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## **THE LONG-RUN EFFECTS OF THE GREEK CIVIL WAR**

CONTENT-BASED EVIDENCE FROM THE FU ARCHIVE  
'ERINNERUNGEN AN DIE OKKUPATION GRIECHENLANDS'

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I have taken advantage of new epistemological approaches and automation software to conduct basic research into the legacy of the Greek Civil War in the collective imaginary of participants. The Greek Civil War has been studied extensively by mainstream historians, but there is an increasing tendency in the last two decades by social scientists to approach this heated topic using an eclectic methodological arsenal to address new questions through different perspectives. This paper is situated in this tradition and I have used the excellent FU collection of transcribed interviews *Erinnerungen an die Okkupation Griechenlands* (Recollections of the Occupation of Greece) to test two hypotheses by conducting a software-based Computer-Assisted Content Analysis (CACA).

After giving a brief account of the Greek Civil War itself, I then proceed with the presentation of the discourse and the interpretation of the Civil War in the course of recent Greek history. I devote a section to the new epistemological approach that has served as an inspiration for this paper, in order to situate the present paper in a broader theoretical context. On concluding the Literature Review, I present the hypotheses to be tested and give reasons for the choice of the particular methodology I employ to test them. In the Methodology section I explain the general principles of CACA and how I implemented them in this research design. Finally, I present the results of the hypotheses' testing and connect them with the theoretical framework presented in the Literature Review.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1. THE CIVIL WAR

The Greek Civil War had its roots in 1943 during the German occupation and was an armed confrontation between the Communists and the anti-Communist/nationalist block (Hondros 1983; Close 1995; Mazower 2001). Fighting occurred intermittently in various degrees of intensity until 1949, while its final and deadliest phase (1946-1949) served as the epilogue to the European theatre of the Second World War and the transition to the Cold War period (Tsoucalas 1969; Iatrides and Rizopoulos 2000; Gerolymatos 2004; Service 2007). It was *“a bitter and costly internal struggle between two ideologically irreconcilable camps”* (Nachmani 1993). The nationalist block was actively supported initially by the United Kingdom and later by the United States, while the Communists failed to secure effective Soviet support (Margaritēs 2001). Stalin had already acknowledged Greece as belonging to the Western sphere of influence in the infamous Percentages Agreement and promised not to interfere in its internal affairs (ibid.). The Communists were ultimately defeated and consequently subjected to decades-lasting persecution and marginalization (Mazower 2000).

It is useful to present at this stage the three different stages of the conflict, of which only the third is regarded as the actual Civil War according to general historiographic consensus. There is a heated debate raging over whether the conflicts preceding declared open war are a part of the same struggle or of a sharply delineated anti-occupation movement (Marantzidis and Antoniou 2004; Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004). Given the polemic nature of topics such as this and the high stakes associated with the favorable interpretation of historical “facts” to different players, it is impossible to expect unanimous agreement of what the “truth” is. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I will present the Civil War as a continuum of internal conflict, which started in the midst of the Axis occupation and escalated into full-blown war in 1946.

The first phase pitted the National Liberation Front (EAM) and its National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS), which were created and controlled by the Communist Party (KKE), against other resistance organizations and principally against the collaborationist Security Battalions and other

militias. After the retreat of the German occupation force in the face of the Soviet onslaught in the Eastern Front, EAM/ELAS clashed with the British-backed government in December 1944 for control of Athens (Richter 1985; Fleischer 1986; Woodhouse and Clogg 2003). The Communists were defeated and forced to negotiate, bringing the hostilities of the second wave of clashes to an end (Richter 1985). However, a precarious armistice ensued, with right-wing paramilitaries and anti-Communist gangs terrorizing and killing many civilians across Greece (Margaritēs 2001). This period, which lasted from 1945 to 1946, was dubbed the “White Terror” and saw low-intensity guerrilla fighting (Iatrides and Rizopoulos 2000; Mazower 2000).

Full-scale conflict erupted in 1946, as Communist fighters were re-organized in the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) and openly challenged the government in Athens, while consolidating bases of operation in the mountainous regions of Greece (Nachmani 1993; Close 1995; Margaritēs 2001). It is important to note that there was never talk of a “Civil War” at this time; the Athens government referred to it rather as the “Bandit War” and to the communist insurgents as “bandits” (Mazower 2000; Margaritēs 2001). These terms would stay in place in official documents and the official historiography until much later. The international circumstances were extremely unfavorable to the Communists, with significant British and American support flowing to the Athens government. The Tito-Stalin split, on the other hand, and the KKE’s decision to align itself with the Soviet side dealt the final blow. The DSE was thus deprived of its bases in Yugoslavia and of the steady supply of weapons and ammunition furnished by Tito’s government. The split triggered internal divisions and purges against alleged “Titoists” (Service 2007). The demoralized DSE officially surrendered in October 1949 in the face of momentous military advancements of government forces, effectively bringing the Civil War to an end (Clogg 1986; Margaritēs 2001; Kalyvas 2015). This was by far the bloodiest part of the conflict, accounting for the overwhelming majority of casualties.

## 2. OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

The Civil war was by all accounts a colossal humanitarian disaster and left the country in economic ruin and political instability for many years, while exacting an immense psychological toll on great part of the population (Mazower 2000; Gardika-Alexandropoulou et al 2015). The number of casualties relative to the population is very high- exceeding 100.000 by most accounts (Mazower 2000; Margaritēs 2001). The additional high number of executed, incarcerated, displaced/relocated and exiled people left behind not only numerous widows and orphans, but also deep scars in the imaginary of the entire Greek society (Iatrides, Wrigley 1995; Mazower 2000). The legacy of the Civil War reverberates through recent history and its official interpretation has been revised more than once, adapting to the domestic, international, and academic dynamics (Marantzidis and Antoniou 2004; Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004; Voglis and Nioutsikos 2017).

In the immediate post-war period, those associated with the Left were discriminated against by the state apparatus and persecuted, with many fleeing behind the Iron Curtain (Mazower 2000; Margaritēs 2001; Service 2007). Those who did not go into voluntary exile were often forcibly interned in remote islands or incarcerated (Mazower 2000). During this period there was no notable academic research into the topic of the Civil War and the Resistance. The better part of the still insignificant literature on the topic was produced by rightist non-scholars aiming at discrediting Communism (Voglis and Nioutsikos 2017). However, there was no marked government inclination to dominate the public sphere with visible symbols and to erect imposing *lieux de memoire*, like the Valle de los Caídos in Francoist Spain. The 1960s were a decade of gradual political liberalization, in which the excesses of the previous decade were slowly being reversed. Political life was beginning to normalize, but this shift came to an abrupt halt in April 1967, when rightist army officers executed a coup d'état and seized state power from the legitimate government. A dictatorship was established that came to be known as the Regime of the Colonels, which saw itself as the heir to the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime which itself collapsed in the face of the German invasion in 1941. The military dictatorship elevated anti-communism again to a core state doctrine and right-wing propaganda reigned supreme (Fakinos et al. 1970; Kalyvas 2015). This was a period of extreme discrimination against those believed to harbor “left” feelings, with a barrage

of human right abuses taking place (Fakinos et al. 1970; Mazower 2000). Nevertheless, there was leftist literature being produced, but published outside Greece and mainly in French (Voglis and Nioutsikos 2017).

The dictatorial regime was finally ousted in 1974 and the country entered a course of rapid democratization and Europeanization. Far-reaching institutional reforms were undertaken; the form of polity was established through a referendum, adopting the form of unitary parliamentary republic and abolishing the institution of the monarchy; and the KKE was legalized. Profound political liberalization was implemented for the first time in the country's history (Kalyvas 2015). The fundamental shift in political and social dynamics brought long-suppressed feelings to the surface (Mazower 2000). The vanquished of the Civil War were vindicated, as the veil of censorship and silence was slowly being lifted, while those forced into exile behind the Iron Curtain at the end of the Civil War were finally able to repatriate from 1974 onwards. Collective memory became a cornerstone of public discourse and the politics of memory became an integral part of national politics (Marantzidis and Antoniou 2004; Gardika-Alexandropoulou et al 2015). The national elites that oversaw the transition to democracy undertook the task of vindicating the Left, and the new state policies were centered around the term "Reconciliation" (Siani-Davies and Katsikas 2009).

This realignment brought about a crucial shift in national discourse with the aim of healing the political trauma (ibid.). The divisive Civil War legacy was superseded by the Resistance discourse, which proved fertile ground for a new Foundation Myth of the Greek state. A watershed moment in this process was the election into power of the first ever leftist party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), in 1981. Its Law 1285/1982 officially recognized the Resistance during foreign occupation as such and introduced the term "National Resistance", handing out certificates and pensions to resistance fighters. The Resistance Foundation Myth is not unlike those found in most other European countries that suffered Axis occupation, according to which the whole population rose up as one to oust the Axis yoke (Flacke 2004; Lebow et al 2006; Colin et al 2011). Law 1863/1989 was the second landmark in the re-interpretation of the Civil War, with the war being finally recognized as such, replacing the term "Bandit War"; the name DSE was also officially

adopted in lieu of the term “bandits” to designate communist combatants. This law was introduced by a short-lived coalition government which included both the principal rightist party (ND) and an electoral coalition of leftist parties, including the KKE. This coalition government at the twilight of the Cold War sealed the transition to the Resistance Myth and in 1989 oversaw the destruction of thousands of police and security archives relating to the period, greatly inhibiting the academic work of future researchers (Mazower 2001; Kalyvas 2015).

In the subsequent years, and especially in the new millennium, there was renewed interest in the entire history and legacy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century across Europe. Due emphasis was given to the 40s, the occurrences of which lay the basis for the Foundation Myth of most European states. More importantly, the new international environment and the new technologies, principally the internet, took the burning historical questions outside the traditional field of academic history and redirected the interest to the public domain. Public history emerged as an autonomous discipline and gained academic status in Europe through the pioneering establishment of a Master’s program at the Free University of Berlin, which was followed up by numerous universities across Europe. The initiative *Erinnerungen an die Okkupation Griechenlands* is placed exactly in this tradition of preservation of oral history through the exploitation of the full potential that the internet provides. I will go into further detail on this in the next section. I consider it necessary to first give an overview of the new historiographic wave in Greece that deals with the Civil War and of the new epistemological approaches that are gaining ground in the field. These new approaches are exceptionally relevant, since the Reconciliation paradigm proved unable to stand the test of time. Like in Spain, the dawn of the millennium and the recent economic crisis shook the very foundations of the political system that emerged in the transition to democracy in the 1970s, calling for new a new paradigm of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Aguilar Fernández 1996; Blakeley 2005; Davis 2005; Plakoudas 2016).



### 3. NEW EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH

The historiographic debate around the Civil War has been highly partisan and characterized by blame-shifting. In the context of the Reconciliation/Shared Responsibility doctrine, each side in the left-right bipolar system tried to gain the moral high ground and present itself in a positive light and the other side in a negative light. The burst of memoirs, novels, biographies, movies, conferences and newspaper articles that run in this vein was counterbalanced by a group of scholars that sought a new approach. The stated goal was to overcome the partisan nature of the debate and to shift the focus from the question “*Whose fault was it?*” to “*How did the Civil War take place?*” (Mazower 2000; Marantzidis and Antoniou 2004; Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004; Kalyvas 2006; Voglis and Nioutsikos 2017).

Of course, the establishment of “facts” is by no means an objective enterprise and inexorably carries with it implications for the present interpretation of the past experience, regardless of the rigor of the scientific approach (Le Goff 1992; Lowenthal 2011). Narrative constructions about the past fulfil a double political function: to reinforce the collective identity of the agents that reproduce them and to lend legitimacy to their socio-political interests. It should not therefore come as a surprise that heated debates have taken place in newspapers between mainstream historians and these so-called “post-revisionists”. This new phenomenon of debate unfolding in full view of the public eye can be observed in Spain as well, where the controversial and best-selling writer Pío Moa has sparked a heated public debate around the legacy of Spain’s own Civil War. In Greece as in Spain, there is an increasing tendency by scholars and non-scholars alike to challenge the post-transitional paradigm and to attempt to dismantle the so-called “ideological hegemony” of the Left (Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2016). Truly, the output of Greek leftist writers has been considerably more profuse in the decades after the transition and the leftist discourse has been more prevalent in the public domain (Marantzidis and Antoniou 2004). There have been studies with the aim of exploring the ideological legacy of authoritarian regimes and some have reconstructed a certain anti-right bias in democratic Greece following the Regime of the Colonels (Moschonas 1995; Dinas 2017). The same anti-right bias is to be observed in post-transitional

Spain as well, although it seems to dissipate more quickly than in Greece as time progresses (Dinas 2017). A parallel but opposite trend can be observed in post-communist eastern Europe, where aversion to communist ideology has helped produce the ideological hegemony of the Right (White et al. 2000).

In this paper I do not aim to take sides in Greece's very own *Historikerstreit*. Rather, I want to explore the boundaries of the epistemological framework of the post-revisionist approach and draw inspiration for my own investigation. No extensive research was needed to synthesize the essential points of interests and aims of the post-revisionist approach, since its most notable proponents, Stathis Kalyvas and Nikos Marantzidis, compiled and laid out a Decalogue published in a newspaper (Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004). This Decalogue contains the ten loci of interest of the post-revisionists, of which the following are of special interest in the scope of this paper: the local, the comparative and the multidisciplinary perspective.

This approach makes the novel contribution of shifting the focus from the study of the macrolevel, the grand narratives and the master cleavage -the realm of mainstream historians-, to the meso-and microlevel, and to the messy world of individual and community experience (Kalyvas 2006). The alleged exceptionality of the Greek case is disproved and the Civil War experience is placed in the wider European framework of the turbulent 40s (Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2016; Voglis and Nioutsikos 2017). Comparisons are of profound interest, especially with Spain, since the two countries have shared a remarkably similar recent political trajectory- transitioning from an autocratic to a democratic regime and later joining the European Communities in roughly the same time- and many interesting patterns and non-patterns can be discovered through comparative analysis (Economides 2000). Lastly, the multidisciplinary approach can shed new light and bring other hitherto unknown aspects to the surface.

The drafters of the Decalogue, themselves political scientists, draw on methods borrowed from anthropology, ethnology and social psychology to address questions that had not been stated due to methodological inadequacies or that have not been satisfactorily answered up to that point. For example, the question is posed to what degree "political violence" is truly political, i.e.

motivated by ideology (Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004; Kalyvas 2006). Methods usually disregarded in mainstream historical research, such as interviews with people who experienced the events, can help elucidate other motivations that led to violence, like personal enmities, local feuds or family vendettas. In civil wars violence tends to be forcefully fitted into and explained by the bipolar master cleavage (normally the left-right axis) of the conflict (Kalyvas 2006). As useful as this may be for the discipline of history, this analytical framework can prove hopelessly inadequate for the social sciences, as it collapses when trying to explain social dynamics, political identities and electoral behavior at the local level. An excellent example of work running in this vein is the compilation of 215 interviews by Kalyvas with people from a particular prefecture of Greece that lived through the Civil War (*ibid.*). Interviews of this type, traditionally the realm of anthropologists and ethnologists, can be a fine addition to the methodological arsenal of a political scientist and supplement other more established methods.

I share the belief that eclectic methodologies can yield significant insights into social and political dynamics. A decision one has to take when choosing a method of analysis is the degree of emphasis on the details. A fair balance should ideally be accommodated between the accurate depiction of the details and the faithful representation of the general picture. Traditionally, interviews tend to rest on the qualitative side of the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy and hence their analysis tends to favor case-specific interpretations. This can often happen to the detriment of a successful abstraction of the data and of the recognition of patterns. I intent to overcome such limitations by using a quantitative method to analyze interviews and to gain valuable insights through comparison and through the recognition of certain patterns. In the next section, I pose the questions to be answered and the methods I aim to employ to answer them.

### III. RESEARCH QUESTION

Scholars and students are today more free than ever to pursue their academic interests, not least owing to the singular opportunities that the internet provides. The general direction of this paper surged when I watched some interviews in the *Erinnerungen an die Okkupation Griechenlands* FU archive. While the central topic of the interviews conducted and the bulk of the questions directed at the interviewees concerned the Axis occupation of Greece in the framework of the Second World War and the mark it left, a significant portion of the interviewees' answers actually covered the Greek Civil War. Brief references to the Civil War could be expected, but I felt that the coverage was somehow disproportionate and this puzzled me. Why are people talking so much about a different topic than the one that the project is about?

I decided to follow up on my initial curiosity. I watched more interviews in the archive and a number of similar questions tended to emerge in many interviews. I found it immensely interesting to test if I can find certain patterns across the interviews. A traditional examination of the interviews was out of question due to the sheer volume of the material: there are 93 interviews which cumulatively add up to 207 hours and 21 minutes of watch time (or 12.439 minutes). Furthermore, the lack of structure in oral speech (Ong and Hartley 2012) and the dispersion of relevant information across the entirety of the interview renders counterproductive the targeting of specific passages in each interview for the extraction of the desired information. Therefore I decided to employ a software to systematically extract the desired information from the entire collection of the interview transcripts. I go into further detail on this in the Methodology section. As a descriptive inquiry, the content analysis has the twin aim of conceptualization and measurement (Gerring 2012).

In the present paper I attempt to answer the following two hypotheses on the basis of the *Erinnerungen an die Okkupation Griechenlands* archive:

**Hypothesis 1:** *The memories of the Civil War and the Resistance tend to be closely interlinked in the minds of the persons involved.*

**Hypothesis 2:** *Excluding the Resistance, the Civil War holds the most eminent place in the collective imaginary of participants among 20<sup>th</sup> century events.*

Both hypotheses aim at putting the reigning narrative on the Civil War under a microscope. The first hypothesis aims at examining whether participants *feel* the Civil War and the Resistance as two sharply delineated events, as the present paradigm would have it. The second hypothesis aims at comparing the place of the Civil War in the collective imaginary of participants with that of the two other defining events of 20<sup>th</sup> century Greek history, the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime (1936-1941) and the Regime of the Colonels (1967-1974).<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that there are national holidays and celebrations associated with both of these events, while the Civil War is notably absent from the official public landscape.

The conceptualization of the hypotheses is defined as the interrelationship between the amount of space in the interviews occupied by the Civil War and the Resistance and by the Civil War, the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime and the Regime of the Colonels respectively. In other words I set out to measure how often each category appears in the discussion comparatively. I opted for these two hypotheses in specific because they encompass a comparison of the Civil War with both the central topic of the archive- the Resistance- and with two additional critical events which appear indirectly- the two 20<sup>th</sup> century dictatorships, hence allowing for comparison on two different levels.

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<sup>1</sup> A list of defining 20th century events in Greek history should include the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the subsequent Great Fire of Smyrna and the massive population exchange between Greece and Turkey. However, most interviewees had not been born yet and those that had were little children.

## IV. METHODOLOGY

### 1. OVERVIEW

As already stated, the method I employ is Computer-Assisted Content Analysis. In general terms, CACA is the application of a dictionary (a collection of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories containing closely-related words) to a sample, in order to quantify specific variables by the generation of per-unit frequencies (Weber 1990; Krippendorff 2004; Riff 2014; Neuendorf 2017). CACA has a long history in academia and the social sciences, especially in sociology, psychology and communication (Weber 1990). In political science it is used primarily for the analysis of political communication, of political campaigns and especially speeches, and of policy documents (Neuendorf 2017). Human-coded content analysis is presently more suitable for analyses of small N-studies and for more sophisticated coding, while CACA is more useful for large N-studies (ibid.). CACA requires significant effort in the preparation phase, but can then be applied automatically to all cases (ibid.). It is therefore extremely propitious for making quantitative comparisons and for synthesizing results. In this section of the paper I want to stress the features of the particular method and then explain the particular steps I have taken to ensure academic rigor as much as possible.

As a quantitative method, the clarity and parsimony of descriptive CACA are its most attractive aspects. It is able to systematize text characteristics and assign numerical values to concepts. Of course, in order for the results to be reliable, a set of principles must be heeded and a set of rules must be followed. Attention must thus be given to validity, accuracy, precision and reliability. The latter three can be understood as subcategories of the former. Their fulfilment amounts to good measurement and hence to reliable results. There are many schools of thought in Content Analysis and many different approaches. For the sake of consistency and maximum cohesion, I maintain the definition and interpretation of the criteria as outlined in Neuendorf's Content Analysis Guidebook (Neuendorf 2017), which is considered standard in academic Content Analysis.

## 2. CRITERIA

### A. PRIMARY CRITERIA

**Accuracy** describes the bias (non-random error) of the measuring procedure. It is an ideal standard, which can never be entirely upheld. However, it is possible to approximate it through the application of standards of intercoder reliability, which contributes to increased intersubjectivity. Intercoder reliability can be understood as the independent development of a similar dictionary by different coders following the same conceptualization of the question. It can then be given as a coefficient depending on the degree of overlapping of the content of the dictionary. This means that ideally more than one coder have to be trained and be acquainted with the subject at hand and then work on the development of the dictionary, which requires significant resources. Given the limitations, I tried to circumvent the problem and ensure the non-overlapping of categories by giving the dictionary to two Greek students at the Faculty and telling him and her to assign each word to one of the categories. By this system of “blind coding” they sorted words into categories without having any knowledge of my own coding. While far from ideal, by this method I could at least reshuffle or remove the more contentious words and confirm that the categories of my dictionary are mutually exclusive and do not distort the final results by adding values to the wrong categories.

**Precision** can be understood to mean in CACA the exhaustiveness of the categories of the dictionary. The more relevant words included, the finer their distinction will be. Nevertheless, a balance must be established between including as many words as possible and the relevance of the words.

**Reliability** describes the yielding of consistent results through the repeated application of the measuring procedure to the same sample. It is thus inherently ensured in a Computer-Assisted Content Analysis, as the automatic procedure will always yield the same results.

Lastly, **validity** is the sum of accuracy, precision and reliability plus a good conceptualization. While there can rarely be general consensus about any conceptualization, I kept my hypotheses as concise as possible so as to require minimal conceptualization. I followed an established way

of proceeding in Content Analysis, which is to measure the amount of space that each category assumes in a given sample. In short, when all these are in place, satisfactory validity is approximated, and we can thus be confident that we are indeed measuring what we set out to measure.

## **B. ADDITIONAL STANDARDS**

There are additional “filters of rigor” that one must abide to when one conducts increasingly complex content analyses, that is when one tries to unearth latent meaning and measure complex or multidimensional concepts, such as populism (Hawkins 2009), charisma (Bligh and Robinson 2010), or similarity of style between public speeches and private tape-recorded conversations (Renshon 2009). In this paper I focus on manifest meaning and the testing of a simple relationship and hence additional checks like construct validity (the extent to which a measure corresponds to established standards external to the measure) (Carmines and Zeller 1979) or content validity (the extent to which the measure reflects the full domain of the concept being measured) are not imperative (*ibid.*).

It should also be noted at this point that an ideal CACA involves the preliminary stage of pre-processing. This entails the reformulation of the text in such a way as to be in a format more easily processable by the computer by means such as stemming and lemmatization (methods for simplifying and homogenizing inflected forms). Doing pre-processing requires extensive resources and advanced software and so this is only possible for more advanced research projects. As a result, a minimal distortion of the results will occur that would not be the case were it for premium professional software that could account for such factors, e.g. different inflected forms of the same word or the presence of a negative. In the following sub-section, I explain the steps I took to minimize the distortion resulting from the absence of pre-processing.

## **3. CUSTOM DICTIONARY AND APPLICATION**

### **A. DICTIONARY**



Having given a brief overview of the basics and the criteria of the methodology, I can now proceed with the explanation of the development of the dictionary and of the chosen sample. I decided to develop my own dictionary rather than to search and apply an already coded one, because dictionaries have to be ideally case-specific, i.e. should be relevant to the sample at hand. A well-coded custom dictionary can lead to more reliable results than the application of an “off-the-shelf” dictionary. Moreover, there is a golden rule for every good CACA and that is that the dictionary should be established a priori. In other words, categories and the words they contain must be complete and unalterable at the time of the application to the entire sample. The dictionary should be coded in such a way, that no changes may be undertaken after its application has commenced, so as to not bias the results in any specific direction a posteriori.

With this in mind, I started the construction of the dictionary based on deductive logic and then complemented it according to inductive fashion by a preliminary examination of 4 of the interviews. I made a list of general vocabulary relating to the Civil War and the other categories based on my research for the Literature Review and then I added relevant words that appeared in these 4 interviews. One decision I had to make was in which language to code the transcripts. They are namely available both in Greek -the original language- and as a translation in German. I counter-intuitively decided to do the coding in German and not in my native Greek, so as to make the coding scheme accessible to a wider public and to anyone who might want to replicate or build up on the results. There is an additional reason why German is particularly well suited as a language to conduct CACA, viz. the high degree of morphological agglutination, in contrast to fusional languages, like English, Spanish or, to a lesser degree, Greek. This means that words tend to be less context-specific and to have a more easily deducible meaning on their own. As a result, the absence of pre-processing will not have as big an impact on the final results as it would exert in languages more to the fusional end of the agglutinative-fusional continuum, in this case Greek. Thus, the coding in German allows for a containment of potential distortions by the absence of pre-processing. The full coding scheme can be found in the Appendix.

The software I used is **Yoshikoder**, a content analysis program developed at Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. It is accessible free of charge and it is also in a format that

is easy to understand and to use by people with no extensive previous experience with automated content analysis. While there are many such programs on the internet, Yoshikoder fitted the goals of the particular research project perfectly. It is possible to upload documents and apply dictionaries to perform basic content analyses. Yoshikoder then provides summaries of the documents, in this case the interview transcripts, as word frequency tables depending on the content analysis dictionary used. It also allows for relative flexibility in the face of absence of pre-processing, in that it contains the feature of applying an asterisk (\*) at the end of the word, in which case all words with the particular root are included. For example, if one codes *deutsch\**, then Yoshikoder will include words such as *deutsche, deutschen, Deutschland, deutscher* etc.

In my own dictionary I used five categories in total- two for the first hypothesis and two for the second hypothesis, as well as the *Civil War* category which is equally applied for the testing of both hypotheses. The first three categories are titled: *Occupation* (47 words), *Civil War* (45 words) and *mixed* (7 words). The mixed category contains words that could not apply exclusively to one of the two categories. As stated in the literature review, the conflict began during the German occupation and hence some actors were relevant in both conflicts (like EAM). On close examination that would pay heed to context, one could ascertain to which of the two categories each word in the mixed category would belong in each case. Therefore, the mixed category records words with ambivalent context-dependent meaning. The last two categories are titled: *4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime* (43 words) and *Regime of the Colonels* (42 words).

## **B. SAMPLE**

I settled on the fact that not all interviews were equally suitable for the testing of the first hypothesis. The reason is that some interviews naturally deal almost exclusively with the German occupation, for example those found under the categories *Judenverfolgung* (Persecution of Jews), *Flucht* (Flight) or *Konzentrationslager* (Concentration Camps). People who were hunted down by the Nazi regime, like Jews, were per se not involved in the subsequent Civil War and would thus be of limited interest for the present analysis. Therefore, I did not include the interviews under these categories in the sample. I applied my dictionary to only those interviews

found under the categories *Widerstand* (Resistance) and *Kollaboration* (Collaboration), which includes slightly less than half of the total population of interviews (45 out of 94 interviews). By doing so it is possible to give a more representative comparative picture of the Civil War and the Resistance. In contrast, the entirety of the population of interviews was used for the testing of the second hypothesis.

## V. PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

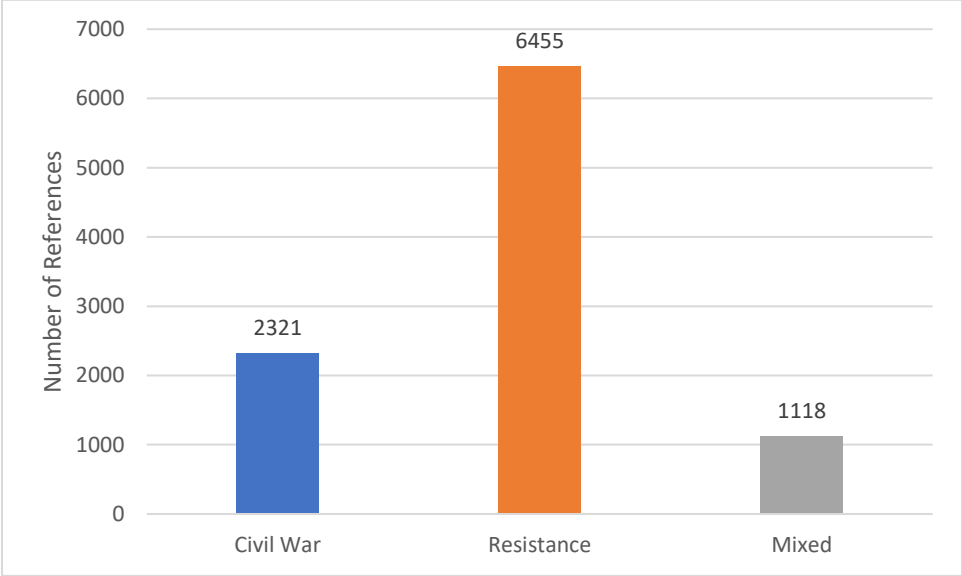
The results of the content analysis are presented in this section. First I provide a brief analysis of the results and a two-fold graphic demonstration for each hypothesis. Subsequently I connect the results with the general framework of the Greek Civil War and with the epistemological approaches exposed in the Literature Review.

### RESULTS

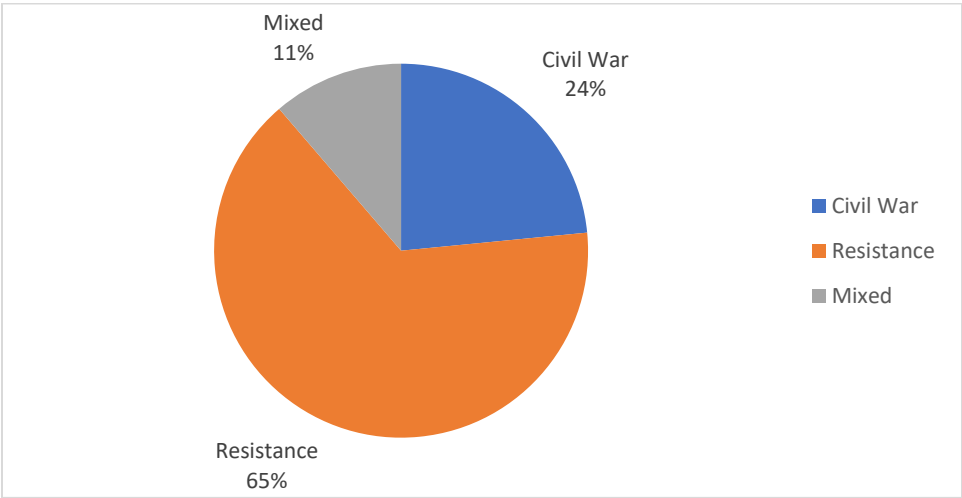
The testing of the hypothesis shows a considerable number of references to the Civil War in respect to the Resistance. The sum total of references to the entire dictionary was 9894, of which 6455 were references to the Resistance (65,2%) and 2321 were references to the Civil War (23,5%). The mixed category amounts to 1118 words (11,3%) in all the interviews tested, and could influence the results in any direction (Resistance vs Civil War) on closer examination of their context.

12 interviewees even referred more often to their experience in the Civil War than to the Resistance itself, albeit to a small degree. Of the remaining 33 that did refer more often to the Resistance, 26 did so with only a slightly greater frequency. Only 7 persons were found to refer only minimally to the Civil War. It is interesting to note that 2 of these 7 people are Karolos Papoulias and Manolis Glezos, two personalities that have played a prominent role in Greek politics, which could potentially account for their emphasis on the unifying discourse of the Resistance rather than on the divisive discourse of the Civil War.

**Figure 1. Number of references to each dictionary category (H1)**

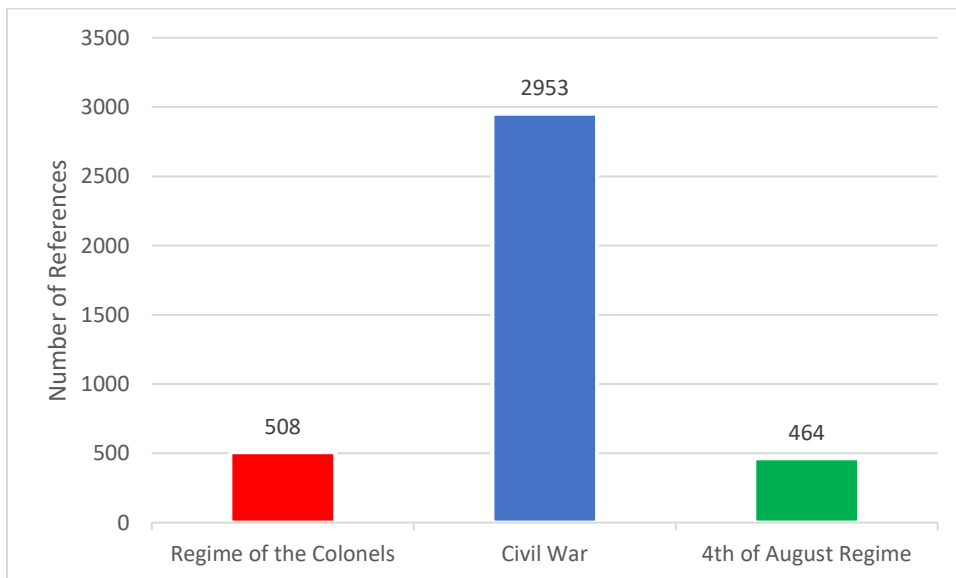


**Figure 2. Percentage of references to each dictionary category (H1)**

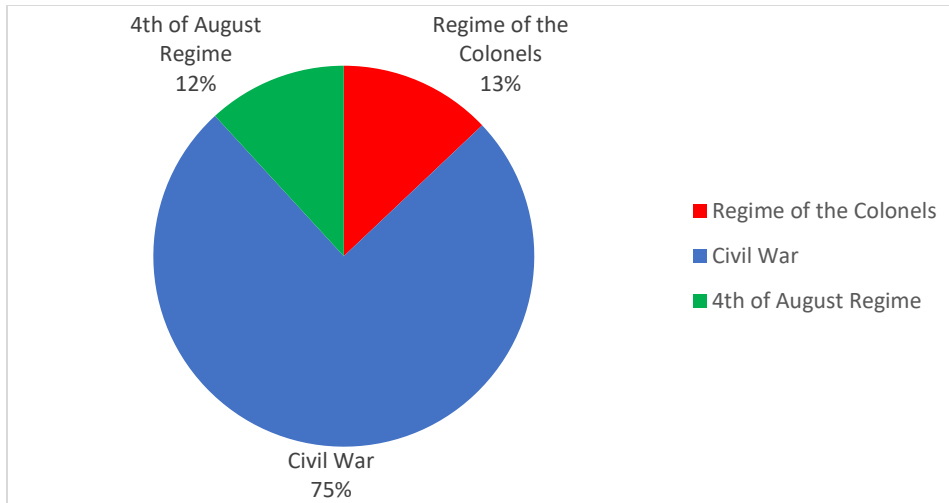


The testing of the second hypothesis reveals an overwhelming amount of references to the Civil War as opposed to the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime and to the Regime of the Colonels. There is an almost equal amount of references to both regimes in the totality of the interview population: 464 references to the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime and 508 to the Regime of the Colonels. The Civil War, in contrast, is a category with a far more superior number of references, amounting to a total of 2953. This mirrors a moderate increase from the number of references when the dictionary is applied to the smaller sample of the first hypothesis. Of the sum total of 3925 references, 75,3% were to the Civil War, 12,9% to the Regime of the Colonels and 11,8% to the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime.

**Figure 3. Number of references to each dictionary category (H2)**



**Figure 4. Percentage of references to each dictionary category (H2)**



## EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK AND IMPLICATIONS

The Resistance and the Civil War are two events closely interlinked historically and inextricably interwoven in the minds of participants in both conflicts, despite the fact that they tend to be completely disjointed in the public discourse of the present, in line with the political agenda or the political preferences of modern-day politicians, scholars and laymen alike. The conducted content analysis reflects the inclining of interviewees to recount their experiences in the Greek Civil War in an academic project about the German occupation of Greece during the Second World War. A different paradigm than the one championed by the official narrative becomes manifest thereby, in which actual participants process the Resistance and the Civil War as tightly linked. People who were actively involved in the Resistance were almost invariably involved in the subsequent Civil War. The decision to join the Resistance led consistently to the entanglement in the Greek Civil War in the twilight of the Second World War and the retreat of the German occupation force. Such insights call for new analytical tools and explanatory approaches to explain the dynamics of the Civil War, which take into account additional factors and dimensions, rather than being confined to the usual ideological/patriotic master cleavage.

Even if participants themselves explain their actions and their life story ex post idealistically as a tragic odyssey fueled by commitment to ideology, it can safely be assumed that ideology and the accompanying personal identity were one of many factors at play. On a conscious level, most

interviewees attributed their actions to a political vision and to a struggle for a better and more just society. While there is no reason to question this self-understanding, it can hardly be used as an exclusive and mono-dimensional explanation for action, or even as the defining one. By adopting a more analytical approach, one can identify additional factors in the complex matrix of decision-making that led to a certain course of action and reach a higher level of abstraction to explain patterns like the overlapping of participants in the Resistance and the Civil War.

It is useful to treat all these events not as separate islands, but as manifestations of certain tendencies in the same continuum. The acute anti-communism of the 4<sup>th</sup> of August Regime mirrored the progressively all the deeper split in Greek society and signaled the direction in which the wind was blowing. The persecution of communists that began during this regime reached its climax many decades later, in the Regime of the Colonels. Many were incarcerated or forced into exile for their political beliefs and suppression became the order of the day. Given the comparative recency of this last event, an interesting question would be why it is not the recipient of more attention on the part of the interviewees. The Civil War is instead the central locus of attention. Despite the fact that the Civil War is so evidently influential in the collective memory of participants and in the shaping of their political identity to this day, it remains ostensibly barred from the public landscape.

It can be argued that such dark chapters are best ostracized from memory and that their effect will gradually fade as actual participants die out. However, this assumption is problematic on account of two observations. Firstly, repeated studies have shown conclusive evidence that the political identity of participants is passed down to the next generation through family ties, implying a perpetuation of its memory and impact in the political life of the country (Mazower 2000; Gardika-Alexandropoulou et al 2015). Secondly, the “pacto del olvido” paradigm (Pact of Forgetting) (Aguilar Fernández 1996) cultivated by post-transitional Spain is beginning to crack and is evidently unsustainable. History cannot, and should not, be erased. Attempts to tear pages out of history books are a testament to a political system’s immaturity and inability to deal with problems with real impact. The Resistance as the Foundation Myth of the Greek state has been effective to this day, but it gives a mono-dimensional picture of the troubled 40’ and perpetuates a

Manichean model of good-bad, hero-villain, friend-foe. However, as the present content analysis implies and as any thorough analysis would reveal, history and reality are less exciting and more multidimensional than both state narratives and self-portrayals care to admit. As Greece walks in Spain's footsteps, it becomes evident that a shift in paradigm and narrative is imminent, exacerbated by the shaking of the foundations of the post-transitional political system brought about by the crisis of the last decade. The scholar could assume a central role in this process of reformulation of state narratives, since there is a need for a more objective and impersonal standpoint. As a political system matures and becomes responsible enough to address reality as it is, recognizing wounds and scars in society rather than pretending they don't exist or ignoring them, it becomes possible for democracy and pluralism to be consolidated on truly firm ground rather than on sand.

## VI. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have approached the issue of the legacy of the Greek Civil War through a new perspective. I tested two hypotheses using the FU archival collection of interview transcripts *Erinnerungen an die Okkupation Griechenlands*, which yielded interesting insights. By conducting a software-based content analysis I attempted to unearth certain patterns by the structured investigation of the actors' own narratives. Such research projects shift the weight to the micro- and mesolevel and can breathe new life to the study of old problems and help overcome restrictions of past research. Memory politics and the (re-)interpretation and overcoming of the past (*Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung/Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) on a personal and societal level are bound to remain essential to the public debate and to exert influence in the decision- and policy-making process. This is by no means a Greek-specific problem. Many nations share similar experiences and unresolved political traumas and thus approaches and tools developed for the study of one case can be transferred to the study of others. Truly, emphasis on the local, the personal and the comparative can be the new axis for research in such topics and help elevate the public political debate.



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## APPENDIX

### Dictionary categories and words included:

<b>4th of August</b>	<b>Colonels</b>	<b>Civil War</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Mixed</b>
Neutralitätsvertrag	Putsch	Bürgerkrieg	Besatzung	EAM
Gegenrevolution	Junta	Asyl	Deutsch*	ELAS
Ochi	Militär-Regime	Bataillon	Bergdemokratie	Weltkrieg
Megali Idea	Offizierkorps	Sicherheitsbataillon	Befreiung*	Flucht
Große Idee	Zypernfrage	Gendarm	Hungersnot	Festnahme
Selbstputsch	Zürcher und Londoner Abkomme	Gesinnung	Gestapo	Verfolgung
Georg II	Aspida-Verschworung	Kamerad	SS	Exekution
Kondylis	Generäle	Kommunist	ELAN	
Freisinnige*	Kissinger	Nationalist	Strafhäftling*	
Arbeitsprogramm	Papadopoulos	Nachkriegsverfolgung	Waffen-S	
Aufrüstung	Patakos	Ostblock	Partisan*	
Transformationsprogramm	Putschisten	Repatriierung	Internierung	
Griechisch-Italienischen Krieg	Katharevousa	links	Italien*	
Balkanfeldzug*	Makarios	rechts	Wehrmacht	
Bücherverbrennung	Obristenregime	Paramilitar	Jude*	
Antiparlamentarismus	CIA	Kollaborationist	Nationalsozialist*	
Regime des 4. August	Zensur	Taschkent	Nazi*	
Metaxas-Diktatur	Reueerklärung	Verbannung	Okkupation	
EON	Regierungsübernahme	Weiße	Niederbrennung	
Anti-Venizelisten	Konstantin II.	Zachariades	Razzia	
Dritte Griechische Kultur	Verfassungsdekret	Makronisos	Patrouille*	
Faschistischer Gruß	Militärputsch	Paris	Strafhäftling*	
Albanienfront	Unterdrückung	Moskau	Vergeltungsmaßnahme*	
Gegenoffensive	Nixon	Meligalas	Verschleppung	
Griechenlandfeldzug	Zensurmaßnahme*	Zervas	Widerständler	
Jugendorganisation	Gegenputsch	Zentralkomitee	Widerstandsgruppe*	
Annexion	Proteste	Verbannungsort	Massenbegräbnis	
Nordepirus	Ioannidis	KKE	Melk	
Front	Exil	Demokratische	Ebensee	
Konskription	Averoff	Churchill	Dachau	
Einberufung	Zypernkonflikt	Dekemvriana	Achsenmächte	
Grazzi	Militärpolizei	Dezemberereignisse	Massaker	
Metaxas-Linie	Staatsstreich	Schlacht	Schlacht um Kre	
	Diaspora	Abkommen	Maschinengewehr*	
	Nachkriegsemigration	EKKA	Kommandatur	
	Aufstand am Polytechnikum	PAO	Hitler	
		EDES	Geheimdienst	
		Aris		
		Gyaros		

Gavdos	Einmarsch
Kollaborationsverbände	Entschädigungen
Kompagnie	Entschädigungsforder*
Papandreou	Faschist
Partei	Dolmetscher
Yugoslawien	Division*
Slawomakedon	Antideutsch
Flüchtling	Bombe*
	Bombardierung*
	Bulgarien*
	Carabinier*

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