of our children, the vast majority will go out into society, unskilled workers, *Hilfsarbeiter*, and with the additional insulting name, and after living in Germany and West Berlin, fifteen and twenty years of staying here, as a *Gastarbeiter*, which means something worse than unskilled worker. (*Endstation Kreuzberg 1975*)

When the demonstration ends, we view again the deserted landscapes of the streets of Kreuzberg and close-ups of children playing, picking up the glooming atmosphere motif we saw in the first part of the film. In the sonic background, we listen again, now for the last time, as a closing theme, to the sound of the bouzouki. The film ends with the third and final song from the *rembetiko* musician *Bayaderas*.

In relation to the long testimony with which the film closes, I would argue that the main problems faced by migrant workers are summarized. The sharp anti-capitalist critique by this particular worker is impressive, as well as the presentation of historical data. In this instance, we remember Giorgos Matzouranis, this time not from written sources but from an interview extract from the documentary of Greek journalist *Stelios Kouloglou* and his team *Tvxs.gr (2011)* on the life of Greek guest workers in Germany. There, Matzouranis states emphatically: “Germany proclaimed at the time but has never ceased to claim that it is not a host country for immigrants. That's why they all called them *Gastarbeiter*, which literally means guest worker, but guest worker also means a person with no prospect of advancement and the word *Gastarbeiter* became a swear word. That is to say, it indicated the *slumlord*, the dirty one, the one *without a fate*, the one without many rights, that is to say, a German could swear at another German, [calling him] *a scoundrel-Gastarbeiter!*” (*Gastarbeiter/Γκασταρμπάιτερ:"400.000 items/400.000 τεμάχια" 2011*).



Figure 38: Photo from the Assembly *Versammeln antirassistische Kämpfe*, Kreuzberg Museum, May 21, 2022. Annita Kalpaka at the closing event, in the central exhibition of Kreuzberg museum, (source: "Das offene Archiv als kollektiver Aufbereitungs- und Debattenraum. Wolfgang Bock 2022, <https://versammeln-antirassismus.org/tagung/>)

Going back in time, textually to what I discussed in the beginning of this chapters, while at the same going forward 47 years into the future later: we are at the first real screening of this film in Germany. The premiere. It's 2022 and we are in the huge and hospitable hall of HAU 3 in Berlin. The room is almost full of people. The film, after 18 minutes of screening, has come to an end and one can sense a certain numbness, an awkwardness. After a few seconds, Annita Kalpaka, profoundly charged, asks for the floor. At that point the head and moderator of the workshop, her friend and colleague, *Prof. Tsianos* asks her : „Annita, do you want to comment about this demonstration and the demands associated with it?“ And Anita shares with the audience the following thoughts:

I think what is important and to understand the context, that is a very strong [political] peace movement of Greek, Spanish and later, at least earlier in Berlin of Turkish parents, among other things, because yes well, the problems, continue, but what *they* say on this demo is that our children have only for them a career as early skilled workers,

and the demand was bilingual education at that time. And I say now *we*, because I was involved in this movement, which had hardly any allies, i.e. from the Left came (a critique): it is nationalistic to demand to learn one's own mother tongue, from the GEW - *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*. It was also quite difficult to convince them that mother tongue would be important. At the same time you have to classify this in the politics of the time. There was this notion that the Federal Republic of Germany is actually not an immigration country - i.e. there were no integration measures at the time, and therefore *we were totally up in the air*, and what is addressed, so they have addressed the whole package in there [she means in the film], for example, it was the time that the child benefit, for the children who did not come with them, but remained in the country of origin, that the child benefit would be cut altogether, but the subsequent family reunification was also quite regulated. And also, because they [labour migrants] did not find [apartments], and enough space, they couldn't [bring] the children also for these reasons. That is, a sequence of all these law provisions for foreigners that actually determined life, and then there were *this sort of crisis* classes. There were also teachers who were appointed were appointed from the Greek dictatorship government. And then, they were in this dilemma, to learn Greek, should we deliver our children to the ultra-right, so to speak? So a totally repressed camp, but I think all this legal framework for foreigners/migrants, which is not known, was an important dimension, because, in part, if you became unemployed, you had anyway no rights to anything. Therefore you prove to be in an insecure status and, more importantly, not only because of the linguistic arguments that also exist, and for learning the mother tongue, it was a real prospect that you would return Greece. That the children have no opportunity at all. That's how it was then. And the other thing you mention is that there was no places in the kindergarten and cemeteries, and that they had no rights about all that. There were altogether too few in the time, and that were maybe the last they got, eh.... So (all that) as a small classification in the time.(A. Kalpaka, May 21, 2022) ¹³⁶

As Matzouranis argues, in a critical and cynical tone, “only the amount of money that immigrants send to Greece is constantly increasing. And that is why they smile bitterly when the

136The audio file was sent to me by Mateji Belu, whom I thank very much. Mateji along with his sister Andrea Bellu were the video artists that supported technically in terms of sound, video-projection and simultaneous documentation the whole workshop which lasted almost 2 and half hours. See their Website Portfolio <http://mbab.paqc.net/>. I should note that I transcribed the audio of *Annita Kalpaka's* speech and the rough translation is mine.

government celebrates that it has obtained a loan from Germany of one hundred million marks. They, the immigrants send every year more than a Billion DM, without interest... “ (Matzouranis 1973: 310).

The filming of the dynamic mobilizations of these hitherto unknown subjects in Karypidis' films brings it into dialogue, in my opinion, with the quintessential historical documentary on labour migration social struggles, *PIERBURG - IHR KAMPF IST UNSER KAMPF* (1974). In regards to the historical context, we should note that 1973 was not only a year of strikes, but also the year of the so-called recruitment freeze, which was justified as a necessary consequence of the so-called oil crisis. The goal: No more foreign workers were to be recruited. If possible, the "guest workers" were to return to their home countries. For many, however, returning was not an option. During their time in Germany, many had settled in while others had not yet earned enough to start a business in their place of origin. Some were also hindered by the unstable political situation in their home countries. Migrant workers had long been a part of Germany, even if the government often saw things differently: the strike at Pierburg is a good example of how important migrants were for civil society movements for the emancipation of women and workers' rights.¹³⁷

As the Greek migrant worker *Anestis Kellidis*, a prominent figure in the struggles in Dortmund, as well as in other historical marches that had already preceded it, noted in 2011 regarding the working conditions in Germany in the 1970's, emphatically admits in the aforementioned documentary by *Kouloglou* (2011):

The exploitation was terrible. Which exploitation? [he explains] The men went straight into category 3, the women went into category 2. The man who came from Greece with his wife went to work next to each other, working on the same machines, one got three marks an hour, the other got four. I didn't like that, in the struggle I was having with the Germans for women's rights, and I started to organize a strike. I counted the departments, I counted the machines, 216 women stopped, the factory stopped. They sat at the machines, they didn't work, the factory couldn't work, the women were missing. They had brought portable loudspeakers, the women had brought them in their bags, they took them out, determining who would speak, what they would do, each in their own language, Turkish, Greek. (*Tvx.gr/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: Ανάμεσα σε δύο πατρίδες 2011*)

137 See <https://domid.org/news/pierburg-streik-solidaritaet-unter-arbeiterinnen/>; <https://de.labournet.tv/video/6489/pierburg-ihr-kampf-ist-unser-kampf>. (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

On the same subject, Matzouranis commented:“ They asserted their rights even with speeches in German, regardless of the fact that the Greeks who heard them did not need to hear them in German, and the Germans who heard them in German did not understand! But they understood that these people were asking for something. They are determined!.,(*Τvxs.gr/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: Ανάμεσα σε δύο πατρίδες 2011*).

According to Matzouranis (cf.1973:254), however, a characteristic of all immigrants, whether or not they belong to trade unions, is that they participate actively in the mobilisations. Indeed, as the 1971 strike in the chemical industry showed, in a decisive way, they thwarted the employers' hopes of using immigrants as a repressive counterweight to the labour demands of the Germans. The reasons why foreigners avoid formal membership in the unions are the opposition or questioning they encounter from the authorities of their countries, the lack of trade union consciousness, a comprehensive spirit of economics and above all the policy of the unions themselves towards foreigners which has shown many fluctuations, foldings and inconsistencies and lack of understanding of their problems in the first decade. As Matzouranis correctly demonstrates in his study on guest workers' political participation in Germany, German trade unions could not understand the peculiarities of migrants, especially those from the developing countries of the Mediterranean and the clearly different position of trade unions in such countries from another industrially developed country like Germany. “Their trade union propaganda was aimed at people who knew about trade unionism and who were industrial workers“ (Matzouranis 1973: 258). Thus, as many studies have noted, the fact that almost 85% of foreigners came from rural areas and had spent a large part of their lives in a rural conony, without machines and automation of work. They therefore tended to be suspicious, even fearful, of trade union activity. This has been confirmed and explicitly stated to me by my informants, both in Munich, in Berlin and Hamburg. Admittedly, the situation for the Greek, Turkish and Spanish and Portuguese workers was quite different then, both because the policies of the trade unions in their countries were dictated by the state, and often by authoritarian regimes, and because they were not recognized by international trade unions (*ibid*: 259-260). Thus, for the Greeks, it was a one-way street to be able to successfully assert their labour rights only through ferment and interactions with German trade unions.

Apart from the sociohistorical context, along with the visible and invisible differences between the practices and politics of the German trade-unions and the active participation of non-German labour migrants in these processes, in this mobilization, and for about four minutes up until the last sequence and musical *outro* of the film, we watch and listen to all involved workers: Greeks, Turks, and Yugoslavs, families with children, all united and shouting the basic demands for

justice, equality in education. In the face of the anachronistic law for foreigners/*Ausländergesetz* mentioned in the film, which has essentially racist roots and is dominated by the logic and practices of discrimination and of course structural racism, the unions begin a direct struggle and seek in every way possible to equalize the wages of foreigners with those of German workers. In many sequences, we can read clearly the slogans in the placards in Greek/Turkish, but also in German :

“Wir wollen gleiches Kindergeld/We want equal child benefits”.

“We want to learn our mother language, equal rights”. “*Gleichigkeit in der Schule, in der Fabrik / Equality in the school, in the factory*”.

“*Wir wollen Lehrer, Räume, Material/ We want teachers, rooms, materials*”.

“*We ask for a democratic 'Law on foreigners' / 'Für ein demokratisches Ausländergesetz'*”.

“*A three-hour lesson a day makes our children's intelligence away*”¹³⁸.

“*da is istiyoruz*¹³⁹ /we also want a job” (Endstation Kreuzberg 1975).



Figure 39: Sequence from the part of the film devoted to the demonstration of Greek and Turkish labour workers. In the placard we read “da is istiyoruz /we also want a job” (Source: screenshot photo taken while viewing the film *Endstation Kreuzberg* 1975).

¹³⁸ In a rough English translation this can be seen as witty paraphrase of the old saying : an apple a day keeps the doctor away !

¹³⁹ Slogans in turkish, see figure 12.

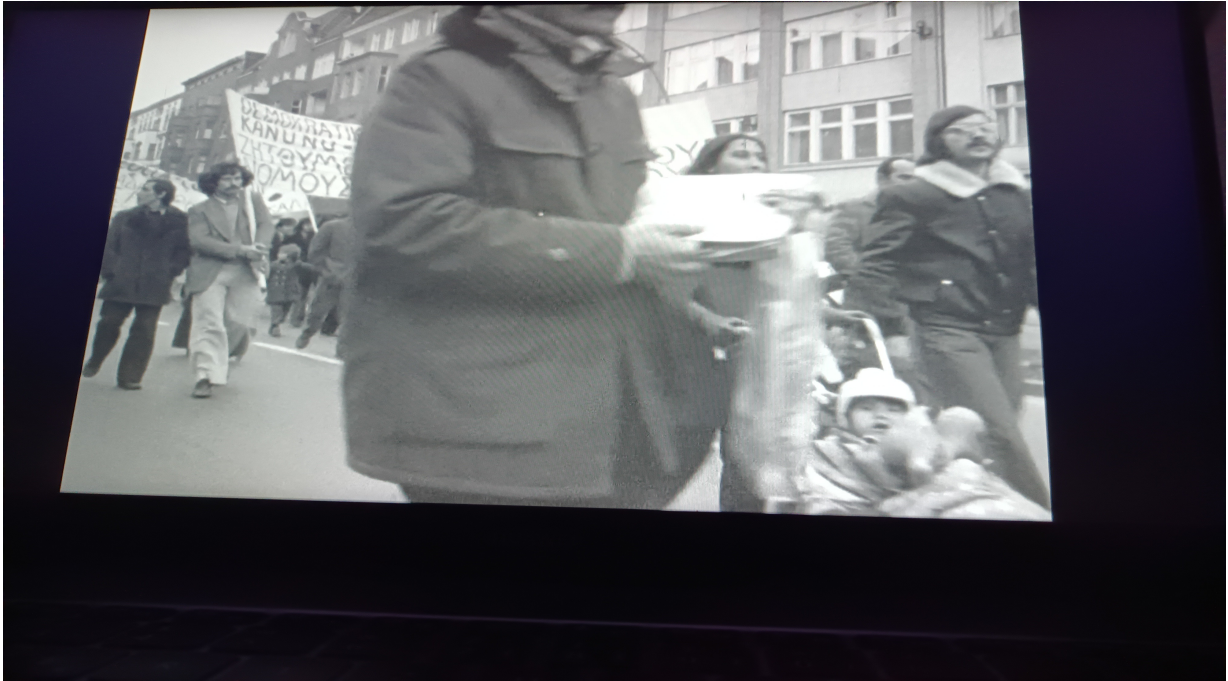


Figure 40 : Sequence from the part of the film devoted to the demonstration of Greek and Turkish labour workers (Source: screenshot photo taken while watching the film *Endstation Kreuzberg* 1975).

All things considered, all these performative acts Karypidis captured in a dynamic way with his camera, especially in the demonstration, can function as ‘acts of citizenship’. Acts of citizenship, as conceived by political theorist Engin Isin, “are not simply the normative practices that formal citizens undertake, such as voting, paying taxes and so on” (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 34). According to the same authors, ‘Acts of citizenship in Isin’s sense are deeds that take place regardless of formal citizenship status and beyond the bounds of normative practices – in Haacke’s terms, they are acts that emerge from the population and seek to reconfigure what counts as the people. Acts of citizenship break with the given and allow us to see, in Isin’s word: how subjects become claimants when they are least expected or anticipated to do so” (Isin & Nielsen 2008: 17). In conclusion, as Kymionis (cf. 2006 : 49) has highlighted, the universality of migration experience is underscored in *Endstation Kreuzberg* (1975). Here, it is the human voice that chiefly connects the images, in this case, extracts from statements made by various migrants living in West Berlin at the time. In this work, however, the protagonist is clearly collective: Greek, Turkish, Italian and Yugoslav workers whom the director subsumes under the umbrella of *Gastarbeiter* despite their different nationalities. Their words convey the main problems they face in their everyday lives: educating their children, structural racism, the constant threat of deportation (cf. Ibid). I would agree with Kymionis’ (2006) approach that exposition of the situation gives way to activist mobilization against this state of affairs: workers organizing, resolving to demonstrate and clashing with German Police. The film,

indeed, “propagates a leftist approach and affirms the need to take part in the collective struggle, coupled with an emphasis on preserving folk traditions, and drawing strength from them as evinced by the brief but definitive appearance of Bayaderas“ (Ibid.)¹⁴⁰.

5.4. Bayaderas: a symbol of resistance

I consider it useful to consider separately the three musical pieces that appear in the film, written and performed by the legendary Greek rebetiko musician *Bayaderas*. I will begin with a brief biography of the musician and then proceed to analyze the pieces based on anecdotal information and stories I gathered during my field research. I had happened to listen to the Radio Broadcast *Edodima kai apikiaka*, on the Greek left-wing radio station *Kokkino.GR*, a radio show that presents musical tributes on historic Greek musicians and songwriters from the wider field of Greek *Laiko/Rembetiko* music in September 2022, as I was writing this chapter. From this chance listening I came to interview the musician and researcher Anestis Mparmpatsis (as of now Anestis M.) in October, 2022. In this program, the radio producer *Alexis Vakis* had actually invited *Anestis M.* as a guest to present his book *Bayaderas – Dimitris Gogos [Prewar period] (2022)*. This monograph dedicated to the aforementioned Greek musician focuses on his prewar period, roughly from 1934 to 1945, when the musician was already an active and prolific musician and songwriter of the historical genre of *Rembetiko* music. After having listening to the show I immediately contacted Anestis M. who was more than willing and helpful to share with me details of his research and work of this Greek musician. After my illuminating discussion with *Anestis M.*, I am even more convinced of the significance of Bayaderas’ presence in the film.

Let me begin by giving a synopsis of the musician's biography. The great *rembetis* Dimitrios Gogos was born in 1903 in Chatzikyriakeio, Piraeus, and was the last of the 22 children of Angeliki from the island of Hydra and Yannis Gogos, a royal navy non-commissioned officer from *Poros*. From an early age, he followed the path of education and eventually studied electrical engineering. He never practiced his profession, though, due to his unruly character and interest in free wrestling. He also took up music from an early age. Until 1920, he played the mandolin and guitar, then the violin. From 1924 he began to learn the bouzouki and the bagpipes. He was introduced to the bouzouki in prison when, during his military service in the navy, he was sentenced to six years in

¹⁴⁰ On this historic figure of *rembetiko music*, we have devoted the following sub-chapter. For general biographical info, see the following websites and blogs; <http://www.katioua.gr/politismos/mousiki/o-epanastatis-anapodos-dimitris-gkogkos-i-mpagianteras/>; <https://www.fosonline.gr/stiles/tragoydia/article/115428/mpagianteras-se-mpravo-tis-nyxtas-an-se-xanado-tha-se-paloykoso>; <https://www.sansimera.gr/biographies/350>; <https://www.mixanitouxronou.gr/to-tragoydi-poy-egrapse-o-mpagianteras-otan-apochoristike-tin-kori-toy-otan-o-synthetis-tyflothike-mazi-me-tin-adelfi-tis-avgazan-piataki-stis-tavernes-gia-na-epivosyn/>. (Last accessed 22 March 2023).

prison for supplying explosives to his fishermen friends. In 1925 he arranged the Italian operetta *Bayadera*, by *Erich Kalman*, for a folk orchestra with bouzouki and mandolin. Since then he acquired the nickname *Bayaderas*. A child of the working class, he was confronted with social inequalities and injustice. He developed a keen interest in the community, and this made him stand out from most of his peers. Before he became blind, he used to read and keep himself informed about the political situation, which helped him both to consolidate his beliefs and also led him to become a member of the Greek communist party *KKE*. His political self-education helped him to share his concerns with other workers and engage in their “enlightening.” Shortly before the 1930s, he started hanging out at haunts in Piraeus where working class people of the port hung out. This is how he became closely associated with the pioneers of *rebetiko* music, especially *Markos Vamvakaris*, *Stratos Pagioumtzis* and *Giorgos Batis*. In April 1941, he was blinded by a glaucoma attack that occurred while he was on stage singing. Friends and colleagues began to despise him due to this impairment and he did his best to prove his worth to them. Indeed, he succeeded to create some of his greatest hits. But the years of Nazi occupation that followed were difficult for him and he struggled financially. After the war, he began again to write, record and perform in big clubs in Athens at that time. During the last years of his life, he isolated himself in his house and from October 1985 he began to experience health problems, until he eventually passed away in 1985. He left behind a legacy of about a hundred songs, as well as a method for learning the bouzouki without a teacher.

The first song in the film follows a short and warm speech of greeting and thanks to the Greek community and the “expatriate brothers.” This first song, composed by Bayaderas in 1967, is entitled *Zousa monahos xwris agapi* (I lived alone without love). Concerning the content of this love song, one of his most famous, music critic *Kostas Provatas* has written:

His sensitive and romantic lyrics praised love like few others before the war, although, when World War II and the Occupation came, Bayaderas would turn into a politicized artist who would praise the resistance struggle against the barbaric conqueror. Shortly before the war, Bayaderas joined the *Greek Communist party/KKE*, formalizing his left-wing political position. After fighting bravely on the Albanian front, he wrote anti-war and revolutionary *rebetiko* songs while blinded, giving his lyrics something of the darkness and suffering of his personal odyssey. Bayaderas lived truly hard years, which were followed by even greater difficulties, as he was a declared communist in times of hardship for our country. (Provatas 2021)

The great *rebetiko* historian and archivist Panagiotis Kounadis (2000) also notes that although Dimitris Gogos was blinded in 1941, he did not lose his courage and continued to write many rebetiko songs about the Resistance (cf. Kounadis 2000).

The second track that we hear in the film, where we see the musician himself accompanied by two other musicians – who we can infer are Greek migrant workers in Germany and are involved in the organization of the event, as they are the ones who accompany the elderly musician on stage and introduce him to the audience – is one of the most famous songs of the composer and of this genre in general, which have been inscribed in the Greek collective imaginary. The 1938 song titled “Chadtzikiriakio”¹⁴¹ which we hear around the middle of the film (10: 58 – 12: 00), functions as a bridge and musical interlude between the two thematic sections, allocating filmic time and space between interview extracts and the demands of the Greek workers. The lyrics are as follows:

In the evening I started
with a good friend of mine,
to the Hadjikyriakio
and the Holy Nile.

It's got a cool *retsina*
and beautiful girls,
only they're giving you a hard time
With foolishness and whimsy.

He has a brunette
who's all jazz,
first she used to kiss me
and now she doesn't care.
And every night I'm watching
on the street for her to pass,

and if I don't steal her away one night
the world's gonna go to hell.¹⁴²

141 Credits of the song *Χατζηκυριάκειο. Θα κλέψω μια μελαχροινή/Chatzikiriakio, Tha Klepso Mia Melahrini* (I will steal a brunette) (*Apo Vradis Xekinisa*). Composer: Bayaderas, Stratos Pagioumtzis, Stellakis Perpiniadis. Year of recording : 1938.

142 Lyrics of the song *Chatzikiriakio, Bayaderas (1938)*, roughly translated by me in English.

The acclaimed director *Lakis Papathathis*, one of the most emblematic figures of Greek documentary, shares two striking and important allegorical anecdotal stories in regards to the personality of *Bayaderas*, in his television documentary on rembetiko music *Hysterografo*¹⁴³. “This documentary show is based on a young student's memories of a winter walk in the early 1960s. The walk from *Akademias* street, continues on *Ippokratous* street, to end at *Orfeos stoa* and the Art Theatre. References are made to Athenian myths, to well-known buildings and famous architects. Athenian history and small everyday moments on the street make up something of the city's history” (*Hysterografo*, Ertflix 2020).

In the first part of this footage, we bear witness to *Lakis Papastathis'* account, standing near the street in *Ippokratous*, downtown Athens:

From here I could hear him, I could hear his voice from far away, he was singing songs of *Bayaderas*. Personally I love *Bayaderas* very much, he has written few songs, but some of them are masterpieces, like “*Chadjikyriakeio*” [He starts reciting the lyrics of the song] “He has a brunette!” Yes! She was *Bayadera's* problem, she left him, and he went to see her! As *he* was approaching, I was wondering if he was a monkey beggar like *Fotopoulos* in the film *Kalpiki Lyra* with *Speranza Vrana*.¹⁴⁴ It wasn't that, he seemed a very heavy person, a heavy personality who was dedicated to singing. When I approached him, he was finishing the famous song “I lived a lonely life without love”, but at the end the girl turned around, and there were hugs and kisses, and all around him, laughing. I asked hi : “Do you only sing *Bayaderas* ?”

The beggar says to me, “I really like *Bayaderas*, he was blind too!” He spoke like that, a kind of priestly way.

“He was Blind like me, but he wasn't always blind. He could see! When the Germans entered Athens in April 1941, on the stage *he* went blind. I have never seen the light of day, never! But *Bayaderas*, like the ancient *Tiresias*¹⁴⁵ as a boy he could see, but he had

143 Full title : *Υστερόγραφο. Από το τέρμα των λεωφορείων του Βύρωνα στο Θέατρο Τέχνης* (Greek public broadcast ERT/Ertflix 2020). See <https://www.ertflix.gr/series/ser.141865-usterographo>. (Retrieved 15.3.2022).

144 Reference to a film of the so called Old Greek Cinema of the fifties, *Kalpiki Lyra* (1955), direction by *Giorgos Tzavellas*, starring *Speranza Vrana*. In this instance , *Lakis Papastathis* quotes *Speratza Vrana* who was a top starlet actress and dancer of the era, as he has mentioned an anecdote with her earlier in the course of this documentary, recalling memories from the historical Athenian *variete* theater *Acropol*. See <https://www.ertflix.gr/series/ser.141865-usterographo> (Retrieved 15.3.2022).

145 Here, *Lakis Papastathis* blends in a magnificent way, like an old storyteller, anecdotal moments with this weird persona in the streets of Athens, who was a beggar and pretended to be a prophet, with ancient Greek mythological

the misfortune once to see *Athena*, the goddess *Athena*, naked, and she blinded him!"

That was the way things were then. But *Tiresias*' mother, at that time, kept begging her, and *Athena* sent the two snakes she had in her shield to clean *Tiresias*' ears so that he could hear the voices of the future, the birds of the future, and she gave him a barge to walk ... normally! I said "are you prophesying?"

"That's why they call me *Tiresias*" he says.

"What do you do?" I ask him.

"My hands, he says, when the dusk comes, when the light goes, but not completely, without night, in that in between, when the light goes, before the night comes, that is where my hands have power. If I touch you on the breast, in the eyes, and on the head, I will tell your future!"

I felt awkward and grew wild, and he had a very priestly form, and intensity at that moment. I throw him a tally, a big coin, so [Emphasis!], the old folks will remember the big tally, it makes CLICK! I made a sound in the tin can, he took it seriously! I'll come to you, I say, some day, and I slowly walk away. And this beggar, this utterly strange man, began to sing the philosophical *Bayaderas*, "through the paths of life/" [music playing]. Here it was, here it was! [he touches the marble] the marble will have absorbed his voice. (*Hysterografo, Ertflix 2020, 0: 24 : 37 - 30 : 36*)

In the second part, the prominent director continues about his memories of the songs of *Bayaderas* and how they are inscribed in the city streets and walls of the center of Athens :

I was listening to him from afar, in that amazing song, with the amazing ending, the invocation of love, "*Come and give me caresses, don't leave me alone at night.*" I thought then of those who were walking around me, their ears caught something from the extraordinary *Bayaderas*, somehow this song spoke to them, and I understood then what the *general shot* in the cinema meant! So how do you go from something close to a small universe that is the big picture, that embraces more people than your almighty!

And then, I remembered *Bayaderas* himself, who I met at Columbia Studio, a "heavy

anecdotal stories on the archaic mythological figure of the prophet *Tiresias*, who got punished by losing his sight by the Greek Goddess *Athena*.

melon"¹⁴⁶, a very heavy personality, accompanied by two young men and walking around with a big stage bulk, as the same prophet *Tiresias* who goes to Oedipus, and tells him the dreadful news : "how is this day, and may it give you both birth and death, the two-cut curse out of the land will pursue you no more light in your eyes, but darkness". (*Hysterografo, Ertflix 2020, 0:28: 56 – 30:00*)

After this allegorical narrative of the director with cryptic, archaeological-mythical and anthropological references about his interaction with a beggar on the streets of Athens, who pretended to be a prophet and sang Bayaderas all the time, including the second song we hear in Karipidis' film, and finally how the director discovered the value of the general plan in cinema, along with his own recollections of when he actually met this heavy, and somewhat transcendent, figure of the artist at the historic *Columbia records* studios in Athens, I recalled think my conversation with *Anestis M.* In that conversation he shared with me invaluable information regarding *Bayaderas'* family life. Specifically he mentioned Bayaderas' daughter *Elli* : "She is the one he is holding in his hand, playing in the street with Bayaderas, you know a classic photo. Bayaderas after the war, like Marcos Vamvarkaris and all of them, played the so-called *Sfougkara/sponge* ¹⁴⁷ on the street and they had a saucer for the money. Marcos was playing with his son *Stelios Vamvakaris* and Bayaderas with his daughters. *Ellie*, the little girl, got married in Berlin, and opened a restaurant. But I know she invited Bayaderas to come by train, so at that time he would have been there!" (*Anestis M.*, personal interview, October 2, 2022).



146 Metaphorical expression from Greek, literary meaning a very 'dark', down-tempered personality.

147This is an activity similar to the one nowadays musicians practice, mostly in Western World countries, called *busking*.

Figure 41: Photo of Bayaderas with his daughter Elli. Elli lives in Athens, Greece and according to my fieldwork information, the place/restaurant where Bayaderas appears in the film belongs to her daughter, Bayaderas' granddaughter, who still lives in Berlin, Germany (Source: <https://www.katioua.gr/politismos/mousiki/o-epanastatis-anapodos-dimitris-gkogkos-i-mpagianteras/>, Pournaras, February 28, 2021).

Anestis continued to tell me how much his granddaughter helped him find archival and biographical information about the legendary Greek musician/composer, while also paying tribute to the great *rembetiko* researcher and archivist, *Kostas Hatzidoulis*¹⁴⁸. *Anestis M.* explained:

He gave me many unpublished interviews of Bayaderas and I put them in full in the book [...] According to the daughter's account, she was there, and he had visited them in Germany. Her children live in Germany, maybe they can help you. But from what I understand, this must be the period when *Bayaderas* went to Germany, around middle of seventies. Yes that coincides with the making of the film! [...] *Bayaderas* had many anecdotal songs. That's what I'm interested in. [...] Look, *Bayaderas* was a very restless personality. And I was surprised. Imagine, he was the first author of a book on the method of learning the bouzouki, in 1950! He was doing incredible things, and he was blind. As an educated man, he was anxious, restless. (*Anestis M.*, personal interview, October 2, 2022).

Regarding the musician's physical illness and the myth surrounding his blindness, *Anestis M.* shared the following with me:

You know, *Bayaderas* was a drug addict, and he says it in the book and I wrote it myself. He was in prison in the old Barracks, and in *Aegina*, and afterwards he acquired a leftist conscience. So he had this problem, and he was spared by the communists, he says, who were against drugs, etc., who were first exiles in the 20s during the *Pangalos* era in *Aegina*¹⁴⁹ and he went there too. And there, he says, they helped him get out of the gutter. It is known among musicians that *Bayaderas* had all these stories and got away with everything. [...] He had told those exact stories to Mr. *Hajidoulis*. (*Anestis M.*,

148 See <https://www.politeianet.gr/sygrafeas/chatzidoulis-kostas-49982> (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

149 Regarding this historical period of left political exiles in Greece, see <https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=1426875>; <https://agonaskritis.gr/%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%84%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CE%B5%CF%82-%CE%BA%CE%B1%CE%B9-%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%84%CF%8D%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CE%B5%CE%BE%CF%8C%CF%81%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CF%89%CE%BD-1929-1951-%CE%BC/>.

personal interview, October 2, 2022).

Towards the end of our conversation, when I ask him about the songs that appear in the film, *Anestis M.* provides me remarkable information about the third song that closes the film *Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)* :

This is unreleased, but it's on the internet. You can find it, but it doesn't say *Lefteria*, if you look for it you'll see it. It has a swastika sign, because he wrote it on the day of the fall of the *junta in Greece! He wrote it the day the dictatorship fell, on November 17, 1973!* [...] This song is one of the unreleased one since it hasn't been recorded. But it has been uploaded by him, played with a band. He recorded this in 1972, with *Tasos Schorelis* (one of the first researchers to have written about *rebetiko* along with *Ilias Petropoulos*). He had taken him to a band and they were doing concerts in *Plaka* [in Athens] and that's where he got this song, and there's this archive, you see. Legend has it that he went in and played it inside the Polytechnic school (the day of the fall of the *Junta*). But I don't know if that's true, or if this recording is from there. [...] I found an article by *Hadjidoulis* from the late 1970's, a clipping from the newspaper *Ta NEA*. He was interviewed there, Bayaderas says he wrote it at the end of the dictatorship! (Anestis M., personal interview, October 2, 2022).

Here is the song “Lefteria” posted on *you-tube platform*¹⁵⁰, where one can see the date of the song as well as anti-dictatorial messages of the era connected with the uprising of the Polytechnic School in Athens, Greece in 1973. In his book, Anestis M. (2022) has the following to report about that particular song:

Many times throughout our history the Greeks have been deprived of our freedom. And we have always had the same desire. And in the times of the blue-blooded locusts and in the dictatorships of *Pangalos, Metaxas, Papagos*, and in the Occupation and now with the xenophobic military junta. Always one and always the same longing for freedom. It is known that all enslaved people always bring freedom to mind. So, I too, blind for 35 long years, imagined freedom, just as I describe it in my song. Within these lyrics is the most precious thing *God* has given man, and that is none other than freedom. More precious than the light of my eyes. The day the dictatorship fell, I wrote and composed it. As soon as I heard the great news of freedom. Dedicated, therefore, to this five-eyed, haughty, blue-clad woman is my little anecdote, which is the greatest of all that I wrote about the struggle of our people... (Mparmpatsis 2022:108).

150 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6C1Wx2aX5pY> (Last accessed 15 March 2023).

This unexpected information, especially about the third song, and its historical context, but above all about its direct political and anti-dictatorial message, clearly explains the facts in my ethnographic universe. In his film, Giorgos Karypidis did not only include songs of a historical composer, but he also focusedly chose him as a figure, as a symbol of resistance, as a member of the Greek guerrilla. Furthermore, by placing a historical anti-dictatorial piece on the theme of freedom at the end of the film, he further activated the fighting spirit of the guest workers, who are portrayed throughout the film as active and militant citizens claiming the right to be equal citizens with Germans and the right to a fair and decent life in the host country. As pointed out to me by the former wife of the director, *M.*, “Giorgos Karypidis had a tremendous cinematic eye, he listened to classical music, and yet, *Kreuzberg* [the film] begins and ends with *Bayaderas*, because that's what Greece was, back then“ (*M.* Fieldwork discussion, April 5, 2022).



Figure 42 : Last sequence of the film. In the background we can see an old poster depicting ancient ruins with the label “Griechenland”, which is to be found often in Greek diaspora settings, such as restaurants, cafes. (Source: screenshot photo taken while viewing the film Endstation Kreuzberg (1975)).

5.5. Conclusions

I would like to close this chapter with some final thoughts regarding the contribution of this film, as well as the place it has in the context of my research as a rare and, until recently, unknown audiovisual document and archive.

1) The director of this film gives a sufficient amount of filmic time and space to the workers' voices. Through original testimonies, produced in the context of the film, we bear witness to the various problems they face: educating their children, institutional and structural racism in various forms, the constant threat of deportation (cf. Kymionis 2006 : 49), racism and discrimination in the labor market, from exploitation in job itself to payment for work, absence of social and medical security, the extreme difficulty of renting an apartment due to BRD/West Germany's housing policy against foreigners. In addition, in the case of any form of crisis, such as the oil crisis of 1966, it is the foreigners, who are blamed and called on to pay the price. Furthermore, the controversial topic of integration is mentioned in many oral histories.

2) The film is a rare and relatively unknown audiovisual document/*Zeugnis* of the 1970s era. The director documents one of the first mixed demonstrations of guest-workers and their families, along with organized and union labour members in West Berlin. We bear witness to this historical moment of the collective effort of the Greek-Turkish initiative of teachers in Berlin.

3) From the denunciatory tone of the film to its call for transnational struggle for social justice and struggle against structural racism in Germany, this film constitutes a cinema of social change, social commitment: a *politicized* cinema. The internationalist character of the film is also evident in the choice of the music score: beyond the verbal testimonies and the silence - as if a lone person is walking through the derelict and poor neighborhoods of Kreuzberg, music plays a key part in the film. Beyond the symbolic and decisive importance of *Bayaderas'* appearance, for the representation of a certain kind of Greekness, we heard two other two musical themes, which referenced Turkey and the wider Anatolian region. Moreover, one song also had direct political references to the left-wing working class of Italy. These references reflect the director's strong sociopolitical engagement and transnational working-class spirit, reinforcing this transnational call to support the struggle of all workers, delivering a decisive message of class unity, regardless of ethnic background.

Transnational migration unsettles and complicates the processes of grappling with and remembering national history; this is true both for those who migrate and those who think they have stayed put, whether or not either group acknowledges it. Moreover, migration is never a one-way process of 'integration': migrants have brought memories of their own – sometimes traumatic – national and transnational histories into German space, thus also transforming Germany's postwar memory- scapes in ways that remain to be explored (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 37). Equally important, the movie reinforces and establishes the *ethics of struggle*. As Édouard Louis has written, it is

important for artists to take to the streets to demonstrate, to take a political stand, to get involved in and intervene in schools and universities. I believe that this is an attitude, a more general ethics of creation - an ethics of generosity, an ethics of struggle, which consists in trying to spread the ideas of justice in as many fields as possible (cf. Louis 2022: 54). Creatively inventing new forms of social and political participation and new ways of thinking about rights and responsibilities, the labour migrants depicted in the film become ‘activist citizens’ (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 40).

4) Symbolic reference to resistance through the presence of the renowned urban musician of *Rembetiko* music and *EAM-ELAS* resistance fighter, *Dimitris Gogos*, mostly known by the nickname of *Bayaderas*. The choice of placing this acclaimed Greek musician in the film constitutes a symbolic reference that combines a leftist and social justice approach: a call for resistance along with notions of Greekness, only this time via a notion of Greek identity that contradicts and critiques mainstream nationalism. This Greekness is based on a concept of folkness (*laikotita*)¹⁵¹, meaning popular sentiment, social class consciousness, and the duty to struggle for social change. Specifically, the third and last song featured in the film with which the film ends is the unpublished song *Λευτεριά* (Freedom), which pronounces a clear political and anti-dictatorial message, as it was conceived and written on 17th November 1973, the day of the fall of Greece's dictatorial regime. Rumor has it, as *Anestis M.* told me in our conversation (October 2, 22), that *Bayaderas/Μπαγιαντέρας* sang it inside the occupied building of the Polytechnic School in Athens on that very day. Although we do not know if this really happened, the rumor carries a political message that is crystal clear. The song's placement in the very last sequence of the film is, thus, of course, a clear statement by the director.

5) Additionally, through the theoretical concept of *multidirectional memories* (Rothberg 2009), I identify in the film multilayered histories of labor migration, which might not be obvious in the first couple of viewings. Through the collective struggles of Greek guest-workers in Germany depicted in the film, and via the presence of the legendary personality of *Bayaderas*, we can discern other hidden stories from the Resistance against the Nazi occupation era in Greece (1941-1994), the Greek civil war (1945-1949), as well as the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece (1973). Rothberg has argued “against the framework that understands collective memory as competitive memory – as a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources – I suggest that we consider memory as multidirectional: as subject of ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing : as productive and not

151 Here, I attempt to translate the Greek word “λαϊκό”/*Laiko* and the notion of *λαϊκότητα/Laikotita*, which is more connected with notions of (lower) class consciousness, proletariat/sub-proletariat, social milieus, somewhere in between traditional, folk/folklore, and popular/public.

privative” (2009:3). This interaction of different historical memories illustrates the productive and intercultural dynamic, which he labels as multidirectional memory. In contradistinction to competitive and ethnically-based understandings of cultural memory, I suggest as a working hypothesis the proposition that multidirectional practices of migrant memory exist and have existed since the influx of ‘guest-workers’ in the 1950s and 1960s. Their presence could offer a way out of Germany’s memory paradoxes; those practices, however, have either been ignored or have suffered from various forms of misrecognition. (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 36-37). Recognizing the multidirectionality of memory encourages us to pay close attention to the circulation of historical memories in encounters whose meanings are complex and over-determined, instead of proceeding from the assumption that the presence of one history in collective memory entails the erasure or dilution of others. (Rothberg (2009: 179)

All things considered, *Giorgos Karypidis*’ short film might be considered an alternative, ‘bottom- up’ archive of migration in Germany. In seeking to make such archives visible, we do not pretend that they represent a pure or always oppositional resource, but we hold, nevertheless, that they can surprise us with their unexpected configurations of heterogeneous pasts and a mobile present (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 38). Migratory settings ought to challenge notions of common being, but instead often entrench them, among both migrant and autochthonous populations (Ibid.: 44). It is true that such migrant archives help us to reconceive the subject of remembrance at a more general level. “They prompt a re-conceptualization of memory as transcultural that leaves behind residually and unwittingly ethnicized models of remembrance and founds itself instead on a social and political form of collectivity” (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011: 34).

7) Moreover, I would contend that dissident from traditional ideas and ways of filming, the creator’s filmic voice and presence is not the pushy self-aggrandizement/arrogance of (a lead author/director) but the internal voice of the eternal migrant, someone who knows about survival, hiding, how living between multiple worlds can become its own refuge of distance, its own sanctuary of “unbelonging” (cf. Kulkarni 2021)¹⁵². The way Karypidis films migrants, either as personal entities or in their dynamic collective mobilizations, shows not only respect, devotion, but understanding and a true grasping of the migrant experience, but also reinterprets and dynamically gives meaning to those *devalued images* (Banks, M., & Vokes 2010), assigns them a new value, on a social, visual, and material culture level, rendering them a unique audiovisual memorial archive of migration in Germany. Previously overlooked images in the public archive can take on charged

¹⁵² Here, I paraphrase this metaphor by acclaimed music journalist Neil Kulkarni, February 2021, taken from the credentials of the record *Don't ask, Don't tell*, by *Come* (Fire records, Remastered Re-issue, 2021), which I think fits to the occasion, especially the distinct voice of Giorgos Karypidis as migration author/regisseur.

resonance while remaining in the archive, opening up the archive itself to scrutiny, while images in private archives can suddenly emerge and burst into visibility and public concern (Banks and Vokes 2010: 340). Thus, the transit of an image between the private and public (and vice versa) has the potential to rework the meanings attached to it. Yet beyond this, it may do so in ways which obscure, even erase, the prior “social biography” of that image (defined in terms of the relations of its production, any exchange relations through which it has previously passed, and other collections in which it had been previously placed, and so on). The archiving process and decisions taken in regard to it thus fundamentally determine memory – and this is not only the case with personal memory, but also with archival memory. As David Zeitlyn has recently argued, archives represent the liminal phase between memory and forgetting (Zeitlyn 2012). In personal memory, there might be very good reasons to forget painful memories. Such photographs and *overlooked* or *devalued images* speak of a reality that we wish to forget.

8) Furthermore, we might argue that Karypidis implements a cinema of care. To follow Kuster (cf. 2022:15) in her illuminating text on this subject, cinema is not simply the place where a film is shown, but the other way around: every good film, every interesting audiovisual configuration is an excess, an expansion, a politics of intervals and interstices, proposals for an understanding and a practice of cinema. Speculative notions about how differential alterity and care might be made fruitful for the re-visioning of a cinema that is not didactic or enlightening, and certainly not cathartic, not a cinema that disperses, but one whose meaning consists in everyday caring, without being utilitarian. “It should be *a cinema of care* that is more about being made than about being seen by the largest possible audience. Rather than a place for a medium, it is to correspond to the arrangement of a remedy” (Kuster 2022).

Karypidis' filming, though, is implemented from the standpoint of migration. As Hess notes: “Narrating and exhibiting the history of migration from the perspective of migration not only breaks with hegemonic image regimes, but also opens up a view of an as yet untold story of small and larger attempts at “self-integration,” of organized and unorganized, spectacular and unspectacular everyday struggles and defeats; it gives us a glimpse of sufferings and joys, of ploys, tactics, and strategies for organizing a life in *Almanya*“ (Hess 2013: 119). However, a critical knowledge production on migration - be it academically institutionalized or art oriented - goes beyond a mere deconstructionist stance; It not only breaks with the dominant images, but also attempts to bring the most invisible politics of everyday life, of resistance as well as of withdrawal and flight into a new narrative and to bring such subject positions, such a protagonism of migration into multipositionally situated speaker positions (cf. Hess 2013: 120). The shift in perspective made

possible by a migration-centered lens that attends to this context brings into view new subjects and archives of remembrance and offers new possibilities for thinking about the relation between memory and identity. (Rothberg/Yildiz 2011: 34)

In closing this chapter, I would like critically reflect on Kesting's work (2017) on post-apartheid affects and documents, as well as her reflection on images, especially in regards with documentaries. She argues emphatically:

A documentary, which is considered to offer “factual” visibility and comprehensiveness, simultaneously renders other aspects invisible. This tension needs to be addressed on several levels. On the one hand, I hold the position that one needs to look beyond the shocking images from news media in “sophisticated” documentary works, and also include ordinary images. (Kesting 2017: 8)

Those ordinary images are depicted in Karypidis film, but reinterpreted and re-contextualized in a dynamic manner. Moreover, Karypidis acts not only as a historical visual archivist, but as a dynamic photographer and collector of stories and testimonies. The role of the photographer, as Ariella Azoulay has demonstrated, consists of: “gathering testimonies ... even if they strike him as disturbing or meaningless” (Kesting 2017: 9). Viewing documentary materials is always a relationalexperience that engages the spectator with cognitive and affective processes that may involve identification, memory, and sometimes (secondary) trauma (ibid.: 11).

Documentary works always have inherent blind spots and omissions, especially in photojournalism. On this matter, South African photographer Santu Mofokeng has stated that photographs are tools of “world-making” and “language” since by making something visible, it becomes discussable, and it can become a political agenda, cf. Hayes (2009: 43), cited in Kesting (2017: 8). Indeed, images play a key role in the distribution and intensification of affect and may become political. Thereby, drawing on Kesting (cf. 2017:12), I understand the visual realm as always inseparably entwined with the political and affective realm. It is towards this realization, sensitization and raising awareness of the topics of labor migration, which are inherently political, that Karypidis introduces us to his engaging filmic ecosystem, while proposing and proclaiming the moral and social duty for a common fight towards social change, for a fairer life, especially in the case of migrant workers in Germany.

6. Subjectivity, Representation IV. Archive

The Greek ethnic-regional associations were more concerned *with how many folds are there in the fustanella* ¹⁵³(L. personal talk, June 28, 2017)

The above quotation is the central axis of this chapter, as it speaks for the impediment the representation of Greekness across Germany and especially Munich, constitutes.

In the subsequent pages my ethnographic description is brought into sharp focus. In particular, a Greek festival in Munich I happened to partake and was the manifestation of my results of the expert interviews that had preceded. There I discuss the stereotypical representations and manifestations of Greekness, Greek national identity, as articulated in that all day festival I participated, coupled with photos and references regarding the history and genealogy of such folklore festivals, collective dances, and performance as articulation of identity. Subsequently, I will outline and analyze the conflict (made clear though the interviews), as I call the miscommunication among various actors and stakeholders of memory politics in Munich in relation to the realisation of more nuanced activities in regards to the documentation of Greek labour migration experience(s), either in the form of exhibitions or an oral history archive, in Munich.

Finally, I highlight the contribution of *E. Tsakmaki*, one of the known figures in the local community in Munich, a guest-worker and a literary writer, who appears to “fill” this gap by implementing and curating an exhibition on the topic in March 2020 at the community centre, *Kösk*, Munich.

During my short term research stay in Munich, I intended to observe the initiated collaboration with key actors of the urban memory politics, such as the *Palladio Stiftung*, das *Griechische Einwandererhaus Westend München*, *Stadtmuseum München* and the *Stadtarchiv München* (Munich City Museum and the Munich City Archive), which will be embedded in an exhibition or documentation project on the oral-history of Greek migration in Munich envisaged by these actors. Specifically, how all these institutional and non/semi-institutional actors or representatives of Greek Diaspora in Munich began to collaborate in the framework of a project of forming an *archive*, an oral history Project - which was eventually to be developed in a museum exhibition or a larger project on migration in Munich – in order to narrate the story of Greek migration, especially in Munich. Which were the expectations, planning procedures and what was the outcome of this long awaited project?

¹⁵³ Fustanella is a pleated skirt – like garment that is also referred to as a Kilt, worn by men of many nations in the Balkans. See also <https://www.ekathimerini.com/culture/1161759/fustanella-greece-s-festive-garb/>.

In the second part of the Chapter, I will turn my focus to the legendary radio show *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, Bavarian Broadcast (BR), specifically the first period (1964 – 1979) and the listeners' letters to the radio broadcast. These show the limitless potential for a more protagonist-focused representation of Greekness in Munich and above, in which the voices will take the lead and be able to express their lived experience.

Methodologically, in this first part of the text, I follow Marcus's (1995) Multi - Sited ethnography, specifically two methodological variations, namely the “follow the conflict” strategy and “follow the story and people” (Marcus 1995: 106-110). First, “follow the conflict” as following the parties to conflicts defines another mode for generating a multi-sited terrain in ethnographic research (Marcus 1995: 110) and second, “follow the plot, story or allegory“ (Marcus 1995: 109) is connected with the renewed interest among anthropologists and other in social memory. One aspect that is indispensably connected and interrelated with my fieldwork, as I am trying to unravel, decode , and make sense of social memories, oral memories to a certain historical period, and a lived social reality, and to follow these “menonic trails” of how people remember, or reconstruct through their narration a certain historical period, and their social experience. To follow Boyarin's (1994) line of argumentation, “recent collection on the remapping of memory concerns social struggles over alternative visions about the definition of collective reality. Processes of remembering and forgetting produce precisely those kinds of narratives, plots, and allegories that threaten to reconfigure in often disturbing ways version (myths in fact) that serve state and institutional orders. In this way, such narratives and plots are a rich source of connections, associations, and suggested relationships for shaping multi/sited objects of research.” (Boyarin J. 1994 cited in Marcus 1995: 109)

I also take into account the politics of the fieldwork situation (Escobar 1991: 383), which involves particularly the recognition – most convincingly argued by Page (1988) – that anthropology's subjects have a constitutive voice and that fieldwork is always a dialogic, power-laden, and conflictive process, governed by dual agency, regardless of how the ethnographer represents the situation or how they arrange the text. Not only do the subjects assess the subject-ethnographer relationship in their own terms, but this assessment – and generally, the interactive voices of subject and ethnographer – is a vital ingredient in the production of ethnographic knowledge. In other words, “the ethnographic task is not merely to record the indigenous view of a shared life-world, but to reveal the subject's and ethnographer's interactive assessment of, and response to it“ (Page 1988: 165) cited in ebd.).

Then, after sketching this conflict among the various actors in this *memory assemblage*, in

chapter 6.3 I turn my analytic eye to the basic empirical material, which constitutes the main focus of this chapter; namely, the historical radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí* (1964-1979), *Ausländerprogramme, Bavarian Broadcast (BR)*. Apart from highlighting its historical and multiple social role for the Greek migrant population at the time in Munich, especially during the first period of newly arriving labor migrants, as well as the period of the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece (1967 – 1974) and its manifestations in Germany, I will focus on the letters of the viewers, which were literary “bombarding” the editorial department of the Bavarian Broadcast at a weekly basis. I intend to analyze them in order to trace and decode the entanglements, aftermaths and effects, repercussions and relations between materiality, orality of the objects, the letters as artifacts (material, historical memory objects), social and oral memories, as well as sociocultural practices and habits, testimonials from the perspective of the *protagonists*, the labour workers in Germany, as well as tracing and decoding the implications for staging such stories and experiences in museums/exhibition and public history sites.

6.1. The Greek- Bavarian Festival

In the framework of this first phase of this fieldwork, after the completion of a detailed and intense interview with key informant *E. Iliadou*, head of the Bavarian Broadcast (BR) editorial team (1984-2002), (not to mention the last editor in chief of the radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung, BR* before it was literary shut down in 2002), while looking over my fieldnotes and scheduling the next steps of my fieldwork in Munich, in addition to various suggestions *E. Iliadou* kindly gave me about the city of Munich, she asked me if I would go to the big festival. To my question about which festival she meant, she urged me to go to the 13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day 2017, which takes place annually in the central square *Odeonsplatz* in the city center of Munich.

Either as a cultural tourism proposal, or an inclination to see something interesting in the city, I decided to give it a chance. *E. Iliadou* had anyways argued characteristically : “since you are in the city, why not go ? This is a huge celebration of Hellenism in Munich! We go there every year. All the Greeks of Munich go there, every year. Come on, you should join us, and it might be interesting for your research!”.

So, it is Sunday July 2, 2017, the day of the event. As I approached the square, in the historical city centre of Munich, I was impressed by several reasons: by how crowded it was, with Greek and German visitors, by the fact that the majority of the male attendants was dressed in Greek costumes, enacting heroes of the Greek national Independence day of 1821, and the female

ones in traditional costumes from different regions of Greece. Instantly I thought an informant's statement at the *Griechisches Haus*, made a few days ago. *L* had pointed out a significant aspect in relation with the so called decay in Greek communities in Germany, the matter of self- organization (of the communities) and the role of the official Greek Orthodox Church:

This decay and decline in Greek communities still functions nowadays [...] With the collapse of the forms of self-organization and self-help, someone else appears in the forefront who does nothing but continues to exist, but it is like the alternative. And who is that? The church [Emphasis]! Either the church wanted or not, the people would go closer to the Church, they would be attached to the Church. While it did not even have in mind to represent *Hellenism*/Greek Diaspora (in Germany) , still, *de facto* it was happening [...] And this resulted in our own forms of self-organization going from bad to the worse [...] Many people went to church, and the ethnic-regional associations were more concerned with how many folds are there in the *fustanella*. (*L.* , personal talk, June 28, 2017)



Figure 43 : Photo taken during the the event „13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day, July 2, 2017, Odeonsplatz , Munich. On the center, one of the many spectatorx dressed as Tsolias/Evzonas while participating in the festival (source: Private fieldwork archive of researcher).

The last two sentences can be interpreted as a metaphorical ironical joke regarding the regional and

folklorist nationalism among ethnic-regional communities in Munich, and I would additionally mention, all over Germany. What is implied by the informant in this whole passage, through this account combined of historical facts and this metaphorical cynical tone at the end is a critique; a harsh critique against the official Greek Church as an official institution, a representative of the Greek nation state in the diaspora, and its involvement with Greek labour migration themes. What is implied in this critique, is that the institution of the Greek-Orthodox church had no particular agency to represent Greek migrants in Munich, or Germany, but took advantage of the decline or inadequacy, inefficacy of Greek communities – which were more politicized in Germany, due to ideological reasons and had a long presence in matters of Greek diaspora in Germany, especially in the large cities – It stood out as a prominent vector of Greekness also for the Greek migrants and expatriates in Germany. The second strand in this critique is definitely connected with the realization that since Greek communities and political actors of Greek diaspora in Munich are disorganized and in a state of decay and as there will not be any active political interest and mobilization for urgent political and social issues in the diaspora all that remains are just stereotypical and folklorist representations of Greek nationalism.

Additionally, this critical statement in regards to the role of the Greek Orthodox Church, reminded me a similar one from my fieldwork with the director *L. Xanthopoulos* in his archive. It is appropriate to mention that there is a thematic sequence in the film *Giorgos aus Sotirianika (1978)*, where the role of religion and Greek Orthodox Church for Greek migrants in Germany is contextualized. During our discussion about the background of filming, as well as the connection of the so called 'guest-workers' with hometown and related aspects of national/ethnic identity, he had observed: “The Greeks (labor-workers of the period) wanted to 'grapple with' from someone, something and they turned into the Church. Church had a *tension* at that time” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, December 28 , 2017).

Returning to the narration of the festival, as I was strolling among the cheerful crowd, I witnessed, besides the above, many people being dressed as *Evzones*. Regarding the official national Greek folklore garment of *Evzones*,

As we read in this official website of the Greek Presidency & Parliament: As we know it today, the *Evzonas* costume is seen in the paintings of the Ottoman period (1453-1821), worn by thieves [*Armatoloi kai kleftes*] The *tsolias* with its fuselage and the shoe [*tsaruchi*] becomes a symbol of national revolt of 1821. After the Revolution of 1821, uniform of the *Evzonas* is formally established as the National Costume of all the

chieftains and militants of the Greek revolution against the Othoman Empire. After the Second World War, the *Evzones* Regiments were reorganized and formed into modern infantry Units within the framework of the modernization of the country's Armed Forces. (Greek presidency.gr, 2018)

Right away, I am reminded of the filming of related representations of a national celebration, as depicted in the film *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978) as the camera 'takes off' from the village *Sotirianika*, in Peloponnese – the birthplace of the protagonist of the film, *Giorgos Kozompolis* – and goes to the capital city, *Kalamata* to observe the festivities of the national celebration of 1821. The leading costume of *tsolias/evzon* is to be seen among state representatives, police officers, the clergy, and the crowd.

As the time went by, I thought of the almost surreal sequence¹⁵⁴ from this film in which the director films the re-enactment of the entrance of the *captains*, the armed revolutionaries into the capital city of *Kalamata*, in *Peloponnese*. Below I am quoting indicatively an excerpt from the director's short story, I acquired by the director himself, entitled *Ethniki Epetios/National celebration* and published in the literary magazine *I Lexi* (2005)¹⁵⁵. There he mentions the incident during the shooting of the film, back in 1978:

Thursday 23 March 1978, central square of *Kalamata*, representation of the entrance of the captains in the city, a custom that has been going on since 1830, as we learn, when for the first time the inhabitants of the capital [of *Messinia, Peloponnese*] celebrated the historical anniversary, to commemorate the beginning of the great liberation struggle. The custom was officially established by Royal Decree as a national holiday in 1947.

Tuesday 23 March 1821, at *Morias*¹⁵⁶ that rises up. *The captains*¹⁵⁷ arrive from different streets in the central square of *Kalamata* with the final destination being the historic chapel of the *Holy Apostles*. [...]

Friday 23 march 1978, return to the modern representation of the historical event, with the film camera in hand for the needs of the documentary. From the depths of the street

154 See sequence in the film *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (Xanthopoulos 1978), 24:20 – 26:43.

155 This short story is written and published in Greek. This is the rough translation by me in English.

156 *Morias* [*Μοριάς*] in Greek stands as a historical name of the region of Peloponnese during Middle Ages and early modern period. Generally in that region, significant historical facts took place, connected with the *1821 insurrection of Greeks against the Ottoman Empire*.

157 *Captains* here stands as historical synonym for the armed revolutionaries during the *1821 insurrection of Greeks against the Ottoman Empire*.

appears the amateur actor playing *Kolokotronis*¹⁵⁸, with his helmet and pistols, and behind him, on foot, the other *captains*, or at least those chosen to represent the old *captains*. They are waiting for them to be praised and blessed by the town authorities, the local clerk, the Gendarmerie, the school teachers in their national costumes, the colorful crowd attending the ceremony and the bright spring sun above us. The schools run to greet the chieftains, the pupils shower them with flowers, the bands from all sides play heroic marches, the crowds wave blue and white flags and applaud enthusiastically. *Kolokotronis* dismounts from his horse, bows and embraces the holy gospel, and with the rest of the captains, who follow him on his victorious march, heads for the wooden seat in the center of the square. (Xanthopoulos 2005: 349-350)



158 *Theodoros Kolokotronis* was a leading figure of the Greek Revolution, who was active in the region of Peloponnese and for this reason he is also known as the "Old Man of Moria". He is regarded to be an emblematic figure of the Greek National identity, with numerous statues, memorials, depictions in the Greek national currency, stamps and so on. See also <https://www.sansimera.gr/biographies/809>.

Figures 44, 45: Two photos the sequences from film *Giorgos aus Sotirianika* (1978), depicting parts of the historical re-enactment event, filmed by L. Xanthopoulos in Kalamata, 1978 (Source: screenshot photos taken while watching the film).

Via this literary and rather sarcastic style, L. Xanthopoulos describes the depiction of the representation of this national anniversary, enriching it with moments from the filming of this scene, as well as some ironic comments regarding the re-enactment of such national anniversary events.

Additionally, along with these thoughts on the stereotypical representations of Greekness, in this festival, as I was wandering and watching the regional-ethnic dance groups, performing folk dances from all over Greece (Greek Macedonia, Greek Pontus, Kreta, Peloponnese, Epirus), I also observed an initiative I was completely unaware of. As we can see in the picture, the initiative is called *Förderkreis des Otto-König-Museums*, as of *sponsoring group of the King Othon of Greece, Museum*. I elicited information on the website, as well as from a flyer in their stand. It was an actor supporting and propagating the running *Museum Otto King of Greece Museum*¹⁵⁹ in Munich.



Figure 46: Photo taken during the the event „13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day, July 2, 2017, Odeonsplatz, Munich. The stand of supporters of the King Othon of Greece Museum in Munich (source: Private fieldwork Archive of researcher).

Immediately, I made connections with a plethora of historical and visual representations of

159 See further information for this initiative <https://www.ottobrunn.de/ottobrunn-erleben/freizeit-geniessen/koenig-otto-museum>; <https://www.wochenanzeiger.de/article/192948.html>; <https://www.eefshp.org/en/othon-first-king-of-greece-continued-the-philhellenic-policy-of-his-father-ludwig-i/>. (Last accessed 20 March 2023).

the first Bavarian monarch, *Otto Friedrich Ludwig von Wittelsbach*, appointed as the first king of the newly independent Greek state after the *insurrection of 1821*, in the period between 1833-1862. He has been portrayed and visualized wearing this traditional Greek costumes, and the aforementioned *fustanela* dress. Although, within the scope of this chapter and this dissertation overall, it is not to trace the genealogy of the imperial aesthetic and politics of the Bavarian state and heritage and its connection to the newly formed independent Greek state¹⁶⁰, I cannot help commenting on the visual iconography and how this is reproduced and re-enacted in the frameworks of this festival, as well as numerous occasions, specifically in Greek diaspora communities and settings, not only in Germany, but the world over.



Figure 47: Photo of the Greek ethnic-regional association *Ipirotiki Gemeinde München* and its participation in the well known *October Festival of Munich* in 2000. (source: private photo sent to me by informant, approx. September 22 2020. Private fieldwork archive of researcher. The original source of the photograph is referenced as „*Oktobersfestzug, Teinhahme des Vereins der Ipiroten, 2000 (Archiv Verein der Ipiroten)*“ in p.62 of the exhibition catalogue *Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki, E. (2020) curated by E. Tsakmaki, March 2020.*

¹⁶⁰ Rather recently, in the field of Greek public history, and in the intersection between research and activism, there have been considerable efforts and movements, aiming at the critical investigation of the construction of Greek national identity and the deconstruction of concepts such as philhellenism, the ancient classical spirit as identical with the modern Greek state. One such initiative is the the initiative *Decolonize Hellas*, with activities and related publications, <https://decolonizehellas.org/en/out-thinking/>. See Piperoglou (2021) text which refers to the recent theoretical debates and critique on the so called philhellinism spirit, as well as related debates of Greek diaspora in Australia; <https://decolonizehellas.org/en/bicentennial-celebrations-of-nations-revisited/>.

For a brief historical overview of the relations between Greece and Bavaria, the spirit of classicism and philhellinism, see the intuitive article by Jannis Michail in the comprehensive tribute of the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* (1998) on Greek migration in Germany, in *Κοινωνία, Π.* (1998, December 13). *Αφιέρωμα: Η μετανάστευση στη Γερμανία.*

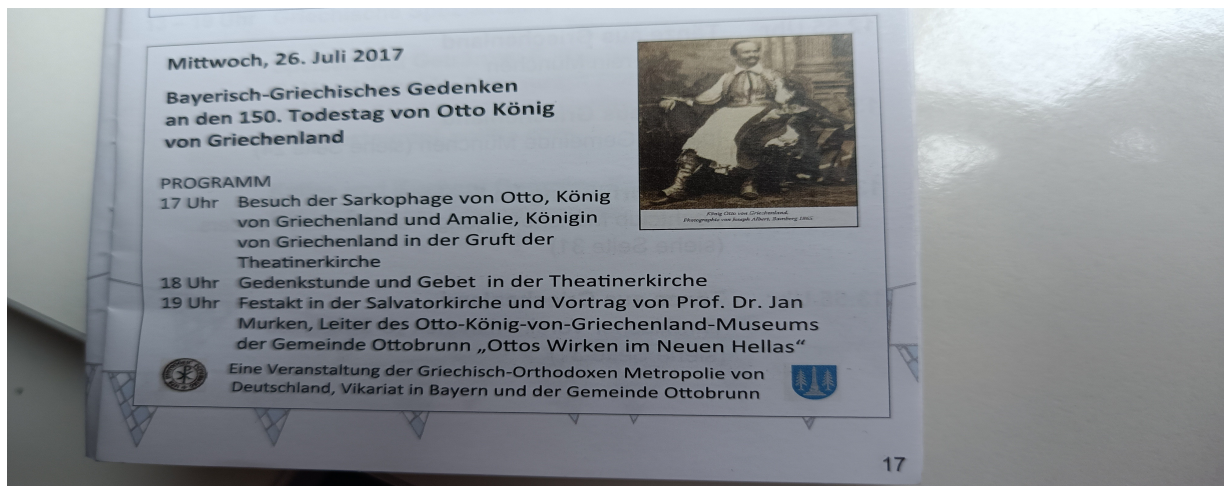


Figure 48: Photo from the leaflet of the Festival “13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day”, July 2, 2017 Odeonsplatz, Munich announcing an activity on July, 26, 2017 devoted to the 150th Anniversary of “King Othon”'s death. On the top right, a famous photograph where Otto Friedrich Ludwig von Wittelsbac is depicted wearing a traditional Greek Costume, including the fustanella (source: leaflet of the festival's program and related activities, p.17).

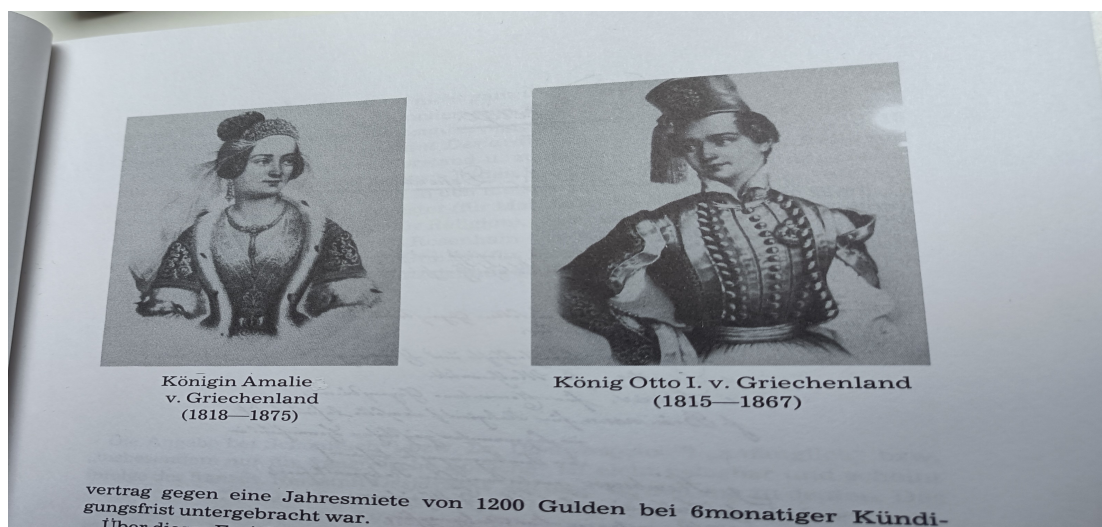


Figure 49: Two archival photographs. On the top left: “Amalia, the Queen of Greece“, top right : Otto Friedrich Ludwig von Wittelsbac, “King Othon of Greece“. Both of them depicted wearing Greek traditional Costumes. Similar costumes were worn by participants at the aforementioned Festival. (source: Kotsowillis (2005), p. 23, BayHStA, Abt II, GHA, GHA Bestand Otto von Griechenland).

If we now turn our attention to the historical origins of this event, we have to go back to the late 1960s. As the authors Dunkel and Stragmaglia-Faggion (2000:215) point out: “In the 1960s, it became obvious that leisure activities for the guest workers were lacking. In August 1961, the Munich City Council instructed the school department to examine the question of care for the

foreign workers” (StAM, Schulamt, Nr 4884, cited in Dunkel & Stragmaglia-Faggion 2000:215).

In the 1970s, officials began to plan more leisure activities together with foreigners. The “Day of the foreign fellow citizen”, which took place for the first time in 1975, gave many foreigners the opportunity to be present in public. The Foreigners' Advisory Council and numerous other organizations had been able to implement the initiative of various church and social institutions, which had already started in 1973, after a two-year start-up period. Since 1976, the “day of foreigners/Tag der Ausländer“ was held annually in the fall - the term “Mitburger”/co-citizen had been dropped for political reasons. The events always had a different motto and enabled the various groups to appear in public. In addition, discussion events and sports festivals were held. For 1977, the Foreigners' Advisory Council sums up the festival:

The prelude was an "International Folklore Concert" in the large festival hall of the Löwenbraukeller, which was attended by over 1000 enthusiastic foreigners and Germans. Well-known music groups from Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece played until late into the night (...) The enthusiasm of the foreign visitors showed once again how important it is for foreigners to meet with testimonies of their own culture. The numerous German listeners were given a comprehensive overview of the diverse musical traditions of the homelands of our foreign fellow citizens. (StAM, Schulamt, Nr 7090, cited in *ibid.*)



Figure 50: Photo from the festival “Tag des Ausländers/Festival of foreigners”, cited in Dunkel and Stragmaglia-Faggion (2000:215) (source: Personal archive of Kaya Selahattin as referenced in the aforementioned source).

Apart from explicit *Othering* and essentialization, which is derived by this statement of official state service, and the whole history of such folklore festivals, which reproduced notions of the civilized Germans, or majority society, who would visit and see the 'exotic' *Ausländer* dancing and presenting their „culture“, as it is indicated in a testimony, this time by an Italian guest worker, in the same volume, Dunkel and Stragmaglia-Faggion (2000: 213) : “The people were curious, we were curious to get to know the Germans -mostly the girls-. But they were also curious to get to know us, because we were like exotic. We had dark hair, down to there, we had dark hair, there was something going on. But there were also always certain problems[...]” (Ulderiko G.)¹⁶¹

Regarding such events about the Greek diaspora and migration in Munich, as I was talking to K. Papavasiliou, a key collaborator and one of the pioneers of the *Griechisches Haus München*, I recall something very essential she conveyed to me:

Many of those events that *they* did, had a processual nature. I'll tell you. All the events *they* did were associated with *folklore and chow*. And when *we* arrived at a certain point, the young kids, like me at that time, and we started to say that we want to do things on our own [regarding intercultural & awareness work at the *Griechisches Haus München*] – that we didn't want to have only German educational advisors/speakers, who did not have a clue on intercultural work – that's where we encountered difficulties. There were many problems, because we refused to play *Karagkiozis*¹⁶², *to dance and to cook*. I didn't want this anymore! (K. Papavasiliou, fieldwork interview, January 20, 2020).

In relation to such festivals, I am reflecting on the theorizations by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, (1998), the festival is the showcase par excellence for the presentation of intangible heritage¹⁶³. There she demonstrates that „Unlike other living entities, whether animals or plants, people are not only objects of cultural preservation but also subjects. They are not only cultural carriers and

161 Interview, Ulderico G. (Italy, original Interview, 5.5.1998 cited in Dunkel and Stragmaglia-Faggion 2000: 351).

162 We discussed this Greek shadow theater tradition which was omnipresent in Greek communities in Germany in Chapter 3.

163 See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Destination Museum' in *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, pp.131–76. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998. On the festival as a museum of live performance, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, , op. cit., pp.17–78. See also (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004), “Festival as a metacultural form .

transmitters (the terms are unfortunate, as is ‘masterpiece’), but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself. What the heritage protocols do not generally account for is a conscious, reflexive subject. They speak of collective creation. Performers are carriers, transmitters, and bearers of traditions, terms which connote a passive medium, conduit, or vessel, without volition, intention, or subjectivity (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 58).

So, this festival , illustrating and paraphrasing Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's intuitive thought was a *tour de force* in the way that it broke out of the pattern of national representation and staged subnational cultural expressions within framework of Greekness. It served as a social theater arena fusing ideas and symbols that link the ancient past and pride of ancient Greeks with the Greek orthodox religiosity. This folkloristic re-enactment of the „heroes of the Greek revolution“, which I constantly observed at that festival, references also a highly debated national narrative on *the struggle of Independence*, that is how the enslaved Greeks , became finally an independent nation state , winning over the „barbaric“ Turks and the Othoman Empire.

“As for intangible heritage, it is not only embodied, but also inseparable from the material and social worlds of persons. (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 60). In contrast with the tangible heritage protected in the museum, intangible heritage consists of cultural manifestations (knowledge, skills, performance) that are inextricably linked to persons. It is not possible – or it is not as easy – to treat such manifestations as proxies for persons, even with recording technologies that can separate performances from performers and consign the repertoire to the archive. (Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 60).

As dance had a central part in this festivity and , let me reflect on the following abstracts from the chapter, *Dance and symbolic expression of the community* by Nitsiakos' (2005) seminal study, whose thoughts and ethnographic observations on dance, rituals and its symbolic connection to the notion of communities are expressed:

The call to this social event, which unites members of the community and renews its ties once again, puts in place all those mental and ideological processes that keep the community alive and shielded against external risks, real and symbolic, centuries now (...) In a huge circle, the dancing community deepens its unity and, more importantly, perhaps proclaims in this magnificent way that it is there, in the place where for centuries their ancestors repeated the same thing by reproducing the idea and ideals of their community (...) This dance, with its universal participation, is an excellent opportunity for young people to get to know each other (Nitsiakos 1995: 134-138)

“The community unfolds and is exposed. It declares that it is there and that it will continue to be there (it will continue) to be itself. United despite its internal contradictions and contradictions. With its differences and rivalries, which, beyond everything else, confirm its unity, the fact of its unified and tight social structure. [...] Social stratification and hierarchy is not merely reflected. It is displayed and reproduced on a symbolic level”. (Nitsiakos 1995:135-136)



Figure 51 : Photo of collective dances taken during the event „13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day, July 2, 2017, Odeonsplatz , Munich. Folk dance groups and spectators all dance together in circles (source: Private fieldwork archive of researcher).

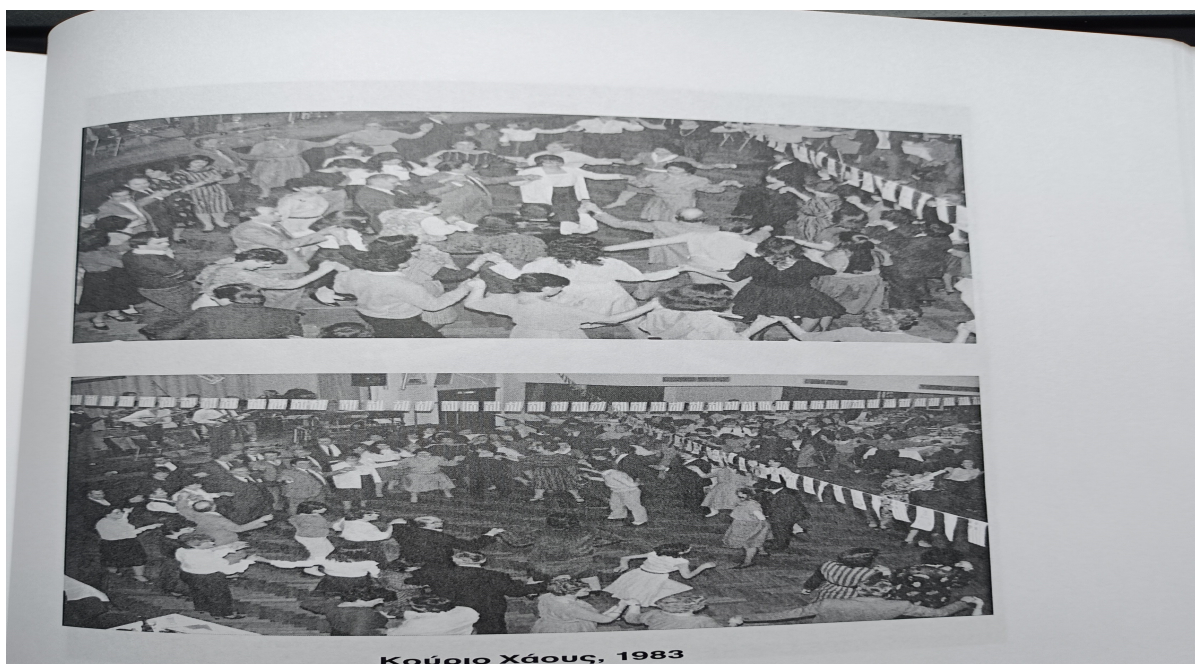


Figure 52: Photo of collective dances taken during a Greek national celebration, 1983, Curio Haus, Hamburg (source: photo from p.3 in Dokument Greek community of Hamburg/Elliniki Kinotis Amvourgou A.Σ 50 χρόνια (1954-2004), donated by informants in Hamburg).

As the festival drew to a close and the rain began to chase away even the most loyal visitors who danced and entertained with Greek rhythms and delicacies at this city's festival, I found myself reflectively asking what I am missing from this whole event. It indeed consisted mainly of multiple-admittedly stereotypical- manifestations of Greekness in a static and conventional way. Nevertheless, the element of dance and performance, as articulation of identity was definitely strong in this social theatre which I observed and I was part of.

I understand, on the one hand, the reason why this festival attracts a lot of people, and why there are many Greeks who wait every year for such events. On the other hand, I reflect and ponder on the gaps and absences; not to mention the corresponding questions: what exactly do such events offer? Should other issues be silenced, in the sake of the entertainment and “folklore and chow”? Or should there be some space for examining transnational, trans-ethnic and multi-ethnic connections? Why should not there be a historical, documentary project alongside the festival, about the history of labour migration? As I reflect on these gaps and questions, I find it appropriate to move on to the part of the description of the conflict, a conflict that might be the culprit for a solely stereotyped, old-fashioned and partly exotic representation of Greek migrants in Germany, and more precisely in Munich.

6.2. Description of Conflict, identity politics

During my short term research stay in Munich, I intended to observe the initiated collaboration with key actors of the urban memory policy such as the *Palladio Stiftung*, *das Griechische Einwandererhaus Westend München*, *Stadtmuseum München* and the *Stadtarchiv München* (Munich City Museum and the Munich City Archive), which will be embedded in the exhibition on the oral-history of Greek migration in Munich envisaged by these actors.

A discussion on how to reflect Munich's migration histories has been going on for years, if not decades, and it remains full of conflicts, diverging interests. Actors are tightly interlinked but do not necessarily share the same ideas on history, culture and interrelated notions of national identity, political participation and collaboration, in regards to the documentation of this local history of Greek labour migration in Munich. Especially the aspect of promoting Greek history and cultural or

national legacy/Heritage recurs frequently, and it can be regarded as a symptom of how understanding an *archive*, subsequently remembrance, memory, museum, cultural /national heritage differ, or sometimes overlap.

I begin my description with the presentation of some indicative abstracts from the interviews I conducted during the first and second phases of my fieldwork in Munich. Hence, I start with *F. Athera*, staff member of the Bavarian Broadcast editorial team since 1985, as well as head of the Association *Greek Academics club Munich*¹⁶⁴. It is important to note that *F. Athera* belongs to the second generation of Greeks in Munich, the so called “Gastarbeiterkinder“, so in this semi-structured interview, I tried to inquire and hear her voice both as an *expert*, due to her professional involvement and engagement as an influential member of Greek communities in Munich, and as a migrant herself, having lived approximately forty years continuously in the Bavarian capital city.

In the following segments, I focus on the whole background story of the preparation of an *archive/exhibition* about the history of Greek labour migration in Germany. I deemed essential, though, to ask her if this historical period, particularly the first period of the Greek labor workers in Germany, has been sufficiently represented and depicted in museums or any other forms of memory and public history sites. She explicitly admitted:

There are still, there are still ... gaps ... For years now, there has been talk from the Palladio Foundation about the establishment of the museum of the immigrant, but apart from words we have not achieved anything else. There is no (institutional) body that feels [...pause] let's say, a little obligated, eeh? Because this has to be housed somewhere, there has to be some money, some people have to start looking at what exists and what doesn't exist (on the subject) to sort of, put some order, what we need and what we don't need. The will exists, but there is no institution. (*F. Athera*, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017)

Thereupon, she continued this narration by mentioning the initiative of *Palladio Stiftung*¹⁶⁵, another influential foundation of the broader Greek diaspora in Munich- and its effort in organizing, and setting up a project of oral history on what I call in my analysis, an *Archive*. She confirmed that there were many involved initiatives and stakeholders in the beginning, which showed their interest

164 For more information, see <http://clubgriechischerakademiker.de/el/home/> (Last accessed 20 February 2023).

165 For more information on the activities of this foundation, see <https://www.doryforos.org/palladion-1/palladion>. In this website one can browse the above mentioned regional ethnic-regional communities, groupings that can be found literary in almost all major cities in Germany; <https://stiftungpalladion.org/de/2014/11/07/07-11-2014-das-griechische-programm-eine-radiosendung-schreibt-geschichte/>.

for such an undertaking. Some of these initiatives are the so called regional-ethnic communities, the official Greek community of Munich and other related networks. Unfortunately, as *F. Athera* admitted:

“No one has money, there is no infrastructure [...] Specifically, there had been an event for the 50 years of the *BR/Bavarian Radio broadcast*. There, the head of *Palladio Stiftung*, B. T., presented the idea for a museum of the immigrant; we also had contact with the German authorities, but nothing concrete was done, it got stuck !” (F. Athera, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017)

In the course of our dialogic interview, when I asked her why this project failed to take place, characteristically, „where and why did it stuck?“ , *F. Athera* was firm:

“There was a lack of collaboration, also a problem of space. Where would such a considerable project would be housed? [...] There was also the thought with the *München Stadtarchiv*, or some preliminary talks, I guess the Turkish community is planning something similar, like an archive, a museum of the migrant ... but concerning Turkish migration“ (F. Athera, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017).

Additionally, when I reflexively asked her about expectations from such a project, she responded:

Something had to be done when the *Bavarian radio broadcast* shut down. We should have set foot [Emphasis], but I tell you, we were all panicked, because we lost our job, our family, we were together for so many years, eh [...] eventually, we had a kind of hatred against them (Bavarian radio broadcast/BRD) because as I told you, the "Munich radio program" was closing, and the others in Frankfurt in 2003 were getting opened [...] that was ... eh... 'A slap in the face' ... it was too heavy”. (F. Athera, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017)

Here she seemed to highlight again the lack of cooperation, prior organization, as well as the lack of experts to do a sufficient research, documentation and related scientific work in such a project. Characteristically, she insisted: “without a historian, or an expert I could never proceed with such projects“ (F. Athera, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017). Besides, as she claimed elsewhere in our interview through a mix of complaint, disappointment, even irony in my interpretation that “everybody has some thoughts, everyone, from individuals, to institutions and groups/networks, wants to do something, about Greek migration, or .. or.. but all I hear about is thoughts!(F. Athera, fieldwork interview, September 25, 2017).

A similar narrative is observed after analysing segments of my interview with *Eleni Iliadou* the next actor of Memory Politics in Munich- or what I would call the administrators in this *memory consortium*- in Munich I decided to retrieve information from. Apart from being diligent and helpful in assisting me into this whole fieldwork – participant observation in Munich, *E. Iliadou* also stands out as a key person to the whole story, having similar to *F.Athera* a dual role; on the one hand, she was involved in the Bavarian Broadcast as a journalist, on the other hand, she is a second generation Greek migrant in Munich, who arrived there as a child. It becomes clear that her whole account in our semi-structured interview was significant in multiple ways.

With *E. Iliadou* we had already been in a regular contact per telephone since the first steps of my dissertation, when I relocated at the University of Hamburg. Back then, she had expressed her interest on the topic of my research and was willing to give not only a narrative interview, but as much material (photos, documents, newspaper abstracts) possible. Additionally, she assisted me in gaining access to both sections of the archive of the State Bavarian broadcast (BR), the historical archive (*H.A, BR*) and the audio archive (*A.A, BR*), which were needed for the second part of my fieldwork.

We conducted the interview already on the first day of our visit at her office at the end of June 2017. From the very first moment of the interview, *E. Iliadou* was ready to share her experience with every detail. Her perspective, although it finds some common ground with *F. Athera*, presents a different picture. Regarding this whole idea of the implementation of the oral history project in Munich, she declared:

This whole idea started when the *Stadtmuseum München* wanted to implement its own project, called “*Migration bewegt die Stadt*”¹⁶⁶, to record the history of migration in Munich [...] and at the same time a private person, a Turkish one ... I don't remember his name, had started a similar effort, he wanted to do this immigration museum, and so the *Stadtmuseum* had invited me as a second generation, that is, as a person who deals theoretically, or OK, as a journalist with immigration, that is, as *witness of this time period*¹⁶⁷, as a person with practical experience, but at the same time as a person who

166 See the website of the exhibition, which still runs in Stadtmuseum München. <https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen/migration-bewegt-die-stadt-perspektiven-wechseln>; <https://www.allitera-verlag.de/muenchner-beitraege-zur-migrationsgeschichte/>.

See also a review here <https://www.hsozkult.de/exhibitionreview/id/rezausstellungen-336>.

167 *E. Iliadou* as in many instances in this interview uses the word *Zeitzeuge*, meaning a contemporary witness to a historical period, a word with a very specific context and connotation in German-speaking academic debate, especially in regards to the disciplines of public/oral History, Holocaust studies/Holocaust education and related fields in social history and migration studies.

has been dealing with this topic in my work in radio for many years. [...] So when I was invited to the museum for these discussions, I felt that this issue is very broad, that is, to record the history of migration in a city like Munich, that is a huge issue! And a big and important part is the issue of *Hellenism*, but I felt that this is such a huge part, that it will be lost there. So what to record first? [Emphasis] The peculiarities of the Greeks when they arrived here? The *Greek radio show* was an important reason, [stories about] the railway station of Munich, which I came to Germany every year, like so many others, and I came as a child, because I lived close to the station, or the history of the *Greek radio program*, which came with all these the *letters*, the letters from all over Germany, which is a whole story in itself all this. What did all this mean for Greece, for immigration? Or the *anti-dictatorship struggle* back then? Another great chapter (of our history). This whole thing is a huge package that couldn't fit in this whole project. Some facts will come in, but they always come in individually, and in parts, when it comes to the whole history of immigration, especially in Munich. And that's why I thought maybe we, as Greeks, should make an archive in collaboration with the *Stadtmuseum*, and with *Stadtarchiv München* and they will help us with our interviews, and everything will be done in German, so that future scholars have access to this *Archive*, in order to have the whole topic [documented], because the topic is too big and some aspects will be lost [...] So I was discussing this idea with other people and interested parties, and everyone saw the idea very warmly, and it really started well, the only problem was that there was no specific funding, and some efforts were made and a consultation with the university, but where the whole issue got stuck was in *funding*. Because it took a lot of money to do it professionally and it needed people who would do it professionally. In other words, *Eleni's* passion is not enough, and the mood that I will help, or "I will do this", and professionally to cover it, we did not find funding or at least, not timely enough, and over time the issue began to "weigh in", and somewhere we thought that this could not be done voluntarily. A foundation tried to find some money, but it was only promises, and it didn't work out, because they were given some money from a Greek-German program – I don't remember a title – but they didn't want to do archival work, they didn't care, they didn't want to do historical projects [...] They may have initially given some money or the applications were not made in time, I don't know, however no one was found to finance this whole project, and so the opportunity was lost. OK, on the other hand maybe it has not been lost, of course someone might do so in the future, however,

I have the impression that we, the team that started it, quickly realized that this is a very huge project. (E. Iliadou, Fieldwork interview, July 3, 2017).

In the above segment, *E. Iliadou* characteristically outlined the multi polarity of Greek history, across the broad spectrum of labor migration of Germany, but conclude that the most important problem, which prevented the project from being completed, was the lack of funding and the lack of professional commitment to the project.

Then, she expressed her disappointment and withdrawal from this planned project, which would culminate in an exhibition. She recalled characteristically in the following passage :

Look, we were supposed to do an exhibition for the 50 year olds, also traumatic experience [...] I had the idea to do an exhibition, down in the Bunker, where all the immigrants were welcomed then, because there was also this theatrical play, which had taken place there, at *Gleiss II*¹⁶⁸, as part of *Crossing Munich*, which is the most interesting exhibition I've seen on the subject, and all this was very fascinating, and then I thought we would do an exhibition at this point there, for the 50 years of the contract between Greece and Germany and to collect whatever material there was, and with other Fora/initiatives and actors. [...] However, it did not succeed, because the other co-organizers of all these events back then, as *we [there]* were many involved organizations at the time, the *Greek Church*, the *Griechisches Haus Westend*, did not follow. In other words, at first, they said 'yes', but then they said 'what an expensive project it is' and they thought it was more important to make a great *Staatsempfang*, or I don't know where all these committees gave the money, and in the end it didn't happen. Then, I finally withdrew from the committee. And from all this history, and I did not participate, I am not a representative of Hellenism to do [pause...] it could have been done, there was money, but it did not happen. (E. Iliadou, Fieldwork interview, July 3, 2017).

In the flow of our interview, *E. Iliadou* categorically affirmed: “All these things that I could do, and they were going through my hand, were done. Whatever I was doing in collaboration with others, it didn't go ahead [...] Look, between us, everything you do with Greeks ... of course there are people, like *us*, who do work, I'm not saying, but it's unbelievable, when there are many Greeks

168 See http://www.hdbg.de/gleis11/gleis11_konzept.php; <https://theaterkritiken.com/20-theaterbereich/neues-haus/391-gleis-11>.

together it is disaster, it's a burial, nothing works [...]" (E. Iliadou, Fieldwork interview, July 3, 2017).

And in regards to the official Greek community in Munich, she was more than rigid: "Here, too, the community is in decline, for many years now they have had a President who does not mean to leave" (E. Iliadou, Fieldwork interview, July 3, 2017).

When I asked her if there are political or ideological issues, due to which there is no consensus or agreement on that history/memory project, *E. Iliadou* responded as follows :

Maybe, but ... look, I was involved in many organizations and groups from a young age, and we did a lot of events, very quickly I realized that *where many roosters are crowing, it would be late for the dawning of the day*¹⁶⁹ with the Greeks, there's no way you can do it. And many things, and then in the second phase, I started trying to do these things (which I told you above) one, with this exhibition, what I was doing and going through my hand, this would be done, whatever I could do through the radio , I did it, like the event for 50 years¹⁷⁰, an amazing event, I did it! [Emphasis] *Whatever I had planned to do in collaboration with others, never happened.* [...] Everyone does their own thing, and no [pause...]. Cooperation becomes difficult, usually in what will be achieved, one has to take over, and then the others will follow. But, as for collaborations it is very difficult to proceed with, and *especially when it's about finance and they're going to share money, oh then, this is when nothing ever happens!*

[Emphasis] (E. Iliadou, Fieldwork interview, July 3, 2017)

Looking at the two aforementioned testimonies, I could recognize a pattern, when it comes to the difficulties implementing a worthwhile project; finances and lack of collaboration appeared to be the main issues.

The next informant, who wanted to remain anonymous, offered a different approach to the issue. We had an informal talk during my visit at the *Griechisches Haus, Westend*, Munich, where I took some photos, while observing this social center space. After shortly explaining the purpose of my research and the reason for visiting Munich for my fieldwork, the discussion developed

169 This is a metaphoric expression, which I translated directly from Greek to English. What is meant through this Greek idiom is that where you have many people talking or arguing, there will never be any solution to a problem/situation. I cite this in Greek „Όπου λαλούν πολλοί κοκκόροι αργεί να ζημερώσει”.

170 See the links for a documentation of this event :<https://www.iefimerida.gr/news/177740/i-vayariki-radiofonia-timise-tin-istoriki-ekpompi-toy-payloy-mpakogianni-eikones>;<https://stiftungpalladion.org/de/2014/11/07/07-11-2014-das-griechische-programm-eine-radiosendung-schreibt-geschichte/>. In regards to the historical radio show, see <https://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/notizbuch/sendung-radio-auslaender-112.html>.

naturally, and expanded in many themes, beyond the topic of my research, such community politics in the Greek diaspora, the historical and sociopolitical context, and it was definitely a thought – provoking discussion. When we started talking about Greek communities in Germany, he emphatically argued :

As Greeks in Germany, we have an identity problem. Not only political, we have an identity problem in general! Fact is that *Hellenism* in Germany is a product and result of labor migration [Emphasis]. Whatever we say next, the rest is nonsense! [...] When we confuse these things and do not know how it started and what did it start, we cannot determine the point of *decline*, when does the decline begin (of Greek communities in Germany). We cannot define it, but if we know where it came from and how it came to be, it is natural that we can clarify some things historically. If you clear up the historical things, you have your identity, you know what's going on. (L. , personal talk, June 28, 2017)

In many points throughout the talk L. kept mentioning this identity problem, accentuating the role of Greek labour migration in the part of Greek diaspora based in Munich, and all over Germany. His articulations revealed other definitions of hellenism and Greek identity, not to mention an ideological critical towards conservative/right wing institutions of Greek Diaspora in Munich.

Right after that, in response to my inquiry about an exhibition, a public history project regarding the history of labour migration in Germany, and what had exactly happened with the planned Project on the Oral History of Greek Labour migration, and its connection with the *Migration bewegt Die Stadt* project, he argued in the following account:

[This effort began in the 1990s with DOMID and was a response to the real hostility and barbarism that had taken place in those years with Solingen, Möln¹⁷¹ , but this country showed that it accepted a piece of this story. This piece hadn't reached this point up to here in Munich. Then some institutional actors started collecting things, from here and there [...] Here in Munich this began in early 2004 [...] and then the municipality and

171 Here the informant refers to extreme right -wing terror racist attacks which had taken place in West Germany in the early 1990s. See <https://www.nsu-tribunal.de/en/>; <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/family-of-solingen-attack-victims-calls-for-stronger-unity-against-racism/2599331>, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/germany-remembers-1992-molln-arson-attack-victims/977030#>; see also one of the memory sub-projects <https://versammeln-antirassismus.org/projekte>.

other institutions sat down and presented a plan, which after several stages, in the first stage the municipality started through *Stadtarchiv München* to collect some things to put in the archives, etc. [...], but to tell you the truth, I do not expect anything [...] The living pieces of this story will not enter the Museums. Museums are places of obituary, the Museum is a morgue, and secondly, let's not be kidding ourselves, we still live in a bourgeois state, these pieces that *they* want to have and place in their museums, these do not belong to their state, it does not belong to them in terms of class consciousness. Because, the museum is such a structure that duty is not connected with these with what needs to be saved from this historical period, but with what the museum needs. Do you understand the difference? [...] It is also a class issue, this space will try to write this story as it wants! (L., personal talk, June 28, 2017).

At the end of this account he proceeded in a fierce criticism of the museum as an institution: “The museum will tell the story as it pleases, it will keep the elements that benefit it. It will not write the story through the book of *Sourounis*, it will not write it through the stories of *Giorgos Matzouranis*, the *Double Book of Dimitris Chatzis*¹⁷² will not be 'placed' in the museum. These things are subversive” (L., personal talk, June 28, 2017).

In conclusion, informant L. exerted a harsh critique on the role of museums and academic experts in related history/museum projects and highlighted that collaboration should be defined first, “under our “criteria, meaning not the museum experts but the people, the real protagonists of migration, as well that there is need for constant institutional critique.

On the course of this Multi-sited (Marcus 1995) and focused ethnography (Knoblauch 2005) which entailed numerous short-term visits, later on in Munich, I conducted some last interviews, around 2019, on the occasion of an event, organized by the Department of Modern Greek studies by *Prof. Diamantopoulou*¹⁷³. There, the initiators and first directors of the *Griechisches Haus München*, *Prof. Dr. Stefan Gaitanides* and *Pavlos Delkos* met with the long-time collaborator and director of the women's group *Koula Auer-Papavasiliou* in a joint discussion with students of Neo-Greek Studies and the interested public, where I got to ask the first public question.

172 Here the informant mentions significant literary writers of Greek migration-diaspora in Germany, *Antonis Sourounis*, see <https://www.sansimera.gr/biographies/2453>; *Giorgos Matzouranis*, prominent historian and writer, whose publications I have used and cited in this chapter, as well as other parts of this Dissertations, and *Dimitris Chatzis*, writer of the legendary in cycles of Greek diaspora, and not only book, *the Double Book/To diplo vivlio* (1976), see <https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=3734202>. All of them have indeed in common deviant thought, which can be placed in the wider scope of Left, democratic thought in Greece.

173 See the event called, Werkstattgespräche https://www.byzantinistik.uni-muenchen.de/aktuelles/archiv_veranstaltungen/werkstattgespraech/index.html

Within the framework of my interview with Mrs. *Koula Auer-Papavasiliou*, when I asked her about public opinion and historical awareness on the history of Greek guest-workers in Munich, in other words if people in Greece know about the history of Greek migrant workers in Germany, and if this topic has been sufficiently depicted in realms of public history in Germany, she replied :

They know generalities, the details, and how much pain *we and* these people have experienced, they don't know. And German society, [pause...] many things, many books have been written, many things have been corrected. But, even now, in this very moment that we have this conversation, a woman is waiting for me, a divorced woman with two children, and her situation, with the classic job center, is tragic! I mean, once, things may have been tragic, now they're not tragic, but still you're alone, unsupported, despite all the experiences (K. Papavasiliou, fieldwork interview, 20 January, 2020).

Among the significant themes we covered in this interview with Mrs. K. Papavasiliou, ranging from her political commitment and social work, campaigns of raising awareness for labour migrant women during the 1980s via the work in the *Griechisches Haus München*, the female migrants' steps to emancipation, and notions of structural and institutional racism, in the topic of history and memory documentation of the labour workers history in Munich she commented that there has been an array of projects. Yet, she insisted on the social aspects and the real problems that still, migrants in Munich face. She highlighted the urge for multiple work, not only in terms of historical education, memory consciousness, but enhanced social work for all migrants in Munich, not to mention newly arriving migrants in Greece, due to the ongoing economic crisis back then, as she highlighted the gaps in detailed institutional information by Greek official actors of the diaspora in Munich.

Last but not least, in order to cover this first round of fieldwork, I deem relevant to mention some aspects from my interview with *P. Zöls* from the *Stadtarchiv München*, who has been involved in many city history/memory projects on labour migration.

I would argue that their management mode is rather processual based on critical migration history concepts, connected with the aforementioned teams/networks of migration research in Germany, especially that of *perspective of migration*, and *postmigrant society*, we discussed in the previous chapters. According to *P. Zöls*'s view, there were influences of institutional critique, especially, critique of the institution of museum. The notion of *Museum* represents a civic view and

civic historical narrative, a place where the stories of many (women, workers, low-class, proletariat) are excluded, he noted. As a rule, he emphasized the need to collect and characteristically asked “Which objects, which sources (and by whom) are significant for us” (ibid.) the museums, archives, as sites of memory and representatives of public history, and here we see a connection with *E.Iliadou's* observations on collecting, curating and exhibiting such migration stories. Furthermore, *P. Zöls* emphasized a trivial aspect, which is also connected with our case study and this so called memory assemblage, this negotiation between official and unofficial actors of memory and history writing ; specifically that it is a long and difficult process to convince the people, that their stories matter. That their material sources, artifacts, or even personal stories and biographies are important for the museums and archives as well, thus showcasing his critical/progressive stance.

It becomes clear from the above somehow contradicting narrations that there is a mixture of structural, financial, organizational, bureaucratic, and communication reasons for not running such an ambitious and challenging project, which would give the Greek migrant community the credit it deserves. Nonetheless, I should not overlook the fact that all the actors showed an interest for a collaborative work, but, as I got to understand, none of them was prepared to take on such an initiative. The willingness to overcome these and other difficulties was eventually shown by a guest worker, *E. Tsakmaki*, who organised an exhibition on labour migration in Munich in the beginning of March 2020.

Unfortunately, I did not get to visit the exhibition, but I regard it essential for this part of my fieldwork to refer to that attempt and draw some conclusions, based on the website and exhibition catalog I managed to obtain:



Figure 53 : Photo of a newspaper extract from an interview of E. Tsakmaki in the German newspaper, Süddeutsche Zeitung, SZ, October, 26, 2010. This material was given to me by E. Iliadou (source: Private archive of E. Iliadou)

The case of E. Tsakmaki is a special and crucial case in this memory assemblage, for the following reasons: She stands as an important *Zeitzeugin*, that is a witness of that historical period of Greek labour migration, a real “protagonist” of labour migration in Germany. It is vital to mention, that she also possesses a crucial *personal archive* (Tsakmaki collection), which has been referenced and contextualized in the past in many crucial exhibitions on labour migration, particularly from the critical migration research school of thought I sketched in the introduction, and theoretical literature review. Such exhibitions are Project Migration (2005), Crossing Munich (2009), as well as projects with DomiD centre.

Thus, many photographs, that we have seen contextualized in exhibitions, particularly regarding the Greek period of labour workers, belong to her personal archive. Moreover, E. Tsakmaki engages

in museum practice, as a real expert of migration, although she is not considered to be a museum expert. Her positioning and implementation of that exhibition comes as a best practice, or in other words, as a tentative solution to the conflict I detected in the first part of this ethnography.

It seems appropriate to argue that she dares and achieves to implement an effort to materialize and represent the voices of the real protagonists of migration who want to be heard. She attempts with all fore handed means to materializes the need of the unknown and unheard voice of Greek labor migrants. Additionally, apart from being an active member of the Greek community in Munich, she has published literature novels (autobiographical accounts on labour migration), as well as conducted oral history interviews with labour migrant women, not to mention interviews with Greek prisoners and survivors from concentration camps in Germany, as portrayed in the book *Telefteos Stathmos (2011)*¹⁷⁴.

Without any intention to minimize the exhibition I should refer to the other side of the coin, too, as I found out from a discussion I had with the same informant who let me know about the exhibition, impressions and overall comments regarding the public event of the exhibition opening were mixed, awkward and diversionary. In this last part of this discussion I deem relevant to include the critique expressed. As we talked over the telephone with the informant, where I asked questions about the event, and eventually their impression, who was present in the opening event of the exhibition, they started describing cautiously the spirit of an awkward and rather difficult situation, as this public event of the exhibition took place one week before the first European-wide lockdown). Yet, the informant employed a rather harsh critique on both, the event and the exhibition. Characteristically the informant indicated:

There was no reference to the historical period of the dictatorship. [...] There was not any critical look, no political commentary, just a romantic narrative. Furthermore, the comments from the official guests of the government, regarding the refugee issue, the *Evros* and the borders, and the whole situation with the refugees were irritating ! [...] Also, there was no enthusiasm from the people. In my opinion, she shouldn't have curated the exhibition herself, it was indifferent from a museological point of view there were some presentations that were of school level. I mean, it was happening at the time, and I was saying to myself, "I can't believe this is happening". Moreover, there was no feminist view -and the view of- the role of women, it was very conservative (anonymous informant, phone interview, 23 September, 2020)

174 See E. Tsakmaki's website for her publications, http://www.elenitsakmaki.com/pid_2145362/pid_2145355/; <https://catalogue.nlg.gr/Record/b.570692>.

In a synopsis, I would acknowledge that the contribution of such an effort and admit that the profit is valuable. Not only do such attempts show the innate need of the protagonists to be heard in a realistic and simple way, they also make a statement and keep the history alive and unforgotten. Nonetheless, there is a number of limitations in such projects and to these I would like to refer in the following.

The strengths of such projects lie in the fact that they are genuinely community based. However, as we would argue for the case of *Migred Ausstellung* („60 Jahre und wir sind immer noch hier“ (2020) the idea of “community” needs to be approached with some caution.

“While “community” may be constructed in a multitude of ways and take a variety of forms, it can set up mythological ideals that are hard to realize or, by making community appear static, make change harder to achieve. By grounding a community in a particular history or experience, those who do not share that history are at risk of being excluded, past lives may be idealized, and events misrepresented” (Crooke 2006: 177). Although the strength of such community projects lies in the fact that they are organized by community members, only external assessment will reveal whether or not the presentations are risking nostalgia, becoming over-simplified, overdramatizing, romanticizing a glorious past and might prove exclusionary for others (cf. Crooke 2006: 178). It is also trivial to indicate that such projects should not forge an idealized notion of a community that bonds itself tightly against those who are perceived as non-members. The complexity of past experiences must be acknowledged, as must the diversity that exists among people and within places (cf. *ibid*:183).

6.3. Conclusions

Via these methods I was able to detect and decode the following themes and tentative conclusions: In the majority of the Greek diaspora actors' narratives, apart from the accentuation of non-collaboration between the involved stakeholders, either based on stereotypes or platitudes, such as “Greeks cannot collaborate with each other”, that “wherever there has to be a coordination with finance, it is always a disaster” or that “everyone expresses an intention, but more or less it gets stuck only on good intentions”, there is common ground on the need for external experts, either historians, archivists, museum practitioners/curators in order to collect the material for an oral history archive on Greek Migration in Munich and then properly document, preserve and exhibit it.

In all accounts, there is reference on the width and plethora of material that exists, but either in the form of lack of collaboration, or the *identity politics* involved, lack of funding, and bureaucratic procedures, all endeavors are paused and until today there is not a steady or viable,

sustainable form of an archive or a platform with the history of post-war Greek migration in Munich. Apart from some anniversary events, or sporadic exhibitions, the whole project was left on a halt.

All in all, no keen ground was expressed in creating a collaborative platform on a joint community project and/or an oral history archive of this specific history, not to mention its interrelated thematics, multilayered aspects, but arguments which featured: constant complain about, either the lack of collaboration and funding, structures, logistics, or that is futile per se to work with so many different and heterogeneous actors, who look after their own interest. On the other hand, there were voices which exerted institutional critique, disbelief and distrust in the whole institution of Museums, fierce critique against museums, as 'mausoleums of knowledge, places of obituary', "necrological places", the need that for self-organization, that we need to tell our story, and not the external "enlightened experts", either based in the museum or Academia. or representatives of the civic bourgeois state, which will never endorse those vital elements in their storytelling, their historical narrative.

This whole procedure I detected throughout my fieldwork can be seen as an internal conflict, based on *identity politics* among all these various actors and stakeholders in this *memory assemblage*. This ethnographic strategy of *following the conflict* (Marcus 1995) I adopted, revealed to me unresolved topics related with community participation, open democratic procedures, traditional political party and ideological conflicts, tied with identity politics, even structural problems traditionally to be found in Greek communities and micro-networks in Germany. Hence, all this highlights a discrepancy to find in between spaces for dialogue, or even contact zones (Pratt 1992; Clifford 1997; Sternfeld 2018), spaces for constructive critique, which could be used and thematized, for example in a museum exhibition, or a museum educational program, regarding issues connected to labour migration history, having the 'Greek case study' as a starting point. All these actors displayed an inability in handling the materiality of this archive, in any of its formats (real historical archive, on-line/digital platform, museum exhibit, audiovisual documentary, etc), with the exception of German representatives of *Stadtarchiv München* and *Stadtmuseum München*, who used parts of the aforementioned material (especially rare archival material from *Griechisches Haus, Westend*) and contextualized it in the exhibition and documentation project "Migration bewegt die Stadt", *Stadtmuseum München*¹⁷⁵. In regards to the Greek actors of *memory politics* in Munich, apart from some one-off events, or temporary exhibitions – such as the case of guest-

175 See the website of the exhibition, which took place at *Stadtmuseum München*. <https://www.muenchnerstadtmuseum.de/dauerausstellungen/migration-bewegt-die-stadt-perspektiven-wechseln>. See also a review here: <https://www.hsozkult.de/exhibitionreview/id/rezausstellungen-336>.

worker and prominent figure of the Greek diaspora in Munich, *E. Tsakmaki*, who finally assembled parts of her personal archive and existing material (*Tsakmaki collection*) gathered experts from local public history/museum scene and finally implemented the exhibition *MIGRED* (7-21.3.2020, Kösk, Munich) – there is not any central oral/public history documentation project under construction, or a platform which will handle this historical period of Greek labour migration, as a point of discussion or insert it as part of a public history project, based on sustainable collaboration; one that should proceed some steps further, taking into full account the inherent political, social, economical, ideological, class, ethnicity, gender, work-ethics facets that will appear, thus providing the ground, or setting the seeds for an open democratic participation and a constructive living dialogue, based on these past experience(s) of labour migration in Germany.

After taking into account on the one hand the folklore representation of Greekness, the conflict among the interviewed actors and their seeming unwillingness for cooperation and on the other hand the project *E. Tsakmaki* managed to implement with all its restraintsou. I had irrefutable proof that people involved in migration – be it privately or professionally, young or old, migrants or not- had a genuine desire to be part of such events that shed light on this integral parent of Hellenism. What is more, I had experienced an aspiration for a more realistic, modern and haptical representation of Greek migration. The question that undoubtedly arises here is whether there is potential and enough material for such a venture. In the subsequent part of this chapter I explore exactly this potential expressed through my main ethnographic object of inquiry, the letters of the viewers of the historical radio show , *Griechische Sendung*, BR at the Bavarian Broadcast. Suffice it to say, some of these letters were present in *E. Tsakmaki's* book, something that underlines their importance for guest workers, for the voices that want to be heard.

So, I find myself reflecting and wondering: is there potential for something more meaningful, nuanced, more representative or anti-representative and beyond folklore representations of Greekness, reinforcement of national -regional pride of migration communities, diaspora in Munich/Germany – reinforced sense of philellinism due to Bavarian imperial heritage , related aesthetics and politics? Are there unknown, under-researched , marginalized aspects of migration histories that need to be rediscovered and highlighted? In the next chapter, we draw our attention to our main ethnographic object of inquiry, the letters of the viewers of the historical radio show, *Griechische Sendung*, BR at the Bavarian Broadcast.

6.4. Griechische Sendung, Bayerisches Rundfunk (1964-1981): The letters of the viewers

In this text I will endeavor to emerge in the archive of the fieldwork research I have conducted in Munich, during multiple short-term visits, during June – September 2017, 2018 and 2019. In this chapter, following our ethnographic description and interpretation of our *multi-sited* fieldwork in the city of Munich, we turn our analytic eye to a source of historical importance, which I consider as rich empirical under-researched data. I turn into the basic empirical material, which constitutes the main focus of this chapter; that is the historical radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí* (1964-1998), broadcast by the Bavarian Broadcast (as of now) BR. Apart from highlighting its historical and multiple social role for the Greek migrant population at the time in Munich – both in the beginning of the recruitment agreement, and especially during the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece (1967 - 1974) – and all over Germany as well, I will focus on the letters of the viewers, which were literary “bombarding” the editorial department of the BR at weekly basis. I intend to analyze them in order to trace and decode the entanglements, after-effects, repercussions and relations between materiality, orality of the objects, the letters as artifacts (material, historical memory objects) or *boundary objects* (Star 1994;1989) social/oral memories, as well as sociocultural practices and habits, testimonials from the perspective of the *protagonists*, the guest-workers in Germany, as well as highlight the implications for displaying or working with such stories and historical material in museums and exhibition sites.

In the last section, I endeavor to provide my conclusions and highlight some tentative theses regarding these letters of the viewers of the aforementioned media establishment. I argue that this material of historic, aesthetic and educational value, can be conceived as “social and contentious objects”, as well as artefacts of social interpretation, which should be re-activated and further researched not only in academic and museum context, but critical education and memory work context.

6.4.1. Historical, sociopolitical *background of the Radio broadcast Griechische Sendung*

As we read in the special retrospective tribute of the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini*, back in 1998, on the history of Greek labour migration in Germany :

In 1960 the Greek-German agreement 'on the employment of Greek workers in Germany' was signed. It is the time of the great exodus. About one million Greeks will emigrate to Germany. Greece is being drained of its most vital and productive workforce” (Kounenaki 1998: 2). As

Giorgos Matzouranis notes, since 1968, when immigration became permanent in Greece due to the dictatorship, the number of migrant women began to increase and in 1973 the Greek population in Germany consisted of 55% men and 45% women, while the number of Greek children living with their parents exceeded 80,000. This unites a significant number of separated families, but also creates difficulties in finding accommodation and, above all, in educating children (cf. Matzouranis 1998: 6)¹⁷⁶. In the years of the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), the majority of migrants will turn against it and they will be supported by German democrats. The large, joint demonstrations, the radio station of *Deutsche Welle* and the radio station of *Munich* broadcasts, which not only encouraged the Greeks but also provided them with reliable sources of information, have become historic and legendary (cf. Kounenaki 1998: 2).

Regarding the historical facts of the aforementioned Greek Program of Munich, that is the radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung*, (BR), Pantelouris (1998: 10) argues in the same special retrospective tribute of the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini*, on the history of Greek labour migration in Germany and sheds light on a widespread confusion regarding these two radio shows:

Two radio broadcasts, one from Cologne and the other from Munich, Bavaria, were directly linked to the history of Hellenism in Germany and the recent history of Greece. *The Munich* broadcast was for decades the daily companion of the Greek immigrant worker in Germany. Since 1964, *Deutsche Welle*, "the voice of *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*" has been sending the image of Germany in the Greek language and, above all, news from the homeland to Greek-speaking people almost all over the world, especially to Greek sailors, for whom the voice of Cologne was for a long time the only contact with the homeland. The military dictatorship of 1967-1974 was the occasion for both stations to become known beyond the borders of Germany. *Deutsche Welle* as the authoritative voice of Europe that brought free news to the "Junta-occupied" Greece, and the *Griechische Sendung*, the free Greek voice that informed 350,000 Greek immigrants every day about what was really happening in their homeland. (Pantelouris 1998: 10).

While the Greek broadcast of *Deutsche Welle* became known to the general public in Greece in the midst of the dictatorship, mainly because of its anti-dictatorial stance, the Greek-speaking language broadcast of the BR in Munich had already established itself by the early 1960s as the

¹⁷⁶ Themes of education and housing are crucial themes, which I have analyzed extensively and interpreted through the filmic lens of both, Lefteris Xanthopoulos' two films on migration-diaspora, especially *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976), as well as in *Endstation Kreuzberg* (1975) by Giorgos Karypidis.

daily connection of the Greek immigrant with his homeland (cf. Ibid.: 11). It was the broadcast that addressed thousands of Greeks who had made their way to the German factories in search of a better fate. In their hours of loneliness and isolation in the foreign society, the Greek guest-workers, so called Gastarbeiter found companionship and consolation in the radio broadcast by the BR Munich every evening, exactly at 20:20 in their own language. The well known Greek author, Vassilis Vassilikos who spent several years in Germany, described in his novel entitled “20:20/Eikosi kai Eikosi” (1971)¹⁷⁷ what the Greek broadcast in Munich meant for the Greek immigrant in Germany. BR's Greek broadcast based in Munich started thirty four years ago, on November 1, 1964. It was a time when the number of Greeks arriving in Germany to work was constantly increasing. German radio networks saw the need to offer foreign workers entering West Germany at the time, information in their own language to facilitate so - called integration into the German labour market. The production of the program for the Greek workers was entrusted to BR in Munich and the other radio stations in Germany undertook to broadcast it on the super-broadcasters so that it could be received all over Germany. (cf. Pantelouris 1998: 11).

We have to acknowledge that this radio broadcast by Munich, the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, BR was, especially in the early years, a source of inspiration, as well as a shelter for many Greeks who were trying to get back on their feet in German society. In a society, unknown to them, whose language they ignored and which kept them on the margins. The first editors of the show were daily recipients of all kinds of requests. „They listened to the complaints and problems that their listeners had with the German authorities, with the Greek consulate, with the German neighbor, with the school, with the caretaker of the factory or the landlady... and always tried to help in front of and behind the microphone“ (Tatsis 2021).

The role of the show changed radically two and a half years later, when the dictatorship of the *Colonels* was imposed in Greece and the focus shifted from the problems of the Greeks in Germany to the great problem of the dissolution of democracy in Greece (cf. Pantelouris 1998).

Reading the words of *Yannis Pappas*, renowned journalist and correspondent of Greek diaspora in Germany, through the recent special publication of the influential magazine/website of Greek diaspora in Munich and all over the federal state of Bavaria, *Doryforos/[Satellite]* about the historic Greek broadcast of Munich, which was published on 24th January 2021 and was sent to me by two informants¹⁷⁸:

¹⁷⁷ Vassilis Vassilikos “20:20” (1971). See also a recent interview (2019) by Vassilis Vassilikos regarding his personal memories from Germany, as well as German Occupation in Greece and his anti-dictatorial action; <https://arbeitaneuropa.com/transcripts/vassilis-vassilikos/>. (last accessed 15 February 2023).

¹⁷⁸ This short publication as PDF can be downloaded in the link below, of the website of the magazine *Doryforos* and is regarded to be a 30-year anniversary publication of the Greek radio Program, with a focus on the contributors,

There are radio broadcasts that go down in history. There are others that make history. The Munich Greek Broadcast both made history and stayed in history. It was one of the first foreign-language programmes, along with the Italian and Spanish programmes, created by the German ARD radio institutions for the immigrants from their respective countries who came to Germany *en masse* from the mid-1950s and 1960s. It was the "First Aid" radio program for the "Gastarbeiter" from the southern European countries whom Germany needed for the German "economic miracle" of that period. They did not know German, nor was there any interest or provision to integrate them into German society. The German state considered their stay to be temporary; these radio programmes/*Ausländerprogramme* were a minimal offer to the immigrants to fill the gap left by the absence of a comprehensive immigration policy. The mission to help the "Gastarbeiter" in their daily lives in Germany was taken on by the Radio and Television Foundations of the federal states of Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia, which had received the largest number of migrants. The programmes produced by the Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation (*BR*) and the West German Broadcasting Corporation (*WDR*) were broadcast simultaneously by all the *ARD* radio stations, which contributed to their funding. The first steps were taken in 1962 with a 15-minute weekly broadcast. Yet, on a daily basis, the Greek radio Program of Munich, started on 1 November 1964 with *Pavlos Bakoyannis*. (Pappas cited in Tatsis 2021: 4)

Munich's Greek radio Broadcast took on a political character with the coup d'état of the *Colonels* regime in Greece in 1967. *Pavlos Bakoyannis*, the moderator of the radio program, with political origins in the conservative political sphere, was a strong opponent of the military *Junta*. With his indelible stamp, the Greek Broadcast of Munich became a platform for the anti-dictatorship struggle. (cf. Pappas 2021: 5). It is true that the period during the Greek dictatorship signalled the beginning of a complete politicization process of *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, *BR* at the time in Munich. For the Greeks in Germany it was the exclusive source of information on political developments in Greece. According to Pappas (2021:6) "All the political personalities of the time who were fighting the battle against the Junta and could not have a

associates of the show. It is comprised of roughly 26 pages, mostly interviews with the members of the editorial team, *BR* and is accompanied by many archival photos. We refer to some interviews also in the second chapter;<

platform in Greece, where the press was silenced, 'passed through' the microphones of the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi, BR*, with interviews and statements: names of prominent politicians and personalities from the Greek public sphere, such as *Konstantinos Karamanlis, Andreas Papandreou, Konstantinos Mitsotakis, Mikis Theodorakis, Georgios Alexandros Magakis, Kostas Simitis*, to name a few. A constant collaborator of the show was the later MEP *Takis Lambrias*".

The same journalist, *Yiannis Pappas*, claims as other informants in this research, that for the German side, native language radio programs were a counterbalance to the influence of propaganda programs from the communist bloc in Eastern Europe. This statement is to be shared also by other contributors of the show, as well as researcher Papanastasiou (2020) who has examined the political and overall contribution of *Pavlos Mpakoyannis* in the aforementioned radio broadcast, *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi, BR*, transforming it to an active political forum committed to the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece. According to Papanastasiou (2020:13) „since the early 1960s, thousands of Greeks in West Germany tuned in for years to the Bavarian Radio Frequency to listen to Pavlos Bakoyiannis the director of the Greek broadcast in Munich, to inform them about developments in Greece and in the Greek diaspora“. Very soon the Munich broadcast managed to become a synonym of militant journalism, with independent commentary on events and developments in Greece, having the support of *BR*'s superiors and the whole of the *BRD* journalistic and trade union associations (cf. Papanastasiou 2020:13-14).

This period, as Papanastasiou claims (cf. 2020:14) coincided with the inclusion of foreign language programs in federal broadcasting institutions, bringing to the surface the conflict between the federal government and local governments for control of the broadcasting landscape in the post-war years. As Greek public historian Karamanolakis (cf.2016) argues, for example, Bonn (as the capital city back then of West Germany/*BRD*) included in the program of the radio institutions of individual federal states, foreign-language broadcasts in order to address the daily difficulties and the better adaptation of the *Gastarbeiter* in an unfamiliar industrial country, as the majority of migrants, including the Greek guest-workers were of low educational level. However, it also highlighted the difference in perceptions between German officials who considered these broadcasts primarily as a means of exercising social policy towards immigrants and those who believed in the need to respond to the radio broadcasts of Eastern European stations, which usually operated with the assistance of Greek political refugees from the Civil War era (Papanastasiou 2020: 15). In a similar manner, K. Petrogiannis points out in this year's tribute of the magazine *Doryforos* (2021) and the anniversary tribute to the history of the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi, BR*: „The

main reason that led to the creation of the foreign language programs in the early 1960s was to provide useful information to the foreign immigrants, the Gastarbeiters, who had come to Germany from their respective countries. There was, of course, a political reason as well. The Germans did not want the Greek factory workers in particular to listen to the communist propaganda programs of Prague and Budapest, or the Voice of Truth“ (Kostas Petrogiannis in Tatsis 2021: 17).

Besides, during my fieldwork in Munich and the interview with the later and last director of the project, *E. Iliadou* (1999-2002), subscribes to this statement in her own characteristic way. She argues emphatically : “One reason why the programs were created, we say now , here, between us [Emphasis!] was to inform the Greeks in Germany, but the main one was to influence the workers and "take" them with their side [meaning West Germany], and keep them away from the propaganda programs of Eastern Europe, the "communist" programs, which had broadcasts in Greek, not to be informed politically from there (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview 3 July, 2017).¹⁷⁹

As a result, the responsibility for the production of the Greek broadcast in Munich (as well as the Spanish and Italian broadcasts) was taken over by BR on behalf of the first programme of the German public broadcaster ARD.

On November 1, 1964, at 08:15 in the evening, BR's daily 40-minute Greek broadcast on the ultra-shortwave FM officially began, “which proved for almost 40 years to be a valuable and unique linkage with Greece, providing Greek immigrants with news from the homeland, music, entertainment, entertainment, German lessons and valuable information about the unknown German working environment“ (Papanastasiou 2020:17-18).

As the start of the Munich broadcast coincided with the scene of political polarization that preceded the period of the so called Ιουλιανά Iuliana/Apostasia (1965),¹⁸⁰ Bakogiannis, as head of BR's Greek programme, found himself caught in the crossfire of the political parties in Greece. In particular, supporters of the pro-Junta Greek Ambassador, *A. Kyrou*¹⁸¹ accused Bakogiannis of

179 One such case is the historical figure of Greek diaspora, intellectual and political exile In Hungary, *Dimitris Chatzis* ,who has been presenting a Greek -speaking radio broadcast , during almost the same period in Budapest, Hungary. Related radiow shows took place also in Romania and other countries of former socialist countries, who had accepted during the 1950s Greek political refugees. See ;<https://tvxs.gr/news/ellada/ta-antixoyntika-radiofonika-programmata-toy-eksoterikoy-stin-eptaetia>; <https://www.agon.gr/istories/4708/sti-voydapesti-toy-dimitri-chatzi/>). In the previous section in subchapter 6.2, *Dimitris Chatzis* was referenced by an informant as a radical and subversive thinker/intellectual of Greek exiles in Europe.

180 This epoche in contemporary Greek history, according to teh informative archival source of Greek public Television and broadcast, we read indicatively : On 15 July 1965, the popular Prime Minister George Papandreou was forced to resign by the young King Constantine, because he wanted to take over the Ministry of National Defence himself, instead of Peter Garoufalias, the Palace's chosen one. On the same day, he swore in a government by breakaway members of his party, the Centre,Union , *E.K* (see chapter 4) who went down in history as the *Apostates* (“Renegades“).There followed a period of intense political anomaly , called *Apostasia*, which eventually led to the Colonels' coup of 21 April 1967. <https://www.sansimera.gr/articles/947>. (Last accessed 15 February 2023).

181 Alexandros Kyrou , Greek Ambassador ogf Greece, during the dictatorship. See also Papanastasiou 2020,(pp: 110-123).

brainwashing his listeners and attempting to defame the Parliament „as if he were a communist or a fascist“. (Papanastasiou 2020: 21). At the same time, they complained that the Greek Ambassador's comment was so brief and conveyed in such an arid manner (Papanastasiou 2020: 22; Tsatsaronis 1999: 200-201).

Regarding the attempts to interfere with the Greek broadcast project by the Greek pro-dictatorial side, Petrogiannis recalls :

During the junta there was constant political interference through the Greek Embassy in Bonn. Pavlos Bakoyannis' position was in danger. He was at his peak when he announced that the IMF was expecting a devaluation of the drachma, which did not happen. For the colonels regime it was an excuse to get rid of Bakoyannis and the Greek Munich Programme. But they did not succeed. Interventions were always made by the Greek Embassy, letters were sent to the Bavarian Radio. The line that the Embassy took at that time was: "To them, don't even give an interview about sports". That's what happened under the dictatorship. Later on there was always grumbling, depending on which party was in government. But there was no official intervention in the decades that followed. The "setting up" of the program was in such a way that it gave a lot to the listener. News, everyday issues, entertainment, children's programming, issues. And for as long as we can remember it pretty much stayed that way until the end. It was a framework of Bavarian Radio itself or the Greek editorial team (Petrogiannis in Tatsis 2021: 20).

The broadcast also played an important role during the junta of the colonels. Partly the caustic comments of Pavlos Bakoyannis were also broadcast by Deutsche Welle. As the historian Giorgos Matzouranis points out “The daily forty-minute broadcast "For the Greeks of Germany" of the Bavarian Radio, directed by Pavlos Mpakogiannis, played an important role. With Panagiotis Lambrias as a regular commentator and a remarkable journalistic staff, it had developed into a militant campaign against the dictatorship. In this programme one of the most militant and effective voices against the dictatorship was the Sabbath sermon of the then Orthodox Archbishop of Germany, *Mitropolitiss, Irenaeus*”¹⁸² (Matzouranis 1998: 9).

182 cf. Film of Xanthopoulos (Giorgos from Sotirianika 1978), which we talked and analyzed at chapter 4. There is , specifically, a sequence in the film where the director L.Xanthopoulos interviews this very archbishop *Irenaus*, who casts a strong commentary on the harsh labour conditions that guest-workers experience, after one of his visit in a *Wurst Fabrik*. We read again the dialogue:

The daily struggle of the Munich broadcast for the objective information of the Greek workers and our compatriots who had fled to Germany at that time, waiting for the fall of the dictatorship, made the "Munich station" the number one Greek anti-dictatorship platform in Germany. Pavlos Bakogiannis, who was in Munich preparing his dissertation and had already taken over the direction of the Greek broadcast in 1964, was its main representative (Pantelouris 1998: 11). Overcoming the opposition of the conservative political establishment in Bavaria¹⁸³, Bakogiannis managed to turn the show into a "station of struggle against dictatorship", as he used to say. He gathered around him a significant number of democratic journalists, artists, academics and writers, who wrote commentaries and analyses, gave interviews and participated in shaping a programme critical of the dictatorship. (Pantelouris 1998: 11-12).

[...] The show kept in touch with political and resistance organizations in Greece and abroad, from all political sites, so that it was able to broadcast every evening important, often exclusive, information about the situation in the dictatorship-led Greece (Pantelouris 1998: 12).

So, up until 1967, the Munich Greek Broadcast was a "service" program to the early Gastarbeiter. With the dictatorship it evolved into a primarily political broadcast. When the coup d'état took place in 1967, the German attitude was not uniform. Many *commentators and* analysts in Germany stressed that democracy was abolished in Greece. Others tempered it, seeing the army as the only organized institution in Greece. Bavarian Radio, however, took a clear position condemning the coup. It is indicative what *K. Petrogiannis* quotes in the interview of *Doryforos* (2021):

the Director of BR, Walter von Koube, had called Pavlos Bakoyannis and stated: "I don't know what your personal opinion of the coup is. But here we are a democratic and parliamentary country and we want the Greek Broadcasting Corporation to operate within this framework". Since then, the show became truly resistance-oriented, Bakoyannis turned it into a platform for the anti-dictatorship struggle and the promotion of political exiles abroad and well-known personalities of all political

- [director]: "What are the consequences of the recent immigration boom?"

- [Archbishop *Irenaus*]: This immense migration, from 1955 to the present, is a very big event that we have not seen so deeply. To imagine what loss of work wealth (do) these thousands of people represent [...] Once I went to visit a factory that makes the famous wursts, the German sausages, where about six hundred to seven hundred Greeks were employed, I went through all the departments, I stayed for about two or three hours, I got myself tired, and struggling to breath due to the atmosphere, and at the end when I left I thought that a man who stays there for six-seven hours a day, in the end will become sausage himself" (**Giorgos apo ta Sotirianika, 1978/09:20-11:23**).

183 More analytically for this period and the role P. Mpakogiannis played in the anti- dictatorial struggle, see Papanastasiou (2020)/*Νίκος Παπαναστασίου Αντίσταση από μικροφώνου. Ο Παύλος Μπακογιάννης απέναντι στη δικτατορία των συνταγματαρχών.*

hues who lived in London, Paris, etc. The show broadcast their interviews, Bakoyannis' comments and the two press reviews, one of which was conducted from London by Takis Lambrias and the other by the Munich Broadcasting correspondent in Athens Kostas Tsatsaronis, who had ensured a freedom of movement because he was also the correspondent of *Der Spiegel* in Greece (Kostas Petrogiannis in Tatsis 2021: 18).

The Greek Broadcasting of Munich had developed a close cooperation at that time with the Greek Programme of Deutsche Welle. News, interviews and commentaries from the Munich Broadcasting Corporation were broadcast by Deutsche Welle in Greece. And, in addition, news from the Greek DW Programme was broadcast by the Greek Broadcast of Munich to the Greeks in Germany.

Regarding the confusion between these two shows, and the fact that the *Deutsche Welle* show has been renowned for its anti-dictatorship sentiment, and was more known in Greece, K. Petrogiannis, argues: „, I think the main reason is that the Greeks in Greece were not aware of the Munich show. They couldn't know it, because it was only broadcast within Germany. But they listened to its interviews and comments via *Deutsche Welle*. Greeks here in Germany knew *Deutsche Welle* but could not listen to it because it was only broadcast abroad (Kostas Petrogiannis in Tatsis 2021: 19).

Contributors and operating framework of the Greek Program of Munich

P. Bakoyiannis, who had already joined BR a year earlier, and at the same time became a member of the Bavarian Journalists' Union, became the director of the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí* in 1964 (cf. Papanastasiou 2020: 23). At the beginning of this Greek broadcast, the members of the Greek editorial staff and freelance contributors were young scientists whom Bakoyannis had met either at the *Griechisches Haus* in Munich or in Greek and student associations (cf. *ibid.*: 23-24). The five members of the Greek editorial staff of the show also acted as social workers for ordinary workers seeking a better fate in Germany. The first Greek Gastarbeiter who disembarked at the much-sung station in Munich in the early 1960s were greeted by Asimakis Hadzinikolaou, a partner of the show, responsible for sports, who also worked as an interpreter, giving instructions in their language through a loudspeaker, so that they could reach the factories in Munich and other German cities. We will see excerpts from his interview in chapter two.

Gradually, other collaborators of the Greek program were added, such as Kostas Petrogiannis, Nikos Ioannidis, as the person in charge of social programs ("the world of work"/"news from the province"). Christos Hatzopoulos was the news anchor, succeeded by Eleni Torossi, who played an important role and was in charge of cultural and children's

programmes for years (1971-2003) before becoming a renowned writer¹⁸⁴.

It is important to mention that the initiative for the upgrading of BR's foreign collaborators was taken by *Gerhard Bogner*, the director of these programs, who has since asked Greek journalists to translate their comments into German periodically. At the same time, on Bogner's initiative, the derogatory classification of the broadcasts as "Gastarbeitersendungen", which was detrimental to the contributors, but also to the listeners, was abolished (Papanastasiou 2020: 26). Gradually, P. Bakoyiannis' role as director and responsible for the news content of the Greek program was strengthened, as from 1 January 1966 he was also given the opportunity to comment extensively on current Greek political news every Saturday ("the issue of the week").

It is striking that the commentaries covered during the seven years of the Dictatorship in Greece, apart from the violation of human rights and civil liberties, all the events of key importance, such as the anti-movement of King Constantine (December 1967), the referendum on the new Hun "constitution" of 1968, the expulsion of Greece from the Council of Europe (December 1969) and the events of the Polytechnic (November 1973) (ibid; 27).

Thus, Bakoyiannis's show offered from the first day information and comments on arrests, torture and everything that happened during the dictatorship of the Colonels. According again to (cf. Papanastasiou 2020: 29) „in the BR conferences Bakoyiannis noted that despite the constant encouragement from the German side to produce programs for 'ordinary' listeners, the constant underestimation of the educational level of the Greeks in Germany had to be avoided. Besides, the audience included not only immigrants with elementary knowledge or illiterate people, 80% of whom were illiterate, as we will see later from the listeners' own letters, but also Gastarbeiter with a sixth-grade diploma or even students.

However, the federal broadcasters realized early on that, despite the pressure from Bonn to respond directly to the propaganda campaign of the Warsaw Pact countries, it was preferable for foreign-language programs to offer tangible help to immigrants who decided to live in Germany.

Under the responsibility of the directors of the *Ausländerprogramme*, an effort was made to make the foreign language programmes a kind of bridge for immigrants to their homeland, in order to maintain their ties with their place of origin and their culture. The content of the broadcasts was mainly of a social nature, covering labour and tax issues, issues related to the legislation on migrants.

¹⁸⁴In chapter two we will see E.Torossi's perspectives and experience from the Radio program. I. Interview ASKI, 2019, Book ““Όταν σου έδειξα τον ήχο του κόσμου ,Αθήνα : Πατάκης 2016; <http://www.torossi.com/html/buchergriechisch.html>.

On the political update of the Broadcast, G. Bogner, director of BR's foreign-language programmes, says that particular emphasis was placed on strengthening democratic attitudes, with occasional commentary on current political events and without adopting Eastern Bloc practices, because of the trust in the democratic acquires of post-war Germany and the values of the Western community (Bogner , interview by Papanastasiou, Baldham/München, November 21, 2017). A matter which will be discussed also by my informants in the next sub-section. Pavlos Bakoyiannis rightly believed that the many letters from listeners that the Greek broadcast received proved from the beginning that it was very popular. After one year of daily radio broadcastings (1964-1965), the number of letters had reached 35,000, i.e. about 100 items per day!

The structure of the program had nothing to do with the German administration. It emerged along the way and was maintained to the end. It was always adapted to the needs of the listeners. In 1964 the needs of the listeners were different, as at the time the radio program was broadcasting German lessons, the *Gastarbeiter* were young, with no knowledge of German. As Petrogiannis in the aforementioned source indicates “Later when they brought the families, it was a completely different expectation. The dictatorship was a special case. After the dictatorship the program focused on European and reintegration in connection with schooling, which especially in Bavaria with the specificity of the Greek schools was of particular concern to the immigrants” (Kostas Petrogiannis in Tatsis 2021: 20).

With interviews on topics of German interest, with regular reviews of the German press, but above all with a weekly program in the form of a magazine, all the information that would help the Greek worker to find his orientation in German society was offered. Over the years, the program has been handing over the microphone every Friday evening to Greek associations of immigrants, in order to inform them of events taking place in their area or to the Greek services in order to make announcements of interest to the Greek community in Germany (cf. Pantelouris 1998: 12).

The main objective of the program is to “function as a living bridge to the homeland”. The presence of journalists from various political backgrounds at the station's microphone gave the station the credibility of objectivity even after the post-independence period and offered the Hellenic community in Germany a level of information that for many was far superior to that of the average listener in Greece. If one takes into account the high ratings of both the music programmes with traditional tributes to relatives and friends, or particularly popular sports programmes of the acclaimed sports commentator of the show, *A. Hadzinikolaou*, it is not difficult to explain the high overall ratings found for the *Elliniki Ekpompí* by BR, which in a poll conducted in 1995, found that it came first by far among all foreign-language radio programs in Germany.

According to (Tatsis 2021: 10), also, in terms of audience, the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí*, BR was the flagship of foreign language mother tongue programs, at a distance from all the others, Italian, Turkish, etc., and had soared to unprecedented levels: Almost 60% of the Greeks in Germany listened to the program on a daily basis, about 70% two or three times a week, while the readership of the program exceeded 80%. The unusually large audience reflected the credibility that the Munich Broadcast had gained among its listeners from across the political spectrum. "Munich said it, so it's true" was the constant refrain in the political discourse of the time, thus lending to the program political validity, trust and reliability.

At the same time, however, the Greek editorial Team on the 12th floor of the BR radio building has been confronted in recent years with the political philosophy that wants foreigners to be integrated into German society and sees foreign-language radio programmes as obsolete and a hindrance (cf. Pantelouris 1998; Iliadou 2017; 2021). So, on December 31, 2002 “end titles” strike for the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí*, BR in Munich, which began in 1964 as part of the foreign language programs of the ARD *Ausländerprogramme*.



Figure 54: Colleagues and editorial Team from the *Ausländerredaktion* just before the shut down of the Program in 2002, Bayerischen Rundfunk. On the centre, Eleni Iliadou, right to E. Iliadou., E. Torossi (source: cited in Eleni Torossi und Fanny Atheras, Archiv Bildnachweis, Stand: November 1, 2014, <https://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/notizbuch/sendung-radio-auslaender-112.html>).

For 38 years the “Greek Broadcast of Munich”, as people used to call it, had a daily monopole on information and entertainment, and over the years it became an integral part of Greek immigration in Germany. It was the show that accompanied the Greeks of Germany in all stages of their transformation from "Gastarbeiter" of the first generation to European citizens of the second

and third generation of immigrants.¹⁸⁵ All things considered, I deem essential to finish this subsection with another quotation by E. Iliadou:

I remember, two years after the closure of the radio program, I took part in a conference in Cologne on migration and the media. There the latest major research on the use of media by migrants in Germany was presented. This research debunked the myth that migrants only use media in their native language. In other words, it overturned the myth of media ghettos. This research also showed that the foreign-language programs created after the closure of the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompī*, BR now had a low audience, especially the Greek program offered by Radio Hessen, (HR). When asked if they listened to the new one, the response from listeners was: "We want the Munich program back". This attested to the listeners' attachment to the Munich Broadcast, an attachment that was unique even by German radio standards. It was, of course, a satisfaction for us, but at the same time very painful. (Doryforos 2021:25).

6.4.2. Voices from the archive I: Informants' perspective of the radio show

In this sub-chapter I intend to present the various voices and opinions from important actors and collaborators, involved in the legendary radio program *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompī*, BR.

Three of those actors I have presented so far in the first part of my fieldwork in Munich, in between short-term visits in June and September 2017, as well as 2018-2019, where I highlighted this so-called conflict within identity politics between the various actors of Greek diaspora and memory politics in the Bavarian capital city. I did not manage to interview *Eleni Torossi*, one of the most significant actors in the realization of this broadcast, and secretary of Pavlos Bakoyannis, due to health issues, despite the ongoing incitement of her long-time friend Eleni Iliadou "that I should do at any costs".

Nevertheless, I feature excerpts from an interview in the framework of the Greek-German research project "Solidarity and Resistance. The support of the Greek resistance against the military junta by German parties, trade unions and political institutions (1967-1974)", *ASKI*¹⁸⁶- Friedrich

185 In this link one can listen to the last show of the *Griechische Sendung*, BR. As it is written in the website: "The Greek Programme in Munich may have been silenced 17 years ago, but it is hard to forget it, since it made history. In the archives of the Bavarian Radio, the last broadcast in which its listeners had the opportunity to participate was found. A last communication, a last goodbye. Listen to this historic document, dedicated to all the Greeks of Germany", s. <https://www.bavariagr.de/elliniko-programma-monaxou-i-teleftaia-ekpompī/>

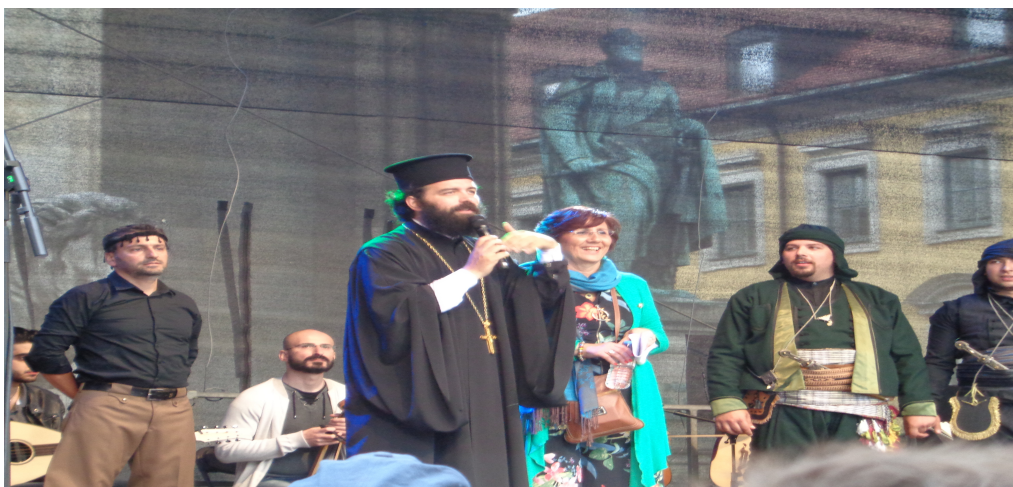
186 ASKI [*ΑΣΚΙ*, *Αρχεία Σύγχρονης Κοινωνικής Ιστορίας*], freely translated as archives of contemporary social history, is a non-profit historical association, which has been very active the last years in documenting, archiving, researching and publishing in issues, with a strong focus on the *Greek Occupation* by the *national socialist* regime (1941-1944), *Greek civil War* (1945-1949), postwar migration, forced migration, exile, political prisoners during

Ebert Stiftung (2018), which can be found on the *YouTube* channel of the *ASKI* archives. Other abstracts are taken from this year's publication of the Greek diaspora magazine *Doryforos*, based in Munich. This was released in January 2021 and was kindly informed by one of my informants during my short-term visits for my fieldwork in Munich.

In this section, I will highlight and focus on what all these introduced informants and key interlocutors in Munich shared with me regarding their involvement with the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí, BR*. Which was their connection to it, embodied experience(s), engagement to this medium which had reached unthinkable attendance and publicity, especially under our examined historical period? Thus, I endorse some indicative abstracts from the interviews I conducted during the first and second phase of my fieldwork in Munich within my description.

Asking *F. Athera*, already from the beginning of our interview, about her memories of this radio program, as well as her involvement, she denotes emphatically that her relation with the show was 'experiential'. She argues :

I grew up with the Greek show, because there wasn't a Greek back then who didn't listen to it. It was the show, tailor-made for the Greeks in Germany, where everyone could contact the program and ask for help on issues that concerned them. And that for us was something pleasant, to have direct contact with the listeners, or through phone calls, letters, they came downstairs and waited for us to finish our show, to talk with us ... and we covered what the Greeks were interested in. In the workplace, in the private sector, anywhere you can imagine. (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).



dictatorship (1967-1974) and related historical themes and periods. In regards to my examined case study, a publication on Greek guest-workers along with an interview of *Giorgos Matzouranis*, associate of *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí*, and major intellectual figure of Greek diaspora in Munich, was published early 2021 and is referenced also in this chapter: *Έλληνες μετανάστες στη Δ. Γερμανία: παρελθόν, μνήμη, ιστορία - Συζητούν: Γιόργος Ματζουράνης - Βαγγέλης Καραμανωλάκης*, Αθήνα, ΑΣΚΙ (2021) 24.

Figure 55 : Photo taken from the event „13th Greek Bavarian Cultural Day/ 13. Griechisch – Bayerischer Kulturtag“, July, 2, 2017, Odeonsplatz , Munich. On the left: Archpriest Malamousis of Munich. On the right F. Athera (see interviews) source: Private fieldwork Archive).

Regarding associates and collaborators of the radio show, she recalls : „We were lucky enough to have partners like Giorgos Matzouranis who played a heroic role, because the letters that we received and sent to Matzouranis were written, you can imagine now, the Greek workers, not even knowing how to write properly, so that people could understand how to get into the spirit, to see exactly what they meant, what was troubling them” (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).

And she goes on arguing “And as I told you, a very close associate of Matzouranis, his wife Ria, who took these things very seriously, and always found a way from the various Greek services to get an answer to help the people who were looking for an answer to their questions. I don't think there was anybody else who played such a great role in that show as Matzouranis“ (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).

The influential presence and contribution of Giannis Matzouranis in the whole case of labour migration, from the historical documentation to his contribution to the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, BR , is also confirmed in this last published volume from the web publication of ASKI archives. Giorgos Matzouranis (1931-2017), both from the witness's point of view and from that of the systematic scholar of the phenomenon, discusses with Vangelis Karamanolakis the multiple connotations of migration experience in West Germany. Giorgos Matzouranis, a researcher, journalist and literary artist, is one of the pioneers of the migration phenomenon in Europe and especially in West Germany. Linking experience to knowledge, he outlined migration experience and return to the birthplace, creating a robust body of primary sources, saving, restoring and publishing through his rich writing work oral testimonies from Greek and Greek immigrants/migrants in West Germany. Extracts from these testimonies also frame this edition, bringing to light unknown, to the general audience, aspects of this social reality of the 1960s and 1970s (ASKI 2021: 5).

Returning back to the interview with F. Athera , when I ask her what does she characteristically remember from the period of the radio show, she recalls: “I listened to the show as a kid. I remember the children's show "Perivoli", the Wednesday show with the song dedications, from the letters from the listeners, you'd think, 'oh...there are people who feel the need to dedicate a song to loved ones, relatives, friends, etc” (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).

Then, in the next extract she highlights the comforting feeling of hearing the mother tongue, Greek language and its relation with sociality in the first years of migration in Germany: “We had the Sabbath sermon by the Metropolitan, just hearing Greek, you felt a rejoicing, as if there is someone who thinks about you, who cares about you. It's not easy to live in a society that is completely German, you hear German all the time, wherever you go, and you only speak Greek with your inner circle” (ibid).

F. Athera continues in her account : “The first shows had a social role, they helped you to learn German, especially Bakoyanvi's shows, through humor they tried to help, to inform about the usefulness of the language and related information” (ibid).

It was touching when listeners sent their letter, they had their response via *Giorgos Matzouranis*, or when we were trying to find some kind of a solution, and we were answering the listeners, {he felt} the emotion of the listeners when they got answers to their questions, somebody was listening to them, taking them seriously. With tears in their eyes they would say 'thank you, and what can I do to repay you'. The most touching thing was when they shut down the program, or during the anniversary shows, usually *Eleni Iliadou* and I would sit down and put the listeners on speakerphone, and they would say various comments to us. When you would hear : “Guys, you are my only company, I can't wait for the time to come, 8:20 PM to hear your voice, you are basically like relatives, like my family!", was something that couldn't leave you indifferent. “It was also for us an experiential relationship with the show, as we experienced it in this huge building. We were also a small group of people who felt like a family [...] There was a bond, a love, a friendship, a self-esteem” (ibid.)

After a while, and as this point in the interview felt totally sentimental, I asked *F. Athera* about the changes in the program. After Bakojannis left , and during which era where the biggest changes in the show before the abrupt end/'shutdown' of the show in November 2002.

A change in the subject matter occurred already since the beginning of the 90's and the entry/inclusion of Greece in the EU, as well as the role of television (Greek-language programmes, satellite). [...]

"The first period was the most important, because the workers had come completely unprepared" and at this point she mentions an anecdote of money scams by supposedly Greek translators, who spoke somewhat better German - basic words - than the others, commonly called "swindlers", and she likens this to a certain extent to the exploitation of young Greeks in Greek restaurants in Germany in the last years of the economic crisis, there were "crookedness" then too.

Regarding the material, left from the radio program, she recalls :

“Of course, and photographs can say more than words. And there's definitely a lot of material, and what impresses me is that even our listeners are there, telling us that if you need anything, we have all the shows recorded, in cassettes! That is, we have a Professor, Gustavus Schmick, a historian from Bremen¹⁸⁷ who learned Greek through the show! There was not , he says, a single day where he would not listen to the show, and he would record the show himself, or make someone record it, then listen to it [...] and tell me when he learned it was going to close, 'I was walking in the woods and I was crying and he was telling us and we were shivering“ (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).

This amazing and unexpected listener loyalty is also highlighted and confirmed both by F. Athera in the interview, and in the following report along with another historical member from the original editorial team of the show, Eleni Torossi :

This close connection between the Greeks and their Greek radio broadcast was also evident in the numerous letters the editors received. Twenty to thirty letters arrived every day. The Bayerischer Rundfunk post office, but also the employees who had to open and answer all these letters, were overwhelmed. Most of the time, the audience praised the program with touching words and called the speakers "brothers abroad". Then they asked for practical advice and answers to their questions: "What if the landlord complains", "how could you get your wife and children to come along", "where could you find Greek schools and teachers", "how can you deal with the factory boss to negotiate "... and many, many more questions. (Torossi/Athera 2014)

In the course of continuing this narration of my encounter with these so called official actors of Memory Politics in Munich, or what I would call the administrators in this *memory Consortium*, regarding the history of Greek labour workers in Munich, my next stop is *Eleni Iliadou*, member of editorial team of *The Greek Program/Elliniki Ekpompí* , *BR*, not to mention the last editor in chief of the radio broadcast (1999-2002) before it was literary shut down in 2002 . She was the third and

187 Prof. Schmick apart from being a renowned historian in German academia, is also relatively known in some circles between Greek communities and networks in Germany due to his significant research, personal commitment to the historical period of the Nazi regime Occupation in Greece by the (1941-1944), as well as his involvement and collaboration in the brilliant documentary *The Balcony* (2017) which pays tribute to the overall destruction, and lynching that took place in the village *Lygiades* in *Epirus*, Greece. See <http://www.tobalkoni.gr/#story>; <https://www.ardaudiothek.de/aktuelle-interviews/christoph-schmink-gustavus-zum-massaker-von-lyngiades/69184036>; <https://www.mfa.gr/germany/de/das-generalkonsulat-in-munchen/news/dokumentarfilm-der-balkon-wehrmachtsverbrechen-in-griechenland.html>.

last director of the Greek Program of the Bavarian Radio (BR) after *Pavlos Bakoyannis* and *Kostas Petrogiannis*, whom she succeeded as director of the program in 2000 until 31 December 2002 when the program ceased broadcasting. Since then she has been a member of the editorial team of the historical program *Notizbuch (Bayern 2)* and is responsible for the weekly program *Interkulturelles Magazin*, BR. Regarding her involvement with the radio program, she accentuates the fact that its history is long neglected and almost unknown, especially among the Greek diaspora population in Germany:

The history of the Greek program is unknown, a few things have been written, some papers, student essays about the Greek and the Italian foreignprogrammes/*Ausländerprogramme*, but it's not much. In Greece, very few people know the history of the Greek program, they know *Deutsche Welle*, which was broadcasting to Greece and did a very good job, but they don't know what work Bakoyannis did. I mean his name is known, but they don't know what he has done, they think that through *Deutsche Welle* he did the comments about Greece. (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview, July 3, 2017)

Additionally, she goes on pointing out that “the history of the program is very special and especially for *Hellenism*, which important connection the listeners had with this program and what work was being done, now of course we are thinking about how to record this history. In general, not all of this history has been recorded, it's all kind of fragmented. And I had the ambition within the framework of this *archive* that we were going to create, that we would document it, but at the pace of the work I do, there was no way it was going to happen” (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview July 3, 2017)

In the next extract, it is important to note E.Iliadou's personal commitment with the history and legacy of this radio program. There she explains how she realized the historical importance, and special 'cargo' of this broadcast, connected with this whole idea and endeavor, approximately 4-5 years ago, of the initiation and implementation of an Oral history project of Greek migration in Munich :

[...] I personally felt obliged to do so, on the one hand because I was the last director of this program, I considered the weight to be great, it was Bakoyannis, it was Kostas Petrogiannis (novel about the death of P. Mpakogiannis) and then it was me. It was

difficult to handle this whole archive, because I entered another position in 2002 - on Bavarian radio [...] I could not manage all this legacy of the program. And then when it was the 50th anniversary of the program and *Anwerbevertrag*, and we all celebrated it here, I began to understand that there is material here that is important for future historians ... I thought I had an obligation, that something I have to do with it. I was the last one to stay here in the office when the program closed [...] I felt it as a burden, as an obligation ... and now that the *Stadtmuseum [München]* is calling me to tell about this story, it's a very Greek piece and it doesn't have exactly ... this story has not been sufficiently told, the importance it had for Greece, in many areas, for the relationships of these children, 1st generation and 2nd, of my own generation with its parents who were all damaged relationships because there were separated parents and children back then, this story has too many levels and I thought I had something to do, and because I could not record all this myself [...] I thought of offering what I know, put it in an archive and whoever wants to find the material in the future and use it. (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview, July 3, 2017)

Furthermore, E.Iliadou in her account highlights the experiential feature in this intimate relation of herself and the radio program: "I grew up with this show, I became a journalist because of this show. Since '72, the whole world listened to "20 and 20", every night a magical relationship, not only for me for everyone. Also, the program played a great role in the dictatorship, in the anti-dictatorial struggle There was no program in the history of German radio that reached these percentages and levels of audience, 80 % in publicity ratings! Huge amount of listeners listened to the show every night. It was unbelievable!" (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview, July 3, 2017).

And she goes on recalling the beginning of the radio show :

That is, when I listen to this signal of the broadcast, this "πέρα στους πέρα κάμπους [traditional folk song, titled : beyond the farmlands], what can I tell you, even now I still get goose bumps [Emphasis!] and it was a very heavy burden that we felt... we put a lot of weight on quality, the political responsibility that we had to inform so many thousands of people, so many people, the political responsibility but also from the journalistic side to do objective, quality information, to do a really professional job with a very great sense of responsibility. (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview, July 3, 2017)

On this notion of responsibility and political integrity that the show under the guidance of

Pavlos Bakoyannis had initiated, and E.Iliadou had to continue after, she notes: “[...] the Greek Program of Munich had great credibility with listeners, greater than the Greek media had. For our listeners the equation was: 'Munich said it, so it's true'. That's how we were always measured as journalists. And with the credibility we had gained, we would continue” (Iliadou 2021: 23 -24).

The Greek Program in terms of audience was the flagship of the foreign language programs. In all measurements it was first in relation to the others. It had already acquired this special position since the time of the dictatorship in Greece and the battle against the Junta of the Colonels. Through the cooperation with the Greek broadcast of *Deutsche Welle*, which could be broadcast in Greece, it also played an important role in informing the Greeks in Greece. Due to the network he had developed at that time, this character was maintained throughout the later period. All this created the special ties that listeners had with the Greek Broadcast in Munich. (Iliadou 2021:24).

As we mentioned in the first chapter, regarding the sociopolitical context of this Greek-speaking radio broadcast, E.Iliadou also highlighted the political contribution of the show during the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece, and how it assisted in connecting the Greeks at home with their fellow migrants in Germany, especially for this on-going democratic struggle. Moreover, she referred to the institutional pressure being put by the Colonels Regime, as well as some proponents of the regime in Germany.

Pressures on the content of the show were put during the junta, the shows were translated into German and then they were checked by committees for any communist comments, there was an accusation by the regime that it was communist, that word was like a "bogyman" at the time. [...] There was also pressure from the Greek embassy, but even in the period of the post-revolution, this program was very closely followed, with reports from Greece, with political analysis, it was a very political program. (E. Iliadou, fieldwork Interview, July 3, 2017)

The great contribution of the program was of course in the anti-dictatorial struggle, and there the great personality of Bakoyannis played a role, the contacts he had, talking directly with the political leaders of the country, and of the developments at that time, with Papandreu, Karamanlis, Simitis.

It was a unique phenomenon compared to the other *Ausländerprogramme*. And the Spanish had a similar struggle against Franco's dictatorship, but they didn't have such a personality with such contacts like Pavlos Bakoyannis. These were historical things, and there was this sense of responsibility left (for the broadcasters). (ibid.)

Furthermore, on the structure of the show, E. Iliadou recalls ;

The structure of the show was mainly news, in the first years it was broadcasts with music from Greece. Christmas productions and reviews, German lessons, news from Greece, but also practical advice on "how to get through life in Germany. One reason why the programs were created, we say now for informing the Greeks in Germany, but the main one was to "take" them away from the propaganda programs of Eastern Europe , the "communist" programs, which had broadcasts in Greek, not to be politically informed from there ¹⁸⁸.

“They also understood that there were people who couldn't cope, they needed information, there were social workers, services, but... and so they created these shows. The letters from listeners, a large part of it was song requests, questions, “a large part of it was telling their pain”, E. Torossi's show with the children's shows and stories, personal problems, mental, family, relationships. These letters are a treasure trove of which only a small part exists”. (ibid.)

“There were days, when there was no other work, when colleagues of the show were opening letters from the listeners, which came by mail, Dina must tell you stories (cf. Ntina Kotta, colleague from BR, see photos, Doryforos 2021, p. 27-29) or when people came down to the pension to bring their letters in person [...] After Kostas Petrogiannis, I took over, 1999 director of the editorial board, er and then 2002 closed the program, which is another separate story”. (ibid.)

In the next section, we are going to read the experience and perspective of one of the most significant female members of the Greek Program, first members of this editorial team, and a key-person, not only to this journalist team, but a significant intellectual, a writer and educators of Greek diaspora in Munich, *Eleni Torossi*. From the very beginning of my fieldwork, E.Iliadou, a close friend of hers had many times incited me to take an interview of Mrs. Torossi during that period, but it was impossible due to health issues of Mrs. Torossi. Nevertheless, I use some of the material by a very recent interview of *Eleni Torossi* to collaborators of the ASKI Archive in the framework of the Greek-German research project “Solidarity and Resistance. The support of the Greek resistance against the military junta by German parties, trade unions and political institutions (1967-1974)“, *ΑΣΚΙ - Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, 2018¹⁸⁹.

Eleni Torossi recounts in parts of this interview, how she came in contact with the Greek

188 Regarding the the greek-speaking radio programm in Hungary, Rumania, USSR, see Kounenaki (1998) ; <https://tvxs.gr/news/ellada/ta-antioxoyntika-radiofonika-programmata-toy-eksoterikoy-stin-eptaetia>; <https://www.agon.gr/istories/4708/sti-voydapesti-toy-dimitri-chatzi/>.

189 Credits of film production: *Xenophontas Vardaros*. Interview: Vangelis Karamanolakis. Interview preparation -editing: Alexandra Alexandropoulou - Angeliki Christodoulou. See Τοπόση, Ε. (2019, Februar 21). ΕΛΕΝΗ ΤΟΠΟΣΗ [Internet/You tube from ASKI Contemporary Social History Archives]. ASKI/ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-61e0A8cqq>. (Last accessed 17 February 2023).

Broadcast of Munich, and the director, Pavlos Bakogiannis, and describes her first impressions: "I saw a man very sharp, very sure of himself, who says to me. Sit down, are you in a party, right or left? I say, no. Be careful, he says to me, here we are, in Bavarian Radio, it plays a very big role. You can't be in a left-wing party. I say, no. I had my head in. He had a very confident and abrupt manner" (ASKI 2019).

Then, she recounts how she entered the Radio Broadcast, as young student and assistant of Pavlos Bakoyiannis: "I went into the radio broadcast around early '69 [...] this program never became known because it was never heard in Greece, although we worked a lot for Deutsche Welle, we, as unknown heroes. One program is the Bavarian Radio, of Pavlos Bakoyannis, as all the Greek workers used to say [...] and the Deutsche Welle program, that was heard in Greece, we didn't hear this program in Germany. The broadcast was at the beginning three quarters, then 40 minutes and then half an hour." (ibid./16:16). Additionally, in the next extract she refers to the structure and thematic of the broadcast:

Every day the program had its subject, on Monday we usually had a press review, on Tuesday we had a program on labour law, which was very important for Greeks in Germany, the new laws, the provisions on family law. On Wednesday we had music and song dedications to the Greeks... Kazantzides was number one at that time, Polly Panou, too. On Thursday we had more sophisticated things, a show about health issues, a show about women that I started, that's where I got into journalism.... on Sunday we had a lot of reviews, productions we brought from Athens. (ASKI 2019)



Figure 56: Three Women, four men from the microphones. Top left as seen from viewer's distance: Pavlos Mpakogiannis (photo: historical photo. (Source: Historical archive of the Bavarian Radio Broadcast, BR/Sessner/ Drei Frauen, vier Männer vor Mikrofonen, historisches Bild von 1965 | Bild: BR/Sessner, <https://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/sendungen/notizbuch/sendung-radio-auslaender-112.html>.)

Regarding the phenomenon with the letters of the listeners, she vividly describes:

Imagine, we used to get 50 letters a day from the workers who were working in Germany, and they had incredible questions, like 'what to do with my wife who is going with a German', very personal questions, but also working questions of course, what to do with my employer, and Pavlos Bakoyiannis was very careful with these letters, that is, we answered them one by one, very thoroughly, which I appreciated very much. Bakoyiannis knew that he was not heard in Greece, nor in all of Germany, and so he answered them very much. He also wrote his commentary, which I sent everywhere (to more familiar people/guests) (ASKI 2019).

Later on, E. Torossi depicts Pavlos Bakoyiannis' contribution and political statement regarding his anti-dictatorial struggle, and how he transformed this show to anti-dictatorial forum that had a major impact, both on Greek migrants in Germany, and on involved actors in Greece: “ [...] we always had interviews with people who came from Greece, e.g. the brother of Alekos Panagoulis, but also his mother who wrote to us regularly, appealing to Bakoyannis to help her son to be released, along with Alexandros G. Magkakis¹⁹⁰. From the very beginning there was a clear anti-dictatorial attitude, Bakoyiannis' comments were strongly against the junta” (ibid.).

In regards to the response and the political reactions of the Greek broadcast of the Bavarian Radio E. Torossi recounts: “It created a reaction in the leadership of the radio station, because they said, "What do you want this communist for? [...] The leadership of Bavarian radio at that time was in a difficult position, because there were two programmes/editions that were considered dangerous, the Spanish one, whose editorial staff was against the Franco regime, and the Greek one, so it was a

¹⁹⁰ Alexandros Panagoulis or Alekos Panagoulis (Greek= Αλέξανδρος Παναγούλης, 2 July 1939 – 1 May 1976) was a Greek politician and poet. He took an active role in the fight against the Regime of the Colonels (1967–1974) in Greece. He became famous for his attempt to assassinate dictator Giorgios Papadopoulos on 13 August 1968, but also for the torture that he was subjected to during his detention. After the restoration of democracy he was elected to the Greek parliament as a member of the Center Union (E. K.), cf.

<http://www.hellenicaworld.com/Greece/Person/en/AlexandrosPanagoulis.html>. Regarding Giorgios Alexandros Magkakis (Greek= Γεώργιος Αλέξανδρος Μαγκάκης), also a prominent figure in the anti-dictatorial struggle in Greece, Greek intellectual political prisoner, who migrated in Germany and was connected with the Greek Community in Heidelberg. See Moudopoulos (2020), pp. 38-44, also <https://theartofcrime.gr/old/oldartofcrime/old.theartofcrime.gr/index9638.html?pgtp=1&aid=1321010540>; https://www.efsyn.gr/themata/peridiabainontas/181849_thelei-aretin-kai-tolmin.

bit [emphasis added!], we're talking about Strauss` Bavaria, and the Christian Socialists (CSU) who were very reactionary”. (ibid.)

Nearly at the end of this interview, when E. Torossi synthesizes the contribution and impact of this radio broadcast, she characteristically recalls the immense gratitude, warmth and all this positive response, she and the broadcast collaborators had experienced, especially during the first years of the show. In her narrative account, she becomes sentimental: “The immigrants loved Bakoyannis, like crazy, I mean I remember, we used to go out, 8.15 at night to 21.00, and outside the radio station there was always a group of Greeks - when I recount it, I'm always moved... because *these people were kissing our hands and congratulating us, it was very touching!*” (ibid.)

Last but not least for this section, I deem important to cite some extracts from the interview of *Asimakis Chatzinikolaou*, in the same tribute article of *Doryforos (2021: 13-16)*, which I have already referenced. *A. Chatzinikolaou* was one of the first members of the editorial team, responsible for the 'sport broadcast', long-time friend of Pavlos Bakoyannis, and as mentioned, in the early 1960s, he also worked as an interpreter, one of the first persons greeting and receiving Guest-workers arriving in the central station of Munich, as well as giving instructions in their mother language over a loudspeaker, so that they could reach the factories in Munich and other German cities. Asimakis Chatzinikolaou recalls : “The programme was initially launched as a pilot until it was established on a daily basis. I was hired at the time as a newscaster on the pilot programme [...] The response among Greeks was more than impressive. The programme became known within a short period of time. Everyone made sure to buy transistors to get daily news from home. It was a different time then, you see... The broadcast had an advisory character regarding the daily problems in their new life. The aim was to help them adjust better to the new country. In particular, it tried to give answers to the hot issues of residence, work and their general living conditions“ (Tatsis 2021: 13). Then, he continues:

Such a positive atmosphere had been created in the Bavarian Radio for the writing of the program that it would be difficult to describe it today. It is indicative that we were called "unsere Griechen" [our own Greeks!] He, Pavlos Bakoyiannis with his personality and his hard work had created a program that was democratic, independent, impartial and faithful to the basic rules of freedom of the press. The decade 1964 - 1974 with Pavlos - but also later for those of us who worked on the program - was a very essential part of our lives. My colleagues and I - who grew up in the program - learned a great deal, had experiences that are still with us today. It was a lifetime experience for

all of us. The role of the show during the dictatorship is well known and I hope it will be the same for the younger generations. (ibid.: 14).

Furthermore, in this interview, Asimakis Chatzinikolaou indicates the huge response and impact this show had on labor-workers, as well as reflects on its unique and unprecedented journalistic value:

“Different times then. Back then we had a monopoly on news, we were the only source of information for our fellow listeners. I would describe the time of the broadcast as "holy" for most people!!! As many friends describe to us even today, the whole family would gather around the small radio and listen to the program in detail and in complete silence! Many even recorded the daily broadcasts. Mainly to listen to the news and sports again. Even in the factories, those who worked in shifts had obtained small transistors listening to the broadcast during working hours” (ibid.: 14). “Also, in addition to phone calls, the show received a significant number of letters every day. As a result, one of the contributors was assigned to be in charge of the post office to handle the mail. We even gave him the nickname 'Postminister’” (ibid.: 15).

All in all, in the following extract, A.Chatzinikolaou summarizes the contribution of this radio program, its historical role and legacy for future generations:

Today the show belongs to history. The oldest among us and the children of the then immigrants who were born and raised in Germany certainly have their own memories of a life that was different then than it is today. I think the Greek broadcast had a huge contribution and is a beautiful memory because it was an important part of their lives. For us, apart from the professional career, it was a life experience because we grew up with it, we bonded with the show. The memories and events have marked our lives, even though it has been 19 long years since then. We lived a lot, too much. This history will not be forgotten, no matter how many years pass. Neither for us, nor for the listeners of that broadcast "for the Greeks in the Federal Republic of Germany. (ibid.: 16)

6.4.3. *Voices from the Archive II: Letters of the audience/listeners (labor workers) of the Elliniki Ekpompí/Die Griechische Sendung (BR, 1964 – 1974)*

In this chapter, I proceed with the presentation, tentative documentation and analysis of the letters of the viewers of the Greek radio Broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí (BR)*. I have categorized the content of these letters, based on seven overarching thematic categories, where I employed an initial open coding analysis of the material, based on *Grounded Theory* methods (Crotty 1998; Glaser/Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006) treating this data as a set of testimonies, narrative account/word of the guest-workers themselves in this type of letter-writing, which is solely addressed to the editorial team of the aforementioned radio broadcast, by *BR*. I contend that this overload of the letters that I found at the *HA, BR* is considered to be a rich, significant and indicative sociological and ethnographic signifier for the lives of the workers of this period, which has been unfortunately not properly thematized, and its interpretation can reveal various dimensions of those workers' social worlds.

As Borges & Cancian argue (2016: 281) “Following a century of scholarly attention, the migrant letter, whether written by family members, lovers, friends, or others, is a document that continues to attract the attention of scholars and general readers“. Over time, the study of migrant letters has developed in multiple directions and has acquired methodologies ranging from the publication of complete collections and excerpts to the close analytical and computational readings of letters and their authors examined through the lens of gender, identity, family, and emotions.

Regardless of the methodology, the history of migrant letters remains tied to the history of the family (cf. Ibid. Borges & Cancian 2016: 281). With migration occupying a central role in the twenty-first century and digital communication technologies morphing our world as we once knew it, the practice of letter-writing and the letters themselves have become fragments of the past.

Yet, some initial questions that might help us also in deciphering and decoding this vast “bottom-up“ archive of experience(s), meaning the letters of the viewers of the radio broadcast *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí (BR)*, regarding at least the period, roughly from 1964 to 1979, which I have found in the *HA, BR*, a rather institutional-official archive of this enterprise, are the following : “What exactly is it about this form of writing that perplexes, fascinates, and continues to elude us? Is it nostalgia thrusting us to a distant, yet desired past? Is it the consequence of the letter’s eclipse resulting from the prevalence of digital communication technologies? Or is it about the centrality of family, mobility, and communication, then and now, in the face of change and continuity“? (Borges & Cancian 2016: 281-282).

Furthermore, a crucial question in terms of the representativeness of those letters, raised once more by the same researchers: ‘Can migrant letters speak for themselves?’ asks to what extent the presentation of a letter collection provides a reading into the experiences of migrants and their significant others? (Borges & Cancian 2016: 284). In which degree are these material artefacts carriers of sociocultural beliefs, diasporic identities and and what type of memory work is produced here?

Among this multitude of the viewers' letters of this legendary radio show, mostly guest-workers, especially during the first period of the show (1964-1974), which I found during my ethnographic/archival research at the premises of the Bavarian Rundfunk (BR), some of the basic topics include :

1) The radio show *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí (BR)* itself, especially the first period until the end of the Anwerbeabkommen, (BR, 1964 – 1974) appears to function as an informative medium, actually the most important journalist valid and reliable source of information regarding news from “home“/Greece with detailed and valid reports. Later, its multiple role in the anti-dictatorial struggle was was proved to be pivotal.

It also broadcast news 2) regarding important matters for guest-workers, such as labour rights & conditions, practical advice for the life in Germany, issues of social and health insurance, pension, so many letters had either general or more focused questions on this trivial issues. As a result, the radio show acted as a social counseling center, reminiscent of the work of similar institutions, like the Griechisches Haus (and relevant social centers, funded by the Evangelical Church) so many questions in the letters were addressed in a personal tone regarding social security issues, health, education, civic rights. welfare, pension, as well as repatriation issues. Especially in the second phase, of the so called return/migration, around 1973-1974, of our case study, many Greeks were desperately asking to be clearly informed about those economic and insurance matters -many even asking about their car insurances – while complaining about their status of ignorance, and not being directly informed by Greek Institutional actors, in regards to their safe and orderly transition back to “homeland”. Economic concerns discussed in these letters included the use of migrants’ remittances, details of domestic economics and market prices for essential goods, management of family property, and the hardships of relatives who stayed behind. Money matters were often discussed from the point of view of emotions, using language of affect and emphasizing family ties and expectations. The discussion on migrant letters examined from the viewpoint of socioeconomic conditions brings to light the shifting importance that economic matters occupied in transnational family relations and their letters. Perhaps unsurprisingly,

economic matters appeared more frequently in letters whose authors exhibited greater economic need (Borges & Cancian 2016: 286)

3) Several letters narrate stories or incidents of labour exploitation and labour conditions. Many of those bear a rather denouncing and complaining tone, while others just report such incidents or share anecdotes.

What is important to connote is that the radio broadcast also functioned as an 4) entertainment forum and a communication platform through which hundreds of poems, as well as photos, songs, graphic sketches, caricatures, were included in the letters, constructing a forum of artistic expression and experimentation of the workers/listeners of the show. Many of the letters I found, roughly eighty per cent of those, bear a resemblance to their structure. That is, opening up with warm regards, appraisal and congratulations to the radio show. Expressing their gratitude to the contributors of the radio broadcast, either directly to Pavlos Bakoyiannis, or to other hosts, and then, very often, sharing their poems, with the request to the moderator to read this poem out loud in the live show. Most of the Letters address to the speaker(s) with a very personal and affective tone. Furthermore, the majority of the letters read as a place to share their problems : nostalgia, mental pain due to migration, homesickness, but it also functions as a topos in a symbolical , as well as material level, where one can view various social, psychological and educational dimensions. Many letters reflect pure, simple statements of the popular psyche.

5) Gender issues, domestic violence among the couples of the guest-workers, as well stereotypical views against women, reflection of gender roles, traditional- patriarchic notions, as well as family issues. In an extensive letter we will analyze, among gender aspects we are confronted with the so called “disease of Guest-workers, that is gambling. (cf. Crossing Munich 2009: 22)

Moreover, 6) one can read various aspects of marginalization, liminality, many social and educational issues can be detected, such as: social exclusion, analphabeticism, social, cultural background, notions of family traditions and ethics, national and regional identity, λαϊκότητα /layperson and popular/folk sentiment, and class. processes of memory work and identity-making, while we should not forget that the show functioned also as an "integration course" for all labor workers, who did not have the time or the opportunity to go through language courses.

Additionally, letters functioned as a 7) political forum: political comments against the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), many poems written by labor workers/listeners, with anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist, antifascist messages, against NATO influenced by the anti-American, anti-imperialist movement of the period, very common to voters of the Greek communist

party/KKE).

All in all, we can argue that this overload of the letters that I found at the HA of BR is considered to be a rich, important and indicative sociological and ethnographic signifier for the lives of the workers of this period, which has been unfortunately not properly thematized. Even in anniversary tributes, as of lately (Doryforos 2021) of the show, the reference to the letters and the agency, affects of the viewers is mostly neglected, or under-thematized, and the indisputable character and contribution of its producers is mostly highlighted. In the following section, according to the aforementioned thematic categories, I introduce and analyze indicative examples of those letters. I deem essential to begin with some letter from category 3, in accordance with our tentative typology, that is labour conditions and labour exploitation for guest-workers at the time, as it is a prominent topic which recurs with upgrades in various narratives by informants, but it has been fully addressed in the films we have analyzed, in chapters 3 and 5.

3) Several letters narrate stories or incidents of labour exploitation and labour conditions, labour rights:

In the letter No 90, [Artifacts 264-265, No of photo in Personal Archive, 4813 – 4814, Psyloudis Konstantinos, Greek labour worker, Oelde, NRW , n.d, Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR], we deal with a letter from a Greek immigrant describing problems with his employer: he has been in Germany since February 12, 1970, he worked in the same concern for 7 years, when he had a heart attack. He complains that after his compulsory leave, the company does not re-employ him and he reports the state of working conditions. He refers also to a rejected pension application, and turns to the radio show with a personal tone, asking “what should I do?“ At the end, he apologizes for spelling mistakes and his illiteracy. On a verbal-linguistic sense, it is striking that he uses many idioms with German words, especially when he refers to bureaucracy services, and health care system. In his letter , we read the following extract:

I was paid by the *Krankenkassa* [=Krankenkasse]health insurance. Now it's 2 months that I go and ask for a job and he sent me, I went through a control to see what state I am in, I passed by a doctor, in the Gesundheitsamt, the doctor finds me not fit for work but I had made my papers for my pension and I was rejected. [...] I think my letter would be tedious because I am illiterate and I will bore you. Thank you. (P.K, n.d, *Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR*)¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ I decide to put the acronyms of names and surnames of the people mentioned, as most of the letters are addressed fully with names, address of city or region, some of them with date. Here, i.e the name is *Ψυλλούδης Κωνσταντίνος*, transliterated as *Psyloudis Konstantinos*, so I use *P.K.* Translation of all Greek-speaking passages is

In another letter, No 39, Giorgos Karamitros, Greek labour worker, Schwertlingen, October 15, 1975, Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR] between remarks and comments on the show, there is a comment on labour and collective redundancies. Besides, there is an urgent request for folk songs and in regards to illiteracy of guest-workers, this is another letter where the writer comment on his spelling mistakes, and apologizes for his illiterate educational level :

many are the problems that concern the Greek patriots here, and after much effort and struggle, one of the many can find a solution - you are aware, I think, especially on the issue of collective redundancies. For those of us who live them every day, they have become a nightmare over the years, and now the nightmare of dismissal has been introduced - the agony has begun to wilt again, as it used to be for the workers, every Friday we wait for the announcement of our dismissal [...] As for the spelling, I'm a beginner, only in the third grade. (G.K., 1975)

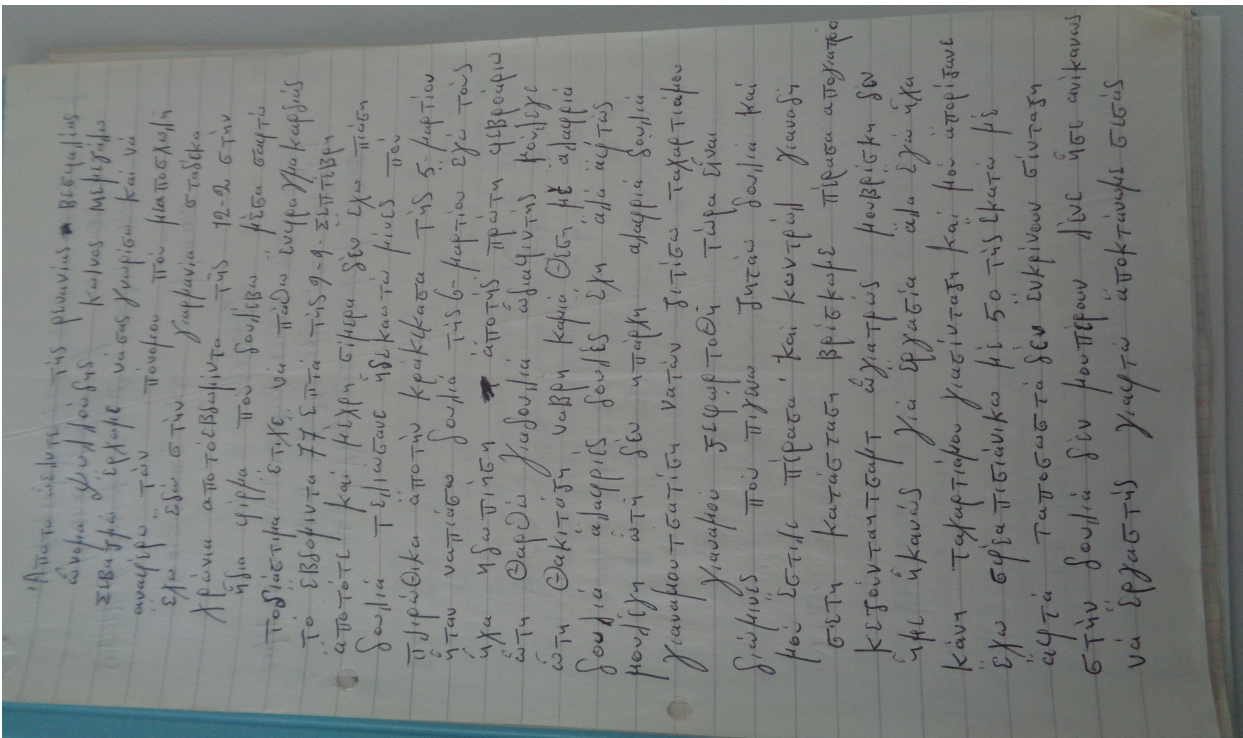


Figure 57 : Letter No 90 (Artifacts 264-265, No of photo in Personal Archive, 4813 – 4814, Psyloudis Konstantinos, Greek labour worker, Oelde, NRW , n.d, source :Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR).

Last but not least, in letter No 60, *Chatziioannis Dimitrios*, Greek labour worker from

mine. For clarity reasons, I will refer to each letter with their number, name and date if its given. All of them are listed in the *Historisches Archiv of Bayreschisches Rundfunk*.

Wolfenbüttel, we deal with two main themes: a) narration of an anecdote from work, connected with labour exploitation with employer in factory. Then, the frequent problem of all guest workers with German language. Reference to financial deception, either bankers approaching them for deposits, or salesmen with 'pots and pans' in order to save money and send remittances back home.. Furthermore, a reference to the education/schooling problem of immigrant children, is being made.¹⁹²

b) In the second part of the letter, the viewer engages in a short story about a migrant couple, where the husband dies, the wife retires, returns to Greece and neglects the memory of the husband. Here, we read stereotypical views on women, gender roles, traditional- patriarchic notions and stereotypes against women. Some of these matters we will extensively mention in thematic category 5 (gender roles in labour workers' families). Here, in the own words of the labour worker: “ I have a complaint and a pain in my heart, my children always speak German to me, I feel like packing up and leaving here, but I'll find it hard to go anywhere else. We're crying here in the foreign land in the end we'll lose our treacherous children” (C.D, n.d).

4) Correspondence with the radio Broadcast functioned as an *entertainment forum, forum of artistic expression for the workers & listeners of the show*. It also operated as a forum for communication, as a form of psychotherapy session, filled with numerous poems, requests for songs and other wishes. One can realize that the *Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompí (BR)* was as a welcoming experimental laboratory for many artists of the time (cf. Papanastasiou 2020: 32), as for the very listeners of the show, who engaged extensively in writing poems, painting or sketching, and generally used this letter correspondence to the show as a forum for artistic expression.

Many of the letters I found, roughly eighty per cent of those, bear a resemblance to their structure. That is, opening up with warm regards and congratulations to the radio show. Expressing their gratitude to the contributors of the radio broadcast, either directly to Pavlos Bakoyiannis, or to other hosts, and then, very often, sharing their poems, with the request to the moderator to read this poem out loud in the live show. Most of the letters address to the speaker(s) with a very personal and affective tone. Furthermore, this correspondence evolved into a 'shelter', a place to share their complaints, problems, as well as emotions of nostalgia, mental pain due to migration [*the notion of Xenitia*] and they read as pure, simple, statements of popular sentiment. In this instance, we have to argue that “questions of representativeness have also been raised in the field of migrant letters. (Borges & Cancian 2016: 283). Expanding the types of repositories and voices represented by letters is one way to strive for as large and diverse a population as possible. This is particularly

¹⁹² We observed and analyzed extensively these issues , especially in the first film of the trilogy of director L. Xanthopoulos *Griechische gemeinde Heidelberg (1976)*. Regarding labour exploitation cases and extensive analysis of shocking cases and accidents, see Matzouranis (1973), pp. 72-88.

important for letters from the barely literate, semi-literate, or even illiterate (who wrote with other people's assistance), which constituted the majority of migrants during the period of mass transoceanic migrations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (cf. *ibid.*). In what follows, we will browse four indicative examples:

Letter 9, (male labour worker, anonymous, Düsseldorf, March 13, 1975, H.A, BR)

Themes of this letter include: congratulations to the show, that it feels like a close friend, a 'warm' company abroad, and of course a source of entertainment, he also asks to recite his own poem. In this poem some of the motives we read are : national identity issues, and references to historical facts such as: the „national liberation of 1821, ancient Greece (motifs with ancient Greece, mythology, *Sparta, Leonidas and epic battles*), reference to “lost brothers” from Cyprus, and figures of black-dressed widows, whipping for their children. We can reflect here that this poem, as many other we detected, depict some classical references, either based on knowledge/education background on Ancient Greece, as well as some motives from Greek „demotic/folk“ tradition and poetry. An indicative verse of this poem reads as follows : „Make the mothers rejoice, the widows breathe, make the black orphans laugh again, give the old people a remedy to forget the pain. And all together with one heart, with one soul and mouth, let us set up a dance on the bloody ground and sing sweet songs of the Twenty-One, songs written with tears and blood!“. (n.n, 1975) Then, another part of this letter, addressed with a personal tone: “Your show is the best entertainment for us foreigners here and believe me this is neither a lie nor an exaggeration, all Greeks are eagerly waiting to listen to you, to enjoy, and to party with you!“ (*ibid.*).

In the next samples of letters that follow, I find it more useful to cite parts of those poems, as aforementioned, this group of letter bears a resemblance to structure and topics, such as: appraisal and admiration, congratulations to the show, bitterness of migration, the psychosomatic pain of homesickness, nostalgia, dream of returning to Greece, grief, poverty, misery, references to family, friends, lyrical elements and patterns in poems from Greek „demotic/folk“ music and poetry, romanticism, *and equation of* homeland with maternal figures, women in black, curse on foreignness, and the equation of foreignness with evil, the notion of *Xenitia*, as a social, mental and body suffering (cf. Papailias 2005; Seremetakis 1995), the standard request of all poems to be read in the show, instances of illiteracy (as in the majority of the letters), personal and emotional tone.

Letter 14 (Zoi Lemonaki, Lüdenscheid). A poem with the title “The Song of the Greek expatriate”:

How I would like those who have not known, who have not lived abroad, to know how

much value a few words of comfort have to a stranger" [...] "In some country they tell me I will find happiness and its name is 'Great Germany'. It's nice there, life won't be like this, go there if you want to find joy and riches. They told me to go quickly and get your money, no matter what, you'll fill your pockets. There the people rejoice, revel, rejoice, celebrate, poverty and misery are unknown There you'll find everything you need, there are [Deutsche] marks, you'll find them easy to get, you'll have plenty in the band. [...] I was waiting in the station for the train to come, looking at my wife crying and telling me: don't leave us, my husband, take us with you, if you don't feel sorry for me, feel sorry for your children [...] they took me to the factory, they showed me my work, every time I came in. My heart was trembling. My head was buzzing from the machines, Mummy, if only I could see you for a few moments! Like a slave I worked hard from morning till night and wherever I was I felt the darkness. [...] ...] curse you, foreignness/[Xenitia], you have wounded my heart, my house is desolate, what are my children doing. Why, my sweet mammy, why shouldn't I weep as you told me 'my child come back'." [...] damn foreignness, I say. I'm leaving, goodbye, don't expect me to come back to you. I'll throw a stone behind me, never to return, and the papers I made for you, I'll tear them all up. [...] So let those who do not know not think that those who live in foreign lands are celebrating there. They are eaten up by bitterness and sorrow, they live with a hope that the time will come for them to come home. I'm coming home, my brothers and sisters, my beloved children, I've been hurt by separation, I've come to hate foreign things. In Germany, my mother, I can do nothing else, in the place where I was born I want to die there. (Z.L, n.d).

The following letters can be grouped together ; Letter 44, *anonymous*, Herter, 09.04.1975, Dedication of a poem, entitled „τραγούδια της ξενιτιάς/songs of foreignness“; Letter 45, Papavasos Christos ; Letter 46, Michael Kalaintzidis Heilbronn, 1.6.1975, Dedication of the poem “The watch“ : Part of the poem reminds us a reference from the opening scene of the film *Greek Community of Heidelberg (Xanthopoulos 1976)*, where a loud clockwork buzzes inside an *Arbeiterheim* and wakes up the worker, who gets off from bed and puts his slippers. Again, in this poem, feelings of distress, pain of foreignness, longing, nostalgia, and the aspect illiteracy is highlighted.

Letter 69, C.D, Wolfenbüttel, 12.4.1981, Letter 70, G.K Lippstadt, 3.2.1982; Letter 49, Anonymous, 08.10.1974, dedication of a poem titled „suffering, storm, starry night“. One extract from this poem

reads describes the experience of migration as an epic :”And when *he* grew up and his breasts became hairy, *he* took the fate that they say in fairy tales and took root in the *foreign land*, here in these parts, *without his mother's kiss*, without joy and without a mate” (anonymous, 1974).

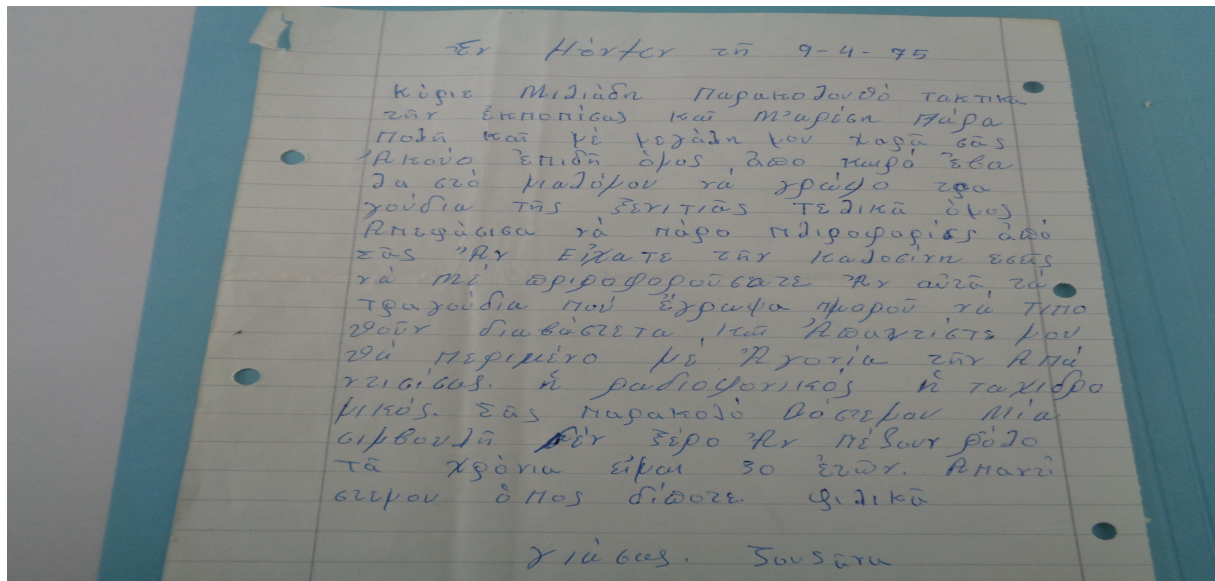


Figure 58 : Letter 44 (artifacts 156 - 163, No of photo in Personal Archive 4688 – 4695, anonymous, Herter, 09.04.1975, Source : Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR). Dedication of a poem, entitled “songs of Xenitia/foreignness“.

Finally, regarding this “family“ of letters with aforementioned common grounds and characteristics, Letter 73, [Charalampos Papadopoulos, Siegburg, 30 .3.1979] another poem, titled “Oh Xenitia, Oh foreign land!”, requested to be recited in the live broadcast, we read a short abstract :

Oh foreign land I met you, I embraced you, I saw you, you have long been my temporary home, I have longed for you since I was young, to avoid poverty, I came to you, foreign land, to rest a little [...] my wish is foreign land, I tell you to remember all the good things you have given me, MAY YOU BE CURSED! (C.P, 1979).

Letter, 3, Stavros Stavrianidis „Kunstarbeiter“, Heinsberg, born in Brühl, 1939, labor worker since 1964.

This letter comprises of the actual written body of the letter, a poem, as well as some sketches, and photos. In the photos below one can see two pictures: one, taken from a newspaper with the title *Das Stadtfest Gemälde*, and a description of an art painting that belongs to Stavros Stavrianidis, as he was self-referenced as an artist in the card-postal of the letter. This took place at the *Heinsberger Stadtfest*, and upon the same picture, in the next photo/artifact, we observe an artistic collage with the title notice on the photo: “50 years birthday, and 25 years labour worker in Germany, Bruhl, 1989“ .

What is more interesting in this letter is the next set of pictures is actually a collage of hand-made sketches in black-white color, where we can actually witness a visualization of Stavrianidis' biography. An art collage of photos and sketches depicting his whole life as a worker in Germany, with some characteristic stations : family photos, personal moments, with friends, his military service, family photo on the *Acropolis*, with a quote: “My 50 years of homeland”, a photo with a German politician, entitled „the political Reter and me”, a photo from the German Occupation, photo from a stock factory with other friends/labour workers, in a nutsehll, a biographical photo-collage album. Somewhere in between those short pictures, we read the citation: „that's about how my life has been so far, from childhood with the Germans, and today with the Germans” (Stavrianidis 1989/ H. A, BR).





Figures 59, 60 : Letter No3 (*Artifacts 1-5*, No of photo in Personal Archive, 4528 – 4540, Stavros Stavriandis „Kunstarbeiter“, Heinsberg, born in Brühl, 1939, labor worker since 1964. Source : Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR).

In this instance, it is appropriate to mention that we deal with images that depict events that were part of collective or institutional pasts. “These might be photos of work, schools, or other institutional experiences, or images depicting events that occurred earlier in the lifetimes of the subjects. These images may connect an individual to experiences or eras even if the images do not reflect the research subject’s actual lives. At the other extreme of our continuum photographs portray the intimate dimensions of the social – family or other intimate social group, or one’s own body” (Harper 2002: 13). All things considered, the letters proceed, once more, with warm congratulations to the radio broadcast, as well as a poem, reflecting notions of Homeland, nostalgia, Greekness, the people left behind in rural Greece. Some of those motives we saw them earlier, but as it was mentioned, more than half of the letters have this structure and content, especially with writing poems.

In conclusion, recent works (Cancian, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Errington, 2008; Gerber, 2006) have contributed to underscoring the importance of emotions, affect, and intimacy in migrant correspondence (Borges & Cancian 2016: 284). David Gerber's article uses letter-writing to identify the process of 'immigrant self-making'; in particular, the uses of migrants' memory of their past lives and the relationships they left behind as they built new lives in the places of settlement (Borges & Cancian 2016: 285). Migrants' use of nostalgia in migrant letters as a strategy of personal adaptation that bridged the former selves and new selves in-the-making, as a 'mechanism of reconciliation' with their new lives. Musing about their previous lives could act as a 'bridge' or a 'barrier.' Hence, nostalgia could operate as a means to facilitate change or, in less successful or functional cases, it could lead to brooding sentiments of inadequacy (ibid.)

5) *Gender issues, domestic violence among the couples of the guest-workers, incident of gambling*

The most indicative and characteristic letter in this category, we decided to focus on, was written by an unknown female labour worker, dated in November, 19, 1974¹⁹³. In this extended letter, unknown female workers mention their husbands' troubling habit of gambling. In this letter of protest by all these labour migrant women, the following problems are voiced: (their) husbands playing "cards" and gambling, issues of gender roles, family, traditions, silencing, anonymity, as they appeal to the station for a solution to their problem.

193 Attached here is the German-speaking translation of part of the Letter, as we can read it in *Torossi/Atheras (2014)* short online article for the *Notizbuch, BR*, "Brüder in der Fremde". Parts of the authentic letter are attached to the photo on our text:

„Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, mit dem Mut der Entrüstung gewappnet nehmen wir das seelenlose Papier in die Hände und öffnen die verletzten Herzen der Frauen - wenn nicht aller, dann doch der meisten. Seit Jahren quälen wir unsere Seelen, suchen nach einer Lösung. Leider sind unsere Bemühungen umsonst. Uns beschäftigt ein ziemlich großes Problem ... Natürlich ist es nicht für alle so groß, aber wie wir weiter oben erwähnten, für viele von uns. Wie wir alle wissen, sind wir in die Fremde gegangen, weil uns die trostlose Armut dazu gezwungen hat. Wir leben alle hier schon seit vielen Jahren, diese Jahre sind schwer zu ertragen. Unsere Entbehrungen sind zu viele. Einige sind von ihren Kindern, von ihren Familien und von ihren geliebten Personen getrennt. Und all dies um ein Stück Brot zu verdienen. Dies ist jedoch nicht genug, meine Lieben. Lassen Sie uns auf das Hauptthema zurückkehren, das uns seit Jahren quält. Das männliche Geschlecht hat sich so sehr zum Schlechteren gewandelt. Sie spielen zu viel Karten, zu viel Glücksspiele. Vielleicht finden Sie das Thema und unser Schreiben eigenartig, aber wir bitten Sie, wir finden nirgendwo anders eine Lösung. Deswegen wenden wir uns an den Radiosender. Möglich, dass wir nichts Gutes dabei tun, aber ... Der Brief soll vorgelesen werden, oder Sie sollen ihn in ihren Sendungen kommentieren, oder Ratschläge erteilen. Wir bitten Sie, denn das Thema ist sehr ernst“. (unknown, November 19, 1974, HA Archiv, BR; cf. Atheras/Torossi 2014)

Dear colleagues, armed with the courage of indignation, we take the soulless paper in our hands and open the wounded hearts of women - if not all, then most. For years we have been torturing our souls, looking for a solution. Unfortunately, our efforts are in vain. We are occupied by a rather big problem... Of course, it is not so big for all of us, but as we mentioned above, for many of us. As we all know, we went to foreign countries because bleak poverty forced us to do so. We have all lived here for many years, these years are hard to bear. Our deprivations are too many. Some are separated from their children, from their families and from their loved ones. And all this to earn a piece of bread. However, this is not enough, dear ones. Let us return to the main issue that has plagued us for years. The male gender has changed so much for the worse. They play too many cards, too much gambling. You may find the topic and our writing peculiar, but we beg you, we can't find a solution anywhere else. That is why we turn to the radio station. It is possible that we do not do any good, but ... The letter should be read aloud, or you should comment on it in your broadcasts, or give advice. We ask you, because the subject is very serious. (Unknown, November 19, 1974, *HA Archiv, BR*; cf. Atheras/Torossi 2014).

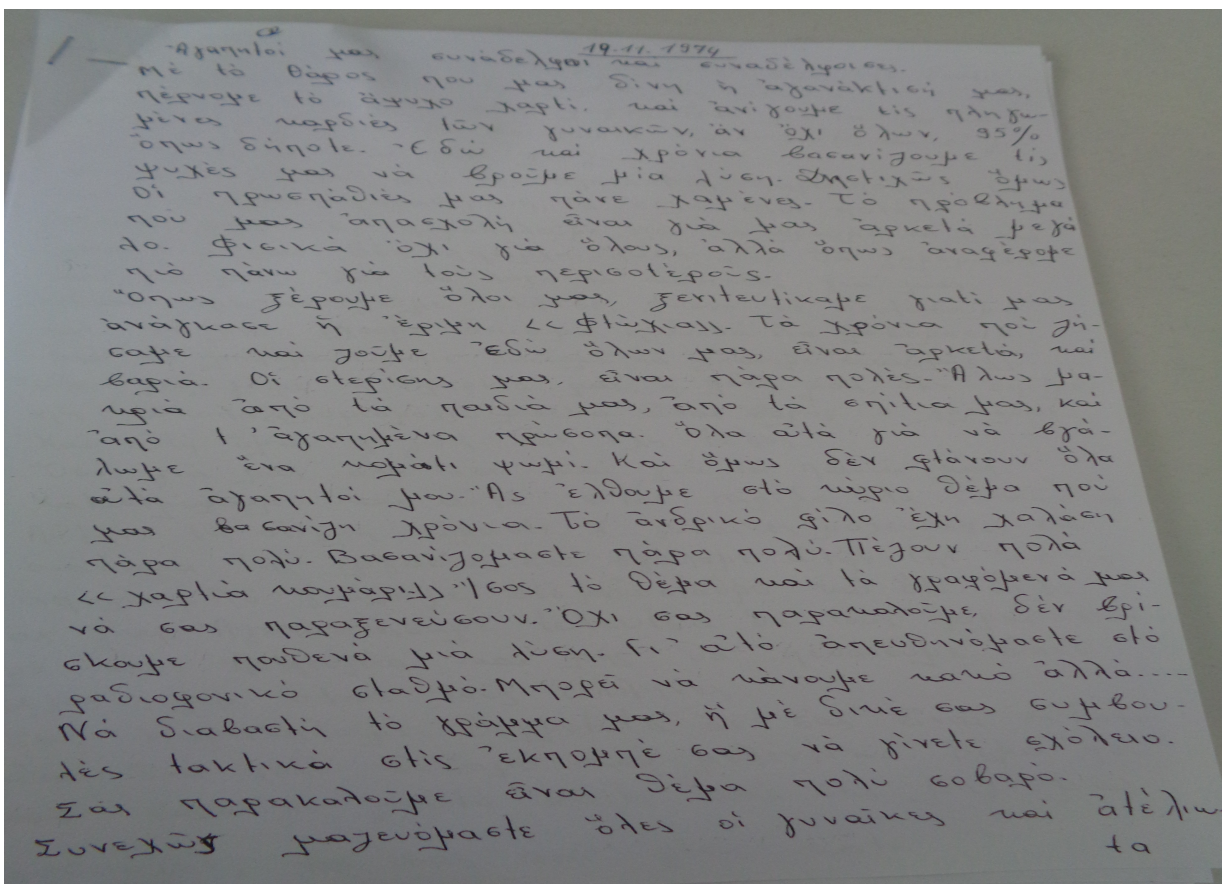


Figure 61 : Letter 62, (Artifacts 204 -210 , No of photo in Personal Archive, 4737 – 4743, anonymous, female workers, November 19, 1974, source : Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57,BR).

And after a couple lines , further, she continues :

Please tell us where to find our right? For us there is no solution? Will there not be a dawn for us too? Will the status quo not change for us? Enough of living as slaves! Enough of working and having no rights anywhere. To be afraid and to talk. We have the right to live and we have the right... We all know our religion, our race, does not allow easy "separations". Of course it is a heavy separation. But this life has no end.
(ibid.)

This letter and its featured testimonies suggest a raw, archetypal artifact, where one can detect gender issues, domestic violence among the couples of the guest-workers, socio-economic as well as class related issues. We are witnessing a missing, raw, authentic voice, marginalized voice from a woman, who decides to speak form all involved female labor workers and their problem, insisting on her anonymity. Here, it is important to note that this letter has been referenced twice, in its visibility and content in the recent literature review, especially on visual and material representations of migration in museums and exhibitions in Germany. The first reference is to be found on the groundbreaking book/exhibition catalog, *Crossing Munich (2009) Beiträge zur Migration aus Kunst, Wissenschaft und Aktivismus.*, where there is a huge visualization of the letter (p.22-23), but not any thorough analysis of its content.

Its second reference is to be found on an online article, released in the digital platform of the BR, written by *Fanni Atheras*, and *Eleni Torossi (2014)*, prominent actors and contributors of the show, and of the Greek migration community in Munich, entitled “Brüder in der Fremde”. There, those two prominent figures via a historical chronicle account of the radio program *Die Griechische Sendung/Elliniki Ekpompi*, BR endorse a short mention to the letters of the viewers of the show, and a segment of our examined letter.

Shifting our attention the notion of gender issues that appear in this letter's testimony, we should also indicate that this is a widely misrepresented and under-thematized topic in this tradition of Migration history, either in museums/exhibitions or public history sites, of course with bright exceptions (as the exhibition *Crossing Munich (10.7.-15.9.2009, Rathausgalerie München)*). Specifically, though, on the part of Greek labor migration, definitely major gaps are to be detected.

We can argue here, that this woman's raw testimony reminds us also the only women's voice which is to be heard in the film *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg* (1976) by *Lefteris Xanthopoulos*. Although the gender issue is not explicitly articulated as such in the film, still, there are many instances where the problematic situation of women is underscored.¹⁹⁴ As, *Eleni Iliadou*, supplements in our interview, this topic is another totally unknown history from the side of Greek audience/viewers. As she points out in our interview, on the occasion of an anniversary event of *Goethe Institut Athen, Greece* (2010) regarding the 50th anniversary of labor migration to Germany:

From the questions of the listeners I remember 'they also had no idea' about female migration, they didn't know about the role of women ... it's not true that men left first. Many women left first, because men had military obligations ... they also left on their own because they wanted their freedom, this part was completely unknown to them, they looked at each other and said 'ah ...' which for me was completely self-evident because I grew up with such women. In the *Heim* where I grew up with Mum, and not only Greek women, and many Turkish, they left on their own, for me the whole story was self-evident, but for the world it was completely unknown. (E.Iliadou, personal interview, July 3, 2017).

In this respect, this letter raises many important issues, not only from a historical point of view, but also from an ethnographic and sociological point of view. Apart from the issues of working conditions, and the direct denunciation of the difficult and unbearable situations, which are likened to slavery conditions, from the worker's primitive testimony, an important problem is demonstrated by the workers, which had taken the form of a scourge, at that time, for migrant workers: That of gambling, or as it is mentioned in the letter : “*Kumari*”. The same theme, known as the plague of the workers, is exemplarily addressed, perhaps for the first time, in the seminal study of Yannis Matzouranis (1973), pp.162-164, which is accompanied by original oral testimonies of workers. Additionally, in the director Lefteris Xanthopoulos' excellent trilogy¹⁹⁵, the subject is raised

¹⁹⁴ According to one of our many conversations with the director during our fieldwork, Xanthopoulos when asked about the presence of women or 'why women are not visible in the film', he emphatically indicated that most of the male protagonists in the film, and members of the community did not let their female husbands to participate: “They were living in the 'dark'. They had no clue [...] I only managed to get this 'off' narrative from this woman [...] it was very difficult to have access” (L. Xanthopoulos, fieldwork interview, 28 December 2017).

¹⁹⁵ I analyze in detail the films and the visual, material representations of this huge audiovisual material of the director

in various sequences, both in *Griechische Gemeinde Heidelberg (1976)* and in *Giorgos from Sotirianika (1978)* in the latter's characteristic foggy scene, which takes place in the back of a restaurant, where such gambling events usually took place. Precisely on the very same subject, the so-called "Gastarbeiter disease", one of our informants, F. Athera recalls:

My dad, somewhere, with all this tedious work, wanted to get away and he binged in "playing cards". There were the fuss, the fights, the grumbles, the moaning, my mother buying "bills" for the house, my dad following behind ... It was a big plague, there were men, indeed, who beat their wives and took all the money to go and play. Luckily my dad didn't have those tendencies. And I, 'like I said, I took on duties from a young age , and from a young age I knew how to play the role of a cop too. [...] Many families were destroyed, divorced, others were put in jail, because they stole the money, beat the family, the children, took things to sell them, it was hard times. (F. Athera, personal Interview, September 25, 2017).

In excerpts from the letter, apart from the despair, distress and indignation, important social practices are reflected, revealing other aspects of the lives of women workers, a subject that is otherwise neglected and under-thematized in the history of migrant workers, especially women, either in archives, public history or in the reports that have been made in recent years on the subject of labour migration. In this rare, original archival material and artefact, we read the thoughts of women workers, collectively deciding to do something, to find together a solution to this problem of men who gamble. We listen to their anguish, their anger, all the intense emotions, which stands as a *mnemotopos* (cf. Ruibal 2008) of determination and agency to make certain decisions, regardless of the social and moral costs of such a decision. Characteristically, this decision takes place after the break in work:

Right now we are 8 women gathered on the work break. And we made this final decision. To write to the radio station and whatever will be done, let it be done. We've become furious lately, we'll turn them over to the police and we'll die. It will be a disgrace for all Greeks (unknown, November 19, 1974, HA Archiv, BR).

A move that reveals a certain moral and yet militant attitude, and aspects of secularism and classism that characterize these women. However, in the following statements, the anxiety and

despair about the family future and the fear of family break-up, a very important aspect of the social fabric in Greece, and even more so for this particular group, is evident. However, they go one step further and decide to report the problem to the historic Munich broadcast to see if they can find a solution. It is also indicative that they ask for the confidentiality of the producers, or the one who will read the letter on the show, as well as the usual practice, in this particular show, of requesting a song, in this particular case, as one can read in the letter, perhaps as an attempt to exorcise their pain:

“Please, play as a request to our beloved men a record : if you have Sophia Papadopoulou's Pontian song "the kumari" or any other suitable one you find. Thank you” (ibid..)

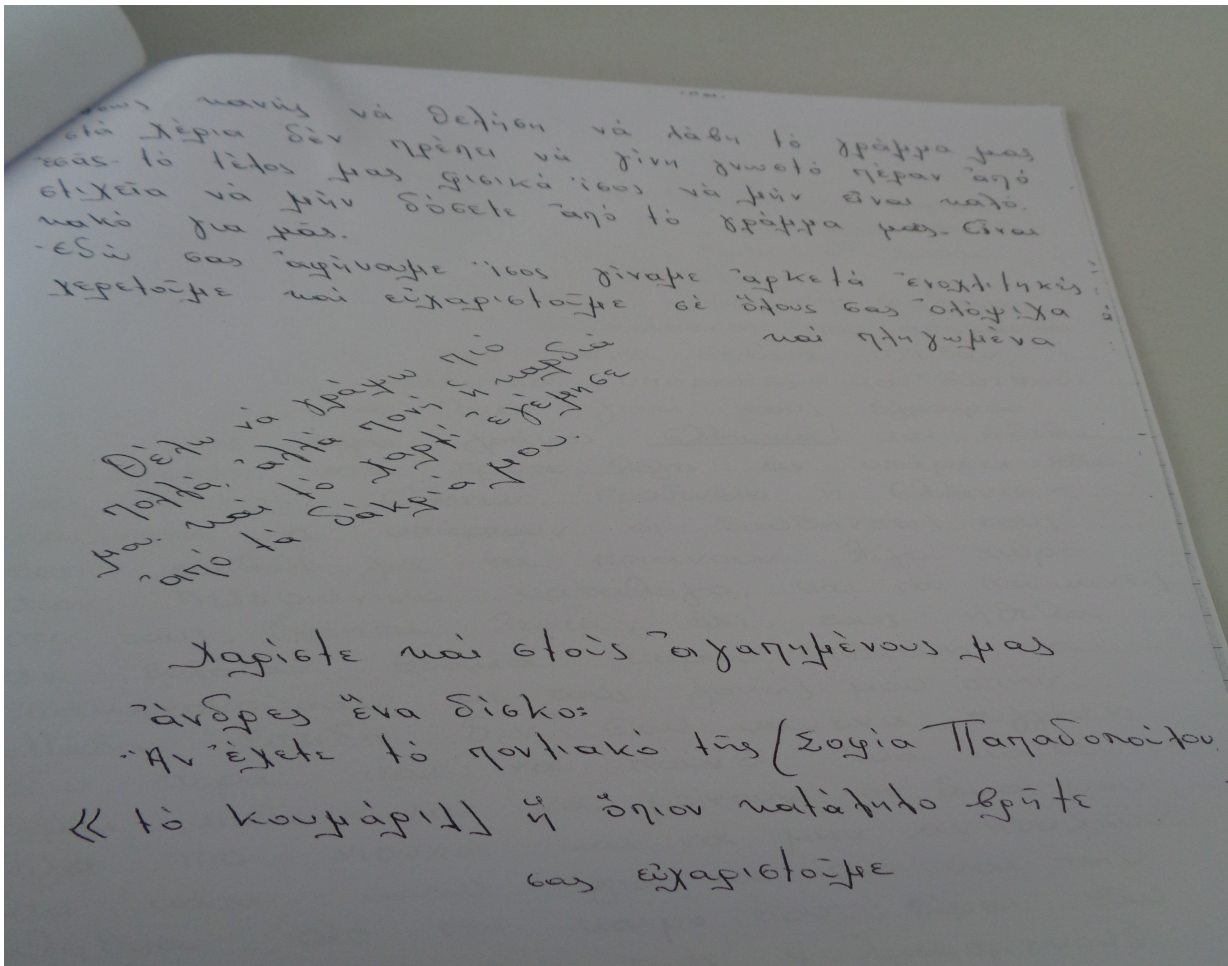


Figure 62 : Another page, from the same Letter 62 (as cited above). This is the part where the women where they ask for a request of the referenced song within Greek Pontus folk tradition.

At the same time, we hear a cry of anguish, an outburst, but also a denunciation of their situation: from a state of poverty, which led to foreignness (“we emigrated because poverty forced us to”), working for a living, working for a piece of bread, to denunciation of working conditions,

loss of rights, and that finally, they too have a voice that needs to be heard! It is also important to stress that apart from the multiple references to feelings of anger, indignation, but also moral inhibitions and fear, stemming from specific socio-cultural traditions that reproduce classical patriarchal beliefs (marriage, family, gender roles, concern for “what the world/society will say“). As we read in the extract: “The male gender is very much spoiled... and the children are tormented and the women... We all know our religion, our race, does not allow easy "separations"/ Of course it is hard to separate. I want to write more, but my heart is sore, and the paper is wet with my tears/” (ibid.)

We are being witnesses of a determination, and a strength,”to find a solution”, even if it is to communicate the problem, through the letter of the broadcast, “even if the consequences are great”.

Additionally, we can say that through the letter, we can see the gap and the need for corresponding services, counseling centers for immigrants of the period, which directly or indirectly, as we have concluded from our field research, the Munich broadcast, had undertaken such a role. This gap was filled around that time, in many cities , as in Munich, by the *Griechisches Haus* with the organization and supervision of the Evangelical Church (cf. Odukoya 2009: 24-27).

As Zaimakis (1999: 35) notes “narratives and commentaries often concern persons and situations in local society and function as instruments of informal social control. And this experience is mentally organized through memorial terms (Ong 1997) and the exercise of memory is an effective means of preserving the history of the local community”. Thus, agreeing with Zaimakis (1999:37), it is a discourse of memory, a kind of history with a distinct meaning. It is a psychic kind of history, fundamentally anthropological : it is largely subjective, but at the same time it is also collective. It thus constitutes a cognitive construction, a cultural object which derives from the mental worlds of the past, as a result of the 'taxonomic and inventive action' of subjects attempting to interpret the social world by negotiating in the present the events of the past (Papataxiarchis 1993: 32). To the extent that reports engage social experiences, shape worldviews and constitute collective meanings, they constitute a discourse of social memory (Zaimakis 1999:37- 38). So, knowledge of a particular social world requires a vision, a practical knowledge from the point of view of the subjects living in that world. This requires approaching the conceptual texture of the social world, the performances and rhetorics of the people in a group, with the aim of bringing out its basic organizing principles (ibid. 39).

In another letter, according to my typology, Letter 78, (Koula Kougioumtzides, Hagen, n.d, *Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR*) similar issues on gender roles¹⁹⁶, family tradition, patriarchal

¹⁹⁶ On gender roles and specifically on female guestworkers, see Matzouranis (1973), pp. 235-242; Dunkel & Stamaggli- Faggion (2000), pp. 105-119.

notions of the typical conservative “Greek family“, stereotypical views against women are revealed. This letter comes from a young female listener. In a nutshell, she begins by expressing congratulations and positive comments on the show. Then, she depicts aspects of life in Germany, especially for young girls in Greek “authoritarian families”, and finishes off – with what it seems as a standard structure to all these letters – a dedication of a “laiko“ song, here by Philipos Nikolaou to her parents, friends and relatives :

Here you will know about life - which I believe you do - how young people live, especially from authoritarian families, and of course there is nothing left for us but to sit at home in the evenings, since I had no particular occupation, I listened to your program with pleasure for over a month now. I decided to go to a school and so it is not possible to sit in the evenings and listen to the radio, instead, I have to work late into the evening (K.K, n.d, HA Archiv, BR).

All in all, in the issue of separation of children from parents, and on issues of family life, and related problems, E.Tsakmaki reports on the significance of these letters, this time, from another source :

Our only consolation was the letters we received, and when the letters were late, we kept saying what happened to them, what could have happened [...] I remember some tender letters I received from my children, how they went to school, what grandma told them, what they did with grandma and auntie. Many children ask this question to parents, Why did you leave us behind and go away? And they really suffer [...] and I always say that I always say that I ask for a big apology on behalf of all the parents, from these children. (*Tvxs.gr/Γκασταρμπάιτερ: Ανάμεσα σε δύο πατρίδες 2011*)

Similar to other narrative sources, emotions, affect, and intimacy are integral to migrant letters. Within the context of family and migration, Loretta Baldassar and Donna Gabaccia recently noted that ‘families are increasingly understood as sites of disagreement and contest, particularly along gendered and generational lines as well as of bonds of emotion that, along with economic concerns, often provide the affective drivers for migration’ (Baldassar & Gabaccia, 2011, p. 3). Letter-writing was equally important for the emotional ties of families separated by migration and for migrants’ identities (Borges & Cancian 2016: 285)

In addition, in Letter 87, (Iraklis Kotios, 23.01.1980, Historisches Archiv, SL/44.57, BR), we

read another letter referring to the issue of family separations and divorces, especially for the children of migrant workers. The tone, once more is sentimental and personal, and the writer addresses to the show to act in an advisory capacity and to find a solution, and to advise couples not to divorce. This is another example where the radio show is required to act as a social counseling center, reminiscent of the work of similar institutions, like the *Griechisches Haus Westend München* and relevant social centers, funded by the Evangelical Church in various federal states in Germany.

Last but not least, in effort to mention a group of letters from our tentative categorization, letters as 7) *political forum*: there are approximately six to seven letters with political comments against the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974), including a plethora of poems written by labour workers/listeners, with distinct anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist, antifascist messages, against *NATO* and Euroatlantic forces, much influenced by the spirit of the epoche, especially within the Greek left in the late 1970s, as well as through the *Greek communist party/KKE* which propagated views with a strong anti-american, anti-imperialist sentiment and content.

Impressive in my opinion is a 19-page letter where the following themes are articulated : Illiteracy, comment as a Greek Democrat, political comment against the dictatorship, comment on the Cyprus problem. Slandorous comments about those who fought fascism, about the victims of dictatorship and fascism. Anti-imperialist, anti-American discourse. Justice, harsh accusations of traitors to the Republic, of the supporters, supporters, foreigners and locals of fascism, change of the law of nationality and citizenship, general amnesty for the exiles, for the "Greek democrats who were in the people's republics". Critique against any kind of monarchy, kingship. Commentary on emigration and labour migration. p.13, advice and recommendations to Pavlos Bakoyanis, that "we have an unequal struggle ahead of us, a calvary", reference (p.17-19) to personal and psychological problems, poverty, hunger, misery, unemployment, family problems. All in all, once more notions of social class consciousness, cultural background, family traditions and ethics, national and regional identity, layperson and popular/folk sentiment are articulated through this last set of politicized letters.

6.4.4. Conclusions

In conclusion, as snapshots of moments in transnational migration, immigrant letters offer a rich record of liminal experiences. The important role of immigrant correspondence in the evolution, creation and construction of diasporic identities. As a form of performative discourse, such letters functioned rhetorically as a means of maintaining familial connections, providing justification for migration and serving as a space for the negotiation of changing identities. (DeHaan 2010).

If we are to understand the full scope of letters as performance, we must consider the materiality of the letters as well. Choices included: quills, pens, paper, envelope, seals, sealing wax, inkwells, pen cases, stamp boxes, letter openers, letter clips, writing desks, blotting paper, inks, pencils and sharpeners. ‘People chose letter writing equipment carefully. [As it] represent[s] who one is, what one believes one is, where one belongs, and how one wants to be perceived by others’ (Hall 1999 :87). Materiality was a powerful way to make a public statement about one's rank, class, prestige, wealth and general success. (Ibid./DeHaan 2010). Since the 1990s, scholars have also begun to pay special attention to the language of the letters as well as their place in the context of broader epistolary practices (for example, Fitzpatrick, 1994, 2006; Franzina, 1981, 1987; Gibelli, 1989; Lyons, 2013; Miller, 1985; Moreton, 2012; Vargas, 2006).

Being in full consistence with Lenartsson (2012: 2), „Reading those letters becomes a journey into the everyday life and hardships of the time. They deal with both the great and the small. Volumes of densely written text, full of items struck through and margin notes“. Letters can be conceived pretty much as social arenas, where deliberations and struggles over the right to interpret actions and events are played out and judged.(cf. Ibid.)

In this regard, objects of memory, letters, diaries, or photographs are resourceful materials with historic and aesthetic value. They contain and reflect important knowledge of migrants’ histories and the narratives of individuals, families, and larger communities about their experiences of displacement, movement, and arrival (Thomas and Znaniecki 1974)

In conclusion, we could characterize this series of letters as an important multiple testimony "from below", which, along with many others of the period, needs historical and ethnographic analysis, as well as further processing and thematization in museums, exhibitions, and places of public history and memory/*Erinnerungsorte*. In regards to the museum/public history context, „To exhibit migration as "shared memory" is to normalize migration ! (Tsianos, 2009: 108), and “this means first transcribing what is supposedly shared as testimony, re-addressing it to the community of nationals, in order to ultimately localize it nationally in this way” (ibid.).

Such artefacts, as this letter, respond to the call from Italian anthropologist Alessandro Triulzi (1977) for research on evidence of memory that has escaped the control of political power. As such, he considers “family memories, local stories, family stories, villages, personal memories, in all this vast grid of non-formal, non-institutionalized, knowledge that has not yet been crystallized in formal traditions, the collective consciousness of whole groups or individuals” (Leontaris 2010). Our findings would seem to suggest/show/demonstrate that such multifarious historical, aesthetic, social material can be re-activated and re-worked in both, academic and

historical/cultural education context, as well as activist memory work context with focus on migration. All in all, such paradigms can be placed in the on-going public discussion on the shift of perspective of current issues of migrations in Germany.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

In this chapter I will highlight my overall conclusions over the course of this PhD research. This section includes five subsections, which include: a brief summary of my key findings, related to what I had expected to examine. Then, I will present my tentative conclusions, drawn from my research so far. In what follows, I will highlight the reasons of the significance of my research, for academic research and I will formulate tentative theses and suggestions in regards to critical museum education, museum curating, as well as archival work. I accentuate the need for inclusive and pluralistic research on archives, dealing with migration histories, as well working through transnational connections within memories and experience(s) of the post-migrant society in Germany. Yet, I deem essential to highlight limitations, unexpected results of this research, either situated (owed) to my methodological choices, or the nature of the ethnographic data collected, along with my subsequent interpretation and description. Recommendations for future research, future work on the topic are indicated, while the last subsection rounds off my dissertation or thesis.

My work has led me to conclude, based on ethnographic data drawn from the various stages of my dissertation that I collected a polymorphic and multivocal archive of experience(s) of labour migration, specifically drawn from my examined case study; the Greek migration in Germany .

Remarkable has been the correlation of bridging the filmic representations of labour migration and bringing in a critical and fruitful dialog with orality, oral tradition and oral histories. Additionally, the materiality of the archive and memories of labour migration, especially those marginalized, uprooted, disenfranchised and unknown voices and embodied experience(s) through the prism of different media, or assemblages of media (Basu & Macdonald 2006), such as film, visual images (private photographic archive given by informants), letters of migrants, photographs, artefacts, archives between the realm of semi-private, personal, semi-public and public, publicized space.

Within my fieldwork I also realized that all these seemingly different features and textures (visuality, orality, filmic, materiality) are in a continuous critical dialogue. Various dimensions converge to the construction of this haptic¹⁹⁷, that is multi-sensory archive of labour migration.

197 Haptic: while used primarily of touch, in visual theory it is used to imply a wider multi-sensory embodied perception (Edwards 2012: 228).

Moreover, I have found preliminary unknown and raw material in regards to visual representations of Greek labour migration, migration. Particularly, through the filmic works of the so-called *guest-workers' directors*, L. Xanthopoulos and Giorgos Karypidis, we re-witness and re-observe and finally discover unknown visual representations of this period in contrast to the standard stereotypical images from Greek commercial cinema, or other established media/actors, who mainly reproduced narratives of "success story" of the Greek migrant abroad. These representations highlight the real protagonists of labour migration, and are implemented from the "perspective of migration", allocating sufficient *film*, thus *memory* space for their voices, experience(s) and agencies to be finally heard.

My research has also highlighted the importance of thematization of personal testimonies, lived and embodied experience, memory, visuality and the notion of *intensive viewing* (Becker 2002) in which both directors invite us. Apart from contextualization of the problems that so-called guest-workers have encountered during that given period, a crucial filmic/visual and *memory politics* space is given to discuss issues of integration, structural racism, political participation, empowerment, the need for a common transnational struggle for social justice. The handling and contextualization of all these burning topics of labour workers at the time, within the socioeconomic and historic context of the time, Germany's official policy and approach to migration at that time, is presented with an innovative manner, which contains contemporary and diachronic references.

Finally, via my mixed ethnographic methods, I discovered not only unknown, or under-researched, but also unpublished audiovisual material and archives of postwar Greek labour migration. Such material stands as a fascinating material, which needs actualization, consistent archival and preservation work (film archives/film Heritage), and entails a historical, aesthetic and education value. Such material can be used in various contexts: re-activation of archives in a public history context, activation or thematization of the material in museum education settings, in artistic interventions, as well as critical education, anti-racist and activist context, as has been the case with past related projects in Germany, we highlighted in chapter 1 and our methodology.

The conclusions of this study support the idea that there are multiple layers, unseen stories, and silenced sides of labour migration, beyond standards narratives on migration, "success stories" and a standard integrationist schema which re-presents migrants as ahistorical, static personalities. Some of these aspects include: educational aspects, social class, labour exploitation, conditions of housing, language, issues of political participation, citizenship, empowerment, family issues, gender issues, matters of domestic violence, social marginalization, daily/structural and institutional racism, debate of integration and institutional policy of West Germany towards guest-workers.

Also, the notion of *Xenitia*, homesickness as psychosomatic pain, psychic, mental issues of Guest-workers, inter generational transfer and revival of traumatic memories.

In regards to the topic of representations of labour migration embodied experience(s), I have observed that there have been quite a few, mostly temporary exhibitions, oral history and public memory projects in regards to our examined case study. Our results would seem to suggest that there is a plethora of material which has been under-researched, it is multi-vocal and needs further re-activation, reworking and contextualization in spheres connected to museum education, public history and archives.

Referring to our initial research question, which is associated with issues of representation, stemming from *representation crisis*, and specifically from which side are histories of migration and mobility being told, and *who gets to tell the story*, my results have further strengthened my confidence that these multiple stories should be researched, told, and exclaimed from the “perspective of migration”, thus meeting the demands of post-migrant society, the need to practice and facilitate these “shared knowledge and memories” from the point of view of the 'actants' of migration. Our research has highlighted the importance of researching and 'excavating' further silenced, marginalized and unknown facets of embodied experience(s) of labour migration and create space, and related resources for further research, and thematization of issues connected with labour migration. Either historical aspects, or dimensions that might deem crucial for future generations and produce new strategies. Besides, my research demonstrates the need for a collaborative schema and format in displaying, documenting, archiving and facilitating migration histories in museums and related memory, public history sites.

Before moving on to the importance of my research, I find it necessary to proceed with a disclaimer. In particular, through my concrete decision on applying archival ethnography, or ethnography of “bottom-up“ archives, I have come to articulate my intention and develop my positionality as a researcher, and not as a museum practitioner, curator or any other museum-related position in a museum/public history site and institution. Nonetheless, I consider myself suitable to formulate positions, proposals and inclinations on how, with which techniques and representational strategies such stories and embodied knowledge can be narrated and displayed in the space of the contemporary museum and related memory and public history sites/memorials, exhibitions and community projects.

While, acknowledging the urgency to critically re-examine the role of museums and its activities especially within our contemporary social reality, I deem essential to stress the fact that museums should function as social agents and center their work as polymorphic archives, endorsing

multi-vocality. My research can be conceived as a proposal for strategies, set of interventions, either short-term or long-term, which can be applied in contemporary museums, or memory/public history sites and related “community projects” dealing with migration.

In addition, in complete agreement with various scholars and networks of critical migration research, as well as critical anthropology and museum studies, especially in Germany (see chapter 1), museums should also re-direct and channel their research focus on migration histories in all aspects of museum work, from documentation, facilitation, outreach programs, curation to archival work and work on collections.

In regards to the museum and public history context, we should open up and create a platform on a long-term and sustainable base, not only temporary exhibitions and one-off events, as well as endorsing inclusive, pluralistic, and conflictual dimensions of oral-histories, testimonies and social memories concerning migration experience(s).

Following the calls of Lynch (2011) on notions of *radical transparency*, reflective debate and trust in the museum, I conceive my ethnographic data as social objects and objects of further inquiry and social interpretation. A plethora of my research findings across my illustrated case studies in this research, can be seen as ‘working through conflict’ case studies. Based on the this concept by Lynch (2013) on *social objects and social interpretation*, I have realized how these testimonies and their multilayered formats, such as letters of migrant workers, can act as social objects which allow for a more thorough exploration of the various topics regarding migrants' biographies and trajectories. How these 'social objects' can be thematized and promote issues of democratic dialogue, participation, emancipation, how they can function as “working through conflict” issues in order to unsettle and disturb standard notions of national identity and ethnicity. All this can happen, either in specific context of a Greek migration-diaspora memory project, or in a related attempt with trans-local and transnational orientation.

Besides, this idea of ‘working through conflict’, which is omnipresent in museum studies/museum pedagogy and oral-histories and testimonies research, admittedly with variations, fluctuations, convergent and different approaches according to local or ethnic contexts, is consistent with the idea of placing *conflictual and contradicting* artefacts in museums, so that they „should be in a constant critical dialogue, (topics of *of migration*) *should be unfolded like a matrix*“. This idea, expressed by a key informant and cultural producer of the aforementioned films on migration, L. Xanthopoulos, who may not be considered a a museum curator or *museum expert*, yet due to his engaging ethnographic and participatory filming of migration experience(e)s, he developed ideas which can be proven crucial in the museum context. Additionally, working with affects, emotions,

empathy, complexity of past experiences, pedagogy of witnessing (Roger 2014), remembrance inherently pedagogical (Di Paolantonio, 2011), as well as inherently political, creating spaces for dialogue, including controversy, and building critical alliances, critical synergies in regards to museum, public history projects are some further inclinations I suggest after my ethnographic experience and involvement on the topic.

Moreover, I should endorse the following recommendations, in relation to research on archives with focus on migration. Being fully aware and consistent with the view that the dynamic treatment of archives in any form, digital, analogue, material or immaterial, hybrid, by migrant subjectivities emphasizes a civil and potentially activist agency, urging us to think differently “about the entire sphere in which migration discourse is embedded” (Yildiz 2019: 386), including the archives it acknowledges and creates and those that it continues to ignore (cf. Siegenthaler, F., & Bublatzky 2021).

Our study provides additional support for the conviction to re-imagine the archive as a research tool, a forum and laboratory that encompasses alternative ways of creating academic knowledge. Re-imagining, here means reading both with and “against the grain of archives” (Zeitlyn 2012) focusing on the messy entanglements and the memory and identity politics that any form of archiving entails (cf. *Re-Mapping Memory 2021*). This includes work with the material objects, classificatory orders, and the socio-material, techno-spatial, and temporal constellations that configure archives. My results have further strengthened our confidence that research including ‘the question of relations between recognizing authorities’ and ‘the place of *empathy and affect* in the articulations of memory within the public sphere’ (Radstone 2005: 138 cited in Stevens 2007: 30) is a core direction in archival work and memory work, be it in institutional, non-institutionalized and para-institutional context.

In the framework of this research, I finally stress the need to accentuate transnational dimensions in memory/museum work on migration and transnational intersectional research on multiple interwoven migration stories and highlight multiple connections, as well as multi-layered facets of migration histories in Germany. Through this research, as I have adopted a deconstructionist approach, I strive to accentuate the need for more interdisciplinary and critical research in transnational memory, transnational diaspora work, in various forms: transnational archives with global experience(s) of migration. Interrelations of race, gender, class issues and building transnational archives and networks of critical diaspora (anti-racist struggles, and anti-racist education) and transnational agonistic memory-work in Germany.

It would be also significant to unravel transnational links and cross-sections in archives of

migration from other migration hubs, as well as museums committed on the issue in Europe. Furthermore, research and the need for collaboration is a due demand with institutional and non-institutional actors who produce, document and disseminate memory-work on such thematics in other European, not to mention overseas countries where there is Greek labour migration/diaspora content. Through theoretical concepts, such as *multidirectional memory* (Rothberg 2009), as well as others I discussed in the framework of this thesis can be invaluable in highlighting totally unknown and intersecting histories of either, minorities within Greek migration history (Jewish -Greek histories and legacies, anti-racism and anti-fascist memory work, activist work within diaspora, Roma and Sinti and other neglected minorities in Greek migration) or unraveling parallel transnational linkages with other migration currents during the exact period under examination (in my case, during the so-called „guest-workers“ era in Germany).

In this instance, before turning into the final section, which rounds off my dissertation, it is more than crucial to admit that a number of potential limitations, weaknesses and shortcomings of this study need to be considered. First, through the ethnographic path I chose, I was not able to experience in person museum practices/exhibitions and explore open issues related to institutionalization regarding how museums deal with migration histories, which would have influenced differently my thesis.

Second, in almost every historical research project, a scholar runs the risk of being engaged and involved with deceased actors and protagonists of the stories under examination. That happened in my case as well, (e.g. L.,Xanthopoulos around 2020, Giorgos Karypidis in 2019, whom I did not manage to meet in person, as well as other informants in Munich, e.g. E. Torossi, Yannis Matzouranis). As I realized in the course of this fieldwork, especially from the so-called 1st generation of labour migrants, some of those that I was able to interview, they are considered to be over-aged, so a fact that I realized in my fieldwork that there is imperative for further research and documentation, as there is little time to capture the direct experiences of the 'real protagonists of migration'.

Regarding limitations in the methods I consciously chose, I shared thoughts on the methodological chapter for my choices. I am fully aware about issues regarding interviews, oral testimonies, fallibility of memories, construction of memories, narrative accounts between fiction and reality, over-dramatization which might lead to unreliability of data. On the other hand, I am more than conscious of my choice working with qualitative and ethnographic methods and I highlighted my positioning on working with subjective articulations of identification, social memories and experience(s) of migration.

I would definitely admit limitations on my results, based on my choice of applying variations of multi-sided ethnography (Marcus 1995) and on focused ethnography, which entailed short term visits, in contrast to the work and subsequent results associated with long term ethnography (cf. Knoblauch 2005: 6-8).

Last, but not least, it cannot be ruled out that there was some unintended bias particularly in my critique to institutions and stakeholders of Greek diaspora, who propagate according to my view, static, homogeneous and conservative notions of Greekness and narratives reinforcing national identity. Particularly in Chapter 6, in the course of my fieldwork in Munich there are parts of direct or indirect institutional critique, influenced by sociopolitical orientation. Nevertheless, reflecting on my authority as an ethnographer and following social research ethics, respect, understanding and empathy for every informant, regardless of ideology, profession or status, I gave equal space to all informants, respecting all views.

Dissertation summary

Has the multiplicity and multilayeredness of labour migration histories been sufficiently represented in museums, public history and memory sites? Are there unknown, silenced and unseen stories of labour migration, which have been under-represented or remain totally forgotten in the realm of public history? Is there an active engagement, participation, and involvement of the real “protagonists” of labour migration in related museum/memory projects on migration histories?

My ethnographic research demonstrated that not only there is undiscovered historical material, but also stressed the need and due demand for a more nuanced, compact multifaceted re-activation, reworking, archiving and facilitating such stories in the intersections of museums, public history and memory sites.

Particularly, my on-going ‘multi-sided’ and focused ethnography’ in regards to my examined case study, post-war Greek labour migration in BRD/West Germany during the first phase of the recruitment agreement, 1960-1973, in the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Munich can be placed in an effort to explore this on-going critical dialogue between oral-histories, testimonies, social memories, materiality, visual iconography, objects as ‘mnemonic devices’ (Jones 2010) and archives, be it official or unofficial documents, in its multiple layers formats and configurations and how these multiple interesting ‘voices’ and agencies from both, unofficial and official sources and actors resonate with museum practice and displays regarding that often under-represented historical period. Adopting a mixed methods approach in this ethnography, I aimed at charting embodied

experience(s) of labour migration through the prism of four different media; films on labour migration since the mid 1970s era, oral-histories and testimonies either contextualized in these films, as well as primary interviews with informants from the first and second generation of labour migrants, group discussion, as well as letters, photographs and material artefacts of migration, Through this notion of a multi-vocal, polymorphic and poly-prismatic “bottom-up“ archive, it will be possible to describe spherically and comprehend 'the multiple materialities of migrant worlds' (Basu, Coleman 2008), enhance the notion of a dialogue-driven (Harrison, 2013), and relational museum, as well as finally collecting and configuring a 'bottom-up', alternative memory archive of migrants' embodies experience(s) and knowledge.

Concluding, our study provides additional support for the conviction to re-imagine the archive as a research tool, a forum and laboratory that encompasses alternative ways of creating academic knowledge, re-activate existing visual and material archives in critical educational context, as well as performing the archive from the “perspective of migration”.

Deutsche Version

Ist die Vielfalt und Vielschichtigkeit von Arbeitsmigrationsgeschichten in Museen, öffentlichen Geschichts- und Erinnerungsstätten ausreichend vertreten? Gibt es unbekannte, verschwiegene und ungesehene Geschichten der Arbeitsmigration, die in der öffentlichen Geschichtsschreibung unterrepräsentiert oder völlig vergessen sind? Gibt es ein aktives Engagement, eine Beteiligung und Einbeziehung der wirklichen "Protagonisten" der Arbeitsmigration in entsprechende Museums- und Erinnerungsprojekte zur Migrationsgeschichte?

Meine ethnografische Forschung hat nicht nur gezeigt, dass es unentdecktes historisches Material gibt, sondern auch die Notwendigkeit und den Bedarf für eine nuanciertere, kompaktere und facettenreichere Reaktivierung, Aufarbeitung, Archivierung und Erleichterung solcher Geschichten an den Schnittstellen von Museen, öffentlicher Geschichte und Erinnerungsorten betont.

Insbesondere meine laufende 'vielseitige' und fokussierte Ethnographie in Bezug auf meine untersuchte Fallstudie, die griechische Arbeitsmigration in der Nachkriegszeit in der BRD/Westdeutschland während der ersten Phase des Anwerbeabkommens, 1960-1973, in den Städten Berlin, Hamburg und München, kann in den Versuch gestellt werden, diesen laufenden kritischen Dialog zwischen mündlichen Geschichten, Zeugnissen, sozialen Erinnerungen, Materialität, visueller Ikonografie, Objekten als "Gedächtnisstützen" (Jones 2012) und Archiven,

seien es offizielle oder inoffizielle Dokumente, in ihren vielschichtigen Formaten und Konfigurationen zu erforschen und zu untersuchen, wie diese sich überschneidenden "Stimmen" und Agenturen sowohl aus inoffiziellen als auch offiziellen Quellen und Akteuren mit der Museumspraxis und den Ausstellungen zu dieser oft unterrepräsentierten historischen Periode in Resonanz stehen.

In dieser Ethnografie habe ich einen Mixed-Methods-Ansatz gewählt, um die verkörperte(n) Erfahrung(en) der Arbeitsmigration durch das Prisma von vier verschiedenen Medien zu erfassen: Filme über Arbeitsmigration seit Mitte der 1970er Jahre, mündliche Geschichten und Zeugnisse, die entweder in diesen Filmen kontextualisiert wurden, sowie Primärinterviews mit Informanten der ersten und zweiten Generation von Arbeitsmigranten, Gruppendiskussionen sowie Briefe, Fotos und materielle Artefakte der Migration,

Mit Hilfe dieses Konzepts eines vielstimmigen, polymorphen und polyprismatischen Archivs wird es möglich sein, die "multiplen Materialitäten von Migrantenwelten" (Basu, Coleman 2008) sphärisch zu beschreiben und zu verstehen, das Konzept eines dialogorientierten (Harrison, 2013) und relationalen Museums zu erweitern sowie schließlich ein alternatives Gedächtnisarchiv von unten nach oben zu sammeln und zu konfigurieren, das die Erfahrungen und das Wissen von Migranten verkörpert.

Unsere Studie liefert zusätzliche Unterstützung für die Überzeugung, das Archiv als Forschungsinstrument, Forum und Labor neu zu konzipieren, das alternative Wege zur Schaffung von akademischem Wissen, die Reaktivierung bestehender visueller und materieller Archive in einem kritischen Bildungskontext sowie die Aufführung des Archivs aus der "Perspektive der Migration" umfasst.

APPENDIX I

In the course of this dissertation I conducted interviews with the following interviewees :

Athera, F. , head of the Association *Greek Academics club Munich*, second generation Greek migrant

Auer – Papavasiliou , Kula, first generation Greek labour worker, Munich (January 20, 2020)

Ikonomakos, Michalis private employee, second generation Greek labour worker, Hamburg (January 11, 2017)

Iliadou, E., private employee, Bavarian Broadcast editorial team, second generation Greek migrant, K., Dionysios, pensioner, first generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (March 3, 2016)

Mourmouri, Pigi , Social worker, first generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (June 15, 2015)

Mpakirtzi, Zoe, private employee , second generation Greek labour worker, Hamburg (March 3, 2017)

Mparmpatsis, Anestis, music teacher, Athens (October 2, 2022)
Munich (1984-2002)

Reister, Niki, Social worker, second generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (October 10, 2015)

Sofia M., social worker (*Griechisches Haus/Elliniko Spiti Berlin*, Berlin (May 25, 2016)

Stoligkas, C. , second generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (April 23, 2016)

T. Eleni, private player, second generation Greek labour worker, Hamburg (February 23, 2017)

Thomai Latsiou, Lawyer, second generation Greek labour worker , Hamburg (February 8, 2017)

Titoki, Elli, pensioner, first generation Greek labour worker, Hamburg (January 29 & 26 February, 2017)

Tzavellas, Kostas, pensioner, first generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (September 10)

Valanos, Kostas, pensioner, first generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (June 28, 2015)

Vaso Zisi, private employee, second generation Greek labour worker, Athens (January 2, 2017)

Werth-Mavridou, Eleni, pensioner, first generation Greek labour worker, Berlin (December 15, 2015)

Xanthopoulos, Lefteris, director, Athens (December 28, 2017)

Zöls, P., Historian-archivist, Stadtarchiv München (25 September 2017)

Informal talks and discussions were made with the following people, various members of the Greek community and actors of the museum scene in Munich during my fieldwork there (see chapter two).

Bayer, Natalie, Stadtmuseum Munich, (*Migration bewegt die Stadt*, 2017-2019)

Diamantopoulou, Lilian, Professor of Modern Greek studies, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

Göecke, Simon, Stadtmuseum Munich.

Kosta Yannakakos, *Griechisches Haus Westend München*.

Prof. Dr. Gaitanidis, Pavlos, *Griechisches Haus Westend München*.

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