

Taking Stock of Ethnic Group Identity in a Town in Greek Macedonia

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## ABSTRACT

### Taking Stock of Ethnic Group Identity in a Town in Greek Macedonia

Constantinos Kaltsoudas

The question addressed in this thesis is whether the local identity of a group of individuals who define themselves as Dopii Makedones (a subgroup of Greek Macedonians) living in the region of Greek Macedonia in northern Greece, constitute an ethnic group. Dopii are not considered an ethnic group by Greek society or by officials of the Greek state. The recognition of their ethnic group status by Greek society is complicated by their role in the Macedonian Question. According to the anthropological literature, the development of Dopian identity was influenced by the Greek state's nation-building process in the region during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was also reinforced by their economic and societal marginalization by state representatives and by wider society. It has been observed that in addition to their local ethnic identity, a small fraction of this group have adopted a Macedonian national identity rather than a Greek one. A number of factors have been defined as being conducive to the maintenance of Dopian identity, such as lack of upward mobility, personal experiences with society and the state, and local interethnic relations. In the town of Pentalofos, the ethnic group identity of Dopii was largely symbolic. Intermarriage was singled out as the factor that had supplanted ethnic group stratification and relations. Their group identity was based on their notion of shared ethnic origins, their ability to speak the dialect of Dopika, and their collective historical experience. The transmission of their dialect is on the wane, as young adults do not speak it.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis is whether the Slavic-speaking community in a section of northern Greece whose members identify themselves as *Dopii Makedones*<sup>1</sup> (also known simply as *Dopii*, *Makedones*, *Makedones Ellines*, *Slavo-Macedonians*, *Slavophone Greeks*, *bilinguals*) should be identified as an ethnic group by scholars. Self-identified *Dopii* are a small subset of Greeks that inhabit the region of Greek Macedonia.

The status of *Dopian* identity is a contested subject outside of the discipline of anthropology. *Dopian* identity is a source of dispute within a variety of academic and political arenas and among scholars of different disciplines because of an ideological conflict concerning the region they inhabit: Macedonia. The ‘Macedonian Conflict’ (as per Danforth, 1995) is a political dispute that concerns the rightful intellectual and symbolic ownership of the geographic region of Macedonia that was partitioned among Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria in 1913. Currently, this region lies within the political borders of Greece, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M., as it will be referred to from this point on), and Bulgaria. The two principal players in this conflict are the states of Greece and the F.Y.R.O.M. (Roudometof, 1996, *passim*). While international borders have remained stable in this region, the Macedonian Conflict now centres on the rightful possession of the history and symbols that originated from the people who inhabited the region in the past, and which parties may claim to be ‘Macedonian’ (Cowan and Brown, 2000). The ethnological makeup of the region of Macedonia has been at the centre of this dispute, because this aspect has been interpreted

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<sup>1</sup> *Dopios* (singular, masculine) or *Dopii* (plural, masculine) in the Greek language means “of this place” and may be translated into indigenous or native. The term is usually said in reference to a place or region of origin. *Makedones* (plural of *Makedonas*, masculine) is a Greek regional term denoting someone who originates from the territory of Macedonia.

by various interested parties as the source of the question's solution. In other words, the national and ethnic affiliations of the inhabitants of Macedonia are believed to lend weight to the answer of who may legitimately call themselves 'Macedonians'. Individuals of Dopian background have been drawn into this dispute because of the dialects that they speak, which are classified as Macedonian (such as that spoken in the F.Y.R.O.M.) by linguists (Ioannidou, 1997). In addition, it has been observed that the Dopiai are a group with varying national sensibilities.

As a result, various sources provide different views on the current ethnological situation of Macedonia, and most importantly, of the Dopiai. Within the anthropological literature, it is implied that Dopiai are an ethnic group. However, in Greece, they are not perceived as an ethnic group as this concept is foreign to most people. In light of the Macedonian Conflict, the Greek state and Greek society have claimed the Dopiai as members of the Greek nation. A number of Greek historians that write about the Macedonian Question do not interpret the Dopiai as an ethnic group (see Gounaris, Mihailidis, & Agelopoulos, 1997). In contrast, within the literature written by human rights non-governmental organisations and minority lobby groups, the Slavic-speaking population in Greek Macedonia has been labelled as a Macedonian minority (see Danforth, 1995).

Thus, it will be argued that individuals who label themselves as Dopiai are an ethnic group. Their group status is derived from the fact that they believe to possess common origins that are distinct from other groups. They maintain a symbolic boundary that distances them from other ethnic groups on the premise that they possess a disparate cultural background, which includes their ability to speak dialects of Makedonika,

Macedonian, or ta Dopika, and a reified historical experience of their ancestors (Cowan, 2001, p. 165). While they distinguish themselves as a group, the empirical significance of their group membership and group identity is waning and they do not mobilize collectively on this basis. It has been argued by anthropologists that their collective identity has largely been a by-product of their contact with other ethnic groups and their relationship with the Greek state representatives and Greek society. In the case of Pentalofos, interethnic marriage has diminished the importance of ethnicity.

The benefit that may be derived from interpreting the Dopii as an ethnic group is that the complexity of their identity may be fully understood. This account may also serve as a record of interethnic relations in Pentalofos. Interest in this group was precipitated by knowledge of Greek Macedonia's history and of the people that live there. Being of Greek ethnic identity and son to a father who is native to the region led to a four month long stay in Greek Macedonia, in the town of Pentalofos<sup>2</sup>. He originated from a Grecophone community in the southern portion of Greek Macedonia that was native to the region. An independent research project with members of the aforementioned community was conducted in the summer and fall of 2002. The aim of the research was to study when, how, and why Dopian identity is maintained by people who describe themselves as such, and to see if this group still speaks and transmits their local dialect to their children.

The thesis will be organised as follows. In Chapter Two, the Macedonian Conflict as well as the region's history will be described. Therein will be found details pertaining to the way people live and a discussion concerning the symbolism of

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<sup>2</sup> Pentalofos is a pseudonym that was created to assure participants their anonymity in light of the topic's sensitivity.

Macedonia and what this means to people living there and abroad. In Chapter Three, a discussion concerning Greece's ethnic plurality and the groups that lived in Pentalofos will be presented. Chapter Four will include a discussion concerning the construct of ethnicity and will outline some of the anthropological theory concerning this topic in hopes of explaining why Dopia constitute an ethnic group. Chapter Five will be comprised of a brief literature review of Greece's Slavic-speakers. The reasons for Dopia identity will be explored. In Chapter Six, the findings from the research process and analysis will be provided.

## CHAPTER TWO: THE VARIOUS MACEDONIA'S AND MACEDONIANS OF PAST AND PRESENT

The aim of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with the fact that a variety of groups call themselves Macedonians. Macedonian may refer to an individual or group's national, ethnic, linguistic, or regional identity (Danforth, 1995, pp. 6-7). Moreover, as of 1944, it is a recognized Slavic language that was originally codified in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, in each context that the term is used, it relays a unique meaning. Most importantly, Macedonia and all that is associated with it is contested among these groups (Danforth, 1995, p. 6; Cowan and Brown, 2000, p. 2). This issue has its roots in the nation-building projects that occurred in the region known as Macedonia during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Roudometof, 1996, p. 254; Cowan and Brown, 2000, p. 1). A review of the region's history explains how this came to be, and will clarify the ways in which in people are known as Macedonians today. However, before describing the kinds of Macedonians there are and what caused this, a brief description of the territory is required.

### 2.1 LOCATING MACEDONIA

The geographic region of Macedonia corresponds to a set of physical boundaries commonly held to be the river Nestos, the Rodopi and Rila mountain ranges to the east; the Pindos and Grammos mountains, the Prespa and Ochrid lakes to the west; the Shar mountains to the north; the Olympus, Kamvounia, and Hasia mountains, and the Aegean coast line to the south (Gounaris, 1993, p. ix). Macedonia's topography is characterized by three large river systems that drain into the Aegean Sea which are: the Aliakmon, the Vardar or Axios, and the Struma or Strymon. The land is saddled by a number of massifs

to the west, south, and northeast that also enclose a large plain which is rimmed by the sea. While the region is in part mountainous, a number of corridors between these ranges provide access to the area's interior. It is in this way that Macedonia's location has proven to be an accessible land route linking southern Europe and Asia. A multitude of populations have moved through it historically (Wilkinson, 1951, pp. 3-5).

The abovementioned geographic parameters of Macedonia were derived originally by European scholars and diplomats during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and are maintained today (Gounaris, 1993, p. ix). The political limits of the region have traditionally been ill defined (Roudometof, 1996, p. 265), as they often shifted during various historical epochs (Wilkinson, 1951, p. 3). In terms of its physical features, the region is indistinguishable from other zones since its climate and land are not uniform throughout (Wilkinson, 1951, p. 2). The regional boundaries to which scholars subscribe to today correspond roughly to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Turkish districts or vilayets of Selanik, Kosovo, Uskup, and Manastir (Adanir, 1984-5, p. 43; as cited in Roudometof, 1996, pp. 264-5). Today, the political borders of Greece, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or F.Y.R.O.M. (established 1991), and Bulgaria cut through it. The Greek section of Macedonia, which is referred to as Makedonia by Greeks and Greek Macedonia by scholars, lies to the south of the sections belonging to the F.Y.R.O.M. and Bulgaria. These sections are sometimes referred to as Vardar and Pirin Macedonia respectively (Danforth, 1995, p. 44; Roudometof, 1996, p. 264).

Greek Macedonia lies between the Greek regions of Epirus, Thessaly, and Western Thrace; it covers 13200 square miles or 34200 square kilometres (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2003, ¶ 1). To the north, it is flanked by Albania, the F.Y.R.O.M., and



Bulgaria. Greek Macedonia is divided according to thirteen prefectures (*nome*) or departments that are named after their main cities<sup>3</sup>, which are: Grevena, Kozani, Kastoria, Florina, Pieria, Imathia, Pella, Kilkis, Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki, Serres, Drama, and Kavala. These prefectures are further sub-divided into counties. Greek Macedonia is also split into western, central, and eastern tiers. Grevena, Kozani, Kastoria, and Florina form Western Greek Macedonia; whereas Imathia, Pella, Kilkis, Thessaloniki, Chalkidiki are described as Central Macedonia; and Serres, Drama, and Kavala are located in Eastern Macedonia. Today, Greek Macedonia has a population of slightly more than two million, approximately half of whom are inhabitants of Thessaloniki, the largest city and regional capital.

Pella is situated between the prefectures of Kilkis and Thessaloniki to the east, Imathias to the south, and Kozani and Florina to the west; to the north it borders the F.Y.R.O.M. and spans 2505.7 square kilometres.

## 2.2 CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO MACEDONIA

### 2.2.1 TYPES OF MODERN-DAY MACEDONIANS

There are three ways in which individuals define themselves as Macedonians: in a national sense, a regional sense, and an ethnic sense (Danforth, 1995, pp. 6-7). In turn, these distinctions reflect four diverse groups.

The first group that define themselves as Macedonians are those who refer to their national identity (Danforth, 1995, p. 6). Individuals falling within this category believe themselves to be members of the Macedonian nation, a Slavic group that arrived in the region during the early Middle Ages (Danforth, 1995, pp. 46, 49; Roudometof, 1996, p.

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<sup>3</sup> Pella, Pieria, and Chalkidiki prefectures are the exceptions to this rule since Edessa, Katerini, and Polygyros are their respective prefect's seats.

265). Individuals living in the F.Y.R.O.M., and the F.Y.R.O.M.'s government maintain this view. Macedonian nationalists claim that they splintered off from other Slavic groups that inhabited the Balkan Peninsula, and that the Macedonian language dates back to Old Church Slavonic, the first form of Slavic that was used in medieval liturgies (Danforth, 1995, p. 45). The language was codified during the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century by literate elites in the region (Friedman, 1975, p. 90; as cited in Roudometof, 1996, p. 263). By 1944 it had become a recognized language spoken in the former Yugoslavia. Most Macedonians are members of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which is an autocephalous church established in 1967 in Yugoslavia (Danforth, 1995, p. 53). Individuals who live both inside and outside the F.Y.R.O.M. usually identify themselves as Makedontsi or ethnic Macedonians. In this way, an individual may be Macedonian by being a citizen of the F.Y.R.O.M. but not a member of the Macedonian nation.

According to Macedonian national historiographers, Macedonian nationalism or the Macedonian national awakening occurred during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Roudometof, 1996, p. 265). Macedonian history begins with the medieval period in which the Slavs<sup>4</sup> began inhabiting the region (Roudometof, 1996, p. 265). It is held that the first attempt of Macedonians to liberate themselves from Ottoman rule took place among an association called the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (I.M.R.O.) in Krushevo (located in the F.Y.R.O.M.) in 1903 (Roudometof, 1996, p. 265); a rebellion that did not meet with success. Macedonian historiography emphasizes the fact that the Macedonian homeland was partitioned among the Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian states in 1913 (Danforth, 1995, pp. 48-55). It is claimed that Macedonian nationals living in Aegean

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<sup>4</sup> Other historiographers even consider the modern Macedonians to be a racial mixture of Slavs and ancient Macedonians (Roudometof, 1996, p. 267) asserting that the ancient Macedonians were a non-Greek nation.

and Pirin Macedonia have been deprived of their right to identify themselves as such by the Greek and Bulgarian states (Danforth, 1995, p. 55; Roudometof, 1996, pp. 265-7). A number of Macedonian diaspora communities in Australia and Canada are active in lobbies dedicated to the recognition of a Macedonian minority in Greece (Danforth, 1994, 1995 pass.). Macedonian nationalists lay claim to historical personages such as Alexander the Great, Tsar Samuel, and the founders of the I.M.R.O., among others, who lived in the region. They contend that the entire region of Macedonia is their symbolic homeland, and their cultural and intellectual property. Likewise, they refute the Greek and Bulgarian claims to Macedonia on the basis that Macedonian minorities live in Greece and Bulgaria (Roudometof, 1996, p. 267).

The second manner in which a person may lay claim to a Macedonian identity is by being born in Greek Macedonia (Danforth, 1995, p. 6). Individuals living in Greek Macedonia consider themselves to be Makedones or Macedonians because they strongly believe they are the descendants of the ancient Macedonians who originally inhabited Greek Macedonia (Danforth, 1995, p. 6); a view that is shared by the Greek state. Therefore, when they say they are Macedonians, they employ the term strictly in a regional sense. Makedones or Greek Macedonians possess a robust regional identity (Danforth, 1995, p. 83). Individuals of varying ethnic backgrounds haven taken up this regional identity. Greek Macedonia possesses a unique official symbol, that of the star of Vergina (a sixteen rayed star), as well as a flag of its own<sup>5</sup> (Danforth, 1995, p. 83). In addition, the area is administered by a ministry called Makedonia-Thraki or Macedonia-Thrace.

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<sup>5</sup> The flag depicts the Vergina star that is set on a dark blue background.

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Greek historians and politicians have asserted that the Greek Macedonians were descended from the ancient Macedonians, who are believed to have been a Greek group. This is reinforced by a number of historical and archaeological societies studying the region. Given ancient Macedon's prominence in the Greek world in antiquity, it was held that it formed an integral part of Greek civilization (Danforth, 1995, p. 37). Greek Macedonians were also heralded as an important group during the Greek Revolution (1821-1829), and throughout the Ottoman captivity (see Sakellariou, 1988 [1983]). Finally, any other groups that came to the region are perceived as foreign elements that encroached on Macedonian or Greek territory (Danforth, 1995, p. 38). The notion that the F.Y.R.O.M. claims the word Macedonian for its citizens is an offence to most Greeks (Roudometof, 1996, p. 259).

Individuals living in Bulgaria who reside in Pirin Macedonia refer to themselves as being Macedonians in a regional sense as well. They too claim the region since it was once the seat of a number of successive medieval Bulgarian empires. While Bulgarian officials and nationalists accept the existence of a Macedonian state, they do not believe the Macedonians in the F.Y.R.O.M. to be a separate nation (Roudometof, 1996, p. 266).

The third manner in which an individual may claim to be Macedonian is in an ethnic sense again that is different again in content from the meaning that Macedonians from the F.Y.R.O.M. usually assign to this category (this category will be discussed further in Chapter Five). This view is strongly maintained by anthropologists Anastasia Karakasidou (1993, 1997, *pass.*), and to a lesser extent by Loring M. Danforth (1995). In other words, there are Macedonians who do not consider themselves Greek or Macedonian in a national sense (as in the F.Y.R.O.M.'s definition). It is argued by

Karakasidou and Danforth that certain Dopeii refer to themselves in this manner to discriminate themselves from other ethnic groups in Greek Macedonia (Danforth, 1995, p. 7). However, there is also the possibility that they may identify with either Greece's, the F.Y.R.O.M.'s, or Bulgaria's respective nation.

All these definitions, except the definition of Macedonian that is not connected to the Macedonian or Greek nation, are all state sponsored categories that individuals identify with and draw from. Consequently, there is one cluster of Macedonians who subscribe to the F.Y.R.O.M.'s sense of the word (who are ethnic Macedonians when they live in the diaspora), as well as Greek and Bulgarian Macedonians, and finally, the Dopeii who may or may not believe themselves to be part of any of these nations.

#### 2.2.2 CONFLICTING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The rightful ownership and history connected with the geographical region of Macedonia is claimed and contested among the state representatives and national cultures residing in Greece, the F.Y.R.O.M., and Bulgaria; including the aforementioned groups who are members of these societies (Danforth, 1995, pass.; Roudometof, 1996, pass.). Each party has effectively incorporated a reified version of Macedonia and Macedonian history into its respective national myths, and each believes its own rendition to be the right or truthful version (Roudometof, 1996, p. 257). These interpretations of history continue to exert an affectional impact upon the groups and governments concerned.

As recently as 1991, a heated dispute between the F.Y.R.O.M.'s government and Greece occurred when the 'People's Socialist Republic of Macedonia' (as the F.Y.R.O.M. was known prior to 1991) ceded from the former Yugoslavia and requested recognition by the international community as a country called the 'Republic of

Macedonia' (Roudometof, 1996, pp. 259-60). The dispute between Greece and the F.Y.R.O.M. concerned the former's objection to the formal recognition of the latter on the grounds that its constitution possessed articles within it that the Greek government interpreted as being irrendentist, and that any use of the term 'Macedonia' in the newly-founded state's appellation was tantamount to the theft of Greece's ancient historical and cultural heritage; including the use of particular symbols associated with the region's history, such as the star or sun of Vergina<sup>6</sup> that once adorned its flag (Danforth, 1995, pp. 147-8; Roudometof, 1996, pp. 258-62). This event precipitated a nation-wide and nationalistic movement opposing the recognition of the F.Y.R.O.M. under the name Macedonia in Greece and among communities living within the Greek diaspora (Roudometof, 1996, pp. 259-260). A similar movement opposed to the Greek position took place among Macedonian diaspora groups (Danforth, 1995, p. 87). On the diplomatic scene, the Greek government undertook an economic blockade of goods destined for the F.Y.R.O.M. that entered through the Greek port of Thessaloniki between 1994 and 1995 (Roudometof, 1996, p. 262), severely impairing the country's economic situation. While it seemed that the two parties would not come to an agreement vis-à-vis the newly founded state's future name, six member states of the European Community finally recognized it as the F.Y.R.O.M. in 1993 (Roudometof, 1996, p. 262). The F.Y.R.O.M. changed its flag in view of Greek opposition and renounced any claims to Greek Macedonia, but has not changed opinion in view of its name (Danforth, 1995, pp. 151-3). The Greek state has yet to recognize the F.Y.R.O.M. under its constitutional name (Republic of Macedonia), a standpoint that is based on the Greek state's denial of a

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<sup>6</sup> The Vergina symbol is interpreted as a sun by Macedonian nationalists.

Macedonian nation, nation-state, and language (Danforth, 1995, pass.; Roudometof, 1996, pass.).

With the development of the diplomatic imbroglio concerning the F.Y.R.O.M.'s recognition as the Republic of Macedonia in 1991, the indigenous Slavic-speaking community situated in Greek Macedonia, along with individuals from this community who emigrated to Canada and Australia (after the Second World War), acquired intense scrutiny by scholars in the 1990's (Roudometof, 1996, p. 256; Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 39). The Slavic-speaking community living in Greece figured prominently in this dispute because both camps referred to it in support of their respective claims to the region (Danforth, 1995, p. 108). For Macedonian nationalists, this speech community serves as proof of the existence of a Macedonian nation within Greek Macedonia, and is believed to undermine the Greek claim that Macedonia was and is only Greek (Danforth, 1995, p. 108). Despite this interpretation, Greek nationalists maintain that its bilinguals or Slavophones are nothing less than Greeks (Danforth, 1995, p. 34) who learned various Slavic idiom(s) through the successive incursions of Slavic populations in Greek Macedonia.

The issue concerning who may legitimately claim to be Macedonian remains disputed, not only among people who claim to be Macedonian, but by the states that constitute the territory in this region (Danforth, 1995, p. 154). Each claimant of this region's history disavows the other's claim. Various conceptualizations of a Macedonian territory and definitions of Macedonian result from this disagreement. Though it is not uncommon for different social groups to claim descent from a similar ancestral group, as is the case with the modern Scandinavian nations that claim descent from the Vikings, the

situation concerning Macedonia is different. People today do identify themselves as Macedonians despite the fact that it may refer to three or four groups. The problem is that for these groups, there can only be one meaning of Macedonian, and that only one group be recognized as the authentic Macedonians (Roudometof, 1996, pp. 257-8).

These disputed claims to Macedonia have had significant historical consequences for the people living in the region since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The issue dominated the political agendas of Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia for decades. Thus, in the following section, a brief historical review of important political events that affected the region will be presented. Certain of the region's historical figures will be mentioned in order to contextualize some of the symbols and political events that have been central to the Macedonian Conflict. Finally, as the review progresses, the emphasis will be placed on historical developments that took place within the confines of Greek Macedonia proper, as this will explain some of the events that have marked the identity of the Dopia and shaped their lives.

## 2.3 A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE REGION'S POLITICAL HISTORY

### 2.3.1 MACEDONIA OF ANTIQUITY: PHILIP II, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND THESSALONIKI

The people who forged the kingdom of Macedon and are known to us as the historical Macedonians were originally a group called the Makedones. Though their origins remain obscure, the appellation Makedones most likely comes from the term Makednon, which means high or tall, possibly denoting a 'highlander' (Borza, 1990, p. 71). They came to be known as Makedones when they migrated to the Pierian Mountains from the mountainous region of 'Upper Macedonia' (present day Western Greek Macedonia) (Borza, 1990, pp. 69-71). They arrived at the area south of present-day



Veroia during the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Borza, 1990, p. 78), and from their base city of *Aegae* (near the modern village of Vergina), they gradually expanded onto the plain below<sup>7</sup>.

Macedon developed into a significant power within the Mediterranean world under the direction of the Argead<sup>8</sup> or Argive dynasty. It is unclear when this royal house was established<sup>9</sup>, though it continued into the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. During the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the area that the Makedones occupied was richly forested, and it supplied the Greek city-states, especially Athens, with lumber. Under the reign of Alexander I, Macedon prospered economically when its influence extended into the lands east of the Axios River and west of the Strymon River<sup>10</sup> (Borza, 1990, p. 120). However, following the death of Alexander I (454 B.C.), disputes concerning the succession among the Argead family and the activities of neighbouring foreign powers such as Illyria, Thrace, and southern Greece, significantly reduced the influence of the state (Borza, 1990). These problems characterized Macedonian society up until the ascension of Philip II (sometime in 360 B.C.).

In the fourth century B.C., the Macedonian empire reached its zenith during the reign of Philip II (360-336 B.C.) and his son, Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.). Philip II was instrumental in re-building the Macedonian military, which placed strong emphasis on the use of its cavalry during battles (Borza, 1990, pp. 202-3, 205). Philip II

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<sup>7</sup> By the time of Amyntas I (late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), the kingdom included most of the plain that occupies present-day Central Greek Macedonia west of the Axios River.

<sup>8</sup> It came to be called Argead because of a claim made by one member, Alexander I the Philhellene, that the family was of Greek origin<sup>8</sup> (Borza, 1990, pp. 82-3). It was his conviction that he was a descendant of Temenus, a mythical figure who supposedly came to the region after having been banished from the Greek city-state of Argos (Borza, 1990, p. 80). The emphasis placed on the Greek ancestry of the Argead house by Alexander I (who ruled from 498-454 B.C.) was part of a wider diplomatic effort to seal an alliance with the Greek city-states to the south (Borza, 1990, p. 113). It was also during his reign that the royals embarked on a process of Hellenization (Borza, 1990, p. 131).

<sup>9</sup> It may have been established as early as 650 B.C. (Borza, 1990, p. 84).

<sup>10</sup> The mines located in the area then known as Crestonia provided much revenue for the Argeadae (Borza, 1990, pp. 120, 124).

enforced a number of agricultural projects that stimulated the country's prosperity (Borza, 1990, p. 216). However, through the use of both force and diplomacy (e.g. marriage), he was able to neutralize Macedon's traditional enemies to the north and east, and forge alliances with the Greeks of Thessaly and Epirus (Borza, 1990, p. 209). Most importantly, he was successful in uniting the Makedones who resided in peripheral areas outside of Central Macedonia, such as in Elimea and Lynceus (present-day Kozani, and Florina) (Borza, 1990, p. 210). Philip's coup de grace occurred when he conquered the combined armies of the Greek city-states at the battle of Chaeronea in 338-7 B.C. and become the de facto the ruler of Greece (Borza, 1990, p. 226). In effect, Philip forged an empire that spanned Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Thrace, Illyria, and southern Greece (Borza, 1990, p. 227). Upon his assassination in 336 B.C., Alexander the Great ascended to the throne during which he undertook a campaign to capture the Persian Empire (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 126). In the ten years that he ruled, he defeated the Persian Empire, Egypt, and pushed on into the Indus Valley (present-day Pakistan) (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p.126). Alexander succumbed to illness and his empire was then divided among his generals (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 113). Macedonia, which had come under control by the Antigonid family, would forfeit their rule to the Roman Republic in 168 B.C. (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 192). Macedonia was subsequently divided in four quadrants or *merides*, and its ruling class was exiled (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 192). In 148 B.C., it became a Roman province. Although it had experienced a devastating setback during its occupation, prosperity soon returned to the region with the building of the Via Egnatia highway and the influx of Roman colonists who settled in Pella and Amphipolis, as well as in other towns (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 196).

Thessaloniki became an important city during Roman rule as Caesar Galerius and Emperor Constantine made the town their headquarters in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 221). The region re-acquired its importance when the Roman capital was moved to the city of Byzantium (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 224). Thus, whereas it had been a veritable world power during antiquity, Macedon was enmeshed into the various political entities that became dominant thereafter.

The historical legacy that the Macedonians of antiquity bequeathed upon Western civilization was the rapid spread of Greek ideas throughout the Mediterranean basin and to the civilizations residing in the East (Borza, 1990, p. 226). Among the conquering Macedonian armies were Greeks who took part in Alexander's campaigns (Borza, 1990, p. 226). Alexander the Great had a number of settlements created throughout the Middle East and modern-day Pakistan, most often named after him. Alexander's conquests ushered forth a new historical epoch called the Hellenistic period in which Greek art and political ideas were taken up by other known civilizations<sup>11</sup> (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 126, 131).

### 2.3.2 MACEDONIA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

In the Middle Ages, the people and political structures that existed in Macedonia in this period were affected by the influx and settlement of various foreign peoples into the region. Macedonia became part of the East Roman Empire that survived the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. The East Roman Empire later became the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Empire was a Christian empire that by the 8<sup>th</sup> century was ruled by a Greek-speaking ruling class that resided in Byzantium or Constantinople.

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<sup>11</sup> As well, Greek historiographers often point out that Philip II and Alexander's military campaigns brought about the first political unification of the disparate Greek peoples prior to the creation of the Greek state in 1830 A.D.

Under this landed aristocracy, Thessaloniki became the second most important city after the capital and remained an important settlement in the southern Balkans throughout the Middle Ages and up to the Modern Period (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 224).

The chief historical development that affected the society living in Macedonia was the settlement of various foreign populations in the region. The most notable people to have settled there were the Sklavenoi or Slavs beginning in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 250-6, 313-4), and the Ottoman Turks in 1354. The Slavs first entered Byzantine territory under the guidance of the Avars, and on a number of occasions attempted to take the cities of Thessaloniki and Constantinople (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 250-3). With the exception of a number of revolts, the Byzantines were successful in integrating the Slavs into their territory by giving them permission to occupy various territories in Macedonia, Thessaly, and central and southern Greece in exchange for their labour and military services (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 257-8). By the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Slavs eventually became loyal subjects of the Byzantine rulers and peacefully co-existed with other Byzantine subjects (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 252, 254). However, relations between the Byzantines and other Slavic groups were not as amicable. For example, throughout the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Byzantines waged a number of wars against the Bulgarian state that challenged the integrity of the Byzantine Empire, though the Byzantines maintained their rule in the southern Balkans.

Byzantine Macedonia succumbed to a number of invasions and internecine wars among the ruling class that stripped the area of its former prosperity. Thessaloniki was captured by Arab pirates in 904 (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 280), and by the Normans in 1185 (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 287). In the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the nascent empire of

the Bulgarians did much to curb Byzantine influence in the Balkans. Moreover, during the Fourth Crusade, the Franks captured Constantinople and Thessaloniki in 1204, and created the Kingdom of Thessaloniki (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 306-8). This last blow essentially incapacitated the Byzantine Empire and sent it into its nadir. Similarly, Macedonia and the Greek peninsula was later overrun by the Serbian kingdom under the leadership of Stephen Duscan in 1355 (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 314) before it and the Ottoman Turks<sup>12</sup> conquered the entire populace residing in the Balkans (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 316-8).

### 2.3.3 OTTOMAN RULE AND THE RUM MILLET

With the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, Macedonia became part of a theocratic Muslim empire, the rule of which endured into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1430-1913). Their rule during the first two centuries of the captivity, this rule brought many hardships for its subjects. A mass exodus among the Christians located on the plains took place as they fled to the nearby hills to avoid persecution (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 354); though they were to return to the plains in the following centuries. The Ottomans were responsible for settling Muslim Turks on the plains and in some mountain communities (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 356-7). For example, the modern town of Yiannitsa was founded by Turkish settlers. Along with the arrival of the Ottomans to Macedonia there ensued mass conversions to Islam on the part of the Christian subjects who wished to maintain their estates or avoid paying taxes.

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<sup>12</sup> The Ottoman Turks were an expansionist group that initially entered Europe in 1354 as mercenaries on the part of the Byzantine nobility in their feuds of succession. They turned on their patrons and captured the city of Gallipoli. From there, they went on to defeat a number of combined Christian armies and in 1430 A.D., secured their acquisition of Macedonia with the capture of Thessaloniki. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they had managed to control the entire Balkan peninsula.

Upon having consolidated their rule, the Turks set out to organise the various Christian groups within the empire into the Rum millet. A millet was a religious community that people of the same faith belonged to. The Rum millet, which comes from the word Rumelia as the Balkans were then called, was represented by the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 49-50). The millet was comprised of Slavic, Vlach<sup>13</sup>, Albanian, Greek, and Romanian-speaking groups that were to be found throughout the peninsula. The Ecumenical Patriarchate was responsible for its flock and was also entitled to raise taxes (Jelavich, 1983, p. 50). It later developed into a pseudo-state within the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the Muslim and Jewish populations were organised into their own millets (Jelavich, 1983, p. 49). The Jewish community originally came to Macedonia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century from various European and North African localities and came to dominate various trades (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], pp. 354-5). Many settled in towns and brought with them valuable craft skills that would later improve the region's economy. In effect, the Ottomans discriminated its populace according to their religious affiliation since it was a theocratic society (Jelavich, 1983, p. 40). Religious and educational freedoms were not prohibited (Jelavich, 1983, p. 48).

Turkish rule in Rumelia was neither heavy-handed nor uniform. Indeed, certain areas of the Ottoman dominion enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 39, 48). The Christian peasantry was made to work on timars or fiefs that belonged to Turkish landowners, the conditions of which were to deteriorate in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 58-9). Though they were not permitted to own land themselves until the 1860's (Gounaris, 1993, p. xi), they did not fare any worse than

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<sup>13</sup> Vlach is a traditional or oral language related to the Romance language-group (see Balamaci, 1991).

their Muslim compatriots (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 42, 60). They paid a tax since they were not meant to enter the military service (Jelavich, 1983, p. 40). Christian communities were also expected to hand over their most gifted male children over to the Ottoman authorities every three to seven years so that they could become part of the Janissary corps, the Sultan's elite warrior caste, who also occupied administrative posts (Jelavich, 1983, p. 41). Many Christians managed to occupy important positions within the empire's administration<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, depending on the circumstances of their conquest in the first place and the activities of the community, certain economic privileges were awarded to various towns and villages (Jelavich, 1983, p. 39). The economic situation of Christian subjects in Macedonia began to improve in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as the Ottomans stopped their invasion of Europe and the Greek, Vlach, and Slavic-speaking individuals began taking up residence in the towns as merchants (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 355).

By far the most important result of Ottoman rule was the fact that it incorporated the various Christian subjects into one single religious community. Despite their differences in language, they formed a cultural entity in which ethnic boundaries were not pronounced. Through the vehicle of a common faith and ritualized activity, the integration of different linguistic communities became possible (Sakellariou, 1988 [1983], p. 355; see Karakasidou, 1997). A great deal of sharing and peaceful co-existence occurred among members of the Rum millet, though this would eventually come to change in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Contemporary national categories such as Greek or

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<sup>14</sup> For example, a community of eleven Greek-speaking families living in Constantinople called the Phanariotes were entrusted by the Ottomans to administrate the vassal Romanian principalities (Jelavich, 1983, pp. 101-4). Other communities were permitted the right to form militias that protected certain mountain passes as in the Pierian mountains.

Bulgarian carried different meanings in this society and did not refer to modern national categories. Instead, they implied a particular economic class. A Greek commonly referred to a merchant class that spoke Greek, was Greek Orthodox in faith, and possessed Greek names. However, individuals who did not have Greek as their mother tongue were included in this category. In a similar manner, a Bulgarian referred to a peasant who in most cases spoke a dialect of Bulgarian. Greek speakers who were peasants came to adopt a Slavic dialect whereas individuals who lived in towns and became merchants came to be recognized as Greek merchants. Linguistic and cultural boundaries were fluid within the various millets. In the end, the result was that in Macedonia, an ethnically mixed, heteroglot religious community came into being.

The Rum millet later became politically charged and fragmented in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when a variety of nationalist movements politicized the pre-existing ethnic categories that existed in Macedonian society. This was precipitated by the decline in Ottoman rule<sup>15</sup> and on account of various nationalist movements that had taken place among the Christian community.

#### 2.3.4 IRREDENTIST CLAIMS TO MACEDONIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY: THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

Macedonia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century attracted the attention of the great powers of the day. A couple of centuries after the region's incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, a number of European travellers visited the area and were astounded to find out that a large

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<sup>15</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Ottoman rule gradually deteriorated for a variety of internal and external reasons; chief of these being the gradual loss of control by the ruling government to the various regional leaders throughout the empire. As well, after a number of military defeats, the Ottomans persistently made detrimental concessions to foreign European powers. Finally, the political principle of nationalism also made its way to the Balkans following the French Revolution. This in turn led to a number of nationalist movements on the part of various Christian subjects, which brought about existence the autonomous states of Greece, Serbia, and Romania that signalled the end of Ottoman rule (see Jelavich, 1983; Clogg, 1986).



mixed Christian population thrived there (Wilkinson, 1951, p. 10). By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the region had become a grain, tobacco, and cotton producing region whose further development became a matter of interest among the Western European empires and Russia (see Gounaris, 1993). As of 1877-8, the deterioration of Ottoman control became obvious to these states. The welfare of the remaining Christian population living in Ottoman Macedonia became a pertinent political issue that the great powers of the day seized upon, bolstered by the fact that the region showed potential economic incentives that they might gain from (Gounaris, 1993, p. 9). According to most observers of the region, Slavic-speakers dominated the linguistic landscape to the north, northeast; Greek was predominantly spoken in urban centres and to the south (Gounaris, 1993, p. 7). The population in the centre situated near the modern borders of the F.Y.R.O.M. and Greece were heteroglot, but mostly Slavic-speaking. Turkish enclaves were to be found throughout the region<sup>16</sup>. Despite having adopted some internal reforms to better the condition of its Christian population, the Ottoman authorities were unable to remedy the political situation that developed in Macedonia by diplomatic means.

The plight of Ottoman rule in Macedonia fuelled the irredentist programs of the newly founded Balkan states. The first nation-state to stake a claim to the region of Macedonia was the principality of Bulgaria. Bulgaria<sup>17</sup> was recognized as an autonomous principality in 1878 following the Congress of Berlin (Gounaris, 1993, p. 6). The Bulgarian state came to fruition via a nationalist movement in 1876 that was supported by Russia, and was part of a wider concession that the Ottomans submitted to the Russians during the Russo-Turkish War (1877-8). However, the first impetus

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<sup>16</sup> See Wilkinson (1951) for a historical survey of the region's maps that depicted its ethnic and linguistic composition.

<sup>17</sup> Greece was recognized as a state in 1830 and became a kingdom in 1832.

towards sovereignty occurred in 1871 when the Bulgarian Exarchate Church was founded (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 8). The Greek Ecumenical Patriarch declared this church schismatic and a feud was precipitated between these parties (Kofos, 1989, p. 238; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 8). The Ottomans permitted any see in which two thirds of the population wished to join the new church to be ruled by the Exarchate. The founding of this church was a response to the cultural influence that the Greek-speaking clerics and merchants in the empire had acquired (Jelavich, 1983, p. 38). The Congress of Berlin (1878), which ended hostilities among Russia and the Ottoman Empire, was in part a new adaptation of a previous agreement called the San Stefano Treaty (1877) that had it been ratified, would have accorded Bulgaria a large section of Macedonia (Gounaris, 1993, pp. 5-6). The Bulgarian administration was not pleased with the amendments of the Berlin Treaty and expanded into the province of Eastern Rumelia in 1885, a territory bordering Thrace (Gounaris, 1993, p. 7). Through the Exarchate, it continued to sway people within its sees to join Bulgaria's irrendentist program in Macedonia. Bulgarian language schools were opened up and attempted to influence the inhabitants into adopting a Bulgarian national consciousness (Kofos, 1989, p. 236; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 8). Bulgarian statesmen and nationalists at the time were convinced that Macedonia was inhabited by unredeemed brethren (Kofos, 1989, p. 238). According to them, individuals who spoke a Slavic language and were members of the Exarchate church were indeed Bulgarians (Kofos, 1989, pp. 236-7).

In a counter-reaction to the Bulgarian activities that were taking place in Macedonia, the Greek state sponsored a similar program in the region that was meant to Hellenize its inhabitants (Kofos, 1989, p. 236; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, pp. 7-

8). The Greek government was cognizant of elements within Macedonian society that were sympathetic to its cause since a number of sporadic revolts against the Ottoman authorities took place in tandem with the efforts of other fighters who were involved in the Greek Revolution (1821-1829) (Kofos, 1989, pp. 231, 235); specifically in the regions surrounding Veroia and Chalkidiki. This was a part of a larger irredentist program called the Megali Idea or Great Idea<sup>18</sup> that acquired popularity in the 1840's (Clogg, 1986). In fact, the idea was that the Byzantine Empire should be resurrected and take the place of the decaying Ottoman Empire. In Greece, a number of teachers from the University of Athens were sent to Macedonia and organisations devoted to Greek letters were created in Macedonian communities with the aim of promulgating a Greek national consciousness among its inhabitants. Greek statesmen believed that any region in which adherents of the Greek Orthodox faith were to be found and connected with ancient Greece, were to become the dominion of the Greek state (Pentzopoulos, 1962; Kofos, 1989, pp. 232-3). In this way, communities that recognised to the Greek Patriarch were interpreted as having Greek national feelings (Kofos, 1989, p. 231).

The Serbian kingdom also undertook a similar view towards the Slavic-speaking communities in Macedonia though at a later time in the 1890's, interpreting them as Serbian nationals. So did the Romanian principality, which after 1870, founded Romanian schools in Macedonian communities where Vlach-speakers were located. Finally, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (I.M.R.O.), an association of Bulgarian schoolteachers and armed bandits established in 1893 (Gounaris, 1993, p.

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<sup>18</sup> Those who sponsored the Great Idea were convinced that the Greek state's economic plight would be alleviated if all Greeks, the vast majority of whom resided within the Ottoman Empire, were united within the Greek kingdom; as well as the richer centres such as Constantinople, Macedonia, and Smyrna (modern-day Izmir).

8), staged a revolt outside the modern town of Krushevo in 1903, claimed the region as well. Among this group, a segment was convinced that Macedonia should become an independent state, whereas others thought this would be a necessary step before become unified with the Bulgarian state (Gounaris, 1993, pp. 8-9; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 9).

It was in this period that national narratives supported the ideological claims of each rival state in the region (see Kofos, 1989, pp. 232-3). Ironically though, despite the efforts of these groups to get people to identify as themselves Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians, or Macedonians, national affiliation in Macedonia developed relatively late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup>. During the Ottoman period, most identified themselves with their families, clans, villages, and finally, as Christians (Agelopoulos, 1995, p. 252). Though the conflict over the region had adverse affects on the inhabitants and polarized their society into a number of camps that supported any one of the aforementioned national causes, national identification was not readily accepted. Ethnic and national identification among Ottoman Macedonia's inhabitants were not permanently engrained prior to 1913 (Gounaris, 1996, pp. 414, 420-1; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 4). Seeing that national identity was latent among these communities, the aforementioned nationalist groups intensified their activities and gave rise to what is known as the Macedonian Question; a competition that would come to dominate Balkan politics (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 9).

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<sup>19</sup> Affiliation with the respective national projects active during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Macedonia on the part of the peasantry was not long-standing. Many choices on the part of communities to adopt a Greek or Bulgarian or Serbian orientation were imposed upon pre-existing cleavages within communities and self-profit (Gounaris, 1996, p. 420). In short, they were not long lasting and the proof resides in the fact that Greek, Slavic, and Vlach speaking communities were often divided among themselves when it came to which nation-state they would support. Moreover, national affiliation was in many cases shifting.

The contest between the parties involved in the Macedonian Question intensified into an armed conflict from 1903-1908, similar to a civil war that took place within Ottoman territory that subsequently ended with the Balkan Wars (1912-3) (Kofos, 1989, p. 241; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 9). In the 1890's Bulgaria sent in armed irregular bandits into the region, as did the Greek government after 1903. Both camps burnt churches, schools, and terrorized the population in hopes of having them adopt their respective national causes (Kofos, 1989, p. 241; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 9). Following the Illiden Uprising by members of the I.M.R.O. in 1903, the conflict degenerated into an armed confrontation principally between Greek and Bulgarian irregulars<sup>20</sup>. It was during this time frame that the inhabitants were violently forced to choose a side in the conflict (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 8). However, a resolution to the conflict occurred only when Macedonia was partitioned during the end of the first Balkan War in 1912 when Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria formed an alliance and attacked the Ottoman Empire. During the Second Balkan War (1913), Greece and Serbia fought against the Bulgarians who were unhappy with their share of the territory<sup>21</sup>. In this way, Greece acquired 51.5% of the territory, while Serbia acquired 38.4%, and Bulgaria was left with 10.1% (Kofos, 1964, p. 44). Each state then undertook nationalizing processes in their territories in order to consolidate their rule over the inhabitants and the region.

### 2.3.5 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The Balkans Wars did not conclude the peace between Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Hostilities concerning the region again flared up once again after its tripartite

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<sup>20</sup> Hostilities between all parties ended with the Young Turk Revolution (1908) (Gounaris, 1993, p. 9).

<sup>21</sup> The Treaty of Bucharest (1913) terminated the hostilities between Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Turkey. According to this treaty, Greece was awarded the southern extent of Macedonia.

division. During WWI when Bulgaria attacked the Allies, it occupied Eastern Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace in 1916 and 1918 (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 50); the war between them ended in 1919 when the Treaty of Neuilly was signed. However, Bulgaria would not give up its irredentist aspirations to the region until the end of WWII. The Bulgarian perspective on the issue was adopted by the world's communist parties or the Comintern during the 1920s (Kofos, 1989, p. 245; Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 10). It supported a platform that furthered the idea that Macedonia should be unified and transformed into an independent, socialist state<sup>22</sup>. During WWII, Bulgaria seized the opportunity to occupy Central and Eastern Greek Macedonia, and the present territory of the F.Y.R.O.M. when it sided with the Axis powers (Kofos, 1989, pp. 243-4). In these areas, it established Bulgarian schools in an attempt to inculcate a Bulgarian national identity among its inhabitants. In Greece, 120000 thousand Bulgarians settled during the occupation, only to be ousted at its end (Kofos, 1964).

The 20<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed the birth of a Macedonian state that forged its own national identity. Following the end of WWII, Yugoslavia adopted a federated political system in 1944 in which its section of Macedonia became the People's Republic of Macedonia. The inhabitants therefore became part of the Macedonian nation and had their language officially codified and adopted as the republic's language. This transition was facilitated by the unsuccessful Serb administration during the interwar period (1918-1941) and occupation by the Bulgarians during WWII (Roudometof, 1996, p. 264). In this way, the Macedonian nation came to be acknowledged officially for the first time.

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<sup>22</sup> This platform was briefly accepted by the Greek Communist Party (K.K.E.) in 1924, though it would come to reject it in 1935 on the grounds that the rest of the population in Greek Macedonia would resist such a feat (Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 45-6). However, it would adopt the platform that all of Greece's ethnic minorities should be equal members of a Greek democratic society.

Under Marshal Tito's guidance, the local communist party called the Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Macedonia (A.S.N.O.M.) adopted a policy the aim of which was to liberate Greek and Pirin Macedonia from Greek and Bulgarian rule and to unify all the members of the Macedonian nation (Roudometof, 1996, pp. 266-7). During WWII, Partisan fighters under Tito's command also made forays into Western Greek Macedonia to assist the German occupation there in conjunction with the 'Greek People's Liberation Army' (E.L.A.S.) cooperation (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 52); which was the military arm of the Greek communist resistance movement called the 'National Liberation Front' (E.A.M.). During the resistance in 1943, the E.A.M. leadership created the 'Slav Macedonian Liberation Front' (S.N.O.F.), a sister organisation of E.A.M. that enlisted Slavo-Macedonians into their ranks. The purpose of creating S.N.O.F. was to keep the Yugoslav Partisans at bay along the borders of Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 52). However, among this group were fighters<sup>23</sup> who adopted a Macedonian national identity through their interaction with Yugoslav Macedonians, who were propagating the existence of a Macedonian homeland in Yugoslavia (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 52). E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. disbanded S.N.O.F. and Tito himself called back his resistance fighters in 1944.

With the onset of the Cold War, relations between Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria would only become friendly after the 1950s and 1960s. The Macedonian issue remained dormant for close to half a century. With the fall of the Soviet Empire and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of Macedonia became an independent state. As a result, there exist two Macedonia's, each with its own culture.

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<sup>23</sup> Around 3000 men later left Greece to join the People's Republic of Macedonia, to be followed by more in 1944 (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 52).

## 2.4 GREEK MACEDONIA SINCE ITS INCORPORATION INTO GREECE

### 2.4.1 ACCLIMATION TO GREEK SOCIETY

Under Greek administration, the overwhelming majority of Greek Macedonia's inhabitants developed a Greek national identity gradually throughout the interwar period (1918-1941) and later (Danforth, 1995, p. 73; Karakasidou, 1996, p. 99; Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 36). Upon the Greek state's successful acquisition of Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace (1919), statesmen undertook a Hellenizing mission (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 1) in the area that would later intensify in the 1920s and 1930s. It was at the same time widespread and affected by local circumstances (Agelopoulos, 1997, p. 148; Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 40-41; Van Boeschoten, 2000; Cowan, 2001). While having enjoyed a long history in some of its regions, the Greek presence in Greek Macedonia was only secured and furthered after the Balkan Wars. For the first time, individuals were brought into contact with the Greek state, a government whose society was predicated on modern institutions as opposed to the religiously segmented society of past. Since then, the region has become an integral part of the Greek cultural landscape.

The Greek state integrated both the territory and its inhabitants into Greek society with the aid of its military, educational system (Karakasidou, 2000a), a change in land tenure, an ideological connection to the region, and repopulation. From 1913 onwards, successive Greek governments attended to the mass conscription of men into the Greek military and mass education in Greek. Mass conscription was resisted by some (see Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 50; Vlasidis, 1998), since Christian Ottoman subjects were not required to serve in the military. From the mid-1920s and onward, religious services and



education were only to be conducted in Greek<sup>24</sup> (Danforth, 1995, p. 69). Hydraulic projects in the plains were established and land reforms were put into effect whereby previous swamplands and Muslim lands were appropriated by the state in a land reclamation process. A modernization and industrialization program was later put into force during the 1960s and 1980s, changing the economic plight of the region. The Thessaloniki fair was created with the intention of inviting foreign investment into the northern regions and stimulating economic activity (Mackridge, 1997, p. 176). Consequently, Greek Macedonia in the 1930s remained a significant grain and tobacco-growing region as it once was under the Ottomans. As well as a change in land tenure, between 1913 and 1928, a committee oversaw the change in places names that were previously Turkish or Slavic and replaced these with the Greek names of ancient Macedonian places (Danforth, 1995, p. 69); with the aim of erasing some the region's previous landmarks (Mackridge, 1997, p. 174). Family names that did not have a Greek ring to them were replaced with Greek names as well (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 10), though there is some controversy as to how this came to be<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, any epitaphs or inscriptions that adorned church walls in any Slavic language were torn down and removed (Danforth, 1995, p. 69). Hence, the region came to be more legible (as per Scott, 1998) to Greek authorities than it was previously.

In the ideological sphere, a number of indigenous literary magazines, institutions, and the University of Thessaloniki<sup>26</sup> were created in the 1920's with the aim to naturalize

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<sup>24</sup> With the exception of the Turkish and Jewish minorities and the pro-Romanian Vlach communities, religious rites were conducted in Greek.

<sup>25</sup> Danforth (1995) and Karakasidou (1993), mention explicitly that people were forced to change their names. However, Vlasidis and Karakostanoglu (1995, p. 161) mention that no record exists of such an initiative.

<sup>26</sup> The university produced the teachers and agronomists who would help develop the region (Mackridge, 1997, p. 176).

the region into the Greek landscape and imagination (Mackridge, 1997, pp. 176-7; Kehayia-Lipourli, 1997). During the 1930's and onwards many publications in Greek prose had been produced by local writers with the result that Greek Macedonia too grew to have a place in the Greek literary tradition (Mackridge, 1997). Transforming the city of Thessaloniki into a landmark of Hellenism was necessary in incorporating Greek Macedonia into Greek society's cultural mantle.

By far the most ardent effort of Greek authorities to assimilate the various ethnic groups within Greek society was Prime Minister Ioannis Metaxas' prohibition on non-Greek languages. The Metaxas regime (1936-1941) embarked on a cultural revolution to restore Greece to the greatness that it once was in antiquity. Metaxas conceptualized Greece's society as an organism made up of various parts, and thought that all society was obligated in restoring Greece's prestige (Carabott, 1997, p. 60). This meant that individuals would have to dispense of their non-Greek habits and customs, such as speaking a non-Greek language or not conforming to the regime's political persuasions (Carabott, 1997, p. 60). Metaxas' vision singled out certain segments of society that did not concur with his policies, such as Greeks who observed the Old Calendar, rebetes<sup>27</sup>, communists, trade unionists, and ethnic minorities (Carabott, 1997, p. 60). He enacted a number of laws that would further his program, such as a prohibition on non-Greek languages and a law that restricted the mobility of minority groups to a frontier zone close to the northern borders (Carabott, 1997, p. 68). These laws were implemented haphazardly by lower level civil servants. Those individuals who were caught not speaking Greek were sometimes humiliated publicly by being forced to drink castor oil; others were made to swear oaths to the state, and paint their homes in the country's

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<sup>27</sup> Rebetes were tavern singers who glorified the smoking of drugs in their songs.

colours and fly the Greek flag above them. They were imprisoned, or exiled to other regions within Greece (Carabott, 1997, p. 66). In addition, night schools were set up so that individuals might learn proper Greek (Carabott, 1997, p. 66). The unavailability of media in languages other than Greek and the stigmatization of non-Greek languages spoken by ethnic groups in Greece was a corollary of the Greek national project in Greek Macedonia (Carabott, 1997). It was through this very process that Greek became the predominant mother tongue and language medium in the region, though older inhabitants may be also be versed in non-Greek dialects of Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Vlach, Rom, and Turkish.

While Greek administrators undertook the inclusion of the New Lands into Old Greece<sup>28</sup> through assimilation, the expulsion of certain segments of Greek Macedonia's society during the 1920's and the Greek Civil War (1946-9), and its repopulation by ethnic Greeks from Turkey achieved the hegemony of the Greek national culture after 1913 in the region (Pentzopoulos, 1962; see also Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 33). The removal of previously entrenched groups, such as the Muslim community and individuals whom were sympathetic to the Bulgarian Kingdom, (i.e. proclaimed Bulgarians or *vulgharizondes*), some Exarchist communities, and some pro-Romanian Vlachs (Vlasidis, 1998), led to the transformation of Greek Macedonian society to the advantage of Greek authorities. Most Muslim landowners<sup>29</sup> and others were compelled to flee from the oncoming Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian troops that fought their way into the area during the two Balkan Wars (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 50). These population movements or

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<sup>28</sup> The continental territories acquired after the Balkan wars were popularly referred to as New Greece whereas southern Greece became known as Old Greece.

<sup>29</sup> As well as individuals or communities who were opposed to either government.

transfers were later cemented in the Neuilly and Lausanne (1923) treaties<sup>30</sup>. The former was signed by Greece and Bulgaria and amended the voluntary transfer of 92000 thousand 'Bulgarians' from Greece to Bulgaria (Kofos, 1964; Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 50), and 53000 thousand 'Greeks' from Bulgaria to Greece. On the other hand, the Lausanne Treaty authorized the involuntary removal of over a million Greek Orthodox adherents from European and Asian Turkey, whereas roughly 300000 Muslims were directed to leave Greek Macedonia, of whom a couple of thousand stayed behind (Kofos, 1964). The majority of these Greek refugees, whom state officials interpreted as ethnic Greeks<sup>31</sup>, were resettled intentionally in Greek Macedonia so that they might buffer northern Greece's population and borders from any irredentist claims to Greek Macedonia or Western Thrace on the part of Serbia or Bulgaria (Pentzopoulos, 1962). This was done again at the end of WWII in the region of Florina (see Van Boeschoten, 2000). Though the arrival of these Christian refugees in Greece was unavoidable, their presence in Greek Macedonia and in Thrace, as outlined in the Lausanne Treaty, was supposed to offset the loss of property left behind in Turkey. Upon entering Greek territory, many refugees died in the urban centres that they flocked to. On account of the mass exodus, unsanitary living conditions befell cities such as Kavala, Thessaloniki, and Edessa. Most families were disadvantaged economically because of the high proportion of females and children among their ranks. Numerous international agencies such as the League of Nations and charitable organisations such as the American Red Cross oversaw the relief effort, during

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<sup>30</sup> It is important to note that these population movements were sanctioned by the international community and were considered a viable means of assuring peace among feuding states. The Venezelist government welcomed the alternatives since the Greek state had been involved in five wars since 1912. The Anatolian Venture (1921) and the Asian Minor Catastrophe put an end to the Megali Idea and any irredentist aspirations on the part of the Greek state (see Pentzopoulos, 1962).

<sup>31</sup> It should be mentioned that within Greek society, the refugees were also a stigmatized group (see Hirschon, 1989) and were not hegemonic.

the late 1920s the Greek state and the Refugee Settlement Committee (put together by the League of Nations) managed to fix the refugees permanently in critical regions that were in many cases inhabited by Slavic-speakers. In a similar fashion during the 1920s, many individuals who had taken up arms in the confrontation with E.L.A.S. against the national forces during the Greek Civil War left Greece, some of whom were Slavic-speakers from the Florina region (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 37). Individuals who sided with E.L.A.S. left Greece and remained in Communist countries such as Yugoslavia and Russia so that they could avoid internment and persecution by Greek authorities, though some were to return home. Western Greek Macedonia was a hotbed for Communist resistance activities and people living in places such as Kastoria and Florina witnessed much of the fighting and devastation that was incurred during the war's wake (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 53). At the end of World War II and the Greek Civil War, many residents of Western Greek Macedonia mass migrated to countries such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia for various reasons (Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 52-3; Van Boeschoten, 2000, pp. 37-8), chief among these being the area's impoverishment during the two wars and because some individuals found their political orientations incompatible with those of the dominating political culture. Many Slavic-speakers left because of repressive state policies (Danforth, 1995, pp. 185, 235). Therefore, the mass exoduses of certain segments of Greek Macedonian society after 1913, notably the Muslim, various Slavic-speaking communities, and the Jewish minority that was removed by the Germans in WWII (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 7), were instrumental in establishing Greece's rule in Greek Macedonia and Thrace. Consequently, any future encroachments or challenges to its sovereignty on the part of the I.M.R.O., Bulgaria, or Serbia in the region would be

considered illegitimate since the overwhelming majority of Greek Macedonia's citizens were believed to be of Greek nationality (Pentzopoulos, 1962; Kofos, 1964). Likewise, Greeks from various regions such as Thessaly, Crete, and southern Greece also settled in Greek Macedonia as teachers, officers, soldiers, and administrators after its annexation (Danforth, 1995, p. 71). In Florina, various villages around the Prespa region were resettled by Vlach-speakers from Epirus (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 33).

#### 2.4.2 DEALING WITH THE PRESENT

The geographic region of Macedonia and its historical legacies were appropriated by the intelligentsia of three distinct national cultures that currently share the territory. Its history piqued the imagination of numerous intellectuals both in the Balkans and in various Western societies. Most importantly, since it was a meeting place of various civilizations and cultures, it provided the material from which national reification, or ideological constructions were made in the first place by modern Greeks, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. Greeks nationalists claim the region on the basis that the Makedones spoke ancient Greek and were part of the ancient Greek world; a view that is widely accepted by classicists (see Sakellariou, 1983). Macedonian nationalists from the F.Y.R.O.M. claim to be Macedonians because their ancestors and the language they speak today was derived from the people that lived there from the medieval period and onward. They too neglect the diversity of other cultures that lived in the region in the past, and the fact that Macedonia as a political entity ceased to exist in 148 B. C. Because of these claims, there are at least three official cultural understandings of Macedonia. This is a development that clearly began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the precipitation of various pre-existing nationalist movements. With the help of various

means that states have at their disposal, these independent nationalizing movements intensified in the region in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These definitions of Macedonia and Macedonians were eventually accepted by the people living there, resulting in the existence of different Macedonians.

While Macedonia as a geographic entity may seem unitary, it belies the fact that it belongs to three different, unconnected national cultures. Although the historic flow of people within the region may have been prevalent before and during the Ottoman period, this is no longer the case since national and culture borders have become fixed. In Greek Macedonia, people of disparate ethnic backgrounds have come to adopt Greek culture and have come to perceive themselves as Greeks and Greek Macedonians. Moreover, they have come to perceive their territory as 'the Macedonia'. In the Bulgarian section of Macedonia, the same process occurred whereby individuals adopted a Bulgarian national identity. To a lesser extent, the same may be said of the Macedonian national culture that is to be found in the F.Y.R.O.M.. In other words, there may be one region of Macedonia, but symbolically, there are three different Macedonias that each have their own internal diversity.

### CHAPTER THREE: THE ETHNIC MOSAIC IN GREECE

Ever since the population transfers between Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey were completed, Greek society has been heralded as one of the most ethnically homogenous nation-states in southeastern Europe by academic commentators (see Pentzopoulos, 1962, pp. 126, 129). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Greece's society<sup>32</sup> may still be interpreted as relatively homogenous (Herzfeld, 1997, pp. 75, 87). However, the claim that it is ethnically homogenous belies the reality of today, and of the past, for two reasons.

First, Greece did possess a number of ethnic groups and religious groups within its territory ever since it came into being. Traditionally, the areas that have been associated with Greece's ethnic plurality have been the northernly regions of Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, and above all, Greek Macedonia. The latter is notorious today for its ethnic pluralism among anthropologists (Agelopoulos, 1997, p. 133). However, with the exception of its Jewish and Muslim religious communities, no groups other than these are considered minorities and possess any legal status (Stavros, 1995, p. 9). Greece's national culture is assimilationist, and in formal and political terms, did not possess any minorities other than the two previously mentioned. People of varying cultural backgrounds were expected to adopt Greek in their interactions with state representatives, co-religionists, and co-nationalists. Those of Christian persuasion were also expected to become adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church (this is not only the state sponsored religion but the religion of the vast majority of Greek citizens). For decades, Greece's internal plurality was lost on most, with the exception of social scientists who were familiar with the country.

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<sup>32</sup> Greece's population is roughly 10.9 million (United States Department of State, 2003, Country Reports on Human Rights and Practices, ¶ 3).



The second reason that Greece is not wholly homogenous is because in the past decade, it received an inordinate amount of immigrants (Kondis, 2000, pass.). Roughly 500000 strangers live in Greece today (Kondis, 2000, p. 301). The flow of immigration into Greece is unprecedented since it has traditionally been a country from which people have migrated (Kondis, 2000, pp. 293-4).

In this section, a brief description of Greece's traditional and indigenous ethnic groups as well as its newly settled migrants will be presented. Indigenous in this context refers to groups that have inhabited Greece prior to the 1970's. A description of the groups living in Pentalofos will follow as the town's populace is representative of Greece's ethnic variety. It is important to note that the groups that will be discussed next are not viewed as ethnic groups (except by scholars) within Greek society, or by the Greek state. This is not to say that Greeks are completely ignorant of cultural or linguistic differences among certain segments of its society, but that these groups are usually not labelled as such; they simply are a so-and-so. Before beginning, it is necessary to explain a native classification scheme that Greeks employ. Greeks who have no knowledge of the English language are ignorant of the meaning of 'ethnic group' (discussed further in Chapter Three). The word *ethnotikos* (ethnic) is a neologism that is often confused with the word *ethnikos*, which means national (Herzfeld, 1997, p. 76). They speak of *ratses* instead, as did the people in Pentalofos.

### 3.1 RATSA CATEGORIZATION

Within Greek popular discourse, individuals and communities are sometimes described as belonging to a *ratsa* (*ratses* is plural for *ratsa*); a term that translates into race in the English language. However, its meaning falls closer to the word 'stock'. It is

a flexible classificatory and genealogical system that is used to describe the origins and backgrounds of individuals (Danforth, 1989, pp. 170-1) and categorize these into populations (Agelopoulos, 1997, p. 135). Most often, *ratsa* categorization is part of a process of 'othering' that reflects a relationship between different groups or individuals (Herzfeld, 1980, p. 290; as cited in Danforth, 1989, p. 170). *Ratsa* is a biological metaphor that may subsume characteristics such as nationality, ethnicity, regional identity, and kinship ties (Danforth, 1989, p. 170). In this way, it can be applied to refer to a particular nationality, ethnic group, to a regional identity, town, village, or may even be used to describe a family line (Danforth, 1989, pp. 170-1). Individuals connected to a particular *ratsa* are believed to share the same origins, traditional dress, physical traits, habits, customs, and a host of other particular characteristics (Danforth, 1989, pp. 170-1). Moreover, *ratsa* background is usually derived from one's father. It should be understood that the concept of *ratsa* does not necessarily reflect the meaning of the concept 'race', as it is understood in North America; it is more encompassing. The latter usually involves an individual or a community's behaviour being explained away on account of some phenotypic, physical trait. A person's *ratsa* is not always physically evident, and may instead reflect a cultural grouping.

## 3.2 GREECE'S ETHNIC DIVERSITY

### 3.2.1 GROUPS INDIGENOUS TO GREECE

Certain segments within Greek society may be interpreted as ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. According to the definitions found in international law, some may be considered minorities (see Stavros, 1995, p. 9). They shall simply be described as ethnic groups since the minority status of certain collectivities may not be arrived at

arbitrarily. As was illustrated earlier, the Balkan peninsula, and specifically the modern Greek territory, has been inhabited by a variety of cultures since recorded history. Foreign peoples came to settle there, and certain native communities adopted the language and religion of these various groups of newcomers. The most common of these groups that may be referred to as *ratses* in Greece are: the *Arvanites*, the Vlachs, the Sarakatsani, the Dopiai, the Muslims of Thrace, Greek Jews, Greek Catholics, the Gypsies or Rom, the Pontians or Pontic Greeks, the Asia Minor *prosfyges* or refugees, and the Thraciotes. It is important to note that the figures concerning the size of these groups, especially those that may be labelled as ethnic groups, are difficult to estimate due to certain methodological issues. Moreover, the last time state censuses required individuals to report their mother tongue was in 1951 (Danforth, 1995, p. 76). It should also be kept in mind that since their incorporation into Greek society, all groups have become increasingly Hellenized and may not identify themselves as members of an ethnic group. Finally, these abovementioned groups are significantly small in size (Herzfeld, 1997, p. 85).

### 3.2.2 ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS

Greece is home to a number of traditional ethnic groups that are native to Greek soil, most of whom are members of the Greek Orthodox faith. The Arvanites are a group that speak a dialect of Albanian, in addition to Greek. Today, Arvanitic-speaking communities may be found in Attica (the prefecture in which Athens is located), in Epirus, and in Western Greek Macedonia. The Arvanites first came to region of Attica during the Middle Ages and settled in the countryside (Gefou-Madianou, 1999, ¶ 33). A number of individuals of Arvanitic background were particularly active in the Greek War

of Independence (Gefou-Madianou, 1999, ¶ 33). In fact, Arvanites formed a sizeable portion of the Greek Kingdom's armed forces in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gefou-Madianou, 1999 ¶ 34). The Vlachs or Koutsovlachs, who are also known to call themselves Aroumani, speak a language which they call Aromani. The Vlachs, as they are popularly referred to, are believed to have been native to Greece and adopted their language from the Roman settlers who came to Greece during Roman times (Balamaci, 1990, pp. 13-4). Vlach communities were located in mountain ranges where they became involved in transhumant herding; notably in the Grammos and Pindus mountains in Western Greek Macedonia (Schein, 1975, p. 84). Much like the Arvanites, they too were involved in the Greek War of Independence (Schein, 1975, p. 86). In Greek Macedonia, they were part of a number of revolts devoted to this cause. Individuals of Vlach origin were also partly responsible for diffusing the Greek national ideal in many Greek Macedonian localities. The Sarakatsani possessed a similar livelihood to the Vlach communities, though they spoke a unique dialect of Greek (Schein, 1975, pp. 84-5). Likewise, many individuals of Sarakatsani background were members of the Philiki Etairia or Friendly Society, a nationalist organisation that was instrumental in the Greek Revolution (Schein, 1975, p. 87). The Dopii, who are known as Dopii Makedones, Slavophones, or Slavo-Macedonians, speak a number of Macedonian dialects and are only located in Greek Macedonia, predominantly in the western part. Prior to the 1950s, they formed a segment of Greek Macedonian society. They were among the Slavs that settled in Macedonia during the Middle Ages. During the Ottoman period, they served as labourers on the estates of Turkish landowners throughout rural Greek Macedonia. It is estimated that there are between 10000 and 60000 thousand individuals who speak

Macedonian dialects today (Van Boeschoten, 1993; as cited in Danforth, 1995, p. 78). Finally, Greece also possesses a population of Gypsies that are called Roma, Yifti, or Tsigane (see Van Boeschoten, 2000).

The Pontians, Thrakiotes, and Asia Minor prosfyges are the descendants of the Christian refugees who migrated from Turkey and re-settled themselves in Greece from 1914 to 1923; though some trickled into Greece in the 1930's from Russia (see Voutira, 1991). All of these ascriptions each reflect the region from which their ancestors came from: the Pontus or Black Sea littorals; Thraki or Eastern Thrace (which is in part located in modern-day European Turkey and Bulgaria), and Asia Minor or the interior of Asiatic Turkey. Though these groups are considered ethnic Greeks, many maintain their parents or grandparent's regional identity and may be fluent in Turkish or other less spoken Greek dialects (see Giannuli, 1995, p. 277). Most importantly, they maintain a refugee identity and declare that they too are refugees despite their families' 'repatriation', or the fact that they were born in Greece (see Voutira, 1997, pp. 112, 118, 123). Most of the original refugees spoke Turkish<sup>33</sup>, as do some contemporary refugees (Karakasidou, 2000a, p. 69). Likewise, the Ponts speak a dialect of Greek that is not intelligible to Greek speakers of non-Pontian origin. Most refugees were settled in Greek Macedonia, though they may be found throughout Greece. The Pontians and Thrakiotes are mainly to be found in Greek Macedonia as well. It is estimated that 1221849 refugees made their way to Greece by the late 1920s from Turkey, and that 638253 of these individuals settled in Greek Macedonia (Voutira, 1997, p. 119).

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<sup>33</sup> For example, the Karamanlides, which are a small group falling within the Asia Minor refugee category, only spoke Turkish but were practicing Christians.

### 3.2.3 RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The Muslim minority in Thrace is native to Greece and number a little over a hundred thousand. Muslim children are taught Turkish in addition to Greek, and receive religious instruction at both primary and secondary school levels. It has been observed that certain members of this community identify themselves as ethnic Turks (Stavros, 1995, pp. 13-4). Within this community are another small group called Pomaks since they speak a dialect of Bulgarian, though no formal instruction is provided to them. A small number of Gypsies also form part of the Muslim community. Greek Macedonia was also home to a prominent Jewish community that first came to the region in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They too are protected under Greek law, though the community was decimated in the 1940's when the Nazi regime in Greece uprooted them (Mackridge and Yannakakis, 1997, p. 7). The privileges afforded to them are no longer observed by the government. This is due in part to the fact that the community is not populous, numbering around three or four thousand individuals (Stavros, 1995, p. 26, endnote 18). In addition to these, there are Greek Catholic communities that can to be found on a number of Aegean islands. They adopted the religion in the medieval and modern periods when certain Aegean islands came under Frankish or Venetian control.

Thus, even before the state called Greece existed, a number of groups inhabited its space. According to an anthropological view, these groups may be interpreted as ethnic groups. When the Greek state did come into being, it eventually expanded to include these communities into its national culture. When this occurred, individuals were expected to adopt Greek nationality and become members of Greek society. In certain cases, a number of people originating from these communities were instrumental in

bringing the Greek state into their localities, such as the Vlachs, Arvanites, and Sarakatsani, and the Dopiai.

### 3.2.4 MIGRATION TO GREECE SINCE THE 1970'S

In contrast to Greek citizens who migrated during the 1970's to Western European countries, notably Germany, as temporary labourers, Greece today is host to roughly 500000 immigrants (Kondis, 2000, p. 301). Immigrants form roughly 6-7% of the Greek population and 9-11% of the work force (Kondis, 2000, p. 292). Most originated from South-Eastern European and the former socialist countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia (Kondis, 2000, p. 302). As well, they arrived there some time during the 1990's. A number of international, political developments and economic factors lead to this immigration phenomenon. Central to this issue was the collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1989, which prompted citizens residing in former socialist countries to migrate in the droves to the rest of the European continent (Droukas, 1998, p. 347). Many left their homes in hope of securing some form of employment abroad. Greek society was confronted by a low birth rate among its citizens and a shortage of labourers in the work force which was endemic during the late 1980's and 1990's (Droukas, 1998, p. 349). Greece and the other Mediterranean countries within Europe also possessed large informal economies which attracted immigrants mainly from the ex-Soviet block (Droukas, 1998, p. 348); and to a lesser degree, immigrants from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa (Kondis, 2000, p. 302). Many who made their way to Greece were able to find employment there, usually performing menial tasks within the informal economy. Most of all, most immigrants first

made their way into Greece illegally<sup>34</sup> (Droukas, 1998, p. 350). Greece possesses a long coastline that is difficult to monitor, as well as a number of accessible landroutes that are also difficult to guard (Droukas, 1998, p. 350; Kondis, 2000, p. 301). Despite some naturalization reforms, it is estimated that five hundred thousand, non-ethnic Greeks inhabit Greece; 373000 of which are documented (Kondis, 2000. p. 301). The majority of these documented immigrants were Albanian nationals (65%), while 6.53% were citizens of Bulgaria, and 4.52% were born in Romania (Kondis, 2000, p. 302). The vast majority of Albanian migrants are men as well (Kondis, 2000. p. 303) who came to take part in the informal economy commonly on a seasonal work basis (Droukas, 1998, p. 360). The Albanian migrants in Greece have become an underclass that have been excessively stereotyped by the Greek media as criminals (Droukas, 1998, pp. 355-8).

In addition to the half a million immigrants living in Greece, 100000 were ethnic Greeks that re-located there during the 1990's (Kondis, 2000, p. 301), most of whom came from Albania, Russia, Kazakstan, and Georgia (Kondis, 2000, p. 298-301). Those coming from Albania are called Vorioepiotes or Northern Epiotes (Droukas, 1998, p. 350). They constituted the Greek Orthodox community that resided in southern Albania. Given their dismal economic status in Albanian society, they were permitted to engage in seasonal work by the Greek government. It is estimated that no more than fifty thousand came to Greece (Kondis, 2000, p. 299). The migrants from Russia, Kazakstan, and Georgia were Pontian Greeks that came to Greece with the conviction that they would fare better than in their native countries (Kondis, 2000, pp. 299-300). The majority came from Georgia and most Ponts from all three countries moved to Greek Macedonia to be

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<sup>34</sup> As many as 1525203 Albanians entered Greece illegally from January 1992 to April 1998 (Kondis, 2000, p. 301).



reunited with their kin (Kondis, 2000, pp. 299-300). It is estimated that eighty to ninety thousand elected to become naturalized while another sixty thousand stayed in Greece with a tourist visa (Kondis, 2000, p. 300); making their numbers swell to 150000.

Unfortunately, for both Greek and non-Greek migrants alike, Greek society has not been favorable to their presence as many came from other national cultures. Despite providing their labour, many have become exploited by Greek employers since they remain unprotected as they work in the informal economy (Droukas, 1998). It should be mentioned that the Greek state was ill-prepared to deal with illegal immigration of this intensity (Kondis, 2000). In turn, Greek society, which possessed its own ethnic or cultural plurality, may now count many foreigners in its midst. This diversity was evident in Pentalofos, as a number of the abovementioned groups took up residence there in the last century.

### 3.3 IDENTITIES IN PENTALOFOS

Pella is among the mid-sized prefectures in Greek Macedonia. According to the 2001 census, 145797 individuals inhabited the area (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2002). It sends five representatives to the Greek Parliament in Athens. The prefecture's largest town is Yiannitsa and the city of Edessa is the prefecture capital or the prefect's seat. Its economy is based on the cultivation and exportation of various citrus fruits, notably peaches, as well as wheat, and to a lesser extent, it relies on its local tourist trade. The prefecture acquired its name from the village of Pella, which in the 4<sup>th</sup> century was designated as one of Macedon's capital cities by Archelaos I (Borza, 1990, p. 166). Tourists often visit the ruins of the ancient Macedonian palaces there, as well a ski centre on Mt. Voras and the nearby thermal springs also located in this area. Edessa

too, which is famed for its waterfalls, attracts many visitors. Because it is a border region, plenty of goods and travellers heading to central Greece from the east and north make their way there.

Pentalofos is among the prefecture's smaller towns. In 2001, Pentalofos's population was roughly 5000 (National Statistical Service of Greece, 2002), though locals often perceived Pentalofos as having a larger population, claiming that an additional number of foreigners resided in the town. The town lies in Central Greek Macedonia at the western edge of the plain of Almopeia in proximity to Edessa. The topography of the region surrounding the town is mostly flat. Pentalofos is set within three rivers that trickle down from the mountains to the West and the North and provide the area's farmers with an abundance of fresh water.

Pentalofos is studded by two small hills running in a north-south direction; the first hill to the north is referred to as the upper village or simply village (Pano Horio or Horio), while the latter to the south is called the tomb (Toumba); though both hills are not likely to be taller than 30 meters. The *Agora*, which is the town's core, was at one time a part of wide marshland before it was drained by the state in 1936. Pentalofos is distinguishable from other other towns throughout Greece because it was planned according to a grid. A railway track runs through the southern end and the railway station is located on the southern fringe of the *Agora*. It still receives an abundant amount of freight and passenger traffic. Finally, the neighborhoods on the other side of the railway are referred to as 'the station' or *Stathmos*.

The flat topography of the town and its location in the middle of the prefecture makes it a suitable area for intense agriculture and a junction to other major cities.

Pentalofos is a notable peach producing site in Greece, an enterprise that preoccupies a significant percentage of its working population with the produce destined for exportation. Fruit exportation as industry took off in the early 1950s when peach trees were originally brought to the area. Apart from the production of a variety of peaches, some of Pentalofos's farmers also grow apples, pears, prunes, kiwis, and asparagus as well as a variety of vegetables that are produced in green houses. A small segment of the population is employed in the tin-canning factories that package sliced peaches during the late summer, while other factories package and store frozen fruits. Other products that are manufactured in the township are marble and cement products, construction goods, clothing, shoes, fabrics, and blankets. Finally, most people are employed in the service sector, working in the town centre where most local stores and shops are located; it is referred to as the Agora. It is Pentalofos's location on the plain as well as its peach industry that attracted people to its town after the 1950s. Every summer when the harvest period comes around and the factories begin operating, local people note that the town's population swells because of foreigners who come to Pentalofos in search of menial and low paid work in the orchards and in the local industries.

While Pentalofos possessed all the trappings of a bustling town, the townspeople often mentioned that it had been in economic decline since the mid 1990's, saying that many factories do not employ as many people today as they did in the past. The older women in my neighbourhood explained that many foreign workers were being hired instead of Pentalofiotss. The past year was a difficult one in which hail and an early frost damaged many trees and affected the year's yield. Most importantly, the price that peaches are being bought at by factories and cooperative companies has largely remained

the same throughout the past decade. The circulation of the Euro also compounded the economic situation of many in the area.

### 3.3.1 LOCAL IDENTITIES

In Pentalofos, the categorization of *ratses* was prevalent among individuals over the age of thirty. The prominent *ratses* or groups that presently inhabit Pentalofos are: the Ponts, Turcophones, Dopiai, Thrakiotes, Vlachs, Gypsies (Yifti), Cretans, Arvanites, Old Greeks, Albanians, Russians, and Georgians (see Danforth, 1995, p. 117). Most Pentalofiot families are of Pontian background<sup>35</sup>. The Pontians came from a variety of localities of the Pontus region. They settled throughout the Agora and Pano Horio, though the ones that came from Russia during the 1930's settled mostly in the Stathmos section of town (in the east end past the train-tracks). The second largest group to settle in Pentalofos were the Turcophones. In town, the Turcophones are called Saframbolites, as they came from a town in Turkey once called Saframboli. Individuals of Saframbolitic background originally settled in a neighbourhood of the Agora that became called 'ta Saframbolitika'. Following the Saframbolites in terms of size are families of Dopian background. They were the original inhabitants of Pentalofos and lived in the Pano Horio and the Kato Horio. The Dopiai in the Kato Horio were sometimes referred to as Youfti<sup>36</sup>. As well their neighbourhood was sometimes called 'ta Youftika'. The word Yiftos (pronounced Youftos in Pentalofos) is the Greek word for Gypsy, connoting an individual who is of Gypsy background. In Pentalofos, it refers to a person who is dark in complexion, and to a dark *ratsa* originally from Egypt that were settled in region by the ancient Macedonians. They were brought over as labourers. However, no one from

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<sup>35</sup> Mihailidis (1997) mentions that 40000 refugees were settled in Pella after 1923.

<sup>36</sup> Other dark Dopian families may be found in two nearby villages.

this neighbourhood referred to themselves as such because it is a derogatory expression. A small number of Dopian families from the surrounding villages and Florina also came to Pentalofos. They built their homes in the outskirts surrounding the Agora, and within it after the 1950s and 1960s. One informant explained that there were probably two hundred Dopian families in Pentalofos today, though they seemed much fewer<sup>37</sup>. While few resided in Pentalofos proper, the Thrakiotes and the Vlachs also resided in the Agora. A small number of men from the island of Crete, Central and Southern Greece, and from Thessaly, came to Greek Macedonia as teachers and policemen (see Karakasidou, 1997; Danforth, 1995, p. 117); though no families settled in Pentalofos. There were also a handful of families of Gypsies or Tsiganes in the town on the outskirts of Pentalofos. Newcomers to Pentalofos such as the Albanians, Russians, and Georgians settled there in the past 13 years. These groups live throughout the town's neighbourhoods and work as agricultural labourers and other menial jobs.

All the abovementioned groups, with the exception of those that are newly arrived, uniformly consider themselves Greek Macedonians because of their location in the region. Since ancient Pella is situated in the prefecture and was once a capital city in antiquity, locals often take pride in the fact that they are Greek Macedonians, despite the fact that members of these indigenous groups may speak different dialects. However, as shall be shown later, a small number of informants from the station neighbourhood interpret being Macedonian in a slightly different way than do the other groups (see Chapters 4, 5).

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<sup>37</sup> My own estimate of the number of Dopian families in Pentalofos is seventy. In the township itself, there are only three to four villages out of thirteen communities that are solely populated by individuals of Dopian background. Five or six are peopled by individuals of refugee background while the rest are mixed villages. In the entire prefecture, I estimate that one out of three individuals are of Dopian background.

Today, all Pentalofiots operate within the cultural landscape that has been afforded them by their inclusion and membership to Greek society. It should also be mentioned that despite the fact that people are cognizant of their *ratsa* backgrounds, most Pentalofiots describe themselves as Pentalofiots again in a regional sense when speaking to others outside of town.

## CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNIC GROUPS AND NATIONS

In this portion of the thesis, a review of the anthropological literature concerning ethnicity, ethnic groups, ethnic identity, nationalism, and national identity will be provided. This chapter will help illustrate how anthropologists conceptualize ethnicity and whether individuals of Dopian background constitute an ethnic group. As mentioned earlier, despite being derived from the Greek language, the term 'ethnic' (*ethnotikos*) is a neologism whose meaning has not yet gained currency in Greek society (see Cowan, 2001). *Ethnotikos* is usually associated with the word '*ethnikotita*', which means nationality. In the Greek context, the word for nation (*genos*) usually connotes the Greek nation (Herzfeld, 1997, pp. 40-1). In light of this association, it will later (Chapter 5) be shown how a distinction in meaning between the words ethnic and nation may be helpful in rationalizing the existence of local Greek identities such as those mentioned previously. What is to be retained from this section is that ethnic identities are espoused in the context of other identities. Like other forms of identity formation, they entail communication and interaction between two parties. Likewise, it will be shown that ethnicity and ethnicrelations are also influenced by large-scale institutions such as the state (Eriksen, 1993, p. 6).

### 4.1 ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF ETHNIC GROUPS

#### 4.1.1 ETHNICITY AS AN ACADEMIC CONSTRUCT

Ethnicity is a disciplinary construct and an analytical tool that anthropologists and sociologists use to describe a kind of group identity that both individuals and collectivities are believed to manifest, subscribe, and react to (Banks, 1996, p. 6). The term itself was coined by the sociologist David Riesman in 1953, though the root word

'ethnos' is derived from Greek and appeared much earlier and originally meant heathen or pagan (Eriksen, 1993, p. 3). An ethnos referred to a collectivity of individuals that lived and acted together (Jenkins, 1997, p. 9), an understanding of the word that remains today. The sociologist Max Weber was the first to give the concept attention and according to him, ethnic groups were collectivities in which individuals contended that they were of common descent (Jenkins, 1997, pp. 10-11). Within anthropology, an ethnic group is distinguished from other groups in that members believe they are culturally distinct from others and that all members of the group share a common culture, emphasize metaphoric or fictive kinship, typically have collective myths, and esteem endogamous relationships among members (Eriksen, 1993, p. 12).

The contemporary anthropological understanding of ethnicity has subsumed a number of theories from a variety of disciplines, especially sociology, and in the past two generations has become a theoretical umbrella for kin concepts such as race and nationalism (Jenkins, 1997, pp. 3, 13, 21), though the differences between these three processes have been alluded to. From the 1960's to the 1990's, ethnicity was a significant field of study in anthropology. The original preoccupation with ethnicity in the social sciences revolved around the perception of renewed ethnic loyalties among minority groups in various contexts during in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially among ethnic minorities that had made their way into metropolitan centres in the U.S., Europe, and Africa (Eriksen, 1993, p. 8; Banks, 1996). The study of ethnicity among anthropologists is significant because it signalled a shift in the conceptualization of peoples and cultures, and their supposed cultural fixity or statism. In addition, it furthered the notion that a wide-ranging assortment of groups can be considered to have an ethnic identity, in part



bridging the conceptual divide between Western and non-Western societies (Jenkins, 1997, p. 6). Also noteworthy is the fact that the anthropological gaze had a predilection for attributing certain groups with such an identity to minority and aboriginal groups, though scholarship concerning the ethnicity of national or majority identities may have abated this trend.

While the study of ethnicity was prolific a while ago, contemporary ethnographies featuring the term in their titles have been declining since the 1990's, indicating perhaps a decline in the salience of the concept<sup>38</sup> (Banks, 1996). Though it is clear that the adaptation of ethnic groups and ethnic identities have figured prominently in anthropological literature, the term ethnic rather than ethnicity has become commonplace in popular discourse; an event that may have been the result of the circulation of the academic literature on ethnic groups (Banks, 1996). Prominent among the application of the term ethnic has been the depiction of armed conflicts as 'ethnic conflicts', such as the one witnessed in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990's (Eriksen, 1993, p. 2). However, many of the ethnonyms or labels that anthropologists use when describing ethnic groups have been adapted from concrete ethnographic situations and are indeed assumed by people themselves (Jenkins, 1997, p. 48). The construct of ethnicity remains an important tool that anthropologists and sociologists use when describing certain social relationships despite its decline as area of study.

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<sup>38</sup> According to anthropologist Marcus Banks (1996), this fact reflects a move away from the concept. He argues that the concept has outlasted its usefulness since it has come to adopt a variety of meanings. He mentions that a concise and unitary definition of the concept among academics never existed, a situation which was exacerbated by the term's circulation in popular discourse. In regards to the concept's merit, see Jenkins (1997) for an opposite view.

#### 4.1.2 THE CONSTRUCTIONIST MODEL

The dominant model of ethnicity within anthropology that informs most analyses of ethnic identity is the social constructionist model; which is credited to anthropologist Fredrik Barth<sup>39</sup>. Central to the constructionist model is the notion that ethnic groups are a form of status group (Jenkins, 1997, p. 10), and that individuals arrive at an ethnic group identity through a process of self-ascription and ascription by others (Jenkins, 1997, p. 19). It is held that ethnic groups are separated by a symbolic or physical boundary, and that the collectivities on each side persistently maintain this boundary (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 37-8). The stress on the organisation of ethnic groups (as implied in the study of boundaries) was precipitated by the observation that they maintained their integrity despite the flow of personnel and information from one side to another (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 39-40). What lends weight to this view is that ethnicity and culture do not always collude in the social world (Eriksen, 1993, p. 38), though individuals who identify with others on such a basis may share the belief that all members of their group do in fact share the same culture. In other words, there is a great deal of sharing that occurs between groups, just as much as there is within them. Group boundaries are entrenched in an 'us' and 'them' or an 'insiders' and 'outsiders' dialectic (Jenkins, 1997, p. 19), which is activated when groups single out an aspect of their member's or another group's behaviour, usually a cultural trait, as being an important factor in their identity (Eriksen, 1993, p. 38). An example of how this dynamic works is when group 'A' claims it is 'A' because members of this group do something in particular, such as speaking a kind of

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<sup>39</sup> He first formalized the model in his introductory essay in the edited volume, 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' (1969). Along with the other collaborators of the volume, he stressed that ethnicity was largely the result of social organisation. He also pointed out that anthropologists should pay attention to the structure of ethnic group formation, and the importance that individuals imbue their ethnicity.

language, in contrast to group 'B', that speaks another (Eriksen, 1993). What is crucial in this transaction is that group 'B' also recognizes group 'A' as legitimately distinctive (Eriksen, 1993, p. 27; Jenkins, 1997, p. 41). Thus, close proximity between groups is essential to ethnic relations; since it has been observed that ethnicity emerges from interaction (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 11-12, 26; Jenkins, 1997, p. 33).

While ethnic relations are typically understood in terms of a dichotomy, they may also be classified in degrees, where group 'A' may be considered closer to group 'C' rather than 'B' (Eriksen, 1993, p. 67). Ethnicity is a hierarchical form of identification since in certain empirical situations, ethnicity cuts across class. In other cases, it may even be organised vertically whereby different ethnic groups occupy different class positions. In other words, in certain societies, members of a particular ethnic group may be both part of the poor and wealthy classes or an ethnic group may be fixed into one class echelon. Boundaries between groups are crystallized through practice and are reified, making ethnic identity both ideational and ideological. Ethnic relations are reified in language, folk taxonomies, ritual, stereotypes, jokes, and in selective interpretations of history, which are forms of knowledge that are imparted and internalized from members. Though boundaries between groups usually endure, the significance that individuals accord them varies throughout time, becoming vital during specific moments. There is quite often a great degree of exchange or complementarity that takes place between groups, be it economic or communicative (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 27-8). Similarly, the culture that boundaries enclose changes over time as well. Most often, ethnic relations develop when and where there is little difference between groups (Eriksen, 1993). The model requires that ecological or other societal factors be taken into

account when examining ethnic relations since individuals and groups modify their identities; likewise, a group's history must be taken into context as well since ethnic relations change (Eriksen, 1993, p. 48; Jenkins, 1997, p. 20). In effect, ethnic identity is a form of political organisation. It is not an innate matter but construed or constructed by individuals since it is individuals whom place value on particular traits when discriminating themselves from others. Any trait may suffice in this process, and often, individuals may point out different aspects in other contexts. While the constructionist model sees ethnic identity as being processual, it also draws on the cultural matter that groups share, such a similar language or faith. Moreover, ethnic identification must foremost be important and meaningful to individuals since it is they who draw boundaries between themselves and others.

With the notion that ethnicity has variable importance and takes on a mutable appearance in different societies comes the need to distinguish between the different kinds of expression of ethnic identity of different sorts of ethnic groups. As has been shown, ethnicity is linked to social organisation, and as such, the way in which ethnic groups are organised determines their identity's salience. Don Handelman (1977) provided a useful description typology of ethnic groups that represent four levels of ethnic incorporation: the ethnic category, network, association, and community (Eriksen, 1993, p. 41-3). These types are conceptualized in terms of degree, whereby groups are not simply classified as any of the above types. A group may manifest all of these aspects or a combination of some (Eriksen, 1993, p. 43), the point being that the typology highlights various intensities of ethnic identification. The most basic level of ethnicity is the ethnic category in which members distinguish their origins from other groups, and are

imparted with a knowledge of their origins and uniqueness, but remain politically fragmented (Handelman, 1977, p. 264; as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 42). The second level or ethnic networks, are similar to ethnic categories; however, members will regularly interact with other members and rely on each other for access to resources, though networks lack any formal organisation (Handelman, 1977, p. 269; as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 42). The third level, ethnic associations, are formally organised ethnic groups whereby members actively seek their group's political ends as an interest group (Handelman, 1977; as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 43). Finally, the last level, the ethnic community, embodies all three previous levels of incorporation, but are connected to a delineated territory and may be responsible for it; in addition, they may also be in political command of a nation-state (Handelman, 1977; as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 43). While organisation may be a key feature in the locution of ethnicity, the legitimacy of ethnic group formation within a society is important as well; in some cases, membership to an ethnic group may be frowned upon, or even actively discouraged. Ethnic groups that communicate their distinctive identity in public settings are more likely to be intensively organised and rigid than groups that are not. The way in which an ethnic group is structured internally determines its salience in a society and among individual members.

Given that ethnic group differentiation is largely the result of social and symbolic boundaries, anthropologists have pondered the reason as to why such differentiation occurs in the first place, why groups maintain boundaries, and what the consequences of boundary formation are for individuals. In his work, Barth originally linked the development of group differentiation to occupational specialization, whereby a number of

individuals within a society became involved in a particular trade and over time, branched off from the original group and were later interpreted as an ethnic collectivity; though it is difficult to ascertain how ethnic identities came to be, with little empirical evidence (Eriksen, 1993, p. 79). However, it has been suggested by anthropologists that ethnicity is linked to the developments of the modern period, namely with the creation of colonial society and of the subsequent formation of territorially based nation-states (Eriksen, 1993, p. 79); all of these being historical, large-scale processes that incorporated a vast number of groups of various cultural backgrounds together under a similar political and economic system. One may also point to migration of various groups to new societies as an agent of ethnic group formation, such as the movement of European immigrants to the U.S. in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Within anthropology, there are two diverging views concerning the reason why it is such a potent form of identification, the first being the primordial and the second being the instrumental (Jenkins, 1997, p. 44). The primordial argument reduces the phenomenon to a natural property of human psychology and interprets ethnicity as the most basic form of group identification there is. While the instrumental approach highlights the political advantages and motivations for collective mobilization under an ethnic label. The latter argument is derived from the constructionist approach. There exists a vast literature within anthropology that can attest to the fact that in certain circumstances, ethnic identity has been used as a platform for certain collectivities to secure resources or to dominate an occupational domain<sup>40</sup>. However, there are instances where ethnicity does not play such a role and simply casting such a view of ethnicity

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<sup>40</sup> For an example of an instrumental approach to ethnicity, see Abner Cohen (1974), and Glazer and Moynihan, (1963).

disregards the symbolic aspect of ethnicity. Ethnic classification, as epitomized in stereotypes and folk taxonomies, are forms of knowledge that provide individuals with a way of ordering their world, providing them information of themselves and others. Of paramount importance is external ethnic categorization that is impinged upon individuals. Anthropological studies (following in the constructionist vein) of ethnicity have typically privileged the insider's perspective or the self-ascription aspect of ethnic relations<sup>41</sup> (Jenkins, 1997, pp. 55, 61), despite the fact that ethnic relations usually entail unequal power relationships. For example, individuals within society may be lumped together in an ethnic category on the basis of some trait that they are believed to exhibit, and through this labelling, actually come to internalise and identify with the trait, as has occurred in some case with stigmatized groups. Primordial or instrumental persuasions aside, boundary maintenance on the part of ethnic groups, along with historical and political contexts have to be taken into consideration when studying ethnic relations as well as symbolic and political reasons.

## 4.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY

### 4.2.1 THE ORIGINS OF NATIONS AND NATION-STATES: HIGH LANGUAGE, NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS, AND IDEOLOGY

Most contemporary states in the world are nation-states that sponsor a particular nation or national group and with their culture. While nations are structured similarly to ethnic groups, a nation is "a politically imagined community that is both limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991 [1983], p. 6), that usually commands the a modern state and

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<sup>41</sup> Richard Jenkins mentions that the constructionist emphasis on internal definition stems from the discipline's consensual view of society that is premised on reciprocation, because the discipline celebrates difference, and because an insider's definition is easier to access for a researcher, as opposed to other structural or historical occurrences.

its apparatuses<sup>42</sup> (Banks, 1996, p. 154). For the most part, nations are basically ethnic groups that have adapted to modernity and to state structures (Banks, 1996, p. 154). The difference between the ethnic groups and nations may be conceptualized in terms of scale as well, whereby ethnic groups are typically found within larger nations (Eriksen, 1993, p. 119). Nations are believed to be distinct from one another and are strongly associated with a particular language, culture, and a territory of their own.

Within anthropology, the development of nations is linked to industrial society, a type of society which requires that individuals share the same language, knowledge, and culture in order to communicate and operate within the same system of economic production (Banks, 1996, p. 126). It is widely accepted that European societies were the first to have experienced nationhood, as the European ancestry of nations and nation-states have been emphasized in the discipline (Herzfeld, 1997). Benedict Anderson (1991 [1983], pp. 38-9) has specifically singled out the erosion of spoken high languages such as Latin during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the production of print books in various vernacular European languages or print capitalism as the catalysts in the creation of national identities. The reading of printed books in various languages conjured a sentiment of community among readers in the sense that a person in one part of the world knew what was happening in the lives of others who read the same language, though they may have resided in another region of the world (Anderson, 1991 [1983], p. 44). The imagining involved in nation-ness comes into relief since most people will most likely meet a tiny fraction of their co-nationals in their entire lifetimes (Banks, 1996, p. 127). The simultaneous connection that readers made with others they read about was

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<sup>42</sup> However, there are nations that do not hold any control over a state, such as the Basque or Catalan nations; as well, there are a variety of indigenous groups that claim to be nations.



unprecedented until then, since it is believed that most communities in pre-modern era were isolated from one another, and people usually maintained relationships with people they would see on a day-to-day basis such as kin (Banks, 1996, p. 127).

Whereas the formation of nations has come to be associated with industrial society, the vast majority of nation-states were realized through nationalist movements. Nationalism is a processual ethnic ideology that claims how the social world ought to be (Eriksen, 1993, p. 101) and in certain contexts, may be expressed in terms of a principle that decrees that a particular nation should be represented by a state<sup>43</sup> (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). Nationalism may be either the realization or usurpation of this principle (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). In other words, some nations may want a state of their own whereas others express nationalism in contexts where a nation-state already exists.

While it has been argued that national identities have historical precedents in the pre-modern period (see A. D. Smith, 1986), within anthropology, it is widely held that they are recent constructions (Eriksen, 1993, p. 101), despite the fact that they are held to be older by historians. The majority of European nation-states were created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (McDonald, 1989, p. 10), and most seceded from larger states such as empires, where a particular family or foreign class of rulers usually ruled a plethora of ethnic groups and peoples. Nationalist movements usually begin with a minority of intellectuals that define the existence of a particular nation by furnishing it with an identity (Eriksen, 1993, p. 105). Similar to members of an ethnic group, nationalists stake the claim that their nation has a unique culture that is bounded (Handler, 1988, p. 40), with its own

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<sup>43</sup> Anthropologists discriminate between national movements in which an ethnic group is seeking to establish a state, such as the Quebecois separatist movement in Canada and the kind of nationalism that is expressed by nations that already have a patron state, though in both cases, nationalism remains an ideology, though the empirical contexts of nationalism vary (Jenkins, 1997).

character, values, traits, customs, rituals, myths, etc. It is implied by nationalists that nations are self-perpetuating and that they share a common origin and territorial space. The territory in which states dominate over is supposed to reflect the limits and location of a national culture. Built-in to this process is the fact that nations are recognized and considered legitimate by both nationalists and others alike. Once this is achieved, nations acquire a moral authority that is impinged upon members and are held to be the superior authority figures (Herzfeld, 1997, p. 42). Members are also expected to reflect their membership in the nation. Nation-states derive their authority and sovereignty from the fact that they are in control of the legitimate means of violence and possess the ability to tax citizens and most importantly, that they reflect the whims and affections of a nation or ethnic group (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 108-9). Nations are often attributed a tangible essence, and are in turn bestowed a life of their own (Handler, 1988, p. 40; Herzfeld, 1992, p. 11). For example, in his study of Quebecois nationalism, Handler (1988, p. 41) remarked how Quebecois nationalists personified their nation as if it were a human being passing through a rite of passage towards independence. Thus, the reification of a national culture, a process that is made possible by a codified language and amended by an education system that indoctrinates individuals into a culture, underpins the foundation and presence of modern nations and nation-states (Gellner, 1983, p. 37). Moreover, the difference between nations and ethnic groups lies in the degree to which they are reified, the former being the privileged of the two. Nations and nation-states possess an array of media at their disposal whereas ethnic groups may not, which make the discussion and dissemination of a nation's culture feasible. It is important to note that though members of a community may come to identify themselves as a nation, not all undertake nationalist

movements in order to secure a state. Most nationalist movements do not achieve success (see Gellner, 1983).

Nationalism is also a traditionalist ideology, in that nationalist ideologues such as politicians and historiographers often link their nation to previous cultures (Eriksen, 1993, p. 101). Most nations look to the past for as a source for their present-day legitimacy (Gellner, 1983, pp. 55-6). The establishment of such a link includes selective readings of history that portray the nation as having existed in an immutable form in the past, providing members not only with a symbolic link to other members, but with an uninterrupted national narrative, much like an origin myth (Eriksen, 1993, p. 100). Put differently, this provides all nations with a *raison d'être*. Since most nation-states branched off from other states, or as in some cases, other nations, their emergences are depicted as travails, usually from a rapacious foreign power (Gellner, 1983, pp. 58-9). For example, most Greek national historiographies interpret the Greek nation as having vehemently resisted the Ottoman Turks throughout four centuries of rule (Gerolymatos, 2002, p. 72), though it is seldom pointed out that Greek-speaking peasant populations<sup>44</sup> during this period co-existed with their Muslim neighbours (though segregated to a large extent), and experienced the same if not more advantageous conditions than they did when the Byzantine emperors ruled the Balkan peninsula (Gerolymatos, 2002, pp. 77-8). Thus, historiographers and folklorists as well as state representatives play an important role in recasting history in a way that befits the existence of a nation, and most importantly, the functioning and interests of the state (Herzfeld, 1997). The appropriation or even creation of customs and traditions support the omnipresence of a

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<sup>44</sup> Moreover, it is hardly emphasized that the Greek-speaking peasant community was idle during the period of the Greek Revolution; the nationalist movement that led to the Greek state was originally espoused by a diasporic merchant class (Clogg, 1986).

nation, something that can especially be discerned in the domain of folk dress. For example, the 'traditional' kilt called the *foustanella* worn on Independence Day by Greeks has come to be strongly associated with the customary dress of peasant Greeks in the past, though it has been well documented that Albanian-speaking bandits originally wore the kilt (Gerolymatos, 2002, pp. 112-3). The rhetoric or narrative of commonality that is furthered by nation-state representatives is mediated through the particular use of affective symbols in their attempts to create a sentiment of belonging among citizens to a nation (Eriksen, 1993, p. 108). A potent and oft-quoted example of this feat is that of the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, whereby people are meant to reflect on past battles and wars that citizens participated in; it is expected that citizens put themselves in the Unknown Soldier's place. The politicization of culture and of particular societal symbols is the means whereby the state is able to mobilize the emotions and harness the participation of citizens in its devices. Nation-state ideologues typically use metaphors of family, kin, and religion when highlighting the connection that co-nationals have to one another (Eriksen, 1993, p. 108); in the context of Greece, blood or *ema* is a powerful symbol that defines membership to the Greek nation; one need only possess Greek blood to be considered a member and part of the Greek nation (Just, 1989). In summary, nationalism is an ideology that expresses the existence and essence of a nation, one in which members may or may not wish a state of their own. It conjures connections between individuals of nation through a collective language, history, and constellation of symbols that are associated with it. Most importantly, it reifies a particular culture that is circulated through a school system and other state institutions.

While a description of nationalism has been put forward, it is important to understand its function, something that anthropologists have pondered since not only nation-ness captivated the imagination of various societies in different contexts, but also because the world's cultures are organised according to nationality. It has been argued that nationalism replaced religious identification and kinship ties in industrial societies that were experiencing drastic changes since neither of these were capable of rationalizing the co-existence of different groups within a similar environment (Eriksen, 1993, p. 104). It is in this way that anthropologists have come to study the phenomenon as an on-going process that is akin to religion and kinship (Anderson, 1991 [1983]; as cited in Eriksen, 1993, p. 107), as opposed to simply studying nationalism as a philosophical development. Anderson (1991 [1983]) claimed that nationalism provides individuals with the ability to transcend their own mortality by identifying with the nation, an individual's experience being subordinate to the latter (as cited in Herzfeld, 1997, p. 6). Likewise, nation-states provide citizens with a degree of security by claiming that the interests of the nation are being met (Eriksen, 1993, p. 105). However, according to Michael Herzfeld (1997), such an explanation does not take into account why individuals persistently identify with their nation or nation-state; moreover, he is critical of the top-down perspective reflected in most studies of nationalism (p. 10). In his experience with Greek nationalism, Herzfeld (1997) finds helpful the notion of cultural intimacy, which is explained as the oft embarrassing and rueful recognition among individuals that they belong to the same political community or culture, arguing that it is also a crucial aspect of nationalism. According to him, nationalism is not necessarily expressed in terms of pride on one's nation, but also in less flattering traits

that members of a national community are held to share by outsiders, which in turn provide insiders with a sense of similarity and solidarity. He maintains that individuals are familiar with the rules which statesmen and ideologues attempt to live by, knowing full well that state policies are not always respected by policy-makers themselves. In other words, individuals see through state-sanctioned metaphors of commonality but also use these to their advantage. As to why people express their inclusion into a nation, Herzfeld explains that there is little difference in the way that states and individuals pursue their own interests, and that both use nationalism as a 'cultural cover' for social action. Put simply, people become familiar with state rhetoric and are aware of both its limits and advantages. In turn, individuals often re-fashion the same kind of rhetoric to pursue their own goals.

#### 4.2.2 NATIONALISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

The political ideal of nationalism may sometimes be a problematic political ideal for some societies to live up to. While the notion that a state should be representative of its citizens' culture may seem a logical development, it poses problems for individuals who are not part of a state's dominant political community, as is sometimes the case with minority communities. An authoritative definition maintained by the United Nations was once established by Francesco Capotorti when he acted as Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention and Protection of Minorities in 1977 (Stavros, 1995, p. 9).

According to Capotorti (1991), a minority was a:

**a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of the State, in a non-dominant position, whose members- being nationals of the State- possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion, or language (p. 96; as cited in Stavros, 1995, p. 9).**

When minorities are to be found within a nation-state's territory, the state and minorities enter into relationships that may have a number of outcomes for both. A minority that is non-dominant may choose to resist assimilation or integrate themselves within society provided they are given the opportunity (Eriksen, 1993, pp. 123-4). Alternately, they may even express the desire to secede from the nation-state or request a special status. States on the other hand, may try to remove minority groups forcefully or take steps to integrate into society (Eriksen, 1993, p. 123). Another outcome is that a state adopt a policy of multiculturalism or extends membership to the political community or nation on the basis of civil rights (Eriksen, 1993, p. 123). However, as was noted earlier, few states are actually multicultural, though there are many such as in Western Europe that are predicated on civil rights.

Inherent in national cultures is the necessity or most likely, the desire and proclivity for societal homogeneity. The worst possible outcome for a nation-state is that it ceases to reflect the cultural makeup of its populace. The homogeneity required of national cultures is usually accomplished by nation-building projects that disciplines individuals into citizens and enables them to take part in the economy; as was illustrated in the example of Greek Macedonia in the previous chapter. Ironically enough, nationalism and nation-building processes which are intended to promote a homogeneity society often engender differences among members of society (Herzfeld, 1997). In some cases, they even advance ethnic group identities that may have existed previously or even create them in the first place. There are a number of reasons why this may be. Firstly, national identity, much like ethnic group identity, is maintained by a symbolic boundary; individuals are either members of a nation or not. In certain societies, non-members may

feel disenfranchised from the rest of society through their exclusion from the dominant political community. In turn, some groups may even seek to distance themselves from the majority politically. Secondly, nationalism is a 'literalist' ideology that is intolerant of cultural difference (Herzfeld, 1997, pp. 39, 44, 76). The very denial of difference may create feelings of enmity vis-à-vis the state and further intensify these sort of feelings (Herzfeld, 1997, p. 85). All members are supposed to share the same feelings and interpretations of the nation and its intellectual properties. However, this seldom occurs, since cultural symbols may be interpreted in idiosyncratic ways despite their original or intended significance (see A. P. Cohen, 1985). As well, alternate readings of national history do occur among individuals. Since state representatives often invoke familiar cultural metaphors and symbols to generate unity among their citizenry, in effect, they provide the materials for individuals or communities to appropriate these for themselves. In many cases, these same metaphors are subverted in ways that challenge the moral authority of the state and lend weight to a non-national group entity (Herzfeld, 1997, p. 85). Thirdly, there is the issue that communities are politically or economically disadvantaged during the nation-building process. Groups that are not extended the same privileges as the rest may also come to cultivate a sense of difference from the majority. Finally, since national cultures are massive, homogenous societies, it is inevitable that certain segments of society will wish to distinguish themselves from others.

Thus, while a national culture may be a society that effectively brings together a variety of people over a large territory, it also serves to discriminate against those that do not feel part of it or those who do not reproduce the nation's image. Nationalism, with its ability to politicize a nation's existence, can be understood as a process that may



effectively mobilize large societies when needed. However, these processes do not always run as smoothly as most nationalists would like. In chapter Five, it shall be explained how this process affected individuals of Dopian background.

## CHAPTER FIVE: ANTHROPOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF GREECE'S

### SLAVIC-SPEAKERS

#### 5.1 ANTHROPOLOGY AND GREEK MACEDONIA

The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with the material written by anthropologists concerning Greece's Slavic-speakers and Greek Macedonia. It shall provide background knowledge of this group and illustrate some of the issues that have been important in their adoption of a Greek, and in some cases, a Macedonian nationality. As well, it shall explain how Dopian identity came into being and how it exists today. For the most part, the anthropological literature centres on the nation-building project of the Greek state in the region (Danforth, 1995; Karakasidou, 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 2000a; Agelopoulos, 1997; Vereni, 1997; Van Boeschoten, 2000); the Macedonian Question of the 1990's (Danforth, 1993, 1995; Sutton, 1995; Cowan and Brown, 2000); and the ethnicity of modern-day Doping (Karakasidou, 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 2000a, 2000b; Danforth, 1994, 1995, 2000a, 2000b; Cowan, 1997, 2001; Vereni, 1996, 2000; Van Boeschoten, 2000). A number of anthropologists have argued that the ethnicity of Doping today is largely the result of this nation-building project in which certain Dopian communities and individual members of this group were ostracized by local state functionaries, and were forcibly acculturated to Greek society. Similarly, it is emphasized that this group suffered a strained relationship with their refugee co-nationals, and that their ethnic group identity was often misconstrued by state representatives.

In comparison to other disciplines, studies of Greek Macedonia and the Macedonian Question within anthropology have been late in coming. However,

publications such as Loring Danforth's 'The Macedonian Conflict' (1995), and Anastasia Karakasidou's 'Politicizing Ethnic Identity' (1993) and 'Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood' (1997), have received adverse responses by Greek academics largely because of their authors' critical<sup>45</sup> stances towards the national imaginings surrounding Greek Macedonia, making the Greek claim to Macedonia seem contrived (Cowan and Brown, 2000, p. 7). Since the publication of these books and articles, the Dopeii have attracted the attention of numerous anthropologists. Most treat them as an ethnic group, whereas Greek historians do not interpret their identity as such (see Gounaris, Mihalidis, and Agelopoulos, 1997; Gounaris, 1997; Mihalidis, 1997). However, as opposed to explaining the legitimacy of the conflicting claims to Macedonia, many works on the topic of the Macedonian conflict have become embroiled in this polemic by sympathizers of either the Macedonian or Greek view<sup>46</sup> (Cowan and Brown, 2000, pp. 5-6).

Thus, the anthropological literature, and some of the minority reports about the 'Macedonians' written by non-governmental organisations during the 1990s will be reviewed. A series of minority rights groups have published reports on this group, claiming that they are a Macedonian minority bereft of any political representation or rights within Greek society. Finally, the critiques levelled at anthropological analyses and at minority reports by Greek scholars will also be discussed.

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<sup>45</sup> Gounaris (1997) is critical of the anthropological work concerning the Dopeii because these authors, while being critical of ethnic ideologies that interpret group ethnicity as being immutable and historically long-lived, seem to ascribe the Dopeii with a separate ethnic identity that spans well before the interwar period and into the 19<sup>th</sup> century when such distinctions were not obvious.

<sup>46</sup> It has often occurred that authors of personal web sites have appropriated a number of academic works dealing with the Macedonian conflict in efforts to prove or refute the Greek-ness or Macedonian-ness of Alexander the Great and the present regions of both Macedonia and Greek Macedonia. Roudometof (2000, p. 10) recounts this experience and how some phrases of his own publications dealing with the Macedonian Question were used on a web page towards this aim. Gounaris and Michailidis (2000) mention that the concern with the ethnic and national affiliations that Macedonians made in the past and today rely on a literature of Macedonia that provides proofs for both sides of the conflict.

## 5.2 THE ETHNICITY OF THE SLAVOPHONES

### 5.2.1 LANGUAGE

The Doping are a group whose presence may be defined by the fact that they speak a variety of Macedonian dialects that they define as 'our language', ta Dopinga, or Makedonika<sup>47</sup> or Macedonian (Cowan, 2001, p. 165). The idioms can be grouped into seven different dialects, and these can be found in the regions of the Prespa lakes, Kastoria, Florina, Doirani, Kilkis-Edessa, Thessaloniki, and Drama-Serres (Ioannidou, 1997, pp. 97-8). For the most part, a person who speaks one may possibly understand the rest. These dialects are spoken primarily by older people; with a few exceptions, those below the age of thirty of Doping background are unable to speak them (Ioannidou, 1997). It is usually spoken in private and public settings, and can still be heard spoken in villages. Given the fact that the language was in certain contexts interpreted as a display of anti-Greek sentiment or parochial backwardness, it is not widely spoken or taught to children in the home setting (Ioannidou, 1997).

### 5.2.2 GREEK MACEDONIANS AND MACEDONIANS

Studies of the Doping in the 1990s mostly focus on the causes of their ethnic identity, and of their national identification. It is widely accepted among anthropologists that Doping are an ethnic group, though few studies explicitly describe them as such. The figures accorded to the group of people who today identify themselves as Doping can be extremely partisan, especially in light of the controversy surrounding the region. Few anthropologists state any information about their numbers since little information exists. There are a number of reasons why this may be. First, as mentioned earlier, Greek

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<sup>47</sup> In Greek, a distinction is made among people who speak Makedonika, as in the dialects of the Doping, and the version of Greek spoken throughout Greek Macedonia.

censuses do not document mother tongue or ethnic background. Second, those who may be of Dopian background or speak a Slavic dialect may not describe themselves as Dopiai or Slavic-speakers. When the Greek state first took control of the region, it is believed that roughly 250000 to 260000 Slavic-speaking individuals lived there, constituting 21.75% of the population (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 49; see Mihailidis, 1998, p. 15). The only anthropologists who discuss the number of people that may be of Dopian background or speak a Slavic dialect in Greek Macedonia are Karakasiodou and Danforth. Danforth (1995) cites anthropologist Riki Van Boeschoten (1993) when saying that in the prefectures of Florina and the Aridea area alone, approximately 18000 of a total of 60000 people speak Macedonian (p. 78). My own estimate is that in Pella prefecture, one out of three individuals is probably of Dopian background; though this most likely does not correspond to those who may define themselves as Dopiai.

Despite the inability to estimate their approximate numbers, within the anthropological literature, the Dopiai living in northern Greece and abroad are divided into three categories that reflect their national orientations (see Cowan, 2001, pp. 157-8).

With regard to the first category, it has been observed that many Dopiai possess a Greek national identity in that they define themselves as members of the Greek nation; despite the fact that their mother tongue may not be Greek or that they may also define themselves as Dopiai. Today, there are many communities in Greek Macedonia where people of varying ethnic backgrounds speak non-Greek dialects and participate in local customs of non-Greek origin. Whereas outsiders observing these rituals may interpret them as markers of ethnic differentiation, those who have adopted a Greek national identity do not see these as being foreign or non-Greek (see Cowan, 1997). For example,

anthropologist Jane Cowan noticed how particular families<sup>48</sup> in a village in Central Greek Macedonia that spoke dialects of Turkish and Bulgarian downplayed the significance of their fluency in these dialects for fear of being misunderstood as non-Greeks or anti-Greeks (Cowan, 1997, pp. 153, 159, 160, 164-5). According to her analysis, these idioms (what she calls idioms of belonging) signalled in-group membership among the villagers that used them, and did not reflect an ethnic group identity. Thus, despite their latent or explicit Dopian ethnicity, individuals of other ethnic backgrounds have also adopted a Greek national identity that is comparable with their ethnic background.

The second category of Dopiai that the literature has been concerned with most are the ones who consider themselves Macedonians in a national sense and are not members of the Greek nation. According to (Danforth, 1995), this group forms a small minority among Greece's Dopiai, perhaps five to ten thousand people among those that speak Macedonian (p. 78). These individuals maintain that their Macedonian identity and Greek identity are mutually exclusive categories, like the national categories of Macedonian and Greek. Among the Dopiai who left Greece during from 1946 to 1965, Danforth (1995, 2000a, 2000b) remarked how many that migrated from Greece (most often from Western Greek Macedonia) have openly adopted a Macedonian national identity rather than a Greek one. Some Dopian families who discarded their Greek identity sometimes found themselves in conflict with villagers who maintained their Greek national identity in their newly adopted societies (Danforth, 1995, pp. 226-8). In certain cases, it is not unheard of to have two siblings who developed different national orientations (Danforth, 1995, p. 228). In Australia, two different associations sometimes represent the same village in Greece, whereby one group of Dopiai possesses a

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<sup>48</sup> The inhabitants in this study were of Dopian background.

Macedonian identity and another a Greek identity (see Danforth, 1995). Certain Dopian communities of Macedonian national identity in Australia and Canada have integrated themselves with other Macedonian communities whose members originated from the Republic of Macedonia (Danforth, 1995, p. 102), and many are committed to the Macedonian Church that is based in Skopje. Doping of Macedonian persuasion who may have been born in Greek Macedonia usually refer to themselves as Aegean Macedonians, some of whom belong to the Children Refugees of Aegean Macedonia association (Danforth, 1995, p. 122). This organisation represents some of the Dopian children who left Greece during the last days of the Greek Civil War. In this category of Doping are a number who were originally born in Greece that later migrated to the Republic of Macedonia, and others who made their way to socialist countries such as Russia. It is estimated that some thirty to forty thousand children left their villages, along with their parents, who had joined E.L.A.S. during the civil war. Other Aegean Macedonians living in Canada have become involved in the Macedonian Human Rights Movement (Danforth, 1995, p. 134). According to Danforth (1995), the Macedonian diaspora has been pivotal in the Macedonian dispute between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia in that it pressed local authorities to recognize the F.Y.R.O.M. as the Republic of Macedonia. Some ethnic Macedonians have even become active in an effort to recognize the Doping as a Macedonian national minority.

The third category of Doping described within the anthropological literature is made up of those who possess a combined Macedonian ethnic identity and a Greek national identity, and have largely managed to be both Macedonian in an ethnic or national sense and Greek at the same time (Cowan, 2001, p. 158). It has been remarked

that the nationalizing process in Greek Macedonia, like other similar nationalisms, was received differently among various communities (Cowan, 2001, p. 158). In other words, national identity is also an idiosyncratic process whereby individuals may interpret state symbols differently from the manner in which state representatives set these out. National myths and ethnic/national identities among people may be recast in a myriad of personal ways that reflect different sensibilities. For example, anthropologist Piero Vereni (2000) explored the diaries of his informant Leonidas as he reformulated his family history in a complex manner that was inconsistent with a typical historical rendition. Leonidas wrote a memoir explaining Macedonian history, describing Macedonia as once having been both state and nation in antiquity (Vereni, 2000, pp. 54-6, 61), which began to change when it became the meeting point of many foreign civilizations. Leonidas claimed that Dopiai such as himself, who still speak Macedonian, appropriated words from various languages since there were no Macedonian schools<sup>49</sup> (Vereni, 2000, p. 57). Moreover, he described certain segments of his paternal and maternal family lines as Bulgarians or Greeks, and his very identity as not solely Greek, nor Bulgarian; making him simply an Ellinas Makedonas (Greek Macedonian) (Vereni, 2000, pp. 53, 61).

Finally, the last category of Dopiai are those that simply identify themselves as Makedones or Macedonians, as discussed earlier. It is claimed by Karakasiadou (1997) that the ancestors of the villagers in the modern village of Assiros referred to themselves as Makedones. This aspect is also complicated by the ambiguity of the term Dopiai itself, which refers to a person who has lived in a place for a long time (Cowan, 2001, p.

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<sup>49</sup> Though he was not sympathetic towards the F.Y.R.O.M.. (Vereni, 2000, p. 57), Vereni does not mention if Leonidas saw the ancient Macedonians as Greeks or not, saying that: “[His] Greek-ness derives from the culture he has accepted” (2000, p. 61).



158). Depending on the context, it may or may not signal a cultural or ethnic difference that conflicts with a Greek national identity. Indeed, it may not refer to any identity at all. Most have found a way of being Macedonian and Greek in situationally defined ways (Cowan, 2001, p. 158).

The variety of national sentiments among the Dopiai have been attributed to the simultaneously inclusive and exclusive Hellenizing process of Greek Macedonia. However, it has been argued that their external categorization as foreign 'others' by Greek society and state agents during the Greek national project and their contact with other groups engendered Dopian<sup>50</sup> identity in the first place (Cowan, 2001, p. 157). It was also held that a significant segment of this group change national affiliation in more hospitable societies such as Canada and Australia. The incorporation of Greek Macedonia was a heavy-handed process that proved problematic for a number of administrations (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 45; Gounaris, 1998, p. 169; Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 36). One by-product of the shifting population movement was that it brought various individuals of disparate background into contact with one another. For example, the refugees from Turkey had a markedly different experience and culture from the rest of the inhabitants. Most were Turcophone, urbanites, and practised different customs and traditions. Moreover, the land appropriation scheme and re-distribution that followed the arrival of the refugees caused friction between the indigenous and re-settled communities (Carabott, 1997, p. 65). For example, the lands that Vlach shepherds used for grazing were exhausted by refugee tenants (see Vlasidis, 1998). It will be shown that relations between the Dopiai and refugee communities became polarized partially as a result of the state's land appropriation program.

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<sup>50</sup> They have been called Dopiai ever since the refugees came to Greek Macedonia (Cowan, 2001, p. 158).

### 5.3 REASONS FOR DOPIAN IDENTITY TODAY

The Greek national project was a process that attempted to disseminate the same culture to all of Greek Macedonia's inhabitants. However, for certain Dopiai (many of whom live in Canada and Australia and define themselves nationally as Macedonians), this accomplished the opposite effect (Danforth, 1993; see Carabott, 1997, p. 65). Dopian identity, which in all probability should have been extinguished given the steady efforts to inculcate a common Greek culture in the populace, persists due to numerous historical factors. The following factors contributed: the relationship that Dopian communities had with the state (Cowan, 2001, p. 157; Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 39); their implication in the Greek Civil War (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 46; Cowan, 2001, p. 157); their economic integration and their social mobility within society (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 31; Cowan, 2001, p. 157) and the overall economic situation of a region's local economy (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 39); the relationship that local elites had with local Dopiai (Cowan, 2001, p. 157; Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 39); their intermarriage with other Greek-speaking groups (Agelopoulos, 1997; Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 39); patterns of inward and outward migration (Cowan, 2001, p. 157); and the idiosyncratic outcome of family fortunes and their experiences with the state (Cowan, 2001, p. 157); and finally, by international developments after 1989, such as the arrival of new immigrants to Greece (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 31). Overall, it was during the interwar period (1913-1941) and especially afterwards that most Dopiai developed either a Greek, Macedonian, or Bulgarian national identity (Danforth, 1995, p. 73).

The role of the state has played an important role in Dopian ethnicity (see Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 35). Rather than being a neutral agent, it rewarded individuals that

were loyal to it. Among the older Dopii today who consider themselves Macedonians or Aegean Macedonians, many recall how state representatives have treated them in an unkindly fashion (see Danforth, 1995); as do many Dopii of the opposite national persuasion who live in Greece. Generally speaking, since their integration into Greek society, Slavic-speaking communities have been treated with suspicion by lower and higher level Greek officials (see Karakasidou, 2000a). It was evident that to administrators of Florina Prefecture that these people had cultural or political inclinations that differed from the rest of their co-nationals (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 46; Karakasidou, 2000a). To their dismay, some of the communities that leaned towards an Exarchist or pro-Bulgarian stance prior to 1913, were still believed to be displaying affinities for an autonomous Macedonia, or were in favour of Bulgarian rule. It was also obvious that they were speaking their local idiom at home. Therefore, they were perceived as not being able or willing to adapt to Greek rule since they did not speak Greek, though many did have Grecophile orientations (Vereni, 2000, p. 57). In some cases, civil servants discriminated against the Dopii in order to compel a display of commitment to the Greek state. As a result, they were sometimes treated as second-class citizens, which impeded their economic and social development. Additionally, the state seemed to favour the refugees over the Dopii, whose loyalty they considered questionable. The Greek state awarded loyal groups with the lands of Communist guerillas who left Greece, as was the case in Florina prefecture (see Van Boeschoten, 2000). The efforts of state representatives during the Metaxas regime imbued many older Dopii with resentment towards the Greek state. Metaxas was bent on eliminating the communist threat in Greek Macedonia, and since some Dopii were affiliated with the Greek Communist party, those

who were involved with this party were punished by administrators (Carabott, 1997, p. 65). As such, many were beaten and publicly humiliated by teachers and policemen. Roughly 5000 people were deported from Western Greek Macedonia to other regions in southern Greece and the islands (Vlasidis and Karakostanoglu, 1998, p. 162). Discrimination in the economic, military, and educational domains coupled with reprisals meted out by the Metaxas administration, drove many Slavic-speakers from Western Greek Macedonia to join E.L.A.S. Three regiments of S.N.O.F. came into being during WWII, of which over 1500 troops were enlisted from the Florina, Kastoria, Edessa, and Aridea areas (Sfetas, 1995, ¶ 22). After the defeat of E.L.A.S., as many as 40000 Slavic-speakers, most of them children, left their villages in Western Greek Macedonia with guerrilla fighters and fled to safety in Yugoslavia; never to return. Any individuals who collaborated with the Germans and Bulgarians<sup>51</sup> during WWII were also forced to leave Greece.

Following the wars, the areas with predominantly Slavic-speaking populations such as Florina prefecture were depopulated. Although tactics for the assimilation of the Dopia in Greek society were relaxed after the civil war, Slavic-speaking individuals who were exiled for their participation in the civil war have been prohibited from entering Greece again<sup>52</sup>. A law was passed in 1985 declaring that only those who were members of the Greek nation would be allowed to return from exile (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 39). For practical reasons, Greek authorities did not want these Slavic-speaking dissidents to return again, while Greeks who did not develop a Macedonian national identity or were

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<sup>51</sup> According to Koliopoulos (1997, p. 51), about 15000 Slav-Macedonians were recorded as Bulgars by the Bulgarian occupying forces.

<sup>52</sup> Lands owned by Communist fighters in exile were confiscated by the state, and in certain circumstances, given to individuals who displayed loyalty to the state (Van Boeschoten, 2000, pp. 37-8).

not of Dopian background were permitted to return (Van Boeschoten, 2000, p. 37). Moreover, since this area had been torn by fighting and was among the most destitute areas in Greece, substantial numbers of Slavic-speakers migrated.

It has been observed that the economic integration of Dopii in different regions of Greek Macedonia facilitated their adoption of a Greek national identity; in certain cases, it led individuals to abandon their Dopian self-ascription. Moreover, ethnic stratification among different groups ceased to be important and were instead replaced by class divisions (Van Boeschoten, 2000). This was most likely to have been the case of villages in Central Greek Macedonia. In the villages of Sohoh, Assiros, and Nea Krasia, the involvement of various Slavic-speaking groups in their burgeoning local economies altered the ethnic differentiation that once existed. The development of the local economies of Sohoh and Assiros occurred early during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when a class of Grecophone merchants called Tsorbatzides came to these regions. Karakasidou (1997) descriptively explains that the Tsorbatzides were single men who managed to acquire property in Assiros, and then dominated the local town trade after having made small fortunes from stockbreeding. These men actively sought local Slavic-speaking women as spouses, and through their personal economic expansion, they eventually managed to incorporate their wives' kin into their enterprises. Eventually, they came to dominate town affairs (such as the town council) and became a notable landowning, merchant upper class that later promoted the adoption of Greek nationality among their relatives. They successfully developed strong economic contacts with the Greek Kingdom and were pivotal in the areas's prosperity. In this way, the Dopian population, along with refugees who came to the area, were included in the local economy, where they followed

suit in their adoption of Greek and Greek nationality. In Nea Krasia, the local wine industry was open to all groups (Agelopoulos, 1997).

These last three examples are not indicative of the situation in Western Greek Macedonia, where the economic development of the region was late in coming. It had less arable land for refugees to settle on, which created tensions among the populous Dopian community. This area was poor in comparison to other areas, and was not developed significantly until after the 1960s. Whereas ethnic barriers in other areas of Greek Macedonia were slowly removed, in modern-day Florina, society remains ethnically stratified. In certain cases, pre-existing ethnic conflicts were superimposed on other political issues (Van Boeschoten, 2000). Inter-marriage between groups only took place in significant numbers during the 1970's (Van Boeschoten, 2000). Unlike Sohos and Assiros, no tsorbatzides had made their way to the area. Instead, refugees and Dopiai vied for important economic and social offices. Dopiai today occupy lower level civil servant jobs, and they are extensively involved in agriculture-related employment despite being among the indigenous population there (Van Boeschoten, 2000, pp. 32-3). Notwithstanding having traditionally been part of a large peasantry that retains its connection to the land, people of Dopian background own less land than other groups, notably the Ponts (Van Boeschoten, 2000, pp. 32-3). Moreover, the Dopiai formed the majority of those who migrated from the prefecture after the civil war and are by far the most noticeable group to move from the countryside to urban milieus. Access to financial opportunity, as well as the economic circumstances of a village or town may have influenced individuals and communities of Dopian background to identify themselves with the Greek nation rather than the Macedonian nation. The availability of

Greek-speaking elites location facilitated this process in Central Greek Macedonia. Integration into Greek culture seems to vary, depending on whether those concerned live in Western, Central, or Eastern Macedonia.

Inter-ethnic marriages among Greek-speaking groups and non-Greek-speakers probably facilitated their adoption of Greek culture (Agelopoulos, 1997). Though intermarriage occurred less frequently during the interwar period, it did increase during the 1950s and 1960s as many Dopiai left their natal villages and settled in urban and semi-urban settings, or simply let their children marry outside of their group. Intermarriage may have made the transfer of ethnic group membership problematic, since children of mixed marriage have the opportunity to identify with either background of their parents. In this way, many villagers and townspeople in Central and Eastern Greek Macedonia, who were in the past stratified according to *ratsa* categories became integrated, potentially neutralizing the previous inter-ethnic barriers that divided them (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 53).

International developments may also have had an effect on the ethnicity of individuals. Van Boeschoten (2000) mentions that Dopiai were wary of the influx of repatriated Pontians into northern Greece during the 1990s. Some interpreted this as a recurrence of the previous refugee settlement that took place in the 1920s. As non-Greek foreigners became active participants in Greece's economy and were employed in low-wage earning jobs, a number of Dopiai were worried about their employment prospects. The political imbroglio between Greece and the F.Y.R.O.M. affected the way in that Dopiai expressed their ethnicity. The atmosphere was tense and many may have become hesitant to state that they were Makedones or Dopiai.

Finally, the outcome of family fortunes have also influenced Dopian ethnicity. You might go on to state that the political situation had an adverse effect on many families as these created ideological divisions between family members as they took sides in the wars of the 1940s. A number of Dopii witnessed the emigration of parents or family from Greece for various reasons, during and after the civil war; some were orphaned when their parents were killed in the fighting. Their mistreatment by authorities may also have led them to renounce their Greek identity or enhanced their feelings of social dislocation with regard to the state (see Danforth, 1995).

However, most communities managed to adapt to Greek rule and integrated into Greek society. For some, this was easily done. For example, some of the Dopii who lived in prosperous communities and lived in prosperous communities on good terms with their neighbours, or were loyal to the state were rewarded for their efforts. It can be seen that a community's history is of the utmost importance in understanding the inter-ethnic relations that exist today in the region. Thus, in certain places, ethnicity plays an important role, while in other areas it is not as prominent a phenomenon.

## 5.4 OTHER VOICES

### 5.4.1 THE MACEDONIAN HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Since the disintegration of the former Yugoslav Federation, a number of non-governmental organisations made their way to the Balkans along with international peace-brokering agencies, with the aim of diffusing tensions among ethnic factions. Several of these groups monitored the relationship among the diverse ethnic and national minorities that were experiencing difficulties with their patron states. Some of these non-



governmental organisations made observations on the minorities in Greece during the mid-1990s and published reports.

The reports issued by Minority Rights Greece (M.R.G.) (1994), Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (1994), British Helsinki Human Rights Group (1994), among others, have described the present-day Slavic-speaking community in Greek Macedonia as a minority, often as a Slavo-Macedonian or Macedonian minority that is oppressed by Greek authorities. Within these writings, authors usually outlined certain human rights abuses that have been perpetuated against Dopia with a Macedonian ethnic or national identity. Among the abuses that are described are: the censorship of the Macedonian language and the inability of ethnic Macedonians to publicly display their identity; the inability of Macedonians who left Greece during the 1940s to return to Greece or visit family there; their inability to perform local festivities with Macedonian music; their inability to create cultural associations; the refusal on the part of authorities to permit the existence of a Macedonian church; and the inability of activists who advocate the recognition of the Dopia as a Macedonian national minority to conduct their activities, or even to claim that Macedonians in Greece exist. Two notable cases that are brought to attention are the cases of Dimitri Sideropoulos and Nikodemos Tsarknias. The former was arrested for trying to form a cultural association in Florina called the 'Home of Macedonian Civilization'. He was refused permission by local officials to create the association because of its inappropriate title, which was interpreted as encouraging the idea that a non-Greek Macedonian minority exists in Greece<sup>53</sup>. The latter was active in building a Macedonian church in Aridea and was denied permission by authorities to do

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<sup>53</sup> The Areo Pagos (Greece's supreme court) refused Sideropoulos permission to open his association because it claimed that only the Greek state had the role of protecting or mandate to protect its culture (Danforth, 1995).

so on the grounds that Greece does not recognize an independent Macedonian Orthodox church. Drawing on historical and other academic sources concerning the Greek national project in the region and some materials prior to 1913 to legitimate the existence and authenticity of a Macedonian ethnicity and identity within Greece's borders, watchdog groups advocate for the formal recognition of the Dopia as a Macedonian minority and an end to the Greek state's persecution of individuals of Macedonian origin.

#### 5.4.2 THE INTERPRETATION OF GREEK SCHOLARS

Greek historians have been highly critical of these reports (see Koliopoulos, 1997; Gounaris, 1997; Vlasidis and Karakostanoglu, 1998; Kozyris, 1996). Some Greek historians have taken issue with the historical reviews furnished in non-governmental reports because they tend to essentialize the ethnicity of the Slavic-speaking communities, making it seem to readers who are not acquainted with the region's history that a Macedonian national minority in Greek Macedonia existed prior to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 47-8; Gounaris, 1993b, 1997). Greek historians have criticized anthropologists who describe the ethnogenesis of a Macedonian national or ethnic identity among the entire Slavic-speaking population in Greece during the interwar period as well (Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 48-9; Gounaris, 1997). In response to those who see Dopia as a distinct Macedonian minority, Greek historians often argue that the national leanings of the Slavophones, along with other members of the Rum millet in Macedonia, were politically fragmented during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and that national identification was superficial up until 1913 (Gounaris, 1996; 1997). They discredit the notion that individuals who claimed to be Dopia Makedones during the interwar period or were supportive of a united, independent Macedonia within Greece

reflected the existence of an independent Macedonian ethnic group or nation (Gounaris, 1997). A number of Grecophone and Vlachophone groups indigenous to Greek Macedonia were also resentful of the presence and economic advancement of refugee groups in their localities and supported such a platform (Gounaris, 1997). This was indicative of a regional/political perspective that developed in response to the prominence of the refugees (Gounaris, 1997). For most Greek historians, the idea of a Macedonian nation came in the form of the Comintern's platform of an autonomous Macedonia and possibly in the creation of the People's Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia. By this definition, any discussion concerning an independent Macedonian nation or ethnic group in Greek Macedonia from the early modern period onward is spurious and uninformed of the region's history.

Another related criticism put forward by Greek historians concerns the issue of which individuals are included under the label Macedonian (Koliopoulos, 1997, pp. 48-9). It is assumed by minority reports that speaking a Macedonian dialect automatically indicates a Macedonian national identity (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 48). Moreover, it is implied in NGO reports that *Dopii Makedones* or those who define themselves as Macedonians within Greece form a unitary ethnic group with the Macedonians living in the F.Y.R.O.M. (Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 39). According to critics, the figures concerning the size of a Macedonian ethnic group or nation in minority reports are exaggerated and erroneously derived<sup>54</sup>, possibly through the use of arbitrary figures from the F.Y.R.O.M.

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<sup>54</sup> The varying sources mentioned in these reports when discussing the injustices perpetrated against the Slavic-speaking community have been criticized as well. Gounaris (1997) mentions that sources dating from the end of the Balkan Wars, such as the Carnegie Report, are used to depict this group as having been the victims of violent acts by the Greek and Bulgarian militaries. Another author has mentioned that the group that was given castor oil to drink the most were communists (Kozyris, 1996), as opposed to Slavic-speakers.

(Michailidis, 1996; Koliopoulos, 1997, p. 49). Greek historians have pointed out that these reports do not reflect the present situation of the Dopeii. Firstly, the people labelled as Slavic-speakers or Macedonians do not in fact speak Macedonian nowadays largely because of their assimilation into Greek society, and perhaps because of personal choice. It is customary in Greece for children to learn other languages such as English and German at the expense of their parents' mother tongues. Secondly, most reports discount or neglect to mention the fact that many Dopeii have been intermarrying with other groups for at least the last twenty or thirty years. As mentioned earlier, this may have significant implications for the continuation of ethnicity. Thirdly, historians often point to the fact that the abuses suffered by state officials which are cited by minority groups are perpetrated by Macedonian activists themselves. Dopeii are permitted to speak their language and are not currently mistreated by local authorities. Most importantly, it is pointed out that a minority of Dopeii believe their identity to be incommensurate with Greek identity, and that the recognition of a Macedonian human rights movement has a very small following. A variety of other sources also suggest this (Danforth, 1995; Roudometof, 1996; Cowan, 2001). For example, Cowan (2001) mentions that the Rainbow Party, which has been very vocal about the Macedonian minority in Greece and operates on a political platform based on the recognition of ethnic Macedonians, has a small following. During the second to last elections in Greece, the party, in conjunction with others that it was allied to, received about ten thousand votes in all from the Florina, Kastoria, and Pella regions. The party has not been embraced by the Dopeii because they are suspicious of the minority status that is bestowed upon them by Rainbow members (Cowan, 2001, p. 166). Cowan (2001) argues that the Dopeii have been suspicious of the

party's promise to conduct schooling in Macedonian, and that such an initiative would be misinterpreted as anti-Greek. Moreover, they have not shown any inclination or demand for language education in Macedonian (Cowan, 2001, p. 166).

Finally, a number of historians find it unfair that Greece's previous historical treatment of ethnic groups by state representatives and its army's actions during and after the Balkan Wars should be dredged up to lend support to the unequal treatment and existence of a Macedonian minority today (Gounaris, 1997; Vlasidis and Karakostanoglu, 1998). Most of all, they also find it unjust that the overall geopolitics and history of Macedonia have gone ignored by analysts (see Vlasidis and Karakostanoglu, 1998). Hence, for most Greek historians, claiming a Macedonian national identity is a matter of personal choice, and they also discount the notion that the Dopeii are a minority at all. In the same line of reasoning, they do not consider Dopeian identity ethnic in character, and they suggest that the chief issue between refugees and Dopeii was the parcelling of former Turkish properties (Mihailidis, 1997). It was not so much cultural matters that divided these two groups but the acquisition of land.

#### 5.4.3 CRITIQUE

In regard to the literature of the Slavic-speaking community in Greek Macedonia, a number of items may need reconsideration or further clarity. The exact number of people who today consider themselves Dopeii would be of paramount interest to determine, though such a feat would be difficult to carry out among a group, since many are apprehensive about their identity's significance for the rest of Greek Macedonians. If it were possible to do so, much misinformation about this group would be dispelled.

The category of Dopeii that consider themselves simply as being Macedonians in the sense that they are an ethnic group, and do not perceive themselves as Greeks or Macedonians in a national sense, are a problematic group to typologize. It is a misleading analytical category since most people do make symbolic connections to the Greek and Macedonian nation in the F.Y.R.O.M.; however, it should be noted that anthropologist Danforth (1995) does make this distinction in passing. Moreover, there are Dopian groups in the diaspora that have not affiliated themselves with any nationality or religious community. However, national identification may also be a subtle process. It has been my experience that 'Makedones' in this sense is usually used in a situational context in order to distinguish themselves from refugee populations. Their Makedonas (singular of Makedones) and Dopian (one of their accepted ascriptions by society) identity are intertwined, an aspect that is not reflected in the anthropological literature. I also encountered a number of people who had family there and others who consumed Macedonian cultural artefacts such as music and television programming. This too may have an affect upon their national orientation. In other words, some Dopeii do make some connection to the F.Y.R.O.M. as well, be it symbolic or practical (Cowan, 2001).

Most importantly, what is neglected in the anthropological literature is that *ratsa* categorization is not being taken up by the youth. Nor are they learning local dialects. This is indicative of most rural communities throughout Greek Macedonia. It seemed that speaking a dialect was considered backward and dated. In addition, many children are learning foreign languages at the expense of local dialects. However, group identities do not always rely on language to continue. Used in this sense, ethnicity becomes

symbolic rather than derived from empirical factors. Overall, Dopiai identity is usually something experienced by middle aged and older people.

In response to Greek historians, my misgivings with regard to their treatment of the subject concerns the nature of Dopiai identity. It should also be noted that I agree with their stance on human rights reports. For the most part, the reports do not depict the situation of all Dopiai, instead, they represent the views of individuals and activists involved in the Macedonian human rights movement. Greek historians have argued persuasively that the situation of the Dopiai has improved significantly since the late 1960s. In regard to Dopiai identity, however, the historians' reason for the adoption of this identity does not take into account why such an identity exists in the first place, why these people have collective myths of origin, and how even Greek minded-Dopiai still maintain their identity. As well, the cultural differences between Dopiai and refugees are not explained by their analyses. It is for these reasons that Dopiai should be considered members of an ethnic group.

In the next section, the methodology of the practical component shall be described, whereas the findings and an analysis will be presented in Chapter Five.

## 5.5 METHODOLOGY

As mentioned earlier, I spent a period of four months in Greece collecting data among individuals who identified themselves as Dopiai. The main reason I chose to work in Pentalofos was because it was accessible in the sense that my father's brother lived there. Having lived and worked in Pentalofos for forty years, my uncle was intimately acquainted with many of Pentalofos' townspeople. Pentalofos had the qualities of a potential research site since people of various ethnic backgrounds were to be found either

living in town or in nearby villages. I was introduced to Pentalofiots as a “boy from Canada” or “George the mason from Kozani’s nephew”.

The data that informs this study was derived from formal (recorded) and informal (unrecorded), unstructured interviews. In total, nineteen individuals committed themselves to interviews. Fourteen interviewees resided in Pentalofos, while another five resided in nearby areas. One interview was conducted with a former mayor from Pentalofos who was not of Dopian background. The interviews gathered in Pentalofos form the basis of this study whereas the data acquired from outside Pentalofos was complementary. Contact with these participants was achieved with the help of my family and a man who runs a dance association in Pentalofos. Both appealed to friends and acquaintances in securing these interviews. The latter was instrumental in introducing me to the families that lived in the Kato Horio, and proved to possess an inordinate number of contacts. I came to perceive him as my chief contact, since he was receptive to my project and actively involved himself in it. Information was also procured from simple conversation and hearsay in informal contexts. For instance, I spent a great deal of leisure time with a group of young men in their twenties and thirties, which amended an understanding of contemporary Greek culture and its workings. And of course, much was learned by means of simple observation. A number of days were also spent with my chief contact’s dance troupe and its supporters as I accompanied them in their travels to folk festivals. Historical documents such as those a town hall might possess were inaccessible given the short time in which the fieldwork took place.

Despite the efforts of my uncle and chief contact, the recruitment of potential interviewees of Dopian background for this study proved to be problematic. Numerous



people declined to participate, probably because of the Macedonian conflict's sensitivity. Inquiries emanating from the research project were considered suspect by most, since contacts of different backgrounds were concerned about the way in which their input would be used. For example, after having requested access to historical information concerning a village in Imathias Prefecture from its mayor, I was told that I could have access to anything provided that the finished project did not portray the Dopiai as an oppressed or ethnic minority. In a similar situation, one interviewee living on the outskirts of town made me pledge that I was not a spy in the service of the Greek government, because his views were heavily critical of the state. Matters were further complicated by the fact that some people misconstrued the focus of the study. A number of people were convinced that I was interested in Pentalofos' historical development and felt that they had nothing to contribute. Similarly, many Dopiai declared that they had nothing to say about themselves. Eventually, a number of individuals did manage to share their views and permitted their documentation, however, few seemed receptive to the study. Moreover, those who did agree to participate only did so as personal favours to either my uncle or my chief contact. Thus, informal discussions proved to be the order of the day rather than recorded interviews.

The people that were interviewed discussed their views for a period of one hour, though there were two who went past the two hour mark. Three interviews were conducted in the company of my chief contact. Participants were interviewed only once since re-connecting with interviewees was difficult in certain circumstances. Only one follow-up interview took place, when one interviewee wished to provide additional information. The three interviewees from the Pano Horio were the most difficult to meet

with because they only spoke to me with in the company of my chief contact. My uncle's contacts were to be found mainly in the Kato Horio and on the outskirts of town. Participants living in the Kato Horio, where my chief contact resides, were easier to visit since many of Dopian background would sit on their verandahs during the evening. However, only three people agreed to a recorded interview. Furthermore, of the fourteen, only three interviewees were receptive to my inquiries and invited me back for more conversation.

The information accrued from the interviews was thematic. Participants were asked varying questions related to Dopian identity whereby the focus was placed on the topics or themes that were emphasized. A number of different subjects were discussed: the content of Dopian identity in comparison to other local ethnic identities; their relations with other groups; the dialect spoken by Dopii and its use; family history as well as Pentalofos' history; and finally, societal discrimination. As well, some questions were posed in relation to two customs. Interviews would usually begin with questions such as, "who and what are the Dopii?", or "what can you tell me of the Dopii?", and "how are the Dopii different from others?" In circumstances when the descriptor 'Makedonas' was used, participants were also asked to clarify its meaning. Moreover, participants were asked what connections existed among the people that label themselves as 'Makedones'. Questions concerning both past and present ethnic relations between Dopii and non-Dopii were posed, bringing in the history of Pentalofos. This last aspect came into context because it relates to the significance of Dopian identity and ethnic relations between groups today. In regard to the topic of language, questions were asked about their dialect's origins, its similarity to other languages, and in what contexts it is spoken.

While language and ethnicity are in most cases connected, it was important to know what role language played in their group formation. Finally, the topic of discrimination was in some cases raised by myself and in others by interviewees. When I was interested in knowing how people felt about the topic, I would mention some facts from the anthropological literature and ask them what their views were. This was done in order to elucidate any possible past relations that might come to bear on Dopian ethnicity in the present context.

With regard to the participants, a number of characteristics were remarked in regard to their gender, age, and their occupation. However, as will later be shown, the region of origin and age of interviewees were the variables that connected them with the respective themes that they raised in their accounts of their group's identity. All participants were male except for two women, since my contacts introduced me to men. It should be noted that the two women who did conduct interviews were singled out primarily because they were old and were believed to have intimate knowledge of the 'old ways'. Other women were present with their husbands during our interview sessions. The age range of interviewees was from the thirties to eighties. Among the core group of interviewees living in Pentalofos, four individuals were between the ages of seventy to eighty; five were between sixty and seventy; two were in their fifties; three were in their forties; and one was in his thirties. Of those, ten participants were on a pension and or worked on a partime basis in their orchards. Moreover, eight were involved in the peach growing industry, either working their own orchards or as labourers. Two participants were lower level civil servants, another three owned businesses of their own in town, and the last worked in construction.

In the chapter to follow, it will be illustrated how the Dopii are by and large an ethnic group that possesses multiple sensitivities. It will include the collective representations they possess collectively.

## **CHAPTER SIX: THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF DOPIAN PENTALOFIOTS**

The purpose of this chapter is to present the views that were collected in Pentalofos among Dopii and non-Dopii during the field research process. It was illustrated previously that Dopian identity was the unintentional result of the Greek national project in Greek Macedonia. Specifically, it was their marginalization and stigmatization by Greek functionaries such as civil servants, policemen, and schoolteachers, etc. and their contact with the refugees that stimulated this identity. In Pentalofos, both the Dopii and refugees groups maintain their ethnicity. However, these are not as pronounced as they may have been in the past when both groups met for the first time.

In other localities of Greek Macedonia, ethnicity has been trumped by class relations, and the same may be said of Pentalofiot society as relations between individuals are not dominated by ethnic categorization. Dopian identity among the individuals living in the Pano and Kato Horio and the Stathmo seemed symbolic. It did not seem to play an important role in their behaviour towards others as each respondent depicted relations with the state and other groups as being amicable. None perceived themselves as an economic, cultural, or numerical minority (except in the context of Pentalofos where they are fewer than in other villages or towns). Neither did they see themselves as inferior to other ethnic groups. This was especially the case of individuals from the Pano Horio. Marked differences existed between the themes concerning Dopian ethnic identity that were raised in interviews among individuals born in Pentalofos, those that were born elsewhere, and those who lived in the Stathmo neighbourhood. The latter group emphasized that the state, Greeks from southern Greece that came to Greek

Macedonia as administrators, and refugees were hostile to members of their group in the past. Each respondent identified interethnic marriage as the reason that conditions between groups are amicable. Greater harmony was also attributed to the decline of their dialect's use, and the decline of *ratsismos* or *ratsa* categorization and the prejudice that it engendered. Other factors unique to the situation of Pentalofos will be explored later in another section. In regard to the town's youth, membership in a *ratsa* is a symbolic matter and does not determine their behaviour toward others in their age group. Most of the young people who were interviewed had little interest in old folkways.

The aspects that seemed to distinguish middle aged and older individuals of Dopian, Pontian, and Turcophone background among themselves were: that they believe themselves to be derived of a different *ratsa* that was connected to a repertoire of customs and folkways; each group speaks a different dialect in addition to Greek; the Ponts are the most populous and are organised better collectively; the identity of the Dopii is still politically charged whereas refugee identities are not. Most non-Dopii did not hold individuals of Dopian background in high-esteem. In certain circumstances, they seem to have conjured a sense of national embarrassment within wider Greek society. It was not obvious whether or not one group had an economic advantage over another, though most businesses in town were owned by non-Dopii. There were no noticeable differences where housing was concerned. For the most part, all farmers seemed to be part of the same lower middle class.

In this chapter, a description of the views brought forth during the interview process will be presented. It will be argued that the Dopii are a politically fractured ethnic group and that their group status may be classified as what Handelman (1977) has

defined as an ethnic category. In other words, they exhibited a subtle sense of peoplehood, an ethnic ideology, they emphasized their *ratsa*'s origins, and had a collective historical experience. It was interesting to see how they posited their identity in contrast to the Ponts, who they considered arrogant, forthright, and demanding. Also important for them was that they were descended from the ancient Macedonians and the inhabitants of Greek Macedonia. Before continuing any further, it is important to describe the historical development of Pentalofos from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries because the town's history may have affected the way that contemporary interethnic relations have unfolded.

#### 6.1 FROM VOVONITSA<sup>55</sup> TO PENTALOFOS: AN ORAL ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN'S HISTORY

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Pentalofos was a sleepy hamlet known as Vovonitsa. The actual meaning of Vovonitsa is lost to most Pentalofiots, though some have suggested that it may mean 'turning' or 'twisted land' in either Slavic or Turkish. It probably acquired this name from a river which used to pass through the Pano and Kato Horio. Prior to 1914, Vovonitsa was comprised only of the Pano Horio, which had been the only significant habitation in the vicinity. However, there was a small settlement, consisting of a few homes, at the base of the Toumba. Stores were built in the Agora after 1914, as a swamp had previously impeded any settlement there. The Vovonitsa train station was located on the fringes of the Agora as it is today, and was established in 1892. The Stathmo neighbourhood became settled after 1914 as well.

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<sup>55</sup> Vovonitsa is a pseudonym. It will be used to represent the previous name of Pentalofos. The town's name was formally changed in 1926. Since people were aware of the Pentalofos' old name when this project was taking place, it seemed wise to conceal it. It shall be discussed further below.

There were as many as ten to fifteen households in Vovonitsa, and according to oral re-telling, Dopii peopled the Pano Horio. In addition, perhaps a small number of Turko-Albanian<sup>56</sup> families lived near the Kato Horio and the Toumba. In the Pano Horio there was a *konaki* or residence<sup>57</sup> where the Turkish or Turko-Albanian bey resided, though the last bey probably lived in present-day Edessa or Vodená, as it was then known. As far as language was concerned, the villagers, in addition to Dopika, may have spoken some Greek and Turkish. An elderly Dopian I interviewed spoke Dopika and Turkish, as well as Greek, reflecting the fact that long after the town's incorporation into the Greek state, people continued to speak the various dialects that were once spoken within the Rum Millet. An interviewee from the Pano Horio mentioned that his great grandfather and another man had hired a teacher in the village to instruct their children Greek. Other sources mention that a Greek school operated there during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The people in Vovonitsa were followers of the Patriarchate. Most villagers were farmers who grew corn, wheat, and maintained some livestock, and the swamp also provided them with game, such as fish and crabs.

It was during the 1950s and 1960s that the community of Vovonitsa took its present form. Consequently, the ethnological composition of the hamlet has been transformed and the habitation eventually burgeoned into a large settlement. The hamlet was liberated by the Greek military on October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1912, and it is said that a small skirmish was fought there between Greek and Turkish troops. Vovonitsa was a base of operations for the Allies during WWI and saw a great deal of traffic during those years.

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<sup>56</sup> Turko-Albanian, which is *Turko-alvanos* or *Turko-alvani* in Greek, were Albanian speaking Muslims. In the past, the word Turk had a religious rather than a national or ethnic connotation (see Cowan, 1997).

<sup>57</sup> This building served as a school for Pontian children before the primary school below the Pano Horio was built. It was later torn down.



The front in this theatre during WWI was concentrated on mount Jenna, and as such, Allied troops and armaments were sent through there on a narrow rail line that connected Vovonitsa and Karatsova (present-day Aridea). When the war was over, Vovonitsa became the community of Vovonitsa and other settlements were attached to it. It was only in 1928 that it was renamed Pentalofos to reflect the region's ancient Macedonian heritage.

The earliest point that a refugee came to Vovonitsa was in 1914. However, it is believed that the bulk of the refugees came in approximately 1922 or 1923, though there must have been some who arrived earlier. The refugees that first came were of Pontian origin and it is said that they first stayed on the Toumba. However, there might have been Thrakiotes among them, since one townsperson recalled that some refugees had a popular custom<sup>58</sup> of their own that all the Pentalofiot children participated in. Many died there before having a chance to settle in the Pano Horio, which is possibly how the hill acquired the name Toumba (tomb). It is not certain how many people came to Pentalofos, though within Pella 40000 people had made their way there by the 1920s (Mihailidis, 1997). It is unclear as to what region they originally came from, though it was most likely that they came from various places in the region of the Black Sea. Given the influx of refugees, by 1928, the Pano Horio was divided according to a grid, and both Dopia and Pontian families were given a plot roughly the size of half an acre. Upon their settlement in Vovonitsa, it is said that each family, including the families that were already living on the hill, were given a parcel of land to build their homes on. In

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<sup>58</sup> Among Thrakiotes, prior to the baptism of a child, a mother was not permitted to know her child's Christian name until the ceremony was complete. However, children throughout the town would eavesdrop on the ceremony and upon having heard the name of the child being christened, would race back to the mother's home and inform her of her child's name. In return, they would receive some change.

addition, the refugees were given thirty to forty-five *stremmata* or seven to eleven acres of land to cultivate. In the 1930s, more Ponts from Russia came and settled in the Agora and on the eastern outskirts of town. The Turkish-speaking Saframbolites, who had originally been settled in a village roughly two kilometres south of Pentalofos, probably arrived during the 1930s when their village was flooded. The areas that took in the greatest number of strangers to Pentalofos were the Agora and the Stathmo, as they were uninhabited at the time. The Dopii from the Kato Horio are said to have originated from elsewhere as the residents in the Pano Horio usually neglect to mention them when describing the original inhabitants of Vovonitsa. After the Greek Civil War and into the 1960s, many families from the surrounding villages took up residence in Pentalofos and developed the Agora area.

According to most Pentalofiots I spoke to, relations between the Saframbolites and Pontians were rather amicable in the past. The Dopii did not have their lands appropriated since the lands given to the Ponts were originally part of the swamp area that used to cover the Agora. Intermarriage was relatively scarce before the Greek Civil War, though this would later change. Incriminations against the Dopii were not perpetrated to a large extent. In the area referred to as the Bazaar below the Pano Horio to the north, a number of public humiliations took place whereby a number of people were given castor oil to drink. Only one Dopios from the Pano Horio who could not speak Greek well was humiliated in this way. Some Dopii did attend night courses offered to people to learn Greek in the old primary school, though it remains uncertain whether they were forced or did this of their own volition, as some did in the 1950s. The only hostilities that existed were between the residents of the Kato Horio and certain

Turcophone storekeepers in the Agora. These Dopii (referred to as Youfti behind their backs), who were of a darker complexion, were taken advantage of by storekeepers. Consequently, they lost some of their lands by buying goods at exorbitant prices.

Pentalofos was bombed in 1941 by German forces and subsequently occupied. One interviewee remembered that he and a number of other children were in a bomb shelter nearby the train tracks, when they witnessed a large rail fly into the air and land near their homes in the train station neighbourhood. Young men from Pentalofos flocked to join the resistance against the Germans. A unknown number of Pontians later joined E.L.A.S. during the Civil War, though most return after the war. No Dopii were exiled on account of their activities during this period. The Saframbolites remained inactive during these events, and because of the resentment this aroused, they are still referred to as 'chickens'.

Up until the 1960s, Pentalofiots lived relatively humbly. The train station was always busy as wheat was transported from neighbouring areas to Pentalofos, and then south. The community doubled in size in the 1960s when peach growing and related manufacturing was taken up by the locals. I was told that the peach growing industry enriched Pentalofos. Prior to the 1980s, when peaches were freighted out of Pentalofos mostly by train, the station was a hub of activity. Both local and migrant workers who came from as far as Thrace contributed their labour to the local industry. Many people from the surrounding villages in the Pella, Kozani, and Florina Prefectures came to Pentalofos and eventually took up residence there. Many Pentalofiots also left Greece for Germany as migrant workers, bringing funds back to their families and for the construction of their homes. This too may have been a profitable alternative for

Pentalofiots who may have not had land, housing, or sufficient funds to start a business of their own. All the makeshift mud-brick homes that the refugees had made when they first arrived have been torn down and replaced by new homes. Indeed, throughout Pentalofos, few old buildings dot its landscape.

From the appearance of things, it seems that the Dopiai in Pentalofos have fared well since their incorporation into the Greek state. It is important to note that the testimonies of both present day Pentalofiots of Dopian background, and a former mayor of Pontian origin furnished this reconstruction of Pentalofos. While the dominant ethnic background of most Pentalofiots is Pontian, most townspeople would agree that the population is mixed or of various backgrounds. No southern or 'Old Greeks' who may have settled in Pentalofos and no groups similar to the Tsorbatzides were to be found at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; though a few men in Vovonitsa possessed large herds and sought Greek schooling for their children. Upon asking one interviewee (Pano Horio) how people socialised in the town, she explained that people made an effort to speak Greek, which they had been encouraged to do by school teachers.

Marriage patterns among the Dopiai in various sections of Pentalofos in this study remain obscure. Between the Pano and Kato Horio, there was little intermarriage. The majority of the fourteen interviewees had relatives of other backgrounds in their families; either a *gambro* (an in-marrying male or groom) or a *nynphi* (an in-marrying female or bride). Five participants were married to refugees themselves. Moreover, four the fourteen participants were the products of mixed marriages. This would seem to indicate that intermarriages did take root in the 1950s, 1960s, and later. Of the interviewees not born in Pentalofos, two had married women from areas neighbouring their natal villages.

For the most part, Pentalofos's ethnic groups did not seem segregated from one another. All neighbourhoods have a mixed population. Tensions may not have been high in the past because the Dopii possessed their own lands, whereas the refugees were given previously drained swamplands to cultivate. While the inhabitants of Vovonitsa might have coveted former Turkish properties or resented the efforts directed towards land distribution, they might have not have had much say in the matter once they became a numerical minority in Vovonitsa.

The fact that no individuals among the Dopii left or were ousted from Pentalofos may signify that they were not harassed by authorities. What was most likely to have brought the Dopii and the Pontian Greeks closer to one another was the fact that they lived side by side in the Pano Horio, and that they participated in the same occupation and industry. Well into the 1980s, peach production was lucrative even for farmers who possessed small parcels of land. Again, it is uncertain whether tensions existed between these groups within the economic domain. However, while ethnic identity is not as politicized as it might be in other areas, each group continues to maintain their respective ethnic membership.

## 6.2 FINDINGS

### 6.2.1 SELF-ASCRPTIONS

As mentioned earlier, members of Dopian background are referred to and identify themselves in a multitude of ways (Cowan, 2001, p. 157). Among the individuals interviewed, the self-ascription (En)Dopii or Dopii was more common than Dopii Makedones or any other designation, for two reasons. Firstly, when engaged in conversation with interviewees, they were asked to reply to questions on the topic of

Dopii. Most people also described themselves as such when asked about their *ratsa* background. Secondly, since these discussions took place in Greek Macedonia, the modifier Makedonas or Makedones may have been implicit. Two interviewees from the Agora expressed the view that the category Dopii referred to indigenous Slavic-speakers<sup>59</sup>, whereas Dopios simply implies a local or native to a region. However, the participants from the Stathmo referred to themselves as Makedones, Ellino Makedones, and Makedones Ellines. Makedones was most likely used in the manner that Danforth (1995, p. 6) describes (see Chapter 2).

#### 6.2.2 DOPII AS THE ORIGINAL MAKEDONES

For the most part, the Dopii possess an identity that is strongly connected to the region. One interviewee from the Agora proudly explained that when others asked him at an arts and crafts exhibit where he originated from, he exclaimed, “από τη χώρα του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου (from Alexander the Great’s homeland)”. Likewise, participants asserted that they, their parents, and grandparents were born and raised in the region: “είμαστε γένιμα θρέμα (born and raised)”. They consider themselves as having been the sole and original inhabitants of the region, often highlighting the fact that the other Greeks came to it after 1913 and 1922, and that the Greek state was formed after Macedonia’s existence. Much like Vereni’s (2000) Leonidas, they emphasized that Macedonia was a state that, long ago, had a king. According to them, Macedonia once spanned present-day Greek Macedonia, the Republic of Macedonia, and a part of present day Bulgaria and Albania. They explained that the Dopii are a patriotic group that fought against both the Turks and Bulgarians. In fact, they believed that a popular song that has

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<sup>59</sup> It is only in this region of Greece to the north that the term may imply a Slavic-speaking individual or an individual of Slavic ancestry (Danforth, 1995; Karakasidou, 1997).

become something of an anthem in Greek Macedonia called “Μακεδονία, Χώρα τού Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου (Macedonia, Alexander the Great’s Homeland)” (Danforth, 1995, p. 80), was especially written in their honour.

It was observed that the terms *Dopii* and *Makedones* were self ascriptions. In the vast majority of instances, both the regional and ethnic connotations of the word *Makedones* that were used did not present themselves as mutually exclusive categories to participants. In other words, *Dopii* were accepting of both meanings. However, the people living in the *Stathmo* were emphatic about their belief that they were connected more closely to the ancient Macedonians than the refugee groups. This was also the case of among the *Dopii* from the *Kato Horio*, who saw themselves as the authentic *Pentalofiots*. Interestingly enough, the connection between the F.Y.R.O.M. and Greek Macedonia was made by a participant in the *Kato Horio*, one in the *Agora*, and four individuals from the *Stathmo*. This was not an issue among other participants.

### 6.2.3 TA DOPIKA

When asked to describe the differences between them and other groups, all participants mentioned the fact that *Dopii* spoke *ta Dopika* or *Μακεδόνικα* (Macedonian). Each respondent claimed the language to be *Dopika* while five described it interchangeably as Macedonian, throughout the focus group. One (from the *Kato Horio*) specifically explained how *Dopika* has been spoken in the region for at least 120 years, while others said that language was picked up from the various people who came to the region, such as the Bulgarians. However, most described it as the language their fathers and grandfathers spoke and to this day, they continue to speak it. Although the majority are aware that the language is Slavic based, a couple two believed it to be a Greek dialect,

as have Greek linguists (see Ioannidou, 1997). Upon hearing Dopika referred to as Macedonian, a respondent (from the outskirts, originally from a village bordering Florina and Pella ) remarked that, “if any Dopian tells you that the language they speak is Macedonian, ask them what the ancients spoke”; and went on to explain that the inscriptions connected to the ancient Macedonians found by archaeologists in various Macedonian localities are written in ‘*αρχαιοῦσα*’ (arhaisa) a classical dialect of Greek. Two respondents (Kato Horio, outskirts) went to great lengths to explain how Dopika is transmogrified Greek, elaborating upon some words that they linked to some ancient Greek words. A participant from the outskirts of town and the participants from the Agora elaborated upon the fact that Dopika contained many Turkish and Greek words, recognizing the influence of the Ottoman period on the dialect.

With the exception of the participants from the Stathmo, most people discussed in passing the prohibition that was placed upon their language during the Metaxas regime. When discussing this period, many Dopii made light of the prohibition through the use of humour. A widely circulated joke concerning the prohibition that Dopii recount goes as follows:

**A police officer once stopped a Dopian he had heard say, “*deka, deka*” (come, come in Dopika) to his donkey. The officer asked, “What language are you speaking to your donkey?” The Dopian responded by saying, “I am teaching my mule Greek; I told him that *theka* and *theka* (ten in Greek) makes a hundred”.**

While this joke usually conjures some mirth among the people who share it, the prohibition has left some speakers of the dialect embittered. In one informal interview, a man from Edessa was beside himself in grief because of this event. He kept ranting, “Why did they make us stop speaking our language?” A number of participants connected this prohibition to the present state of Dopika in Greece. Since wider society looked down upon the language, certain Dopii may have decided not to teach the



language to their children. One interviewee from the Agora even went so far as to say that the right thing for the Dopii to do was to quit speaking the language because people from outside Greece misinterpret them as a minority. This last point was also voiced by two individuals from the Stathmo who explained that this was the reason that authorities wished the Dopii to quit speaking their dialect. The reasoning of authorities was that if the Dopii were known to speak another language, then the international community might request that the language be taught in schools. Moreover, they explained that Greek authorities did not want states such as Yugoslavia or Bulgaria knowing that people spoke Macedonian in Greece, as this could have led to an irredentist war on behalf of the Dopii by the two aforementioned countries.

With the exception of two participants, people disparagingly remarked that most young Dopii do not speak the dialect anymore despite the fact that no one has been harassed or in recent years. The unwritten dialects spoken by Dopii have not been taken up by younger people. For most participants, Greek was the language spoken in their homes and to their children. Two individuals from the Stathmo mentioned that this phenomenon was widespread and that most children regardless of ethnic background had moved away from speaking local dialects.

Code switching between Greek and Dopika was observed among individuals of Dopian background, but in the vast majority of contexts, Greek was spoken most of the time with some Dopika words interspersed in their speech. By far the most Dopika heard was in a village a few kilometres south of Edessa during a festival. Children in this village square spoke both languages interchangeably, which was the exception rather than the rule. In Pentalofos, circumstances were different. On three separate occasions (bus

rides to and from village festivals), women connected with the Vovonitsa association sometimes spoke it among themselves, though they spoke Greek most of the time. In contrast to the children from the aforementioned village, the children from the dance association did not speak any Dopika. Even among the adults that I would visit from time to time in the Kato Horio, they too struggled to find the words for old place names, objects, and customs. Many of the words associated with the modern world are derived from Greek, which is largely a result of the fact that Dopika did not become standardized or make the leap from the traditional world to the modern. In contrast, participants from all quarters maintained that it is widely spoken in villages that are peopled only by Dopii above Edessa and the highlands, and in places such as Aridea.

The significant factor contributing to the demise of Dopika is intermarriage between Dopii and non-Dopii, prompting both parents and children (as well as other adults) to limit their dialect's use. They explained that when in the presence of in-laws who were not Dopii, it was impolite to speak in other tongues during family gatherings, which impeded the transmission of Dopika. Instruction in the dialect also became difficult if there were no extended family members (such as grandparents) nearby. The overall consensus was that the youth on the plain did not speak the language. The participants born in Pentalofos seemed to have resigned themselves to the fact that the dialect is not spoken much in town.

#### 6.2.4 CUSTOMS AND RITUALS

As mentioned earlier on, the Dopii of Pentalofos and the vast majority of Greek Macedonians are part of the Greek Orthodox Church. Though few are practised nowadays, Dopian rituals and customs I was told about included the Menevo, a festivity

period preceding marriages, and the Kolde Babo. Their weddings used to involve extended family and other villagers, and people would celebrate the approach of a union for a number of days before the wedding ceremony. The mirth making would begin on a Wednesday and conclude with the celebrations following the nuptials. They explained how people back in the 'old days' would bring flour to the village mill and would engage in song and dance in Dopika. Brides were picked up from their home in a horse-drawn cart and brought to church.

The first time I heard of Kolde Babo was in the form of an expression that means 'granny they are slaying'. It is a festivity that is celebrated in the early morning hours of Christmas Eve, during which children light massive wood pyres and sing Christmas carols. Both the expression and the festivity are connected to the biblical narrative in which Herod sent out his men in search of baby Jesus, instructing them to kill any child they found in Galilee. Kolde Babo signifies a warning that a Galilean called out to a grandmother in hopes that she would hide her children from Herod's marauding men. Though the exact symbolism of the fire-lighting and the festivity's derivation was lost to my participants, nowadays, a Kolde Babo is arranged in Pentalofos in the Kato Horio by the neighbourhood in hopes of continuing the practice and acquiring publicity for the association. It was explained that the purpose of having the association was so that the children from the Kato Horio would remember where they came from and know who they were. In teaching children folk dances of different kinds, which is popular in most Greek villages and towns, parents connected to the association also hoped that such a hobby would prove to be a distraction from the vice of substance abuse that seemed to them to be endemic in rural Greek Macedonia. Apart from performing in local festivals,

the association also celebrates Kolde Babo by preparing food for visitors who come to see the children sing carols and dance. The association has been successful in acquiring publicity despite its small size (40 children compose two dancing groups).

#### 6.2.5 THE DOPII FROM OUTSIDE OF PENTALOFOS

The Doping living on the outskirts described their *ratsa* as being weak, fearful, and religious. According to one interviewee (originally from a village to the north), the Doping were the best group in Greek Macedonia because they were the weakest. A number of them mentioned that the Pontian Greeks were a stalwart and forthcoming group compared to them, and that if a Pontian man set his mind to something, he would manage to make it happen. They stated that the Doping never asked for anything they did not deserve, and even then, they did not ask for much. As opposed to the Pontian Greeks, Doping by nature are a fearful bunch and in past contexts, they believed the Doping to have lived in fear. According to them, the Greeks who came to the region instilled this fear in them. They felt their people had been on the run from Greek authorities for generations. One interviewee (originally from a village west of Edessa) recalled that men in his village were interned at the local police station. He went on to say that he could remember men crying from the brutality that they were subjected to. One informant from the Stathmo (originally from Aridea) claimed that certain Greeks, notably Old Greeks, and the Greek state have been involved in a concerted effort to make the Doping or Macedonians disappear. They were pursued primarily because they spoke Doping. Among participants, three grew up without fathers as their fathers left Greece at the end of the civil war. The fear that Doping experienced was so intense that many decided to stop speaking the language of their grandparents. According to another participant (from a

village west of Edessa), in many Dopian villages, at least one person was so scared that they turned on their own villagers, and reported people who had been speaking their language to the authorities. It was in this way that numerous Dopii were given castor oil to drink, or force-fed sardines so that they would defecate on themselves. Participants from the Stathmo also mentioned that Dopii were not permitted to acquire posts within the government and military.

As opposed to being proud, this same interviewee mentioned that many Dopii today hide the fact that they are Dopii: “We’re a crazy bunch; I once played cards with a man who said he was a Dopians but did not want to speak the language”. Not surprisingly, they believe that the Pontian Greeks take advantage of hospitable Dopian nature. With the exception of the respondents from the Pano Horio and the Agora, none made any reference to any past altercations with Pontian Greeks. Indeed, two interviewees went so far as to explain that the Dopii ‘got their way’ in the Pano Horio and the Agora.

#### 6.2.6 INTERMARRIAGE

Despite narratives of victimization, such as the aforementioned discrimination experienced by Dopii on the part of state representatives or due to tensions with refugee neighbours, every respondent mentioned that circumstances for Dopii are different today than they were in the past. According to them, no conflicts exist between them and people of other backgrounds. Whereas the prohibition on Dopika was eventually lifted, participants unanimously identified intermarriage as the vehicle that transformed past strained relationships. According to participants, love was what brought different groups together, and not only in Pentalofos. It was explained that in the past, intermarriage was

looked down upon. Families usually refrained from ‘giving away their girls or boys and receiving those from strangers’. However, once someone was bold enough to intermarry, people eventually followed suit. Past societal prejudices were put to rest when individuals could count as their own family members who were not Dopiai. In this way, people in town were perceived as coming together, though some minor problems may remain.

#### 6.2.7 DOPIAI AND THEIR CATEGORIZATION BY OTHERS

In Pentalofos, I was told that in the past individuals of refugee, notably people of Pontian, origin called them Bulgarians (see Cowan, 2001, p. 156); meaning that they are a Bulgarian *ratsa* akin to the people who live in Bulgaria. Nowadays, they are sometimes called Skopiani, nesnamides<sup>60</sup> or Slavs, disparaging labels that respondents repudiated<sup>61</sup>. Interviewees said that others label them as Bulgarians because they speak a language similar to Skopian (as the language spoken in the F.Y.R.O.M. is referred to by Greeks) and Bulgarian, though many contended that their language is neither<sup>62</sup>. This was the case among Dopiai from the Pano and Kato Horio as well. They explained that they could not understand Serbian at all, and that standard Macedonian was not very clear to them either. With the exception of the participants from the Agora and the Kato Horio, all the interviewees brought up this point, saying that either they or their parents were referred to as Bulgarians in the past. One participant did military prison time for having beaten one of his superiors after being called a Bulgarian. All interviewees explained that older

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<sup>60</sup> ‘*Nes nam*’, which in Dopiai means, “Don’t know”, in tandem with the Greek suffix *-ides*, transforms into the epithet the ‘Don’t knows’.

<sup>61</sup> One interviewee in his thirties told me that a girlfriend from his high school called Dopiai Bulgarians and upon hearing this, he did not speak to her again for two years.

<sup>62</sup> See Karakasidou (2000a, pp. 83-4) for a similar discussion among Slavic-speakers in Florina.

Pontian Greeks were more inclined than others to curse them as Bulgarians in arguments or altercations; though this occurs less frequently today.

In reaction to the claim that they are not Macedonians and that they are in fact Bulgarians, my interviewees would respond by saying, “how could we be Bulgarians since we fought to rid Macedonia of them?”. They explained that their ancestors were born and raised in Greek Macedonia, and were not Bulgarians. Among the ones that spoke about this topic, they said that the Dopiai were the first Greeks in Greek Macedonia or that they were ‘more Greek than the Greeks’. Upon being called Bulgarian, the Dopiai would refer to the Ponto as Turks. In the past, they called them *majirides*, which means strangers.

#### 6.2.8 THE VIEW OF THE WIDER PENTALOFIOT SOCIETY

Prevalent among Pentalofiot of non-Dopiai descent was the notion that the Dopiai were an unredeemable *ratsa*. Among the group of ten young men I socialized with in Pentalofos, few had anything good to say about the Dopiai, despite having grown up among them. When told of this project, none said much. Upon asking them what they knew about the Dopiai, more than one person sarcastically explained that I would find out for myself in time. However, it was only after getting to know people closely that they revealed their opinions. Dopiai were often depicted as unintelligent and slow, and it was said that they were behind in their development<sup>63</sup> in comparison to other groups. According to one elderly Pontian man whom I came to Pentalofos as a child in the 1930s, the finer things of life were lost on the Dopiai. Until recently, Dopiai families would not send their children to university. Among those that did, the military was a domain that they encouraged their children to enter. They frowned upon sending their daughters to

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<sup>63</sup> The word two people used was *kathisterimene*, meaning retarded.

university, whereas the Ponts did otherwise. The Dopii, he said, who grew both wheat and corn back then, would sell the former (and better) crop, and eat the latter. They would use their hands in planting tobacco crops and had no knowledge of farm machinery. According to his account, the Dopii would not even sleep on pillows filled with feathers; instead, they would stuff their pillows with dry corn leaves and sleep on these, suggesting that their lifestyle was unrefined. Other stereotypes concerning people of Dopian background were that they were avid drinkers, liked to eat spinach pies, and loved peppers, since the Aridea area is renowned for its red peppers. Likewise, it was held that Trajan was a name found mostly among Dopian men. Indeed, the only thing that was redeemable about them were their women, who were believed to be hard working and beautiful. One young man in his thirties of mixed Dopian and Pontian origin went to great lengths to explain that Dopii men were ugly whereas Pontian men were handsome and that Pontian women were ugly. In the company of a Pontian friend, Dopies (female plural of Dopii) were referred to as *matskes*, which means kittens in Dopika. Dopian dances were fairly popular in Pentalofos. When a dance troupe from the local high school performed a number of folk dances at the inauguration of a new square in mid-summer before the minister of Macedonia-Thrace, a loud cheer was heard throughout the crowd. Folk dances were fairly popular in Pella, as the local channel would air folk dance performances from various places in Greek Macedonia. When asked, individuals of Pontian background often how the tension that once existed between them and the Dopii, a resentment that still persisted in places such as Florina Prefecture, Aridea, and above Edessa. Some even offered to take me to these segregated towns to see what ethnic relations were like. One friend adamantly maintained that the



tension that existed between them occurred because the Dopia were jealous of the refugees and their accomplishments. According to him, it was the refugees who made Pentalofos what it is today; they had developed the area and not the Dopia. One man from the Pano Horio who approached me to discuss the topic explained that the Edessians were a bunch of good for nothing Dopia, while the ones in Pentalofos were a better bunch. Though they did not necessarily speak of the Dopia in Pentalofos in their examples, the Ponto often said that the Dopia in the above mentioned places and especially in Florina, were Μακεδονίζανε or 'Macedonian-izing'; meaning that they identified themselves as Macedonians and not Greeks. One neighbour of Turcophone origin told me that her sister's in-laws, who were Dopia from an isolated village in the Aridea area, flew a Macedonian flag in their village. In making their point about their misgivings regarding the Dopia, interested observers mentioned the Rainbow Political party, explaining that it was inciting Dopia to follow suit in their project. Moreover, when telling me, they would say that the Americans and the Skopiani were behind this cause. The strong feelings around this issue were strikingly evident when Nikolas Tsarknias, whose efforts to create a Macedonian church in Aridea have been documented in minority reports, was featured on a televised talk show in mid-September where he discussed his plans to create a Macedonian Church in Aridea. During the program, he was confronted by Greek clergymen who denounced him as a pederast. At one point, he was informed by the host that the police had come to arrest him for wearing church robes in public (as he had been thrown out of the Greek Church). He responded by saying that he would seek asylum at the American embassy in Greece. At least twenty people who frequented the same café as I did confronted me with the issue, saying that the Skopiani

in Canada were up to no good. Eventually, the next episode of the talk show concluded the interview with a follow-up discussion where two ministers from Pella spoke about the effort, claiming that few Dopii shared the convictions of Tsarknias.

A telling example of the suspicion surrounding the Dopii came up in conversation once among company in a café where one man said that the organisers of the dance association in the Kato Horio were separatists and that they had flown a Skopian (Macedonian) flag of the Vergina star (on a red background as opposed to a blue one) at a recent dance. Having been in contact with the association and present at that same function, I quickly disabused him of his opinion. Ironically enough, there were Dopii in our company as well. Thus, they were constructed as ‘other’ within their midst. At the other end of the spectrum, some people felt that the Dopii were a group that was loyal to the bone, and that many had taken up arms against the Turks and Bulgarians. One local historian I became acquainted with kept quoting a famous Slavic-speaking guerrilla fighter on the Greek side in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a Captain Kotas, who did not know proper Greek but is quoted as having once said to a biographer that: “*Εδώ είναι Ελλάδα* (Here is Greece)”.

Pentalofos was not the only place where I heard disparaging remarks made about the Dopii. While near my father’s village in Kozani, I ran into a woman involved in a local museum in Siatista. In our discussion concerning the Ottoman period in Kozani, I mentioned that I was undertaking a project on the Dopii in Pella Prefecture, and that I had a vested interest in the Ottoman period. To my dismay, she turned to me and said: “Great, now you can confirm the fact that we have a Slavic minority in Greece”. However, even among lay people in my father’s village, they were set on the notion that

not only were the Dopii not Greek, but that they were Bulgarians; by the same token, they did not consider the refugees to be true Greeks either.

### 6.3 ANALYSIS

#### 6.3.1 THE ELEMENTS AND CAUSES OF AN ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY

From the information that was provided in the previous section, a number of elements suggest that the individuals who call themselves Dopii constitute an ethnic group and possess an ethnic group identity. Firstly, they maintain a subtle myth of origin that explains their present situation in the region, and their identity as a 'people'. This ranges from a detailed account of the region's history to a statement as simple as, 'our parents were born here and speak Dopika'.

Secondly and most importantly, they expressed a sense of difference vis-B-vis other groups (notably the Ponts) that were organised along the same lines. In other words, they interpret themselves to be a group unlike others and as such, possess a collective consciousness. During interviews, participants not only spoke about themselves, but connected their personal identities with the general experiences of other members, a sort of reified version of 'Dopian-ness'. They maintained a symbolic boundary between themselves and the Ponts, as well as with other groups. For them, the fact that their ancestors resided in the region before it became incorporated into Greece and before the refugees arrived there, that they spoke Dopika, as well as their historical experience within Greek society, all served to distinguish them from others. According to their interpretations, they were a group that was suspected of being different from the rest. They remained a marginal group of farmers, much like their ancestors, until approximately the 1960s and 1970s when standards of living in Greece were improved.

These aspects or markers of their identity are buttressed by an ethnic ideology that delineates the behaviour and traits of Ponts, Turcophones, and others. This may be as simple as 'Ponts behave in a certain way or are clever' etc., while Dopian behave otherwise. This last point was vocalized most by the Dopiai on the outskirts of town. Their perceptions and stereotypes of the state and Old Greeks were more negative and intense than the other participants. This perception is most likely to be the result of personal experiences within a society that has at times been suspicious of their political persuasions, and their experiences with state representatives. For example, three participants were directly affected by the Civil War in that they were orphaned. However, the vicissitudes that they may have endured did not reflect the experiences of the indigenous Dopiai. This last group also had family in the F.Y.R.O.M. and maintained contacts with them. Apart from these three individuals, the only complaint that participants voiced was that they were sometimes called Bulgarians. The only exception within the indigenous group of participants were the Dopiai from the Kato Horio, whom I suspect to have been at one time a socially excluded group within Pentalofos.

While the aforementioned markers may be of importance to all the participants in the construction of their ethnic group identity, the intensity of this identity's significance was symbolic rather than couched in economic or political differences. This study could not elucidate some of the 'harder' or empirical issues that may also fuel their social formation. Despite this, none spoke of any economic discrimination or unequal access to resources, though some instances may have existed as Dopiai were perceived as being behind other groups. It would also have been interesting to find out how many Dopiai left for Germany and other places to find work, or to have seen how much land they possess

in comparison to other groups, as Van Boeschoten (2000) did in her study. In the present context, they may not have acquired the lands they wanted in the vicinity because of the state's land reclamation, but they were not stripped of any either. It remained apparent that they were stigmatized for speaking a non-Greek dialect that is akin to the languages spoken in the F.Y.R.O.M. and Bulgaria. It was awareness of this fact that led to the assumption that their ethnic identity is symbolic, and is in certain cases impinged upon by outsiders. Their feeling of difference vis-B-vis other groups may have been reinforced by their outside categorization as 'others' by others, which has been the hallmark of Dopian ethnicity within Greek society. For them, being residents of the region was not enough to convince members of Greek society that they legitimately belonged to the area, so they had to convince other groups of their Greekness by downplaying the significance of their dialect, or they responded by delegitimizing the claim that the state or refugees had over the area by claiming to be the 'Greekest Greeks'. This could possibly be the way in which 'Dopii Makedones' gained currency as a category in the first place. This last point, which has been interpreted as a form of resistance to the hegemony of the Greek nation and their status towards refugee groups, seems to have been a source of empowerment for people of Dopian background. Moreover, this may be interpreted as a re-fashioning of the category 'Makedones' that had been appropriated by state representatives.

Today, Greece's relations with the F.Y.R.O.M. have only served to complicate matters for Dopiai, as those living in the region of Florina are said to be 'Macedonianizing'. In the past, the identity of the Dopiai in Pentalofos may certainly have come into relief as they witnessed a thousand or less strangers settling in their hamlet.

Even today, they are a numerical minority in comparison to the vast majority of refugees, which might be another reason that they claimed to be the authentic Pentalofiots and Greek Macedonians. While the group from the Pano Horio and Kato Horio did not seem to have been as severely marginalised by the state or by the refugees, their background must still have been obvious.

### 6.3.2 TYPE OF ETHNIC ORGANISATION

The question remains as to what kind of ethnic group the Dopii are. From the appearance of things, Dopian ethnicity is comparable to an ethnic category (Handelman, 1977; as cited in Eriksen, 1993). Individuals of Dopian background are a distinct *ratsa* that represents a kind of stock with its own dated folk culture, rather than a mobilized corporate group. They are politically fractured and have no political representation on a group basis. Their ethnic ideology provides them with certain assumptions about other groups that may at one time have been accompanied by ritualized behaviour that is now defunct. With the exception of local dance or village associations and familial connections, they do not work together collectively in the pursuit of any corporate interest. They were an ethnic group that has been thoroughly assimilated into Greek society. They are not a nation given the fact that the dialects they speak were not standardized, and have not adapted to modern Greek society. While the argument may be made that they speak Macedonian, as in the F.Y.R.O.M., instruction and media in this language are not widespread or readily tlineavailable and may be unintelligible to people who speak dialects of this language.

### 6.3.3 THE SALIENCE OF THE CATEGORY

While the category of Dopians is being reproduced in Pentalofos, the contents of this category have become bankrupted as children seem to be uninterested in *ratses*. It tends to be middle aged and older individuals who imbue ethnic relations with significance.

Intermarriage created both a space where these groups could interact and smoothed any conflicts that might have involved both Dopii and refugees. While this last phenomenon may indeed have had an effect, such a point needed to be established by actually gathering data on marriage patterns. This resource that was not readily available in the field. Another conjecture is that the peach industry may have had an effect on interethnic relationships, because it created a field of interaction wherein all groups could participate. Having a common economic interest may well have diffused any interethnic tension. This seems to be the case in urban settings, since ethnic categorization in cities usually becomes defunct or imperceptible. Such a pattern may also have been available to the Ponts and Dopii before, as they lived in a mixed neighbourhood.

Thus, while political and economic issues polarized the Ponts and Dopii in other regions, in Pentalofos, the importance of these matters has subsided as the two groups fraternize with one another. They intermarry and generally get along, and consider themselves to be connected to one another. Overall, regions in which intermarriage and economic development that included all ethnic groups took place seem to have nullified ethnicity-based relations.

#### 6.3.4 MINORITY STATUS

With regard to minority status, none perceived their group in such a way. Participants were members of a group that was a numerical minority in comparison to the refugee groups. Even in terms of linguistics, few people speak dialects of Macedonian. In the domain of economics, they are not disenfranchised or discriminated against on the basis of their linguistic or ethnic background. It was not obvious if ethnic groups neatly corresponded to economic classes, as is the case in Florina Prefecture and other areas in Western Greek Macedonia. In other words, Dopeii did not seem to have been at the bottom of the pecking order. Culturally, they are permitted to create folk associations of their own, and are not forbidden to speak their dialect in public. They are neither dominant nor subordinate in the economic and cultural domains. The only instances of individuals encountering problems in the workplace or in other social domains are those who openly claim to be members of a Macedonian national minority, as is the case with a small fraction of the Dopeii from Florina and the areas surrounding this region to the east (e.g. Edessa). The Dopeii interviewed declared that they were not discriminated on this basis either, though they were sometimes perceived as 'others'. The Dopeii or Macedonians from Florina may indeed be interpreted as being a minority of Macedonian derivation (like the people from the F.Y.R.O.M.) that is officially ignored by the Greek state on the basis that they wish to further their ethnic culture. Their situation is not likely to change given the strict Greek view on this matter. It should be mentioned that Greece's legislation does not permit any kind of organisation to operate on the basis of ethnic background with the aim of securing political rights or furthering their own culture. The result is that most associations are given regional or village titles. Within



the rest of the Dopian community, there is no consensus regarding how or if they should instruct their children in their dialect. In Pentalofos, this was certainly the case, since few people spoke it in the first place. Individuals in the Kato Horio did exhibit concern for the transmission of the dialect; however, formal education in the dialect or in standard Macedonian was a foreign idea to them. Thus, while concern was shown in the matter of the dialect's disuse, no collective and formal (e.g. bringing in a language instructor or writing a petition to the government) initiatives were forthcoming since most people had traditionally been stigmatized by the use of the language. With respect to customs that Dopii wish to maintain, a modernized version of Kolde Babo was one of the few that remained. In my view, seeing the Dopii as an ethnic minority was a difficult issue to resolve, because they did not neatly meet all the criteria due to the complexity of their situation. The state does not discriminate against them and their identity does not impede them from becoming active participants in Greek society. However, they still may be viewed with suspicion by other ethnic groups. While an ethnic category is being reproduced to a lesser extent today, the contents of this category have become insignificant. In a similar vein, people of Dopian background have come to see themselves as members of the Greek nation and have increasingly become consumers of modern Greek culture, ethnicity is usually subordinated when there is an opportunity of national inclusion. Which problematizes their group's minority status. Since Dopian identity is situationally embedded in certain societal circumstances, its potential of developing into an alternate nationalism is limited.

### 6.3.5 NATIONAL IDENTITY

Since national identity has been a paramount issue with studies concerning Dopia populations, it is worth noting that the participants from the Pano and Kato Horio expressed their membership to the Greek nation. This is linked to the historical ethnic relations that took place between Dopia and the refugee groups. In comparison to other groups, it was these participants that intermarried the most. The situation of the participants from the Agora and Stathmo were different in that they made connections to both the Greek and Macedonian nation. They connected their language to the F.Y.R.O.M. as well as their customs. Two even spoke of being part of the Macedonian nation, and stated that the political dispute between the F.Y.R.O.M. and Greece had complicated the status of a unified Macedonia. However, all made mention of the aspects of their identities that they perceived as Greek. One interviewee declared that he “spoke, was christened, and married Greek”. While the theme of nation-ness and the complexities of national imagining have been discussed at length, this point serves to illustrate how people shift between categories and identities, and that unitary historical symbols do lead to different understandings. Dopia of either national identity have interpreted the symbols connected to Macedonia in their own way as well as in the way that state representatives intended people to understand them.

Finally, with the notion that the Dopia are an ethnic group comes the question of their treatment in print. With regard to Greek historians, they should give consideration to modifying the way in which they describe this group. While the fact remains that the word ethnic is not meaningful in Greek society, this situation may change if academics within Greece are willing to use the term as it is used elsewhere. The benefits that arise

from this are that people in international audiences and in Greece will come to understand the complexity of this group and alleviate any sensitivities that Greek academics have when non-Greeks and anthropologists analyse this group. Ethnicity as an academic construct is both popular and well understood by Western academics and may be used towards this end.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

In summary, scholars working with Dopiai Makedones should interpret these individuals as an ethnic group. Individuals who do so in most cases maintain a sense of group difference from other groups in their locality. They may or may not speak a dialect of Macedonian, and maintain their disparate origins. They also possess a strong regional identity that is exhibited by most people in Greek Macedonia. This is not to say that they do not perceive themselves as members of the Greek nation. On the contrary, they defined themselves as local Greeks. It is only within Greek society that their identity comes into relief.

Greek historians dealing with Greek Macedonia have emphasized that a Macedonian national and Dopian ethnic identity is not premised on ethnicity, and that it involved a political dispute between them and the refugees. They explain that actual matters separating these groups were politics rather than culture. This analysis does not explain the mythic origins or the symbolic difference that is made by individuals subscribing to this identity. Whereas the Dopiai in certain cases may have been at the bottom of the societal 'bunch', this does not seem to be the case anymore. In other words, they may have been right about the structural matters of ethnicity, such as the ill fated land reclamation scheme and their abuse by authorities, but Dopian identity is ethnic because it posits ethnic groups against other ethnic groups. These ethnic ideologies developed in tandem with, were couched in, and drew from class conflicts. Much in the way that it exists now, they saw themselves as different culture bearing groups. If it is a symbolic difference today, then this must have been so in the past as well. Not simply as a lower class versus that of an upper class. These were two

independent groups that had different historical experiences and folk cultures. It may be said that class relations gave way to or reinforced ethnic group formation, however, the fact remains classes don't have origin myths. In other words, they must have experienced a symbolic difference such as speaking another language. It should again be mentioned that the Dopii and Ponts spoke different dialects. They participated in the same national culture and class relations were mapped out onto previous ethnic relations. This is not to say that they considered themselves Macedonians in an ethnic sense prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century as some anthropologists have argued. This must have come during the interwar period.

It was obvious that the contents of a Dopian identity have become nil as EnDopika is not spoken widely in Central Greek Macedonia and that Dopii have been extended the societal franchise. Past traditions have become lost as people do not practise these anymore despite a small revival of Kolde Babo. Yet people still make the distinction between themselves and other despite the fact that this may not influence contemporary perceptions.

In regards to minority reports, these seem to have misunderstood not only past but present ethnic relations as well. While a small fraction within the Dopian community see themselves as a Macedonian minority, this does not seem to be the case with the majority as most people have come to terms with being members of the Greek nation, Greek citizens, and Dopii Makedones in situationally defined ways. While trying to prove a point about the past mistreatment of the Dopian community, their historical reconstructions need re-tuning. They should also mention on what authority they are presenting their views and whose views they are presenting. A quick week or more is not

adequate in arriving at an understanding of this group; they are much more complicated than that. Moreover, is the plight of the same individual activists in Florina that are being discussed while the living conditions of the majority of Dopia are not presented. In addition, demanding that Greece become multicultural is idealistic and uninformed of the historical movements that have problematized the Balkans. Greek authorities pursued assimilationist policies because of the fear of an irredentist war. These same people from the past were afraid that of what may have occurred if other nation-states took interest in a region and segment of their society; they feared the Dopia. While this may not reflect the present political circumstances between Greece and the F.Y.R.O.M., it is understandable that Greek authorities have not chosen to deal with this issue or are apprehensive of this topic.

While the nation-building process in Greek Macedonia may have been tumultuous for a segment of the Dopian community, this was not the case for the people in Pentalofos. Intermarriage and possibly inclusion in a significant peach industry removed ethnic stratification to the backburner. In this way, ethnicity among individuals of Dopian background is symbolic, especially so for younger individuals below the age of thirty. At one time, this group possessed a salient ethnic group identity. However, their social integration into Greek and Pentalofiot society picked up after the 1950's and 1960's when intermarriage became more common than before. Each informant mentioned how they were to a small degree perceived as being non-Greek by society.

It was among individuals born outside of Pentalofos that circumstances were different. They emphasized different aspects of their collective identity and their difference was more pronounced than native Pentalofiot. Three individuals had been

personally affected by the Greek Civil War. It has become common knowledge that the nation-building process in Western Greek Macedonia was more arduous than in other places because of its lack of economic development.

Finally, while it is not reasonable to ask Greek society to adopt the word ethnic when discussing the Dopes, academics may choose to do this as it will better explain matters rather obfuscate them.

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**APPENDIX A: MAP OF MACEDONIA**

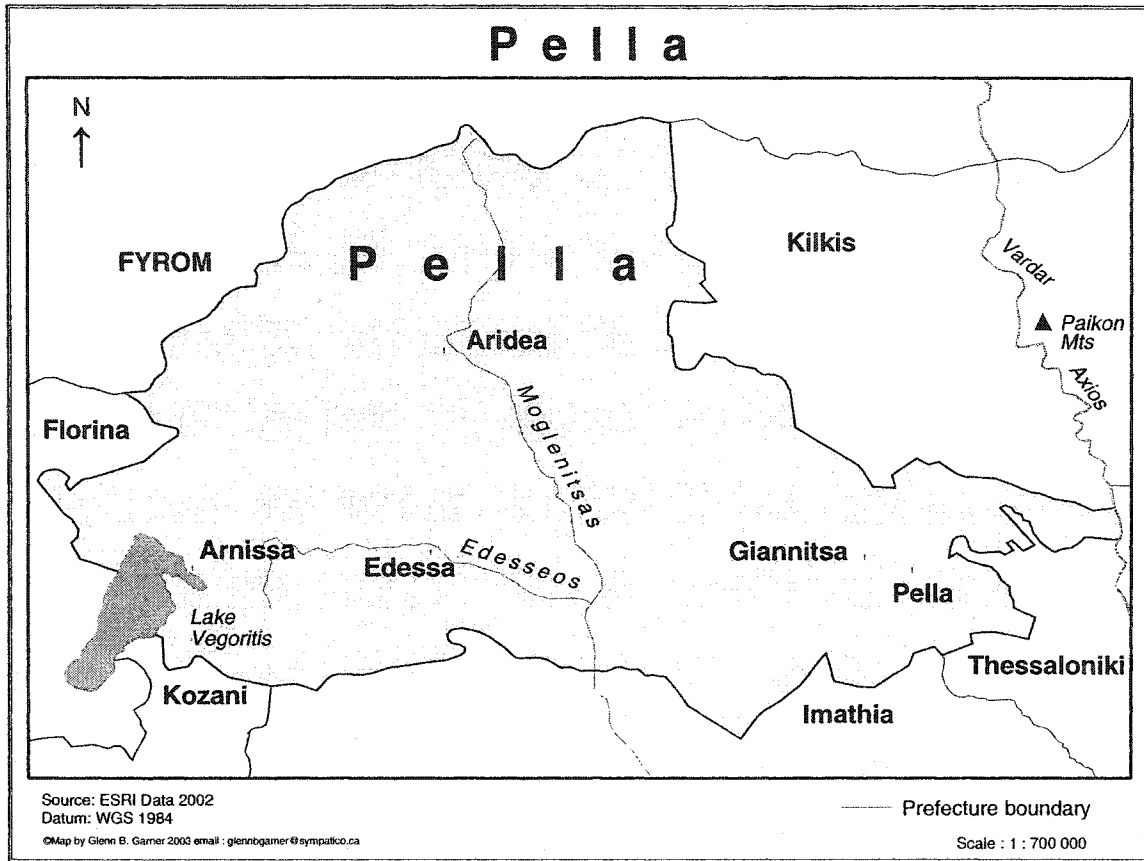


**APPENDIX B: MAP OF GREEK MACEDONIA**



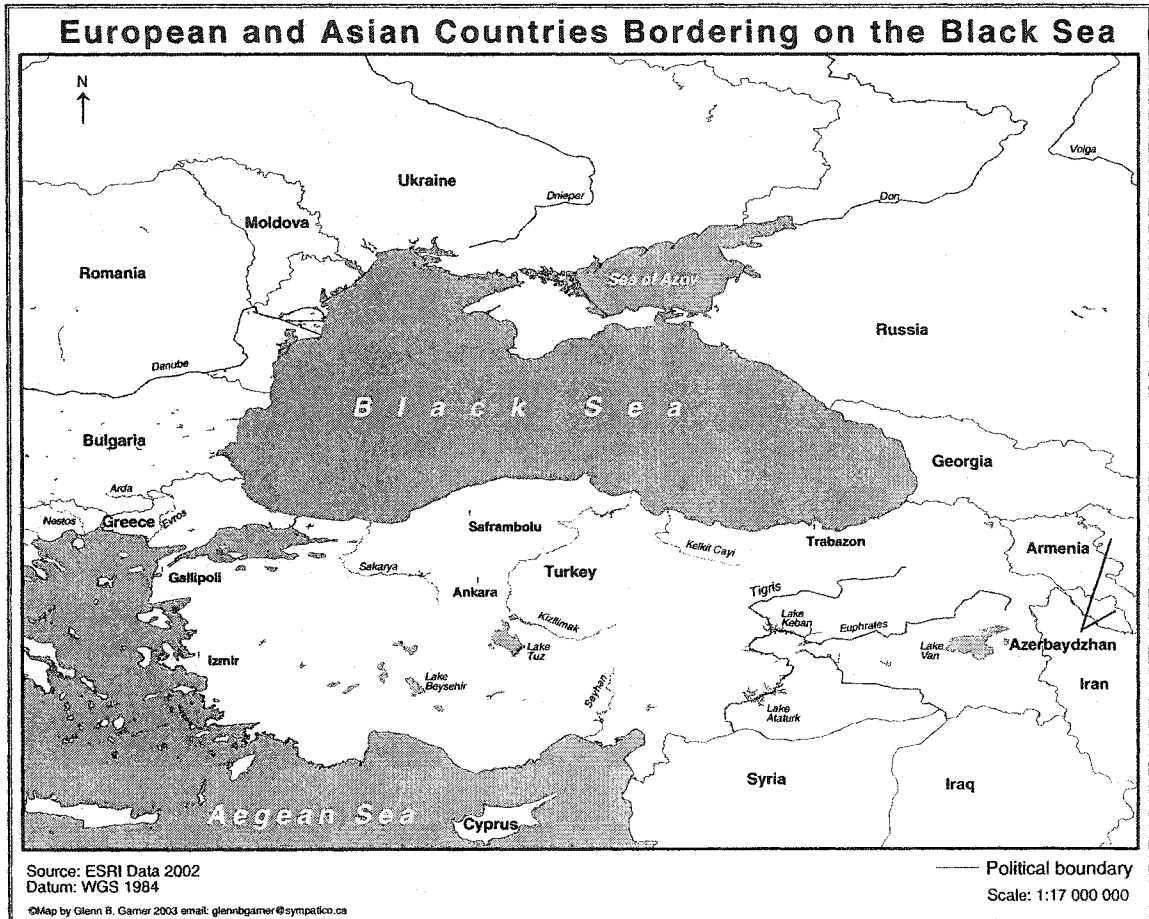


**APPENDIX C: MAP OF PELLA PREFECTURE**



**APPENDIX D: MAP OF EUROPEAN AND ASIAN COUNTRIES BORDERING**

**ON THE BLACK SEA**



**APPENDIX E: TABLE INDICATING RESIDENCE, PLACE OF ORIGIN, AND  
PARENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES**

Interviewee	Residence	Place of Origin	Parentage
1	Agora	Pentalofos	Mixed
2	Agora	Florina Prefecture	Dopian
3	Pano Horio	Pentalofos	Dopian
4	Pano Horio	Pentalofos	Dopian
5	Pano Horio	Pentalofos	Dopian
6	Kato Horio	Pentalofos	Mixed
7	Kato Horio	Pentalofos	Mixed
8	Kato Horio	Pentalofos	Dopian
9	Stathmo	highlands of Edessa	Dopian
10	Stathmo	Aridea area	Dopian
11	Stathmo	north of Pentalofos	Dopian
12	Stathmo	north of Edessa	Dopian
13	Stathmo	west of Edessa	Dopian
14	Stathmo	Pentalofos/Kozani	Mixed

**APPENDIX F: HISTORIC TIMELINE OF EVENTS THAT HAVE AFFECTED**  
**THE REGION OF MACEDONIA**

5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. – The reign of Alexander I Philhellene. Macedon expands to the Axios valley.

360-59 B. C. – Philip II comes to power. Brings Thrace, parts of Illyria, Thessaly, and the Greek city-states within his dominion.

336-324 B. C. – Reign of Alexander the Great.

148 B. C. – Macedon becomes a Roman province.

6<sup>th</sup> century A. D. – Avar and Slavic tribes move into the Balkans.

10<sup>th</sup> century – Renewed warring between the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom.

1204 – Constantinople sacked during the Fourth Crusade. Thessaloniki and its hinterland become a Frankish kingdom called the Kingdom of Thessaloniki.

1430 – Thessaloniki capitulates to Ottoman besiegers.

1453 – Constantinople captured by the Ottomans. End of Byzantine Empire.

1821-9 – Greek Revolutionary War.

1830 – Greek state is created. 1832, Greece becomes a kingdom.

1871 – Bulgarian Exarchate created.

1877-8 – Russo-Turkish War. San Stefano Treaty decrees that an autonomous Bulgarian Principality be created. Berlin Treaty of 1878 diminishes limits of proposed Bulgarian province. Sporadic revolts throughout regions of Greek Macedonia.

1893 – Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (I.M.R.O.) created.

1903 – Illiden Uprising occurs and is crushed by Ottoman authorities.

1904-8 – Macedonian Struggle.

1912-3 – Balkan Wars. Ottoman Empire dislocated from Macedonia.

1914 – Beginning of WWI. Refugees from Eastern Thrace and Asian Turkey begin to make their way to Greece.

1918-41 – End of WWI. Interwar period. Treaty of Lausanne and Treaty of Neuilly both implemented in 1923. 1922, refugees from Asian Turkey evacuated. 1924, Refugee Resettlement Committee begins mission to relieve plight of refugees. 1936-9, Metaxas in power.

1941-4 – WWII. 1944, People's Socialist Republic of Macedonia created within Yugoslavia.

1946-9 – Greek Civil War.

1991 – People's Socialist Republic of Macedonia ceded from Yugoslavia. 1992, F.Y.R.O.M. seeks international recognition under the name 'Republic of Macedonia'.