INFLUENCES OF 1923 POPULATION EXCHANGE ON
SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION MIGRANTS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

**INFLUENCES OF 1923 POPULATION EXCHANGE ON
SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION MIGRANTS**

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This thesis aims to show and compare the influences of population exchange on the second and third generation 1923 Lausanne Treaty Muslim exchange migrants from Greece to Turkey, who were settled in Istanbul, Catalca area. We scrutinize their knowledge and interest on the migration process and explore if they have protected their identities today. We accepted individual's identity, culture and value as an inextricable part of global issues and culture; and as a mutually effective process. We argued the population exchange period and afterwards were also a huge process of historical and sociological change and should be analyzed with a dynamic perspective which takes into account both external, internal actors and the structures. Thereupon, the thesis suggests that it is possible to get an overall perspective on the knowledge and identities of following generations by use of in-depth interviews, and with the help of Pierre Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' and Karl Mannheim's ideas on 'generations'. In order to achieve this, we firstly provided a brief historical background of the periods. Then, we continued with the presentation of the scholars who gave importance to the study of interviews and life histories and after that provided the methodological ground of the thesis. The research then focused on the studies of forced migration and presented the common elements

of these studies with our case. Finally, we provide examples of the discussed points from the interviews conducted with the exchange migrants.

In order to achieve this, we firstly provided a brief historical background of the periods. Then, we continued with the presentation of the scholars who gave importance to the study of interviews and life histories and after that provided the methodological ground of the thesis. The research then focused on the studies of forced migration and presented the common elements of these studies with our case. Finally, we provide examples of the discussed points from the interviews conducted with the exchange migrants.

Upon these analyses, we will reveal the culture, values, relationships and identities the second and third generation exchange migrants preserved and/or carried on today.

Keywords: Generations, Social Change, Population Exchange, Identity, Forced Migration

ÖZ

1923 NÜFUS MÜBADELESİNİN İKİNCİ VE ÜÇÜNCÜ NESİL MÜBADİLLER ÜZERİNE ETKİLERİ

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Bu tez 1923 yılında Yunanistan'dan Türkiye'ye mübadele edilmiş Müslüman gruplardan İstanbul çevresine, Çatalca'ya yerleştirilmiş olanların ikinci ve üçüncü nesillerini karşılaştırıp, mübadelenin bu grup üzerindeki etkilerini sergilemeyi amaçlar. Mübadeleye dair olan bilgi ve ilgilerini inceleyip, bugün mübadil kimliklerini koruyup korumadıklarını sorgulayacağız. Bireylerin kimlik, kültür ve değerlerini, küresel olayların ayrılmaz bir parçası ve karşılıklı birbirini etkileyen süreçler olarak kabul ettik. Nüfus mübadelesi dönemi ve sonrasının aynı zamanda büyük bir tarihsel ve sosyolojik değişim zamanı olduğunu vurguladık ve bu dönemin iç, dış aktörleri ve yapıların tamamını birden göz önüne alan bir dinamik perspektifle ele alınması gerektiğini gösterdik. Buradan hareketle, bu çalışma derinlemesine görüşmenin yardımıyla ve Karl Mannheim'ın nesiller üzerine attığı fikirlerin ve Pierre Bourdieu'nun pratikler teorisinin yoluyla, nesiller üzerinde araştırma yapılarak diğer göç olayları ve nüfus mübadelesi gibi benzer olaylar hakkında genel olarak bilgi edinilebileceğini önerir.

Bu hedeflere ulaşabilmek için öncelikle o dönemin kısa bir tarihsel arka planını verdik. Daha sonra tezin metodolojik temelini anlatıp, karşılıklı görüşmelere ve hayat hikâyesine önem veren araştırmacıları analiz ettik. Sonrasında zorunlu göç üzerine olan çalışmalar üzerine ve bu çalışmaların bizim çalışmamızla benzeyen ve vurgulanması gereken özelliklerini sunduktan sonra, bölümde tartışılan konu ve teoriler üzerine karşılıklı görüşmelerinizden örnekler sunarak Çatalca, İstanbul bölgesindeki ikinci ve üçüncü nesil mübadillerin özelliklerini açığa çıkardık.

Bu analizler üzerine, bugün ikinci ve üçüncü nesil nüfus mübadillerinin, korudukları ve/ya devam ettirdikleri kültür, değerler, ilişkiler ve kimliklerini açığa çıkaracağız.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nesiller, Sosyal Değişim, Kimlik, Zorunlu Göç, Nüfus Mübadelesi

To my family

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Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitute to my whole family; namely; my mom Melahat Paköz, dad Ali Rıza Paköz and brother Burak Paköz and his family, and my husband Erman Türkeli. All of them supported me in every step of my life, they were always there for me whenever I needed, and they were my biggest encouragers during the whole PhD period. My cat Zeytin was also such a good support, listener and created good vibes in the house throughout the thesis period.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, our main aim is to search for and compare second and third generation Muslim exchange migrants' feelings of belonging, identity, and views towards their motherland (Greece) and homeland (Turkey). Our subjects were exchanged with Greece and settled in Turkey, Istanbul, Catalca (Çatalca) area after 1923 Lausanne treaty convention. Together with this, their knowledge on their culture and the events their parents/grandparents had been through will be uncovered with reference to the interviews conducted, biographies written and biographical books.[1] Prominently, three generations after the population exchange process whether the succeeding generations still carry the migrant identity with them will be revealed together with the social interactions they entered and effective forces in the construction of their identity. If their identity is still protected, how the exchange migrants define, express or manifest it will be disclosed. Finally, these discussions will be grasped with reference to and within the frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu's 'theory of practice'[2] and Karl Mannheim's thoughts on *Sociology of Knowledge* [3], taking his discussions on the "Problem of Generations" as basis. The concept of 'generations' which has been neglected in the scholarly studies so far will be highlighted in this study.

Balkan migrations to Anatolia/Asia minor constitute one of the most prominent and historically significant migratory flows to Turkey. Anatolian and Balkan lands have

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[1] The biographical books were published by the Foundation of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants, upon the interviews conducted with the exchange migrants both from Greece and Turkey.

[2] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Pratice*, trans. Richard Nice, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

[3] Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti, (New York and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952).

always been the scenery to great migratory flows from the ancient times on. One example to this great migratory flows is the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, which marked one of the most significant events of Greek and Turkish history by affecting nearly two million people, Muslims and Christians at the same time.[4] Exchange migrants, subjected to Greek-Turkish population exchange Convention of the Lausanne Treaty, had left their motherland. They had to embark on this sudden compulsory journey leaving their lands, homes, shops, belongings and the graves of their ancestors behind unexpectedly. The migrants hit the roads for a very harsh journey walking for kilometers, waiting in harbours and train stations for weeks and sometimes months for their turn. After getting on the ships and trains which were ineligible for passenger transportation, they travelled for days. Many were unable to bear those conditions and got sick or died on the way. As a result, some families divided or lost many members. Once they landed on their new homeland of Turkey, the journey of the families did not end but continued for decades.

Today, being one of the top immigrant receiving countries, the importance of 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty and "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations"[5] still continues for Turkey. Although internationally the topic attracted attention of many research areas, on Turkey's side the topic remained relatively silent until the last two decades. The studies made mainly discussed the political, economical and historical sides of the events in detail,[6] or focused on the

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[4] Renee Hirschon ed, *Crossing the Aegean*, 2nd ed, (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), 3

[5] For the full text of the convention please see: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa. (accessed 23 Mar. 2013)

[6] Please see: Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*, 3. Baskı, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003); Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement, Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934*, Shahrough Akhavi ed, (New York and London: Routledge, 2006a); Onur Yıldırım, Diplomasi ve Göç: Türk-Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü. 1. baskı. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayınları, 2006b);Mesut Çapa, "Mübadele'de Kızılay (Hilali Ahmer) Cemiyeti'nin Rolü," *Sosyal Bilimler Enstitusu Dergisi*, Vol. 10, (2001), 29– 60;

atrocities and cruelties of the process and conditions during the migration and the hardships the migrants on both sides had undergone[7]. Another focus was the settlement processes and problems, or "the liquidation of refugee properties and their proper indemnification had been under the authority of a Mixed Commission."[8]

Moreover, most of the studies were conducted with highly biased feelings mostly right after the forced migration process was over. Due to official documentation problems and difficulties in finding first hand sources, most studies did not include interviews. These studies also fail to show the outcomes in a long term process and fail, to a great extent, to show the following generations' practices, views and feelings towards these experiences. When the literature is analysed, one can easily recognise the abundance of research about the topic among the Greek migrants when compared to the Muslims.[9] According to Yıldırım, "the initial phase of [the Turkish migrants] plight remains for the most part a mystery due to the absence of related documentation and especially owing to the policy of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara, which is still closed to researchers."[10] Previous studies all discuss the migration and settlement process itself, this period itself is a topic of

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Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*, 2004; İbrahim Erdal, "Türkiye Ile Yunanistan Arasında Mübadele Meselesi (1923-1930)."Ankara Universitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitusü, (2006); Aytek Soner Alpan, "But the Memory Remains: History, Memory and the 1923 Greco-Turkish Population Exchange." *The Historical Review IX* (2012): 199–232.

[7] Also see: Sezer Arslan, "Balkan Savaşları Sonrası Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde İskanları" Trakya Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, (2008); Mustafa Hatipler, *Selanikten Edirneye İnsan Ziyanlığı*. 1. Basım. (Istanbul: Assos Yayınları, 2003); H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi Göç*, (İstanbul: Kum Saati Tarih Dizisi, 2001).

[8] Please see: Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 103; Erdal, *Türkiye ile Yunanistan Arasında Mübadele;* Also for settlement problems after migration see: *Andrei Rogers, and Frank Willekens, eds. Migration and Settlement: A Multiregional Comparative Study, (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: D. Reidel, 1986).*

[9] Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 50.

[10] Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 137.

debate and already researched by various fields.[11] Therefore, we will not mention this period in detail. Yet, throughout the discussion we will mention these topics briefly (the period of migration and afterwards settlement process) in order to form a basis to our discussion and to recognize the situation the second and third generation migrants are born into. Thus, this thesis will also add up to the studies of generation, migration and long term consequences of migration, and first hand sources (life history interviews) and the Turkish exchange migrants from Greece; and add up to a long term neglected topic mainly for the researchers of sociology, history and political science.

The interviews conducted with the second and third generation migrants (in total 44 migrants) will be the main source for the thesis. Upon speaking with the migrants we realized the difficulty in finding first generation migrants who were alive and healthy. Moreover, we also acknowledged that in order to reach long term conclusions and make comparisons it is better to speak with both the second and third generations. As the migrants were mostly situated in the peripheral areas in Istanbul, the neighbourhoods like Catalca, Büyükçekmece area (once towns) connected to Istanbul were visited and 25 of the interviews were conducted with migrants located there. However, in order to be able to make some comparisons at some points we also added the exchange migrants located in Istanbul city centre area, Seyrek village, and some cities in Greece. Together with the interviews conducted in different regions, this thesis also refused to be dogmatically one-sided and to have a

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[11] For further readings on the topics please see: Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek –Turkish Relations, 1918-1974*, (Atina: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992); Bilal N. Şimşir haz, *Turkish Emigrations from the Balkans: Documents*, Issue I, Turkish Exodus, 1877-1878, Issue II, A Year of Transition, (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1970).; Meray L. Seha haz, *Lozan Barış Konferansı: Tutanaklar, Belgeler*, 8. Cilt, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972); Mehmet Esad Altuner çev, *Mübadeleye Dair Türkiye ve Yunanistan Arasında İmza Olunan Mukavelenameler, Muhtelit Mübadele Komisyonu Kararları*, (İstanbul: Damga Matbaası, 1937); Naci Kökdemir der, *Eski ve Yeni Toprak, İskan Hükümleri ve Uygulama Kılavuzu*, (Ankara;1952); Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement* ; *İzmir'in Yunanlılar Tarafından İşgaline Müteallik Jandarma Kumandanlığının ve Osmanlı Komisyonu Reisinin Raporları* (1335/1919).

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biased knowledge about the case, it tried to draw insights from multiple sources in the study such as the interviews with the Greek citizens to get their knowledge and opinions and other related first hand and second hand sources to integrate them into a coherent framework.

In this thesis, we will have a chance to observe small scale interactions between groups and scrutinize the group dynamics. In this way, we will try to see the outcomes of these interactions and decisions for the structures they are embedded in as well. As Ermakoff stated "[h]istory is full of noise. Any close-up magnifies the possible role of accidents, incidents, and contingent moves that turn out to have wide consequences."[12] Also from this perspective we came to the decision that the best way to analyse historical change and long run transitional processes and the short run moments of crisis is the *Theory of Practice*. Only by analysing the "conjunction of strategies departing from the status quo and the conditions under which these deviations give way to a new set of dispositions".[13] In order to reach these strategies and new set of dispositions we need to analyse the actors and how they "collectively reconfigure the logic of their practice" and situations.[14] Together with these we will reveal the patterns of new strategies and how the actors themselves perceive these new categories later on.

In the second chapter, a brief history of late Ottoman Empire and post-conflict conditions of the Balkan societies will be described. The assessment of aftermath repercussions of the population exchange for the following generations must be grounded in an understanding of the historical context of the before and after Lausanne Peace Treaty and knowledge of the Ottoman influence in the Balkans

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[12] Ivan Ermakoff, "Theory of Practice, Rational Choice, and Historical Change." *Theory and Society* 39 Vol.5 (2010), 529.

[13] Ibid, 529.

[14] Ibid. 529.

especially in the late nineteenth century and afterwards. At this point we also need to highlight the fact that the migrations from Balkan lands had their own characteristics and history. For instance; Bulgarian and Yugoslav migration to Turkey happened at different periods and for various reasons. Many of the Balkan migrations started very early in the eighteenth century. These migrations continued after Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the Balkan War in 1912-1914, the World War I in 1914-1918. "Immigrations to Turkey went on owing to population exchanges as required by the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, the unsurpressable unrests in the Balkans in the following years, and the Bosnian War between 1990 and 1995."[15] Therefore, some of the migrations from the Balkan lands continued up to the present. However, the group we will focus on is different from these migrations. We will focus on the group of people migrated during the period 1923-1930 under the effect of the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and it was counted among the forced migration types. This treaty also framed the foundation of the Turkish Republic and these people were immediately regarded as legal citizens of the newly founded Republic. The changing balances of power started to influence the daily lives of the individuals and social relationships of the different ethnic groups living there under the dome of Ottoman Empire for many centuries.

In retrospect, 1877-78 Ottoman Russian War, Balkan wars, World War I and II took place one after another, these nations were socially, psychologically, and politically overwhelmed by the lost lives and unexpected events from all sides. Nationalistic and expansionist feelings and the hidden agreements between the states caused different ethnic and religious groups to seek for independence from the Ottoman Empire. These pursuits happened in a time of delinquency and shortcomings for the Ottoman Empire. These in return caused; firstly, the Ottoman state to fall apart; and

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[15] Süheyla Balci Akova, 2012. "Immigrations From the Balkans to Turkey and Immigrant Settlements in Western Anatolia." *International Balkan Annual Conference* 2 (2012), 548–562.

secondly, the emergence of new nation states in the Balkan and Anatolian lands. As stated by Yıldırım[16];

> This period, which also witnessed the transformation of the regimes to a republican form of government, tested the abilities of Turkish and Greek governments in carrying out the reconstruction of their respective countries while incorporating, in the form of rehabilitation and assimilation, the large masses of displaced, disoriented and, perhaps more importantly, unemployed individuals into their evolving political systems.

These issues can also be discussed as possible external structural constraints to integration on the Muslim side. It will be manifested that the meanings contained in a web of relationships can only be understood truely when the patterns and forms that relationships get into throughout historical process are comprehended.

In the third chapter, we will mainly reveal the methodology the thesis depended on and briefly go over the theories that will help us analyse the interviews. We will scrutinize the interview preparations, steps in locating the informants, settings, the methods used throughout the process and the theories of Mannheim and Bourdieu that will help the analysis of the findings throughout the research. What influenced me to write this thesis was primarily my husband who is also a fourth generation exchange migrant. Upon the daily discussions and dialogues with him I was more and more interested in the topic and see the differences in the knowledge and interest levels of the different generations on the events. This triggered me to analyse and compare generational migrant identity, and interests on the past events.

In-depth interviews focuse primarily on the four main topics; knowledge on the first generations' experiences; identity construction of the following generations and learnt or embedded migrant experiences and feelings in the progressing years; relationships with the locals and the other migrants and it will finally explore how

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[16] Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 103.

the next generations learn about and identify with their parents' practices. The interviews conducted and recorded, will enable us to reach the information of individual lives, changing habitus of the population exchange migrants and their subjective and collective experiences. Moreover, the exchange migrants' "historical development of schemata of perception, classification and action that are ultimately responsible for both macrostructural social reproduction and change"[17] in the society they entered into will be uncovered. From these data we managed to analyse and compare whether second and third generations still protected their identities, how they interpret the knowledge they got from the first generations and the ways they interact with the other exchange migrants today.

The notion of generation is frequently used to understand the differences between age groups; we talk about the 'generation gap' or 'old generations' to define ourselves or the others within a historical time. According to Eyerman and Turner[18]:

> The contemporary sociological literature on generations is divided into (i) studies of generational experiences of major historical disruptions such as warfare and disruption; (ii) research on generational differences in cultural experiences and consumerism; (iii) studies of generational cohorts in terms of intellectual traditions and political perspectives; (iv) sociological analysis of specific generations such as the Lucky Generation or the sixties.

We believe all these groupings and understandings will also be helpful while understanding the migrant experiences and prognosticating about the similar other migrant cases' expected results. Secondly, we believe, as Karl Mannheim stated the issue of generations is

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[17] Omar Lizardo, "The Cognitive Origins of Bourdieu 's Habitus." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour Issue* 34 Vol.4 (2004), 377.

[18] Eyerman R, Turner BS (1998). "Outline of a Theory of Generations". *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol.1 (1998), 91.

to merit serious consideration. It is one of the indispensable guides to an understanding of the structure of social and intellectual movements. Its practical importance becomes clear as soon as one tries to obtain a more exact understanding of the accelerated pace of social change characteristic of our time.[19]

The social existence of man has been studied statically and now it is also important to study the social process and its dynamic components as emphasized by Mannheim. The framework Mannheim draws while explaining the *sociological problem of generations* (as an extention of his interest in the sociology of knowledge) will enable us to understand the patterns, relationships the migrants' entered into together with their feelings, behaviours or identities throughout this process within a historical flow. His theory of *generations* is regarded as "the most systematic and fully developed treatment of generation from a sociological perspective (Bengtson, et al., 1974), because it firmly locates generation within socio-historical contexts, and moreover, is part of a wider sociological theory of knowledge."[20] He argued "group formation is based on the consciousness of belonging to one generation, rather than upon definite objectives."[21] Whether the second or third generation exchange migrants reach that consciousness or knowledge to form a group will also be understood at the end of the research. Mannheim criticized the positivist conception of generation which neglects the social factor and is in favour of the biological. He argued "that attempts to discover the 'rhythm of history' can be achieved only through research into the 'nearer and more transparent fabric of social processes' and their influence on the phenomenon of generations, since 'any biological rhythm must work itself out through the medium of social

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[19] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 286-287.

[20] J. Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations: an Undervalued Legacy", *British Journal of Sociology* Issue 45 Vol. 3 (1994), 482.

[21] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 288.

events.'[22] Mannheim is an antecedent in the generation studies and he also gave importance to the genealogical meaning of generation. He stated that "sociological phenomenon of generations is ultimately based on the biological rhythm of birth and death."[23] Moreover, he also emphasized the *social generations,*[24] where the collective identity is created by shared experiences. He pointed "Were it not for the existence of social interaction between human beings – were there no definable social structure, no history based on a particular sort of continuity, the generation would not exist as a social phenomenon: there would be merely birth, ageing and death.[25]

Mannheim also mentioned that in time the people interact in the prevailing culture and are "remodelling what they found. This is what Mannheim meant by 'fresh contact'.[26] Therefore, in his view the environment and society the people are in, and the possibilities of the age are also important in shaping the generations and one's generation is a part of his/her identity. As Kertzer[27] pointed, in this thesis we would also observe "intergenerational transmission of values; intergenerational mobility"

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[22] Pilcher, *Mannheim Sociology of Generations*, 485. Quotations here were taken from Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 286.

[23] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge,* 290.

[24] "For Bourdieu,[…] there are three basic ways to use the concept of generation (for different conceptual demarcation, see Kertzer, 1983; Lüscher & Liegle, 2003; Lüscher et al., 2014). One is in reference to familial generations. This genealogical usage, […] (Nash, 1978), […] A second usage is more collective. Generation, in this case, consists of a group of people born at the same time, or during a certain period. […] The third use of generation is in the sense of social generations where the underlying idea is to emphasize collective identity and the feeling of 'us' created by shared experiences. This third meaning is the only one that refers directly to a particular background theory, […], (Kertzer, 1983)." Semi Purhonen, "Generations on Paper: Bourdieu and the Critique of 'Generationalism'."*Social Science Information*, Vol. 55 Issue.1, (SSI Sage Publications, 2016, 97).

[25] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 291.

[26] David L Kertzer, "Generation as a Sociological Problem". *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 9, (1983), 127.

[27] Kertzer, Generations as a Sociological Problem, 126.

while looking at the identity process of the following generation migrants. Thus, Mannheim is chosen specifically because the concepts mentioned are especially important as in this thesis the sociological side of generations and the transmissions of identities and memories will be the main focus point.

We also depended on the *practice theory* of Pierre Bourdieu, as we realized his theory will enlighten understanding the following generation migrants and the process they entered more. "Bourdieu treats generations and aging as phenomena which are socially constructed by the conflict over resources (both economic and cultural) within a given field."[28] In the new socialization process and changing life structures, another important notion of Bourdieu 'the *field*,' which he defines as network of relations between the objective positions gains also importance. He states "the social world has a number of semi-autonomous fields (e.g., art, religion, higher education), all with their own specific logics and all generating among actors a belief about the things that are at stake in a field."[29] We will observe these in order to better understand the environment the migrants have struggled in. These fields are types of "competitive marketplaces in which various kinds of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) are employed and deployed."[30] In their wider economic, cultural and social relationships with other exchange migrants and the locals, we could observe the structure of relations among various positions in their new environment. These will also show us the importance of field of power which Bourdieu emphasized and enabled one to see the structured relationships in the society. At this point Karen O'reilly's thoughts on forced migration cases under the framework of Bourdiu's theory of practice helped us a lot. She asserted that the motivations, decisions and aspirations of the migrants are "connected to wider changes [in the

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[28] Eyerman and Turner, *Outline of a Theory of Generations*, 95.

[29] George Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory and Its Classical Roots: The Basics*, Second Edition, (Boston, Burr Ridge, IL: McGraw Hill, 2007), 178.

[30] Ibid., 178.

society] because they tend to coincide. [...] Individuals through practice enact and embody structural transformations such as [...] globalization."[31] Therefore, a new set of aspirations emerges from these relationships, and from this we also suggest that they are all interrelated as any change in the society causes many other areas to change.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the migrants have entered into a totally new environment as Turkey was founded as a nation-state emphasizing the importance of a homogeneous society. Their subordinated position to the state in the Ottoman Empire continued but their environment and the mentality the country was surrounded with was totally different from the Ottoman Empire's.[32]

The states which were ethnically becoming more homogeneous had manifold impacts for the upcoming generations. Stronger and centralized states created mostly subordinated and passive citizens and "This passivity may be said to stem from a special 'habitus' of sorts, creating 'subordinated individuals' against any forms of authority shaped through an entire process of socialization/acculturation."[33]

The experiences of the migrants who were living in a particular landscape, geography and society changed when they entered into another one. They also changed *habitus*[34] and adapted a new way of live. In the thesis, we will also remark

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[31] Karen O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 75.

[32] For the changes in Turkey after foundation see: Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*. (London, New York: Routledge, 1993).

[33] Suavi Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası: Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Devlet ve Yurttaşlar*. 3. Baskı. (İstanbul: Tesev Yayınları, 2009), 8.

[34] When one of Bourdieu's earliest definitions of habitus is analysed, he defines habitus as: "A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped

the consequences of these changes for the following generation migrants. While dealing with these, Bourdieu's theories will help us a lot as he was the one who stated that "the habitus is itself [is] a generative dynamic structure that adapts and accommodates itself to another dynamic mesolevel structure composed primarily of other actors, situated practices and durable institutions (fields)."[35] The habitus of the migrants and how they adapted it to their new relationships, environments and the new strategies they use will be shown. We will also see the innerstructural formations and relations of these newly formed structures with the external ones.

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu offers another rendering of habitus, which can be more suitable to the case of the migrants:

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment ... produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations. ... [T]he practices produced by the habitus [are] the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations.[36]

We will look for structural conditions, cultural shifts that forced them to leave and figure out how "these are mediated by conjuncturally-specific internal structures (the way the respondents understand what will happen if they make this decision), and by individual habitus."[37] As the structures, are mostly embodied and taken for granted we will see some prejudices and cultural and social impediments for the migrants at the initial stages of integration to the culture they entered. The concept of *capital*,

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problems" Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 95. It can be argued that the way migrants cope with the problems in their new environment in Turkey in a way resembles this definition. They integrated their new encounters to their past and compare their previous knowledge and prejudices with the new environment they entered in.

[35] Lizardo, "The Cognitive Origins of Bourdieu 's Habitus", 376.

[36] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

[37] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 78.

used by Bourdieu will also be used together with the change process. Costs of population exchange for the first and following generation migrants will also be revealed in these discussions.

Social interaction of the people and together with it the individuals' habitus and field changes when people migrate from one place to another. Especially when the people are forcefully sent from one place to another, the unexpectedness and unpreparedness of the situation makes it tougher for the people to adjust to the new place and society they entered to. New rules of conduct emerge insofar as social practices are being adjusted to "changes in the external conditions of social life which carry in their wake modifications of the empirically prevailing "consensual understandings."[38] Still the people lose a large amount of their *capital*[39] once they migrate from one place to another. Bourdieu described various forms of capital namely, economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Structure of the distribution of these capitals represents the immanent nature of the world, the possibilities and constrains surrounding an individual. Thus these changes in different fields were very important to understand the situation the migrants were drawn into. Therefore, these topics will be pointed together with the examples given by the interviewees.

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[38] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*. Eds Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1978), 755.

[39] Capital is the accumulated labor of the individuals (either in its materialized form or embedded, incorporated form), and it takes time for the individuals to collect those capital in their lives. Economic capital is the clearest definition taken from the economic sphere; it defines the economic accumulations or possessions owned by an actor. Cultural capital is used to refer to the familiarity with the aesthetic high culture, "such as the high arts, literary culture, and linguistic ability" George Ritzer ed, *Encyclopedia of Social Theory Vol 1-2*. Humastud Human Studies. Vol. 1. (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 167. It is in a broder definition the knowledge acquired by the individuals in their lives. Social capital which is also seen in the migrants is the ability to reach material or symbolic power through the valued social relationships acquired. The last one, symbolic capital is the honor or prestige possessed by the actor. In the interviews we will trace the losses in the capital of the exchange migrants and effects of these gradual 'changes' on their position in the society and formation of their identities.

When it comes to the reason why Istanbul area is chosen; it was mainly in order to reach a differing case from Thrace, Edirne and Izmir which received comparably more migrants during the population exchange and on which most of the scientific studies were done. The table below shows the territories and the number of people settled in those areas. As mentioned it can be observed from the table below that after the regions Thrace, Samsun and Izmir, Istanbul is monitored to receive the most number of migrants in 1924.

Table 1.1 People arrive as of November 1924:[40]

Territory	Excluded from Population Exchange	Included to Population Exchange	Total
Samsun	---	51.353	51.353
Thrace	118	59.902	60.020
Trebizond	---	18.836	18.836
Smyrna(Izmir)	623	59.185	59.808
Bursa	398	24.450	24.848
Constantinople	---	30.093	30.093
Izmit	---	24.711	24.711
Antalya	---	4.254	4.254
Konya	1.485	22.155	23.640
Adana	---	20.246	20.246
Sivas	805	3.314	4.121
Kastamonu	407	2.216	2.623
Total	**3.838**	**320.742**	**324.580**

When the Turkish literature about the exchange migrants is analysed it can be stated that all Thrace, Samsun and Izmir's exchange migrants were among the cases mostly researched by the scholars. Although Istanbul received a great number of migrants it was not that intensely analysed. That was another reason that directed us towards the exchange migrants settled in Istanbul region. Furthermore, when Istanbul area was

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[40] Erdal, "Türkiye ile Yunanistan Arasında Mübadele Meselesi," 111.

analysed at that time, as urban Greeks were not included within the Lausanne Treaty Convention 'Article 2':

> The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1:
> a)The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople.
> b)The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.
> All Greeks who were already established before the 30th October, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople [...][41]

Thus, Istanbul area again stood out as an important example for the population exchange topic. That was also why the migrants were especially settled in the periphery area in Istanbul such as Kartal, Maltepe, Tuzla, Catalca, Silivri, and the Prince Islands. Another reason was the settlement concerns; as the Turkish migrants from Greece were planned to firstly settle in the areas which are emptied by the Greeks living in those places in Turkey and these were the places in which mainly Greek minority were settled before. Catalca which includes nearly all of the migrants we interviewed in the Istanbul area was also among the distribution places chosen by the cabinet council on 17 July, 1923.[42] The fact that the migrants were highly populated in these areas, made it more available for us to meet with their following generations as well. In areas where they were surrounded by people who came from the same background, it is assumed that the customs might be protected even more. That was also another reason why we chose Catalca region, of Istanbul a relatively protected and a little far away residential area from the city center.

In chapter four, we wanted to present 1923 Greek and Turkish population exchange also together with the migration and forced migration studies with the aim of

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[41]Turkish Foreign Ministry Website: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa

[42] Erdal, "Türkiye ile Yunanistan Arasında Mübadele Meselesi," 136.

presenting the case within a wider perspective of historical and theoretical framework. The ideas the scholars disputed on migration studies will briefly be given and in this section, the population exchange process will be shown through their frameworks as well. We will present why 1923 population exchange is studied under the title of forced migration; define forced migration and show the elements concurrent with the forced migration and present their importance for the individuals and the wider structures in which they have a dynamic and mutual relationship. By defining the main reasons of these migrations we will embark on explaining different kinds of migration and give examples from different fields of scholars who studied migration from varying perspectives and focusing on a separate topic of discussion such as the position of migrants, integration of migrants, inclusion or exclusion processes. Through these existing studies we will identify the structures framing the migration studies from a wider angle and where appropriate we will point out similar cases and elements in our thesis. In these examples we will also see how the immense shifts are embodied and executed by the migrants both as they take the decision to move and in their post migration lives. After briefly looking at the migration studies we will pass on to the forced migration; define its types and main arguments surrounding it. We will also examine the points in the forced migration studies and theories which are adaptable to the case of 1923 population exchange and analyse it from their perspectives to see the population exchange from another angle and understand the issue entirely.

In chapter five, we will start to look deep into the interviews we conducted with the exchange migrants in Catalca and use the interviews conducted in the other areas to compare the results. We will start by analysing the general questions about the respondents so as to get an overall view about them and their parents/grandparents age, jobs and relations. After that how much the second and third generation know about the past, the exchange procedures and stories and whether they still carry the migrant identity with them will be analysed. The migration and settlement process of the migrants will be questioned. We wanted to learn and compare how they classify that knowledge and the stories of the past today, and discover the new conditions and

ideas they produce towards new environment they were born into. Whether they have experienced any alienation in the first generation and later on, and whether their thoughts or ideas on their homeland and the locals in Turkey have changed in time will also be shown.

After that, we will look at the relations between the locals and the exchange migrants after they come to Turkey. We will then check how these relations shaped the individual's behaviours later on. The impressions the first generation migrants got when they first migrate to the new lands, the relationships and reactions towards each other and their reflections on the following generation migrants will be analysed together with the political and social norms imposed on them Their mutual interaction in the public and private lives and the habitus of the individuals in the times of radical transformations, their impacts on the individuals and the following generations' formation of their identity and belonging will be revealed. These topics will also be compared to the experiences of the other migrants we spoke with in Izmir, Seyrek[43] and the locals of Greece. These comparisons will also enable us to see the particularities or similarities of the Catalca migrants from the other migrants in Turkey.

We will examine the importance of place they settled, firstly Istanbul as a city for the migrants then and now. We will also describe the peculiarities of Catalca region and Seyrek village in Izmir. This part will allow us to understand the places we have conducted the interviews. We will also compare the different experiences lived in the city center and the rural regions after migration.

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[43] We chose Seyrek because it is also known as an exchange migrant village once populated by the Greeks. Both Catalca and Seyrek are situated nearby the center as a village (now a neighbourhood of the city) and has a similar socio-economical situation. Thus, we believed Seyrek can be used to both compare the results found in Catalca and to have a wider point of view on the topic.

Another important point that stands out in the interviews and should be pointed out is the 'element of change'. The population exchange period was also a time of transformation for the migrants. When the discussion of 'generations' is added to the debate, the 'change' element becomes more apparent in each area of their lives. In the interview discussions we tried to learn especially in which areas 'the change' affected them. We intend to see how cultural, social, economical and emotional changes impacted the lives of the following generations. Moreover, we will also have the chance to trace the "interplay of biological with the social, relationship between the personal and social change and the intersection of biography and history."[44] Overall, we aimed to see their reflections on the identities and the feelings of the following generation migrants. We will then search for the hindrances the first generation migrants faced in sharing their past with their children and question whether and how they got through those obstacles.

Finally in chapter six, we will continue with the results of the interviews focusing more on the second and third generations' current lives, experiences and culture today. Their relations with the other exchange migrants and locals; and comparisons between the generations will be the main focus in order to understand more about their identities and how they are formed in different generations. We will check what has remained and affected them from the past and how they are dealing with the general customs and traditions. We will analyse their feelings about integration and belonging.

The feeling of belonging of the third generation will be questioned within the historical and social perspective they entered. It will help us to see the structures and relationships they entered and how these affected their identity in the long run. We will search for the different elements that were effective in their choices and feelings of inclusion or exclusion from the society. Their reflections and impact on the

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[44] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 481.

following generations will also be discussed. We will check for the impact of the social changes and environment on the feelings and thoughts and future of the people, and their decisions' impact on the external world around the people. This part will also explore the importance of place in creating the feeling of identity and belonging. Because

> We all want to be in place, oriented and accepted. The expression 'he is nowhere' captures the bewilderment and pain of placelessness. We want to know our place. We want to know where we are, to be accepted by society for who we are, and to set up home at a particular spot on earth so that we can come to know it intimately."[45]

The ability to create home once more and the importance of the interaction of the self with the environment during this creation will be observed. We will also analyse whether the feeling of being at 'home' and attachment to the place was only for Turkey when considering the following generations.

Together with these the exchange migrants' cultures, traditions and how much of these they preserved will also be examined. Changing nature of the society can cause transformations, alterations or total destructions in some elements of culture. Keeping in mind that this group of people has been through a tremendous social change, how much of their culture and traditions they could maintain was another topic of wonder. While doing these we will compare the second and third generations' interest, and knowledge in their exchange migrant identity. The importance of the environmental changes such as the increase in the transnational networks and political developments will be revealed.

Together with the changes the time has brought we observe there is an increasing trend in the travels to Greece. For the people who visited Greece, we will examine

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[45] Y. F. Tuan, "In Place, out of Place", Ed M Richardson, *Experience and Symbol*, (Baton Rouge, Dept of Geography and Anthropology: Louisiana State University, 1984), 3

their experiences and gather their feelings after these visits. The impacts and importance of these visits for the exchange migrants' expression of themselves and on their identity development will be questioned.

All in all, this thesis aims to uncover whether the exchange migrant identities are still protected in the second and third generation migrants and whether these generations are still affected by the outcomes of the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey. If so we will inquire how the events and their aftermath influenced the second and third generation exchange migrants' identities, feelings and knowledge about the events. Whether the following generations' identities, thoughts and knowledge of the population exchange is shaped and changed throughout the generations will be examined. This thesis in the grand picture will add up to the work of immigration and generation researchers who seek to see the long-term consequences of the process. It will enable the other researchers to make a general comparison about the second and third generation migrants, and can also be used as a prospective study for the recently migrated groups and the researchers. It will also provide us with the long term consequences of the population exchange for the following generation migrants.

In the following chapter, we will continue the thesis with the historical background by briefly explaining the situations in the Balkans in the pre and post Lausanne period and indicating the conditions that led up to the population exchange between Turkey and Greece. The past is important as "[t]he history and prior experiences enable us to understand refugees' habits, expectations, tastes, aspirations, the dreams [and fears] they bring with them in their habitus and will have adjusted recently in the light of changing conditions."[46] Moreover, with the help of the official and historical records we will have an overall perspective of the environmental, social

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[46] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 138.

and economical conditions the migrants were driven into, and would be able to visualize the situations first generations experienced.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2. 1 Introduction

In order to understand the existing social relationships and behaviours of the people, and current social order; analysing only today's situations and relations will not be enough. We need to understand and look at the history of those people and lands as well. Mannheim argued that "the central thesis of historicism was that no product of human culture could be analysed and understood in a 'timeless' fashion; interpretation had to begin by ascribing to each product a temporal index, by relating it to a period-bound 'style'."[47] Therefore, this chapter will present a general, brief background story of the Balkan lands. Moreover, it will highlight the important discussions both related with the "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" signed at Lausanne Peace Treaty in Lausanne, Switzerland, on 30 January, 1923 by the Governments of Greece and Turkey and the exchange migrants alike.

As Parekh argued "The second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century witnessed a group of political, intellectual and social movements headed by local societies, national minorities, ethno-cultural nationalities, new and

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[47] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 6.

old migrants, feminists, homosexual men and women, and greens."[48] The common characteristic of these groups is that they adopted traditions, life-styles, and life forms which are different from, sometimes unaccepted or maybe tried to be suppressed by the generally accepted dominant culture. Thus, it can be argued that after the second half of the twentieth century the discussions of "others and us" gained popularity and prominence also as a result of the age's newly emerging social and political movements. When we turn to Turkey in this context, we will also see the similar types of movements and risings as when we are talking about identity based discussions they cannot be thought apart from the global, international, regional and local dynamics. Nowadays, with first centesimal anniversary of Lausanne Treaty ahead us, the dissolution period of Ottoman Empire as a study area and its impacts on population exchange movements and its minority populations started to gain more importance for the researchers also in Turkey.

The Lausanne convention concerned approximately two million people and most of them were forcibly denaturalized from their homelands. A brief depiction of the steps that lead to the population exchange is needed to thoroughly understand the migrants' conditions, experiences, comments and descriptions in the interviews. In order to reveal the sequence of the events that lead to the population exchange and afterwards experiences of the migrants, firstly; we will present the conditions before-Lausanne Treaty and the events that lead to the decision of Lausanne population exchange. Then, we will mention about the post-Lausanne treaty problems and how the migrants and the states tried to cope with these problems. These are all very important to understand the feelings, thoughts, beliefs, and expressions that built up the identities of the migrants. These were the feelings and memories also transferred to the following generations. Thus, the conditions that made up those identities should be known before analysing the interviews conducted with the exchange

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[48] Bhikhu C.Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, (Great Britain: Macmillan Press, 2000), 1.

migrants and searching for the second and third generations' identity and belonging issues. From this perspective, the settlement strategies and the peculiarities of Istanbul area is mentioned together with the post population exchange problems of the migrants. In this chapter, the final topic is the importance of the Lausanne treaty today. These historical events provided the basis for the sociological, economical and social changes in the region and the lives of the migrants which apparently affected the upcoming generations as well. Therefore, this chapter will briefly frame the historical background of the period, in order to thoroughly understand the migrants' expressions, feelings and identity formations revealed in the interviews and biographies.

2.2 Before Lausanne Conditions

Migration always had an important place for the history of Turkey. For various reasons, such as to found their own country, to run away from hostile attacks, to run away from natural disasters, or to return to their old homelands the people living in the Anatolian lands have migrated for hundreds of years.[49] Population exchange made between the Balkan countries and Turkey, and migrations from the Balkans are also among one of the most significant and historically important migratory flows to Turkey. All the migrations happened at different periods from the Balkan lands had their own distinctive characteristics and history. These migrations transformed the lives of many families living in the previously Ottoman lands completely. As a consequence, all the countries in the Balkan region and Anatolia went through a

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[49] Also see; Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri* (1912-1913), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), vii; Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History." In *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*. Eds W. H. McNeill and R. S. Adams, (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978); M. Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk I-II*, (Istanbul: Türk Devrim Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1972); İlhan Bardakçı, *İmparatorluğa Veda*, (Ankara: Türk Edebiyatı Vakfı, 2006); Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, VIII. Cilt. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983).

tremendous transformation process in every aspect of their lives which in return affected the lives of the upcoming generations.

The long standing Ottoman rule[50] in the Balkans started to lose its power after the eighteenth century and entered its decline and dissolution period afterwards. They started to lose a lot from their military, political and economic power and act mostly in order to maintain the status quo and all these consequently influenced many nations' life and position. Industrial revolution started to change the whole social structure and the society. Countries developed their workforce and industries and looked for new places to use as a market and force, which in return created imperial powers. New geographical discoveries and travelling routes found by the European countries all add up to their powers while Ottoman Empire was protecting its conventional but no longer effective administrative, military and education system.[51] During the mid-seventeenth century disorder both in Anatolia and the Balkans made it harder for the Ottomans to keep up with the developments in the European states. The nineteenth century witnessed the rise of nationalist movements[52] and together

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[50] For detailed discussions on Ottoman Empire before Lausanne Treaty, and its state and society relations also see; Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi eds, *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, vol.25. (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002); Recep Boztemur, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet-Toplum İlişkileri: Araştırma Yöntemlerinde ve Kuramsal Yaklaşımlarda Tek Yanlılık". *OTAM -Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, (1999), 79-110; Halil İnalcik, 1954. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest." *Studia Islamica* Issue 2, vol. 2, (1954), 103–129; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Irnber, (New York: Praeger Publishers 1973); Halil İnalcık, The *Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy*. (London: Variorum Reprints 1978); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modem World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. (New York: Academic Press, 1974); *Yunan Mezalimi: Anadolu'da Yunan Mezalimi*, 3 Kısım, (Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi Yay: Ankara, 1938); Cami Baykurt, *Osmanlı Ülkesinde Hıristiyan Türkler*, (İstanbul, 1932); Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu, *Trakya'da Milli Mücadele*, I, (TTK Yayınları: Ankara, 1987); Adil Adnan Öztürk, "1877-1878 Savaşı'ndan Balkan Savaşına Kadar İzmir'de Göçmen Sorunu", (İzmir, DEÜ Atatürk İlkeleri ve Inkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 1990); Albert Hourani, *Arap Halkları Tarihi*, 5. ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

[51] Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 32.

[52] For various theories and development of nationalism in Europe and Turkey see; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (London: Basil Blackwell,1983); Lloyd Kramer, *Nationalism: Political*

with that the breakdown of Ottoman Empire. This situation gave way to a politically polarized and 'culturally exhausted' Ottoman society, and eventually led to long term tensions and armed conflicts in the societies.[53]

When 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War,[54] broke out Ottoman Empire's situation was still similar. As a result of this war, many people from the Balkan states started to migrate to Anatolia in great waves, yet the conditions of that time make it impossible to state the exact number. These migrations changed the ethnographic structure of the Balkan lands and Anatolia as well.

In the nineteenth century, riots against the Ottoman Empire started among the Balkan nations. These riots turned into revolutions for these states and occasionally Russia, Austria, France and in some cases other European states also interfered into these events and had great influences on their separation movements.

Meanwhile, Ottoman Empire underestimated the power of these nation states and the possibility of their union and failed to take the necessary precautions for the defence of the region. The First and Second Constitutional Era (1878-1908) and the following interior events in the Ottoman Empire busying the minds of the Ottoman Parliament

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Cultures in Europe and America, 1775-1865, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998); Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (London and New York: Verso 1991); Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Second Edition. (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2010); Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd ed, (Leiden: I. B. Tauris, 2003).

[53] George W. Gawrych, "Tolerant Dimensions of Cultural Pluralism in the Ottoman Empire: Albanian Community, 1800-1912." *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* vol.15 issue.4 (1983), 519.

[54] This also caused many people to migrate from the Balkan lands "According to European and Ottoman records, estimated number is between 1.250.000 and 1.253.500 (McCarthy, 1998). This immigration wave, also called 'Immigration of 93' (1293 in Julian Calender) is the first mass population movement from the Balkans to Anatolia" Akova, "Immigrations From the Balkans to Turkey and Immigrant Settlements in Western Anatolia", 549.

more lands were lost in the country and alliances were formed among the Balkan states.

Following these events outbreak of the Balkan Wars between 1912 and 1913[55] deteriorated the situation for the nations. The wars were also a result of the mistakes the Ottomans made both in their domestic and external affairs. All these drifted the Ottomans into a long term war period at a very inconvenient period of time, with the army in the Balkans discharged and directed to the other parts of the country and many other ongoing wars in the other parts of the country plus already depleted economy and society. The war which caused many lives to be lost from all of the nations eventually resulted in the waning of Ottoman Empire's lands and power. The first population exchange agreement with the Greece is signed in 1914 one year after the 1913 population exchange with Bulgaria. As Yıldırım noted in his book "little is known about this agreement between Greece and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [...] and how this agreement is shaped and implemented is still unknown."[56] The people exchanged waited for a while in vain to be returned and in time they lost their hopes for turning back to their homelands. Afterwards, many others not included in the exchange procedures fled from their homes and joined them.

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[55] For the details of reasons and results of Balkan War please see; Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*; Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi, Osmanlı Devri Balkan Harbi: Garp Ordusu Cephesi Harekatı, III, Kısım 2, (Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE Başkanlığı Askeri Tarih Yayınları, 1981); İsmet Görgülü, *On Yıllık Harbin Kadrosu 1912-1922: Balkan, Birinci Dünya ve İstiklal Harbi*, XVI. Dizi, Sayı. 69, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, (2014); Talat Paşa, *Talat Paşa'nın Anıları*, (İstanbul: Yayınlayan Enver Bolayır, 1946); E. Karakuş, *Balkan Savaşı'na Katılan Komutanların Yaşam Öyküleri*: *Alay ve Daha Üst Birlik Komutanları*, Ankara: Genelkurmay ATASE Başkanlığı, 2004).

[56] For the draft of the agreement please see: Séfériades, *L'Echange des Populations*, p.48-49; for the whole text see; *Atina Konvensiyonu,* Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Kütüphanesi *(1913);* Moreover, also see; Dimitri Pentzopoulus, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece*, (Paris: Moulton, 1962), 54-57; Stephen P Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, (New York: MacMillan, 1932), 20-23; G. Mourelos Yannis, "The 1914 Persecutions and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities between Greece and Turkey", *Balkan Studies*, issue 26, vol 2, (1985), 389-413.

Many Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire left behind faced many difficulties and pressures from the new states although many agreements were made to protect the Muslim groups. The conditions of the WWI escalated the obscurities in the situations of these migrants and the oppression on both the Greek and Turkish minorities, because together with the war the nationalist sentiments of the people have pushed up.[57] Both Greek and Turkish minorities have waited for long to be rescued by their countries and as a result of the long term unresolved conflicts and oppressions, both of the 'alienated' or 'other' ethnic groups on each side were forced to leave their homes to reach the country of their ethnic origins.

Many people hit the roads to escape the cruelty and pressures they encountered. Before the First World War more than 200.000 Ottoman Turks entered into the Ottoman lands from Balkan countries.[58] Together with the demolishment of Ottoman Empire and foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the social structure of these lands have transformed into a new one.[59] Besides, newly founded Turkish Republic had just come out of war and taken over a society who had lost many lives during the war and many others were struggling with health problems. In order to develop socially, politically, culturally and economically they needed the young population to increase. Therefore, also as a policy young Turkish Republic overemphasized the population issue.[60]

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[57] Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 39-41.

[58] Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, 26.

[59] Behice Boran, *Türkiye ve Sosyalism Sorunları*, (İstanbul: Tekin Yayınları, 1970), 16.

[60] Also in; İpek Nedim, "Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'nin Nüfus Siyaseti", *Beşinci Uluslararası Atatürk Kongresi 2005*, C: I, (Ankara, 2003), 174-175; Irmak Yakut, "Atatürk Döneminde Nüfus Politikası", *Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye Ekonomisi Semineri* (8-9 Haziran), (1981), 214; Kemal Arı, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikasını Belirleyen Temel Unsurlar", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Cilt 8, Sayı 23, (1992), 409-420; M. Kemal Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, Cilt 1, 2. Baskı, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1961), 199-201; Server Tanilli, *Anayasalar ve Siyasal Belgeler*, (İstanbul: 1976).

2.3 Lausanne Peace Treaty and Population Exchange with Greece

The clash between the two countries reached its peak point when Greece invaded the principality of Aydın/Izmir with the initial aim of saving their captive people of the same origin which later turned into an aim of conquest and spreading around Anatolia. These in return created civil riots and movements all around Anatolia and Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who commanded the Turkish Nationalist forces, rejected Sévres Agreement and broken his ties with the Ottoman government as a former officer; led the troops which defeated the Greek army in Izmir. The defeat of Greeks in 1922 September ended with the total population exchange of the Greeks in Anatolia with the Turkish population living in Greece. All unsuccessful 1919 Paris and 1920 Sévres Diplomatic steps and attempts of population exchange plans end up as a failure and different ethnic groups in the countries seemed to be the main reason behind the conflicts by both of the nation's governments. As a result, the revision and reactivation of population exchange plans found legitimate grounds for both of the countries. Therefore, both Greece and Turkey embarked on a plan to send their minorities away in order to strengthen their countries with a more nationalistic perspective. In Lausanne Conference Ismet Pasha stated "the problem of determining the form of the exchange could not be separated from the problem of determining what kind of legal arrangements would need to be made in order to manage majority-minority relations in Greece and Turkey".[61]

On 30 January 1923, the countries signed a convention in Lausanne[62] which went in effect on 25 August 1923 and concerned of the simultaneous exchange of Orthodox

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[61] Umut Özsu, *Formalizing Displacement: International Law and Population Transfers*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 80.

[62] For more information about Lausanne Peace Treaty and its articles concerning the population Exchange please see; http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa; and Mehmet Esad Atuner, *Mübadeleye Dair Türkiye ve Yunanistan Arasında İmza Olunan Mukavelenameler*, (İstanbul: Damga Matbaası, 1937), 1; Mesut Çapa, 1988 "Lozan'da Öngörülen Türk-Ahali Mübadelesinin

Christians from Turkey to Greece and Muslims in Greece to Turkey; except the ones settled in Istanbul and Western Thrace. The urgency of the convention was also a result of the pressures coming from the representatives of the Allied Countries and the disorder in the economies and politics of both countries during the time period. Thus, during that period all social, economic and political problems and burdens of the two countries accumulated that far seemed to find a legitimate reason under the 'minority problem' name. When taken into international grounds this seemed to be an urgent case to be solved as soon as possible.[63] Within this perspective it would not be wrong to say that the Lausanne Peace Treaty in a way both confirmed the immigrants and minorities being a problem and make the problem official in the international grounds.[64]

Uygulanmasında Türkiye Kızılay (Hilâl-i Ahmer) Cemiyeti'nin Katkıları" *Atatürk Yolu*, Sayı:2, Kasım, (1988), 241-256; Rıza Nur, *Lozan Hatıraları*, 5. Baskı, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 2008); Seha, *Lozan Barış Konferansı*, 317-385; İsmail Soysal, *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları (1920-1945)*, Cilt I, (Ankara: TTK Yay, 1983), 177-183; Séfériades, *L'Echange des Populations*, 48-49; Umut Özsu, *Formalizing Displacement*.

[63] For the Balkan policies also see; Stanford J. Shaw and E. Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. I and II. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Hall, *Balkan Wars*; Yaşar Nabi Nayır, *Değişen Dünyamız: Balkanlar ve Türklük*, (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1936); Bilâl Şimşir, *Bulgaristan Türkleri*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986); Önder Duman, "Atatürk Döneminde Romanya'dan Türk Göçleri (1923-1938)", *Bilig*, Sayı 45, (2008); Önder Duman, "Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskân Çalışmaları 1923-1938", *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* Sayı 43, (2009), 473–490.

[64] Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 45. Also in Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Birincil Kaynaklardan Osmanlı Tarihi Kayı*, (İstanbul: Tarih Düşünce Kitapları, 2005); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Cilt 1, (Ankara: T.T.K. Basımevi, 1988); Sezai Sevim, "Türklerin Rumeli'ye İlk Geçişleri ve İskân Faaliyetleri", *Balkanlar'daki Türk Kültürünün Dünü, Bugünü ve Yarını*, (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002); Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanlar'ın Makus Talihi*; Mustafa Balbay, *Balkanlar*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2007); Fuat Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, (Ankara: TTK, 1991); Mehmet İnbaşı, "Balkanlarda Osmanlı Hakimiyeti ve İskân Siyaseti", *Türkler*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002); Murat Küçük, *Bir Nefes Balkan*, (İstanbul: Horasan Yayınları, 2005); Joseph V.Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, Çev. Mehmet Ata, c. 1, (İstanbul: Sabah Yayınları, 1999).

Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian scientist and High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations 1921-1930[65] was chosen to supervise the exchange, taking account the interests of Turkey and Greece, and the other West European states. Before, a compulsory population exchange on this scale had never been experimented. On the other hand, both the Turkish and Greek governments stated that minority protection would not be enough to ameliorate the ethnic tensions after the war period. At the beginning, Nansen seemed not very comfortable with the idea of population exchange. Later on, after speaking and involving in the process the idea seemed pragmatic and necessary to solve a large scale crisis. The population exchange made with Greece became the final stage in the disintegration of Ottoman Empire.

2.4 Post-Lausanne Treaty

An important problem was the transportation and re-settlement of the migrants to their new lands and finding solutions to their after settlement needs such as food, clothing and accommodation. Some of the migrants had to provide their own needs after they managed to cross the borders. These problems would be mentioned briefly as they had a great impact on the lives and character of the migrants later on. They assigned Refugee Settling Officers (İskan-ı Muhacirin Memuru) to settle the incoming migrants to the most suitable places for them and preferably regions that are fertile and similar in landscape and climate to the place they migrated from. No matter how careful the parties were, it is for sure that the migrants went through a lot of changes including a whole new geographical and socio-cultural environment. Between 1923 and 1933 the Balkan migrants were especially named as "free

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[65] For Nansen's work on refugees; Kathleen E. Innes, *The Story of Nansen and the League of Nations*, (London: Friends Peace Committee, 1931); R. Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985); Mourelos G. Yannis, "The 1914 Persecutions and the First Attempt at an Exchange of Minorities between Greece and Turkey." *Balkan Studies*, Issue 26/2, (1985), 389-413.

migrants" as due to the limited budget, the government declared only the migrants coming from Greece could be supported and the settling procedure would be carried out by the government. Therefore, the other Balkan migrants were accepted as free migrants and they were expected to bring the money and belongings they would live on with themselves.[66] This point is important as it meant most of the migrants had to cover all their expenses by themselves until they were able to settle down and found a new job to earn money in the new lands they migrated.[67] This was hard even for the ones who could carry some amount of money with themselves into the country, because then they were again in an uncertain situation and had to save their money for the future which was a big question then for them.

After the urgent implementation of the treaty the countries would see the challenges waiting for them while the treaty was putting into practice. As many scholars have already named it, the main problem in the treaty was that the treaty failed to clearly sort out who exactly is included in the exchanged populations. Although the first five article[68] of the convention talks about which groups were included in the population

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[66] Also in Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi (TBMMZC), Devre(D): V, İçtima (İ): 1 Cilt(C): 6, s. 78; and Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA), 272.12/56.143.34.; 272.14/77.40.6.; 272.12/55.140.12.

[67] Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, *Nüfus Mübadelesi: Kayıp Bir Kuşağın Hikâyesi.* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), 206.

[68] "**Article 1:** As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorization of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively. **Article 2:** The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1: a) The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople. b) The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. All Greeks who were already established before the 30th October, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople. Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1918 by the Treaty of Bucharest shall be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. **Article 3:** Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October, 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange provided for in Article 1. The expression "emigrant" in the present Convention includes all physical and juridical persons who have been obliged to emigrate or have

"to be exchanged" it was still open to discussion. Both countries seemed to have perceived it as they want and try to include the groups of people they saw as causing trouble. In Greece the Gypsies and Albanians; and in Turkey Christians and Armenians were also forced to be included in the population exchange groups.

Besides the drawbacks the population exchange supplied many opportunities for both the host nation and the migrants. For the host nation which lost its young population due to war and diseases it provided new labour force. This was both economically and sociologically important for the new nation to build their roots on. Just after the war period in order to flourish economically and culturally they needed reliable individuals as citizens to populate and work for the sake of the nation. For the forced migrants, besides the miseries and grief it brought; it enabled them to escape from the threats physically, sociologically and economically. It was apparently hard for them; yet still an opportunity to start from anew and live in the environment they might feel secure and free. It provided an opportunity for these people to survive and sustain continuation of the generations within a different environment.

2.5 New Homeland and Settlement Areas

The exchange migrants are mostly placed in the regions and houses emptied by the Greek (Rum) citizens. As there were so many people coming, this was also chosen as a faster solution for the accommodation problems of the coming migrants. Izmir and Edirne stood out as two of the main cities when the population exchange with Greece

emigrated since the 18th October, 1912. **Article 4:** All able-bodied men belonging to the Greek population, whose families have already left Turkish territory, and who are now detained in Turkey, shall constitute the first instalment of Greeks sent to Greece in accordance with the present Convention. **Article 5:** Subject to the provisions of Articles 9 and 10 of the present Convention, the rights of property and monetary assets of Greeks in Turkey or Moslems in Greece shall not be prejudiced in consequence of the exchange to be carried out under the present Convention". Taken from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at lausanne_.en.mfa

was the topic of discussion. That was mainly because they were the two cities which sent and received many migrants during that period. Secondly, they were among the main gates when admitting the migrants into Turkey. Depending on which ways of transportation the migrants used to enter Turkey these two cities might become their first stop in the country. Izmir also witnessed the Greek revolts and the minority problems, and was chosen by many Turkish migrants coming from Greece as a new resettlement area as its geography, landscape and weather conditions resembles that of Thessaloniki. Scholars also acknowledged these two cities' importance and various academic studies were also made about the migrants coming from and going to Greece from Edirne and Izmir.

Istanbul as a city was also important for the population exchange case as it was either the first or the last stop for most of the migrants, many of whom were later transferred to other cities in Anatolia after a while. It was also important because Istanbul was not included among the population exchange cities in 1923 convention.[69] Consequently, the Christians and other religious inhabitants of the city were still there when the Muslim migrants living in the Balkan countries were transferred to the city. Istanbul was still multicultural including all the religious and ethnic groups in its system. The city also hosted many migrants escaping from the Balkans[70] even before the population exchange period.[71] According to table 2.1 below (taken from Turkish Statistical Institute in Oğuzoğlu's book) we can see the Muslim people coming from the Balkans between the years 1912-1920 and the

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[69] According to 1923 Convention the Greek residents who settled before September 30, 1918 and live in the boundaries of Istanbul according to 1912 constitution are not included in the Population Exchange. Arı, *Büyük Mübadele*, 18.

[70] Great population movements were seen firstly, after the Ottoman–Russian war of 1877-1878; and secondly, between 1912–1913 Balkan Wars; and thirdly, between 1915-1920 especially with great increase in the numbers in the later periods after the First World War.

[71] For Istanbul being a Balkan migrant accepting city see: Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*; Arzu Öztürkmen, "From Constantinople to Istanbul: Two Sources on the Historical Folklore of a City." *Asian Folklore Studies*, Issue 61/2, (2002), 271–294.

places they were settled.[72] It should be also kept in mind that the numbers taken from statistical state documents fail to contain the statistics of people who came by their own resources. The statesman and military officers were not also counted as migrants and not added to these numbers either.[73]

Table 2.1 Muslim People Coming From Balkans 1912-1920[74]

Vilayetler (Regions)	People coming between 1912-1920	People coming between 1912-1915	Difference between 1915-1920
Aydın/Smyrna (including Smyrna)	145868	104879	40989
Edirne	132500	95267	37233
Hüdavendigar/ Bursa	20853	14993	5860
Karesi (Balıkesir)	14687	10689	3998
Sivas	10805	7769	3036
Halep /Aleppo	10504	7552	2952
Ankara/Angora	10008	7196	2812
Eskişehir	9088	6534	2554
Adana	9059	6513	2546
Konya	8512	6120	2392
Çatalca /Chataldja	7500	5393	2107
Izmit / Ismid	6771	4868	1903
Kayseri	6140	4415	1725
Maraş /Marash	5031	3617	1414
Biga /Pegae	4033	2903	1130
Canik (Samsun)	3875	2786	1089
Istanbul/Constantinople	6609	2594	4015
Suriye/ Syria	3187	2291	896
Menteşe (Muğla)	855	615	240
Karahisar (Afyon)	280	201	79
Bolu	258	185	73
Kastamonu	257	184	73
Mamuretülaziz (Elazığ)	242	173	63
Overall Sum	413922	297737	116185

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[72] Yusuf Oğuzoğlu, "Balkanlardaki Türk Varlığının Tarih İçindeki Gelişmesi", *Balkanlardaki Türk Kültürünün Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını*, (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 18.

[73] Arslan, *Balkan Savaşları Sonrası Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, 106.

[74] English names of the cities are provided together with the Turkish names.

2.6 Post-Population Exchange Problems

Upon arrival thousands of people were placed temporarily in the public areas such as religious or private charity houses and mosques; many slept in the streets or on the carriages they came with until they were directed to their permanent residence place.[75] As mentioned above, before the 1923 Population exchange there were already many Balkan migrants coming from the lands lost and resettled to their new homes. There were already numerous problems of migrants to be handled during these periods when shortly after the Second World War broke out. Among these problems mainly health, subsistence and settlement issues, land appropriation and exemptions from some financial and military requirements, and preparation of their legal framework created huge topics discussed by many researchers and statesman later on. It is not hard to imagine that these people had a great impact on the demographic, economic and social structure of the then newly established Turkish Republic.

Most of the migrants coming from the other Balkan states and Greece stated they did not want any governmental help while settling but after 1927 the reports coming from the local authorities show that the procedures were not properly working and most of the people previously not asking for governmental help were deeply in need and claimed they did not need anything just to be able to get out of their home country. It was shown in the reports that after a few years they applied to the local authorities to ask for accommodation, land, and seeds to plant. Therefore after 1928, the government started to help the migrants in need coming from Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia in terms of accommodation.[76] It is impossible to talk about the exact

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[75] Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*, 69.

[76] Duman, *Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskân*, 476. Also in BCA, 030.10/81.530.7.

numbers of Orthodox Christians and Muslims living in these lands and migrated between 1890s and 1920s as these lands were under attack and in a state of war. There was a continuous population movement and population loss as result of the diseases, deads and attacks. Even after 1923 various sources talk about differing numbers, according to *Tanin* (Istanbul based newspaper), the number of Greeks migrated from Turkey was 650.000[77] and according to Arı this numbers were over 1.000.000 at the end of 1922.[78] The same fluctuations in the number of people are seen in the numbers of abandoned goods.

In theory, according to 1923 Lausanne Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations it was planned that the houses left by the Greeks

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[77] Tanin, 20 Teşrinievvel 1922.

[78] Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç*, 8; For detailed discussions and varying opinions on the population exchange process also see; Seçil Akgün, "Birkaç Amerikan Kaynağından Türk-Yunan Mübadelesi Sorunu," *Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri: Türk Yunan İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Gen. Kur. Yay, 1986), 241-257; Kemal Arı, "1923 Türk -Rum Mübadele Antlaşması Sonrasında İzmir'de Göçmenler". Izmir *DEÜ, Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, (1988); Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç*; Mehmet Asım, "Yunan Mezaliminden Mesul Olan Kimdir?", *Yunan Mezalimi: İzmir'den Bursa'ya*, (İstanbul, 1970), 18-21; Atuner, *Mübadeleye Dair Türkiye ve Yunanistan*, 1937; Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmenler Meselesi: Tanzimat Devri İlk Kurulan Göçmen Komisyonu, Çıkarılan Tüzükler*, (İstanbul, 1966); Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*; Renée Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Türkmen Parlak, *Yunan Ege'den Nasıl Gitti?* İzmir: 1983); Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*; Kadir Mısırlıoğlu, *Yunan Mezalimi*, (İstanbul: Sebil Yayınevi, 1968); Cengiz Orhonlu, "Yunan İşgalinin Meydana Getirdiği Göç ve Yunanlıların Yaptığı Tehcirin Sonuçları Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", *Belleten*, Sayı 38/148, (1973), 485-495; Türkmen Parlak, *Yunan Ege'den Nasıl Gitti?* (İzmir, 1983); Dido Sotiriyu, *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya*, Çev. A. Tokatlı, (İstanbul, 1986); Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, *Lozan Konferansı Sırasında Kabul Edilen Türk-Yunan Ahali Değişimine Ait Tarihi Notlar*, (Ankara: TTK Yay, 1985), 227-238; İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 50/yaz, (1990), 49-71; Ömer Dürri Tesal, "Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinin Geçmişinden Bir Örnek: Azınlıkların Mübadelesi", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Sayı 9/53, (1988), 46-52; Mümtaz Turhan, "Türkiye'de Yunan Fecayi", 2 Cilt, (İstanbul 1337/1919); Bilge Umar, *İzmir'de Yunanlıların Son Günleri*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Yay, 1974); Cevat Geray, "Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmenlerin İskanı 1923-1961", *Türk İktisadi Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi*, (Ankara: Ajans Türk Matbaası, 1962); Cevat Geray, "Türkiye'de Göçmen Hareketleri ve Göçmelerin Yerleştirilmesi", *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, III/4 (Aralık), (1970), 8-36; İpek Nedim, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994); Pınar Şenışık, *The Transformation of Ottoman Crete: Revolts, Politics and Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

would be given to Muslims coming from Greece in return for the goods they left behind. However, mostly the nature of events became an obstacle for the people and the government to implement that plan. Some of the migrants fail to bring any documents that prove their possessions back in Greece and in some cases before the local and central authorities were organised and ready to control the movements many Greek migrants had already emptied their houses and the goods, houses and lands they left behind were plundered on a large scale. Thus, there is again no accurate information showing the amount of goods these people left behind.[79] According to Grand National Assembly of Turkey's official records, there were over 100,000 houses abandoned by the Greeks and only 20,000-25,000 of them were in the hands of the government. Moreover, in Izmir which possesses the maximum number of abandoned houses, the records show 10,200 houses were abandoned. Nevertheless, only 4000 of them could be given to the people whose houses were burnt during the war period and the remaining was occupied by the anonymous people.[80] Another researcher Keyder who argues all the land left behind were officially seized and the lands with no belongings on them were directly sold to the local populations by the government, states that it is probable that only in the Vilayet of Aydın, the Greeks left 270.000 hectare land behind.[81] When its nature and mechanisms are taken into account it should be accepted that it is totally impossible to reach accurate numbers, even so these numbers estimated can at least enable one to imagine the dimension of the events during that period.[82]

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[79] Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç*, 9-15.

[80] TBMM Zabıt, Devre II, İçtima I, C. III, Ankara, ty, 204.

[81] Ç. Keyder, "Paths of Rural Transformation in Turkey", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.11, No.1, (1983), 39.

[82] Also in Geray, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmenlerin İskanı*, 11; and Duman "Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskân", 476; Safiye Bilge Temel, "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Mübadeleye Yol Açan İhtilafların Analizi", (Leland Stanford Üniversitesi, *Sosyoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Tezi*, 1949), Çeviri Müfide Pekin, (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları 2014); Cimbis Tanas and Sula Aslanoğlu trans, "They were Twice Strangers", Project by The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants, (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları, 2015); Cimbis Tanas and

Later migrations between 1934 and 1938 were mainly as a result of the nationalist movements of the Balkan states. Together with the economic crisis of 1929 the Muslim groups were forced to migrate into Turkey and at the end of 1934 a new wave of planned mass migration from Bulgaria and Romania started.[83] In return these people were required to settle wherever they were placed by the government. However after 1935, various cities especially the ones on the Eastern Anatolia were the migrants sent to, were reported to lose their migrants for various reasons such as the inadequacy of the assistance, disunity with the local communities, and migrants' lack of adaptation to the climate and the new geography.[84] The ongoing and systematic population move caused an overpopulation of the migrants in the first location they were sent, which in return also resulted in oversupply of workers who did not find a place to work, with other succeeding effects of shortage in housing and food supplies and risks in health problems. For most of the migrants, the period of movement and uncertainty did not end until 1940s. Moreover, even after 1940s these movements from the Balkans continued until very recently for various reasons. The group focused in this study are the ones who migrated before 1930.

In the group we chose, majority of the incoming people were peasants and they needed to be assigned their lands in order to be producers in their new homeland. Their allocation of land did not start until they were totally settled which was in some cases after 1935.[85] On the other hand, the lands given to the migrants were mainly

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Sula Aslanoğlu Çev, *Hasretin İki Yakasından Mübadele Öyküleri*, (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları, Istoş Yayın 2015).

[83] For the other migration movements please see: Bilâl Şimşir, "Bulgaristan Türkleri ve Göç Sorunu", *Bulgaristan'da Türk Varlığı Bildiriler*, (Ankara, 1985); Duman, "Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskânı", 473-490.

[84] Also in *Son Posta*, 27 Birinciteşrin (1936), 5.

[85] "While allocating the lands they followed these principles: families of two will be given 30-45 of very productive, 45-60 of productive and 60-90 decares of less productive lands. After two for each

composed of lands such as swamps, heath lands, and pasture areas just started to be used in agriculture, therefore it took the migrants some time to turn those lands into fertile areas and cultivate them. They were also directed to the areas which had experienced a great decrease in the population and places that are economically neglected and damaged. It was between the years 1923-1930 that the exchange migrants were settled, and turned into producers but after that they were still trying to adapt to the new social, political, economic and cultural structure they entered in after many years.[86]

Some of the migrants, who cannot be settled into the outgoing Greeks houses, were settled into their temporary settlements and the government started to build permanent adobe houses for the migrants. The houses were built collectively with voluntary working of the migrants and the locals in unison and alternately. As many migrant's houses were still not finished after a long time period the government abandoned the voluntary working for the houses and decided to work with building contractors.[87] Between 1934 and 1937 around eighteen thousand houses were built for the migrants.[88] Most of the houses built were similar in style, mostly one floor, three or four room houses with one storage, toilet and barn next to it. The migrants were expected to start paying for the cost of the house 8 years after they were settled and the payment of the houses was put into 20 years monthly installments.[89] Before and during all these settlement processes Turkish Republic which went through a foundation process was also trying to build everything from scratch, the country was

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member of the family respectively 10-15, 15-20 ve 20-30 decare were added to their lands." Duman, "Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskân", 484.

[86] Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç*, 3.

[87] Ulus, 6.9.1937, s. 6.; Turan, 9 Eylül 1936, s. 1.; Anadolu, 29 Temmuz 1937, s. 2.; Ulus, 1.8.1937, s. 10.; Ulus, 4.8.1937, s. 2.; Ulus, 10.8.1937, s. 10.; Son Posta, 31 Ağustos 1937, s. 3.

[88] Duman, "Atatürk Döneminde Balkan Göçmenlerinin İskân", 487.

[89] Son Posta, 13 İkincikanun 1936, s. 3.

also paying the economic debts of the Ottoman Empire which was another burden for the newly founded republic. The country underwent drastic economic restructuring for over three decades due to the foundation and industrialisation processes and the war periods. During this process; farmers, some agricultural and small scale industries and mostly craftsman and manual labour formed the country's economic basis.

Therefore, the state could not cover all the lacks of the migrants, yet it allowed them to make a new start in the new lands covering the basic needs and providing them a shelter. This gave them a chance to start their new lives in Turkey one step forward. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that the migrants mostly had to solve most of their economic, social and cultural problems themselves after the settlement process was over. They had to change their jobs, look for the best alternative city to live in for their family, choose between the government offered jobs, lands and the other alternatives, and formed new relationships with the locals. In these steps being accepted as a Turkish citizen immediately after their arrival relieved them a lot while solving some of the problems.

Moreover, as many scholars have argued the authoritative nature of the state[90] before and after the foundation of the Turkish Republic put its society in a submissive position towards the sole state authority and power. Within this tradition of the state, the society's position and maneuvers in the community they live in are open to

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[90] For the nature and relations of the state and society in Turkish Republic and Ottoman Empire also see: Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekaası*; Kemal Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*, (İstanbul,1967); E. Fuat Keyman, *Türkiye'de Devlet Sorunu: Küreselleşme, Modernite, Demokratikleşme*, (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005); E. Fuat Keyman, "Türkiye'de Kimlik Sorunları ve Demokratikleşme". *Doğu Batı Düşünce Dergisi*, Sayı 41, (Mayıs, Haziran, Temmuz, 2007), 217-230; E. Fuat Keyman and A.İçduygu, "Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey", *Citizenship Studies*, Issue 7, No 2, (2003); E.F Keyman and A. İçduygu eds, *Citizenship in a Global World*, (London: Routledge, 2005); Christoph K. Neumann, "Devletin Adı Yok: Bir Amblemin Okunması", *Cogito* (Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı, 1999); Yusuf Oğuzoğlu, *Osmanlı Devlet Anlayışı*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2000); Server Tanilli, *Anayasalar ve Siyasal Belgeler*, (İstanbul, 1976).

question and will also be revealed during the interviews. State centered and from above modernization process in Turkey, entered into a process of restructuration and interrogation within the contexts of cultural identity demands and conflicts. Some scholars have summarized this process as modernization crisis and it became impossible to mention modernization without mentioning or referring to the cultural identity and recognition policy both in the theoretical and political grounds. The rise in the identity issues all around the world after the 1980s and especially 1990s can also be observed also in Turkey as Keyman summarized it.[91] Firstly, he pointed that that today cultural identity has gained a qualification to challenge or transform the systems and in Turkey this was both a result of the inner dynamics, conflicts and developments of the modern Turkish history as well as being a result of the impact of "global, regional, national and local interactions" on state-society/individual relations in Turkey.[92] Secondly, after 1980s, in Turkey especially the raise in the emphasis of Muslim identity and Kurdish identity increased the politization of cultural identity and together with it created an environment of conflict both in the politics and social relations.[93] Especially after 1990s this put the 'recognition politics' also in a central position both in the political and social area.

Thirdly, within the various developments in the society; such as the demands of democratization and multi-culturality, ethnical and micro nationalization, ideological polarizations and closure of political parties and military coups; cultural identity demands gained an important place in the Turkish political, social and cultural fields. It also had deep impacts in the economic lives of the individuals. Within the process of globalizing economy problems of unemployment, poverty and social justice or the

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[91] In this period demands and clashes are seen in cultural identity rights especially in the areas of both religious and ethnic and gender and cultural areas and aims to recognize the differences and put them into practice in daily lives of the individuals. Keyman, "Türkiye'de Kimlik Sorunları ve Demokratikleşme", 218.

[92] Keyman, "Türkiye'de Kimlik Sorunları ve Demokratikleşme", 221.

[93] Ibid. 219-220.

structural solution of sustainable economic development cannot be thought apart from the cultural identity. Finally, in the cultural area identity issues gained an important position with in the discussions of individual/ social rights and freedoms and social memory and social identity. Also the fact that Turkey's recognition as candidate for full membership for the European Union in 1999 and in the process and negotiations afterwards cultural identity demands and conflicts again became a topic of discussion also within the society as well. In a wide area, identity issues have an important impact as a founding or transforming power for the political systems. Such as; within the daily practices in micro level, (from individual life choices to moral and ethical norms and from collective consumer patterns to popular culture); and in macro level, within the increasing status and importance of social and symbolic capital in organizing the state-society relations.[94] These developments in the Turkish political, social and economical scenes have also led us to ponder about the differences in identity knowledge and definitions in the second and third generation migrants who apparently lived in a totally altered environment and society than the first generation migrants.

2.7 Conclusions and Overview of Today

The minority concept and the integration and disintegration issues occupy a great place in the agenda of Turkey in the recent decades. When this topic is under discussion we again should not ignore the fact that Turkey is a place containing lots of cultural and social diversities. Turkey founded on the lands of the Ottoman Empire, which is known to have multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure and the

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[94] Ibid. 220. Also see; E.Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Dynamics*, (New York: Palgrave, 2005); A. Kadıoğlu, *Zaman Lekesi*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006); Z.Aydın, *The Political Economy of Turkey*, (London: Pluto, 2005); F. Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004); S.Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba eds, *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); İlber Ortaylı, *Avrupa ve Biz*, (Ankara: Turhan Yayınevi, 2007); İlber Ortaylı, *Tarihimiz ve Biz*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008); Keyman and İçduygu, *Citizenship in a Global World*.

Balkans still have such a complex ethic structure that some resemble it to an open anthropology museum as well.[95] After the foundation of Turkey as a nation-state it is wrong to say that it lost its multi-cultural identity. It is estimated that around five to seven million people migrated to Ottoman Empire between the years 1860-1914. When it is taken into consideration that most of these migrations were from the Balkans and Caucasia to Anatolia it is hard to think that this amount of population movement has not changed or add up to the ethnic, cultural, political and socio-economic structure of today's Turkish Republic.[96]

We already mentioned that after the population exchanges started in 1914 up to now, many studies have been made covering the population exchange problem from many differing aspects. As Davidova stated at the beginning of her book because of the tragic nature of the events "excessive attention" is given to violent and grim side of the experiences and various other consequences of the events are obscured.[97] For most of the citizens of Turkey "the past has now become largely, using Lowenthal's famous dictum, 'a foreign country'[98] colonized from within, and imaginations and myths continue to fill in the lacunae where the historical reality remains under the prerogative of the select few."[99] In order to free the Turkish history from myths, it needs a richness of "diverse historiographical traditions."[100] With this study we also need to add up a little to that deficiency in this area in the studies of Turkey by

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[95] William M. Sloane, *Bir Tarih Laboratuvarı Balkanlar*, Çev. S. Özbudan, (Ankara: Süreç Yayınları, 1987), 40.

[96] Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1930-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 330-331.

[97] Evguenia Davidova, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation States*, Ed. Milutinovic Zoran, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 1.

[98] Please see David Lowenthal, *The Past is A Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[99] Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 28.

[100] Ibid. 28.

revealing the experiences of the exchange migrants from their own point of view and by uncovering their own definition of their own identity.

One more time it is also important to highlight the fact that the year first generation migrants came to Turkey coincided with the foundation of Turkey in 1923. Turkish Republic went through a serious transformation phase from every angle from politics to state, from education to military. In those years especially the state as an authoritarian one showed its power and enforcement on its subjects and the citizens mostly remained passive. With all its ideological tools and from above rules and regulations the state tried to form its own citizens and imposed its ideals to its citizens in every edge of the country.[101] This attitude and control of the state sometimes created a huge admiration or sometimes fear towards the new state among the public. The first generations' hardships, feelings and culture might seem even too strange for the upcoming generations. Today, in the twenty-first century in which many of the discussions in the political agenda and worries in social life have changed totally, the decade the first generation settled is completely different in terms of political, economical and social background when compared to the decade second and third generation grow up. In every step of people's lives the emphasis about the differences in identity, recognition and discussions on alienation and 'other' gained popularity. In Turkey the changes in increasing demands and researches on identity were a result of both the national and international dynamics around the world. Knowing this we also wondered years after the population exchange, in a completely different era whether the next generations are still questioning about their past and carrying their migrant identities. In a study as this, investigating the issue from the eyes of different generations is especially important to provide us with multi-dimensional ideas and varying perspectives on historical, sociological and economical sides of the migration studies. Finally, what should not be forgotten is that "the historical reality or "[t]ruth always remains beyond our

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[101] Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası*, 38.

grasp, and we can only arrive at some approximation to it,"[102] and with this study we are aiming to get closer to it with the help of oral history and memory of the second and third generations. This might also be seemed as an attempt to record the history of a generation from their point of view.

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[102] Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 28; Also see Jan Vansina, "Oral Tradition and Historical Methodology," in *Oral History, An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, eds. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, 2nd Edition, (Walnut Creek, London and New Delhi: Altamira Press, 1996), 125.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the theory and the methodology this thesis based upon will be discussed. In the first part, analytical framework of the research will be described. The aim of the thesis is to learn about and compare second and third generation Lausanne Treaty Muslim exchange migrants' knowledge and feelings about the first generation's memories about the migration process; and reconstruction of these experiences and migrant identities in the new generations. Using mainly interviews made with the second and third generation migrants living mostly in Catalca region Istanbul and biographical books as the thrust of the thesis, we aim to collect the data provided by the children of the live witnesses of a big transformation period.[103]

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[103] For the importance of use of biographies, autobiographies and life history in academic research see; Kristi Siegel, *Women's Autobiographies, Culture, Feminism*. (New York, Washington et al: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001); Janice Morgan and Colette T. Hall eds. *Redefining Autobiography in Twentieth-Century Women's Fiction: An Essay Collection*. (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991); Maurice Mandelbaum, "A Note on History as Narrative", *History and Theory* 6, no.3 (1967): 413-419; David G.Mandelbaum, "The Study of Life History". in *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, Ed. Robert G. Burgess, (London, Boston, Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1982); Ahu Paköz, "The Impact Of Iranian Revolution On Women's Lives: An Analysis Through Selected Women's Memoirs", (Middle East Technical University, Master's Thesis for the Program of Middle East Studies, December 2007); L.L. Langness, and Gelya Frank, *Lives: An Antropological Approach to Biography*, (Navato, California: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc, 1981); Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science." in *The Use of Pesonal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*. Louis,Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn and Robert Angell. Bulletin 53, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945); Louis,Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn and Robert Angell. "The Use of Pesonal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology", *Bulletin 53*, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945); Jerome Bruner, "Life as Narrative." *Social Research 71*, no.3 (Fall 2004): 691-710; Robert G. Burgess, "Personal

In the second part, a brief description of the use of interviews and life histories by scholars will be provided. The criticisms and disadvantages of this kind of research will be presented together with the advantages it will add up to a research. Examples from earlier studies from different fields, made with the help of interviews and life histories will be covered. The points previous studies highlighted and contributed to their fields will also be pointed to frame the previous studies with interviews and view the topic from a wider angle.

3.2 Sources, Advantages and Problems Encountered

This thesis seeks to understand the specific group of the second and third generation population exchange migrants from Greece who were settled or chose to settle in Istanbul after the 1923 Lausanne Treaty. We will mainly dig out and compare the migrant identities of the second and third generation and see whether they protected their exchange migrant identities in the second and third generation migrants. The reasons for differences in the interests and knowledge of the new generation migrants and the reasons behind these changes in generations will also be provided while looking for the identity formations and feelings years after the 1923 population exchange.

First of all, what triggered me to write a thesis on the exchange migrants from Greece was the fact that my husband is a fourth generation exchange migrant from Greece. Curious about his grand-grandparent's story of migration when I asked questions I realized he was not able to answer most of my questions. This raised my interest more about the individual experiences of the migrants and triggered me more about looking and questioning about the later generation's knowledge and feelings

Documents, Oral Sources and Life Histories", *Field Research: Sourcebook and Field Manual*, Ed Robert G Burgess. (London, Boston, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1982).

about the topic today. Although his family and relatives are not included in the thesis, I had the chance to observe, listen and speak with them as well. Their differing knowledge and interest on the events aroused my interest on the generational differences on their identities, thoughts and knowledge upon the population exchange. After spending three continuous years in Istanbul with the members of the community, we had the chance to learn about their current conditions, their knowledge and feelings about the first generation's journey and memories of the migration process; and reconstruction of these experiences and the second and third generation's identity definitions from their own words.

The main thrust of the thesis is the oral narratives, biographies and interviews conducted with the second and third generation migrants. Especially in memory of the ninetieth year and upcoming hundredth anniversary of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, many books were published depicting the experiences of the first and second generation migrants in the last decade. Two of the sources depended on were biographical interview books published by The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants in 2015, one up on their project of *Onlar İki Kere Yabancıydılar/They were Twice Strangers* in which 21 Turkish and 21 Greek exchange migrants are taken to their motherlands and interviewed before and after the visit. We also had the change to conduct interviews with some of these migrants included in the book as well. The second book *Hasretin İki Yakasından Mübadele Öyküleri* again published by them is also a biographical book which contains 82 families both from Greece and Turkey and their stories of migration and afterwards. In these books mostly the second and third generation migrants are included; therefore, they were all very helpful sources for us to make comparisons with the migrants' experiences we interviewed with. Rıza Nur's memoir is also relied on as a secondary source in order to have a different perspective on the migration process, as he is a source highly accepted by the scholars due to his being witness to the Lausanne Treaty as the second representative of Turkey after Ismet Pasha (Inonu).

These sources will also be used in order to gather first hand experiences, knowledge and feelings of the migrants living today

We should be clearer about the choice of generation. As the population exchange occurred after a war period and did not restrict people according to their age, sex, occupation or any other categorization, during the migration process people of varying ages, sexes and occupation groups migrated to Turkey. As a result, the first generation migrants include both one-year olds and sixty, and seventy-year olds which subsequently effected the ages of the second generation migrants. Moreover, it is hard to find a healthy, living first generation migrant who could share their memories with us today. Yet again, we were able to reach one and we included him in the research in order to get a different perspective and to be able to make comparisons with the other interviewees. Nevertheless, we intentionally choose the second and third generation migrants in order to have long term conclusions about the migrants, see the changing patterns of relationships and be able to make comparisons between the groups. In this society we tried to reach for the age group between forty and a hundred years old which accordingly resulted in their being either second or third generation. In this way, we also had the change to compare these two generations and their memory acquiring methods, knowledge on the events and identity. For the biographies we use a similar scheme and with the help of these written sources we try to find supporting, contrasting and similar points with the arguments that emerge during the course of the interviews. They provide us with a wider perspective and enabled us to see the experiences of the people whom we could not reach or spoke with during the research. They also present us the experiences of the people who were settled in the other parts of Istanbul and the other cities in Turkey. Thereupon, they help us to add up to the cases and make comparisons with the ones we interviewed.

When population exchange migrants is the topic of discussion gathering knowledge is especially important; as the data related with the topic is mostly disorderly

archived, lost, or written in a biased way. In order to get different points of views and to be neutral varying sources are used in the research. Some others are historical records, official statistics and reports, printed press, and some other migrant biographies. As mentioned in chapter 2, Izmir and Istanbul were among the prominent cities when population exchange problem is researched. Izmir and Istanbul based local newspapers; such as *Ahenk*, *Anadolu*, *Tanin, Ileri, Cumhuriyet, Tevhid-i Efkar, Ikham* are also scanned and used when looking at the migration process developments and problems of the people related with them.

During the thesis process, we also had the change to conduct additional interviews with ten Turkish population exchange migrants from Greece who are now living in Seyrek Village, a district of Izmir. We also visited Thessaloniki, Komotini, Alexandropolis and Mytilene (Lesbos) Island[104] in Greece. We choose these Greek cities as they were among the cities where the exchange migrants from Turkey were mostly located. These areas had a greater probability to show the other side of the coin to our case story. In these visits we could observe both the locals and Turkish populations living there and had the opportunity to speak with some of the second and third generations staying there. In Turkey; Seyrek/Izmir area is also chosen as it was socially, economically and locationally similar to Catalca/Istanbul area. Seyrek was before a village of Izmir another big and ethnically multicultural city of Turkey, and it is also close to the city centre but located in a rural area. Seyrek was founded as an exchange migrant village after emptied by the Rum exchange migrants and the migrants there mostly deal with agriculture as Catalca residents do. However, it has a different characteristic from Catalca area where most of the migrants speak Greek; in Seyrek the residents coming from Greece are also speaking Turkish in their daily and private life. Therefore, we would have the chance to compare varying experiences, see the peculiarities and characteristics of Catalca region better when compared with

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[104] Lesbos island's nearly half of the population is made up of exchange migrants and this was especially evident in 1932 national elections.

another economically and socially not very different region in Turkey. These additional visits to the other cities in Turkey and Greece and observations and meetings with the people allowed us to see the analogical and distinctive characteristics of these groups, provided us with varying perspectives, and make it possible for us to study the inner dynamics and see our study group also from the others' point of view. Where there are comparable elements with the interviewees conducted in Istanbul; we had the change to discuss and point out the issues standing out.

On Turkey's side the literature is not very well-developed on the subject matter; however, there are still plenty of studies made on the experiences of the first generation migrants. These sources were used as well when comparisons were made and the findings and the points they also emphasized were mentioned.

We started by reviewing the literature in general way by searching the social scientific databases on the topics of Balkan Migrants, second and third generation migrants, theories and studies on generation/ identity/ life history/ biography and migration, Greek Balkan migrants, Ottoman and Turkish history, and connecting with the Balkan Culture and Solidarity associations and groups in Istanbul. Boran argues; while we are studying about a society's structure, what is need to be done first is to find and determine 'the most general and necessary qualities' of the society. When this is done, the social structure and the characteristics of that society will reveal itself.[105] In the same way, we tried to reach everyone we can and then select the informants based on how much information they can give. Primarily the general, common characteristics of these new generation migrants are examined and their main differences (if any) from the other exchange migrants are studied. We use snowball sampling for the most part and purposive sampling (we used the locations

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[105] Behice Boran, "Yakın Tarihimizde Yönetici-Aydın Kadro ve Kalkınma Sorunumuz", *Sosyal Adalet Dergisi*. Yıl 2, Sayı 8, (Ankara, 1964), 5.

where the groups are mostly settled and the social groups they interact with) to reach as many cases as possible. Our group of research started with Balkan migrants in Istanbul and specifically narrowed as the target population group as second and third generation Muslim population exchange migrants from Greece living in the Istanbul area all European side periphery regions. However, as the people and solidarity groups were directing us to mostly Catalca/ Mimarsinan region, our interview group then comprised of exchange migrants coming from Thessaloniki vilayet and mostly from the Nasliç/Neapoli village. These people were mostly settled in Catalca region of Istanbul.

At first, we tried to gather what they know about their grandparents' journey to exile, their life back in Greece and the first steps in the new land, their aspirations, and the new generations' feelings and sense of identity as forced migrants today. After speaking with the people we eliminated the ones who were not directly related to the aim of the thesis or fail to give enough information or refused to say anything about the subject.[106]

The case itself is not easy to handle and needs to be considered from various aspects. One of the biggest discussions concerning the population exchange between Turkey and Greece is the documentation problem. Written with highly nationalist attitude both of the countries' official documents are alleged to be biased. The lack of first hand sources collected during the course of events and the lack of study on social problems are the first topic of grievance when we look at the former researchers'

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[106] Some of the people we interviewed firstly stated they were Exchange migrants of 1923 Lausanne Treaty, however during the interviews it is revealed that they either came at a later or earlier period. Their interviews were not included but the information is also gathered as supplementary information for the research.

studies on the subject.[107] Although there has been an increase in the studies on the life stories of the people, the topic still remains under-investigated.

Therefore, this thesis will also contribute and add up to the studies in various fields. Firstly, the interviews conducted will enable a platform for the future migration and generation studies to analyse how the next generation forced migrants construct their identities, remember or learn about the past and interact with each other. Secondly, the data collected fulfils an understudied gap about the future of the forced migrants by looking at their position in the society, memories, experiences and feelings of the following generations in terms of their identities, society building and social interaction and provides probable answers about the future of the migrants. Moreover, recognizing the lacking information on this area, this study will also fill a gap by using the interviews conducted with the accessed and alive second and third generation Lausanne exchange migrants. Finally, the study reveals that the migrant experiences can be multi-dimensional when the individual experiences are examined in a long term process, even when they share the same social status and geographical background. This is evident from the current positions, shifting and somewhat contesting narratives told by some of the respondents. "Understanding migrants' behaviour and explaining the cumulative effects resulting from their actions which, in turn, are embedded in societal structures and framed by institutions, requires just the kind of dynamic research approach."[108] The interplay of structure and agency requires methodological approaches to get both the objective and subjective (internal) biographical meaning at the same time. Changing structures and conditions of society transform life courses of the individuals, their plans and institutional

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[107] Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç*, 5; also in Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*; Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*; Barış Demirtaş, "Lozan Mübadele Sözleşmesinin Etkileri ve Sonuçları Üzerine Bir Araştırma", (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Uludağ Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü, 2008); Ortaylı, *Tarihimiz ve Biz.*

[108] Matthias Wingens et al ed., *A Life Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*. (London, New York: Springer, 2011), 2.

organizations which in turn have a great impact on the social, political, cultural situation and sometimes even the regime of the society. These are intermingled and mutually affective. In this fashion, understanding both the structures and agencies at the same time is significant to interpret the migrants' experiences.

What is equally important and should be kept in mind is also the time of the events. Individual reaction towards the events and decisions tend to change when the possibilities of the time and conditions then these people were in is considered. Historical course of time is also in a complex relationship with the societal structuring forces and the individuals' plans and actions and from these relationships emerges the life course events.[109] As the experiences differ, in the long run even for the people coming from the same place and status, and even in people which went through similar hardships in their lives we also face with differing and completely contrasting patterns. These shifts in some of the subjects draw our attention to the interviews from the same refugee community. One wonders whether there is a potential of interpreting some of the shared experiences differently and whether in the second and third generations the similarities, and perspectives of the first generation group can be lost or changed. In the later periods, these shifts in the thoughts and feelings of the individuals show us the impact of the agency. Even when surrounded by similar structures the last "action depends upon the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events."[110] Individual characteristics and sources also bear importance at this step. Although every individual's life course is unique, "complex interrelations of societal structuring forces and biographical plans and actions in the historical course of time"[111] causes similar patterns to be seen in the individual's lives. Thus, again there

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[109] Ibid. 6.

[110] A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 14.

[111] Wingens et al., *A Life Course Perspective on Migration and Integration,* 6.

is a complex interplay of structure and agency over time in the lives of the individuals. In the research we will also try to show the affects of these on the population exchange migrant's lives. The migration process can be named as a big change "via institutional regulations, life course patterns and biographical plans"[112] in the social structures and conditions of the population exchange migrants, the whole economic, political, social and cultural situation of the individuals transformed radically.

3.3 Analytical Framework

In this research a combination of various methods will also be used to understand migrants' experiences and data gathered during the course of this thesis. As mentioned above the choice of topic was firstly out of interest as my husband was also a fourth generation 1923 Turkish population exchange migrant from Greece.

The research made use of some migration, culture and identity theories in order to support and explain the data analysed. Still the main argument supported in the thesis is related to and inspired from Karl Mannheim's *theory of generations*, namely the "Problem of Generations" as he named it.[113] Mannheim's ideas on ideology and utopia have been used by many studies but his ideas on generation remained in the background. As Bryan Turner and Alex Dumas argued in their article "[u]nlike the analytical categories of social class, gender, and ethnicity, the study of generations and intergenerational conflict has been underdeveloped in sociology."[114] The study is

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[112] Ibid. 6.

[113] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 276-323.

[114] Jason L Powell and Jon Hendricks ed, *The Welfare State in Post-Industrial Society: A Global Perspective*, (London and New York: Springer, 2009), 42.

looking at the migrant identities from a 'generational' point of view and Mannheim's theory is regarded as "the most systematic and fully developed treatment of generation from a sociological perspective" and highlights key sociological concerns as "the relationship between biology and social; the nature of time; the relationship between biography and history and between personal and social change; the mechanisms of social change; and socio-psychological connections of language and knowledge."[115] Throughout the thesis process we realized that these elements are also important to understand our group of study and they are all intermingled while comparing and understanding the second and third generation's exchange migrants' interpretation of their identities thus depended on Mannheim's theory at the first step.[116]

In "The Problem of Generations", Mannheim introduced the framework for a research on generations different from the demographical approaches on generations as predetermined age groups; instead he argues the generation groups are determined by dramatic socio-political events and each "new generation generates a renewal effect which serves as a fundamental factor of historical change."[117] We also believed that it is possible to find differing patterns in each generation as their attitudes and feelings are all embedded in and mutually affected by the society and the wider intertwined structures within the society and time they live in. Moreover, "Mannheimian notion of 'generation units' as agents of social change"[118] perfectly matches with the findings in our study. The third generation's interest in the past after a long period of time and definition of identity stood out as a different one when compared with the second generation. The generations are both affected by the

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[115] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 482.

[116] For various usages of generation concept in research please see: Kertzer, "Generation as a Sociological Problem".

[117] Powell and Hendricks, *The Welfare State in Post-Industrial Society,* 42.

[118] Kertzer, "Generation as a Sociological Problem", 133.

social, political and economic environment and the individual interactions they entered in their daily lives. All these add up to the changes and formation of identities and knowledge of the second and third generation migrants.

In theory, Mannheim accepts but adds up to Marx's way of thinking which puts economic base as the independent variable and superstructures as the dependent variable which according to Mannheim is insufficient. Mannheim argues this relationship is a mutual relationship and that meanings, values, and thoughts can sometimes influence or modify the base of the society as well. He also argues that the conflicts in a society are not only a result of class conflict but the differences in the way and criterion of thinking and the way people assess the reality is also important to bring forth the separations and clashes in a society. Staring from these points of view this thesis used Mannheim's ideas mainly as he emphasized the social context of thought, he stood in favour of the social factor and stated when one tries to uncover the 'rhythm of history' "research into the 'nearer and more transparent fabric of social processes' and their influence on the phenomenon of generations."[119] In this thesis, within the process of social transformation and interaction, we argued exchange migrant identities have changed or transformed into new forms.[120] The globalization effect increasing since 1980s can be pointed as a good example at this point. It is a certain fact that today's world is more tightly integrated than any other earlier periods in history. Globalization is linked to homogenization of cultures and an extension of western imperialism by the anti-globalization advocated. It is an undeniable fact that in the economic field globalized capitalism has distributed its effects in every corner yet in the cultural area cultural identity can also be seen as a

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[119] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 484.

[120] For different perspectives on generation please see also; "Parsons and Eisenstadt which focuses not on age group contributions to dramatic social change but rather on the mechanisms of orderly cohort flow and gradual evolution of the social order" , V. Bengtson et al. "Time, Aging and the Continuity of Social Structure: Themes and Issues in Generational Analysis", *Journal of Social Issues*, Issue 30, No.2, (1974), 5-6.

product of capitalism as well.[121] The developments in science and technology made it easier for the people and groups to access each other. Also depending on this point of view we argued the developments in globe and the region also had influences on the identities of our group and together with the changes in the national political and social areas people from different ethnic backgrounds started to wonder more about their past.[122]

At the very core of Mannheim's ideas lies the sociology of 'knowledge', which he is known as one of the founding fathers. He mainly deals with how knowledge is constructed. By this he does not look for the ultimate truth for something, but tries to understand how the people interpret the 'the world out there'. One of the main points to note is that according to him, the world is not given to us innately, by our senses; instead we interpret it through our *ideologies*-lenses of culture, interest and position. At the very beginning of his book Mannheim points out that;

> the approach of the sociology of knowledge intentionally does not start with the single individual and his thinking in order then to proceed directly in the manner of the philosopher to the abstract heights of "thought as such". Rather, the sociology of knowledge seeks to comprehend thought in the concrete setting of an historical-social situation out of which individually differentiated thought only very gradually emerges. Thus, it is not men in general who think, or

[121] John Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Identity". In *The Global Transformations Reader*. Eds David Held and Anthony McGrew, (Cornwall: Polity, 2005), 269.

[122] For more detailed information on globalization and cultural identities please see; David Held, *A Globalizing World?: Culture, Economics, Politics*. (London, New York: Routledge, 2000); David Held and Ayse Kaya, *Global Inequality: Patterns and Explanations*, (Cambridge, UK Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2006); David Held, and Anthony McGrew, *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies*, (Cambridge, UK Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2007); M. Castells, "The Power of Identity", Vol. II, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); N. Canclini Garcia, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); D. Howes ed., *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, (London: Routledge, 1996); Pieterse J Nederveen, "Globalization as Hybridization," In M. Featherstone et al. eds, *Global Modernities*, (London: Sage, 1995). 45-68; A. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); J. Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought in an endless series of responses to certain typical situations characterizing their common positions.[123]

His thoughts on knowledge also contribute to his stance on generations as well. It is also important for our research as we also in a way dig out the knowledge of a 'generation group' took shape and transform after a particular historical event and in a changing global atmosphere. While questioning how the events of the past are reflected by the next generations we tried to capture the 'particular style of thoughts and positions' created as a response to the structures today these people have been driven into. We also realized the thoughts of the individuals are deeply affected by the society, the interactions and structures they entered in throughout the years.

Engaging with the reality of lived experiences served as an opportunity to analyse the individual lives and the changes in the generations. According to Mannheim individuals of the same generation who were present in the same settings in the social and historical process also share a "specific range of experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action."[124] Moreover he gives a prominent importance to generational location which he defines as the "key aspect of existential determination of knowledge" and generational location gives;

> certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling, and thought. [...and] the individuals are further internally stratified; by their geographical and cultural location; by their actual as opposed to potential participation in the social currents of their time and place; and by their differing

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[123] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*: *Tradition A Journal Of Orthodox Jewish Thought*. 12th ed. (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul,1979), 2-3.

[124] Mannheim, *Sociology of Knowledge*, 291.

responses to a particular situation so that there may develop opposing generational units.[125]

Therefore, the environment they are in such as the city or the village, their social class and the social currents of their time are also significant factors to determine the thoughts and feelings of an individual and a group. Moreover, in a generation located closer to each other we can find "certain definite modes of behaviour, feeling, and thought."[126] Another fact Mannheim states is that "the experiential, intellectual and emotional data that are available to the members of a certain society are not uniformly 'given' to all of them; the fact is rather that each class has access to only one set of those data, restricted to one particular 'aspect'."[127] This is also observed in the interviews made with the different classes. Mannheim divided generation groups into two one as 'mere collective facts' and the other as 'concrete social group'.[128] In our case we cannot call it a *concrete social group* such as a family or a tribe as the members can exist without each other and even sometimes they are unaware of the other's existence as there is no physical closeness between some of them. Yet still neither being only collective facts or collective social groups, how can we define the nature of our group generation as a social phenomenon? As the members of this generation undeniably associated in some certain ways, such as common location and historical-social reality, they should be understood within their own reality. Their place in this society is not like a membership of an organization terminable by a claim. The study shows the social environment they grown up into make the migrants a strong *collective group* even after generations. Also we can rely on the

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[125] Ibid. 291-292.

[126] Ibid 291.

[127] Ibid. 291.

[128] Ibid. 288.

social generation[129] notion supported by Mannheim as "a person's location in the socio-historical structure sets the parameters of their experience and that the significant period in this respect is the exposure to events and experiences in the formative years, the years of youth.[130] That also explains the differences in identity and interest in their exchange migrant identity between the second and third generations. "Each social generation, although contemporaneous with other social generations, has a distinctive historical consciousness which leads them to experience and approach the same social and cultural phenomena differently".[131]

Structural method is also used as Mannheim believed studying a thing "means to explain it, not as an isolated, self-contained unit [... but] Adopting this 'structural' approach, one sees that the 'meaning' of some individual phenomenon, e.g. an utterance, can be determined only with reference to the conceptual system to which it belongs."[132] He argued in order to understand something fully, 'systematization' of the thing, in other words, "a thing is taken to be explained, comprehended, in so far as we have discovered its place in the currently accepted orders, series and levels."[133] In the study, we also tried to understand the second and third generation's changing thoughts and current identities within the sociological and historical context they were in. We gave references to historical changes and conjunctures, the nature and ideologies of the state, the necessities of the time, the cultural and traditional thoughts and beliefs the migrants are driven into. Because we realized they are all

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[129] "Rosow (1978) argues that the concept of social generation should be seen as an index, locating people in a socio-historical structure. The concept of life course [another view of studying generations] can also be viewed as an index, which locates people along socially constructed age continuum within historical time" Pilcher,"Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 489.

[130] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 488.

[131] Ibid. 489.

[132] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 9.

[133] Ibid. 9.

affective factors in determining ones identity, and should all be kept in mind. For Mannheim, the modes of thought should be analysed within their social origins; our perceptions and ideas are shaped within a historical and cultural framework. His main two arguments were;

> The concept 'ideology' reflects the one discovery which emerged from political conflict, namely, that ruling groups can in their thinking become so intensively interest-bound to a situation that they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. There is implicit in the word 'ideology' the insight that in certain situations the collective unconscious of certain groups obscures the real condition of society both to itself and to others and thereby stabilizes it.[134]

And the other one;

> The concept of utopian thinking reflects the opposite discovery of the political struggle, namely that certain oppressed groups are intellectually so strongly interested in the destruction and transformation of a given condition of society that they unwittingly see only those elements in the situation which tend to negate it.[135]

These concepts can be used also when understanding the position of population exchange migrants when they first landed in the receiving country. It is a widely known fact that the migrants are first thought as an 'other' and the dominating groups or the locals of the receiving country alienate them at the first step in most of the cases throughout history. This was also true for most of the other migrants at the very beginning of the settlement process. They were in need of help, without the means (such as lack of language, money, or health) to reach most of the social opportunities or potentials that even if they were enabled them. And the dominant culture ideology of the common people classified them as 'Greeks' as they were coming from Greece and spoke or know their language. It took a while for these migrants to break the preconceived ideas or 'to negate it'.

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[134] Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 36.

[135] Ibid., 36.

As they start their life from scratch leaving all the belongings and memories they had behind they had to form their new life in Turkey. When a great change like a 'compulsory change of country' is added to this picture, together with the expected alterations in their lives these people lost a lot from their ancestors. Firstly, as a result of the harsh conditions the migrants went through, in some cases the 'biological rhythm' of the individuals, that is the life span, aging or health qualities had changed, eventually these are also reflected in the social and economic lives of their families. This in most of the cases caused some of the families' class positions to change in their new land of residence. Biological factors are of course not the only reason to affect the future of the families. All biological, social and economic factors in the long run affected the future of the second and the following generation and brought them into different social classes, social interrelationships and environment. Both structures they entered in and individuals themselves had a great impact on the future of the exchange migrants.

While analysing the forced migration process, generations and the changes it brought to the migrants *practice theory* of Pierre Bourdieu is also used to understand the construction of identities and the events the exchange migrants experienced. We supposed Bourdieu will also help us to illuminate Mannheim's theory and its use in our group better. According to Pilcher in "Mannheim's essay on generations can be read as a text in which this dialectical, symbiotic relationship is characterized as fundamentally crucial to the constitution of individuals and society, to biography and history."[136] It can be suggested that they are in line with each other's ideas, but Bourdieu's ideas on practice theory fills the dialectical nature of the identity formation process of the exchange migrants. Bourdieu believed in the dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena. He proposed that the objective structures hinder thought, action and interaction, and the way

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[136] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 490.

individuals represent the world. These elements should not be ignored as they definitely had an impact on the objective structures. "To sidestep the objectivist-subjectivist dilemma, Bourdieu focuses on *practice*, which he views as the outcome of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency."[137] In this perspective he suggests the researchers can both see the official cultural accounts and everyday realities. He also gave importance to the interpreting practices throughout the research process.[138]

Likewise, we see a similar pattern and interaction during and after the population exchange of Greek and Muslim people. The road that leads the countries to make this decision were all affected by intertwined relations of both (the global structures, states, power struggles) and the individual agents' thoughts actions and interactions. In the interviews, we see the individual differences in migration patterns, exceptions in widely seen characteristics, and that third/second generations entered in completely different ways of living than their parents. We also observed in these process responses of the Turkey's local citizens were deeply important in shaping the migrants' future and thoughts. Local responses towards the policies of the state is one of the first encounters the migrants face in their new homeland and especially effective in the migrants feelings and decisions. In the interviews, we will recognize as Bourdieu mentioned, the significance of structural constrains in the perceptions and construction of individual identities. Furthermore, the relationship between the individuals and the social structures and their influence in breaking the prejudices of the people will also be presented.

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[137] Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 174.

[138] In *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* Bourdieu explains;"Knowledge does not merely depend, as an elementary relativism teaches, on the particular standpoint an observer 'situated in space and time' takes up on the object. The 'knowing subject', as the idealist tradition rightly calls him, inflicts on practice a much more fundamental and pernicious alteration which, being a constituent condition of the cognitive operation, is bound to pass unnoticed: in taking up a point of view on the action, withdrawing from it in order to observe it from above and from a distance, he constitutes practical activity as an object of observation and analysis, a representation" Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 2.

In the population exchange process the external structures came to a level of proximate social surroundings for the migrants and they sensed these structures in their daily lives. Moreover, the time of exchange is important at this point as the newly found Turkish Republic and its predecessor Ottoman Empire all pursued the 'strong state' tradition. The citizens of the state were in a submissive and passive position, mostly complying with the regulations of the state above them. In the proximate relations of the locals and migrants and the state and society; the definitions of 'fear of persecution' and 'membership of a particular group' are highly effected by the structural and cultural constrains. These concepts were important in the lives of the exchange migrants as their 'fears' and 'feelings of belonging or not belonging' navigate their behaviours and thoughts. Thus, the structures are greatly shaping the individuals yet this was a mutually effective process as the lived experiences later on constitute the society and social and historical events shaped by them all.

The 'change' emerges as another important topic of discussion when migration is the topic. Cultural and social change has been the topic of discussion for many sociologists from the earlier times on. Changes in these areas were also effective in shaping the identities of the exchange migrants in the long run. Together with these discussions emerge the topics of acculturation, assimilation and incorporation. From the beginning what we have observed is that as much as there are parallel patterns between various migrations seen in different areas around the world, it is also true that each have their own rhythm of hardship, change, and adaptation. Thus we accept the cultural relativistic principle to some extent which argues each person's actions should be understood in their own culture. During the research we also came across similarities in development of the migration process with many other cases, still it should be accepted that each case have their own peculiarities. In this regard, Johann Gottfried Herder's view on culture becomes effective: "each of the world's many nations has a specific and uniquely valuable character, expressed in the various facets

of its collective life"[139] yet we reject their belief that the boundaries between the cultures are innately drawn, instead we argue the structural differences and environmental factors as well as the individuals themselves mutually shape the people and groups to act in varying ways. Thus, the factors shaping the migrants experiences and lives can be seen as dynamic processes connected to the wider social reality.

At this point, the *Habitus* concept of Bourdieu helped us to explain the relationships, connections and transformations in the following generations and individuals. According to Bourdieu, habitus is the "mental or cognitive structure through which people deal with the social world. People are endowed with a series of internalized schemes through which they perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the social world. Through such schemes people both produce their practices and perceive and evaluate them."[140] Therefore, the policies made do not have a role via the agent's habitus, but they have an important place in the external structures (such as learning how to continue their lives), these later are incorporated into the agent's habitus, sometimes hindering expectations and projections of them[141]. In the case of the migrants an example of this might be their silence which will be mentioned in the interview analysis sections. In order not to get any reactions or be misunderstood they might stay silent about their experiences in the first years of migration and settlement period. Afterwards, the policies and external structures and the local reactions (culturally and politically) are all drained and accepted through their perceptions and understanding.

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[139] Sonia Sikka, *Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference: Enlightened Relativism. Cambridge*, (New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

[140] Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, 175.

[141] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 137.

Apart from the externally imposed structures we also came up with internalized structures in the local daily life practices as well. Although the migrants had a different past than the locals they seemed to have hidden it for a while to be accepted within these structures and inner dynamics as a local in their new homeland. Some even gave up the migrant identity behind and try to continue their life with their own means so no longer had any claims on land or housing facilities. This also affected their way of living and their understanding of themselves. These resulted in accepting the country as homeland and gaining acceptance in the minds of the locals; however, on the other hand marginalizing and isolating their own history or past both from themselves and the others around them. This of course did not last forever. Together with the structural and environmental changes the individual behaviours changed as well. The individual behaviours and thoughts in return were able to overcome the "external and internalized structural constrains" and helped reshaping them as well. Karen O'reilly stated

> practice theory builds on the body of work in social theory, work from Marx and Durkheim, and from Weber and Simmel, from objectivists (who understand social change as mainly driven by the role of social structures) and subjectivists (who emphasize the role of individual agency in social life). But rather than perpetuate this distinction between structure and agency, practice theory perceives social life as the outcome of the interaction of structures (of constraints and opportunity) and actions (of individuals and groups who embody, shape and form these structures) in the practice of daily life.[142]

In order to perceive the migrant experiences and feelings better we realized as O'reilly emphasized we need to

> understand the external structures that constrain and enable the migration process [and the migrants' behaviours at the same time]; learn [...] about the *habitus* of the migrants, and gain some insight into

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[142] Ibid.7.

the [...] internal structures that develop as migrants learn how to go on in their new setting, to come to know the communities of practice and conjuncturally-specific internal structures that are relevant to their daily practices, and consider the external and internal structural outcomes of these processes.[143]

We need to see the importance and contribution of both local and international structures and forces on the experiences and feelings of the migrants and their own contribution to these structures while analysing the migration process and afterwards. Thus, an all inclusive perspective that looks at the "role of human agency and social networks, family, friends, intermediaries, and agents",[144] is needed to understand the identities formation processes, feelings and behaviours of the following generation migrants after the migration process.

Also in our thesis, the migrants would not be shown only as victims but as actors despite the fact that their past experiences present a bad image (in terms of abuses, exploitation, or unfair treatment). Starting with no pre-judgements or biases we tried to ask about every step of their lives and different topics related with the exchange process and afterwards, as we could not predict what might stand out as an important topic to discuss, what sides are common among them. Rather than making a survey we thought they would be more comfortable during the conversations. Aware of the fact that the interviews were time consuming we entered the field beforehand in order to find the people and complete the research on time.

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[143] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 129.

[144] Ibid.130.

3.4 The Interviews

With the aim of getting qualitative data from the exchange migrants we used in depth analysis interviews[145] made with the second and third generation exchange migrants from Catalca/ Istanbul, Seyrek/Izmir and locals from four Greece cities (Thessaloniki, Mythilini/ Lesbos, Komotini and Alexandropolis). With these interviews we wanted to get in-depth analysis of total 44 people, 25 from Istanbul region, especially Catalca, 10 from Izmir, Seyrek village and 9 from Greece locals. Our focus was on the Catalca, Istanbul area as not many studies were done in this area and it has its own peculiarities when compared with the other exchange migrant sites and the other cities/regions were also visited in order to make comparisons and show the experiences from varying perspectives. With the interviews especially single individuals' lives and their feeling of belonging, identity today and finally interest towards their past and exchange migrant identity is interrogated. Together with these the interviews also allowed us to understand generation based experiences, feelings, relations, positions, and thoughts in the society and give us their common characteristics within their historical-social reality. Another important point is that by acknowledging the importance of macro-based sociology and its great effect on the societies, this study basically searches for effects of micro-scale social interactions on human beings, mostly focusing on sociology of the individuals and their interpretation of their past. It will try to interpret the members of the group's relations and behaviours and identity especially with the help of the interviews conducted.

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[145] For discussions on qualitative research methods and advantages of in depth interviews please see; Belkıs Kümbetoğlu, *Sosyolojide ve Antropolojide Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2008); Adrian Holliday, *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002); J. G. Ponterotto, "Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: A Primer on Research Paradigms and Philosophy of Science". *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(2), (2005). 126-136; Vincent Pouliot,"'Sobjectivism': Toward a Constructivist Methodology." *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2007):359–384. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00455.x.

One striking feature of the migrants in Catalca area is that people residing in these areas mostly came from Thessaloniki vilayet and its villages. Another important common characteristic of these people were that 22 of them from Istanbul area were speaking Greek both before and after the population exchange process. In the interviews they have stated that even after the migration process to Turkey those who migrated at an elderly age could not learn Turkish very well and mostly continued speaking Greek at home and in their personal relationships.

We started with the intention of using only Istanbul for Turkey however; as mentioned before we also visited Edirne, and Izmir and Greece in order to reach as many examples, make comparisons, find out the peculiarities and similarities of Istanbul, Catalca region migrants from the others and use as many varying cases as possible for our studies. All the data collected are sampled, categorized, revisited and analysed in detail. Eventually common elements in the research started to appear.

Before the interviews we informed our subjects about the questions and all the participants voluntarily involved in the study. A brief description of the study, the questions and the purpose of the research together with the expected duration of it is provided to our subjects together with the 'consent form'. Some of the subjects who did not like their names to be given are guaranteed of anonymity and we did not include their names in our study. It is also important to point out that not everyone was willing to share their experiences with us. Some refused conducting an interview directly while some stated they do not have much to say about this topic and did not want to participate in our research. The data taken from these interviews were also included and counted among the answers during the assessments nevertheless; we did not include their names and personal information in the study.

We taped the interviews and informed our subjects about this beforehand. All of the participants were above 45 years old.[146] Of all the 44 exchange migrants we interviewed 19 of them were female and 25 of them were male. Again among these migrants 1 of them were first generation, 21 of them were second generation and 22 of them were third generation. If we accept 45-60 age period as the middle age 28 of the people were above this category therefore in the elderly group. Two of them were below 45 and 14 of the interviewees were between 45 and 60.

In Istanbul area, 14 of them were third generation migrants while 11 of them were second generation. Among 25 migrants in Istanbul area, 22 of them stated the first generation migrants were dealing with farming in their before and after migration lives. In these families the second generation also continued dealing with farming in order to continue their lives. Among these group the highest education level in the first generation migrants is the primary education, and in the second generation high school. None of them were university graduates. However in the third generation migrants we see more of high school and university graduates in the same group. However the university graduate level in Istanbul area was still as low as three migrants.

3.4.1 Setting the Scene

In order to provide a neutral and secure environment the interviews are conducted either in the participant's houses or in a local public meeting place or social club. These locations made it easier for the participants to take part in the study and feel comfortable during the interviews.

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[146] Except one in Istanbul, Catalca aged 32 whose father we also interviewed. We wanted to include him as well as he is the third generation of the family.

3.4.2 Questions

Getting and collecting the people's knowledge with interviews conducted on historical events by use of audio recorders is also a method of oral history. While studying a group of people from an ethnic group or a subculture a researcher has to be as objective and unbiased as he/she can. While doing the research we were conscious about these and throughout the research we carefully and sensitively selected and evaluated the data according to these elements. Personally, both as a wife of a fourth generation migrant and as an outsider from the community; I believe, I could have the necessary understanding of their values and culture. I also believe at the same time being an outsider of the group allowed me to have the distance and a "relational position-a position apart from any other specific social group, yet in touch with all groups" needed for a researcher. During the interviews we avoided asking yes and no questions, leading questions and always followed the respondent in interest. After the interviews with *open-ended questions* are concluded we checked if there are parallel patterns or themes among the participants. Below in the tables we provided some of the questions in each section, yet it should be noted that as every migrant has their own life stories and experiences these questions acted mostly as directive and as a guide to us and changed in most of the cases. After getting general information according to the migrants' answers we tried to compare and learn about second and third generations' knowledge and interest about the migration process, and past experiences, feelings of belonging towards Turkey and Greece and differences in identities.

Moreover, in order to avoid the mechanical tone and in order to adapt ourselves with the different life experiences, to be more flexible in the questioning process and get a wider perspective from the respondents we avoid conducting a totally structured interview. Instead we prepared all the *open ended questions* and semi-structured questions beforehand, however according to the course of the answers and the case we either not asked some of the questions or added up to some during the interview

process. For instance, when we were conducting an interview with Greeks some of the questions (such as the ones related with the migration process and migrant identity) were irrelevant to their experiences. In return we excluded those questions and instead asked questions to gather their life experiences such as their relations with the locals, their traditions and their own generational differences from the parents or children. In the same way we interviewed with one first generation migrant who was 97 years old. As the interview duration was very long for him and he insisted on telling some parts and not mentioning about the others we changed the course of interview in order to get more information from him in a relatively faster way. Duration for most of the interviews were around one hour but some interviews lasted one and a half hour while others such as the one with the first generation migrant lasted around 45 minutes.

3.4.3 General Information about the Migrants

Table 3.1 Personal Questions

When is your birthday?
Where are you from? Where are your parents/grandparents from?
What language did they speak?
When is your grandparents/ parents birthday?
What was your parents'/grandparents' job?
What's/was your occupation? Why did you choose that job?
What do your children do now?
What are your hobbies; what do you like doing in your free times? What do you do as a family in your free times?
How is your relationship with the other family relatives? Now and then?

In our research rather than asking the migrants about their experiences directly we started our interviews with open-ended *general personal questions* about them and their grandparents and asked questions about their age, city of origin, occupation, hobbies and relations with each other. Using the questions asked the interviewees answered the questions in the way they choose and sometimes our questions directed

them to other memories and points they wanted to share or point out. In the questionnaire, in the first part we included general questions related to their habits and daily life in order to have an overall understanding of their past/current daily routines and preferences. This also allowed our informants themselves to identify important events in their lives themselves and us to see the differences in lifestyles and characteristics throughout the generations. This part in general allowed us to elaborate the participants according to their age and place of birth. It also allowed us to learn about their grandparents/parents and their occupations and their knowledge about that. With this knowledge we can also make assessments according to their social status and family relationships. This part started as a warm up section and let the interviewees to get in the mood for the interview as well. After this part they felt more comfortable and willing to answer the questions in the next chapter.

3.4.4 Migration Process, Belonging and Identity

Table 3.2 Questions about Migration and Afterwards

When did you first learn about being a Balkan population exchange migrant from your parents?
When people ask about your hometown, what do you say? And do you mention being a migrant?
Where you curious about your past when you were a child? Have you ever wondered about it?
When did you/(your parents) come to Turkey?
How they migrate to Turkey, (namely-which ways and transportation they used and where did they arrive first)?
What happened to the properties left behind? (Could you sell them or leave them as it is?)
Did you use any governmental help in this process? in what ways?
Where did they first settle in Turkey? And is this place found with government assistance?
During the population exchange how many people from the family migrate to Turkey and were there any left behind or lost?
What did the remaining members of the family do later? (If there is any)
How do your relatives affected from this migration?
Could the other members of the family or other relatives find each other after the population exchange process? If not, why?

Table 3.2 (Continued)

> Did you/your parents have any hardships in the adaptation process? What are these and What were the main reasons behind them?
> Do you have any childhood memories related to the daily routines of men and women after settlement?
> Have you ever watched or read or interested in books documentaries about Balkan migrants?
> While living in Turkey have you ever felt different or as a minority?
> What was the local reaction of Istanbul residents to migrants and how it is now?
> Why did you/your parents choose Istanbul to live in? How do you think living in Istanbul affected you or your parents?

In the second part, we generally continued with *identity questions* and asked them their knowledge on the events related to their parents' and grandparents' experience on the population exchange process and afterwards. We included detailed questions about the migration process. Some of them could not answer these questions (as they said neither did they think about asking it to their parents, nor did the parents disclose it). We acquired their knowledge about the events and could then name the majority of the Istanbul residents' migration dates, ways of transportation and experiences. In this part we also included questions about what is their choice of answer when people ask about their nationality and city of origin, how much they were wondering about being an exchange migrant and whether they were doing some socializing activities related with their origin. Whether the previously shared identities and characteristics of the migrants are kept, changed or transformed into new forms in the experiences of the second and third generation is also analysed. While studying these we will also check which factors have taken role in the development of this new formation. Finally, we asked about how they are affected from being a population exchange migrant and whether they ever felt as minority, or had any problems in adaptation in the new community or city they were living in, and the importance of the place they resided in. Again it allowed us to explore a broader group of exchange migrant practices and experiences both from a more local and individual perspective and compare it with the general level. These experiences

are later compared with the previously made first generation studies in general and "nodal and particular points" of the second and third generation are identified. All these questions allowed us to uncover and compare how much the second and third generation exchange migrants know about their migrant experience and whether they were still keeping their exchange migrant identity after three generations.

3.4.5 Relationships in Greece and Turkey

Table 3.3 Questions on Greece and Relationships

Do you remember any stories of Turkish/Greek communities back while they were living together?
How were the relationships with the neighbours from other communities?
How was their daily routine there?
How were the relationships in Greece?
Have you ever visited Greece and what were the thoughts and impressions?
Do you know Greek and do you speak it at home?
Today do you still keep your traditions? Why?
Do your children keep the same traditions?
Are there any ways of interaction or regular meetings you organize to meet your community members?
Are there any differences between the family's economic situation before and after migration? What was the reaction to that?

In the third part, we asked questions about the country of origin and enquired their knowledge about the sending country, Greece. Whether they or their parents know any Greek language, or if they ever visited the country again are asked, and their knowledge about the life before migration are inquired. We also included questions about traditions and if they continue any specific traditions they were doing back then and asked about if they had any community meeting and (if they are) what they did in these meetings. This part's questions also support the second part and try to learn more about their identity and this time we dig into how much they know about the past, that they were not a part of. We also included questions about their relations

with the Greeks before migration and whether they know anything about this relationship; to learn their ideas about the neighbouring country and gather migrant knowledge on the issue.

3.4.6 Exchange Migration and Economic Situation

Table 3.4 Thoughts on Exchange Migration in General

How can you define your family's economic and social position before and after migration? In retrospect, what's your opinion about the population exchange, do you think it was a good idea then? What do you think was mainly lost during the population exchange? And what was gained?

Finally, we included questions about their economic status before and after migration. At some points during the interview, questions not directly related with the research were also added in order to both gather more knowledge and help fill missing parts for further studies. These questions came up also when at some point the participants answers the question in a broader way and started telling about the events not directly asked. This is also done in order not to discourage the interviewee and to comfort them during the interview. Finally, their view about the population exchange process and what they think is lost or gained during that period is inquired. As a whole the questions add up to learn about their feelings towards the process, experiences and identities as a second or third generation exchange migrant.

We continued the interviews until the similar stories from the migrants are heard in each different case and age group. Even with varying social statuses, perspectives and backgrounds, when we finish the interviews varying and common characteristics clearly became apparent.

3.5 Use of Interviews and Life Histories in Research

Study of lives, oral histories and biographies and life course perspective or life history method become a pre-eminent theoretical orientation in the historical, sociological and psychological studies. It was also criticised a lot for presenting the subjective, yet in our research we aim to collect individual feelings and identities formed after an important historical event in their lives.

The stories we told are carried by generations and only through them the next generations could learn about the experiences and feelings of their families and their ancestors. The historical accounts present us with the objective realities but only by keeping the oral tradition we can touch and gather individual experiences and feelings of the witnesses of historical periods and events. In the traditional communities it was through the stories told that the communities carry their values and "timeless elements of life"[147] to the next generations. Stories connect us to our roots.

Baker states that current sociology is 'sociology of opinions' which gathers opinions already existing in minds of people[148] Current sociology gathers those opinions through research methods such as participant and also with surveys, case studies and field studies. These studies help people to learn about the local, individual lives, alternative histories and everyday lives of the people.

When we look at the history of the studies in this area and important works in this area Florian Znaniecki stands out as an important figure. He was considered to be the

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[147] Robert Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", In *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein ed., (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications 2002), 121.

[148] Baker, Ulus. "From Opinions to Images: Towards a Sociology of Affects", (ODTÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Sosyoloji Bölümü Doktora Tezi, 2002).

father of modern social anthropological methods of fieldwork and participant observation. About the same time another pioneering study on the scientific use of personal interviews and documents was the work of William I. Thomas (with Florian Znaniecki) *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918-1920).*[149] This book based on the study of Polish immigrants in the United States (Chicago) and their families considered as one of the classics of sociology and published in five volumes in the years 1918 to 1920. The scholars used personal documents (primarily letters) as well as documents such as brochures, newspaper articles, parish and court documents, and so on. In the mid-1920s, Thomas was pointing the importance of "longitudinal approach to life history" using life record data.[150] Thus by the early 1900s, "academics had begin to discuss the idea of going out and talking to people and learning about these natives first hand."[151] When studied with large, representative sample of migrants the technique is proved to be very helpful in making generalizations and statements about the lives of the migrants. Later in the 1950s, C. Wright Mills proposed a "study of biography, of history, and of the problems of their intersection within social structure."[152] It was not a common subject of research at that time and social scientist's knowledge on people's life pathways and its influence on the course of development and aging, and the historical and geographic contexts importance on them were very little.[153] And this area remained mostly neglected as a result of devastating social events such as WWII, great depression and succeeding events. In psychology Sigmund Freud's

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[149] Florian Znaniecki ed, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, (Boston: Gorham Press, 1918).

[150] E. H. Volkart, *Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W. I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research*. (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), 593.

[151] Karen O'reilly, *Ethnographic Methods*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 8.

[152] C. W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 149.

[153] G. H. Jr Elder and T. K. Hareven, "Rising above Life's Disadvantages: From the Great Depression to War", In G. H. Elder, Jr., J. Modell, & R. D. Parke Eds, *Children in Time and Place: Developmental and Historical Insights*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 4.

(1856-1939) use of life narratives in serious academic research made a big influence in the academia with regards to the individual case studies. Gordon Allport and Erik Erikson's studies on personality development and use of personal documents, life history and narratives and primary sources were also important in the development of life history usage in academic studies.[154] In anthropology, life history has been used as a primary method of fieldwork with the focus on the interviewee "in the community as the tradition bearer."[155] While working with the natives, groups that were different than their own, Bronislaw Malinowski demanded that scientific fieldwork should have three main aims:

1) to describe customs and traditions, the institutions, the structure, the skeleton of the tribe (or what people say they do)
2) to give this flesh and blood by describing how daily life is actually carried out, the imponderabilia of actual life (how they do it)
3) to record typical ways of thinking and feeling associated with the institutions and culture.[156]

In our research these aims were also helpful in understanding the individuals and the group they are living in. After spending some time in the research field, the researcher looking for these aims will start understanding the structure and norms and routine of the people s/he is studying and then can be enlightened about the group's way of life.

After the 1960s, the need to learn about how people live their lives in changing periods and across differing contexts were again started to be emphasized and towards the end of twentieth century, study of individuals and life pathways were widely recognised in the social and behavioural sciences. Another important idea found by the colleagues of William Thomas, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess who

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[154] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 123. For detailed information on the development of life story interviews please check: Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 121-140.

[155] Ibid. 123.

[156] O'reilly, *Ethnographic Methods*, 8.

came up with the theory of assimilation to explain the experiences of immigrants and minorities. According to them;

> assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.[157]

In this thesis, while studying about the exchange migrants' identities, cultures, lifestyles, daily habits and feelings towards migration today, we had the chance to observe the processes of adaptation and assimilation in the first generation migrants as well.

If unique perspectives of individuals are sought, then we believe there is not much choice but to rely on their own selves. Moreover, observing the individual's version of the history and observing them retell the story of their fathers/grandfathers are another topic of interest. The stories or moments they choose/point as important will also tell us a lot about both the individuals and the group's feelings and views. In fact it is that subjective perspective "what constitutes the individual's reality of his or her world."[158] In order to learn about the local histories and experiences and to enhance our knowledge about the exchange migrants' group relationships and interactions; we believed, interviewing with the second and third generation migrants is the best way to gather data and information.[159]

Before we go on with the interviews to uncover the elements and points discussed above; in the following chapter 4, we will briefly be looking the previous migration

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[157] Robert Ezra Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 735.

[158] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 124.

[159] For the importance of life stories in group relations and interactions also see: C. Linde, *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); D.Bertaux, *Biography and Society*, (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981).

and forced migration studies and show the significant common elements with our case. Prominent migration theories and the main discussions they deal with will be pointed. Finally, 1923 Turkish and Greek population exchange's repercussions for the structures the migrants interact with will be disputed.

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we frame the methodology and theory of the thesis. We provided the characteristics of Istanbul, Catalca region migrants, we conducted in-depth interviews with. In order to compare second and third generation migrants, interviews were conducted with both of the generation groups. Furthermore, to present Catalca Region's differences and similarities with the other regions we also conducted interviews in other regions and cities as well. For instance; Seyrek Neighbourhood in Izmir region, Lesbos Island, Thessaloniki, Alexandropoli and Komotini in Greece were also added to have a varying perspectives and to reveal characteristics of Catalca Region. We also made use of biographies and biographical interview books printed by the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants in Istanbul, and printed press to reach more examples of this kind. As a peculiarity of Catalca region we mentioned, these exchange migrants, who called themselves *Patriot* keeps speaking Greek even today. The usage of Greek language even in the third generations made this group more significant. In the interviews conducted the questions were asked to reveal their knowledge about the past experiences, and to see whether they have protected their cultures, values and exchange migrant identities. In order to examine these topics, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and Karl Mannheim's thoughts on generations were used. We pointed Karl Mannheim's emphasis on social generations made his theory more convenient to study in our research. He stated social generations are determined by the social and historical processes the individuals went through. It is very important in our study as in the end

we will examine whether the third and second generation had reached that consciousness.

Bourdieu's practice theory is also used to understand the changes the migrants went through in different generations. It helped us to see the dialectical relationships between the groups, structures and agents. We were able to analyse the mutually affective processes thanks to his theory.

Finally, we gave examples from previously made researches and studies which made use of interviews and life histories. We pointed their focus points and showed how different fields study with life histories. This part is also important as it helps to understand our case from a wider angle and shows the gains of conducting interviews and making biographical research. We stated only through the use of biographies, life histories and interviews we can reach the individual perspectives.

CHAPTER 4

MIGRATION AND FORCED MIGRATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, 1923 Greece and Turkey population exchange process will be analysed within the framework of migration and forced migration studies. In order to achieve this, we will first give a brief overview of the migration studies. Moreover, we will present different perspectives focused on while studying international migrations. Moreover, we will examine forced migration with its definition, characteristics and different theoricians' perspectives on the topic. Then, effects of forced migrations on the individuals' feelings and behaviours will be covered. Thus, this chapter will enable the reader to see the population exchange process from a broader perspective of the previous migration and forced migration studies. It will make it easier to understand the experiences of the individuals; firstly by providing the discussions of identity and culture; and then by unfolding the structural conditions and constrains the individuals were drifted into during the period of population exchange.

4.2 A Brief Overview of Migration Studies

Migration is a very old story for the history of the world. From the old times on, people have migrated for various purposes, such as; food, survival, enlargement of their borders, colonising the other lands, or for better opportunities and so on. The history of the world can be described as "a history of human migration and

settlement."[160] Indeed, there are various kinds of migration, resulting from different reasons, as explained by Rystad[161]:

> Seasonal and temporary migration as well as migration with the intent of permanent residence all figure in this phenomenon, as do forced migration of various kinds, the expulsion of entire ethnic groups and the deportation of certain individuals. Flight triggered by political persecution, by civil war, by famine, by environmental disasters, etc. also falls under the general category of migration.

Therefore, migration attracted scholars from different disciplines and fields such as demography, economics, anthropology, history, geography, and sociology. In order to give several examples from differing disciplines we can start by geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein's[162] study "The laws of migration" which can be counted among the earliest scholarly papers on migration, and in it he made some generalizations about the migration patterns in England. Later in the 1970s famous geographers such as Wilbur Zelinsky and Andrei Rogers developed theories on migration.[163] Economists also made important additions to the study of migration. Theories such as micro-economic theory were very helpful in researching cost-benefit calculations.[164] Sociologists have long been involved in studying and theorising about different types of societies and social change. However, "what was not made

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[160] Zai Liang, "The Sociology of Migration", *21st Century Sociology*, Vol 1-2, eds Clifton D. Bryant and Dennis L. Peck, 487–495, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007), 487.

[161] Goran Rystad, "Immigration History and the Future of International Migration", *International Migration Review,* Vol 26, Issue 4, (1992), 1168.

[162] E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 48, (1889), 167–227.

[163] "In an attempt to develop a parallel theory of migration similar to the theory of demographic transition, Zelinsky (1971) proposed the theory of mobility transition, in which he outlined five stages of mobility associated with different stages of development. One of the significant insights from Zelinsky's theory is that he recognized a relationship between technological changes and forms/types of migration/mobility. For example, as modes of transportation (i.e., high-speed trains and the popular use of automobiles) improve, people are more likely to engage in circular migration or commuting to cities from suburban areas". Liang, "The Sociology of Migration", 488

[164] Ibid. 488.

explicit was that underlying this transition from a traditional to a modern society, there is also a story of migration."[165] Economists such as Larry Sjaastad looked at migration from micro-economic theory's perspective and based their ideas on cost-benefit calculations and stated individuals generally choose to settle in places where they can be most productive. Others choose macro-economic perspective in neoclassical tradition and focused on 'wage differentials' in the migrant destinations.[166] Therefore, studying the topic from various points of views made prominent contributions to the migration studies.[167] Charles Tilly[168] highlighted three factors that have been effective in the long-distance migration during the last five centuries:

> 1) the changing distribution geographic of employment opportunities; 2) demographic imbalances, alterations of regional differentials in natural increase; and 3) actions and policies of nation states; i.e., making war, expelling or relocating specific ethnic groups, controlling migration.[169]

Migration studies, especially studies on international migration have boomed after the twentieth century, the period which witnessed the largest immigrant flows. Especially in the last 30 years, the researchers used various approaches and focused on various aspects of migration, some aim to show and explain "the social changes and changes in, for example family relations, by focusing on the interaction between individual migrants and the host society."[170] Another research focus was on the

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[165] Ibid. 487.

[166] Ibid. 487.

[167] For reasons and types of migration also see: C. Brettell, and JF. Hollifield, eds, *Migration Theory: Talking and Across Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008).

[168] Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History", 62.

[169] Rystad, "Immigration History and the Future of International Migration", 1169.

[170] Wingens et al, *A Life Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*, 2.

position of migrants after migration, at this point either their position in education, labour market or the issues of assimilation, identity and belonging were discussed.[171] Among the other studies of research mainly specific transitions in their lives after migration or reasons and results of migration, globalization, refugees, and migrants in society[172], citizenship, social inclusion and exclusion, cosmopolitanism were studied. Recently, the factors facilitating migration such as family and other linkages, historical trends, issues and security, minorities and politics are among the research topics as well.[173] Herbert George Blumer[174] (1900-1987) an American sociologist and his tutor George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) also made prominent additions to the study of migration with their theories of symbolic interactionism which emerged from American philosophical tradition of pragmatism and social behaviourism whose theories we got inspiration also in this study[175]. Their approaches turned down "the tendency of the orthodox consensus to see human behaviour as the result of forces that actors neither control nor comprehend."[176] They developed a conceptual framework of a science of society that involves both human interpretative processes and social structures, and focus on the dynamic, reflexive aspects of social life. Many

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[171] A. F.Heath, C. Rothon and E. Kilpi, "The second generation in Western Europe: Education, unemployment, and occupational attainment", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 34 (2008), 211–235); F. Van Tubergen, *The Integration of Immigrants in Cross-National Perspective: Origin, Destination, and Community Effects*, (Utrecht: Utrecht University, ICS dissertation series no. 112, 2005); Van F Tubergen, "Occupational Status of Immigrants in Cross-National Perspective: A Multilevel Analysis of 17 Western Societies", In G. Parsons and T. Smeeding Eds, *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); C. Brettell and JF. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking and Across Disciplines*.

[172] K.Koser, *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007a); K. Koser, "Refugees, Transnationalism, and the State", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol.33 Issue2, (2007b), 233-254.

[173] S.Castles and M. J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 4th ed, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[174] Herbert G. Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969).

[175] H. George Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

[176] Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, xvi.

studied qualitative methods while practicing their theories. Some try to apply life course approach when trying to clarify "migrants' behaviour and explaining the cumulative effects resulting from their actions which, in turn, are embedded in societal structures and framed by institutions."[177]

Another influential idea was the idea of assimilation proposed by sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess; their theory is used especially to understand the experiences of the immigrants and minorities. We made use of their idea in our study while analysing the second and third generation Balkan migrants[178] They stated that

> assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."[179]

Later their theory faced with some challenges and some scholars argued the assimilation process is not the same for all contemporary immigrant groups. In our case of Balkan migrants this process took shape in time as the migrants settled, intermingled, lived and married with the locals. Although they shared the same religious background with the locals, cultural assimilation and acceptance of the new place they settled in as home was in a relatively long term process. In chapter five and six, we will study the interviews, assimilation of the migrants and questioned to what extent they have assimilated and to what extent they have preserved their identity, language, culture, values and traditions.

Migrant studies rely on two paradigms; some say it is mostly actor centred phenomenon, while the others focus on a nation-state centred perspective, "focusing

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[177] Wingens et al, *A Life Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*, 2.

[178] Liang, "The Sociology of Migration", 489.

[179] Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, 735.

on the structural context and policy frameworks of migrant adaptation in societies."[180] In this thesis we also wanted to show that both of them are highly effective when looking for the long term consequences of migration and studying the case from a generational framework. Another richly studied argument was the study of 'us' and 'them' together with the alienation discussions when migration is the topic of research. For migrants in this context they either choose to be naturalized or remain alien to the locals. When dealing with people settled in a new environment all these concepts should be kept in mind. In the questionnaire we try to include questions about belonging and environmental factors in order to decide where our participants stand in these arguments as well.

In order to form a general theory of migration, scholars worked to find the causes, patterns and motives that forced the people to migrate and a successful attempt was made by Fairchild[181], who tried to make a typology of migration which could be summarised in the table below[182]. He argues on two important criteria in migration, the levels of culture and the movement's character namely whether it was peaceful or not:

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[180] Marta Bivand Erdal,"Migrant Transnationalism and Multi-Layered Integration: Norwegian-Pakistani Migrants' Own Reflections", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Vol.39, Issue 6, (Feb 2013), 984.

[181] Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*, Rev Edition, (New York: Macmillan, 1925), 13.

[182] William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration." *American Sociological Association 23*, (3 June 1958), 257. Despite the faults of the analysis of this pioneer effort, the classification is a good motive to understand the migration in general and have been adopted by many other works; R. Davie Maurice, *World Immigration with Special Reference to the United States*, (Macmillan: New York, 1949), 2-3; Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration*, (London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner, 1947), 1.

Table 4.1 Typology of Migration by Henry Pratt Fairchild

Migration From	Migration To	Peaceful Movement	Warlike Movement
Low Culture	High Culture		Invasion
High Culture	Low Culture	Colonization	Conquest
Cultures on a Level		Immigration	

Although the table might lack some other types and might be a too much generalization of a vast topic such as migration, it is successful in summarising a dozen migrations in history. Again the colonization's place is a huge topic of discussion as it could be neither peaceful nor warlike. Still, even Balkan population exchange movement can be adapted to this schema, but of course to some extent; we see an initially involuntary movement of masses, but peaceful attempt in terms of the governments to solve a problem occurred as a result of conquest in an era of war. Still the levels of culture at that moment can be open to discussion and yet not a topic in our research.

As another attempt to analyse better; five broad types of migration are defined as "primitive [ecological push and controls], forced, impelled, free [the will of the migrants is a decisive element], and mass" migration.[183] A more detailed typology is made by William Petersen, again although it might lack some cases, these kinds of typologies are helpful for us to understand the historical issues related with migration, form a basis for our studies and come up with some generalizations and common characteristics after a careful observation of the former cases of migration.

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[183] Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration", 259.

His table below[184] presents the topic from a broader perspective when compared with Fairchild's typology.

Table 4.2 Typology of William Petersen

Relation	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type of migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and Man	Ecological Push	Primitive	Wandering	Flight from the land
			Ranging	
State (or equivalent) and man	Migration Policy	Forced	Displacement	Slave Trade
		Impelled	Flight	Coolie Trade
Man and his norms	Higher Aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective Behaviour	Social Momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

Later, in the 21st Century migration studies have become an explosive academic discipline and:

> the discipline now includes, but is not limited to, Forced Migration, Development Induced Displacement and Relocation (DIDR), Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Refugee Studies, migration and immigration, inter-generational problems resulting from displacement and settlement, identity formation within each generation unit, gender and immigration, children and education, and return migration.[185]

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[184] Ibid. 266.

[185] John J.Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter Gmbh & Co., 2011), 16.

With the increase in the migratory flows, the scholars deepened and divided their studies and areas on migration. As among these descriptions, forced migration fits into our case.

4.3 Forced Migration and 1923 Population Exchange

Forced migration has long history starting from first wave of Judeans at the date of 597 B.C.[186] and continued throughout the history such as the middle ages' slavery, and nationalist movements of the First and Second World War. It is a history of misery, cruelty, separation, torture, and terror. In our time it has turned into one of the major problems for the countries as well. Especially, after the World War II increasing number of armed conflicts in the world, with a little decrease after the cold war, scholars and politicians are looking for ways to keep up with the refugee problem.

> Forced migration commonly "refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people" (IDPs). It is different from 'voluntary' migration because in the former there is no prior desire or motivation to leave (International Association for the Study of Forced Migration – IASFM).[187]

Refugees, asylum seekers, internal displacement, trafficking, development-induced displacement, and exile are counted among the forced migration.[188] Alan James[189] described three types of forced migrations namely; 1) "Derivative Forced Migration"

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[186] Ibid. 30.

[187] Torres, "Introduction", http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/gender-and-forced-migration/introduction

[188] S.Castles, "Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation", *Sociology*, Vol. 37, Issue1, (2003), 13-34.

[189] Alan James, "Questioning the Terminology and Definitions of Forced Migrations." 39-61 in *The Politics of Forced Migration: A Conceptual, Operational and Legal Analysis*. Ed. Nitza Nachmias and Rami Goldstein. (Baltimore: Publish America, 2004).

(DFM), or "static migration" which is a result of new geopolitical and cartographic rearrangement. 2) "Responsive Forced Migration" (RFM) which happens voluntarily from one place to another as a result of warfare, political oppression or domestic and natural causes. 3) "Purposive Forced Migration" (PFM) which describes people were

> forced to settle without any choice. Often, they are victims of hostile agencies or forces. These forces may be profit driven (Uganda-1972), culture oriented (Cambodia-1975-79), race related (Turkey-1915; Germany-1920; South Africa-1948; Darfur-2005), religiously motivated (Spain-1492; Northern Ireland-1960; Greece and Turkey–1923), [...].[190]

As also observed from the citation the group we examine is counted among the 'religiously motivated forced migration' type. Some groups in the Balkans and Anatolia were stigmatized as 'the other' because of their religion. They were also seen as the main reason behind the conflicts between the countries and wanted to be sent to their country of origin.

In order to understand the motives of 1923 population exchange better, the characteristics of forced migration should be understood. In forced migration activating agents are either the 'state' or a functionally equivalent social institution. The forced migration can be 'conflict induced' or 'development induced'. In some cases of forced migration the migrants retain some power to decide on migrating while in some they have no power as such. In the Balkan lands towards the end of nineteenth century growing nationalist movements made it harder for the minorities and small ethnic groups to continue their lives in the countries they settled. Minorities or ethnic differences were seen as a threat to the state security and both ethnic and political homogeneity became important for the states. "The right of national self-determination proclaimed by the Treaty of Versailles included no provision for the minorities scattered through Central Europe."[191] After the World

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[190] Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations*, 41.

[191] Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration", 261.

War I the League of Nations designated some population transfers to "eliminate national minorities from adjacent countries or, more usually, to legitimate expulsions already effected"[192] "Both conventions [of Neuilly and Lausanne], and especially that of Lausanne, proved to be agreements confirming accomplished facts," and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, "voluntary in theory, became in fact to a great extent compulsory."[193] Therefore, 1923 Population exchange is apparently *conflict induced* and the individuals retained no power to remain in their motherland.

Castles pointed forced migration "like all other types, demands a perspective that looks at the role of human agency and social networks, family, friends, intermediaries, and agents."[194] He emphasized that forced migration is linked to the global social changes and more specifically to globalization. The Greek-Turkish population exchange, categorized under forced migration is also linked to the global changes and dynamics in the world, especially in the Balkan and Anatolian lands. Therefore, the individual's future was decided by the broad structures s/he was in.

The time of forced migration is the times of turmoil and conflict for the societies. Likewise, the period from 1870s to 1945 was a period of battle, confusion, uncertainty and resettlement all for Turkey and the neighbouring countries. The people migrated as a result of disorders in these lands and the state of war and the convention which in a way makes them migrate by law. They were sent to the country in which they would not be seen as a minority.

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[192] Ibid. 261.

[193] Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 721.

[194] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 130.

When we refer to another important and widely used theory in migration studies, "Push and Pull" theory, we can see that in our case the *push factors* are necessity, obligation and economic reasons. The "push" factor is very strong in the case of forced migration and as a result "origin selectivity is at a minimum."[195] Moreover, as they were escaping from oppression, migrant's motivations for moving (forced to be) were really high, for fear of their lives they flee from their countries, without thinking or debating their situation.

This kind of migration is a migration of masses, huge groups of people, even before and after the 1923 Lausanne Treaty was signed, migrated from Greece to Turkey and vice versa continuously. Besides their fears of life, or with the hope of rejoining already migrated relatives and family members as well individuals were motivated to leave their homelands. Another important factor pulling them to Turkey was the pre-existing ethnic relations and the common religion between the host country and the migrants. Being parts of the same country and nation in the past, it was easier them to mix with each other. Also in line with the convention they had no problems in the steps of citizenship and membership of the community. This allowed them to get the basic needs when they first landed Turkey.

As stated above 1923 Turkish migrants were counted as a religiously motivated exchange and also counted among the group under the heading 'for the security of the dominating nation'. When their history is examined we can clearly see that the population exchange migrants experienced the similar paces with all the forced migrants. When the transition period is over, the exchange migrants went through "urban redevelopment, population structure, redistribution policies, regional development followed by challenges and changes to identity and ethnicity and the

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[195] Clifford J. Jansen, *Readings in the Sociology of Migration,* 1st ed. (Oxford, London, Braunschweig: Pergamon Press, 1970), 15.

development of transnational space."[196] All the social push and pull factors before and after the settlement are operative in forming ones' characteristics, identities and views towards their new homeland.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter allowed us to see the 1923 population exchange within the larger framework of migration and forced migration theories. Common characteristics of migration and forced migration studies are tried to be underlined in order to better understand the traits special to all forced migrations studies and the factors peculiar to our group.

With this aim we pointed that 1923 population exchange is ignited by various conflicts occurred in the Balkan and Anatolian regions. Therefore, it is emphasized that it is both conflict induced and religiously motivated a result of war period between the countries. We also pointed that the individuals are mainly seen as the main reason behind these conflicts and therefore forced to leave their motherland as a result of the Lausanne Treaty Convention signed. The individuals are made to leave their countries one of a sudden out of their claims or wishes. We also tried to explain the motivations and necessities of the migrants coming from Greece. In our case it is observed that the individuals and the environment they are in are all affected by intertwined relations of the global structures, states, power struggles and the individual agents' thoughts actions and interactions. Therefore, this chapter allowed us to evaluate the population exchange migrants from a larger perspective of migration and forced migration studies. In the following chapter, we will scrutinize the results of the interviews starting from the first generations' experiences and how they are understood by the second and third generation exchange migrants.

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[196] Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations,* 41.

CHAPTER 5

ON INTERVIEWS: MIGRATION PROCESS AND SETTLEMENT

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will scrutinize the interviews that were conducted with the exchange migrants. Nearly a hundred years after the 1923 population exchange process, the interviews allowed us to explore and compare the thoughts and identities of the second and third generation exchange migrants. Moreover, the interviews made it possible for us to realize varying or common experiences and practices of the informants and the relationships they entered today. In this chapter, we will analyse the interviews by focusing on population exchange process, comparing the knowledge of the second and third generation on the events; and in consideration of the concepts and theories discussed in the previous chapters.

We will analyse the interviews firstly by revealing the general informations gathered from the exchange migrants with reference to their family life and occupations. Secondly, the relationships with the other exchange migrants and their influence in their settlement and adaptation process will be pointed. After that, an important factor for the migrants 'the possessions lost' and their impact on the identities, lives and memory transformation of the first and following generations will be revealed. Then, discussions on Istanbul and Catalca and the impacts of the settlement place on the identities and future lives of the exchange migrants will be made. We will point the peculiarities of this region and why Istanbul area and Catalca region especially is chosen. While giving references from the interviews and biographies, we could also make comparisons with the migrants living in the city center and rural areas thanks

to the interviews and observations made in Seyrek, Izmir in Turkey; and Lesbos, Komotini, and Thessaloniki in Greece. Another obvious element stood out during the interviews was the 'element of change' and its repercussions on the identities of the first and the following generation exchange migrants. The change here will also enable us to understand generational differences and the following generations' lacks and advantages in their lives. Finally, we will look at the worries and the hardships the first generation migrants faced after their settlement process was over. Here, we will also try to gather the knowledge of the following generations on the events, look at the problems in the integration process of the first generation migrants, and reveal the conclusions and reflections of all these on the identity definitions of the following generations. This chapter will enable us to understand the political, social and economic environment and atmosphere the first generation migrants were surrounded by. It will also make it easier to understand how the feelings and identities were shaped in the following generation exchange migrants.

5.2 First Generation Migrants

In the first section of the interviews, we tried to compare and get a general knowledge of the second and third generation migrants on the population exchange process. Mainly, it is disclosed that the choices of the first generation and the movements of the authorities in the 1920s, are still affective in the lives of the second and third generation migrants. Firstly, it is revealed that most of the interviewees were peasants both in Greece and after their migration to Turkey.[197] Likewise, the

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[197] Apart from 4 people who migrated from Thessaloniki city centre, the others were from the villages around the Thessaloniki vilayet/region. It should be also noted that the *Rum* minority leaving Turkey were from the cities to a great majority, while the Muslim people from Greece were mostly coming from the villages. Therefore, farming and peasantry were common in the Muslim migrants. This was no surprise to us, as in the Ottoman Empire everyone has a role in the system either a Muslim or non-Muslim. Each group of people were dealing with the occupation mostly specific to their group. Muslims mostly either in the occupations dealing with law, military, officials of religion or landowners. Converts were members of the management system and subjects to the Sultan; they were in higher rank positions in the army and navy. Anatolian Rums (Greeks) were mostly living in the

first generation migrants from Thessaloniki city area were either farmers or civil servants. According to the biographies and interviews, when these people of specific occupations migrate to another country, after a while of recovery, the first thing they did was to evaluate the possibilities presented by the government. As they were granted land and house by the government their first choice of residence was the place shown by the state, and their occupations would be linked with the place they were residing in. The incoming exchange migrants were classified by the government authorities "according to their places of origin and divided them into three broad categories: 1) tobacconists (tütüncü), 2) agriculturalists (çiftçi), and 3) grape-growers and dealers in olives (bağcı ve zeytinci)"[198] What is striking is that this classification also affected the following generations as revealed in the interviews. Until the third generation the families who were granted land and resided in the outskirts of Istanbul or its villages were mostly dealing with farming and animal breeding as well. We observed this was not peculiar to Catalca, Istanbul; and the case was similar in the migrants in Seyrek, Izmir area.

Not many migrants were settled in Istanbul city centre greatly due to the fact that Istanbul Rum population was not included in the population exchange protocol and the people were generally sent to the areas emptied by the Greek population. However, in some places the migrants were not settled in the houses of the Rum minorities, as the position of belongings left were then not resolved or decided. Another main reason behind settling the migrants especially in the periphery was economical, "As Nansen had stated in his report 'many fields [were] already ploughed and many only waiting their animal cultivation. It is vitally in the interest of both Turkey and Greece that in the coming summer they should have the

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cities and dealing with domestic and foreign trade. They were mostly members of the middle class in the Empire. Armenians were mainly artisans and some of them were also dealing with trade. Jews were mostly merchants and money brokers. Temel, *Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Mübadeleye Yol Açan İhtilafların Analizi*, 44).

[198] Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 140.

maximum possible production'."[199] Thus, exchange migrants settled in Istanbul were generally settled in the rural areas where they could deal with agriculture. After the settlement process was over one of the biggest motivations for the migrants to choose residential area was economic–based. In order to continue the existence of their families, the migrants had to move/resettle in the places the government helped them to settle. The agricultural communities wanted to pursue their new life in an environment similar to their previous one. When they were settled in the cities' center areas such as Izmir or Istanbul they could not find a suitable job for the family members and migrated to the villages or rural areas to continue their peasant life. However, in some cases for the people coming from the city centers such as Thessaloniki the opposite of this case was true. They could comfortably pursue their lives in the city center in Turkey as well. Moreover, when they were settled in the villages in which the weather and land conditions were totally different from their country of origin, they started looking for new places in which they could grow the similar products they previously sowed or the climate got used to.

Today, still there are exchange migrant families who are dealing with agricultural activities. For instance; Galip Eren[200] stated he was also dealing with agriculture and animal breeding as an occupation and still continues in that occupation. He also emphasized he could not get higher education for economical reasons and that was also why he chose this job. The case is similar for many migrants born around the same period. This is also remarkable as it reveals the importance how international regulations and arrangements act as determining factors in the lives of individuals. However, there were also migrants who came by their own means and chose to settle in the city centre. Therefore, we can also say there are exceptions and contradictions for this impact of the external forces (government set rules and regulations). In depth

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[199] Ibid. 57.

[200] (Eren, 57, Third Generation).

interviews revealed that some migrants used their own will and means to continue their lives, give up the lands and houses allocated to them and and did not deal with agriculture. The decision they made also had a great impact on the following generations. Generally, the place of residence was determined by the government to the exchange migrants and only after residing in that area and living there for a while some of them could change their location. An alternative case Bediha Erkurt[201] stated their family was originally sent to Giresun by ship and they were allocated lands there. She stated as their family was living in Thessaloniki city center and her father was working as a civil servant there, in Turkey they preferred to live in a city so immediately after the exchange, their family migrated to Istanbul by their own means and rent a house in Maltepe region and her father opened a butcher shop in the same street.[202]

When compared a great majority of the second and third generations continued to deal with agriculture 22 out of 25 migrant in Catalca stated they still deal with agriculture. Among these only the ones who settled in the city center chose other jobs whether they were the second and third generation. Among the third generation group who were settled in the periphery areas there were also migrants who were dealing with a different profession but besides they stated they were still dealing with agriculture, helping their fathers or continuing their crops in the farms. The main element that caused a change in their main occupations was the level of education. Only three migrant among the Istanbul group could get university education and two of them were still dealing with agriculture besides their job.

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[201] (Erkurt, 85, Second Generation).

[202] (Erkurt, 85, Second Generation). She also emphasized they could never get advantage of the remaining belongings in Giresun; and added that even today for one of the lands they were granted by the state, a lawsuit is still going on. The courtcase was because one of the locals of Giresun had been using their lands there and claiming that the land is his, despite the title deeds owned by Erkurt family. Similar problems were also raised by some of the other exchange migrants during the thesis process. This kind of cases also affected the exchange migrant families' socio-economic status, as this meant they could not get any help of the government after they lost their lands in Greece.

Their occupations also had an impact on the construction of their identity and belonging for the country. The farmers mainly attached to their lands and tried to get the best of it. Their land becomes their homeland (although sometimes they long for the lost lands in Greece) and in the following generations they immediately feel attached to it. Thus, when compared it was relatively easier for the migrants who were settled in the rural areas to accept the land and country they newly settled as home than the migrants settled in the city centers. However, when we look at the community and interrelations in the society the connections are more complicated when center and rural areas are compared.

The jobs they are dealing with also had an impact on the inner family dynamics and social life they are in. Most of them were living in extended families while they were in Greece and farming and animal breeding required them to help each other and it turned into a family occupation for them. In Turkey, upon first residence they mainly preserved their extended family and helped each other to recover. However, it is observed that in Catalca area they mostly chose to live as nuclear families after the second generation in Turkey. However, the newly weds were still living close to the other family members. According to the interviews, their family and neighbour relations have always been very important for them. Especially during the crop collection or land ploughing the family members and the neighbours (even the youngest ones) help each other. The women of the families also help the other relatives and neighbours in their special events.

All of them in the first generation married with arranged marriage. The women respondents especially emphasized the humble, kind and respectful relationships of their parents in the past. They complained these attitudes of being respectful and patient towards each other seems to be decreasing in the fourth generation. This closeness in the family and relative relations also helped the protection of the exchange migrant cultures for generations. This tradition also made it easier for the following generations to accept the norms and traditions passed on them by their

parents and elderly family members as they were the respected and influential family members in the decision making and identity formation processes.

5.3 Social Relations with the Other Exchange Migrants

Another important content that stood out during the interviews was the importance of social networks, both in towns and cities, despite the governmental help and support it can be understood that the social networks play an indispensible role for the migrants while choosing their new settlement place. It is actually the second main reason of "concentration of immigration to particular destinations."[203] Moreover, "[k]in and family relationships are strong motivating forces in the decision to move"[204] and that was a considerable motivation factor for the Turkish migrants from Greece as well. As a result of these networks, especially in the later migrations settlement areas have spread around cities adding up to government designated migration destinations. The first wave migrants had a great effect on the succeeding migrants coming from Greece. Afterwards, there were numerous migrations from the Balkans continued up to very recent times and these people mostly chose to settle in the areas where the previous migrants settled. As Stone argued the descent also needs to be discussed and examined "in conjunction with residence patterns, since physical closeness of the people related by descent has a lot to do with the strength of the ties between them."[205] She argues afterwards that the closer in terms of residence the group members the stronger they will become as a 'solid group'. As her argument suggests the closeness of the relatives and the acquaintances makes them more

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[203] Alisa Garni and Arpi Miller, "Localized Immigration Policy and Migrant Life Experiences: The Case of Mexican Migrants in Southern California", *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, Issue 6, No.3, (2008), 438.

[204] Jansen, *Readings in the Sociology of Migration*, 22.

[205] Linda Stone, *Kinship and Gender*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2010), 15.

confident and makes it easier for them to deal with problems. When the settlement areas are analysed one can clearly recognize the migrants tried to build their new lifes in the areas where they either have a relative or acquaintance. This allows them to feel more comfortable and secure about the journey. After they reach there it also allows the migrants a cultural and financial comfort, because their friends can help them to settle and they can get help throughout the orientation process. They learn about the bureaucratic and social networks easily when there is someone else there they can depend on. That is why especially for the *free migrants* (who do not use governmental help but escape from Greece with their own efforts), knowing previously settled migrants were especially important and they were mostly choosing settlement locations in which they have a dependable relative.[206]

5.4 The Impact of Lost Possessions

While talking about memories and identity formation one topic that kept emerging was the belongings left behind. Under the light of given examples, we can easily conclude that none of the interviewees could sell any one of their properties before they hit the roads for Turkey, the case was also true for the biographies and written live interviews studied. One first generation migrant interviewed in Istanbul stated that they were very wealthy when they were in Greece[207], yet when they came to

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[206] Kramer, *Nationalism: Political Cultures in Europe*, 5.

[207] A first generation migrant, born in Thessaloniki, and migrated when he was six years old pointed that they left behind their six hundred sheeps in Greece and could only take a blanket and a handful of belongings with themselves when they were coming to Turkey. The only thing they were thinking before coming to Turkey was running away from the war and conflict in Greece. He also explained that with the help of the government they were able to find a legal housing in Turkey and they were given lands and after working a lot they again could possess many animals and productive lands also in Turkey. He states although he is sorry for what has been lost, they are now content with what they could acquire with hard work here as well (97, First Generation). Today still one of the greatest recurring complaints of the migrants is that "[a] great majority of these people had been subjected to temporary settlement (İskân-i adi or tali İskân) with a view to being repatriated to their homelands once these lands were recaptured and therefore not compensated properly for the properties they had left behind [... and] "compensation for their lost properties" Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*,

Turkey they had to leave all their belongings behind.[208] All of the people revealed that their parents or grandparents could came with only a handful of belongings as they were in a hurry, and feared that the locals might kill or torture them.[209] Until they reach a form of transportation to carry them to Turkey they walked all the way on foot with their children. Given these conditions, it is not easy to guess how much of a possession they could take as well. Özge Çelik[210] narrated that when she was in secondary school, she found some documents at home but could not understand them as they were written in Ottoman language. She brought them to her teachers to be translated and then learnt that they were documents showing the items they brought with them. On the paper it was written that, they came only with 'quilt and a luggage'. This fact aroused her curiosity about her grandgrandparents' past in which they embarked on a journey only with a quilt and a luggage.[211] A few of the migrants could take certificates of the lands they owned there and could show it to the Turkish authorities and got lands here accordingly, but many others did not have the chance to take these certificates with them so had to settle only with the lands provided them by the government.

On the other hand, these items, furnitures and all the other belongings (animate and inanimate) left behind were a part of their past. Besides the materialistic values of

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93. Moreover, as Yıldırım mentined in his endnotes: "The only measure that the Ottoman government took after the Balkan Wars was to encourage Muslim populations in Greece to register the title deed as to their lands and buildings and thereby preserve their claims to these properties. These people were also advised to assign a custodian to look after the properties should they have to leave their lands" Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 240.

[208] He stated they later make up for the lost economic situation in Turkey as well, but only after two generations passed and only upon working a lot (97, First Generation).

[209] Another reason the migrants could not bring many possessions with them was a result of the urgency of the procedure. As there were ongoing conflicts, for fear of their lives most of the migrants left their homes one of a sudden. They could not plan their migration process or prepare beforehand.

[210] (Çelik, 27, Fourth Generation).

[211] Cimbiş and Arslanoğlu, *They were Twice Migrants*, 45.

these *cherished possessions,* no matter how much they cost; they had intangible value for the owners. They provided them with a historical continuity, contentment, comfort and a sense of belonging.[212] As Belk argued "[o]ur possessions are a major contributor to and reflection of our identities."[213]

Another related story is told by Dinç[214], he mentioned the migrants left their village in Greece with their dogs. Until they reach Veria (another town) the dogs followed them and they feed them with the breads they took with them. He added when his grandparents got on the train to Thessaloniki, they had to leave the dogs there. He stated they could not forget how those dogs were looking at them. This memory clearly shows; the possessions they left behind were not only objects but also living things that had too much meaning for them as well. In a situation even an object could mean too much for one, when possessions such as their homes, animals, and lands were the topic of discussion, it could be hard to imagine the impact of lost possessions on them.

In the interviews, they frequently stated: "I wish at least we had some pictures of my father, mother or grandparents any pictures to show their life back in Greece". It can be claimed that, today, they are still looking for items to link or connect them to their past. Leaving their possessions behind, also made it easier to forget about the past, as there remained nothing in their hands to remind them about it. Therefore, both materially and psychologically the belongings left behind deeply affected them.

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[212] Perhaps they inherited them from their family or they were a gift from someone, or they were only reminders of the past.

[213] Russell W Belk, "Possessions and the Extended Self", Journal of Consumer Research, Issue 15 /2, (1988),139. The possessions also came out as another factor for the silence of the first generations after arrival. Even if having no possessions reminding of the past was not a prominent reason behind this silence, it is now definitely a contributing factor and an element of sigh and regret for all of the generations.

[214] Cimbiş and Arslanoğlu, *They were Twice Migrants*.

5.5 Istanbul and Catalca Region

Istanbul was not included among the population exchange protocol.[215] Accordingly, the Greek residents were still in Istanbul when the Muslim community from Greece landed these new migrants added more to its multicultural identity. Istanbul has always been known as a cosmopolitan city where Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Levantines, and other Muslim and non-Muslim communities lived in harmony for centuries. The reactions of the local residences of Istanbul towards these new exchange migrants and the migrants' adaptation process in Istanbul is also important as the city had a different cultural fabric when compared with the other cities in the mid-twentieth century. Besides, when the literature is analysed there are not much academic works made on this topic. Our choice of Istanbul area was mostly initiated by these concerns. Present day Istanbul with its population of over 14 million people[216] protects its heterogeneous but ethnically less mixed character, today the suburban areas and all the migrants became a part of the big city. Thus, we can argue the third and fourth generation migrants' interaction with the city centre and abroad is more when compared with their parents. In the villages the job alternatives were limited for the higher education graduates. This directed the educated younger generation to the bigger, metropolitan cities in order to find jobs. These later turned some villages which are closer to the city into neighbourhoods of the big cities (such

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[215] "The second article of the Convention states that 'the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople' who were defined as those who were 'already established before October 30, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of Constantinople as defined by the law of 1912' and 'the Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace" who were "established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest" shall not be included in the population exchange." Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 113-114. Yıldırım also cited from *Lausanne Conference*, 818.

[216] According to TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute population records of 2014; with its population of 14,337,018 it covers the 18,5 % of the whole Turkey's population. (http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18616).

as Catalca).[217] This is also in line with the migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey after 1950s.

Catalca area is chosen as it is one of the areas where the exchange migrants are located and still highly populated in Istanbul. It is chosen also because the Muslim migrants who migrated here from the villages of Manastır and Thessaloniki area, more specifically mostly from Neapoli/ Thessaloniki and Grevena had a different characteristic than the other interviwees we spoke with. The migrants who migrated here did not know any Turkish before their migration to Turkey and called themselves *Patriot* (in their own translation the person who loves their country). The patriots continued speaking Greek after the migration and settlement was over. It is also surprising that today; ninety-three years after the population exchange; the first, second and third generation migrants still speak/know Greek.

About the place of settlement complaints were mostly about either settling in an area separated from the other members of the family; or a town which has weather and land conditions that the migrants were totally alien to; or that when the lands were distributed in Turkey they complain about some inequalities (plundering, confiscation, or some migrants' getting more land in return for the land deeds shown

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[217] For more information on migration from villages to the cities after 1950s in Turkey; and transformation of Turkish cities see: Akşit, B. (1998) "İçgöçlerin Nesnel ve Öznel Toplumsal Tarihi Üzerine Gözlemler: Köy Tarafından Bir Bakış" *Türkiye'de İç Göç*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998).; B Aksit, K. Mutlu, H.Ü Nalbantoğlu, A Akçay, M. Şen, "Population Movements in the South-eastern Anatolia: Some Findings of an Empirical Research in 1993", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 14, Spring, (1996),53-74; B.Akşit, *Köy, Kasaba ve Kentlerde Toplumsal Değişme*, (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1985); DİE *Türkiye Nüfusu, 1923-1994: Demografi Yapısı ve Gelişimi*, (Ankara: DİE yayınları, 1985); Çağlar Keyder, "The Setting", in Çağlar Keyder ed., *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, (Oxford: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, Inc 1999); Behice Boran, *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları: İki Köy Çeşidinin Mukayeseli Tetkiki*, (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1945); Ç.Keyder, "Paths of Rural Transformation in Turkey", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.XI, No.1, (1983), 34-49.

during land distribution).[218] However, the people we spoke with did not express any of these complaints. Most of them in Çatalca region stated they were even left free for their choice of settlement. All of the migrants in Çatalca, Istanbul region stated after their health checks were finished they were directly sent to Mimar Sinan region, by the sea and close to Büyükçekmece lake. However the migrants coming from Neapoli (Naslic) area, in Greece said "we are farmers, what can we do for living here, we neither understand from the sea nor from fishing, our children will be drowned in the sea please settle us somewhere else" and that is how they were directed to Çatalca region in the first place. This story is now told by most of the migrants and their children in Çatalca and its villages. They also revealed that the environment and weather of Çatalca is quite similar to that of Neapoli, Greece. Thereupon, the crops they grow and the animals they feed did not change much when they establish a new life in Turkey.[219] On the positive side, they add up to the economy of Turkey as they became productive citizens.

The places are of course not static, and they "are produced and reproduced in the social processes and relations at different scales, place lies at the intersection of different spaces and moments in time."[220] When studying the places both the objective and subjective realities should be kept in mind as "place is both a center of

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[218] For more information on the settlement problems and post migration refugee affairs please check: Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 90-100.Yıldırım contented that "that the refugee problem came to pose as much of a challenge to Turkey as it did in Greece" Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 101.

[219] Notwithstanding, this does not mean they could bring their crops or stocks from Greece. All of the migrants we spoke with define their grandparents/their parents' voyage to Turkey as unplanned, sudden, and full of pain and hardships. The migrants were tried to be settled as soon as possible to their new homes. Moreover, according to 1923 Lausanne convention, the term "emigrant" included all that migrated or should have migrated after 1912. The convention protected the property rights of the migrants and stated there would be no obstacles for the migrants to migrate. It also required that the migrants would lose the citizenship of the countries they would leave and get the citizenship of the countries they migrated immediately after they settle. Arı, *Büyük Mübadele*, 19.

[220] Patricia Ehrkamp, "Placing Identities: Transnational Practices and Local Attachments of Turkish Immigrants in Germany", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Issue 31/2, (2005), 349.

meaning and the external context of our actions."[221] The places' social production is also affected by these factors. Mutually affecting and transforming one another, the places are one of the factors to shape the individuals and individuals are one of the factors to shape the places they live in. Every different place they live in can have various effects on the people and it can "lead to an increasing de-territorialisation of belonging and identification."[222] People can therefore attach both symbolic and material expressions and meanings with the local and translocal connections that they created. The cultural geographers also study identity and pointed that identity is created and reproduced in particular spaces. Thus, we can also argue that the place they were resided in also had an impact on their choices and identities. The discourse on studies of identity and place vary on topics of discussion.[223] Among these,

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[221] N. Entrikin, *The Betweeness of Place*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 7.

[222] Ehrkamp, "Placing identities", 349.

[223] As Mills stated, "Discourse is embedded in landscape in various ways, including in monuments (Savage 1997), museums (Handler and Gable 1997), or landscapes of tourism (Hoelscher 1998). The social difference that is continually reproduced through landscape, whether of class (Mitchell 1996; Duncan and Duncan 2001), race (Schein 2002; Hoelscher 2003), gender (Rose 1993), or other markers of difference, makes landscapes the sites and spaces through which particular social and cultural groups articulate identity [...]. Others study how a shared memory of the past works as a bonding element to create a cohesive group identity in place (Hoelscher 2003); landscapes are powerful materializations of collective memory (Halbwachs1980; Nora 1998), because particular forms in the landscape both come from and reproduce this memory by serving as symbols that remind us of the past (Boyer 1996)" Mills, "Narratives in City Landscapes", 443. Also for different perspectives please see; Ihsan Çetin, " Gecekondu Bölgelerinde Mekan Kimliği ve Aidiyet Duygusu: Kadifekale ve Gümüşpala Karşılaştırması", I. Uluslararası Kent Araştırmaları Kongresi Günümüz Kentinde Sorunlar 16-17 Nisan 2015, *Eskişehir Bildiriler Kitabı: Cilt IV*. (Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015); J. Agnew, "Representing Space", in J Duncan and D Ley ed, *Place, Culture, Representation*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); W.Benjamin, *Pasajlar*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995); M. Crang, *Cultural Geography*, (New York: Routledge, 1998); D. Danış ve E. Kayalar, "Bir Bağlamlandırma Denemesi: Elmadağ'da Göçmenlik Deneyimleri", İçinde H Kurtuluş Der., *İstanbul'da Kentsel Ayrışma*. (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2005); Linn Song, "The Muenster City Library: The Politics of Identity and Place", *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-) Vol. 60, No. 3 (Feb., 2007), 12-20; D. Harvey, *Sosyal Adalet ve Şehir*, (Metis Yayınları. İstanbul, 2009); D.Harvey, "Sınıfsal Yapı ve Mekânsal Farklılaşma Kuramı". İçinde B Duru ve A.Alkan Der. *20. Yüzyıl Kenti*. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002); H. Lefebvre, *Mekanın Üretimi*, (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2014); E W Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, (London and New York: Verso Press, 1989); E W Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Paul Knox and Steven Pinch, *Urban Social Geography: An Introduction*, Sixth Edition, (London, New York: Pearson, 2010).

Hoelscher's thought on the creation of a cohesive group identity after a shared event in the past also works for the Istanbulite migrants. However, in our case the place mostly arising their group identity and consciousness on being an exchange migrant is not Istanbul but where their parents came from their place of origin. Interestingly, today, both the second and third generation migrants feel closer both to Turkey (the lands they grow up) and Greece, where their parents grow up.

'The place' in migration studies (and in this case Greece or Turkey) is given importance to understand the context, attributions and the production of identities. As discussed the identities should be also understood "in relation to the ever-changing situations and contexts where they emerge."[224] In the case of exchange migrants, their motherland (Greece) and homeland (Turkey) gave meaning to define their identities.

They all accepted Turkey as home and Greece as a part of their identity. Thus not only the localities are the places of subject formation as some scholars have argued[225] but also the places (they had never been to) add up to the construction or formation of their identities as well. Some of them even had hardships in calling 'one place' as hometown and simply define themselves as exchange migrants or give the first city they were settled or sent from, although it was their parents/grandparents who was actually been/sent there.

Therefore, for the second and third generation exchange migrants, belonging a place idea is not limited to a *bounded locality*. It "[...] serves as a constantly re-energized repository of socially and politically relevant traditions and identity which serves to

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[224] Ehrkamp, "Placing Identities: Transnational Practices", 348.

[225] L.E. Guarnizoand M.P. Smith, "The Locations of Transnationalism", in M.P. Smith, and L.E. Guarnizo eds, *Transnationalism From Below*. (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, (1998), 3-34.

mediate between the everyday lives of individuals [...] and the national and supra-national institutions which constrain and enable those lives."[226] As Ehrkamp also provided, the places provide us 'the tools' to understand "the multiple scales that impinge on immigrants' lives, while simultaneously enabling us to consider the ways in which immigrants use such ties in order to create places for themselves."[227] Just as the feelings and attitudes of the migrants discussed before, the feeling of belonging to a place is influenced by the changing conditions in an individual's life. Thus, the feeling of belonging a place is created by dynamic relations of inner and external structures and relationships the migrants entered in. These elements one by one had a great impact in the formation and protection of identity for the second and third generation migrants. That is also the reason why at some points we faced with varying ideas or experiences in the same community especially in terms of culture.

The nature of place, and both the opportunities and barriers they face there evidently add up to their character and identity. The multicultural atmosphere of Istanbul, the possibilities about the settlement and that most of the settlers were from Naslic and Drama region enabled the migrants a relatively more comfortable and reliable atmosphere after their migration to Turkey. Nevertheless, no matter how cosmopolitan Istanbul was, it is evident that throughout the years of Turkish nationalism in the Republican era, events like Wealth Tax of 1942, the events of 6-7 September and the 1964 decree for deportation of Greeks to leave the country caused many non-muslims to leave the country and after 1970s ended the centuries old multiethnic coexistence in the city,[228] It can be argued that, this transformed the multi-ethnic environment to a more homogenous one for the second generations. In

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[226] J. Agnew, and J. Duncan eds, *The Power of Place: Bringing Together the Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 7.

[227] Ehrkamp, "Placing Identities: Transnational Practices", 349.

[228] Binnaz Tuğba Sasanlar, "A Historical Panaroma of an Istanbul Neighborhood: Cihangir from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 2000s", Boğazçi University Master's Thesis, The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History (2006), 17; Also For the nature of Istanbul between global and local see; Keyder, "The Setting".

Istanbul this process was experienced very harsh. All of the interviewees mentioned trying to save their Greek neighbours from the furious crowd and which reminded them of their days in Greece. This was a point which can be named as the peak point of alienation between the Greek minority in Turkey and the other Muslim people. However, all of the interviewees stated they felt sorry for the Greeks leaving Turkey in that period. The forced migration experiences engraved in the memoirs of the exchange migrants was the main reason behind this. It can be said that the similar experiences they had been through eliminated the alienation between the Muslim exchange migrants and the Greeks in Turkey as well. They mostly mentioned helping their Greek neighbours in that process.

The adaptation process was successful for the exchange migrants in Catalca. It can even be argued that the new relationships and structures connected them so much to their new homeland and settlement areas that, even during the great internal migration movements experienced in Turkey after 1950s they did not consider leaving their town in Catalca region. They remained in the relatively rural area of Istanbul and did not consider moving to the city center until after 2000s. Even after the year 2000, it was only the fourth generation moving from the town and mostly the rest of the family stayed in Catalca area.

Another evident difference related with place is in the area of interaction and mutual acculturation. When compared we observed that in the rural areas, exchange migrants founded more intimate relations with the locals. The 'mutual acculturation process' is more frequent there, for instance; during the second and third generation's wedding ceremonies, parties and meetings a closer interaction was observed in the rural areas. They started cooking each other's meals, singing the songs of one another and these processes are full of cooperation when compared with the migrants living in the bigger cities. In Catalca area as an example; they stated weddings' pre-parties can last for a week and during this week nearly all the people come together to help the their families and the couple who is getting married. The reason of this

might be that they try to protect their traditions and formed more intimate relationships between the residents of the villages and towns. For instance, in Catalca and Seyrek, we both heard the migrants stating that; even today they come together to make tomato paste, tarhana (a soup with dried tomatoes and yogurt), collect olives and grapes when it is the season of grape harvest. They also enjoy sharing meals they made with the relatives or neighbours. Thus, ceremonies, cooking and preparing food become one of the elements that bind them together and created a common ground especially for the women. These kinds of meetings or ceremonies are no longer kept in the cities. This caused the members of different communities in the cities to be more distant from each other and makes the acculturation process much slower. As an extention to this, we can argue that in the city center residents protected the groups' traditions and values less than the rural areas.

5.6 The Element of 'Change'

When the discussion topic is migration of a group 'the element of change' stands out among the other concepts. As Akkaya[229] pointed the main difference between migration and other movements is the great social and economic change in the lives of the migrants. When analysed in detail, it is not hard to see that these great changes in the lives of the human beings reflected deep into their identities and senses of belongings throughout the generations. Hence, together with the social and environmental factors; people's lives and their own interpretations and views towards the issues they faced can have a great impact on the succeeding events and individuals themselves. "For Mead, humans' distinctive characteristic is their development of "minds" and "selves" in the course of evolution: Humans have the

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[229] Taylan Akkaya, *Göç ve Değişme*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No: 2573, Istanbul, 1979), 23.

capacity to resolve blocks to ongoing activity by internally manipulating symbols to review and choose among potential solutions."[230]

The most crucial steps of migration process are the migration from one place to the other, the settlement to the receiving country and finding a place to work. When forced migration is the question of debate, the change process might become emotionally and psychologically more severe for the individuals, as they are not the ones who wish to change their location at the first step.[231] All these conditions they were in and the individuals in question altered somehow. However, this is not a one sided process, as "Mead says of Dewey's views, 'the individual is no thrall of society. He constitutes society as genuinely as society constitutes the individual'."[232] In all the examples and historical records we observe this mutual interaction as well.

When this topic is analysed more in detail, it should be noted that the forced migration of Balkan Turks which is a result of many factors unfolding at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, as Castles argued for forced migration we should not forgot the importance of structural dynamics in the population exchange although displacement and being in exile seems to put too much emphasis on the cultural and subjective aspects.[233] Then, as Castles again emphasized;

> social transformations [...] that led to forced migration – decolonialization, internal wars, violence, ethnic conflict, the development of new states and so on-cannot be understood without recognition of the prior and continuing links to [...] economic

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[230] Sheldon Stryker and Peter J Burke, "The Past , Present , and Future of an Idenity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63 Issue 4, Special Millenium Issue on the State of Sociological Social Psychology, (2000), 17.

[231] Garni and Miller, "Localized Immigration Policy".

[232] Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, xxv.

[233] Castles, "Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration", 21.

interests, to global political and economic networks and [...] imposition of value systems.[234]

This is also true for the Muslim exchange migrants[235] they seemed to be a victim of wide structural dynamics at the beginning of the migration process. In return, they caused wide changes in the transnational networks, balances and diversities.

In most of the cases of forced migration the agents did not have much power and say at the beginning of the process.[236] This is also true the exchange migrants, we saw that even within the conditions strongly surrounded by structural dynamics and impacts, the individual also makes prominent contributions and impact on the course of events and the fate of the others. It is clearly seen that these migrants, bounded by the rules and regulations and the economical limitations they were in and offered, today succeeded in their individual development and being content with their current situation rather than lamenting on the shortcomings of their preceding generations.

With population exchange a huge social change occurred and all the social structures within the group completely transformed. Together with the social structures, the individuals and the perceptions of the individuals changed in many aspects. The daily routine of the individuals totally transformed after the migration and settlement according to the new country. Their routine encounters in daily life have also varied and they all help to shape the individuals identities, daily strategies, and choices in their new lives. These new encounters mediated through the new conditions and

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[234] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 130.

[235] For the multifaceted factors that lead to the decision of exchange of migrants please see: Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*.

[236] As an example; before the Turkish–Greek Population Exchange convention in the Lausanne Treaty was signed some of the Turks living under the Greek government wanted time to sell their properties before leaving the country, some also wanted permission from the authorities to remain in the country. None of their wishes were answered by the authorities. Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 134.

shaped the personalities, experiences and feelings of the individuals and the upcoming generations. One migrant Hasan Savaş states[237] in in the book, his grandmother cried for the motherland she left behind and was very sad about not seeing it again. She was longing for the friendships, the settings she got used to during her childhood.

Although they longed for the past friendships in Greece, the migrants seemed to get accustomed to the new environment and neighbours they have in Turkey after a decade of struggling. After a while they accepted the new environment as their new home and their children grow up in a completely different environment than theirs. They built up new friendships and cooperations. As an example; Nurcan Sayım, aged 70 and whose father migrated to Turkey from Thessaloniki stated all his life her father longed for the social relationships they had back in Greece. She stated her father incessantly told her about the good neighbours they had back in their motherland, Greece. In Istanbul the family settled in Yedikule where the Rum minority in Istanbul were settled then, so the interviewee Sayım explained in her childhood as well they were very close both with the Muslims and the Greek/Rum neighbours they had, until 6-7 September events in Turkey in 1955. She stated the Rum community accepted them as a member of their own, never behaved them as the 'other', or despised them. The same situation was also true for their family during the 6-7 September events, she stated they helped their neighbours', when their house was burnt down, and protected them in their homes against the outraged crowd. She stated they were like a family then. After the events in 1955 broke out, she explained that they lost contact with each other. She expressed, only after the year 2000 they could get in touch with each other again with the help of new forms of communication such as; internet and social media networks.

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[237] Cimbiş and Aslanoğlu, *They were Twice Migrants,* 37.

In these stories, changes and examples, we observe a loss in what Bourdieu called as *social* and *cultural capitals* as well. According to Bourdieu, the amount and the weight of *the capital* people possess determine their positions in a society. Together with the migration process it can be argued that all the capitals (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) the people hoarded in their lives in Greece were lost to a great extent. This made it even harder for them to start from the beginning.

Sema Elgün, a second generation migrant talks about her father's depictions of Thessaloniki before he dies. She stated they were living in the neighbourhood of mansions there and he was always telling about the environment he left back in his motherland.[238] In these examples we can see a yearning for the economic resources lost (the *economic capital)*; the loss of valued social relations possessed by the actor which is the *social capital*, and a longing for the amount of honor and prestige owned by the actor before migration which is the *symbolic capital*. The honor and prestige passed on to them through the generations or the achievements they made no longer had a great meaning after the migration especially if the migrants were settled with the people and environment unfamiliar to themselves. This also resulted in a big change in the social and economic status as well, as together with the new contacts all the social contacts they had saved up through the generations were lost and their place in the society is mostly resituated. They had to work harder in their new lives to make up for those losses and according to the migrants this could not be achieved until the third generations.[239]

Ömer Denk[240], a third generation migrant from Seyrek, stated their missing their motherland was also a result of the hard conditions they were thrown into. He stressed the fact that according to what he has learnt from his grandparents, Balkan

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[238] Cimbis and Aslanoğlu, *They were Twice Strangers*, 229.

[239] (Ersoy, 57, Third Generation.)

[240] (Denk, 59, Third Generation.)

states condition towards the end of the Ottoman Empire was better in every term than the Anatolian towns. In educational, cultural and economical terms they were in a higher and more comfortable situation before the conflicts hit the towns and cities. Having better educated (some only primary school) and knowing bits and pieces from a lot of different fields, they seemed to have tried anything they could do to survive in Turkey. Some mentioned playing music besides being a peasant, and playing bouzouki in the city or town weddings to earn more money, some others mentioned working as a mechanic besides being a farmer.[241]

When compared, the people in Catalca region experienced these losses of capitals less than the migrants who were settled a lone as a family in a city they were totally unfamiliar with. As they were mostly coming from either the same village or neighbouring villages their losses in the areas of social and symbolic capital are less than the people living in the Istanbul city center who were mostly either settled close to other exchange migrants from a completely different place, or the only exchange migrants in the area they settled.

Sayım also disclosed that after she lost her neighbours in 6-7 September events in 1955, in Istanbul; all her environment had to change for the second time as all of her friends and neighbours were gone. After the events most of the non-Muslim residents had to leave Istanbul for fear that the events might continue or went worse. This in return caused the region-Yedikule where Sayım was living then to be like a ghost town. She left the region and resettled in Kadıköy neighbourhood afterwards. The social and political changes in the society totally changed her personal relationships, place of residence and behaviours in the long run. Her family seems to be transforming together with the social change they entered in; first change was experienced after migration from Greece to Turkey and then within Turkey with the

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[241] (Ersoy, 57, Third Generation.)

6-7 September events. It is as "pragmatism argued that humans constantly seek to make adjustments in their actions so as to adapt to ongoing social processes."[242] Not only their actions, but the whole set of relationships, identity concepts and the behaviours as well as the feelings had to change with the social process. There were many constraints for the family when they first migrated, like the language, environment, and all the political and cultural structures they should get used to. These conditions all independently exist out of the control of the individuals.

Thus, one evident difference in the lives of the migrants was the change in location and environment. "In any society, descent needs to be considered in conjunction with residence patterns, since the physical closeness of the people related by descent has a lot to do with the strength of ties between them."[243] Thus, the ties of the families and neighbours broken or loosen to a great extent. Together with it came alien neighbourhoods and relations they were strangers to. One of the interviewees in Seyrek told us during migration from Greece their mother's brother was situated in a different ship while they were transferring the migrants from Thessaloniki to Izmir. Later not knowing where the other members of the family had been transferred to the brother could not find the rest of the family again. Only after 30 years, the family heard that all these years their brother was living in Edirne. They could neither see nor find or heard of their brother until then, and during that 30 years they missed so much of each other's lives. In the meantime, the family who settled in Izmir thought their brother was dead[244] and after a while stopped looking for him. Although all of the family members were safe and sound and could settle in the new lands, the rest of

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[242] Jonathan H. Turner, *Theoretical Sociology*. (London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, 2013), 96.

[243] Stone, *Kinship and Gender*, 15.

[244] It was common among the migrants to lost part of their family on the road to Anatolia. Many people died because of the harsh conditions of the road, such as hunger or sickness or being wounded.

the family was not aware of this and started their new life in Turkey without their siblings.[245]

The change in was not of course one sided. The migrants have also transformed the societies they entered as well. In the regions they were sent, the migrants have mostly added up to and transformed the demographic, social and cultural structure.[246] According to Ruben adaptation is constant transformation and adaptability towards the hardships, changes, disturbing and unwanted situations in the environment.[247] The triggering factor for adjustment process to start is the unbalance or tension emerged from the disharmony between the capacity of the system and demands of the environment they are in.[248] Capacity of the system is in correlation with the relationship of population and the sources given to them. Within the environment they have entered their communities had to change together with the migration process; they had to break up with some of their friends and added up to them as well. In these broken and newly formed relationships their points of views and connections to the world were all changed. At this point we should also rely on Herder's belief that "each culture should be appreciated for what it is, rather than being judged by the standards of another."[249] Here, however, we are not talking about innately coming differences, what attracts attention throughout the research is that each group of migrant has been through and developed their own settlement and integration process and incidents. The factors that had been an issue to be solved for

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[245] (Female, 80, Second Generation).

[246] Min Zhou, "Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans". *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 1997) pp. 975-1008.

[247] B.D. Ruben, "A Systematic-Theoretical View" W. Gudykunst Ed, *Intercultural Communication Theory*. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1983), 137.

[248] W.B. Gudykunst and M.R. Hammer "Strangers and Hosts: An Uncertainty Reduction Based Theory of Intercultural Adaptation", Y.Y. Kim ve W. Gudykunst ed, in *Cross-Cultural Adaptation: Current Approaches*, (Newbury Park, Sage Publications, 1988), 107.

[249] Sikka, *Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference*, 3.

some might not be even a topic of discussion for the others. The migrants settled in different regions in Istanbul are a great example of this proposal. When the migrants in Catalca region is examined the main difficulty throughout their settlement and integration process was the 'language difficulty'. As these migrants were using Greek as their mother tongue when they were living in Greece and continued using it after they migrated, it became one of the biggest difficulties between them and the locals. However, another migrant who came from the same region in Greece with the same shipping way and who were again using Greek as a mother tongue again back in Greece did not mention the language difference as one of the difficulties they had between the locals. She settled in Maltepe region again together with some exchange migrants coming from Greece. They immediately go to schools to learn Turkish once they were settled. She stated that their parents learnt Turkish very fast and did not have any big difficulties after the settlement process was over. At this point we can see especially the second generation is no longer victims, but actors of their own fate. Various factors such as the environment, and culture they are drawn in or the society affect the decisions, and actions of the people which identically have an impact on the next generations.

When mass migration is the topic of discussion it would evidently destroy the existing infrastructure of the countries included. Housing, water problems and food needs would create further outcomes when they cannot be turned into productive and earning, happy citizens. Without regular jobs and becoming controlled means of moving workers the "mass overflow of [migrants] would create "ghettoes" with unwanted ethic, social and religious tensions."[250] However, mostly this was not the case for the Balkan migrants in Turkey. Effective reasons behind these were; firstly that they were from the same ethnic origin; and became citizens right after arriving Turkey and the government's quick efforts to find a permanent housing for the Balkan migrants.

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[250] Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations*, 37.

Another reason might be that their hopes for return had completely ended after the events they had been through. After a time of deprivation from their jobs and land, they are granted the lands and houses the government had promised them. All the migrants we interviewed especially the ones in Catalca and Seyrek area mentioned working so hard to make their lands productive and the next generations more rooted in the area. Obviously each wave of Balkan migrants cultivated the previously barren lands and enlivened empty and unpopulated areas after the troubled period. In the long run, with their productivity and hardworking efforts they had added up to the overall economic growth of the newly founded nation.

According to the exchange protocol signed between the countries the people who were from the same village or come with their relatives are made to be settled in the same place in order to keep their community together and to get accustomed to the new settlement area easily. On the other hand, what was in theory did not take place in the same way in practice. The circumstances the treaty was realized made it harder for both of the sides to take the procedures seriously. Most of the people either hit the roads through their own means instead of waiting for the state procedures. The others who came through the means of the state are mostly either sent to different places than their relatives or friends or had no idea where the rest of the family was settled. Moreover, "[T]he assumption that all the people listed under the same category were similar in socio-economic terms or of similar social status indicates nothing but the blatant indifference of the Turkish government to the actual dynamics of the question at stake."[251] This mainly struck the exchange migrants who were residing in cities and did not deal with agriculture before. The observations revealed these were mostly the migrants who leave the lands granted by the government behind and settled in the city centres where they could deal with different jobs according to their

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[251] Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 142.

skills or conditions. In this choice sometimes the habits and being used to the city life in Greece were operative forces as well.[252]

At the first step some had hopes of going back which diminished as they formed their new lives in the new lands and as their children and grandchildren grow up. They started investing in Turkey, built their new homes and opening new businesses here. They broke their ties with Greece and most of the first generation migrants never saw their country of birth again.

5.7 After Settlement Worries and Memory Transformation

In this part, how the first generations' experiences and memories were transferred to the following generations and how much of them are protected will be compared and unveiled. Their impacts in the identities of the following generations will also be presented.

First of all, for all of the migrants we can argue that they could not describe the migration process of their parents or grandparents in detail. Although there are lacks and mistakes done in the transportation and settlement process, it should also be admitted that, considering the situations of the country back then, the state also made a big organization in the settlement process of the migrants. The numbers are not

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[252] "In contrast to the governments division of exchange migrants, the Resettlement Assistance Association (İskân Teavün Cemiyeti), "drafted its own plan on the basis of the refugees' backgrounds. Their proposed plan divided the refugees into the two broad categories, urban and rural; while the former included the merchants (eşraf), manufacturers (esnaf), and urban workers (işçiler), the latter consisted of villagers (köylüler) and farmers (çiftçiler), and those involved with animal husbandry." Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 142; However, the government did not listen to these plans or recommendations.

clearly set[253], and can differ in every source; yet more than two million people's departure and arrival at the same time, and organizing their shipment and settlement process should be very hard for a country who was just went out of a war period. All of the respondents had some information about their journey to Turkey to some extent.

Another important point about their identity and group consciousness was the time they learnt about being an exchange migrant. Some of them learnt these memories directly from their parents/grandparents; however, they cannot give a lot of details about them. The third generation revealed that when they were children, mostly they were told the stories by their grandparents; especially by grandmothers. The second generation on the other hand mostly stated their parents were talking about the past events about the migration process they had been through again when they were children but not in detail. To a great extent, they stated they were only talking about how they came and from where; at some points they mentioned they were also adding some daily life stories like their relationships with the Greeks. They pointed these were mostly mentioned in the 1950s-60s, when they were totally settled and there was no electricity or TVs at home and people spend their nights telling stories to each other. With this stories the feelings, experiences and knowledge and history of the first generation is also passed on to the following generations. Together with the life stories the new generations get their past experiences plus the parents' reactions, feelings and inner truths towards the events and those "[s]tories connect[ed them] to [their] roots."[254] As the narratives can be seen as a "formative mechanism in the construction of self and identity",[255] we should keep in mind that the oral

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[253] Arı, Büyük Mübadele, 9; Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1930-1914*, 3. According to Karpat, because of the major population movements, and increasing social mobility the birth and death rates and numbers have changed. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1930-1914*, 3.

[254] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 121.

[255] Merrill John Bryce, "Stories of Narrative: On Social Scientific Uses of Narrative in Multiple Disciplines", *Colorado Research in Linguistics*, Issue 20/1, (2007), 1.

narratives are both a product of the society and the individual. They are social, local, national and global.

One common memory was that some were separated from some of their relatives or family members when they were getting on the ships as there were not enough places on the ships. Most of them both in Çatalca region and Seyrek were transported by ships.[256] From the other sources and biographies the ordeals of the transportation process can easily be deduced. As Henry Morgenthau[257] reported for the Greek migrants' dismal picture;

> [S]even thousand people crowded in a ship that would have been taxed to normal capacity with two thousand. They were packed like sardines upon the deck, a squirming, writhing mass of human misery. They had been at sea for four days. There had not been space to permit them to lie down to sleep; there had not been no food to eat; there was no access to any toilet facilities. For those four days and nights many had stood upon the open deck, drenched by an autumn rain, pierced by the cold night wind, and blistered by the noonday sun. They came ashore in rags, hungry, sick, covered with vermin, hollow-eyed, exhaling the horrible odor of human filth-bowed with despair.

The situation was no different for the Turkish migrants. A third generation migrant Erdal Özgün, narrated the details of his grandparents' journey from his town to Çatalca as such; "They walked about one hundred kilometres to reach.
Thessaloniki harbour with nothing to eat or drink, they were also afraid of being killed by anyone of the Greek or Bulgarian army irregulars or local residents of towns who were influenced by nationalistic feelings of the period and act against the

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[256] The transportation of the migrants were to a large extend covered by the ships of the Directorate of Navigation. Only the ones who lived closer to the Turkish border or close to the railroad line of trains were transported by trains or carriages or on foot. Most of the interviewees could not remember or know the name of the ship but they all could name from which harbour to which one they were taken. For further information on the ships of transportation roads please see: http://www.mubadelemuzesi.net/transportofexchangees.aspx

[257] Henry Morgenthau, with French Strother, *I Was Sent to Athens*, (NewYork: Doubleday, Doran and Company Inc., 1929), 101.

Turkish people."[258] Another migrant stated while the migrants were brought into the ships from Thessaloniki, even in the ships the conditions were very dismal. Most of the people were sick, separated from their families as the ships were full and could not take all of them and they were all very hungry. Some even died on the way back home and their bodies were thrown into the sea.[259] Being forced migrants the events were out of their control and they almost had no say on the course of the events. Another impressive example was given by Galip Eren:

> After my grandfather's family decided to leave, everyone in the family took whatever they could take, walked with the ox-carts beside them until Thessaloniki harbour [...] An unforgettable example was a friend of my grandfather Uncle Nazif, who was then a child and working in the fields of the neighbouring Greek village as the only Turkish worker [...] In that period there was no easy communication, or means of transportation etc. He was then 17 years old. While he was working there one Greek neighbour told him that 'I heard the people in your village are migrating to Turkey and this afternoon hit the roads already.' Uncle Nazif surprised, panicked with fear, started running to his village immediately after he heard that without asking permission from his Greek boss or taking the money he worked for. He was running at a full gallop, and after he had arrived in his village he saw that there was no one left but the animals, such as chickens, cows, dogs straying around. The village was totally dead; there was no soul around the town. Then his fears even grow bigger as he was wondering where his family was and thinking how he could find them. He again started running thinking he might catch them on the road to Thessaloniki, and eventually he found them and they all could came together.[260]

In these stories together with the harsh conditions the migrants were in, it also shows the helplessness of the people, and again the power of the structures on them, when they leave Greece. The decision to leave and hit on the roads in groups was so

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[258] (Özgün, 52, Third Generation).

[259] (Duran, 81, Second Generation).

[260] (Eren, 57, Third Generation).

urgently taken that it even prevented the family to inform their 17 year old son who was working in the next village. Their arrival to Turkey also happened in the same psychology and conditions.

Another striking example was given by Duran, when telling about how her grandfather died:

> The Greek neighbours invited him for a picnic by the river, they said we will have fun, eat and drink together come at this hour. He was very wealthy at that time and well known in his village. They were 10 people from my mother's village, of course she knew them all. 10 of them together with her father wake up early, loaded their food and drinks on the donkeys and went to have a picnic that day. We do not know what happened later on but my grandmother then heard the gunshots. Right after the events the killers wife [their neighbour] came with a loaf of bread to my grandmother and said: 'look Rakibe – my grandmother's name was Rakibe-they killed your husband, Ibrahim. Take your children and run away or they will kill you as well. She gave the bread to my grandmother. They were very close friends with this Greek neighbours before. At that moment my mom was only four years old, my aunt was one and a half years old and three uncles who were bigger like sixteen seventeen years old [...] they left everything; their home, animals, lands [...]behind.[261]

This again shows us the tough conditions they hit the roads. Moreover, in this example we are also introduced to the desperation and helplessness of the two old friends against the common ideas and prejudices of the society. Similar kind of story was also told by another migrant in Izmir, Seyrek, who told his grandfather Abdül was kidnapped by the Greeks when they were living in Greece.[262] He stated they never heard about him again and rest of the family was sent to Turkey without him. In the first example, presented by Duran, we observe that the changing politics, thoughts and prejudices of the wide public forces the people, from different ethnic

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[261] (Duran, 81, Second Generation).

[262] (Ufuk, 82, Second Generation).

origins, who in interviewees own words 'were like siblings before' to kill each other. Hence, the public's (Greeks' and Muslims') decision making process and the way of thinking in 1920s can be described as such:

> Men living in groups do not merely coexist physically as discrete individuals. They do not confront the objects of the world from the abstract levels of a contemplating mind as such, nor do they do so exclusively as solitary beings. On the contrary they act with and against one another in diversely organized groups, and while doing so they think with and against one another.[263]

Even the decisions made by the individuals can be seen as a result of a collective activity in times like this and the actions taken were also in the same regard. What the neighbour lady does can also be explained as becoming aware of this situation and "attain[ing] a new mode of control over previously uncontrolled factors in thought."[264] Aware of the fact that she cannot control the events, or change the thoughts or motivations of her husband she decided to warn, and inform her neighbours instead. Even this kind of action shows the importance of individual choices and the change they could bring within the society. She could save six other people from the family from being killed. In such circumstances, surrounded by the heavy power of political ideologies, social norms, and practices (structures), and understanding them; her counter action symbolizes a lot for the importance of the decisions of *actors* made in social world.

All of the migrants had the chance to learn about their exchange migrant identities through these stories told by their family members. Thereupon, the third generation migrants who were able to spend more time with their grandparents had more chance to listen to the life stories of their grandparents, acquire the culture and values, and understand the feelings of their grandparents. These equipped the third generations

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[263] Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 3.

[264] Ibid. 4

with knowledge on the events and helped them from their childhood on to learn about their past. This later influenced their curiosity to learn and search more about their identities.

As Atkinson argues life stories have various functions; firstly they guide us psychologically, and foster an unfolding of the self. Secondly, they help us to understand and validate our experiences socially, and form our relationships with the people around us. They help the people to get socially accepted norms and sometimes shape them according to the generally accepted requirements of the society. Life stories in general forms the sense of a community for the individual being. Thirdly, they function mystical and religiously, they take us from here, our everyday life and "allow us to enter the realm of the spirit."[265] Therefore, the third generation being exposed to these memories and stories more in their daily relationships seemed to have acquired more about the past memories. Feelings of the first generation towards the events and their curiosity to learn about their norms and traditions were also more than the second generation. Therefore, their curiosity about the past were also triggered by these interactions and gained memories. The second generation; however, mostly indicated they were either ignorant or unconscious about these stories and did not dig the details of the stories they heard when their parents were talking about them.

5.8 Conclusion

The preliminary discoveries revealed that scholars studying the migration process may benefit a lot from looking the subject through 'the generations' which might help them to broaden their scope of analysis. The migrants' experiences extended in time will enlighten the researchers and policy makers about the possible results of

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[265] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 122.

migration for the next generations. Looking deep into the lives of the following generations and local communities will also enable the scholars with a comparative study for the generations, other communities and intertwined relations of structures and the agents in migration process. Plus it will show us the importance of the local conditions in shaping the experiences and thoughts of the migrants. In this chapter, we also tried to use these advantages of studying with the generations with the help of the interviews and get a comparative knowledge about the daily life experiences of the first generation exchange migrants and how these are observed in the following generations. This part generally focused on the first generations from the perspective of the second and third generations and concentrated on the important topics such as possessions, the importance of place, the relationships with the others and their importance on their lives and identities. We realized these were all important topics to understand how the identities of the following generations are shaped and to make comparisons between the generations.

Therefore, in this chapter we had the chance to see the impacts of the past on the second and third generation migrants. With regards to the past events in their lives we observed the transformations they had been through and their impact on the migrants' feelings and identities of the following generations. We pointed that the consequences of the past are not only seen on the individuals but also on the environment and the structures they entered in. That this is a mutually effective process for all and only through a dynamic approach their affects can be revealed entirely is stressed.

In Chapter 6, together with the previous discussions, we will focus more on the identity issues and how they are presented in the second and third generations. It will help us to entirely observe how the second and third generation differs from each other in terms of culture and identity protection. It will also reveal the elements which caused these gradual changes in the exchange migrants' lives.

CHAPTER 6

SECOND AND THIRD GENERATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will mainly focus on the perspectives of the second and third generations on their lives, exchange migration and identities. Firstly, we will try to uncover the identity formations of the exchange migrants. Political, economical and cultural grounds will be pointed besides the observations on how the migrants were regarded in their new homeland and their reactions to it.

We will scrutinize how the migrants' positions have changed from 'the other' to 'being a local'. In order to understand this and the changing identities better we will touch upon the changing structures surrounding the second and third generations. Then, we will analyse, the factors affecting the knowledge, identities and interests of the second and third generations. Together with that the affects of globalization and globally increasing trends on the individual's identities and its impacts on the second and third generation exchange migrants in Catalca will be discussed. Finally, we will reveal to what extent second and third generation migrants maintained their ancestors' culture and customs and on what grounds these were observed. Together with the fifth chapter on the conducted interviews, we will have a deeper understanding of the after migration processes from the second and third generations' point of view. Therefore, we will also have a deeper understanding of the exchange migrants' generational differences on identities, feelings and lives.

6.2 Identity Formations in the Following Generations

The change in the increasing interest of third generation exchange migrants went in line with the historical and social transformations in the country and the world in general. As stated their migration period is the time of foundation for the Turkish Republic. As they were the citizens of Ottoman Empire, right after their migration, they were accepted as the citizens of Turkish Republic and they did not have any official identity problems conflicting with the local citizens of Turkey.[266] As Aydın indicated:

> The relationship between the citizen and the state is one determined by the dual expectations/requirements of fear and security whereby the state is perceived and conceptualized as a body mimicking the role of the patriarch (or in Turkish, aile reisi). Many citizens also view the state as a body that needs protection from "threats," including those internal, ideological ones.[267]

Authority of the state made it easier for the exchange migrants to be accepted in the community officially; however, in their daily life interactions locals were still careful with their behaviours and interactions towards the exchange migrants. Therefore, the locals in Turkey were not against the regulations and statements made by the government, yet, on the other side they were also afraid of anything alien/different to what they got used to as they fear these might spoil the locals' and citizens' usual ways of thinking, behaving, and in the long run destroy the unity of the state. As Aydın also pointed in the societies in which the citizens were mostly passive (not the constituent element) or did not take active role in the foundation of the state, the citizens were tend to behave and act in a way that they/themselves would not be

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[266] For a comparison of citizenship in Empire and the nation state please see; Çağlar Keyder, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye'den Avrupa Birliği'ne*, (İletişim Yayınları: İstanbul, 2005).

[267] Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası*, 8.

harmed by the state/the power above them.[268] The case was also true for the exchange migrants; they tended to accept the new place they were settled and regulations made by the great powers and the state above them, no matter how much they were afraid of entering a new environment, meeting new people and changing their lives. They took shelter in Turkey mostly with the hopes of gaining security of life and property. Still, all the transformations and changes coming with the foundation of Turkish Republic left the people also being in a state of "in between". They were Muslims; yet mostly possessed various ethnic backgrounds or cultures and had different pasts from the communities they were settled with. Within the efforts of Westernization and modernization, in the same periods Turkey was trying to build its own identity[269] in the world, and the migrants eventually became a part of the big picture as their settlement was also happening concurrently. Some exchange migrants argued within that atmosphere they were scared to mention their cultural differences. Thus, as Aydın also pointed at the beginning of the settlement process rather than talking about their cultural differences they mostly mentioned being Muslim and highlighted their similar pasts.[270] They thought integrating into the big community will made them more prosperous all mentally, socially and economically. These together created the differences in the knowledge and identity formation of the second and third generations.

On the positive side, the timing of the exchange also eliminated a big problem of discussion for the other migration cases. As they were forced exchange migrants and were a part of the convention, they were given the legal status of 'citizenship' once they step into Turkey. Thus, no restrictive measures were taken against them on the

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[268] Ibid. 10.

[269] For the ideological discussions during this period please see: Francois Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri*, (Ankara: Yurt, 1986); Serif Mardin, *Continuity and Change in the Ideas of the Young Turks*, (Istanbul: Robert College, 1969); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (London: Hurst and Company, 1998).

[270] Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası,* 38.

legal side and they were granted full citizenship which allowed them to perform their daily routine activities and duties and travel freely within the country and mix with the locals. However, in the name of getting acceptance they had to be a part of 'one culture' and homogenous society, so had to be silent about the differences. This in return influenced the second generation's knowledge on the past events and left the first generation 'in between' state.

Therefore, when the migrants moved to their new settlement areas, the locals were both under the effect of multicultural environment they had been living in (and the negative/positive effects it left on them) and under the emposed new policies of the Turkish Republic which was trying to build a uniform society[271]. Within these conditions *language* as Kristeva argued became an important element in building the 'other' for both the exchange migrants and locals.[272]

The emphasis on one national language while building up the nation made language an important part of building the national identity. In Catalca area all the exchange migrants were speaking Greek and this continued up to present (There were of course some exceptions who spoke Turkish before and after the migration process as well such as the migrants from Drama.).[273] It is pointed that was a big obstacle for the

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[271] For more discussions on multiculturalism and its impact on national and ethnic identities see: Gerd Bauman,. *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).

[272] Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Trans by Leon Raudiez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).; Also in Evangelia Balta, *Gerçi Rum isek de Rumca Bilmez Türkçe Söyleriz: Karamanlılar ve Karamanlıca Edebiyat Üzerine Araştırmalar*, (Istanbul; Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012). For other discussions on identity and 'the other' please see; A.Sen, *Identity and Violence*, (New York: W.W. Nortan and Company, 2006); K.A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, (W.W. Nortan and Company, 2005); S. Benhabib, *The Rights of Others*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); C. Mouffe ed,*The Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship and Community*, (London: Routledge. 2005); A. Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers*, (Duke Durham, University Press, 2006); C. Taylor, *Modern Toplumsal Tahayyüller*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2006).

[273] In Çatalca, the interviewees even mentioned, at the beginning of their settlement there were even people among the first generation migrants who refused to learn Turkish, this had varying reasons for

locals to accept the exchange migrants as one of them at the beginning but the sharp edges of the refusal was refined in time. We observed that all of the respondents talked about *a silent period* (a period that the first generations mostly remained silent about their experiences of the exchange process, and their differences in culture and traditions). There might be various reasons[274] behind this silence, but obvious two of them were; 'the fresh contacts' which are also the environmental, structural factors in the life of the individual. Secondly, the ambiguity and fear this change caused among the migrants at first step.

Whatever the reasons of this silent period were, in the long run it caused the loss of some memories and break the smooth continuity of the traditions from one generation to the other. As Mannheim argues we can state that;

> The continuous emergence of new human beings certainly results in some loss of accumulated cultural possessions; but, on the other hand, it alone makes a fresh selection possible when it becomes necessary; it facilitates re-evaluation of our inventory and teaches us both to forget

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each migrant; for instance; in the schools they could not get on well with the teachers or as another reason the priorities of the period were different (such as going to the fields and cultivating, or looking after their children could be more important than spending their time with learning Turkish then). A basic reason of this is the age difference in the schools, as mentioned the first generation migrants were from differing age groups. When the schools were opened to teach Turkish to these migrants, the elderly had to go to the same schools with the adolescents. The elderly was to deal with the housework, the field, crops and could not continue the studies regularly. As mentioned by Mustafa Toygar, 68, a second generation migrant, 'his mother' decided to give up school as she had a quarrel about the priorities given to homeworks and houseworks. Except Çatalca region it is observed that all the other migrants who were settled in Istanbul and did not know Turkish well, immediately went to local schools in their neighbourhoods to learn Turkish. In the second generation, no one in Seyrek or Istanbul city center continued speaking Greek in their private and public relationships except Catalca area.

[274] Moreover, according to the researchers and some of the second generations interviewed the reasons might be manifold; some examples can be counted as: a.To prevent hatred of their children towards Greece, their motherland.; b.To prevent prejudices of the locals towards Greece.; c.To allow the second generation to form a healthy new life in their new land, help their adaptation process.; d.To avoid discrimination in their new life.; e.To forget about the past and the grief/ sad memories it brought.

that which is no longer useful and to covet that which has yet to be won.[275]

This is also evident when we asked about the feelings of the first generation to the later generations. Thus, as Mannheim deducted; "[m]embers of any one generation can only participate in a temporally limited section of the historical process"[276] has found its body form in the population exchange migrants especially as a result of all the hardships, obstacles and thoughts the first generation faced with.[277] All the cultural memories and social heritage of the family acquired up until then started to melt away as the actors who were to carry those memories to the next generation are separated from each other at a very early age, passed away or abstained from sharing their differences. In this case we see a strong break between the actors of the past experiences and actors of present.

Moreover, in the first generation migrants even if they tell about the events we see a tendency to stay away from sharing the past 'totally' with the second generation. Thus, apart from the disappearance of the agents, the reluctance of the first generation to share their memories made it harder for the following generation to gather those memories while they were fresh. These altogether as Mannheim also

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[275] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 294.

[276] Ibid, 296.

[277] Mannheim emphasized "the fact that the unending life of one generation is of course impossible and as opposition to that utopian idea there are some obvious facts which built up the reality of the generations:
a) new participants in the cultural process are emerging, whilst
b) former participants in that process are continually disappearing;
c) members of any one generation can participate only in a temporally limited section of the historical process, and
d) it is therefore necessary continually to transmit the accumulated cultural heritage;
e) the transition from generation to generation is a continuous process.
These are the basic phenomena implied by the mere fact of the existence of generations, apart from one specific phenomenon we choose to ignore for the moment, that of physical and mental ageing" Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge,* 292-293. These characteristics of a generation become much more important when the fact of migration or even more importantly forced migration is added to the lives of the individuals. These elements' meaning for the next generations becomes much more important as we also observed throughout this research.

pointed "serves the necessary social purpose of enabling [them][278] to forget. [However, i]f society is to continue, social remembering is just as important as forgetting and action starting from scratch."[279] This in a way allowed the first generations to start from scratch as if they had no lives before their residence in Turkey, the past experiences are not tried to be incorporated with the present's right after the migration.

Therefore, what is learnt or acquired (by the second generation) in the childhood or adolescence years from the family is actually what the family chose to tell them. As an example; a second generation migrant Mert Dinçer, stated he visited Greece for several times and during that visits he could learn more about the migration stories of his father and grandmother more than he was told. He stated

> My grandmother was always telling me stories about their life back in Greece and she told me how to speak Greece while she was weaving a carpet and I – as a child-was sitting by her side. Yet, after my visits I learned that she was always telling me only about the good memories and stories.[280]

He recognized about this when he went to Greece and learnt about his family's stories and searched for the family's official records there. The great news for him was that there left two aunts of him still living in Greece.[281] This when first learnt

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[278] 'Them' here refers to both the first and following generations.

[279] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 294.

[280] (Dinçer, 54, Third Generation.)

[281] According to his expression; the aunt was the sister of his grandmother, she was trying to escape the Greek gangs when their land and crops were sacked by these groups. While running away from them she fell into the river and could not be found afterwards. Everyone was thinking that she was dead but she infact was found by a Greek soldier who fell in love with her and married with her immediately. At that point the aunt was thinking that her family had already left Greece for Turkey or died on the way and accepted marrying with the soldier as her life was in danger. The interviewee does not know what happened to her afterwards and why she did not try to contact with the family. As he could not spoke with the grand-aunt he only had guessed that she might be afraid of coming out

shocked the Dinçer family as they were not aware that the aunts were still alive and living there. He stated his father must have died thinking that his sisters died during the population exchange. For the rest of the family however, the news was even more shocking as they were not even aware of her existence. Apparently, the first generations' period of silence and choice of telling about the past selectively deeply affected the knowledge and perception of the following generations on the events. Thus, it can be argued that the memory transfer could not be completed totally to the following generations.[282]

These all caused the second generation to transform in terms of their migrant identity and feeling of belonging unconsciously. The collective cultural or traditional knowledge was not enough for the following generation to continue or share similar emotions and feelings with the first generation towards their motherland. This in the long run caused 'the social form of remembering' to dimish its existence in the memories of some of the people.

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into the open, to be known by everyone after all those secretly lived years. The aunts refused to speak to him as they were married to a Greek military officer and behaved as Christians and Greek citizens after 1923.

[282] Whatever the reasons of this silence and not telling were; it can be argued that this also made the adaptation process easier for the following generation migrants. Another example is given by a Rum minority living in Turkey from the Ottoman periods on. His name was Erin and we also had the chance to speak with him. He stated his mother was adopted by another Greek of Turkish Nationality living in Istanbul Beyoğlu area. He shared that his mother was brought into Istanbul by her Turkish babysitter when she was 3 years old, after all her family was killed by Bulgarian gangs in Kütahya, Simav. The babysitter, who managed to escape, took refuge in the Turkish missions and brought the kid together with her to Istanbul. Erin stated her mother justifiably did not have any memories or knowledge of her parents and Simav. It can be argued that this element (lack of memories about the past) has a very powerful place in the lives of the people after the World War I such as the exchange migrants. As "[a]ll psychic and cultural data only really exist in so far as they are produced and reproduced in the present: Hence past experience is only relevant when it exists concretely incorporated in the present" Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 294.

6.3 From Being 'the Other' to 'Being Locals'

We already discussed about the fact that the timing of the population exchange is important to understand the feelings and behaviours of the first generation. The time is also important as it is also the period the exchange migrant community were to integrate into the society they entered. Integration of the migrant is a widely studied topic by the sociologists studying migration. They generally look into the points such as;

> [w]hether the migrant family integrated well to the main culture or not; or if the migration [was] the cause of disintegration of the family; or whether the migrants integrated well with their new neighbours, and whether the migrants participate fairly soon in local formal and informal organizations."[283]

When we look into these questions we also should look back at the historical circumstances (mainly the dominant ideas) surrounding the migrants at that period as they were the main effective factors in the integration of the migrants and their feeling of belonging or not belonging to the country. As explained before, the dominancy of the state is one important element at this point. Through the networks and agents the state was using its full authority and force on its citizens. Through the security, education and management systems it built a full-fledged legitimacy on its subjects. As some scholars argued in the beginning of the nineteenth century nationalistic upheavals in the Balkans gave priority to religion.[284] The exchange

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[283] Jansen, *Readings in the Sociology of Migration*, 23.

[284] Also in Ramsey Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, (London: Constable Country Limited, 1918); Joseph S. Roucek, *The Working of the Minorities System under the League of Nations*, (Prague: Orbis Publishing Co., 1929).
When we look Ramsay Muir's definition of nationalism; "a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when disunited, and cannot tolerate subjection to peoples who do not share these ties" Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, 38.; Among these ties of affinity are; occupation of a geographical area, unity of race (at least to some degrees), unity of language, unity of religion. Besides these factors which all contributed to create or strengthen national unity; 1)

between Greece and Turkey was also based on the religious differences and similarities and it became a topic to decrease the exchange migrants' alienation in the society they entered.

According to Tally,[285] "The term alienation has its simple meaning–a condition of being estranged from someone or something [...]." With the case of the migrants the population exchange process divided the families, and took the migrants away from their own communities and way of life they got used to. This left them more vulnerable and open to extential estrangements and exclusions. While founding the Turkish Republic ethnic and cultural homogeneity of the people was emphasized; and all cultural, ideological and identity differences were seen as a threat to the unity of the state.[286] Anything against the imposed ideals had a great tendency to be seen as the other and to be alienated from the society. Apart from the language accepted, the education system formed, any others were seen as a threat to the continuance of the state. As it was accepted that without the state their entity and existence was also in danger.[287] Thus, after the migration period (during the integration period) these

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"common subjection, during a long stretch of time, to a firm and systematic government", 2) "community of economic interest", 3) "possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common" can also be counted as controlling factors while building a nation. Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, 47-48. In Turkey in the foundation period these elements were mostly highlighted and imposed on the citizens by the state and through the networks it established. When Muir's elements of affinity, which helps the feeling of togetherness and being a nation, are kept in mind; we can argue that during the population exchange the most common elements were mostly; unity of religion (being Muslim); "common subjection", and "possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common". These elements made it faster for the exchange migrants to be accepted in the communities they entered, still after a while.

[285] R. T. Tally, "Reading the Original: Alienation, Writing, and Labor in 'Bartleby, the Scrivener'", In H. Bloom, & B. Hobby Eds., *Bloom's Literary Themes: Alienation*, (New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism, 2009), 2.

[286] For the relation between the citizens and the state in Turkey and the ideologies it was built on please see Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası* and *Devlet'in Kavram ve Kapsamı*, (Ankara: Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği Yayınları, No. 1, 1990).

[287] Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası,* 22.

were the conditions the exchange migrants were exposed to. These feelings and thoughts evidently affected the feelings of the first generation and transferred to the second generation migrants from their parents.

As pointed above, after the migration process, in some cases the migrants from Greece, despite being Muslim, were labelled as 'the other', 'not Muslims' or 'Greek Seeds' by some of the local communities in Turkey.[288] Mert Dincer, a third generation migrant in Istanbul, who was lucky enough to listen the stories from his grandmother, who provided us the example of Çatalca/Istanbul. He mentioned they were not living mixed with the migrants but living in different neighbourhoods as if there were an imaginary border. Therefore, it can be argued that the cultural differences and past memories of the war period made it harder for the locals and migrants to trust one another immediately after settlement. It is also indicated by Olsen that "strong feelings of alienation definitely influence people's attitudes and opinions."[289] The fear of being alienated also affected the migrants' behaviours and feelings. Even when the locals accepted them, they had various other difficulties in terms of language for a while. They either could not communicate with the locals as they did not know Turkish or the others alienated them in some of the social activities such as marriages, or local meetings.[290] As the Republic was newly

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[288] When we are talking about culture language stands out as one of the important elements of culture. "A common language means also a common literature, a common inspiration of great ideas, a common heritage of songs and folk-tales embodying, and impressing upon each successive generation, the national point of view" (Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism,* 44). Thus, language is thought to be a big part of shared culture, and it affects a big part of people's daily life. Some of the migrants who were not sharing the similar language or even speaking it with an accent were thought to be either Christians or from Greek descent and alienated from the local communities for a while.

[289] Marvin E. Olsen, " Alienation and Political Opinions", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Summer, (Oxford University Press, 1965) , 212.

[290] The situation is similar in İşlek, *Migration Adaptation of Emigrants,* who conducted interviews with the migrants in Cappadoccia, Güzelyurt Region. He pointed that for a long period of time the exchange migrants and the locals remained distant. They refused to get married with and had prejudices towards each other.

founded the disparities of old and new were common for both of the sides of the society and as Berkes states;

> traditional patterns [were] in the process of dissolution, and new forms [had] not yet become established [for all the communities living in Turkey]. There [were] cleavages in almost every department of life -in ideas, in institutions, between generations, and among classes and communities. Such a condition of flux [was] an unmistakable sign of internal change in the value system of a society.[291]

Within this great cultural, political and social change, at the beginning of their lives in Turkey right after the settlement, the migrants seemed to have little control over their own actions, thoughts and lives. Their basic needs, problem of health and security gain more importance over the other needs at the beginning. And living not in mixed communities made it even harder for them to observe and accept each other as well. With the fear of being labelled as the other everyone chose living in their own communities at the beginning. As Münch emphasized:

> The path to social integration has to be searched far beyond the borderlines of the nation state. This is, however, a difficult path, full of strains and barriers which have to be overcome. The difficulties begin with the reluctance of people to move beyond historically established national ties of citizenship [...].[292]

This was also true for the Seyrek village where the migrants and locals were settled in different places when they first arrived. Although in our case the locals' history was in line with the exchange migrants, their enemies seemed the same and they did not have a great barrier in terms of national ties as the state was freshly founded, still the locals had difficulties or hesitations in accepting 'anyone somehow different' as 'one of them' immediately. Although they shared a similar history under the rule of Ottoman Empire, towards the end of the Empire "[t]he people were subjects of a

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[291] Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 3.

[292] Richard Münch, *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From National to Transnational Identities*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 67.

monarch who exerted absolute power; [however, ineffective] on his territory and they conceived of themselves as members of local, regional and state units"[293], not as members of one nation or united culture. In an era where varieties were seen as the greatest danger to state and country unity, it is not hard to imagine the hardness of freely mentioning or accepting the other with their differences.

The exchange migrants, who were mostly taken away from their extended kinship and stable community ties, feared also that they might be excluded from the other communities. They had hidden their cultural and traditional differences or shared them less with their children and kept silent in terms of public and private sphere. Their being ignorant of their cultural differences for fear of alienation from the society also deprived them of freedom to present their identities and in the long run Turkey from protecting its diversities.[294]

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[293] Ibid. 67.

[294] For more discussions on identity, cultural differences and studies on identity from various perspectives please see: J. P. Sartre, *Notebooks for an Ethics*, D. Pellauer Trans., (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992); Sikka, *Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference*; Tally "Reading the Original"; Sayers, S. *The Concept of Alienation in Existentialism and Marxism*. (Kent University Press, 2003); Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson Trans., (New York: NU Press, 1996); Davies, G. and Dwyer, C. "Qualitative Methods: Are You Enchanted or Are You Alienated?" *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 31/2, (2007), 1-15.; Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper "Beyond Identity", *Theory and Society*, 29, (Kluwer Academic Publishers: Netherlands, 2000), 1-47.; Boyer *The City of Collective Memory*; Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*; Liz Bondi, *Making Connections and Thinking Through Emotions: Between Geography and Psychotherapy Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, (2005a), 433-448; Liz Bondi, "The Place of Emotions in Research: from Partitioning Emotion and Reason to the Emotional Dynamics of Research Relationships", In J. Davidson, Liz Bondi, and M. Smith, *Emotional Geographies*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005b), 231-246.; Olsen, "Alienation and Political Opinions"; C. W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959),; Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*, (New York, Oxford, 1953); Erich Fromm *The Sane Society*, (New York: Rinehart, 1955); William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society*, (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1959); Daniel Bell, "The Rediscovery of Alienation: Some Notes Along the Quest for the Historical Marx," *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 56, November, (1959), 933-952; Liz Bondi, and Joyce Davidson, "Spatialising Affect, Affecting Space: an Introduction". *Gender, Place and Culture* 11, (2004): 373-375.

In another case, there were also some other factors highlighted in the interviews. In this context one migrant's experience can be noted, she mentioned as they did not want to be named as 'exchange migrant' (muhajir), they did not want any governmental help, instead after they entered Turkey they bought their new land and home with their own money.[295] They were Muslims, yet knowing the various confusions and discussions in the public identified with the population exchange process, the interviewee stated her father and grandfather did not want to be labelled as *muhajır* right after migration. Their family was worried what the future might bring for their family under the 'exchange migrant' title.

In one anecdote from Çatalca, Istanbul, one interviewee stated until 1940s they did not marry with the 'other' residents of the village. According to some interviewees, this case about not marrying with the migrants or locals; however, was seen as not othering, but accepting each other as brother and sister, and from the family and not looking the other as a person to get married with. For the people coming from Neapoli, they were called *Patriots*, speaking Greek before and after migration, and they were not accepting the marriage with the people if the others were not Patriots as well. Mert Dincer told that his father did not accept another Turkish Greek migrant from Drama as their bride when he wanted to marry her. Because the people from Drama were not Patriots and they were speaking Turkish both when they were in Greece and after they settled in Turkey.

However, another migrant who talked about the marriage issue stated that as the people were mostly speaking Greek in their daily lives, it became an important element of their culture. Therefore, they were afraid of having cultural and mostly communication problems within and with the other family members if they accept to marry with someone speaking a different language. The historical records and the interviews conducted support the idea that this discrimination (about marriage) did

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[295] (Interviewee, 73, Third Generation).

not last very long and both these migrants and the locals of the cities they migrated started to feel as the locals not long after. To support this idea, another third generation migrant Ismail Gül, aged 54, a second generation exchange migrant from Drama who speaks Turkish both before and after population exchange stated, he did not have any difficulties while marrying his third generation wife from Naslic, Sema Gül who was also known to be a *Patriot*. He stated her family was speaking Greek at home in daily life and they did not have any difficulties after marriage as well. Thus, the case about marriage is a disputable issue. In some cases the families did not give permission for the second generation to marry each other because the other side was a migrant. From another angle, the previous marriage patterns and accepting the other community might also be the result of the arranged marriages set by the families instead of the individuals, up until 1930s.[296] Today in the third generation, they do not have any group taboos left in either Çatalca or in Seyrek village or in any of the migrants interviewed around Istanbul. Nobody says "we do not accept a bride/groom from the locals/or migrants", today this can only be encountered as individual choices.

The individual is later on shaping or affecting these 'new' environmental factors and social interactions throughout his life course. As an example; Catalca area can be called as a fresh contact for the migrants. They faced with new people, new environment, new relationships and new social experiences right after settlement. As Bourdieu argues;

> [the] practical knowledge, based on the continuous decoding of the perceived-but not consciously noticed-indices of the welcome given to actions already accomplished, continuously carries out the checks and

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[296] For the marriage patterns in Istanbul in late Ottoman and early Turkish Republic, see: Alan Duben, and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880-1940*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

> corrections intended to ensure the adjustment of practices and expressions to the reactions and expectations of the other agents.[297]

The new environment affected the migrant's way of thinking, behaving, and this was not a one sided influence. They taught each other new ways of dealing with the land and crops they had, added up to their cultural, social and mental way of thinking. These close relationships even formed "more proximate social structures"[298], in the shape of friends and relatives who can financially and morally and practically assist one another after the settlement process. Together with these after the migrants were resided in their permanent settlement areas, the trust of the migrants for Turkey's state got stronger. They stated they trusted the state was the ultimate element for their security of life and properties from then on.

In comparison, about the adaptation process, in Izmir's Seyrek region the people stated they had no difficulties in terms of marriage or language. This was mainly because their whole village from Greece transported here with the same ship and people and even the people who were neighbours there, were settled in the houses again next to each other. In Seyrek case the whole village was emptied by the Rum minority living there, and there remained no locals living with the migrants later on. However, in their relations with the neighbouring villages they were also called as the 'seeds of Greeks' in some cases but this did not last very long. As they interact more with the other villagers and had the chance to observe each others' way of living, later they started accepting each other and understood these people were Muslims. As another element to break the prejudices against each other, the influence of sharing the same religion Islam and sharing the same history, the war period memories they had in common could be named as the three pillars which melted their 'otherness' in the long run in the hosting community.

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[297] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 11.

[298] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 92.

Furthermore, exchange migrants' totally broken ties and links with the motherland made it easier for the acceptance of Turkey as the homeland. According to some migration scholars one hindrance for the acceptance of the new community and assimilation process is the transnational ties kept with the country of origin which create dichotomies and slow down the assimilation process for the migrants.[299] Mainly due to the population exchange, together with the prohibition to turn back and sorrowful memories discussed before; after the exchange migrants settled no transnational links could be created up until 1980s.

6.4 Changing Structures for the Following Generations

When we look at the environment the second and third generations grow up and shaped their identities it is obvious that the entire social, political and cultural environment is different from their parents'. We can see them as social generations which should not be "seen as naive, natural objects or as categories; rather the focus is on the variety of levels at which generations are discursively constructed and especially on the continuous classification struggles over the attributes and meanings of those very generations."[300] Thus, both the genealogical and sociological meaning

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[299] A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); and M.P. Smith, *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

[300] Purhonen, "Generations on Paper: Bourdieu and the Critique of 'Generationalism'", 96. For recent generational theorists using Bourdieu and further discussions on generations please see; J. Edmunds BS Turner, *Generations, Culture and Society*. (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2002a); Edmunds J, Turner BS eds, *Generational Consciousness, Narrative and Politics*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002b); C Gilleard, "Cohorts and Generations in the Study of Social Change", *Social Theory & Health* 2, (2004),106–119.; BS Turner, "Ageing and Generational Conflicts: A Reply to Sarah Irwin", *British Journal of Sociology*, Issue 49, (1998), 299–304.; BS Turner, "Strategic Generations: Historical Change, Literary Expression, and Generational Politics", in J Edmunds, BS Turner eds, *Generational Consciousness, Narrative and Politics*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 13–30.; A Dumas and BS Turner, "Ageing in Post-Industrial Societies: Intergenerational Conflict and Solidarity", in JL Powell, J Hendricks eds, *The Welfare State in Post-Industrial Society: A Global Perspective*, (New York: Springer, 2009), 41–56.; R Eyerman, BS Turner, "Outline of a Theory of Generations", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 1, (1998), 91–106.;

of generations should be kept in mind to understand the changes in the society and identity formations of the second and third generations.[301] Throughout this change, in years the children's changing thoughts are a result of both the age differences and the social, political, economic environment they entered in. Within the process of globalization and the weakening nation state, we can see a similarity between the 1990s popular Islamist thoughts in Turkey and postmodern thoughts rising in the West in the same periods. They both aim the unitary and centralist structure of the nation state. Therefore, after the 1980s we started seeing a weakening of the nationalist movements and rise in the quest for identities all around the world.

Together with the 1980s, multiculturalism emerged as a sociocultural-phenomenon which rose together with the criticisms of the nation state and modern culture and

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C Gilleard, P Higgs, *Contexts of Aging: Class, Cohort and Community*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005); C Gilleard, P Higgs, "The Third Age as a Cultural Field", in DC Carr, K Komp eds, *Gerontology in the Era of the Third Age: Implications and Next Steps*. (New York: Springer, 2011), 33–49.; JA McMullin, T Comeau Duerden, E Jovic, "Generational Affinities and Discourses of Difference: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Information Technology Workers", *British Journal of Sociology*, 58, (2007), 297–316; J Burnett, *Generations: The Time Machine in Theory and Practice*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[301] As Purhonen who wanted to link Bourdieu and Mannheim in generation studies argues "Though the importance of generation as an 'explanatory factor' in Bourdieu's approach to cultural change has usually gone unacknowledged because his main emphasis was on class, for Bourdieu, 'generational struggle seems to be especially important in major ruptures in taste and practice' (Edmunds & Turner, 2002a: 13). Moreover it has been argued that members belonging to the same generation share not only common unifying experiences – usually thought to be a 'formative experience' during young adulthood – which separate them from older and younger groups, but distinct generational habitus (Edmunds & Turner, 2002a; Eyerman & Turner, 1998; Gilleard, 2004; Gilleard & Higgs, 2005; Mauger, 1990). This would mean that the characteristics of a generation would essentially be manifested at the corporeal level of its members." Taken from S Purhonen, "Zeitgeist, Identity and Politics: The Modern Meaning of the Concept of Generation", in: Goodson I, Antikainen A, Andrews M, Sikes P eds., *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 95-96.; Moreover, as a side note Bourdieu also used generations in his studies however they acquired different meanings in his texts. P. Bourdieu, "The Social Space and The Genesis of Groups", *Theory and Society*, Issue 14, (1985), 723–744.; P. Bourdieu, "What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups", *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Issue 32, (1987), 1–17.; P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

with increasing globalism.[302] It transformed and was transformed also by the economical and political changes in the societies. In Turkey the debates on multiculturalism was also inflamed towards the end of twentieth century. In these periods both Turkey and the world went through a process in which political struggles and campaigns were made upon cultural sphere and the historical events started to be on the daily routine discussion agenda of average citizen as it was never before. Within this environment, not surprisingly we also observed a rise in the curiosity of the new generation exchange migrants on their identity and their quest for their ancestors' culture.

'Culture' emerges as "the kind of living style and the way of existence the wo/man chooses to be and the pattern of action s/he adopts" and it constitutes a great part of ones identity.[303] Moreover, a collective identity is built together with a culture full of symbols, memories, artistic works, values, norms, habits, beliefs and knowledge

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[302] For various perspectives and discussions on increasing multiculturalism around the world and in Turkey please see; Hamza Aktan, "Orhan Silier'le Söyleşi: Çokkültürlü Tarihe Doğru", *Toplumsal Tarih*, Sayı. 145 (Ocak 2006); Yasin Aktay, "Birleşen Dünyada Çoğalan Kültürler?", *Euroagenda /Avrupa Günlüğü*, Yıl.1, Sayı.2, (2002); Ergün Aybars, (1997) "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Ulusal Kimlik Oluşumu ve Batı'nın Etkisi", Cumhuriyet, Demokrasi ve Kimlik, Yay. Haz. Nuri Bilgin, (Ankara: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1997); Tarık Ziya Ekinci, *Demokrasi, Çokkültürlülük ve Yargısal Bir Serüven*, (İstanbul: Küyerel Yayınları, 1999); Mustafa Erkal, *Küreselleşme, Etniklik, Çokkültürlülük*, (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2005); Brian Fay, *Çağdaş Sosyal Bilimler Felsefesi: Çokkültürlü Bir Yaklaşım*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2001); Jürgen Habermas, *Öteki Olmak, Ötekiyle Yaşamak*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002); Ahmet İnsel, "Çokkültürlülük, Milliyetçilik, Özgürlük", *Radikal İki*, 9.4.2006, http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=r2&haberno=5726 .2006); Ayhan Kaya, ve Turgut Tarhanlı, "Avrupa Birliği Bütünleşme Sürecinde Yurttaşlık, Çokkültürcülük Ve Azınlık Tartışmaları: Bir arada Yaşamanın Siyaseti", *Türkiye'de Çoğunluk ve Azınlık Politikaları: AB Sürecinde Yurttaşlık Tartışmaları İçinde*, (İstanbul: Tesev Yayınları, 2005); Arshi Khan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Çokkültürlülüğün Doğulu Mimarı", Hasan Celal Güzel (Ed.), *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Ermeni Sorunu İçinde* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001), 367–379.; Özbudun, Ergun (1997) "Milli Mücadele ve Cumhuriyetin Resmi Belgelerinde Yurttaşlık ve Kimlik Sorunu", *Cumhuriyet, Demokrasi ve Kimlik*, Yay. Haz.: Nuri Bilgin, (Ankara: Bağlam Yayıncılık.1997); Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*; Charles Taylor, *Çokkültürlülük / Tanınma Politikası*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996); Alain Touraine, *Eşitliklerimiz ve Farklılıklarımızla Birlikte Yaşayabilecek Miyiz?*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000); Melih Yürüşen, *Çeşitlilikten Özgürlüğe/Çokkültürlülük ve Liberalizm*, (Ankara: LDT Yayınları, 1998); Slavoj Zizek, "Çokkültürcülük Ya da Çokuluslu Kapitalizmin Kültürel Mantığı", *Defter*, Yıl. 14, Sayı 44, (2001).

[303] Nermi Uygur, *Kültür Kuramı*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1984), 17.

coming from the old times and from a collective memory.[304] Culture stands out as an important carrier of memory. However, it is true that culture is seen as a bonding factor and a collective identity creator in a community, yet;

> "the 'commonality' which is found in community need not be a uniformity. It does not clone behaviour or ideas. It is a commonality of forms (ways of behaving) whose content (meanings) may vary considerably among its members. The triumph of community is to so contain this variety that its inherent discordance does not subvert the apparent coherence which is expressed by its boundaries.[305]

Hence, we can talk about the importance of symbols which could bind a community within a common cultural boundary. These symbols have subjective meanings for a society and people who use these codes and symbols together have a reconciling function for the individualities and commonalities. Moreover, as Geertz's[306] three arguments suggests their differences in culture is accepted in years as firstly;

> "culture ('webs of significance') is created and continually recreated by people through their social interaction […]. Secondly, being continuously in process, culture has neither deterministic power nor objectively identifiable referents ('law'). Third, it is manifest, rather, in the capacity with which it endows people to perceive meaning in, or to attach meaning to social behaviour. Behaviour does not 'contain' meaning intrinsically; rather, it is found to be meaningful by an act of interpretation: we 'make sense' of what we observe."[307]

Therefore, the communities' differences in culture and behaviour started to be a part of the locality they made up together. Today, in Çatalca region the migrants and the locals accepted each other together with their different cultural elements. The daily

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[304] C. Kluckhohn, 'The Concept of Culture', in R. Kluckhohn ed., *Culture and Behaviour*, (New York: Free Press, 1962), 25.

[305] Anthony P.Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 20.

[306] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

[307] Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, 17.

life encounters and daily applied activities were very important to link agents with the externally imposed norms. Only through daily life practices and perception, thought and mutual action they started to feel as a truely connected community. As Bhabha also argued "[...] the sign of the 'cultured' or 'civilized' attitude is the ability to appreciate cultures in a kind of *musee imaginaire;* as though one should be able to collect and appreciate them."[308] Social structures which are internalized in time by the individuals (which Bourdieu called as *Habitus*) had significant outcomes both for the exchange migrants and the locals they live next to. Their long term daily interactions together with the externally imposed ideas (of the state) enabled them to accept the other (as one of them) with their cultural differences. Their worries and prejudices were broken in time and the locals' and exchange migrants' distant and suspicious relations softened. On the other hand, within that harmonious atmosphere between the locals and exchange migrants, an increase in the interests of the third generation migrants observed. The reasons underlying this interest is manifold and a combination of worldly, regional and local changes in the politics and society the migrants live in.

6.5 Factors Increasing Interests on Identity

When identities are questioned as a reminder and summary for the mentioned points we can argue with all the surrounding factors, such as; the environmental readiness, policies of the state towards its citizens and the migrants, technological developments, the generational differences and their behaviours change in terms of proximity with the elderly (the strict and distant relations were softened in the third generation), the third generation had the opportunities to grow up in an environment in which they were more exposed to and accessible to information about their

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[308] Jonathan Rutherford, "The Third Space". *Interview with Homi Bhabha.* In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference.* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 208.

migrant identity. The introduction of "'identity' into social analysis and its initial diffusion in the social sciences and public discourse occurred in the United States in the 1960s (with some anticipation in the second half of the 1950s)."[309] The rise in the discussions of *identity* and *self* spread all around the globe as mentioned together with the multiculturalism discussions and their repercussions later in Turkey and the individuals started to question more about the past.

All around the world the movements in the 1960s and 1970s insisted on recognition of their distinct, different cultures and identity. Upon these movements as an example; Australia and Canada declared themselves as multicultural. It can be argued third generation exchange migrants' interest in the topic in a way goes in line with the global movements led by the diverse groups such as the national minorities, the greens, ethno-cultural nations.[310] In these movements especially the groups

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[309] Brubaker and Cooper, *Theory and Society*, 2.

[310] For more discussions on cultural diversity, multiculturalism and identity please see: Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*; A. Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol.7. (1990), 295-310.; Anthony K. Appiah, "Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction", in Charles Taylor and Amy Gutmann, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 149–164.; Rainer Bauböck ed., *From Aliens to Citizens: Redefining the Status of Immigrants in Europe*, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994); R.Bellamy, *Liberalism and Pluralism: Towards a Politics of Compromise*, (London: Routledge, 1999); M.Carritthers, *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994); W. Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); F. Dallmayr, *Alternative Visions: Paths in the Global Village*. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998); T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1948); F. Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstruction of Social Order*, (London: Profile Book, 1999); N Glazer, *We are All Multiculturalists Now*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); A Grillo, *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, Culture and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); A.Guttmann, "The Challenge of Multiculturalism to Political Ethics", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 22, No.3. (1993); M. Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journey Into the New Nationalism*, (New York: Farrar Straus & Giraux, 1993); W. Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government*, (London: Everyman's Library, 1964); T.Modood and P.Werbner eds, *Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community*, (London: Zed Books, 1997); J.Rajchman ed, *The Identity in Question*, (London: Routledge, 1995); J. Rex, *Ethnic Minorities in the Modern Nation State*, (London: Macmillan, 1996); A.Smith, *National Identity*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); R. Tuck, "Rights and Pluralism", in J. Tully Ed. *Philosophy in An Age of Pluralism: Philosophy of*

wanted the society to recognize the legitimacy of their differences and the scholars mainly question whether the modern nation states could move from assimilationist to more plural and inclusive practice. Furthermore, according to Parekh:

> Identities are valued or devalued because of the place of their bearers in the prevalining structure of power, and their revaluation entails corresponding changes in the latter. Women, gays, cultural minorities and others cannot express and realize their identities without the necessary freedom of self-determination, a climate conductive to diversity, material resources and opportunities, suitable legal arrangements, and so on.[311]

We assumed that after a period of time is over, like 'the mosses covering a sunken ship', when the fears and wounds of the first generation are covered; it was time for the witnesses of the population exchange process to start telling and sharing their memories. Some stated even today some people are afraid of telling the bitter side of the events and about the atrocities experienced. Giving reference to Pinder, Mannheim pointed every generation builds up its own 'entelechy' which "is the expression of the unity of its 'inner aim' -of its inborn way of experiencing life and the world."[312] Grow up in a different historical time and in a necessity of fulfilment of historical tasks, the third generation had the means and the "spirit of the age" (Zeitgeist) pushed them to search for details of their ancestry.

As O'reilly mentioned "conjucturally-specific external and internal structures [are always in a mutually effective relationship with the individuals and they enabled,

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Charles Taylor in Question, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); C. Mouffe ed, *The Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship and Community*, (London: Routledge, 1992); C. Willet, *Theorising Multiculturalism. A Guide to the Current Debate*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1998); Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*.

[311] Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, 2.

[312] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 283.

constrained and] inscribed in the practices of agencies, and organizations."[313] However, during the interviews the third generation stated what triggered them most to learn about the identities were firstly the curiosity they had against the stories and experiences of their grandparents when they listened them from their mouth; and secondly, the availability of the resources they could reach when they wanted to learn more about the rest of these experiences and stories.

Developing more after post colonial and communitarian critiques that liberalism nurtured multiculturalism debate also gained an important place among the scholars in the last quarter of twentieth century.[314] In Turkey especially after 1990s together with the rising European Union membership discussions, focus on identities again gained importance in the political and cultural sphere. In the interviews it was also stressed that especially after the last decades of the twentieth century the third generation and following them the second generation became more curious about the past and their identities.[315] Together with the interests the time has brought, communication and transportation became easier which made the travels and access for the individuals and knowledge more effortless than the past.

Scientific developments and the internet entering our lives had many social and cultural impressions. Today's people are into the computers, internet and social media networks. Technological developments, mobile and smart phones made it easier for various groups to connect and communicate with each other. Through these networks the people can see, speak, follow and learn about the events related to

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[313] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 129.

[314] Alice Hearst, "Multiculturalism, Group Rights, and the Adoption Conundrum", *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Special Issue on Nonbiological Parenting, (2002), 489.

[315] In addition to that, first generation migrants silence for a period of time also caused their children to learn about these memories in a comparatively later period. In this case, of course the third generation whose grandparents were alive were luckier as they realized the importance of these past memories of their grandparents relatively at a younger age and could have the chance to collect their memories.

them even if they are not physically there. Most of the migrants mentioned communicating with the Greek people and the other exchange migrants through the internet and organizing events with the help of these tools. These networks allowed them to connect with the people like them and continue and learn more about their culture by raising awareness of many people.

6.6 Transnationalist Links and Identities

All these changes were also extensions of the restructuring of the nation state, and together with it the society according to the changing environment. Moreover, changing political and cultural climate and increasing migration to and from Turkey after 1950s helped the acceleration of transnational contacts and they were also effective in the thoughts and construction of the migrants' identities and identity formation of the new generations.[316] Moreover, "[t]hanks to the dynamics of the modern economy, their constituent communities cannot lead isolated lives and are caught up in a complex pattern of interaction with each other and the wider society."[317] They became more aware of their communities and are more organized in their own networks. According to the interviews together with the increasing networks and forms of communication and transportation the opportunities to reach the others and the people in ones' own community increased. Transnationalism became an important factor of migration studies.[318]

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[316] Ehrkamp, "Placing identities: Transnational practices and local attachments of Turkish immigrants in Germany", 347.

[317] Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism,*7.

[318] For works and different perspectives of transnationalism: Steven Vertovec, "Cheap calls: The Social Glue of Migrant Transnationalism," *Global Networks* 4/2, (2004), 219-24; Steven Vertovec, "Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation," *International Migration Review*, 38/3, (2004), 970-1001; Steven Vertovec, Peggy Levitt, Josh Dewind, "International Perspectives on Transnational Migration," International Migration Review, 37/3, (2003), 565-75; Steven Vertovec, "Migration and other Forms of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization," *International Migration Review*, 37/3 (2003), 641-65.; Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina

Especially after the 1990s, second generation migrants and transnationalism gained more importance in the migration studies as well. The impact of transnationalism on assimilation and integration, and the second generation migrants are discussed by many scholars.[319] Different than these cases in our case it was mainly the third generation affected from these changes in the society. Their curiosity and interest later also influenced the second generation. Another equally important factor was the political rapproachment between the two countries and the changes in the political area in the recent years and the developments in the understanding of sociology of knowledge, cultural psychology most of the people can better understand the importance of culture and identities for the people. These were all effective in

Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1994); Victoria Bernal, "Eritrea Goes Global: Reflections on Nationalism in a Transnational Era", Cultural Anthropology, 19/1, (2004), 3-25.; Thomas Faist, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?", R. Bauböck, & T. Faist eds., Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods, IMISCOE Research, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), pp. 9-34.; Nina Glick Schiller, "A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration: Theorizing Migration Without Methodological Nationalism", Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, (Working Paper no 67, University of Oxford, 2009); Nina Glick Schiller, "Transnational Social Fields and Imperialism: Bringing a Theory of Power to Transnational Studies", Anthropological Theory 5, 4,(2005), 439-461.; Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çaglar, "Migrant Incorporation and City Scale: Towards a Theory of Locality in Migration Studies", Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, 2/07, (Malmö: Malmö University, 2008).; Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, & Cristina Blanc Szanton, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration", Anthropology Quarterly, 68, (1995), 48-63.; Glick Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda & Cristina Blanc Szanton, Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered, (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992).

[319] Some examples are: Susanne Wessendorf, "'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland." Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 33/7, (2007), 1083–1102.; Haller, W., and Landolt, P. "The Transnational Dimensions of Identity Formation: Adult Children of Immigrants in Miami", Ethnic and Racial Studies. 28/6, (2005), 1182-1213.; P.Levitt and M.C.Waters, "Introduction", In P. Levitt, and M.C. Waters Eds, *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*, 123-144, (New York: Russel Sage, 2002).; C. Joppke, and E.T. Morawska Eds., *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); S.Vertovec, Trends and Impacts of Migrant Transnationalism: Working Paper No.3, WP-04-03, (Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford, 2004).

exchange migrants and their descendants' desire to learn about the past and visit their birth places.[320]

This is also a result of the age of globalisation, which totally changed the political, social and cultural terrains and created conflicting processes of both homogenisation and universalisation on the one hand, and localisation and differentiation on the other. It also caused an increase on the works of identity, alienation, otherness, and minority and migratory groups. The third generation, who was born into or grown up in an environment like this, naturally become more curious and investigator about learning the past events and their origins. The discussions of belonging, ethnic origins, alienation, differences and similarities gained popularity, and the individuals started to wonder more about their past.

Moreover, what is inferred from the interviews and biographies was that, after the 1990s there was an increase in the touristic visits of all Turkish exchange migrants. Going to Greece (the sending country), affects all of the migrants (first, second and third generation all) deeply and causes them to be more enlightened about their past and causes them to stick more to their exchange migrant (*mübadil*) identity. According to the interviews and biographies, the migrants did not have the chance to visit the country of origin, Greece mostly before 1990s. The visits mostly started in 1980s, yet among a very few people who could get the possibilities to visit abroad. Hence, 1990s was the period for our interviewees' to visit Greece. Nergis Ufuk's story of her travel for Greece tells us a lot about the exchange migrants' thoughts. She stated she visited Greece for the first time in 1994. She states there were still first generation migrants in Seyrek village then, and before going to Greece she visited them and mentioned them about her visit to the 'mother country' (memleket). She asked them for some clues, so that she can find their homes or memories from their ancestors. However, their general answer was "Oh my child...You cannot go there, it

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[320] Cimbiş and Aslanoğlu, *They were Twice Strangers*.

is inaccessible, it is now left out there."[321] However, she also states that when she comes back from Greece, all the first generation migrants were impatiently waiting for her, in front of the villages' coffee house. She showed them the pictures she had taken for ten days. She also learnt that they were so curious that they all waited there impatiently for her return. They looked at the pictures she brought, telling her their stories on the places she visited. Furthermore, their idea that the 'mother country is inaccessible' had changed after her visit. After that she states they organised yearly visits to Greece with the people in the village. Another important point she mentioned was that during these visits even the fourth generation migrants who travelled and listened to the stories and meet with the people there also started to call themselves as 'exchange migrants'. After those visits she pointed everyone in the village started to be more curious and aware about their past. Their longings, questions and suspicions all found an answer and transformed into a concrete form after seeing those lands. The houses and towns they visited had a great impact on the next generations. The stories told when they were children also found its concrete form in the eyes of the next generations. It acts as a bonding factor for all the succeeding generations.

The ones, who had the opportunity to visit Greece, first hit the roads to see the lands their parents had lived once. Some of them had no problem in finding the houses' location and communicating with the people who now live in the neighbourhood. As pointed by Nergis Ufuk, who stated the elderly in their village was depicting their motherland so well that when she went to visit Greece and their motherlands there she did not have any difficulty in finding even 'the trees' mentioned in the stories.[322] Alper Yapan aged 30, and a fourth generation migrant states that his grandfather had

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[321] (Ufuk, 55, Third Generation). At the beginning of the population exchange process there were people who changed their religion from both of the sides (both Turkey and Greece) to remain in the motherland or to protect their possessions there. Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, 107-108.

[322] (Ufuk, 55, Third Generation).

left about 300 documents in a box in Greece thinking they would go back some time later. He added that his grandfather was always telling his mother "we will eventually turn back there [Greece], our lands there were more wonderful."[323] The settings were engraved in the minds of the people. Even years after the population exchange process the first generation migrants could depict the lands perfectly for the next generations to give them clues about their previous location or to think about it.

Most of them mentioned crying together with the new residents of the neighbourhood as most of them from Greece were also aware of the history of population exchange. They especially mentioned looking for the graves of their fathers/mothers or elders of the family and for the graves there/here, bringing and taking soil from both Turkey and Greece. It was of course painful for the people not seeing even the graves of their parents. Some even do not know, or could not find where they were buried, but mentioned praying in the graveyards for the Muslims supposing they could be buried there.[324] They carried soil from Turkey in case that they can meet with the Greek exchange migrants going there from Turkey and give it to them as a present. In return they also take some from their parents' village in Greece to put on their graves in Turkey. The case is very similar in the Greek side as well. One Greek exchange migrant from Istanbul living in Thessaloniki stated that her mother (a first generation migrant) took a bag of soil from Turkey in her visit to Turkey. She stated she put that soil on the balcony of her apartment and when a Greek migrant from Turkey dies she takes a handful of soil from the bag to put in his/her grave, always making sure that a handful of soil is left for hers too.[325]

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[323] Cimbis and Aslanoğlu, *They were Twice Strangers*, 43.

[324] Ibid. 43.

[325] (Interviewee, 80, Second Generation).

The land of mother country is therefore still very important even for the third and fourth generation migrants. Moreover, the difference İşlek pointed in his thesis is also observed throughout our research process. Some migrants used the word 'mother country/land' (memleket) when talking about the lands they came from Greece, and 'homeland' (Vatan) when talking about the place they are now, Turkey. What is also significant in their expressions is that they spoke highly of both homeland and the mothercountry. They are both valuable in their eyes.[326] When their thoughts about the population exchange process is asked they mostly answered as "I am glad we could came. Of course, we also love the lands our parents grow up. However, my mother always mentioned it was becoming impossible for them to live there, it was no more as it was in the old times."[327] However, years after the events during their visits, they made a lot of good friends in Greece. During our interview Sayim, was planning her trip to Greece, in which she was going to see her Greek neighbours who got married there.[328] She also mentioned that she visits Thessaloniki every year. In some cases, today we can even talk about very strong friendships formed among the members of the two countries.

It also increased the amount of people coming into the Turkish lands and Istanbul. In Catalca area the Rum minorities deported from Istanbul/Catalca area started coming from Greece around 1980s (to see the lands they and their parents left) before the communities from Catalca started visiting Greece. This enabled the Catalca residents and these people who share a similar history and same settings (Istanbul and Catalca) to be closer with each other and became friends. The visits also created an increasing intimacy and friendly atmosphere between the two cultures and increased the interest of the new generations towards the events their parents/grandparents experienced in

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[326] İşlek, "Migration Adaptation of Emigrants Who have Settled Down to Cappadoccia Region after the Population Exchange", 59.

[327] (Erkurt, 85, Second Generation).

[328] (Sayım, 70, Third Generation).

the past. They also started a web of transnational networks between Greece and Turkey which was later backed by the civil organizations such as the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants. Therefore, even in the third generation migrants in some cases it is not hard to sense the proximity to the lands which their grandparents had born. Today, it can be argued that they constructed identities that "cut across fixed notions of belonging."[329] In this way they collected the memories of the population exchange and had the chance to fill some of the gaps in their past. They became more informed and aware of their situation and identity. Furthermore, as Bourdieu expressed

> habitus which have been produced by different modes of generation, that is, by conditions of existence which, in imposing different definitions of the impossible, the possible, and the probable, cause one group to experience as natural or reasonable practices or aspirations which another group finds unthinkable or scandalous, and vice versa.[330]

In this paradigm, the wishes, aspirations, understanding of the generations have changed together with the necessities and transformations the new age brought. The ability to see, reach, and access knowledge in an easier way caused the people to be more aware of the world around them. In these periods, the third generation had the chance to learn and ask more about their past. As Mannheim explained:

> Intellectual and cultural history is surely shaped, among other things, by social relations in which men get originally confronted with each other, by groups within which they find mutual stimulus, where concrete struggle produces entelechies and thereby also influences and to a large extent shapes art, religion, and so on.[331]

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[329] C. Dwyer, "Negotiating Diasporic Identities: Young British South Asian Muslim Women", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23/4, (2000), 475.

[330] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78.

[331] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 285.

In time, the third generation had the means and environmental possibilities to reach the knowledge and abilities the second generation was deprived of. In Catalca area many of the migrants today have a better knowledge on their past and had very close friends in Greece which they visit yearly. We notice the common settings, and events shared brought them closer, despite the miseries they experienced, the cultural and ethnic differences they had.

On a different topic, throughout their daily interactions with the locals they had the chance to observe each other's similarities, differences and started to adopt new habits and characteristics. While wandering around the cities and towns we observed that the locals are now aware of migrant culture and cuisine and the migrants have adopted new cooking skills and recipes. As Bourdieu stated their habitus of the agents have made 'adjustments' and 'corrections' as a result of both "the co-ordination of practices [and the] practices of co-ordination."[332]

Working side by side in the fields and sharing the same hopes of becoming economically and socially better, the locals and the migrants started to help and understand each other more. In the practices of coordination and living together their feelings towards one another transformed and taken new forms. At that point the mobilizing agents for them are their future (children), the government set rules, regulations and expectations from them, and finally the environment (political, economical and social) they are in which forced them in the long run to coordinate and work cooperatively.

Moreover, 1990s was also the time they set up foundations like; The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants, Foundation of Exchange Migrants, or such foundations. Together with the start of visits to the motherlands, this kind of solidarity

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[332] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 81.

foundations started to organize meetings. This helped them to learn and be aware of the others like them, and organize visits to the lands they came from. These also increased the memory sharing and transfering to the upcoming generations and raised the new generations' consciousness about their history. Therefore, we can talk about 'social generations' "where the underlying idea is to emphasize the collective identity and and the feeling of 'us' created by shared experiences."[333]

The ones who visited there also keep mentioning about the warm welcomes of the Greek citizens. They were very surprised at first because some of them mentioned they did not think about visiting their motherland also because they were afraid of the Greeks' reactions. They even felt like they were seeing their relatives because of the lovely behaviours they faced.[334] Another interviewee stated that they had conversations with the locals there such as: "we were friends, and from the old times on we like each other; it is the ones above us who cannot compromise with each other, we should communicate more from now on."[335] It was also common that they say "it is the politics, not the people who cannot get on well, the people have no problems."[336] These are also a common judgement one can also encounter in the biographies. They mostly blame the politics and politicians for the conflict and the problems between the two nations. The migrants also believe, increasing visits also helps the citizens from both of the countries to see, understand, and get on better with each other. This is also true for the Greek migrants we encountered, they stated

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[333] Purhonen, "Generations on Paper", 97. The idea of social generations emerged in the late 19th century and used more in the 20th century. For more discussions please see: J Burnett, *Generations: The Time Machine in Theory and Practice*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); U Jureit, M Wildt eds., *Generationen: Zur Relevanz Eines Wissenschaftlichen Grundbegriffs*, (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2005).; A Kriegel, "Generational Difference: The History of an Idea". *Daedalus*, 107, (1978), 23–38; R Wohl, *The Generation of 1914*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[334] (Duran, 81, Second Generation).

[335] (Gün, 76, Second Generation).

[336] Unca, 82, Second Generation.

thanks to the mutual visits of the citizens the two countries relationships are getting on a better road and they are recovering their old wounds now. They also emphasized they have the same warm welcome when they come to visit Turkey.

The memories and experiences of the past are transported to the next generations at different levels and forms; and these help them to "capture attachments and identifications that span across borders."[337] This seemed to have formed also a new form of *transnational identity* for these people who had never been to those lands before. It can be said that it is similar to the discussions of Appadurai theorising the dispersal of migrants all around the world as "ethnospaces" that can create new forms of identification, in which belonging becomes de-territorialized.[338] Although the third generation had never lived there, it is clearly seen that, this feeling of closeness to ancestors' culture and land is beyond race and religion. It is the memories, stories and the people they encountered which they interiorised and embraced as theirs. These apparently helped the following generations to form new transnational social and cultural spaces and as a result of these, a new type of 'transnational community' emerged. Many popular artists and even government owned institutions like TRT started making duo concerts or multi-ethnic events with the Balkan countries.[339] This kind of events help to brought people together and broke the rooted notions and prejudices in the minds of the people. After learning more about the others' culture and traditions they seemed to understand each other better.

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[337] Ehrkamp, "Placing Identities", 347.

[338] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.*

[339] Such as the *Kardeşlik Senfonisi*, the (*Symphony of Brotherhood*), event organized in Sarajevo on September 8, 2012. In the symphony famous musicians from each country gave peace and brotherhood messages, from Greece George Dalaras and Turkey Sezen Aksu took part in the event. Before his concert George Dalaras uttered: "They say art and music brought people together, this is true. That is why we are here today, for the Symphony of Brotherhood and peace in the Balkans. What we need today is to respect our neighbours' rights and history." For the video check: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvpLUfnhVOs

As argued by Wessendorf in her article, the recent studies also "acknowledges the addition of a third space for the articulation of identity, the parents' country of origin"[340], together with the importance on the host society and the migrants. In the case of exchange migrants except one first generation migrant in Çatalca, Istanbul all of the migrants we interviewed with was born in Turkey. Greece was not their place of birth. When we asked them "what they say, when people ask about their identity?", they mainly defined in three ways; "I am a Turkish exchange migrant from Istanbul" or "I am a Muslim exchange migrant from Istanbul" or they answered as "I am from Thessaloniki." This clearly reveals that these people even in the third generation keep their migrant identity and mainly emphasize their race, religion or place of origin. In the case of stating they were from Thessaloniki, where their grandfather was born, the feeling is even stronger. This is also strange as the respondent, except the cases of visiting the city as a tourist had never lived there. As Wessendorf argues, there are studies on second and third generation migrants who would like to return where their father or grandfather was originally from. She called this 'roots migration' which was actually understudied in research.[341] We did not meet with anyone who stated they want to live in Greece. However, Wessendorf's statement alone explains that the civil bonds have undergone tremendous changes in

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[340] Wessendorf, "'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland", 1083.

[341] In her own words she stated "Only recently have there been some studies focusing on the children of transatlantic migrants such as Greeks from North America (Christou 2006; Panagakos 2004) or Caribbeans from Britain (Potter 2005) who 'return' to their parents' homeland" where they had never lived" Wessendorf, "'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland",1084.; She also cited from; R.B. Potter, "'Young, Gifted and Back': Second-Generation Transnational Return Migrants to the Caribbean", *Progress in Development Studies*, 5/3, (2005), 213-36.; A Christou, "American Dreams and European Nightmares: Experiences and Polemics of Second-Generation Greek-American Returning Migrants", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32/5, (2006), 831-45.; and A.N. Panagakos, "Recycled Odyssey: Creating Transnational Families in the Greek Diaspora", *Global Networks*, 4/3, (2004), 299-311.

the globalized era.[342] Hence, the third generation grew up in a relatively lively and transnational social environment; and had the chance to learn more about their ancestors and their lives.

It is also revealed that the individual response is directly linked to the social changes in time and the common social patterns of thought. These also had a great impact on the feelings of the migrants and their children. These resulted in the *habitus* of the individuals; to be transformed, modified or totally changed. As a result, they re-form their behaviours, feelings and identities accordingly. These changes also affect the social world they are in, in return.

6.7 Traditions and Culture

From the interviews and biographies we can get that food (Balkan cuisine) is among the most protected traditions they had. According to the second generation migrants especially in the holidays, special days and fests; the families love doing their special meals. They were making their own cheese, raki, carpets, until the second generation or to be more specific until 1970s but they stated the carpet and raki making among the migrants are nowadays given up. Moreover, all the migrants from Thessaloniki area mentioned they are making pastries with onion and vegetables such as leek, zucchini or potatoes. With their special names some of the foods are;

> Meat and Vegetable Dishes: Alivra (meat with bechamel-like thick sauce), Petura (meat or chicken, walnuts, pepper on bits of yufka, with gravy), Tizpera, Maşkulu, Patatufayi, Burani, Armiro (chicken dish from the Bektashi cuisine) Pastries-Pitas: Krumropta (Onion pastry),

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[342] Wessendorf stated the Italian migrants entered in translocal activities after the postwar labour migration and travelled to their home countries in Switzerland. Similarly, since 1990s, the Turkish exchange migrants from Greece started to travel between their town of settlement in Turkey and the city or village of origin in Greece more frequently. Wessendorf "'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland", 1084.

Prasopta (leek pastry), Triopsumi (cheese bread), Triopta (cheese pastry), Langitis. Desserts: Gizlemidis ("sliced" dessert), Bicirotta (dried fruit pulp), Glopta(special type of pudding), Auridas (every time of sourish fruit, such as pomegranates, plums, grapes).[343]

All the migrants in Catalca area stated these foods are known and still made by the third generation migrants.

They also stressed that every Monday they are having an exchange migrants' day in the Museum, and in this meetings all the attending people are bringing foods, deserts and playing the migrants music and performing the dances their grandparents taught them. Perasayna and Samiotissa stands out as the two very famous exchange migrant songs especially popular among the migrants we interviewed in the Istanbul area.[344] We even noticed the third generation knows these two songs and the songs are played in the marriages or other traditional ceremonies. These regular meetings organized also helps the migrants to remember their traditions and teach them to the next generations. They assist the older generations to transfer their values and culture to the succeeding generations as well. They also make locals not from the exchange migrant background to be aware of the other traditions. In an age highly influenced by the internet and social networks these meetings are photographed and videotyped by the attendees and spread through the networks and people they are friends with. This also raises the awareness of the group/ non group members about the cultures and traditions. Even during the research process these kinds of photos and videos helped the study to better understand their meetings and networks when the researcher could not be a part of or attended.

Although we did not include any direct questions about the belief of the respondents throughout the interviews it was clearly observed that all the second and third generation Turkish migrants were still following the Muslim way of living in a

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[343] Taken from http://www.mubadelemuzesi.net/catalca_eng.aspx, accessed on 12 March 2015.

[344] The notation of the songs can be found on page 240.

modernized way. The ladies were not covered and dressed not traditionally, though in some cases they were following their Friday prayers or for some even talked about visiting mecca. Therefore, although they do not show their beliefs or religion directly, from their behaviours and speech we can easily get that they were following their religions. For instance; in Seyrek Village while we were conducting an interview one of the interviewee kindly asked permission to come right after the prayer in the Mosque as the prayer time was approaching. In Istanbul, one of the second generation migrants showed us her traditional prayer rugs while she was showing us her house after the interview.

As another topic of discussion, they were strong believers of the secular Turkish Republic and grateful to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for saving their lives. The common saying we heard was "Without him, we wouldn't be still living". Therefore, Atatürk has a great impact and significant figure for them, they also mention his being born in Thessalonki and being from the same lands as them and his mother's being the first exchange migrant from Greece. That is another reason why he stood out as an important figure for them. His ideals and reforms are accepted and seem to have had a great impact on the identities and thoughts of all the generations.

They also believed education is important for both of the sexes and they all sent their daughters and sons to schools no matter how bad their economy was before and now. The education level therefore is high and can even be called higher when compared to the other regions; and we recognize even the first generation migrants gave priority to going to school and getting the compulsory education. Even though some of them were speaking Turkish when they were in Greek lands; because Alphabet Reform which was introduced after the newly founded Turkish Republic and switched the official language and writing to Latin letters instead of Ottoman Arabic letters. It was an important change for the region as Arabic was seen as the basic

carrier of the Eastern civilization.[345] As the Eastern civilization depended on Arabic language, it could have been hard for them to accept a writing style and language totally related with the Western ideals and civilization. Looking from the dominant orientalist approach; East was thought to be the complete opposite of West and everything both the locals and the exchange migrants got used to until then were related with the Eastern culture. Thus, learning the Latin language can be rejected by some of the people then. This issue did not mentioned by any of the exchange migrants but it is a widely known topic that should also be kept in mind while talking about the alienation and acceptance issues. The migrants as well as the locals were then had to go to schools to learn the new Latin language forms. When looked in general it can be stated that most of the exchange migrants pointed they were quite enthusiastic about learning the new writing forms and the interviewees told us that their parents/grandparents "run to these educational centers to immediately learn the new forms of alphabet" as much as their conditions allowed them. In some cases as mentioned before the first generation migrants stated they could not attend the schools as their priorities were then different.

Nevertheless, there is still an ambiguous issue when it comes to the discussions of belonging. They seem to have a multiple identity in terms of origin. Even after three generations when asked about their origins, they still mention being a Balkan migrant besides being Muslim and Turkish.

6.8 Conclusion

Our interviewees revealed that, although it has been nearly a century since their first ancestors migrated to Turkey, the following generation migrants are still affected by the stories and feelings their grandparents experienced, and wondering about the past

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[345] Boztemur, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet-Toplum İlişkileri", 81.

experiences. The governmental plans and the decisions made about their settlement and new way of lives, all those memories still have an influence on their heirs and direct the lives of the succeeding generations. It is also revealed that their identities and daily experiences were strongly affected by the past and today's generations still refer to those times even with an increasing interest no matter how less or more they experience and know about the events.

The states politics and society pressure on the migrants, together with the separation of previous participants from the life courses of the migrants, new generation's semi-inclusion and understanding of the lives of the previous of the generations, silence of the first generation for a time period all affected the identities of the following generations. The broke in the links and transition of the culture and silence of the first generation also added to these elements; and they all resulted in the patterns and changes discussed above in the lives of the following generation migrants. It is revealed that their exchange migrant identities are still protected, but transformed into new forms three generations after the events. In their adaptation and settlement process we see a mutual interaction between the structures they are surrounded with and the individuals. As a result, the population exchange had great alterations and influences in the lives of the individuals and the wide environment they settled in.

Finally, we observed that ninety-three years after the event as a result of intertwined relations and structural changes the third generation started to cling on to their migrant identity and try to fill the gaps in their past. It is also shown that the changes that occurred through the years in the local and family structures, family economy, and opportunities available for the exchange migrants were all powerful forces in the identity formation of the migrants. Making comparisons we showed various reasons that created the differences in the knowledge and interests of the second and third generations. We observed that the intertwined changes and relations in the economic, political and cultural structures both in the world and Turkey, followed by the

subsequently created movements attached importance to the unique identities of the individuals were all effective in this process.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The short-term studies are not necessarily the most suitable and informative ones when looking at migrations and their consequences. The best would take into account the migrants' experiences and feelings at different time-scales, or look at the positions and experiences of the individuals in a longer-term process. Upon various conversations with my husband, who is also a fourth generation exchange migrant from Greece, and his parents and grandparents, I realized their exchange migrant identities, knowledge on the population exchange process and feeling of affinity to a land has shown differences in each wave of generation. With this triggering factor and from this perspective we intented to see the long-term consequences of population exchange of 1923 between Turkey and Greece. Through the eyes of 44 people we interviewed throughout the research process;[346] we tried to present and compare the identities and experiences of the second and third generation Muslim exchange migrants from Greece. We chose Çatalca region but the other interviewees are also included in order to see the topic of discussion from a wider perspective and see the peculiarities these migrants had when compared to the other areas. We also conducted interviews with 10 Turkish exchange migrants from Seyrek village to reach more following generation experiences and to compare their stories with the ones in Istanbul. The Greek people we interviewed enabled us to see the other side of the coin as well and enabled us to reach overall conclusions from the stories and memories of the migrants we listened to in Turkey.

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[346] 20 of these people are situated in Catalca area of Istanbul region, 5 people in the Istanbul city center and 8 people were Greek locals interviewed in Greece in the areas, Komotini, Lesbos, and Thessaloniki and 1 Greek local migrant in Istanbul.

Moreover, another source we included in the course of the story is the bibliographic books, all published by the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants upon the interviews conducted.[347] By combining these sources and the objective historical data written on the subject, we tried to get a total understanding of the points discussed with the migrants. In the thesis, we scrutinized the second and third generation exchange migrants' identities, knowledge, and perspectives today with the help of Karl Mannheim's theories on generation in his book *Essay's on the Sociology of Knowledge* and evaluate the social transformation in the ideas of the generations with the help of the key elements in Pierre Bourdieu's *theory of practice*.

We started by briefly providing historical background of the thesis. The reasons that led to the Lausanne Treaty convention concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations of 1923 is discussed with afterwards events. We emphasized that although there had been an ongoing tension, especially on the political areas, the public and social life remained relatively silent before the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War. Especially after that period it is evident that the migrations from the Balkan states towards Anatolian lands started and continued at intervals until the 1930s. On the one hand, the events caused many new countries to be created with nationalist feelings but on the other hand the shared language, culture and history of the broken people remained in the memories of the people.

In this part, it is clearly provided that the conflicts were a result of multiple factors; mainly international, political, economical, local and personal interests all intermingled and caused ongoing conflicts among the people and states. In chapter 2, we also provided the sources that have made detailed analyses about these periods

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[347] In one of the books interviews were conducted with 82 migrants from Greece and Turkey on the occasion of the 90 year anniversary of population exchange between Greece and Turkey. Another one conducted interviews with 42 migrants, 21 from Istanbul Çatalca region and 21 from Greece in different areas. Both were both helpful adding up additional perspectives and different experiences to the study.

and the reasons for the conflicts. The structures they were surrounded with constrained the lives of the people in Greece and Turkey and mostly determined the future of these people by forcing them to leave their motherland for good. Eventually these were internalized in the minds of the people and they accepted the reasoning that the minorities in the regions are the 'others' or their 'enemies' who should be eliminated from their demographic structure.

When what is lost and what is gained is questioned it can be argued that Turkey and Greece and the people involved in the process have lost their "familiarity which carries with it the possibility for understanding and respect, and this is all too often replaced by suspicion, hostility and the inability to cooperate."[348] Two groups and cultures who were once living in peace and being good neighbours for each other; suddenly turned into enemies and lost company of each other.

In the third chapter, the methodology and theories the thesis stood on is discussed. We summarized about the preparations for the interviews and the course of the interview process, go over the theories and methods used and then presented the importance of life story use in researches. Thanks to the interviews we gathered information about the Catalca exchange migrants' current identities, conditions and knowledge and thoughts on the events related with the population exchange, and compared them with the inverviews made in the other regions.[349]

Another important point also inferred from the chapter is that, in order to understand the feelings and experiences of the individuals, an inclusive theory regarding both the impact of agents' and structures' influence on the course of social events is needed.

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[348]Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*, 10.

[349] 20 of these people are situated in Catalca area of Istanbul region, 5 people in the Istanbul city center, 8 people were Greek locals interviewed in Greece in the areas, Komotini, Lesbos, and Thessaloniki and 1 Greek local migrant was in Istanbul city centre.

Although during the migration process the individuals were mostly drifted by the external structures and seemed to have no say in the process, we have also observed in the interviews that sometimes there were little breakthroughs of the agents which can also have domino effects on other events. We observed that "[a] life story gives us a vantage point from which to see how one person experiences and understands life, his or her own especially, over time. It enables us to see and identify threads and links that connect one part of a person's life to another."[350] At this step we relied on dynamic research approaches to understand the migrants' behaviours, feelings and identities embedded in the social structures they were in. We stated the obvious interplay of structure and agency is seen in each step of the exchange migrants' lives.

Firstly, we affirmed that in order to see the transformations in people's identities, attitudes and practices we need a long term study of generations and help of the *theory of practice* by Pierre Bourdieu to reveal their reflections in the individuals and society they lived in. As O'reilly stated "[p]olicies and practices are often supported [...] by ideologies, so looking at them we begin to see how structures are interpreted and sustained in practice."[351] Therefore, while analysing the individual changes we would be revealing the changes in the inner and external structures. Bourdieu's theory believed in the dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena. The interviewees who were sent from one land to the other were all affected by intertwined relations of the global structures, states, power struggles and the individual agents' thoughts actions and interactions.

Theory of practice helps to "make possible a science of the dialectical relations between the objective structures to which the objectivist mode of knowledge gives access and the structured dispositions within which those structures are actualized

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[350] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 126.

[351] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 135.

and which tend to reproduce them."[352] In this study as well it enabled us to study 'lived experiences' (subjective thoughts) within a system of objective relations. In theory of practice two key elements can be mentioned as: *habitus* and *the field*. And in these discussions we will see how both of them transformed for the exchange migrants.[353]

As our aim was to make comparisons in the identities and thoughts of different generations, we relied on Mannheim's theory on generations[354] mostly referring to his books, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, and *Ideology and Utopia* and *An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. In this thesis, we also argued that while studying migration, seeing events through the varying perspectives of different generations will contribute a lot to understand the feelings, identities and experiences of the migrants and provide us with long term consequences of the experiences. In social science generation is used with diverse meanings.[355] Such an example can be

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[352] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 3

[353] As Ermakoff pointed;
"The habitus is a system of enduring dispositions, cognitively informed by a system of classification, that constitutes a generative principle of practices (Bourdieu 1984: 110). A field is the system of objective relations -between positions differentiated in terms of various forms of capital -that at once gives shape and validates this system of dispositions (Bourdieu 1996b: 83). Actors have a practical knowledge of their field of practice. This is Bourdieu 's key insight about social interaction" Ermakoff,"Theory of Practice, Rational Choice, and Historical Change", 528.

[354] Especially on his essay "The Sociological Problem of Generations", Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*.

[355] For more details on the theories and meanings the generations used with in social science please see: Lillian E Troll, *Concepts of Generation: Definitions and Issues*, (Washington DC: ERIC Clearinghouse, 1970); Kertzer, "Generation as a Sociological Problem"; Pilcher "Mannheim Sociology of Generations"; J. Finch, "Age", in R.Burgess ed, *Key Variables in Social Investigation*, (London: RKP, 1986); Eyerman and Turner, "Outline of a Theory of Generations"; Purhonen, "Generations on Paper: Bourdieu and the Critique of 'Generationalism'"; S Aboim, P Vasconcelos, "From Political to Social Generations: A Critical Reappraisal of Mannheim's Classical Approach", European Journal of Social Theory, 17, (2014), 165–183; Jean Burnett, "Review: The Collected Papers of Robert Park. I. Race and Culture. II. Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology. III. Society: Collective Behavior, News and Opinion, Sociology and Modern Society." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 23/2, (1957), 288– 291.; M Corsten,"The Time of Generations", *Time & Society*, 8, (1999), 249–272.; KR Foster, *Generations, Discourse, and Social Change*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013); P Laslett, "Interconnections over Time: Critique

provided from Troll[356]; developmental stage; ranked descent; age homogeneous group; time span; and "spirit of the age." The last one varies from the others as it refers to content rather than structure. In our study we will also see this concept as important as the others while shaping the individual's identity. Mannheim's key sociological concerns while looking at the generations were: "the relationship between biology and the social; the nature of time; the relationship between biography and history and between personal and social change; the mechanisms of social change and socio-psychological connections of language and knowledge."[357] It is also revealed that these concepts were all important while shaping the identity of the following generation migrants in this thesis. Mannheim's emphasis on the *social generations* "where the underlying idea is to emphasize collective identity and the feeling of 'us' created by shared experiences"[358], brought him forefront for this study among the other theoricians on generations.

Together with the changing conditions, the behaviours, thoughts and the identities of the individuals transformed and shaped. While evaluating the changes, interactions and relations between generations, we believed Bourdieu's and Mannheim's theories best frame the situations and explain interview results.

Afterwards, we traced the footsteps of the scholars who based their studies on life histories and biographies of the individuals. It is revealed that we can understand a culture through the people's development of life within the structures. The

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of the Concept of Generation", *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 5, (2005), 205–213.; Purhonen, "Zeitgeist, Identity and Politics"; AB Spitzer, "The Historical Problem of Generations", *American Historical Review*, 78, (1973), 1353–1385; JA Vincent, "Understanding Generations: Political Economy and Culture in an Ageing Society", *British Journal of Sociology*, 56 (2005), 579–599; J White, "Thinking Generations", *British Journal of Sociology*, 64, (2013), 216–247.

[356] Troll, *Concepts of Generation: Definitions and Issues*, 1-6.

[357] Pilcher, "Mannheim Sociology of Generations", 482.

[358] Purhonen, "Generations on Paper", 97.

significance of life stories while revealing and documenting the individual experiences, feelings of the live witnesses, local practices and everyday lives of the events was emphasized. As the life stories can be analysed from all economic, political, sociological and historical perspectives, examples of scholars from different fields were provided and the importance of seeing a life history from diverse points of views was stressed. We stressed that "[t]elling our stories enables us to be heard, recognized, and acknowledged by others."[359] We also understood how a new person enters or becomes a part of a new group through the life stories.

The pioneering studies of fieldwork and scholars who gave importance to the individual thoughts and behaviours from various areas of studies are discussed. In this section, William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's work on the Polish migrants in America, C. Wright Mills's focus on the importance of biographical studies, Sigmund Freud's use of life narratives and its contributions to psychology, and Malinowski's thoughts on scientific fieldwork were presented as examples of different views of fieldwork and life histories. These different perspectives are of course lacking many others but presented in order to show the importance of fieldwork and gathering first hand knowledge of the individuals in scientific studies.

In chapter 4, we analysed the process by matching its nature and impacts with reference to forced migration. Firstly, we revealed the general migration theories and pointed the comparable elements to our case. It is also pointed that many scholars from different disciplines and fields such as demography, economics, anthropology, history, geography, and sociology are attracted to migration studies. It is emphasized that the migration has been a very old and significant event for the history of the world and that many scholars from different field studied it from various perspectives. It is also indicated that migration studies boomed especially in the twentieth century. After briefly giving examples from different theoricians and their

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[359] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 125.

theories, which focused on migration, we provided our case best fits forced migration type. Moreover, forced migrations' contributions and losses for the exchange migrants are also provided.

Towards the end of nineteenth century growing nationalist movements made it harder for the minorities and small ethnic groups to continue their lives in the nations they settled. They were seen as a threat to the nation state's security and both ethnic and political homogeneity. "Both conventions [of Neuilly and Lausanne], and especially that of Lausanne, proved to be agreements confirming accomplished facts," and the Greek-Turkish population exchange, "voluntary in theory, became in fact to a great extent compulsory."[360] With its nature (forced migration), the case of 1923 population exchange was linked to the global social changes and globalization. As briefly mentioned before, the period from 1870s to 1945 was a period of turmoil, confusion, uncertainty and resettlement all for Turkey, the Balkans and the neighbouring states. What gained its importance then was how the forced migration process was governed by the state, and what the experiences and feelings of the exchange migrants included in the process was. Moreover, it is emphasized that although their settlement experiences were similar, the migrant experiences and the feelings could vary in time as every individual can govern their own life differently. Then, seeing the events' effects through the perspectives of the second and third generations could even have more illuminating results. While we are discussing about forced migration we also explained the main characteristics of the first generation migrants as well. It was argued that the nature of the events caused masses to migrate, which in return caused people from different ages and social backgrounds to move towards Turkey. It also caused the people to migrate all of a sudden without taking any belongings.

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[360] Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, 721.

In chapters 5 and 6, we provided the interview results from the perspectives of previously discussed theories and thoughts, and by looking at the impacts of these on the identities of the second and third generation. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards almost two million Balkan citizens of Ottoman origin have migrated to Turkey from the Balkan states. As a result of the population exchange policies, seemingly they were immediately accepted and integrated into the community, and turned into productive citizens within a short period. This is the very short version of the story; however, when we look into the daily life experiences and dig into the memoirs of the migrants it is not hard to understand that

immigrants faced many problems, including ones concerning farming. Most immigrants could not apply the agricultural methods that they were used to on their homelands because plants in the new settlements were totally new and different, the soil was not favourable enough and they did not have agricultural equipments and machineries. Efforts were made to get the immigrants engaged in agricultural activities. All in all, they played an important part in Turkish economy."[361]

While looking at the identities of the second and third generation migrants we also had the chance to observe this integration process. After living distanced and alienated from the communities they started overcoming their prejudices mostly as a result of the mutual interaction. Being a Muslim community was among the emphasized elements during and after the foundation period and the War of Independence was seen as a victory of "the Muslim community against the misbelievers"[362] within the public, therefore during the integration period it was one of the important elements for the locals and the exchange migrants to accept one another. In time, the locals observed these newcomers, had experiences with them and reflecting on these experiences changed their feelings and ideas towards them.

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[361] Akova, "Immigrations From the Balkans to Turkey", 559.

[362] Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası*, 29.

One of the second generation migrants explained his father's initial experience with the locals in Istanbul as such;

> At first they did not want to work or mix with the new comers, as they speak fluent Greek with each other they were labelled as being Orthodox-Christians by the locals. Only when once one of the locals saw these exchange migrants *recite the azan* (ezan) did he believe and tell the other locals that these new comers are in fact Muslims.[363]

Therefore, their realization that migrants were Muslims happened to be the idea that first destroyed the locals' prejudices. In villages and smaller communities this period lasted longer as the locals and the migrants were not settled in a mixed way but side by side which caused them to be closer to their own communities and prevented them from observing the others. For the migrants who were living in Istanbul city centre this period of approval did not last very long, some interviewees even stated they were accepted by the locals immediately in a very welcoming way.

In the interviews, the questions about the past, contemporary lives, education, relations with the family and knowledge about the first generation are included. The interviewees mostly left free to highlight the important points themselves with open ended and semi-structured questions. These discussions will be followed by the topics emerged throughout whole research process namely: issues on identity and belonging, social links and relationships with the other exchange migrants and locals, importance of the lost possessions for the migrants, and the element of change which left deep marks on the feelings, ideas and factors that caused an increase in the interests of the following generations. We realized their change process could be best explained by Bourdieu's term *capital*. After the migration, migrants' capital in every area (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) of their lives and of their relationships were lost. These losses caused them to start everything from scratch. Leaving their money, relationships, back on Greece, the motherlands; they had to change their way

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[363] (Dincer, 54, Second Generation).

of living and daily interactions. All the links and social connections they built on trust and friendship over the years were lost. In most of the second generation migrants the reflections of the losses in the area of economic and social capital were observed. Some openly stated that their childhood was a time of absence and poverty but together with the community they managed to pass those times of shortage. As long as it is covered the third generation did not mention this shortage, absence, or the traumatic losses. Hence, it can be claimed that it took them three generations to overcome the losses and lacks they had after the forced migration process.

In chapter 5, we dealt with the information gathered especially on the first generation migrants and the migration process. Mainly: the hardships encountered upon settlement, how the locals' and the exchange migrants' relationships to each other were shaped, the impact of lost possessions and the place resided (Istanbul and Catalca region), and the effects of worries upon settlement on the migrants' thoughts and their identities were discussed.

Senior and middle aged citizens were included in the interviews and as an occupation they were mostly dealing with farming before and after the migration process. As they were granted land in Turkey after the exchange migration process most of them continued this occupation in the third generation. It is emphasized that mostly for the economic reasons, the newly founded Republic needed maximum plantation possible for the coming years, and they were located in the periphery areas of Istanbul where they could deal with agriculture. In this part we mainly recognize the importance of external structures on the lives of the individuals. As an example; although there are still exceptions, they mostly continued dealing with these jobs and settling in the locations allocated to them by the government, even years after the exchange migration. [364]

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[364] Still we see exceptional cases like the case of Erkurt family, who choose not to live in the place allocated them by the government but continue their lives as they wished in a place where they chose

We mentioned Istanbul's multicultural identity and how it transformed throughout the years. What is especially different when we compare Istanbul residents with the other cities is that the migrants did not change their place of settlement, as the other small cities and villages like Seyrek mostly send their residents to the bigger cities because of better job opportunities. In Istanbul city centre and periphery residents we do not see this too much as there are many job opportunities for them.

In another context we argued the generation groups are mostly 'determined by dramatic social events'. The population exchange process happened to be a determining factor for all of the people of all ages to be counted as a generation. Thus the social, political and environmental changes forced the migrants' lives, conditions and thoughts to be changed. The migrants who were forced out to live in another country also transformed the cultural, social and economical structures they entered in. In the long run, the necessities and opportunities of time again force these migrants to evolve their practices and together with the daily practices. During their life process, it can be argued that the individuals became products of the social and cultural environment they are in. They are both cultured and accultured by the family and the society they live in. Culturation is the education of the individual by the culture in which s/he was born into together with the values, meanings and norms of that culture.[365] For the case of the migrants, in the environments they were located; we also observed all the residents were also accultured; adapted, modified or borrowed elements and values with the other culture as well. Therefore, in order to understand a generation together with its culture and identity as a whole, it is important to see the conditions, both internal and external factors effective in the environment that generation grew in.

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to settle. At this point, we need to say as they left all their belongings back in Greece in order to refuse the government allocated lands in Turkey they had to be in an economically better position.
[365] Suavi Aydın and Kudret Emiroğlu haz., *Antropoloji Sözlüğü*, (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 2003), 536-537.

It is not hard to see that the first wave of migrants who had arrived earlier had established social, economic and cultural networks to assist the ones coming after them to find their way easier and to better get used to their new working and living environments. This also helped them to form or maintain "Balkan migrants" culture and identity as a group. The newcomers generally chose to settle in closer areas to the first wave migrants and this helped them to be repopulated as a group.

In terms of family, all of them mentioned that their family and neighbourhood relations are really important for them. The relatives and neighbours were helping each other in various important occasions. In the long run, these helped create close links with each other and this allowed the children of the exchange migrants to be aware about their identity at a very early age. The migrants who settled in Catalca region of Istanbul, which is in the European side, closer to the Büyükçekmece Lake, called themselves *Patriots.*[366] The ones who called themselves patriots speak Greek in their private and public lives before and after their migration to Turkey. In comparison to the exchange migrants in the other regions their main difference is the language they speak. This resulted in their being labelled as the 'other' immediately after they migrated to Turkey.

When analysed in detail, we recognized that although all of the migrants stated they learnt that they were exchange migrants since they were children, none of them could answer detailed questions about their parents/grandparents or the migration

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[366] This has various meanings and according to them it means they loved their country (Turkey). On the other hand, some migrants we interviewed also mentioned that this name is actually put on them by the Greeks then living in Istanbul when they arrived in these lands who called them Patriots as they were speaking Greek in their daily lives and they wanted to state these people were from their land. Whereever the name was coming from is not the issue but the migrants who called themselves Patriots were the ones who were speaking Greek in their private lives both before and after the population exchange period.

process.[367] When analysed under the light of historical archives and other sources several reasons of this can be counted as the suffering, sometimes mourning for the unexpected losses, and misery they had which forced the migrants to be silent for a while after settlement.[368] However, this deprived their children from the memories and experiences of their parents, which seem to have detracted the children from the migrant identities and broke the continuation of the generational identities, values and traditions. The second generation remained distant and uninformed about their parents' first hand experiences to a great extent. In time though, the first generation started to share their feelings and memories to their grandchildren, with whom they were closer than their children.

Moreover, George Herbert Mead mentioned about the imagined boundaries such as belonging or not belonging (or us/others) is especially constructed in the experiences of everyday life and daily interactions. As Kristeva argued "the one who does not belong to the group, who is not 'one of them,'" is easily named as 'the other'.[369] Daily interactions and practices with the other individuals impact our sense of identity and designate them as 'one of them' or 'others'. Furthermore, the social identities are created also through the ongoing interactions and our self-reflection about who we think we are. The identities as well are created and shaped through agreements, disagreements, and negotiation with the other people. Countries and states create their own communities and groups through a sophisticated network of structural basis, and in the long run impose a sense of moral self of belonging to their communities. Hence, both the structural networks and the daily practices of

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[367] Such as; they can answer the grandparents' job, like they were dealing with agriculture, but failed to answer mostly what they were planting; or most of them do not know the exact details of their journey to Turkey, how it was planned, how long it took, who came with them and who died or stayed back there.

[368] Another reason of not knowing about the detailed experiences is natural, in the course of the population exchange process many families divided or lost their members; this in return broke the continuance of the generation experiences to be transferred to the following generations.

[369] Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 95.

individuals are important in creating a sense of belonging to a community. That is also why all the above mentioned points, the timing of the population exchange, the silence of the first generation migrants, and relationships within/outside the community and family altogether should be kept in mind when comparing the generations and looking at their identities.

In the case of exchange migrants who landed in their new homeland in a period of foundation for the Turkish Republic, they stepped into a very delicate period of time for the communities. We can see that it takes time for the individuals to internatize the necessities the environment forced on them. During that period the identities and behaviours of the individuals, communities were much more important than any other time. Right after the war, the tensions were still high in the communities and everyone was ready to label the other as 'us and them'. Both the nationally imposed ideals of being 'one nation' and Muslim, and the individuals' tendency to exclude whoever is 'the other' have created a pressure on the exchange migrants. Although they were Muslims, as they were coming from the lands of the 'other', they feared being excluded from the community they settled in. However, sharing a common religion; similar past (memories and miseries and the sufferings and victories won together) with the locals became important elements for their integration and acceptance in the communities they entered as well.

It is revealed that the individual response is directly linked to the social changes in time and the common social patterns of thought. We argued what different generations experienced become much more important when the fact of migration (or even when forced migration) is added to the lives of the individuals. One of the most evident factors is the 'change' in each facet of the lives of the individuals. It is well known that together with these changes "a quite visible and striking transformation of the consciousness of the individual in question takes place: a change, not merely in the content of experience, but in the individual's mental and spiritual adjustment to

it."[370] This also caused emergence of two important elements to be kept in mind in the formation of identities and cultures of the new generation: new participants to cultural process, and disappearance of former participants. For instance, in terms of environment, the house they grow up, the streets they were wandering and the society they were living in were all lost. The parents' and grandparents' graves stand out as a strong element among all the other things left behind as at that point family ties also enter into the argument. Together with the lands and people what were lost in fact were the behaviours and manners that these people had carried in their life and transferred to their grandchildren. The withdrawal of the village, environment, houses, streets they were living in and the society they were living together with caused the next generation to lose the cultural and social characteristics that were carried within these relations.

The migrants' acceptance happened in time as the migrant accepted the social rules, motives they entered into and shape their inner family structures accordingly. The *habitus* of the individuals[371] had transformed, modified or totally changed and then as a result they reformed their behaviours, feelings and thoughts accordingly. This helped them to continue their lives and to integrate in the community. Human experiences and agency is defined as "temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments [...] which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations."[372]

Briefly, we see patterns for the exchange migrants' acceptance of Turkey as a homeland. The policies and exchange treaty articles signed officially accepted the

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[370] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 293.

[371] That is all the mental and cognitive systems the people deal with the environment they are in.

[372] M Emirbayer and A Mische, "What is agency?", *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 4, (1998), 970.

exchange migrants as Turkish Republic Citizens by law. In appearance, these politically imposed identities were accepted both by the migrants and the locals immediately. Each side tried to see this as an advantage, as they were coming from the same ethnic origin and religion. However, the second stage arose when the theoretically imposed regulations were put into practice, when these people were settled and started to live with the locals. Their cultural differences (the way of dressing, behaviours and in Catalca case also the language) caused these migrants to be alienated in the eyes of the locals and this fear of estrangement in a way caused these migrants to be more careful or totally silent about their past and showing their cultural differences. The silence of the migrants also helped the people to forget about the sad events. However, as a result of that silence the memories and detailed knowledge of the preceding generations (their parents) were absent from the memories of the children. Hence what Mannheim explained as "[m]embers of any one generation can only participate in a temporally limited section of the historical process"[373] has found its body form in the population exchange migrants.

In Çatalca some people stated they did not marry with the other group's members for a while. Daily life encounters and daily practices were very important to link individuals with the externally imposed norms. The relationship between the individuals and social structures gains importance while we are talking about their social acceptance. In time, the upcoming generations benefitted from the settled families' relationships, knowledge and environment. Those who do not know Turkish taught their children Turkish, the community they lived in seemed secure as they grew up. None of the second generation talked about the feeling of uncertainty and lack of confidence towards the community they live in. Being then settled families the children grew up where they knew as home, thus the habitus owned by their parents changed in their children to a great extent. These social structures accepted by them are internalized after a few years of living together and the daily

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[373] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 296.

practices. They broke their prejudices against one another. Then the third stage of acceptance came in sight. Along with various other factors such as the environmental changes (political, economical and social) this mutual acceptance in return caused the migrants to tell and speak more about their history and accept their migrant identity.

The importance of possessions left behind in the memories and identity formation is also mentioned. Not being able to take even the photos of the family with them is a deep topic of regret for all the migrants and enabled them to be estranged from their past more easily. At this point, it should be noted that by possessions we do not only talk about the furnitures left behind, (all the crops and all the animals they had, the cherished belongings passed from their families were all counted), so all they had accumulated up until then were left behind. This later added on to their silence as if they were mourning for the people and the things they left behind. This can be seen as another reason that prevented the second generation to learn about their parents' memories for a period of time.

In migration studies, the 'difference notion' always stands out as the topic of wonder in various aspects; host and sending country, us and them, in-groups and out groups. From these we form and have ideas "about the communities even 'imagined communities'"[374] and ethno-national boundaries. As an extension to these, how our identities are constructed is also questioned. Goffman's work in *Stigma*[375] helps us to comprehend how our identities are constructed in the society.[376] For Goffman the self is an effect of performance, the way in which we present ourselves in everyday life. When we turn our attention to exchanged migrants in this aspect, it is clear that their

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[374] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[375] E.Goffman, *Stigma*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963).

[376] Simon Clarke, "Culture and Identity", *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, (Sage Publications, 2008), 510.

everyday patterns completely changed after they settled in Turkey and this affected their relationships, behaviours, thoughts and identities in the long run. 'The difference notion' is mostly eliminated after their immediate approval as the citizens, and by the authoritarian state regulations, which put the citizens in a submissive position. As another factor we can also name broken transnational ties after the migration process. Mostly the nature of the migration (forced migration), bitter memories and causes of migration made it impossible for the exchange migrants to continue their relations with the sending country. This helped the migrants to accept Turkey as their new homeland and raise their feeling of belonging to Turkey. They also had meetings with the other exchange migrants. Creating their own communities in Turkey allowed them to reach new means to feel at home and feel more secure.

As another part of the story, it is also pointed some migrants preferred not to be called as exchange migrants and did not accept the government allocated lands but settled by their own means. This denial of exchange migrant identity was both in order not to be seen as 'the other' and to save their children from a possible alienation that might occur in the future. We pointed this can also be another reason for remaining silent and not telling their memories of migration process to their children.[377]

It is revealed that the third generation is more curious and investigator about the past and memories of their families' elderly than the second generation. We pointed this is a result of many elements such as; all the surrounding factors, like the environmental readiness (political, economical, sociological developments), technological developments and the generational differences in terms of proximity with the elderly (the strict relations were softened in the third generation), the third generation grow up in an environment in which they were more exposed to and

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[377] They might be trying to prevent their children from possible hatred towards the lands they came from, possible othering they might face or feel themselves, or helping them to acculturate and embrace the culture they entered.

accessible to information about their migrant identity. They had the means to look for, search and reach the people involved in the process and the knowledge they needed thanks to the educational, technological and sociological changes. Also after the 1980s and especially 1990s we saw an increasing trend in the cultural identity based discussions and demands as a result of all the political, cultural and economical developments in the world. This can also be linked to postmodernism in the 1980s and rising globalism in the 1990s. Moreover, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks together with the rising fear and curiosity among the people; the discourse on identity and 'the other' started to be the focus of all the countries in the political, social and academic fields as well. Everyone started to discuss and search more about their ethnic origins and the past.

The interviewees were aware of their migrant identity since childhood, and mostly told the memories by the grandparents. Firstly through these stories the migrants seemed to have connected to their roots.[378] As narratives can be seen as a "formative mechanism in the construction of self and identity,"[379] we should keep in mind that the oral narratives and history are both products of the society and the individual. They touch both individual feelings and create a feeling of belonging among the group members sharing the same stories and backgrounds.

It is also observed that for these migrants *belonging to a place* idea is not limited to a bounded locality. It is disclosed that all the interviewees emotionally feel closer to both their motherland (Greece) where they had never lived before and Turkey where they were born and living at the moment of the interviews. The home feeling is not only for Turkey. We observed that today people are becoming more mobile and that their identities are becoming more de-territorialized. It is also acknowledged that

[378] Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", 121.

[379] Merrill, "Stories of Narrative: On Social Scientific Uses of Narrative in Multiple Disciplines", 1.

these migrants were able to recreate the concept of home in their minds and hearts yet never forgotten the lands their grandparents were born. As Magat stated

> Home is also a center. Here, the term center indicates a meaning system or a viable, indispensable source of identity. Centering encompasses, adequate integration of past, present, and future; it implies satisfactory reconciliation of immediate (proximate) and ultimate (abstract or distant) concerns."[380]

The second and third generations were born in their *homelands* in an environment that their parents have already built somehow; it was easier for them to form their lives. Still the fact that the third generation calls themselves as 'exchange migrants' indicates that the identity development did not completely go in a different direction in the case of our interviewees. This is in line with what Wessendorf emphasized in her article "it is common for members of the second generation to have nostalgic relations with their parents' place of origin, particularly if they have grown up in strong transnational social fields."[381] In our case the transnational links were absent in their childhood and created later together with the global and regional developments in the 1980s. These elements as well helped the migrant identity to be protected even until the third and fourth generation migrants.

About Greece we observed that today they do not have any negative feelings despite the sad and painful memories of their motherland. Some of the people we spoke with from each side (Turkish and Greek) confessed that their grandparents or parents have killed a member of the other group during the war. Even with this background today their hatred and feelings of revenge have faded away. Thus, the external structures both constrain and enable to form/ reform or redefine the relationships of the

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[380] Ilan N. Magat, "Israeli and Japanese Immigrants to Canada: Home, Belonging, and the Territorialization of Identity", *Ethos,* 27/2, (1999), 120.

[381] Wessendorf, "'Roots Migrants': Transnationalism and 'Return' among Second-Generation Italians in Switzerland", 1083.

countries and the individuals as well. However, in the interviews we also showed that this relationship is mutual; as a result of the practices the agents also help to reform and reshape the external structures.

It is also uncovered that after the individuals started visiting the other country, together with the rising globalisation networks and connections their relationships with each other developed, both of the countries' members started having friends and regular visitors from the other country. The thought that 'the motherland' (Greece) is inaccessible has disappeared together with the increasing visits to the other country. It is also clear from the interviews and observations that the land of mother country is still very important even for the third generation migrants.

Another comparative element is the closeness of the local and the migrant group members to each other. Today, in Çatalca and Seyrek regions, the local and the migrant are more integrated, act cooperatively and help each other. When we spoke with the Istanbul city centre residents we can conclude that they can hardly even name their neighbours or another migrant living closer to them. Thus, we can argue in the villages the relationships are closer and the knowledge, protection of cultures and memory transfer of the past is comparatively more improved. At this point what Park indicated in his book *Society* can clarify the situation:

> [...] the differences between groups may be described in terms of the action-pattern which determines the behavior of each. The fundamental difference between a city and a village [...] is not the mere size of the aggregates or the number of individuals of which they are composed, but the degree to which these different aggregates have been integrated and organized for concerted action. This suggests that in a study of the social group, as of the biological organism, the point of departure is, properly, not structure, but activity. The thing that gives a community the character of a society is not its structure, but its capacity for concerted action (*Society*, 14-15).[382]

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[382] Burnett, "Review: The Collected Papers of Robert Park", 290.

The village life with its collectively active life allows the communities to be closer. The activities organized together with the group members are more frequent when compared to the people living in Istanbul city centre. In Seyrek, Izmir, nearly all the elderly gets together in the village coffee house and spoke with each other. Even when there is no organized event for the community per se, the individuals can follow each other's daily routines; it becomes a part of their daily life. In Çatalca region in Istanbul the trend is similar as well, when compared to the group members living in the city centre they seemed more protective against their cultures and traditions and every Monday they are organizing regular meetings together with the surrounding villages in their Lausanne exchange migrants' culture house.

The fundamental "integrative attitudes and formative principles are all important also in the handing down of every tradition"[383], as they are important tools for binding and forming the basis of the continuance of the practices. We observed especially the meals, songs and dances of the migrants are still protected. However, there were also some complaints about the new generations (for instance, fourth generations') willingness and interest in learning them. Still their family relations are very strong and they generally perform these traditions especially in their special days like weddings, parties and so on. They form a strong solid group with their family and relatives and this helps the group members to help each other also in times of despair and contributes to preserve the cultural traditions within the community as well. They help the new group members to see things from their particular "aspect". Hence, "they enable the individual to deal with new impressions and events in a fashion broadly predetermined by a group."[384]

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[383] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 306.

[384] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 306.

Sociologically these formative and integrative principles allow individuals who are physically away from one another (not into personal contact with another) to form a link with each other. The people's devotion or affinity towards migrants' foundations or charities such as the *Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants* and the events they organized seems to be also resulting from this factor. In resemblance to Park's arguments with their attachment to each other and traditional ethnic cultures; "the immigrant uses the distinctiveness of the ethnic culture to build sufficient personal confidence to face the difficulties of assimilation into the larger society and participation in the capitalist economy."[385] At the first stages of settlement it was this connection that helped them to survive easily and get used to the new environment.

Hence, as the wars' effects were influential for all of the sides and people involved in the events, they caused radical changes for the migrants' lives. They formed neighbourhoods of their own and started to enter into new relations firstly with the exchange migrants like them, secondly with the locals. In this way in the modern world they manage to form their own 'culture' comprised of shared values "derived from primary relations."[386] The regular meetings they had can be a good example of this. The regular meetings especially run by the foundations help them to organize events share and learn about each other's stories and problems and form their own values and culture.

Here we can suggest that the generations do not evolve in a rhythm of successive pattern and that "whether [a new generation style] emerges every year, every thirty, every hundred years, or whether it emerges rhythmically at all, depends entirely on the trigger action of the social and cultural process" (and the curiosity of the

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[385] James L. Wood, "Review: The Romance of Culture in an Urban Civilization: Robert E. Park on Race and Ethnic Relations in Cities." *Contemporary Sociology,* 21/1, (1992), 55.

[386] Ibid., 56.

agents).[387] Only under the medium of social and cultural forces can we understand the generation phenomena. Together with the topics mentioned this also explains the rising interest in their identities in the third generation migrants.

These illustrate that as O'reilly argued "in order to understand the structuration processes involved we need both studies of broad scope (macro, historical studies) and close intimate studies of daily life."[388] However, they need to be seen as interacting and mutually effective forces causing changes and reformations in each other. We also pointed that in a migration study in order to grasp the impacts of these on each other better, we need a long term approach in which we can observe their transformations and patterns through the generations.

With these in mind we argued in order to totally understand the experiences, knowledge, and feelings of the following generation Turkish exchange migrants from Greece, the best way is to base the research on the theory of practice by Pierre Bourdieu combined with Karl Mannheim's theories on knowledge and generations. "Policies and practices are supported by practice"[389] and when we observe the daily practices, feelings and thoughts of the individuals we would in fact see how the structures are interpreted and reflected in practice. Their long term observation with the second and third generation migrants have also portrayed the changes in the inner and external structures and agencies reactions towards them. It is revealed that the structures and agencies are mutually affecting each other and together they took shape in the case of the second and third generation Turkish migrants from Greece.

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[387] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* , 310.

[388] O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 104.

[389] Ibid., 135.

We observed that drawing on their knowledge and experiences the migrants plan alternatives to their current positions, visualise the proposed solutions and modify them constantly according to the opportunities and constraints of the external structures. In this way, their internal structures or habitus[390] take shape and transform or revise their internal structures accordingly. We believed this is actually what summarized the experiences of the second and third generation exchange migrants in Istanbul. They preserve their own form of the exchange migrant identity, different from their grandparents' but still not distant from them.[391] So, we can name the atmosphere in Catalca today as multicultural.[392] Exchange migrants' and locals' relationship to each other can also be summarized as such; they make mutual exchanges, transformations, and adaptations to each other's culture and formed an intercultural/multicultural community in their region. None of them seemed to forget their identities and cultures. Both sides are aware of each other's traditions, norms and values and made contributions to the communities they interact with.

These interactions helped Turkey to protect its cultural diversity and cultural differences at the same time. As Rutherford argues, there is a common, transparent norm constituted in communities silently saying: "'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'. This is what I mean by a

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[390] "Habitus are the multitude of ways of being and thinking, of seeing and doing, that we each, in groups and as individuals, acquire through socialization, through generations of past practices, and through our own repeated practices. Habitus is best conceived as both a structure (formed) and an action (being formed), and it includes the skills, cultural schemas, world views, knowledge, capitals, and personal resources (including those that are embodied) of a given agent or group of agents. Habitus is/are fairly fixed but transposable (or somewhat mutable)" O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, 150-151.

[391] For some scholars "multiculturalism had the risk of assigning the concept of culture to a group of people and making culture things as independent units and emphasising differences. Recently, interculturality is also used instead of multiculturality as well.

[392] (without defining their culture as independent units or assigning it to a group of people; or use the term intercultural).

creation of cultural diversity and a containment of cultural difference."[393] Seeing that the Greek usage coexists in Catalca region together with the Turkish usage and being aware of the fact that Greek usage diminishes in the fourth generation also reminds us of this saying. Moreover, according to another point of view, in the act of 'cultural translation'[394] "both representation and reproduction denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity."[395] At this point, we can forecast that the balance formed today will definitely be different in the fourth and fifth generations. The reason behind this is that, we proved the fact that the identity of exchange migrant is still protected in the third generation group; however, their presentation and reproduction of it is definitely different from the first generations'. As Mannheim argues:

> experienced time is the only real time, they must all in fact be living in qualitatively quite different subjective eras. 'Everyone lives with people of the same and of different ages, with a variety of possibilities of experience facing them all alike. But for each the "same time" is a different time — that is, it represents a different period of his self , which he can only share with people of his own age.'[396]

Therefore, every generation has their own *inner aim*, *spirit*, and always changing 'influences and relationships' exerted on people could make huge alterations in their identities. Therefore, restating Mannheim's thoughts is necessary. He argued that "members of any one generation can participate only in a temporally limited section of the historical process" and this best describes the position of the third and second generation. Although the third generation started clinging on to their exchange

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[393] Rutherford, "The Third Space", 208.

[394] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, (London: Fontana, 1982).

[395] Rutherford, "The Third Space", 211.

[396] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 283.

migrant identities and protecting their culture, their presentation and production of them is obviously different from their grandparents'. Still maintained their language and culture and traditions somehow and not totally assimilated[397] in the dominant culture they entered in Turkey.

To sum up, second and third generation exchange migrants are still influenced by the results of 1923 population exchange today. It can be also argued that the curiousity about their past increased even more in the third generation migrants as a result of dynamic and mutually affected relationships in the society and the international area. Making use of the developments the new age has brought third generation also motivated the second generation to search more about their culture and history. These all helped this group to be closer with their traditions, customs after the 1980s and not forget about their past.

Besides theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Karl Mannheim, the ideas presented in this study made use of thoughts of other great philosophers such as G. Herbert Mead, Julia Kristeva, Homi Bhabha[398] and Herbert Blumer in formation of identities, other and symbolic interactionism; and C. Wright Mills who proposed the importance of studies with biographies and their interactions with the history in social structures. This study is also in line with the studies of many scholars such as: Robert Park, who

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[397] As Bhabha argued "the possibility of producing a culture which both articulates difference and lives with it could only be established on the basis of a non-sovereign notion of self." (Rutherford, "The Third Space", 212.) Hence, in the long run, continuance of the exchange migrant identity and culture within the dominant host culture can only be possible "by loosing the sovereignty of the self that you can gain the freedom of a politics that is open to the non-assimilationist claims of cultural difference." (Ibid, 213.) Up to now, Catalca area can be shown as a good example of this, the coexistence of Turkish and Greek language in daily life, and the other cultural heritages such as songs, food and dances showed the non-assimilationist claims made in the region so far. Moreover, the answer "we are fourth generation population exchange migrants" got from the fourth generation shows the social and cultural acceptance of their identities and generational location as well.

[398] Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

also focused on migration and ethnic relations; and Miriam Wells[399], and Monica Varsanyi[400] who focused on the importance of 'local conditions and actors' in the migrant's experiences; and Stephen Castles[401] and Steven Vertovec, who highlighted the importance of transnational networks for the migrants and in the creation of identities.

As an extension of this thesis, the researchers hereafter can benefit from the peaceful coexistence of culture and identities observed in Catalca area while solving confrontations or conflicts faced in identity and culture issues in different areas. They can also analyse the importance of transnational networks in the identity formation and protection of relatively remote or endangered cultures. Moreover, research can be made by focusing only on the weekly meetings of the minority groups' foundations, showing their importance in the continuance of the traditions. Another topic of research we pondered while studying the Çatalca migrants was, how would the answers, experiences and feelings change if the scope of the thesis were a relatively wealthier group of migrants. Moreover, during the research we also learnt that during the 1923 a great majority of Muslim people migrated to America from Greece, we also wondered their experiences but could not reach many of them. Another study can reveal their experiences and job preferences for the second and third generation. In our thesis, we also observed both the second generation and a great majority of the third generation choose non-governmental occupations; they are generally not public service workers. Whether this is a common attitude among the

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[399] M. J. Wells, The Grassroots Reconfiguration of U.S. Immigration Policy" *International Migration Review*, 38/4, (2004), 1308–1347.

[400] M.Varsanyi, "Interrogating 'Urban Citizenship' vis`a vis: Undocumented Migration", *Citizenship Studies*, 10/2, (2006), 229–249.

[401] Castles, De Haas, Miller, The Age of Migration.; S.Castles, D.Ozkul, M.Cubas, *Social Transformation and Migration: National and Local Experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico and Australia*, (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).; S.Castles, "Multiculturalism". In J Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen Eds., *Immigration and Asylum: From 1900 to the Present*, (pp. 428-434), (United States of America: ABC-Clio, 2005).

other exchange migrants can also be topic of another research. This study will mainly contribute to the studies of identity, generation, migration, and cultural change and will help to reframe the increasing discussions on identity in Turkey as well.

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APPENDICES

A. PHOTOS FROM SEYREK, IZMIR

The Coffee house where the elderly and men of the town meet each other during the day.

Seyrek Village, village center and the mosque, you can see the Muslim exchange migrants houses that they stil use today at the back.

Muslim migrants houses provided by the government, they stil use these houses however of course they have been restored.

A house emptied by the Greek Exchange migrants back in 1923. The house is empty and not used until then.

B. PHOTOS FROM ÇATALCA, ISTANBUL

Çatalca Square of Exchange Migrants, the wooden house in the middle of the picture is left by the Greek exchange migrants and used by the Muslims Exchange migrants coming from Greece. Today it is used as the culture house for the migrants, the women in the town are working there to learn and create handcraft works and objects like carpets.

Çatalca 'Population Exchange Museum' inside one can found the objects brought by the exchange migrants from their motherlands during the population exchange migration. The building was restored and built with the partnership of Çatalca Municipality and the support of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency. The building was used as a tavern by Greek minorities before they emptied the town during the population exchange process. When the Muslim community arrived in Çatalca in 1924, the Greek minority had not yet left their houses so for a period of two months the

Muslims and Christians shared the same houses and some of them who could not find a place took refuge in this building.

Objects inside the museum, handcrafted clothes of the migrants they brought from their motherland in Greece, cups they used while cooking, documents given from the officers before departure and after arrival such as the land title deeds so on can be found inside the museum.

More objects from the museum which the Exchange migrants carried with them from Greece.

A first generation exchange migrant from Neapoli, aged 97, we also conducted an interview with him.
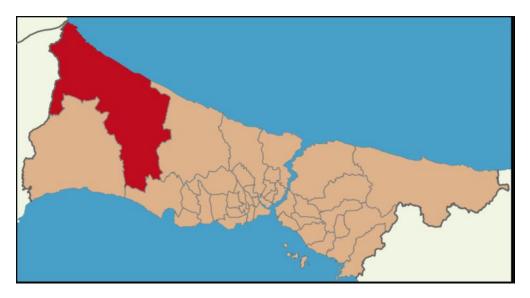

Photo from Elbasan village, Çatalca. During the population exchange 719 muslim population exchange migrants came to this village. Especially in this village all the people stil speaks Greek in their daily lives. When you go to the coffee house or a public place you can hear both Greek and Turkish at the same time. Especially the elderly did not give up speaking in Greek, however they say their accent and dialect is different from the people in Greece. According to the headmen of the village many foreign scholars have came to study if they had a Greek root or not but the villagers state from the Ottoman period on their religion is muslim and they know themselves as Turkish. The villagers do not accept any connection in their roots to Greece.

The villagers houses in Elbasan village, in these houses still the succeeding generations of the exchange migrants generally the third generation migrants live now.

Headman of Elbasan Village and a third generation migrant from Çatalca.

Map of Istanbul and Çatalca area. Red colored areas symbolize the Çatalca area and we especially interviewed with 25 migrants in Çatalca Region they were mostly residing close to the Marmara sea region.

C. PERASAYNA AND SAMIOTISSA NOTES

Perasayna
(Patriot türküsü)

Notaya alan: Erman TÜRKELİ

Perasayna is one of the songs especially mentioned by all of the migrants, they stated they still play this song and Samiotissa whose notation we also provided below during their public ceremonies like weddings. Even the third generation migrants know them. Both of the songs notation is written by Erman Türkeli.

Samiotissa

Notaya alan: Erman TÜRKELİ

Ke me ti varka pou tha pas
griza pania tha valo
Ke me ti varka pou tha pas
griza pania tha valo
Malamatenia to koumbia Samiotisa
yia na'rtho na se paro
Malamatenia to koumbia Samiotisa
yia na'rtho na se paro

D. THE LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

D.1 Interviews Conducted in Istanbul

X	Interviewee	Age /From	Generation	Settlement in Turkey
1	Nurcan Sayim -f	70/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Yedikule
2	Bediha Erkurt-f	85/ Thessaloniki	Second Generation	İstanbul/ Maltepe
3	Nalan Özsoy-f	80/ Thessalonili	Second Generation	İstanbul/Eyüp
4	Ayşe Okur-f	73/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Eyüp
5	Interviewee-m	97/ Neapoli	First Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
6	Mert Dinçer-m	54/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
7	Mustafa Toygar-m	68/ Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
8	Ali Ergün-m	77/ Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
9	Nergis Şahin -f	47/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
10	Sema Gül-f	47/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
11	Ismail Gül-m	50 / Drama	Third Generation	İstanbul/Çatalca
12	Mübeccel Duran -f	81/ Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
13	Rena Gencer-f	49/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
14	Belgin Tezer-f	51/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
15	Erdal Özgün-m	52/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/Çatalca
16	Galip Eren-m	57/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
17	Ismail Tan-m	61/Langaza	Third Generation	İstanbul/Çatalca
18	Erol Taner-m	32/ Neapoli	Third Generation	İstanbul/ Çatalca
19	Ahmet Gün –m	76/ Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/Çatalca
20	Interviewee-f	60/Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/Çatalca
21	Süleyman Bağcı –m	96/Neapoli	Second Generation	İstanbul/Mimarsinan
22	Sevilay Bağcı-f	55/Thessaloniki	Third Generation	İstanbul/Mimarsinan
23	İsmail Keskin-m	83/Thessaloniki	Second Generation	İstanbul/Mimarsinan
24	Interviewee-m	67/ Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Istanbul/Maltepe
25	Interviewee-m	54/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Istanbul/Çatalca

D.2 Interviews Conducted in Izmir, Seyrek

X	Interviewee	Age /From	Generation	Settlement in Turkey
1	Nergis Ufuk-f	55/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
2	Mümtaz Unca-f	82/ Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Seyrek/ İzmir
3	Nur Kayır-f	80 / Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
4	Kamil Denk-m	98/Evosmos/ Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
5	Ömer Denk-m	59/Evosmos/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
6	Interviewee-m	62/Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Seyrek/Izmir
7	Interviewee-m	67/Evosmos/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
8	Interviewee-f	73/Evosmos/ Thessaloniki	Third Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
9	Interviewee-f	58/ Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Seyrek/İzmir
10	Interviewee-m	60/Thessaloniki	Second Generation	Seyrek/İzmir

D. 3 Interviews Conducted in Greece

x	Interviewee	Age /Settled In	Generation	Migrated From
1	Erin Tofoğlu -m	Istanbul (Greek local)	Second Generation	Istanbul
2	Sedat Mehmet-m	40 (Muslim)	Local	Komotini
3	Interviewee-m	48	Local	Komotini
4	Interviewee-f	65	Local	Komotini
5	Interviewee-f	70	Local	Lesbos
6	Interviewee-m	75	Local	Lesbos
7	Interviewee-m	65	Local	Lesbos
8	Interviewee-m	73	Local	Lesbos
9	Interviewee-f	80/ (Muslim)	Second Generation	Thessaloniki

In Total: 19 female-25 male

E. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

When is your birthday?
Where are you from? Where are your parents/grandparents from?
What language did they speak?
When is your grandparents/ parents birthday?
What was your parents'/grandparents' job?
What's/was your occupation? Why did you choose that job?
What do your children do now?
What are your hobbies; what do you like doing in your free times? What do you do as a family in your free times?
How is your relationship with the other family relatives? Now and then?

When did you first learn about being a Balkan population exchange migrant from your parents?
When people ask about your hometown, what do you say? And do you mention being a migrant?
Where you curious about your past when you were a child? Have you ever wondered about it?
When did you/(your parents) come to Turkey?
How they migrate to Turkey, (namely-which ways and transportation they used and where did they arrive first)?
What happened to the properties left behind? (Could you sell them or leave them as it is?)
Did you use any governmental help in this process? in what ways?
Where did they first settle in Turkey? And is this place found with government assistance?
During the population exchange how many people from the family migrate to Turkey and were there any left behind or lost?
What did the remaining members of the family do later? (If there is any)
How do your relatives affected from this migration?
Could the other members of the family or other relatives find each other after the population exchange process? If not, why?
Did you/your parents have any hardships in the adaptation process? What are these and what were the main reasons behind them?
Do you have any childhood memories related to the daily routines of men and women after settlement?
Have you ever watched or read or interested in books documentaries about Balkan migrants?
While living in Turkey have you ever felt different or as a minority?
What was the local reaction of Istanbul residents to migrants and how it is now?
Why did you/your parents choose Istanbul to live in? How do you think living in Istanbul affected you or your parents?

Do you remember any stories of Turkish/Greek communities back while they were living together?
How were the relationships with the neighbours from other communities?
How was their daily routine there?
How were the relationships in Greece?

Have you ever visited Greece and what were the thoughts and impressions?
Do you know Greek and do you speak it at home?
Today do you still keep your traditions? Why?
Do your children keep the same traditions?
Are there any ways of interaction or regular meetings you organize to meet your community members?
Are there any differences between the family's economic situation before and after migration? What was the reaction to that?

How can you define your family's economic and social position before and after migration?
In retrospect, what's your opinion about the population exchange, do you think it was a good idea then?
What do you think was mainly lost during the population exchange? And what was gained?[402]

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[402] It should be noted that these questions could not be asked to all of the interviewees in the same way or order. Sometimes we added/changed/removed some of the questions according to the participant's background /age/history.

F. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Paköz Türkeli, Ahu
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Place of Birth: Antalya
Marital Status: Married
email: ahupakoz@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU, Middle East Studies	2007
BS	Hacettepe University, American Culture and Literature	2004
High School	Antalya Anatolian High School, Antalya	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2013-2014	British Consultancy General, Istanbul	Assistant
2012-2013	Kadir Has University, Istanbul International Relations Council	Assistant
2011-2013	American Culture Association	Freelance Instructor

PUBLICATIONS

1. Ege University, "Fear and Violence Conference"by Faculty of Letters,"Margaret Fuller and 19th Century" 2012 November, A speech published in 2013.

2. "A Reawakening of Memoirs in Comic Form: *Persepolis* by Marjane Satrapi." *Scan, Journal of Media Arts Culture*. A refereed Journal of Media Arts and Culture. Vol. 5 No.2. September 2, 2008. http://scan.net.au/scan/journal/display.php?journal_id=115

FOREIGN LANGUAGES
Advanced English, Intermediate Italian, Intermediate German

G. TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı 1923 yılında Yunanistan'dan Türkiye'ye mübadele edilen Müslüman gruplardan, karşılaştırmalı olarak ikinci ve üçüncü nesilde mübadeleden sonra geride kalan/aktarılan duyguları, kültür-değerleri, birbirlerinden farklılıklarını görmektir. Ayrıca, bu nesillerin üzerinde bugün hala mübadelenin etkisinin ne derece devam ettiğini ve ikinci ve üçüncü nesillerin mübadil kimliklerini koruyup korumadıklarını incelemektir.

Ondokuzuncu yüzyıl sonu ve yirminci yüzyılın başları tüm dünyada büyük çatışmalara, toplumsal ve sosyolojik değişimlere sahne olmuş, pek çok milletin kaderini politik, ekonomik, sosyal ve demografik açıdan farklı yollara yönlendirmiştir. Bu dönemde imparatorluklar ve milletler parçalanıp yerini yeni devletlere bırakmıştır. Bu tezin konusu da bu dönemde Anadolu ve Balkanlarda gerçekleşmiş olan bu kökten değişimlerden ilham alarak şekillenmiştir. 1923 Lozan Barış Antlaşması'na ek olarak yapılan sözleşme uyarınca; yeni kurulan Türkiye ve Yunanistan Devletleri için birbirlerinin topraklarında kalan Müslüman ve Hristiyan topluluklarına 'zorunlu nüfus mübadelesi' uygulanmıştır. Bu uygulama ile pek çok aile yüzyıllardır yaşadığı 'anavatan'larından, aniden, hiçbir hazırlık yapmadan ayrılmıştır. Ardından hiç görmedikleri yabancı topraklarda yaşamlarına devam etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu durum sosyolojik, ekonomik ve politik pek çok tartışmayı da beraberinde getiriyordu.

Dördüncü nesil bir mübadil olan eşim ve ailesiyle yaptığım diyaloglar sonrasında, bugün farklı nesillerin mübadeleden bahsederken ve bugünkü kimliklerini tanımlarken farklı konulara vurgu yaptıklarını ve farklı konular üzerine bilgi sahibi olduklarını gözlemledim. Aile içerisinde gözlemlediğim bu değişimler, nesiller sonra 'mübadele'nin bugün ikinci ve üçüncü nesil tarafından nasıl karşılandığına ve

mübadil kimliklerini koruyup korumadıklarına ve nasıl yansıttıklarına dair merakımı uyandırdı.

Bu araştırmayı özellikle İstanbul'un Çatalca bölgesinde yerleşmiş olan; çoğunluğu Yunanistan'ın Selanik çevresi ve Nasliç kasabasından gelmiş olan 25 mübadille ve bununla karşılaştırma amaçlı İzmir'in Seyrek; Yunanistan'ın Selanik, Midilli Adası, Gümülcine ve Dedeağaç bölgelerinde gerçekleştirdiğimiz toplam 44 kişiyle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerin ışığında yapacağız. Bunların yanı sıra İstanbul, Beyoğlu Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı'nın gerçekleştirdiği, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'den birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü nesil mübadillerle yapılan görüşmeleri kapsayan iki proje kitabını da konuyu daha geniş bir çerçevede inceleyebilmek amacıyla tezimize dâhil ettik. Tezin çerçevesini ve teorik yapısını ilk olarak en iyi Karl Mannheim'in *Bilgi Sosyolojisi Üzerine Makaleler* (*Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 1952) kitabındaki genel tartışmaları ve vurguladığı 'nesiller problemi' üzerine söyledikleri çerçevesinde inceleyebileceğimiz kararına vardık. Mannheim'in nesiller üzerine yaptığı tartışmalar bize ikinci ve üçüncü nesli incelerken çerçeve hazırlamada oldukça yardımcı oldu. İkinci olarak da nesiller arası duygularda, düşüncelerde, hareketlerde ve mübadillerin kimliklerinde olan değişimleri incelemek için Pierre Bourdieu'nun *Pratikler Teorisi*'ni ve habitus ve alan tartışmalarından faydalandık.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda farklı kültürlerin ve toplulukların yıllar boyu yan yana yaşaması, onsekizinci yüzyılın sonlarında yerini tartışmalı birlikteliklere bırakmaya başladı. Bir anda özellikle ondokuzuncu yüzyılda ardı ardına kaybedilen savaşlar, gitgide kötüleşen ekonomi ve devlet yönetiminin ardından yerini karışıklıklara, çatışmalara ve isyanlara bıraktı. Sonrasında bir dönem metiyelerle anılan çokkültürlülük; yıllar boyu tartışılan, üzerine çözüm aranan azınlık sorununa dönüşmeye başladı. Bu dönemde bir yandan tüm Avrupa'da devam eden karışıklıklar ve gelişmeler orada yaşamakta olan halkların ortamı değiştirdi. Ardından büyük devletlerin de olaylara karışmasıyla ortaya çıkan ardı ardına gelişen Osmanlı Rus Savaşları, Balkan Savaşları ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı ile birlikte tüm Avrupa,

Balkanlar ve Anadolu'ya yayılan Ulusçuluk, milliyetçilik ve azınlıklar sorunu gibi düşünceler daha önce huzur içinde yaşamakta olan bu toplulukları karışıklığa ve bilinmezliğe sürükledi. Bu savaşlar ve karışıklıklar içinde sürekli olarak en yakınlarındaki komşu ve dostlarından dahi tehdit almaya başlayan, yaşadıkları bölgede farklı ya da azınlık olarak algılanmaya başlayan Türkiye ve Yunanistan'daki bu gruplar yavaş yavaş yüzyıllardır bulundukları ana vatanlarını hayatta kalmak pahasına terk etmeye başladılar. Özellikle 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşları sonrasında Balkanlardan Anadolu'ya başlayan göçler 1930'lara kadar aralıklarla devam etti. Kendi halinde evlerinde yaşayan siviller birden konunun odak noktası haline gelince en yakınlarındaki diğer millete mensup dostları, komşuları tarafından bile düşman gözüyle bakılmaya başlandı. Bu koşullar altında 'nüfus mübadelesi'; Milletler Cemiyeti, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Yunanistan tarafından, ortaya çıkan çatışmalar, uyuşmazlıklar ve politik dengesizliklere karşı iyi ve pratik bir çözüm olarak görüldü. 1923 Nüfus mübadelesi aslında teoride devletler tarafından oldukça iyi planlanmıştı ve Milletler Cemiyeti'nce kurulan karma komisyonun da gözetiminde aşamalı olarak gerçekleşmesi bekleniyordu. Fakat zaten var olan sürtüşmeler, nüfus mübadelesi kararının da alınmasıyla iyice şehir ve köylerde yükselmeye başladı. Bunun sonucunda kendisinin ve ailesinin hayatı tehlikeye giren Yunanistan ve Türkiye'den pek çok azınlık konumunda kalan topluluk ülke sınırlarına dayandı. Bu koşullar altında yetkililer pek çok ayrıntıyı gözden kaçırarak bir anda nüfus mübadelesini gerçekleştirmek durumunda kaldı. O dönemin koşullarını Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği başkanı Sefer Güvenç proje kitabının önsözüne hazırladığı yazıda oldukça iyi özetliyor:

> Mübadeleye tabi tutulanlar yüzlerce yıldır ekip-biçtikleri topraklarını, ekmek parası kazandıkları işyerlerini, evlerini, ibadet ettikleri kutsal mekânlarını, sevdiklerinin mezarlarını geride bıraktılar. Limanlarda, tren istasyonlarında kurulan çadırlarda haftalarca, aylarca beklediler. Çoğu yolcu taşımaya elverişsiz olan gemilerde iki ülke arasında günler, haftalar süren yolculuklar yaptılar. Bu uzun ve zahmetli yolculuk sırasında kaybettiklerinin ölü bedenlerini denize verdiler. Yetersiz beslenme ve kötü fiziki koşullardan ötürü hastalanarak ölenler oldu. Aileler dağıldı. Yeni vatanlarına uzun süre uyum güçlüğü çektiler. Doğdukları toprakları ziyaret etmelerine uzun yıllar izin verilmedi. 1. Kuşak mübadillerin hemen hemen tamamı memleket

hasretiyle bu dünyadan sessizce göçüp gittiler. Onlardan geriye sadece anılar kaldı.[403]

Bu noktada bizim araştırmamızda özellikle ortaya çıkarmak istediğimiz; ilk olarak; birinci neslin kültür, kimlik ve anılarının ardından gelen nesiller tarafından korunup korunmadığıdır. Bununla birlikte ikinci ve üçüncü neslin bunları nasıl yorumladığı ve bugünkü nesillerin gözünde mübadelenin nasıl algılandığını da gözlemle fırsatı bulduk.

Bu konuları incelerken en iyi sonuca yüzyüze yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler ve katılımcı gözlem yoluyla ulaşabileceğimize karar verdik. Biyografi ve yüzyüze görüşmeler; tarihsel, sosyolojik ve psikolojik çalışmalarda başlıca başvurulan yöntemlerden birisidir. Subjektif olmakla eleştirilse de bu çalışmada önemli bir tarihsel olayın ardından, özellikle kişisel kimlik ve duyguları ortaya çıkarmak istediğimiz için bu yönleri bizim çalışmamıza olumlu olarak etki edecektir. Çünkü anılarda ve nesilden nesle aktarılan hikâyelerde insanların kişisel deneyimlerini, iç doğrularını ve düşüncelerini gözleme fırsatımız olur. Tarihsel dokümanlardan objektif ve sistematik bilgiye ulaşırız; ancak, sözsel geleneğe dokunarak kişisel doğrular ve deneyimlere nüfus etme fırsatını bulabiliriz. Sözlü olarak aktarılan, yaşanılanlara ait hikâyeler ve deneyimler bizi köklerimize bağlar.[404] Bu tip deneyimleri günümüz sosyolojisi katılımcı gözlem, anket, vaka incelemesi ve alan çalışması gibi metotlarla ortaya çıkarmaya çalışır.[405] Bu nedenle çalışmamızda katılımcı gözlem ve derinlemesine görüşme metotlarından faydalanarak bu deneyimleri ortaya çıkarmaya çalıştık.

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[403] Tanas Cimbis and Sula Aslanoğlu trans., Onlar İki Kere Yabancıydılar, Project by The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants, (Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, 2015), 9.

[404] Robert Atkinson, "The Life Story Interview", İçinde *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, Jaber F. Gubrium and James A Holstein eds, (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002), 121.

[405] Ulus Baker, "From Opinions to Images: Towards a Sociology of Affects", (Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü Doktora Tezi, 2002), 97.

Bu araştırmayı yaparken 1923 Türk–Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesini, genel olarak olayların gerçekleştiği tarihsel şartlar, göç, zorunlu göç ve son olarak da yüzyüze görüşmeler üzerine yapılan araştırmalardan bağımsız olarak düşünmek olayı yalın ve ortada bırakacaktı. Bu nedenle ikinci bölümde olayın gerçekleştiği tarihsel süreci özetledikten sonra, üçüncü bölümde tezin metodolojik ve teorik çerçevesini çizeceğiz. Ardından genel olarak göç ve zorunlu göç araştırmalarının özellikle vurgu yaptıkları noktaları inceleyip, bunların bizim çalışmamız için de geçerli olup olmadığını ve zorunlu göçün mübadiller üzerinde ne gibi etkiler yarattığını sorgulayacağız. Daha sonra yüzyüze görüşmeler üzerine yapılan çalışmaları inceleyip, ikinci ve üçüncü nesli kimlik, aidiyet duygusu ve anı aktarımı konularında karşılaştırıp, farklı ve benzer yönlerini açığa çıkarmaya çalıştık.

İkinci bölümde, bahsi geçen tarihsel arka planı verirken, genel olarak 1923 nüfus mübadelesinde göç süreci ve mübadilleri çevreleyen şartlar, koşullar ve yapıları da kısaca sergiledik. Mübadelenin neden ve sonuçlarına genel olarak gözattık. Mübadillerin Lozan Barış Antlaşması'nın sonucunda zorunlu bir şekilde evlerinden gönderildiklerini ve o dönemde genel olarak büyük güçlerin ve dış güçlerin yönlendirilmeleriyle hareket etmek zorunda kaldıklarını gösterdik.

Üçüncü bölümde kişisel deneyim ve yüz yüze görüşmelere öncülük eden farklı alanlardan araştırmacılara ve bu çalışmaların odak noktalarına değindik. Burada sözü geçen araştırmalardan bazıları; William I. Thomas ve Florian Znaniecki'nin yüz yüze görüşmeler ve kişisel belgelere dayanarak Amerika'daki Polonyalı göçmenler üzerine yaptığı araştırma ve C. Wright Mills'in biyografik çalışmaların önemi üzerine yaptığı vurgudur. Ayrıca Sigmund Freud'un hayat hikâyeleri ve bunun psikolojiye olan katkıları ve Malinowski'nin vurguladığı bilimsel alan çalışmaları da sayılabilir. Verdiğimiz örneklerde amacımız; tüm alan çalışmaları, kişisel bilgi toplama ve yüz yüze görüşme yapanları sırasıyla özetlemek değil, bu tür çalışmaların bilimsel araştırmalardaki önemini vurgulamak ve genel olarak hayat hikâyeleri ve yüz yüze görüşme çalışmalarının ne gibi durumlarda kullanabileceğini sergilemektir.

Tezin Metodolojik ve Teorik Çerçevesi

Bu tezde hedefimiz nüfus mübadelesinin üzerinden neredeyse yüzyıl geçtikten sonra, ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak mübadillerin gözünden nüfus mübadelesinin etkilerini gözlemlemektir. Ayrıca onların geçmişteki olaylarla, atalarının yaşadıkları toprakla ve kendi doğdukları bölge ile olan bağlarının ve mübadil kimliklerinin zaman içinde nasıl şekillendiğini anlamaktır. Arka planda ise bugün geriye baktıklarında akıllarda neler kaldığını, anı ve gelenek transferinin ne derece yapılıp yapılmadığını ve bunların kimlikleri üzerine nasıl etki ettiğini gözleyebilme fırsatı bulduk. Bunu yaparken öncelikli olarak üzerine daha önce çok vurgulanmadığı için İstanbul mübadillerini ve bölge olarak diğer göçmenlerden biraz farklılık gösterdiğini gözlemlediğimiz Çatalca'yı hedef aldık. Ama araştırma bir bakıma olayın ardından gelen nesillerin de çalışması olduğu için farklılıkları incelemek adına, İstanbul merkezden ve yine mübadele döneminde çok göç alan illerden İzmir ilinin Seyrek köyünden göçmenlerle de görüşmeler gerçekleştirdik. Çalışma süresince ayrıca Yunanistan'a yapılan gezilerde Selanik, Gümülcine ve Midilli'den Yunanlı ve Müslüman sakinleri inceleme ve birkaçıyla görüşme fırsatı da bulabildik. Bu görüşmeler çalışmanın temelini oluşturmasa da genel olarak çıkan sonuçları incelerken düşünceleri ve olayları karşılaştırma yapmada çok etkili oldular. Farklı yerlerde yapılan gözlemlerin ardından Çatalca ile görüşmemiz bu bölgenin göçmenlerinin özelliklerini ve diğerleriyle ortak noktalarını daha iyi anlamamızı sağladı.

Bölgedeki gözlemlerin ardından yapılan görüşmelerdeki sorularımızı (çoğunlukla görüşmecinin yaşı, durumu ve bulunduğu yere göre farklılıklar gösterse de) genel olarak dört bölüme ayırmak mümkündür. Birinci bölümde, görüşmecilerin konuya ve bize ısınmasını sağlamak ve genel bilgilerini edinmek amaçlı sorulan doğum yerleri ve tarihi, işleri, çocukları, anne ve babalarının iş ve bilgilerini içeren sorular sayılabilir. İkinci bölümde; göç süreci, öncesi ve sonrasına ait, geliş şartları ve

koşulları hakkında ikinci ve üçüncü nesillerin bildiklerini ortaya çıkarmaya ve yeni nesillerde ne derece göçmen kimliğinin etkili olduğunu bulmaya yönelik sorular soruldu. Üçüncü bölümde Yunanistan hakkında bilinenler, bir daha ülkenin ziyaret edilip edilmediği ve oraya dair akılda kalan duygu ve düşünceleri edinmeye yönelik sorular yöneltildi. En son bölümde ise yaşanılan bölge ve İstanbul'un ikinci ve üçüncü nesle katkısı ile birlikte yer kimlik ilişkisini inceledik. Genel olarak bugün geriye baktıklarında nüfus mübadelesi hakkında ne düşündüklerini ve bugünkü kimliklerini nasıl etkilediğini öğrenmeye yönelik sorular sorduk. Bu araştırmayla daha yerel olan bilgilere ve deneyimlere, göçmenlerin birbirleriyle ve yerel kültürle ve topluluklarla olan ilişkilerine ve etkileşimlerine dokunmak istedik.

Kişisel deneyimler ve düşünceler araştırılırken, sosyal olaylarda yapıların ve aktörlerin etkilerini birarada göz önünde bulunduran kapsayıcı bir teorinin konuyu daha iyi açıklamakta gerekliliğini gördük. Göç süresinde bireylerin manevraları domino etkisi yaratarak pek çok olayı da etkileyebiliyordu. Bu nedenle göçmenlerin davranışlarını anlayabilmek için bireylerin düşünce ve davranışlarının sosyal yapılar ile iç içe ve sürekli etkileşim içinde olduğunu vurgulayan dinamik araştırma yaklaşımlarına yöneldik. Pierre Bourdieu'nun *pratikler teorisi*nin göçmenlerin yaşamındaki değişimleri açıklamada yardımcı olacağını gördük. Böylece göçmenlerin anlattıkları üzerine öncelikli olarak genel yapıları, kodları belirleyip, ardından bireylerin bu genel yapılar içindeki hareketlerini ve varsa karşılıklı etkileşimlerini de gözlemlemek mümkün oldu. Bourdieu pratikler teorisinde objektif yapılarla subjektif fenomenler arasındaki diyalektik ilişkiyi vurgulamıştır. Mübadillerin yaşamları; iç içe geçmiş şekilde bulunan küresel yapılar, devletler, güç savaşları, diğer kişilerin düşünceleri, eylemleri ve bulundukları etkileşimlerin tamamından etkilenmiştir. Bourdieu'nun sözleriyle pratikler teorisi "bilginin nesnelci biçimindeki objektif yapılarla bu yapıların gerçekleştiği ve bir bakıma yeniden

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üretildiği subjektif eğilimlerin diyalektik ilişkilerin bilimini mümkün kılar."[406] Bu çalışmada da bize 'yaşanılmış deneyimleri', bulundukları objektif ve subjektif ilişkiler bütünü içinde çalışmayı mümkün kılmıştır.

Mannheim'ın da belirttiği üzere "sosyal ve entelektüel hareketlerin yapılarını incelerken vazgeçilemez kılavuzlarımızdan"[407] biri de nesillere bakmaktır. Görüşmeleri ikinci ve üçüncü nesille karışık olarak yaptık bu sayede hem 40 yaş sonrası yetişkinlerle konuşmayı, hem de iki nesil arasında var olan farklılıkları ortaya çıkarmayı hedefledik. Ayrıca, nesilleri incelerken bir nevi rehber görevi görecek olan, Karl Mannheim'ın *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge (Bilgi Sosyolojisi Üzerine Makaleler)*, ve *Ideology and Utopia (İdeoloji ve Ütopya)* ve *An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge (Bilgi Sosyolojisine Giriş)* kitaplarını kılavuz olarak kullandık. Teoride özellikle, Mannheim'ın *Bilgi Sosyolojisi* kitabındaki *Nesillerin Problemi* makalesinde yaptığı tartışmaları[408] kendimize temel olarak aldık. Mannheim'i özellikle kullanmamızdaki diğer bir neden Mannheim'in sosyal değişim olaylarını nesiller üzerinden çok daha iyi anlayabileceğimizi vurgulaması ve ayrıca nesilleri incelerken hem biyolojik ritmin hem de 'sosyal nesil' oluşumunun göz önüne alınması gerektiğini vurgulamasıdır. 'Sosyal nesiller' ile vurgulanan fikir kolektif

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[406] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice trans., (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 3.

[407] Karl Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, Paul Kecskemeti ed, (New York and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952), 286-287.

[408] Buradaki Mannheim'ın "yaşlanmayı bir kenara bırakarak nesillere bakılırken dikkat çeken maddeleri :
a)   kültürel süreçte yeni katılımcıların ortaya çıkar,
b)   bu süreçte önceki katılımcıların sürekli olarak yok olur,
c)   herhangi bir neslin üyeleri tarihsel sürecin sadece kısıtlı bir bölümüne katılabilir,
d)   bu nedenle biriken kültürel mirasın sürekli olarak aktarımı gereklidir.
e)   Bir nesilden diğerine olan aktarım sürekli bir süreçtir" Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, 292-293.
olarak özetlemiştir. Bizim özellikle vurguladığımız nokta genel olarak nesillerde bulunan bu özelliklerin göç olayı işin içine girince gelecek nesiller ve onların kimlik oluşumunda özellikle etkili olduğudur. Bu farklılıkların özellikle hayatlarının her aşamasında büyük bir değişime neden olduğunu gözlemledik.

kimliğin oluşmasıdır. Bu kavramda 'biz' kimliği ortak deneyimler sonucunda oluşmaktadır. Mannheim'ın özellikle nesilleri sosyolojik olarak ele alması ve tarihsel geçmişin önemini de vurgulayarak açıklaması, yapılan görüşmeleri daha derinlemesine incelememizi sağladı. Değişen zaman, yapı ve durumlarla birlikte insanların davranış, düşünce ve kimlik anlayışlarının da değiştiğini gördük. Bunun farklı nesillere nasıl yansıdığını gözlemledik. Çoğunlukla kartopu metodu ile ulaştığımız görüşmecilerin cevaplarını bu doğrultularda inceledik.

Dördüncü bölümde nüfus mübadelesinin doğası ve etkilerini genel olarak göç ve zorunlu göç çalışmalarının ışığında gözlemledik. Bunu yaparken *göç* kavramının dünya tarihinde önemli bir yeri olduğunu ve genel olarak pek çok farklı alandan araştırmacının da çalışma konusu olarak dikkatini çektiğini vurguladık. Özellikle Yirminci Yüzyıl'dan sonra göç çalışmalarının ağırlık kazandığını belirttikten sonra ortaya çıkan beş genel dış göç türünü: "ilkel, zorunlu, gönüllü, istemsiz, ve kitle" göçleri olarak beşe ayırdık.[409] Ahn'ın göç tanımlamalarına göre 1923 nüfus mübadelesi, başka bir seçenek bırakılmadan zorunlu göçe zorlanan 'Kasti Zorunlu Göç'ün alanına giriyor.[410] 1923 Türk-Yunan Nüfus mübadelesini genel olarak göç çalışmalarının yaptığı vurgulara da değinerek özetledik. O dönemde artan milliyetçi hareketlerin sonucunda ülkede azınlık konumunda görünen grupların tamamen birer tehdit olarak algılanmaya başladığını bu nedenle devletlerin ve dış göçlerin ortak kararıyla, ülkelerin saadeti için azınlıkların gönderilmesi kararının alındığını söyledik. Özellikle zorunlu göç sürecinin nasıl yönetilip bireyleri nasıl etkilediğini gösterdik. Burada özellikle vurgulanan nokta bireylerin zorunlu göç söz konusu olunca etkisizleştirildiği ve dış etken ve güçlerin daha etkili olduğudur. Bir bakıma bu nedenlerle Ladas'ın da tanımladığı gibi mübadele "teoride gönüllü olduğu halde

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[409] William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration", American Sociological Association 23 (3 June 1958), 259.

[410] John J. Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations*, (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 41.

pratikte büyük çapta zorunluya dönüşmüştür."[411] 1870'ten 1945'e kadar olan dönem hem Türkiye hem Balkanlar hem de tüm komşu ülkeler için karışıklık, karmaşa, bilinmezlik ve belirsizliğin hüküm sürdüğü bir dönemdir. Ayrıca bu insanlar alınan kararlarında etkisinde kalıp uzun zamandır dost ve aile olarak birlikte yaşadıkları komşularıyla dahi sorunlar yaşamaya, tehditler almaya başladıkları için; kendilerinin ve ailelerinin hayatlarını kurtarmak onlar için önemli bir neden haline dönüşmüştü. Uzun yıllardır çok kültürlülüğüyle gurur duyan bu coğrafyanın da bir anda milliyetçi hareketlerle kavrulması bir bakıma kültürlerin ve toplumların renklerinden de vazgeçmesi anlamına gelmişti. Bu durum insanların davranış, düşünce ve kimlik bilinçlerinin de değişmesine neden olmuştur. Bütün bunlar ardından uluslararası ilişkilerin de değişip, yeniden düzenlenmesine yol açmıştır. Böylece mübadele sadece yapıların değil bireylerin de değişimde katkıda bulunduğu, farklılıklara yol açtığı bir hal almıştır. O'reilly'nin söylediği gibi; "politikalar ve pratikler genellikle [...] ideolojiler tarafından desteklenir, böylece onlara bakarken yapıların pratiklerde nasıl yorumlandığını ve sürdürüldüğünü de görebiliriz."[412] Bundan dolayı, kişisel değişimleri incelerken iç ve dış yapılardaki değişimleri de gözlemleme fırsatı bulduk. Dördüncü bölüm aynı zamanda görüşmeleri tartıştığımız beşinci ve altıncı bölüme de bir giriş olarak düşünülebilir. Çünkü bu bölümde verilen özelliklerle ve tanımlamalarla, bir bakıma bizim görüşme grubuna dâhil olan grubun genel özellikleri ve geçmişleri incelenmiştir.

Beşinci ve altıncı bölümde, bu anlatılan çerçevede ve teorilerin ışığında görüşmelerimizi analiz ettik. Burada görüşmelerden çıkan sonuçları kısaca özetleyecek olursak, ilk bölümde görüşmeciler ve onların aileleri hakkında genel bilgiler edinmeye çalıştık. Bu bilgilere göre görüştüğümüz kişilerin ikisi dışında hepsi geldikleri Yunanistan topraklarında da Türkiye'de de çiftçilikle uğraşmış ve

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[411] Stephen P Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1932), 721.

[412] Karen O'reilly, *International Migration and Social Theory*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 135.

geniş aile bir arada yaşamışlardır. Bazı aileler için ikinci nesilden başlayarak göç ettikten sonra, çekirdek aile olarak yaşamaya devam etmişler. Fakat bugüne kadar hiçbir zaman birbirlerinden uzaklaşmamışlar. Aile bağları kuvvetli ve zor durumlarda her zaman birbirlerinin yanında olup, yardım etmektedirler.

Çoğu göçmen, göç veren ve alan ülkede aynı işleri yapmalarına, yaklaşık aynı hava ve çevre koşullarına sahip yerlere yerleştirilmelerine rağmen, ilk yıllarda ekonomik durumlarıyla ve bulundukları çevre ile ilgili adaptasyon sorunları yaşamışlardır. Çoğu yaşadıkları yokluk ve eksiklikleri çocuklarına hissettirmese de bugün geriye bakıldığında ikinci nesil yaşanılanların zorluğunun farkına bugün vardıklarını belirtmektedirler. Göç sırasında hiçbir aile yanlarında birkaç bohça dışında bir şey getirememiştir. Sahip oldukları hayvanlar, evler, bahçeler, ekip biçtikleri ürünler olduğu gibi arkalarında bırakılmıştır. Geride bırakılan eşya ve malların durumu hakkında bir daha hiç haber almamışlar ve bilgileri yoktur. Bazı göçmenlerin yanlarında daha fazla eşya getirebildiğini veya en azından mallarından bazılarını sattıklarını bilmemize ve okumamıza rağmen bizim görüştüklerimizin hiç birinde bu durumda bir aileye denk gelmedik.

Çatalca'da diğer bölgelerdeki mübadillerden farklı olarak görüşmeciler özel hayatlarında da üç nesildir Rumca konuşmaktadırlar. Kendilerini *Patriyot/Patriot* olarak tanımlayan bu grup, çoğunlukla Yunanistan'ın Naslic kasabasından geldiklerini ve orada Rumlar çoğunlukta olduğu için günlük hayatta işlerini Rumca gördüklerini söylemektedirler. Bu grup bu nedenlerden ötürü gelmeden önce Türkçe bilmediklerini belirtti. Bu durum Türkiye'ye yerleştirildiklerinde özellikle birinci nesil için oldukça büyük sorunlara yol açmıştır. Öncelikli olarak Müslüman olan bu halkın Türkiye'deki yerel halk tarafından Hristiyan ve Yunanlı olarak düşünülmelerine ve beraberinde dışlanmalarına yol açan bu durum günlük hayatta da alışveriş, sosyalleşme ve yerel halkla etkileşimi diğer bölgelere göre daha zor kılmıştır. Diğer yandan o dönemde özellikle otoriter olan devlet yapısı, vurgulanan milliyetçi ideoloji içinde homojen bir millet oluşturma çabası ve Osmanlı

geleneğinden beri süregelen pasif halk yapısı da onların ilk olarak dışlanmasında etkili olan faktörler haline gelmiştir.[413] Bu ulus devlet oluşturma çabası içinde özellikle farklı bir dil konuşuyor olmaları onları diğer halkın gözünde bir anda 'öteki' konumuna düşürmüştür.[414] Yapılan görüşmelere göre yine de çok uzun sürmeyen önyargıların; zamanla, karşılıklı alışveriş, günlük hayat etkileşimleri ve bir arada yaşama sonucu kırıldığını gözlemledik. Kısacası toplumsal pratikler ve devlet tarafından vurgulanan bir arada yaşam zorunluluğu ve günlük karşılıklı etkileşimler, bireylerin önyargılarının zaman içinde kırılmasına, birbirlerine karşı düşüncelerinin ve davranışlarının değişmesine yol açmıştır denilebilir.

Bu değişimden sonra özellikle ikinci ve üçüncü nesilde dışlanma ya da yabancılık hissi yaşanmadığını görüyoruz. Ama yine vurgulanması gereken bir diğer nokta, bugün ikinci ve üçüncü nesil daha önce hiç gitmemiş olmasına rağmen nereli oldukları sorulduğunda, İstanbul'luyum ya da Çatalca'lıyım demek yerine Selanik göçmeni olduklarını ya da *mübadil* olduklarını söylemektedirler.

Diğer bir önemli konu Çatalca'daki mübadillerin özellikle de evde Yunanca konuşulmasının etkisiyle ikinci ve üçüncü nesillerinin çocukluklarından beri mübadil olduklarından haberdar olduklarını gözlemledik. Fakat aynı kişilere mübadele süreci ile ilgili ayrıntılı sorular sorulduğunda cevaplayamadıklarını gözlemledik. Birinci nesil, mübadeleyle ilgili hikâyelerini ilk göç ettikleri yıllarda saklayıp daha sonraki yıllarda anlatmaya başlamışlardır. Bunun farklı nedenlerini tartıştık ve en önemli nedenin bu kimliğin sonraki nesillere ne getireceğini bilememeleri olduğunu farkettik. Anlatılanlar ya ikinci nesil henüz nüfus mübadelesinin farkındalığına varmadan anlatıldığı ya da birinci nesil konuları seçerek anlattığı için sonradan gelen nesiller göç öncesi, süreci ve sonrası ile ilgili ayrıntılı sorulara genel olarak cevap

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[413] Benzer tartışmalar niçin bakınız; Suavi Aydın, *Amacımız Devletin Bekası: Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Devlet ve Yurttaşlar*. 3. Baskı. (İstanbul: Tesev Yayınları, 2009).

[414] Genel olarak ötekileştirme ve dil kaynaklı ayrıştırma tartışmaları için bakınız: Will Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

veremiyorlardı. Birinci neslin konuyla ilgili suskunluğu ilk başlarda arkalarından gelen nesillerin de olaydan ve hikâyelerden kopuk büyümelerine ve konuyla tam olarak bütünleşememelerine neden olmuştur. Sonradan paylaşılan anılar, hikâyeler, küresel dengelerin değişmesi sonucu ortaya çıkan yeni akımlarda kimlik vurgusunun özellikle 1980'lerden sonra artarak önem kazanması, bu süreçte ülkelerin yakınlaşması, teknolojinin ve ulaşım imkânlarının gelişmesiyle birlikte geçmişle olan bu kopukluğun yine 1980'lerdan sonra yavaş yavaş kapatılmaya başlandığını gözledik. Bu gözlemlerimizde Bourdieu'nun pratikler teorisinde öne sürdüğü gibi yapısal ağlar ve bireylerin günlük pratiklerinin ortak ve iç içe geçmiş ilişkilerinin ve birbirleri üzerine olan etkilerinin, zamanla hem kişilerin düşüncelerini hem de yapısal ağları değiştirebildiğini gördük. Bu diyalektik ilişkilerin sonucunda, zamanla 'diğer' ve 'öteki' olarak görülen mübadillerin 'yerli' ve 'bizden' olarak algılanmaya başladığını farklı örneklerle göstermeye çalıştık. Mannheim'ın da belirttiği üzere belli durumlara cevap olarak verilen belirli bir düşünce tarzını izole bireyler değil insan grupları ortaya çıkarır.[415] O nedenle bu ilişkiler ağından sonra değişimlerin tüm grupta gözlendiğini gördük. Buradan yola çıkarak bireysel cevap ve tepkilerin karşılıklı olarak zaman içindeki toplumsal değişimlerle ve sosyal düşünce kalıplarıyla bağlı olduğunu vurguladık. Yine Bourdieu'nun *habitus* kavramında vurguladığı üzere, mübadiller zamanla sosyal yaşama, kurallara, ortama alıştıkça, aile içi yaşantılarının ve ilişkilerinin de değiştiğini gözlemliyoruz. Daha önce bazı korkuları nedeniyle susan ya da hikâyelerini seçerek anlatan birinci neslin artık hem çocuklarına hem de yerel halka göçmen hikâyelerini, geçmişini, geleneklerini anlatmaya başlaması bunu en güzel örnekleyen durumlardan biridir. Bireylerin habitus'u[416] da zamanla girilen ilişkiler içinde dönüşür, değişir ve tamamen yenilenir. Bunun sonucunda bireyler hareketlerini, davranışlarını ve düşüncelerini bunlara göre düzenler ve ıslah eder. Bu özellikleri, aynı zamanda bireylerin büyük toplumsal

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[415] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. 12th ed. (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 3.

[416] Bir diğer tanımla, dış dünyayla baş etmelerini sağlayan bütün zihinsel yapılar.

değişimlerde hayatlarına devam edebilmelerini sağlar. Mübadeleden sonra yaşanılan bütün zorlukların ardından bireyler, yeni topraklarına ve sosyal yapıya uyum sağlamayı başarmışlardır denilebilir.

Terkedilen bölgeler ile ilgili sorulara verilen cevaplarda, ilk olarak vurgulanan nokta 1980 ve 1990'lardan sonra, Çatalca'da yaşayan mübadillerin Yunanistan'daki terk ettikleri topraklara gezi düzenleme fırsatlarının artmasıdır. Bu değişimi görüşmelerden alınan cevaplara göre; çoğunlukla ekonomik durumlarının düzene girmesi, iki ülke arası ilişkilerin yakınlaşması, teknolojinin ve ulaşımın kolaylaşmasına ve ayrıca kurulan mübalede derneklerinin yardım ve katkılarına bağlayabiliriz. Bu durum İzmir, Seyrek mübadilleri için de geçerlidir. Her iki bölgenin mübadilleri de (Çatalca ve Seyrek) üç nesil bir arada, Yunanistan'dan buraya geldikleri şehirlere ve Selanik'e geziler düzenlemişlerdir. Bu gezilerin nesiller arasındaki paylaşımı, bilgi paylaşımını ve hikâyelerin aktarımını hızlandırdığını görüyoruz. Terk edilen topraklara yapılan geziler daha sonradan Yunanistan'daki ve buradaki mübadillerle karşılıklı dostluklar ve yeni paylaşımlar yapılmasına imkân sağlamıştır. Bütün bunlar insanların akıllarında yıllardır süregelen önyargıları, korkuları ve imkânsız görünen karşı tarafa geçmek durumunu köreltmiş, mübadillerin birbirleriyle ve karşı ülkeyle olan ilişkilerinin gelişmesini sağlamıştır. Bütün bunların katkısıyla bugün üçüncü nesilde bile mübadil kimliğini gayet net görebiliyoruz. Fakat üçüncü neslin aynı zamanda bugüne kadar hiç gitmediği Yunanistan'ı öğrenmek istemesinden, anlatılan hikâyeler ne kadar eksik ve ellerindeki materyaller ne kadar az da olsa, bugünün olanaklarından faydalanarak geçmişleri hakkında daha çok bilgiye ulaşmaya çalıştığı anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca bugünkü nesil geçmişteki kötü anıların ve koşulların nedeni olarak, Yunanlıları değil; devletleri ve o zamanki sürdürülen politikaları görüyor. 'Bizi bu hale getiren hep büyük devletlerin politikaları, halkın hiçbir suçu yok' genel olarak diğer ülke ve halkı hakkında ne düşündükleri sorulduğunda mübadillerden alınan genel bir cevap denebilir. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği üzere, ülkeler arası politikaların yumuşaması, küreselleşmenin getirdiği teknolojik ve ekonomik koşullar, bu iki ülkede yaşayan

insanların birbirlerine daha çok gidip gelmelerini sağlamış ve iki tarafın insanının yakınlaşmasını dostluklar kurmasını sağlamıştır. Yunanistan'a yaptığımız gezilerde de genel olarak bu taraftaki mübadillerden alınan cevaplara yakın konuşmalarla karşılaştık. Onlar da halkın değil devletlerin politikalarının düşmanlık yarattığına halkların aslında gayet iyi geçindiğine vurgu yaptılar. Genel olarak bize karşı misafirperver, yardımcı olan bir tavırla yaklaşıldı ama çoğu özellikle de İstanbul ve İzmir'den oraya mübadil olarak gönderilen Yunanlılar isimlerini vermek istemediler. Onlarla konuşurken iki ülke arasında ortak pek çok; yemekler ve şarkılar gibi; kültürel benzerlikler olduğunu gördük. Yunanlıların Türkiye'ye ziyaretlerine genel olarak 1980 yıllarında başladıklarını ama onların Türkiye'ye olan ziyaretlerinin de son yıllarda giderek arttığını öğrendik.

İstanbul ve Çatalca bölgesinde özellikle vurgulamamız gereken iki noktadan birincisi İstanbul'un çok kültürlü olmasıdır. Bu İstanbul içinde yerleşmeyi seçen ya da etrafına yerleştirilen mübadillerin diğer şehirlere göre daha farklı kültürlerle yanyana yaşamasını sağlamıştır. İstanbul şehir merkezindeki Rumlar ve azınlıklar mübadele dışında bırakıldığı için 1920'lerde halen orada yaşamakta olan diğer dinlere mensup azınlıklarla daha yakın ve bir arada yaşadılar. Bunun sonucu kurulan ilişkilerin 6-7 Eylül olaylarına kadar genel olarak sorunsuz ve iyi komşuluk ilişkileri halinde devam ettirildiği vurgulandı. Aynı şekilde Çatalca bölgesindeki mübadiller Türkiye'ye geldikleri zaman, Çatalca'da yaşamakta olan Rumların Yunanistan'a sevki henüz gerçekleşmemişti. Burada evlerde iki-üç ay boyunca birlikte yaşamak zorunda kalan Türk ve Rumlar o dönemde birbirlerine karşılıklı olarak çok yardımcı olduklarını, iyi ilişkilerin kurulduğunu ve Rumların geride pek çok eşyalarını bırakıp gittiğini vurguladılar. Bugün o eşyaları halen geri vermek için saklayan mübadillerin de bulunduğunu söylediler. Çatalca bölgesine yerleştirilen Müslümanların çoğu Rumca bildikleri için bazıları *Patriot* isminin o zaman Türkiye'de olan Rumlar tarafından, 'bizim oranın insanı' anlamında kullanıldığını da savunmaktadır.

Diğer yandan İstanbul'un büyük bir şehir olması ve pek çok iş imkânını içinde barındırması da yerleşen mübadillerin ve çocuklarının bugün hala burada yaşıyor olmalarının nedenlerinden biri olmuş. Seyrek'te görüştüğümüz mübadillerde de İzmir'deki iş olanakları açısından benzer bir durum olsa da üçüncü ve dördüncü nesilde artık yavaş yavaş bölgeden uzaklaşmalar ve farklı bölgelerde iş arayışlarına yine de rastlanılmaktaydı. İstanbul'da görüştüğümüz mübadillerde ise evlilik dışında hiçbir nedenle aile ve şehirden uzaklaşmaya rastlamadık.

Ailelerin göç yolunda uğradıkları kayıplar gelecek nesillerin hayatından kaybedilen aile bireylerinin de eksik olmasına neden oldu. Göç sonrasında birinci nesil mübadillerin genel olarak sessiz kalması, bu eksikliği ikinci nesil için daha da belirgin kıldı. Sonradan ne kadar anlatılsa da; kişilerin ve mekânların artık yeni nesillere uzak olması onların olaylardan farkındalığının hep eksik kalmasına neden oldu. Bir diğer yandan, farklı ortam ve koşullar altında büyümeleri Bourdieu'nun de vurguladığı üzere bir nesil için 'düşünülemez veya mümkün olamaz'[417] olarak algılanabileceklerin diğer nesiller için günlük hayat pratikleri içinde yer almasına ve olağan olmasını sağladı. Buna en güzel örnek olarak, birinci neslin gözünde 'ulaşılamaz/gidilemez' olarak görünen anavatanları Yunanistan'ın, ikinci ve üçüncü nesiller için yıllık gezi noktasına dönüşmesi gösterilebilir. Aynı şekilde ikinci nesil için ulaşılamaz olan ya da çok zor kurulan baba ile anne; ya da dede/babaanne diyalogları; üçüncü nesil için sık sık ve günlük hale gelen olağan ve keyifli bir sohbete dönüştü. Bu yakınlaşmalar, insan ilişkilerinde ve geleneklerdeki ve dünyadaki yeni hareketler ve değişmelerle birlikte, üçüncü neslin büyükleri hakkında daha derin ve detaylı bilgilere ulaşmasını sağladı. Bütün bu gelişmelerin, 1980'lerden ve özellikle 1990'lardan sonra artarak ilerleyen kimlik tartışmalarının ve geçmişe olan ilginin artmasıyla ikinci ve üçüncü nesil mübadiller arasında geçmişle ilgili olan boşlukları doldurma çabasının arttığını gözlemledik.

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[417] Mannheim, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 78.

'Değişim' Unsuru

Tez boyunca, değişim faktörünün göç söz konusu olduğunda, bireylerin hayatlarında çok önemli bir yeri olduğunu vurguladık. Göç ile birlikte ailelerin tüm sosyal, politik, ekonomik ve kültürel hayatlarının kökten bir değişime uğradığını ve günlük hayatlarına kadar yansıyan bu değişimlerin kişilerin aidiyet ve kimlik bilinçlerini, duygularını ve davranışlarını etkilediğini belirttik.

Göç sonrasında kişilerin alan ve sermayelerinde meydana gelen değişimlerden bahsettik. Bireylerin karşılaştıkları durumlar karşısında günlük hayat pratiklerinde yeni stratejiler geliştirmelerini, kendilerine yabancı olan yeni evlerini, komşularını, mahallelerini kademe kademe yurtları olarak kabullenişlerini dinledik. Bu durum komşuları açısından da farklı değildi. Yabancı, öteki, olarak adlandırılan mübadiller zamanla köylerin, şehirlerin sakinleri, yerlilerden biri haline geldi. Bourdieu'ya göre habitus bireyin özel bir yaratısı değildir, daha çok bireyin yeni durumlara uygun yeni pratikler geliştirmelerini sağlayan bir kılavuz topluluğudur.

> Habitus hem toplumsal yapının ürünüdür, hem de toplumsal yapıları yeniden-üreten üretici toplumsal pratikler yapısıdır; o hem özneldir (yorumlama şemalarından oluşur) hem de nesneldir (toplumsal yapının etkisini taşır); hem mikrodur (bireysel ve kişiler arası düzeylerde işler) hem de makrodur (toplumsal yapıların bir ürünü ve üreticidir). Ancak, habitus her zaman 'alanlar' ve 'sermaye' ile ilişki içinde işler.[418]

Bu tanımın tam da karşılığı olarak bireylerin göç sonrasında zaman içinde değişen tavırları, düşünceleri ve aynı zamanda içine girmiş oldukları toplumun onlara karşı takındığı tavır, düşünce ve davranışlarındaki değişim gösterilebilir. Aynı şekilde Bourdieu'nun bahsettiği 'sosyal alan'ların tümünün (din, hukuk, ekonomi, siyaset

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[418]Kemal Can, "Pierre Bourdieu: Pratiklerin Mantığı Habitus ve Alan Teorisi", by Güney Çeğin, Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı, Bülten, 23 Ocak 2007.
http://www.bisav.org.tr/yayinlar.aspx?module=makale&yayintipid=3&yayinid=14&makaleid=253

gibi) mübadele öncesi ve sonrasında büyük değişime uğradığını ve değişimin karşılıklı olarak bireyleri ve yapıları etkilediğinden örnekler gördük.

Bir diğer önemli ve vurgulanan nokta ise geride bırakılanların etkisi oldu. Bu bırakılanları sadece nesneler olarak değil kişilerin duygusal yakınlık kurdukları ve değer verdikleri, hayatlarından bir parça olarak görmemiz gerekiyor. Çünkü kaybedilen mülkiyetin içinde bazen ailenin evcil hayvanı, bazen ürününden hayatlarını kazandıkları küçük ve büyük baş hayvanlar, bazen de aile fotoğrafları veya aile yadigarı eşyalar da sayılıyor ve özlemle anılıyordu. Bu kaybedilen ve geride bırakılan eşya ve canlıların onların hayatında iki türlü önemi olduğunu görüyoruz. Birincisi, önceki hayatlarına dair yanlarında hiç bir şeyi buraya getirememiş olmaları. Bu durum ayrıca kimliklerini ve kendilerini anlatmada ve yansıtmada duraksamalarına, içlerine kapanmalarına, bazen yas tutmalarına neden oldu. Yolda kaybedilen akrabaların yanı sıra evlerini olduğu gibi geride bırakmaları, pek çok önceki nesillerden yadigâr öncelikle manevi sonra maddi değeri olan, sahip oldukları hiçbir şeyi bir daha göremeyecek olmaları mübadillere başka bir üzüntü ve sessizlik kaynağı oldu. Küçüklerine gösterecek elde avuçta bir fotoğrafı bile kalmayan çoğu mübadil bunları ve anılarını unutmaya zorlanmış oldu. İkinci olarak, mülkiyet kaybı, pek çokları için Bourdieu'nun da değimiyle *ekonomik kapital (sermaye)*'lerinde olan tüm birikimlerden arınmalarına ve bir nevi nesiller boyu biriktirmiş oldukları her şeyi geride bırakıp sıfırdan başlamalarına neden oldu. Birinci ve ikinci neslin çalışkanlığında, bu açığı kapatmak ve gelecek nesillere biraz daha uygun bir ortam hazırlayabilmek için büyük bir gayret görüyoruz. Unutulmaması gereken diğer bir nokta da; kayıplar, yoksunluk ve yokluk hem birinci nesil mübadillerin hem de o dönemde göç ettikleri Türkiye'de yaşamakta olan toplulukların genel özelliğini oluşturuyordu. Bu nedenle yerli halkında elinde avucunda çok fazla bir şey olmadığını belirten mübadiller yine de ilk geldikleri zamanlarda yerli halkın bunları farklı bir grup olarak görmesine rağmen pek çok eşya ve yiyecek yardımında bulunduğunu da belirtti. Bu yokluk durumu ve paylaşım da iki grup arasındaki yakınlaşmada ayrıca yardımcı olmuştur denilebilir.

Bourdieu alanları tanımlarken farklı kaynaklara (farklı kapitallere) sahip, bireylerin saygınlık, zenginlik ve güç mücadelerini içinde yaşadıkları sosyal alanlardan bahseder. Farklı alanlarda farklı sermaye tipleri (kapitaller) önem kazanır; mesela kültürel sermaye bilginin değerli olduğu, insanların kültürel birikimleriyle güç ve önem kazandıkları alanlarda (üniversiteler gibi) önem kazanır.[419]

Mübadillerin göç sonrasında bulundukları her alanda meydana gelen değişimlerin, Bourdieu'nun anlatımıyla sahip oldukları kapitalleri/sermayeleri de kaybetmelerine neden olduğunu belirttik. Sosyal alanda sahip oldukları ilişkiler ve tanıdıkları çevre; yaşam alanlarının değişmesiyle birlikte tamamen yok olmuştu. Bazı mübadiler yeni yerleşim yerlerinde, eski komşularıyla yan yana oturma fırsatı bulsalar bile, tüm ilişkiler ağını ve tanıdık çevrelerini yitirmiş olduklarından, büyük oranda sosyal sermayelerini de kaybetmişlerdi. Bu ilişkiler onların daha önce kurulmuş olan günlük hayatlarını da kolaylaştırdığı için, yeni ortamlarında ailelerinin yıllar boyunca edindikleri bu birikimlerinden kaynaklanan tüm ayrıcalıklarından ve rahatlarından mahrum kalmışlardı. Aynı durum ekonomik sermayeleri ve kültürel sermayeleri için de geçerliydi. Ekonomik birikimlerinin tamamını geride bırakıp ailelerinin hayatlarını ve geleceklerini kurtarabilme çabasıyla yollara dökülmüşler, evlerini, arsalarını tüm sahip oldukları eşyalarını geride bırakmışlardı. Ekonomik olarak kaybettiklerini telafi etmeleri görüşmelerde alınan cevaplara göre üç nesil boyunca sürdü. Ayrıca kültürel birikimleri, tamamen yok olmasa da, çoğunlukla ikinci ve üçüncü nesil çok geç sahip çıkmaya başladığı için oldukça büyük oranda erozyona uğramıştır. Birinci neslin suskunluğu ve mekândan kopuşu ile birlikte yeni girilen sosyal çevre de bu insanlar kültürlerini ne kadar korumaya çalışsalar da, günlük

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[419] Sermaye (kapital) ise insanların bu farklı alanlarda kazandıkları niteliklerini anlatmak için kullanılmıştır. İnsanların hayatları boyunca edindikleri sermayeleri; ekonomik sermaye (servet), kültürel sermaye (edinilen kültürel bilgiler), sembolik sermaye (toplum içindeki edinilen saygınlık) ve sosyal sermaye (toplumsal ilişkiler, bağlar) gibi hayatlarında onlara güç, mevki, saygınlık edinmelerini sağlayan, hayatlarını kolaylaştıran kaynakları gibi görünebilir.

hayat pratikleri ve koşuşturması içinde gelenek-görenek ve adetleri değişimlere/farklılıklara uğramıştır.

Yine de geriye dönük nüfus mübadelesiyle ilgili fikirleri sorulduğunda bütün görüşmecilerden aynı cevabı aldık. Görüşmeciler dâhil olan herkes için zor dönemler olduğunu kabul etse de; yine de mübadele antlaşmasının yapılmış olmasına dair pişmanlık duymuyorlar. O dönemde başka türlü olsaydı yaşıyor olacaklarından bile şüpheliler. Bu nedenle o dönemde o koşullar için alınan doğru bir karar olduğunda hemfikirler. Ayrıca birinci nesilden itibaren ilk yıllarda çekilen zorluklara rağmen Türkiye'ye iyi uyum sağlayıp, adapte olduklarını ve yerleştikleri evlerini ve şehirleri evleri olarak kabul ettiklerini de görüyoruz. Bu durum ikinci ve üçüncü nesil için daha güvenilir ve huzurlu bir ortam sağlamış oldu. İkinci ve üçüncü nesil, tereddüt etmeden doğdukları toprakları evleri ve anavatanları kabul etti. Ancak, 1990 ve 2000'lerde dünyada ve Türkiye'de meydana gelen değişimler, iki ülke arası ziyaretleri artırınca üçüncü ve ikinci neslin gözünde Yunanistan topraklarında bir geçmişleri olduğu fikri yeniden önem kazandı. Bu topraklara karşı ilgi ve merakları artmaya başladı. Yunanistan'da terk edilen toprakların da eskiden bir anavatan, atalarının mezarlarının olduğu topraklar olduğu bilinci bu ziyaretlerle birlikte giderek arttı. İkinci nesil burada üçüncü nesilden oldukça etkilenmiş ve onlar sayesinde geçmişe ilgileri de artmıştır. Ziyaretlerde her iki nesil de Türkiye'de kaybettikleri yakınlarının mezarına Yunanistan'dan toprak taşıma gibi iki ülkeyi de sahiplenen davranışlarda bulunduklarını gösterdiler. Bugün küreselleşmenin ve modernleşen iletişim ve ulaşım araçlarının da katkısıyla iki ülkenin ikinci ve üçüncü nesilleri birbirini ve karşı tarafın topraklarını daha iyi tanımaya çalışıyor ve geçmiş hikâyelere ait izler arıyor. Bütün bu gelişmeler üçüncü neslin mübadil kimliğini de kaybetmemiş olmasına ve daha çok araştırmasına neden oldu.

Bu tezde genel olarak Yunanistan'dan nüfus mübadelesiyle getirilen Müslümanların çocuklarının ve torunlarının nüfus mübadelesi hakkındaki düşünce, deneyim ve bilgilerini toplayıp, bu bilgilerin ve deneyimlerin bugün ikinci ve üçüncü neslin

kimliklerinde ne derece etki ettiğini, mübadil kimliğini kaybedip kaybetmediklerini sorguladık. Bunları araştırırken, ilişkiler ve aranan özellikleri kavrayabilmek için, Karl Mannheim'ın nesiller üzerine yazdığı teorisinden ve Pierre Bourdieu'nun pratikler teorisinden yararlandık. Wacquant ve Bourdieu'nun vurguladığı üzere:

> Sosyal bilimin has nesnesi, ne tüm "metodolojik bireyciler tarafından" naif bir biçimde temel gerçeklik olarak kutsanan en gerçek varlık olan bireydir, ne somut bireyler kümesi olarak gruplardır; tarihsel eylemin iki gerçekleşmesi arasındaki ilişkidir, bu ilişkiden doğan her şeydir, yani algılanan ve takdir edilen gerçeklikler şeklinde kendini gösteren alanlar, toplumsal temsiller ve pratiklerdir.[420]

Bu alanlar ve pratikler içinde bireylerin ilişkilerinin, kimliklerinin ve düşüncelerinin çok daha iyi ortaya çıkabileceğini gördük. Bu ilişkiler içinde bireylerin kimliklerinin, konu hakkındaki bilgilerinin ve düşüncelerinin ikinci ve üçüncü nesilde farklılıklar gösterdiğini gözlemledik. İki nesli de kapsayan bir çalışmada nesiller arası karşılaştırma yapma imkânı bulabildik. Ayrıca, yapı ve birey ilişkisinde karşılıklı bir etkileşimin varolduğunu (özellikle ikinci ve üçüncü nesilden sonra) ve birinde olan değişimin diğerine de bir şekilde yansıdığını ve birbirlerine şekil verdiklerini de gözlemledik.

Bütün bu dönüşüm içinde, yaptığımız görüşmelere göre, ikinci ve üçüncü nesil mübadillerin kimliklerini özellikle yirminci yüzyılın sonu ve yirmibirinci yüzyılın başında daha çok araştırmaya başladıklarını gözlemledik. Yukarıda bahsedilen değişimlerin sonunda bugün ikinci ve üçüncü nesilde, çağın gereksinimleri ile bağlantılı bir şekilde değişen kimliklerin korunduğunu, en azından mübadil geçmişine hala sahip çıkıldığını söyleyebiliriz. Bunların yanı sıra, bulundukları bölgede tamamen asimile olmamışlardır. Ancak geçmişe dair tüm değerler ve gelenekler de tam anlamıyla korunamamıştır.

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[420] Pierre Bourdieu ve Loic J.D. Wacquant, *Düşünümsel Bir Antropoloji İçin Cevaplar*, Nazlı Ökten Çev., (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 117.

Ayrıca fark ettik ki Çatalca bölgesinde mübadillerin yıllar boyunca bölgeyi terk etmeden yaşaması, burada Türkiye'deki diğer bölgelerden farklı bir 'çokkültürlülük' veya bazı tartışmaların vurguladığı 'kültürlerarasılık'[421] ortamını da sağlamıştır. Çatalca'da yerel halkla mübadiller birbirlerinden öğrendikleri kavramları, kültürlerine ve gündelik hayatlarına da uygulamışlardır. Her iki tarafta kendi kültürel öğelerini tamamen kaybetmeden, hayatlarına yeni unsurları seçip eklemeyi ve bunları bir arada yaşatmayı başarmışlardır. Tüm bunlar saygı, sevgi ve huzur dolu bir ortamda sürdürülebildiği için bunu olumlu bir nokta olarak kabul ettik.

Rutherford'un da vurguladığı üzere, bir kültürün temsili ve/ya yeniden üretilmesi; orjinal, öz bir kültürün üretiminden farklı olacaktır.[422] Rutherford'un sözlerinin yanı sıra, birinci neslin geçmişi bazen seçerek, bazen de bir süre sonra anlatmaya başlamasını da göz önünde bulundurursak; şu anki nesillerdeki kimlik anlayışının birinci nesilden farklı olması çok da şaşırtıcı değildir. İçinde bulunulan zaman ve toplumun gereksinim ve karşılıklı kültürel alışverişlerinin sonucunda bu kimlik anlayışının gelecek nesiller için, evrilerek ve melezleşerek kendini yenileyeceğini öngörebiliriz.[423] Çünkü Mannheim'ın da nesiller tartışmasında vurguladığı üzere "deneyimlenen zaman tek gerçek zamandır, ve nesillerin her biri birbirinden farklı subjektif çağlarda yaşamak zorundadırlar. […] Her biri için 'aynı zaman' farklı bir zamandır."[424] Ama bugün dördüncü neslin bile 'biz dördüncü nesil mübadiliz'

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[421] Ayhan Kaya ve Turgut Tarhanlı, "Avrupa Birliği Bütünleşme Sürecinde Yurttaşlık, Çokkültürcülük ve Azınlık Tartışmaları: Bir arada Yaşamanın Siyaseti", Türkiye'de Çoğunluk ve Azınlık Politikaları: AB Sürecinde Yurttaşlık Tartışmaları içinde, (İstanbul; Tesev Yayınları, 2005), 51.

[422] Rutherford, "The Third Space", 208.

[423] Yunanca'nın dördüncü nesilde günlük hayatta kullanılan bir dil olarak, gittikçe azalarak devam ettiğini görmemiz aynı zamanda bizde bu kültürel çeşitlilik ve kültürel farklılık ortamının gelecekte de korunması konusunda kuşkulandırdı.

[424] Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 283.

ifadesini kullanıyor olmaları, kimliklerinden kopmadıklarını, sosyal ve kültürel nesil bilincinin onlara aktarıldığını ve onlar tarafından kabullenildiğini gösterir.

Özetle, bu tezde 1923 nüfus mübadelesinin bugün hala ikinci ve üçüncü nesillerin yaşamları, kimlikleri ve kültürleri üzerinde etkili olduğunu görebiliyoruz. Bugünkü nesiller hala birinci nesil nüfus mübadillerinin anılarını, hikâyelerini yaşam biçimlerini merak etmekte ve geçmişlerine dair izler aramaktalar. Üçüncü nesilde ise ikinci nesilden daha fazla oranda geçmişte yaşananlara dair merak ve kökleri, kimliklerini arayış gözlemlediğimizi ayrıca vurgulayabiliriz. Bu artan ilgiyi de genel olarak içinde bulundukları zamanın beraberinde getirdiği, özellikle 1980'lerden sonra toplumsal ve kültürel tartışmalarda artarak yer edinen; kimlik, 'öteki' tartışmalarına ve modern toplumun sağladığı bilgiye ve uzak diyarlara daha kolay ulaşabilme olanaklarının tümüne birden bağlamak mümkündür.

İleride bu konuda yapılacak çalışmalarda, araştırmacılar Çatalca'daki yerli-göçmen uyumundan, farklı kültür ve kimlik çatışması olaylarına çözüm ararken faydalanabilirler. Çatalca'da birbirlerinin kültürünü bugüne kadar asimile etmeden ve yadırgamadan öğrenmeleri ve birbirlerine katkıda bulunmuş olup, yardımlaşma ilişkileri geliştirmeleri de bu örneği tamamlayıcı bir unsurdur. Gelecekte yapılabilecek bir başka çalışma da Yunanistan'a gönderilen Rumlar arasında, ikinci ve üçüncü nesil nüfus mübadilleri araştırılıp yapıların ve bireylerin zaman içinde nasıl değişiklikler gösterdiğine bakılabilir. Ayrıca Türkiye'deki mübadillerden, Çatalca'ya yerleştirilmiş olanlar dışında, daha varlıklı olan göçmenlerin yaşantılarının nasıl değişiklikler gösterdiğine bakılabilir. Son olarak, araştırmamız süresinde mübadele sırasında Amerika'ya da pek çok Müslüman'ın göç ettiğini öğrendik, ama çok fazla örnek bulamadığımız için inceleme fırsatı bulamadık. Amerika'daki bu grubun daha sonraki yıllardaki durumu, kimlik gelişimleri de ayrıca araştırılabilir. Tarihsel süreç içerisinde bireylerin birbirleriyle ve yapılarla olan ilişkilerinin bu gruplarda nasıl şekillendiği incelenebilir.

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