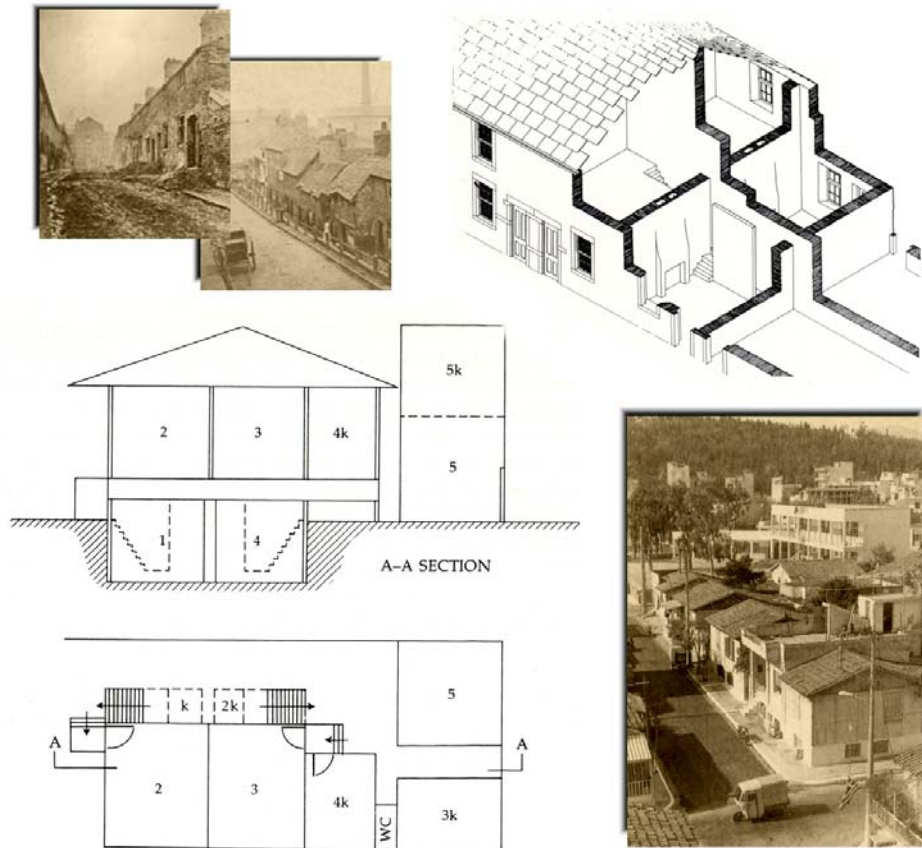# Processes of Industrialisation:

A Comparative Study of Greek and British Industrial Revolution

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"Industrial Archaeology is, of course, ultimately concerned with people rather than things: factories, workshops, houses and machines are of interest only as products of human ingenuity, enterprise, compassion or greed-as physical expressions of human behaviour. From whatever standpoint the subject is approached, man is the basic object of our curiosity"

(Smith 1965:191 as cited in Palmer et all 1998:14)

Plate 01 Irish Slum (Stafford Street 1880) © Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies (http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/black_country/article_1.shtml)

Table of Contents

Plates

Figures

Abstract

This essay is a study of the impacts of the Industrial Revolution on the working population and their housing conditions. Using as reference the British industrial past and the principles and methodology of British Industrial Archaeology, I tried to map a similar route in Greece's industrial past analysing the effects of industrialisation on the Asia Minor Refugees during the inter-war period. The short introduction to each country's Industrial Revolution, followed by a section about the Irish immigration in England which I tried to link with the influx of the Asia Minor Refugees in Greece. The workers' housing in England and in Greece was the topic of the fourth section. The last part of this essay is about the principles of the contemporary industrial archaeology in England, and my supported opinion that they could be applied successfully not only in Greece, but in every country despite the scale of its industrial past.

Keywords

1   Introduction

This essay is a prelude rather than a comprehensive research about the industrial history of Greece, her consequent industrial archaeology and the principles related with the management of the industrial heritage.

Industrial Archaeology in Greece only exists as a hobby of a few dedicated architects, far from an official establishment as a discrete archaeological field. The typical excuse for this phenomenon is that Greece is full of classical and prehistoric archaeology. The history of modern Greece covers only a period of less than 200 years despite the fact that a lot of dramatic events that have affected people's life happened during this period. The asynchronous industrialisation of modern Greece, a series of expansive wars and the influx of refugees from the Asia Minor coast which reinforced the new industries, are some of these events.

In the following sections I will set up a comparison whose conclusions I will use to discuss the necessity of adopting proportional archaeological principles in Greece, as those they are followed in England.

2   Defining place and time:

2.1   Great Britain…

At a first look, comparing two different periods of industrial activity in two different countries looks at least discordant. There is a gap of almost a century between the beginning of the English industrial take-off and a similar phenomenon in the Greek territory, during the inter-war period. But before I proceed in the analysis, description and evaluation of this comparison, I think that there is a need to give some explanation why England is used as a point of comparison and why England at this period (1750-1850).

Many economic historians argue about the exact beginning and scale of the "Industrial Revolution" which as term introduced as early as 1837 by Blanqui (Hartwell 1965: 5). John Belchem is trying to reduce the myth of the "first Industrial Revolution", emphasizes at the fact that industrialisation of England compared with the neighbour northern European countries was "*unique and atypical…mass production industry was cautious and*

protracted, far from complete by the 1840s when over 75% of manufacturing remained in unmodernised industries, small in scale, little affected by the use of steam power" (Belchem 1990: 9). However, he admits that "*most notable was the low proportion of the labour force employed in agriculture, well below the European norm"* (Belchem 1990: 9), a fact whose significance is also mentioned by Hartwell (1965: 18-19), as same as the considerable increase of the population in England from 9 millions in 1800 to 18 millions in 1850. Therefore, the industrial labour is determinant in defining place and time.

Symonds and Casella are also clarifying that between 1750 and 1850 "*the clustering of technological innovations that occurred in Britain is still widely upheld as evidence of a remarkable Industrial Revolution"* (as cited in Hicks et all 2006: 143).

It seems as though that between the mid-eighteen and mid-nineteenth century, the industrial development in England was more influential than ever, it affected both people and landscape and caused an economic and social transformation (Clark as cited in Hunter et all 1998: 280-1).

2.2   …and Greater Greece

What kind of industrial past could possibly Greece have? Greece is mostly known for her glorious ancient past and her sunny islands. We can easily reply to this question if we simply recall the advantages which ancient Athens derived from the mines of Lavrion, one of the most important mining sites of the ancient world. It is believed that the silver from the mines of Lavrion served as the "dollar" of the age and excavations of ancient sites are also gave evidence of a significant activity, which engaged numerous enslaved labour (Böckh 1842: 615, 657), fourteen centuries before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. However, this paper examines the industrialisation of modern Greece, since her independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1830.

A brief introduction to Greece's industrial past is necessary and essential in order to set a historical archaeological context and discuss any

Processes of Industrialisation: 2 Defining place and time

need for further research on this specific archaeological field. This will also give as a comparative scale of the industrialisation of the two countries which is the main topic of this paper.

During the first half of 19th century there were some unconsidered efforts of setting an industrial development either from the Greek State or a few ambitious entrepreneurs. The majority of the population still depended on agriculture. The main activities were marine, trade and small industry like tannage or weaving (Αγριαντώνη 1986).

The first immiscible industry established after 1850, when a disaster in silk cultivations in France leaded to increased demand and therefore import of silk thread. Greek silk industry replied successfully to this demand (Αγριαντώνη 1986:56, Λυμπεράκη 1991:99). At the same time Piraeus port begun to expand and by 1879 was the most important harbour of the country. An industrial landscape developed around the port and the local population increased by 300% (Καμπούρογλου 1985: 49).

During 1880-1920 a series of expansive wars gave the appropriate space and population for an industrial take off. Also, WWI saw the collapse of the old order in the Eastern Mediterranean with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Great Britain saw Greece as the ideal replacement link to keep Suez Canal and Dardanelle Straits under its own control (Goldstein 1989: 339). This interference took place with a rush of capital in the form of loans and investments and the construction of a transportation system such as railways, roads and canals (Mouzelis 1978: 18).

In the summer of 1922 the "Greater Greece" utopia ended up with the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor from the Turkish forces and created an influx of refugees from the coasts of Asia Minor to Greece. Almost 1.4 million of refugees added to a population of 5 million (Pallis 1929: 543, Black 148:85), and relocated mostly in urban centers (Hirschon 1989: 36). This transfusion of cheap and capable labour, was a determinative factor for the Greek inter-war industrial development (Λαμψίδης 1989:155). Unfortunately, WWII and the Axis invasion in Greece disrupted this continuing development. The post war industrial development characterized from the modernizations of the Marshall plan, which continued in the 1950s (Δεμίρη 1991).

It would appeared that Greece followed an industrial route based on the northern European and American although it never overcame the underdevelopment that stigmatized the period 1922-1960 (Δεμίρη 1991: 19). During the 100 years from the industrial «take-off» to the deindustrialisation that begun from the 1960s to 1980 there was a development of economically important industries. Hundreds of factories appeared and spread through the country and created industrial sites in many urban areas (Πολύζος et all 1998: 32, 51).

3 Labour

The conclusion of the above chapter is that labour is an essential factor for a nation's industrial development. In both countries the increase of the population in co-operation with the increase of the domestic food production especially in England, was a catalytic point for the industrial development (Hartwell 1965:19, Black 1948:85). In the following paragraphs I will try to compare the imported labour that came to both countries during their industrial peak. This is probably kind of simplistic or naïve but I think that the reader will notice these parallels and find them helpful to understand the Greek case in a more familiar way.

3.1 Immigration-Refugeeness

Those two terms are quite similar in order that Refugeeness is a movement, which is dictated from apparent forces like persecution, war, terrorism, extreme poverty, famines, and natural disaster. At the same time immigration is a movement triggered off the person's motivations for better life conditions (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Refugee).

3.2 The Irish in England…

A large proportion of cheap labour came in England in the mid 19th century from Ireland. This mass exodus was primarily evoked from the disastrous potato blight of 1845. In a period of a decade (1841-1851), it is estimated that more than a million Irish emigrated to United States, Australia and England. Having no other means of making a living, sailed to the east side of St. George's Channel and reinforced the British industry.

Processes of Industrialisation: 3 Labour

They were considered capable only for heavy jobs like lifting heavy cargo, or steelworkers. By 1851, 25% of Liverpool's population was Irish (Johnson 1999:4).

Plate 02 The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-50.
<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/immigration/irish-tenant.jpg>

However, the absolute poverty and the destitute appearance of the Irish immigrants in combination with their living conditions shocked even the poorest English. Soon, the Irish slums became synonymous with disgust and fever. Despite the Irish contribution to the rapid extension of English industry during the Victorian period, English people were not receptive. The English working class saw the Irish population as a desperate competitor, eager for the heaviest job and the lowest wage. "*All such as demand little or no skill are open to the Irish*" (Engels 1845: 93).

Additionally, the general attitude of regarding poverty as immoral not as unfortunate, created stereotypes of the Irish like criminal and dirty by nature. They were also isolated by their catholic region which was considered to be a lack of patriotism.

The racial prejudice, disease and poverty encouraged the use of alcohol amongst the Irish communities. Public disorder, illegal "wabble-shops" and public houses were part of the Irish neighbourhoods. Located in industrial districts, of the bigger cities of England the Irish slums became

identical for the lowest class of the population (Engels 1845, Johnston 1999, < http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig

/england/black_country/article_1.shtml>).

3.3   …and the Greeks of the other side

The summer of 1922, thousands of desperate and terrified people arrived daily at the Greek harbours. They were Asia Minor residents (Mikrasiates) who were forced to leave their homes, after the defeat of the Greek army.   This can be seen as the first international exchange of population minorities according to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

The refugee community (about 1/5 of the total Greek population in 1922) turned into a cheap and skilful labour which was the basic contributor for the inter-war development of the Greek industry.

The Greek state at that period was economically weak, almost bankrupt from the WWI and the Asia Minor campaign. Dealing with so many refuges was a real problem which created many social and practical problems.

Housing so many refugees was a major difficulty. Public buildings in Piraeus, Athens and Salonica were converted into temporary shelters. At the same time, Greek State and the Refugee Relief Fund tried to deal with the housing emergency. Blocks of Prefabricated houses constructed in Athens and other major cities, known as the "Refugee Quarters".

Plate 03 Asia Minor Refugees in temporary camp, summer 1922
<http://www.greeklibrary.agrino.org/projects/Smyrna1922/refugees.htm>

Although many of the local Greeks considered the refugees as an extra burden, the fact was that the majority of the Asia Minor Greeks where successful entrepreneurs with many industrial skills and reinforced a lot of new industries like carpet and silk industries, new branches of the weaving industry, flour, enamel and ironmongery industries (Λαμψίδης 1989, Pallis 1929).

At the same time the Asia Minor identity was clearly separated from that of the inhabitants of the metropolitan Greeks. Feeling abandoned from the Greek Government, considered the State mainly responsible for the Asia Minor disaster, frustrated by exploitation and low wages, the refugees developed a feeling of superiority against local Greeks. They called themselves "Mikrasiates" or "Prosfyges" (Refugees) and distinguished themselves from the "locals" or "vlachs" or simply "Greeks". This ambiguous identity according to Hirschon was still present in Kokkinia district, 50 years after the settlement of the refugees in the area. She also applied the findings of her social study to a wider context. "*Its (study's) focus shifting from the specific conditions in one district of the original refugee quarter to that of the wider locality*" (Hirschon 1989:2)

Likewise, local Greeks grew similar feelings against the refugees. They used insulting expressions like "turkish seeds", "dirty communists" and "wretched refugees" (Hirschon 1989:48). The also underestimated the refugee offer to the Greek economy and the homogenisation of the ethnography of the modern Greece, a very sensitive and taboo topic that still continues (Λαμψίδης 1989:119, Mouzelis 1978:22). They also underlined the fact that, decades after the Asia Minor disaster, large numbers of refugees failed to change their standards of living (Hirschon 1989:6).

Finally, the political issues arising from the sudden influx of a population with strong view of the issues of the days and the growth of communism inside the refugee quarters had negative impacts on the refugees in a Greece under military control during the inter-war period (Hirschon 1989 & 2003, Herzfeld 1991, Christodoulaki 1999).

4   Housing the Worker…

In the previous section I mentioned the Irish immigrants to draw a comparative line between the two countries and the way the local population accepted them. However, I am not trying to emulate the Irish and the Asia Minor community as the social context is completely different (ethnicity, religion etc) in each country. The same method is going to be used in this section, following a wider context and focusing in the workers' housing beyond the borders of a specific community.

4.1   …in England…

Concerning the Irish working class in England, the references lead mainly to slum settlements in the industrial districts of the big towns. For example, in Wolverhampton, the Irish workers concentrated in one area which supplied cheap housing. This area became synonymous with poverty, over-crowding and filth. The most unsanitary area was Carribee Island described by the Wolverhampton chronicle as an open gutter occupied by the "lowest class of Irish" The narrow streets of this district whose nickname was "fever nest" did not have sewers or drains, human and animal waste flowed freely in the street, while in the interior of the houses, sometimes people and animals all slept in the same room

(<http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/black_country/article_1.shtml >).

Plate 04 Irish Slum (Caribee Island) © Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies (http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/black_country/article_1.shtml)

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

According to Engels (1845, 91-2) "*These Irishmen ... insinuate themselves everywhere. The worst dwellings are good enough. The worst quarters of all the large towns are inhabited by Irishmen. The majority of the families who live in cellars are almost everywhere of Irish origin. He builds a pig-sty against the house wall as he did at home, and if he is prevented from doing this, he lets the pig sleep in the room with himself. The filth and comfortlessness that prevail in the houses themselves it is impossible to describe. Moreover, why should he need much room? At home in his mud-cabin there was only one room for all domestic purposes; more than one room his family does not need in England. So the custom of crowding many persons into a single room, now so universal, has been chiefly implanted by the Irish immigration*".

Nevertheless, we have to admit that similar living conditions can be applied in general to the English working-class, despite ethnic and religious boundaries. According to Thompson (1963), despite the evidence of industrial growth and national wealth that surrounded the average worker, he remained close to subsistent level. On the other side there was no systematic effort, planning, regulation and intervention for the landplaning development of the fast growing industrial towns. As stated by Belchem (1990:37) "*Speculative jerry building produced a cellular and promiscuous residential style of inward-looking, dead-end alleys, courts and blindbacks, a perfect wilderness of foulness*".

At the same time, the urban middle class escaped from this situation, moved to the suburbs, where the aristocratic landlords welcomed them in large houses accompanied with big gardens in relatively lower rents than that of the working-class paid for less attractive accommodation. This social snobbery created class separation and made the living conditions of the working-class even worse. Overcrowded cellars with remarkable small dimensions and under the limit of respectability were common in every industrial city (Belchem 1990:38).

Only a few workers re-housed in model villages or purposed made company towns like the Cadburys Bourneville (Dellheim 1987), while the majority of workers lived in open parishes were hygiene facilities were

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

primitive or absent and the construction materials were inferior to urban brick and stone (Belchem 1990:38-39).

Lodging houses was a category of common accommodation who offered temporary shelter for new-comers in the industrial town. They became synonymous with filth, disease and criminality and were the first workers' housing to come under legislative control. They were built back to back, made of poor quality in a way that there was only one access for air and light. This technique of architecture in rows (one-up, one-down houses) characterized the working-class housing of the period. The worst form of back to back development appeared in Liverpool presenting four sides round courts, with bad ventilation and without draining system. Liverpool was also the first city where cellars built by purpose for residential use; they provided the lowest form of accommodation (Belchem 1990:39-40).

Plate 05 Back-to-backs, Huddersfield Road, Thongsbridge
(Caffyn 1986:16)

Another determinant for the quality of housing was the ratio between the male and female members of a family. More boys born mean more working hands so the father could claim a first-class or double house. Married men without family usually lived in inferior homes ((Belchem 1990:41-42).

This was the typical condition of the working-class accommodation in the mid 18th century in England. However brick-built cottages, and 'three

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

quarters" houses with higher standards in quality and facilities appeared especially in towns with large numbers of well paid artisans like Sheffield or Birmingham (Belchem 1990:41).

The threat of unemployment kept working families together; even at times with more income in a family, moving out of the network they lived was a rare phenomenon. Extra money was used for purchasing furniture adopting a socio-functional use to underline the raise of their living status. Before the state and council involvement in the creation of the classic working –class neighbourhoods, the sense of community was strong, especially in the most neglected and industrialized areas. "*Here occupation solidarity reinforced communal loyalty, a combination which pushed these localities to the forefront of national working –class campaigns*" (Belchem 1990:42).
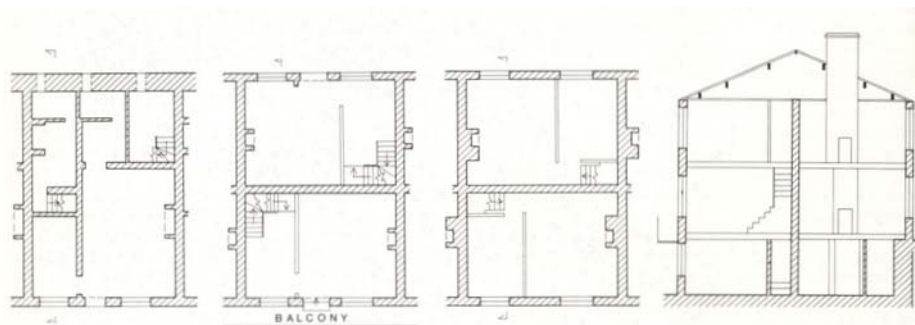

Fig 01 Back-to-backs with underdwellings, Victoria Terrace, Eastwood (Caffyn 1986:16)

4.2 …and in Greece.

Greek industrial history can give us only few examples of purpose made working-class houses during the inter-war period. I am aware of the unique in the Greek area company town of Lavrion which was created by the Greek-French company "Hilarion Roux et Cie" in the late 18th century (Πολύζος et all 1998: 98).

Nevertheless, the Asia Minor refugee quarters can easily be considered as purposed-built workers' settlements; not only because the majority of the refugees turned into industrial workers, but also by the fact

that many of these quarters built literally into industrial areas. The elegant ethnography of Renèe Hirschon focusing in the refugee quarter of Kokkinia (Yerania district), in the early 1970s can give us a picture of the district during the inter-war period.

In 1923 Kokkinia was one of the largest refugee districts and was located near the Piraeus port with a population of 40,000 a decade later (Herzfeld 1991:2). The refugee population experienced a lot of difficulties before the first settlement that happened in 1924 when frustrated families broke into the houses before the official allocations (Hirschon 1989:50). The Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC) which took over the systematic planning of Yerania constructed fifteen blocks of prefabricated houses covered an area of one square kilometre, extending north-wards for over a kilometre (Hirschon 1989:49). There were different phases of construction and expansions that last almost a decade and never completed utterly. Thus, even in 1983 Yerania lacked a central drain system and paved streets (Hirschon 1989:3).

Plate 06 Yerania District with prefabricated refugee dwellings in the early 70s
(Hirschon 1989:109)

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

The original landplaning development anticipated the creation of standard size blocks (50m. × 35m.), separated by strips for street pattern (10m.) and linked with a main street with the same dimensions. Each block subdivided into 20 plots. 10 prefabricated constructions erected into each block, in a way that each plot contained half a dwelling, similarly with the back-to-back houses. Thus each structure made of panel board comprised twin dwelling units under a common roof. Every family supposed to occupy one half of the structure and be provided with an inner courtyard with variable size from 12-20 m., depending of the position of the block (Hirschon 1989:60).
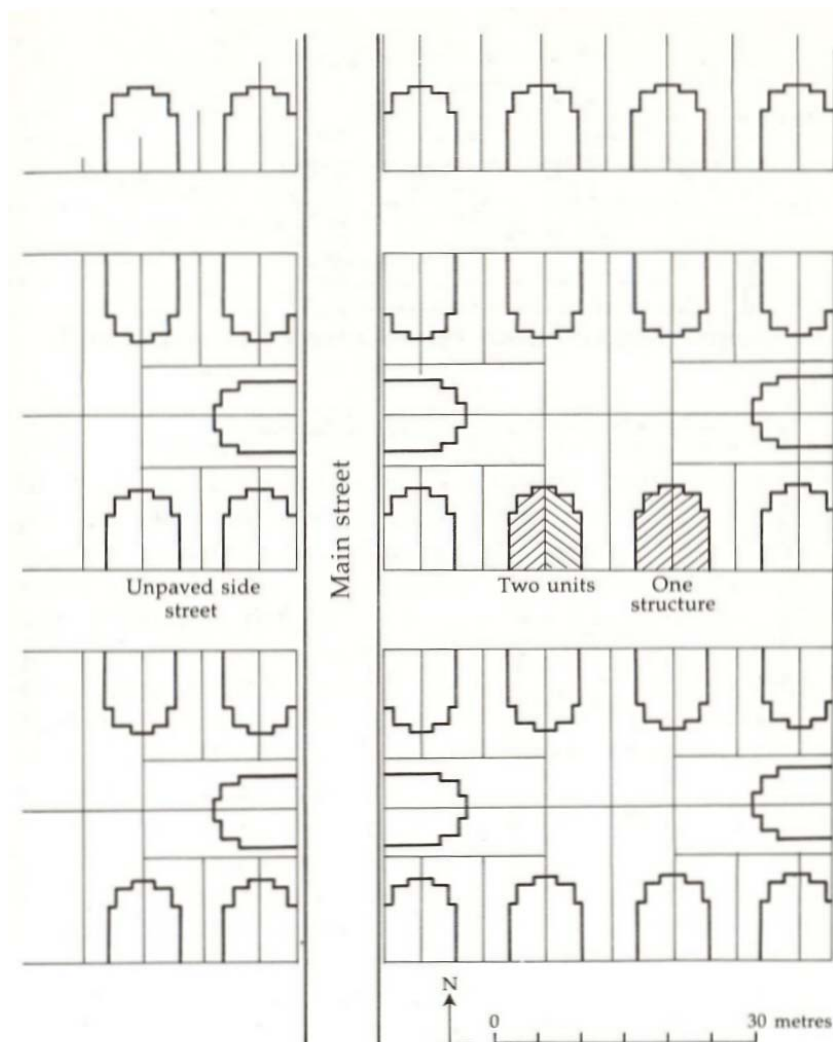

Fig 02 Yerania District. Original land plan (Hirschon 1989:61)

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

The structures had standard sizes (8m.× 9.5m.). That means that each family shared a space of 5m. × 9.5 m. subdivided in three rooms, two of 3.25m. × 4m., a kitchen 2m. × 3m. and a small lavatory. The structures were of wooden frame construction with two-inch panels walls made of asbestos. The water supply of each household depended on few public taps in each district. There was also a common cesspool (still in use in 1972) for every four houses (Hirschon 1989:60).

Only few houses ended up belonging to single families. Most of them had subdivided between several households often totally unrelated or in conflict with one another. Despite these reverses and the absence of privacy, the refugees managed to create an atmosphere of lively sociability and to maintain those cheap dwellings in good condition (Hirschon 1989:3).
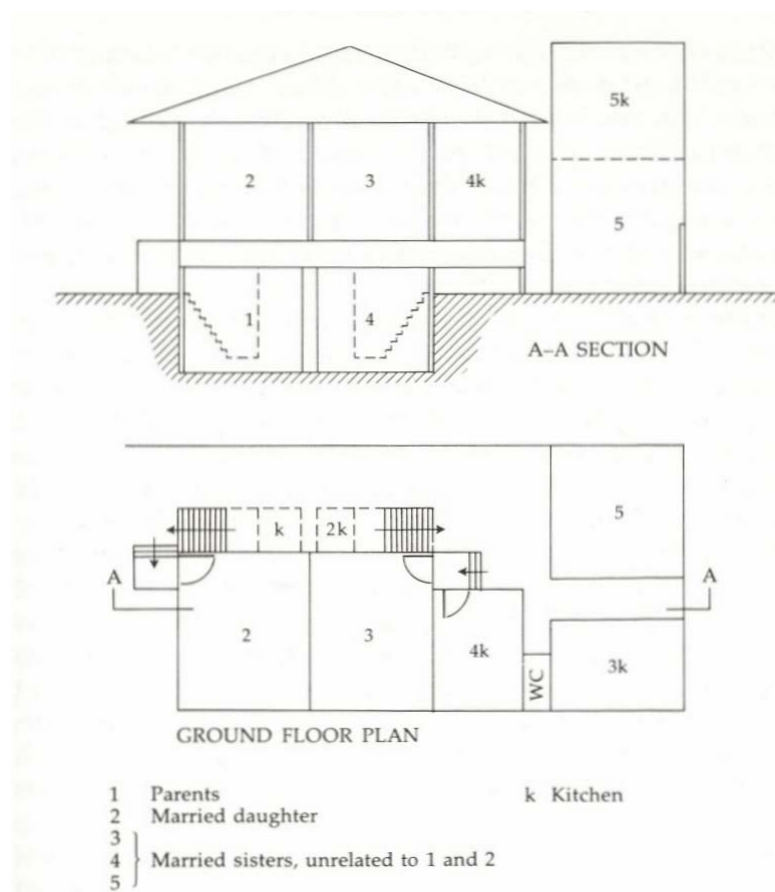

Fig 03 Yerania: A refugee dwelling in the early 70s. Five households are sharing the same house, improvising and extended the structure. The same situation was common during the inter-war period (Hirschon 1989:65).

Processes of Industrialisation: 4 Housing the Worker

Everyone would expect that sooner or later those refugee quarters would turn up to ugly slums. In addition, Yerania was a poor but attractive neighbourhood, with well-kept colourful dwellings painted in pastel colour combinations, tiny gardens on balconies and pot-plans abounded in (Hirschon 1989:3).

Plate 07 Yerania district in the early 70s. Prefabricated houses set on plinths above ground permitted the addition of basement rooms. (Hirschon 1989:110).

The refuges did not have property titles in their dwellings as many of them stayed under rights of tenure specific to refugees. Nevertheless people had maintained a conscious effort to preserve the quality of living conditions. "*if we didn't look after the houses, they'd fall down around our ears. We Asia Minor Greeks have a reputation for this, we are known for being house-proud*" (Hirschon 1989:4)

As stated by Hirschon, the emphasis on the home as the centre of individual commitment and the important role of cultural values in the upkeep of the environment and in the treatment of housing. She also underlines the women's commitment to the maintenance of a respectful living condition. The fact that many of the refugee household run by women and that the majority of the refugee population were women and children was a major factor for keeping the refugee quarters in a high level of reputation and acceptable hygiene standards; "*the cramped quarters would certainly have declined rapidly into slums without the women's meticulous-and culturally mandated-care*" (Herzfeld 1991:92).

5   Industrial Archaeology…

5.1   …in its birthplace…

Although this essay is about the industrial past, the typical industrial landscape was hardly described. I gave little information about industries, factories and industrial techniques. Besides, there is a detailed bibliography about almost every industrial structure, especially in England . According to Mathew Johnson (1996:12) "*most work in this area has concentrated on the archaeological elucidation of the development of the technologies involved rather than the social and cultural parameters*" (as cited in Palmer et all 1998:3). On the other hand, Symonds and Cassela although they highlight the need for academic exploration of the social relations of the industrial productions, they also admit that in the recent years a new research with social content and worry about the labour relations, class formation and generally more anthropological locus, according to the Deetzian Humanism, has been established (as cited in Hicks et all 2006:146).

On the other side of the Atlantic archaeologists are already doing fieldwork focusing on workers' every day life, instead of just recording buildings and structures. I do not imply that researches of recording the physical remains of the industry are not useful. For example, Caffyn's "Workers' Housing of West Yorkshire, 1750-1920" (1986) which, is a comprehensive documentation in typology of labour houses, can be used a documentation of the workers' struggle for decent living conditions. However, Caffyn provides little evidence about workers' accommodation in cheap dwellings or about those which were made from temporary materials. Thus, the data of industrial are generally limited to the standing industrial structures, historical and photographical resources. What is usually missing, is "traditional" excavated material culture or artefacts. The side effect is that industrial archaeology lacks to contribute to social debates like the origins or the effects of industrialism (Palmer et all 1998:3).

That doesn't mean that the archaeologist has to be afraid of using data, oral histories and visual material. M. Beaudry and S. Mrozowski with a series of publications about workers' housing in Lowell Massachusetts,

established a new trend in industrial archaeology and they provided new formulas and a spectrum of archaeological disciplines. Their analysis of documentary information about culturally sensitive data, gave them new perspectives in understanding social and class attitudes (Beaudry et all 1989:299). They also managed to attract the local interest, when accessing the city's documentary archive (Beaudry et all 1989:300), an important factor for the management and the preservation of the industrial heritage as stated in the Nizhny Tagil Chapter for the Industrial Heritage (2003,7). Beaudry and Mrozowski also encouraged interdisciplinary collaboration for proper analytical attention and they examined the interaction of macro-level to micro-level forces, putting their conclusions of their research on individual households, in a wider social context (Beaudry et all 1989:301). Finally the excavated archaeological evidence from the boarding houses, revealed a different picture in worker's life and health than that which has been established from the company's (Bootts) authorities (Beaudry et all 1989:314).

This influential work, which created an umbilical cord between industrial workplaces and workers' settlements, shaped the modern English and Irish Industrial Archaeology. Thus, historical archaeology aims not only to read the built environment of industrial landscapes from the perspective of company prestige, but to express the variety of workers' behaviour, the frustration or methods of alleviation from the poverty of the industrial capitalism (Symonds and Cassela as cited in Hicks et all 2006:147).

One of the main characteristics of English contemporary industrial archaeology is the adoption of industrial heritage as part of the community heritage, using the above disciplines plus a range of sources like oral histories, vernacular photographs and local memorabilia (Symonds and Cassela as cited in Hicks et all 2006:152). Even when material culture doesn't exist, these resources can be interpreted as artefacts themselves (Oliver 2006:13).

These strategies applied successfully to recent British studies (e.g. Alderley Sandhills Project as cited in Hicks 2006:155) with interesting

conclusions about working population's houses, labour's "socioeconomic flexibility", creativity and improvisation into the domestic environment.

Such archaeological perspectives can be valuable in understanding labour relations the industrial era, the daily struggle for survival and the interaction between the domestic and the work environment.

5.2   …and in my birthplace…

Concerning Greece, there are some scientific researches related with the preservation of industrial heritage. These researches include recording of buildings and industrial structures, legislation for their rescue and management of the industrial heritage. However, the lack of well established historical archaeological background is reflected in aspects like the social relations of the refugee community and the affects of Greece's industrial pinnacle on them.

Nevertheless, there are other components of the Greek society that make the public unwilling and not interested of their industrial past. Except the social taboos like the formation of contemporary ethnic identity (Λαμψίδης 1989:118, Hirschon 2003:19), there are also the official neglect by the State and the working conditions in the industry that the refugees experienced for two generations (Herzfeld 1991:92). Thus, the industrial past looks unattractive to the modern deindustrialised Greece.

Another fact is the absence or rarity of material archaeological evidence. On one hand there is the temporary and recycling character of the industrial structures (Shin'ichi 1998:48) and on the other, there is cheap constructing material of the refugee houses, which both make a fieldwork research difficult (although I believe that there are still standing original refugee dwellings in Kokkinia district).

The destruction of the stratigraphy in many industrial sites and urban areas, also constrains the archaeological process. Greece was and is a place where there has been intense building activity through the last sixty years (Πολύζος et all, 1998:31). The surface is usually dug out to lay the foundations for concrete buildings. Therefore, little evidence can be acquired from an excavation in an ex-refugee quarter with the majority of the original structures replaced from concrete dwellings.

Plate 08 Sattelite picture of Kokkinia district in 2006. there is a possibility the housetop structures to be remaining prefabricated refugee dwellings (Google Earth).

6   A Conclusion…for Greece

The reasonable finale of the above lines is that the archaeologist who wants to do fieldwork in a refugee settlement will face (except the bureaucracy of the Greek State) a possible lack of tangible material culture. How will he manage to set an archaeological perspective in a seemingly social research?

I will answer as Jeff Oliver has put it in his Doctorate Thesis, "*archaeology is not simply about digging things up, rather, informed by anthropology and material culture studies, it is a holistic enterprise concerned with the totality of human social and cultural experience as it related to the material world, and that the landscape is as good a category of material culture as any*" (2006:14).

For that reason, the same tools that J. Symonds, L. Cassela, M. Beaudry, S. Mrozowski and many other historical archaeologists introduce or mention in their case studies, are suitable enough for Greece as any other place in the world despite the scale of its industrial past. Tools, household equipment, furniture, building materials, heirlooms, family photographs, memories, stories, public archives, extensions of surviving dwellings and of course any possible excavated artefact will contribute in a different interpretation of the interaction between the workers' living and working environment, free of social taboos, nostalgic or other inaccurate representations.

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