

REFLECTIONS OF CULTURAL CAPITAL ON EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS:  
THE CASE OF ÇEŞME AND ALAÇATI

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **REFLECTIONS OF CULTURAL CAPITAL ON EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS: THE CASE OF ÇEŞME AND ALAÇATI**

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“Migration” is not a term that was totally alien for anyone throughout the history. However, Lausanne Convention of 30 January 1923 -between Greek and Turkish authorities- was a new page to conceptualize and comprise both the theoretical and practical frame of the “population transfer”. Thus, the problems encountered with the decision of proposing a new model of compulsory exchange of minorities resulted into social, economical, political and cultural transformation in the social space and the physical environment in the Aegean regions.

This thesis, briefly, aims to re-evaluate the criteria and the manner that leads the transformation in the physical environment and the organization of the social space after the mutual exchange of populations. In this attempt, the thesis suggests an alternative way of understanding towards the evaluation of the results of population transfer by introducing Pierre Bourdieu’s extended capital. Thus, the theoretical frame of this study is constructed by Bourdieu’s four capitals, the multi-dimensional social space and the physical environment as its reflection. Yet, this thesis assumes that “wars” could be the ultimate devastation for the capital network which influentially characterizes the physical environment and this theory will be

exemplified by a migration period that was experienced between 1900 and 1930 in Aegean regions.

**Keywords:** Mutual Population Transfer, Compulsory Exchange of Minorities, Cultural Capital, Çeşme, Alaçatı.

## ÖZ

### KÜLTÜREL SERMAYE ÜZERİNDEN NÜFUS MÜBADELESİNE BAKMAK: ÖRNEK DURUM, ÇEŞME VE ALAÇATI KASABALARI

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Göç terimi, tarih boyunca, yabancı olmadığımız bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkar. Ancak, Yunan ve Türk Hükümetleri arasında, 30 Ocak 1923'te imzalanan Lozan Antlaşması, nüfusların karşılıklı naklinin, yani mübadelenin, kuramsal ve uygulamalı çerçevesini baştan tanımlayan yeni bir sayfa açmıştır. Ayrıca yeni model bu planlı azınlık değişimi fikrinin beraberinde getirdiği sorunların neticesinde gerçekleşen sosyal, ekonomik, politik ve kültürel dönüşüm, Ege kıyılarında sosyal hacimde ve fiziksel çevrede büyük değişimleri de tetiklemiştir.

Bu tez, kısaca, 1900-1930 tarihleri arasında gerçekleşen göçler ve mübadele uygulaması sonrasında gerçekleşen sosyal ve fiziksel hacimdeki dönüşümünün kriterlerini ve şeklini yeniden değerlendirmektedir. Bu amaçla, tez mübadelenin sonuçlarının değerlendirilmesi sürecine alternatif bir anlayış kazandırmak için Pierre Bourdieu'nun genişletilmiş sermaye kavramını önermiştir. Bu tezin teorik çerçevesi de Pierre Bourdieu'nun dört sermayesi, çok-boyutlu sosyal hacmi ve bu hacmin bir yansıması olarak fiziksel çevre ile yapılandırılmıştır. Ayrıca, bu tez savaşları sermaye ağına ve karakterize ettiği fiziksel çevreye verilebilecek en büyük hasar olarak kabul edip, bu teoriyi 1900-1930 yılları arasında savaş ve göçü deneyimlemiş olan Ege Bölgesi'nden bir yörede örneklemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Nüfus Mübadelesi, Zorunlu Azınlık Deęiřimi, Kültürel Sermaye, Çeşme, Alaçatı.

To my family



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the twentieth century, several wars took place in the Balkans, Aegean Islands and Anatolia, more specifically between the years 1912-1922. After the Balkan wars (1912-13), because of the continuous disturbance in their homeland, large numbers of Moslems were compelled to migrate from their homelands to Anatolia following the defeated Ottoman army.<sup>1</sup> Until 1922, more than one million people from both Greece and Asia Minor, which were former parts of the Ottoman Empire, were displaced leaving their homes for other lands. Similarly, before the Lausanne Convention of 23 July 1923, the concept of “population exchanger” between the Greek and Turkish communities was introduced in 30 January 1923.<sup>2</sup> This totally new strategy was meant to be a possible solution that would change the entire lives of thousands of people.<sup>3</sup> The initial proposal of exchanging Moslems in Greek mainland and Orthodox Greeks of Anatolia was first introduced by Norwegian Dr. Friedjof Nansen.<sup>4</sup> Nansen highlighted that thousands of people already migrated and the economic power of the two countries were about to collapse. Yet, he claimed that a compulsory exchange of minorities would be quick and clever solution to

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<sup>1</sup> Kemal Arı, *80. Yılında Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Sempozyumu* (İstanbul, 7-8 November 2003), ÇTTAD, V/12, (2006/Bahar), 146.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Also see: Soysal, İ., *Siyasal Andlaşmalar*, 177-183.

<sup>3</sup> Sibel Ercan, *Yaşar Kemal, Ahmet Yorulmaz ve Saba Altınsay'ın Eserlerine Lozan Mübadelesi'nin Yansıması*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yeditepe University, İstanbul, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Nansen visited Greece and Turkey than prepared his proposal about an urgent population exchange which was first announced in December 1, 1922 in Lausanne.

the upcoming catastrophe.<sup>5</sup> The proposal of population exchange assigned to exclude the settled population of Orthodox Greeks in İstanbul and the Moslem communities in Western Thrace from the Treaty.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the scope of the treaty was extended to include the people who “mutually” migrated during the Balkan wars after October 18, 1912.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, according to the Lausanne Convention, the idea of compulsory exchange of minorities was legally established. Later on, this event was called *mübadele* in Turkish and the people who confronted the situation were called *mübadil*.

The population exchange is nearly a century old today. The reasons behind that particular solution, existing conditions of the period and the results of this experience were discussed by both communities in numerous studies since. All these studies highlighted the massive impact of the event on both of the countries and the existence of the effects could still be observed today. After considering the ongoing discussions and the oppression of migration on Turkey, the thesis aims to analyse the social world of the emigrants by introducing Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of four capitals as a conceptual tool. Assuming Bourdieu’s idea of the physical environment as a replication of the social space would be a beneficial source for understanding the process. Therefore, the thesis will identify and re-evaluate the results of the Compulsory Exchange of Minorities in the physical environment utilizing Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptual framework and exemplify it with a survey in a town in Turkey that experienced the migration at the first place.

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<sup>5</sup> Kemal Arı, *1923 Türk-rum zorunlu mübadelesi ve Türkiye’ye etkileri*. Homepage, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr>, accessed on June, 2008. See also: Seçil Akgün, “Birkaç Amerikan Kaynağından Türk-Yunan Mübadelesi Sorunu,” *Üçüncü Askeri Tarih Semineri Bildiriler: Tarih Boyunca Türk-Yunan İlişkileri* (Ankara: Genkur. yay., 1986), 248-251, 258.

<sup>6</sup> Ercan, “abstract to Yaşar Kemal, Ahmet Yorulmaz ve Saba Altınsay’ın Eserlerine Lozan Mübadelesi’nin Yansıması.”

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



## 1.1 Studies on *Population Exchange, 1923*

As a start, it would be appropriate to mention the very first Symposium which took place in İstanbul in November 7-8, 2003 under the title of Population Exchange.<sup>8</sup> Kemal Arı underlines that even in the early 90s, there was no sufficient research or discussion subjecting the “compulsory exchange of minorities” in Turkey.<sup>9</sup> As far as it is understood there are several reasons behind this silence which is explained by several historians that will be mentioned in this thesis. First of all, prior to the “Economic and History Foundation of Turkey”, as Arı claims, no organisation devoted to “develop and extend” the historical consciousness in Turkey and “encouraged the conservation of the historical heritage”.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, although the first generation of emigrants have not been aware of the significance to study and preserve that particular event as part of our culture, as time changed the newer generations began paying more attention to their own history and now more scientific approaches began emerging continuously now.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “The topic of this symposium is population exchange which took place between Muslim population of Greece and the Greek orthodox Christian population of Turkey after the convention concerning the Exchange of Turkish Greek populations, signed by Greece and Turkey at the Lausanne Conference which established the fundamentals of modern Turkey. The population exchange will be considered with regard to cultural, social, economical and literatical impacts upon both side. This symposium is the first one which both Turkish and Greek scientist attended and which hold in Turkey.” See: Kemal Arı, *80. Yılında Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Sempozyumu* (İstanbul, 7-8 November 2003), ÇTTAD, V/12, (2006/Bahar), 145–146.

<sup>9</sup> Kemal Arı, *80. Yılında Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Sempozyumu* (İstanbul, 7-8 November 2003), ÇTTAD, V/12, (2006/Bahar), 147.  
Homepage,  
[http://web.deu.edu.tr/ataturkilkeleri/tr/Makale\\_9\\_SempozyumTanitim\\_KemalAri.pdf](http://web.deu.edu.tr/ataturkilkeleri/tr/Makale_9_SempozyumTanitim_KemalAri.pdf) ,  
accessed on August, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> “The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey is an organization based on the joint initiative of a group of intellectuals of various backgrounds and professions, most of them being historians and social scientists. It was founded by 264 prominent intellectuals in September 1991 following a call by the Foundation Initiative Committee formed in late 1990.” Homepage, <http://www.tarihvakfi.org.tr/english/default.asp>, accessed on August, 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Kemal Arı, *1923 Türk-Rum zorunlu mübadelesi ve Türkiye'ye etkileri*.  
<http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr>, accessed on June, 2008.

Until 1990s, as it is mentioned that there were no dominant signs of Population Exchange of 1923 in any academic platforms such as literature.<sup>12</sup> Yet, the scholars propose several reasons about the unstudied period. Generally by comparing the approaches, perceptions and the reactions towards the population exchange, the whole image obviously highlights that the first generations were found romantic and objective to the event tending to forget. However, the next generations were creating second hand stories with a manner of building an official history and tending to remember.<sup>13</sup> Although Greece acted early to approach the subject more consciously, it is understood from recent tendencies that actually only after 90s the world began to be aware of what really “population exchange” meant for the “emigrants” and what was the cost of it.

Regarding the whole picture, in Greece as well as in Turkey, it is believed that – especially today- people are paying more attention and effort to preserve their culture, art, accumulated knowledge, beliefs and customs. The products were not only memories of influential historic events but also cultural heritage that is worth to protect for next generations. As a proof, two main foundations were established at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. First one was “Center of Asia Minor Studies” in Athens that appeared as a research center in 1930s. Second one emerged after the earthquakes of the August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1999 (in Turkey) and September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1999 (in Greece). These disasters produced fruitful opportunities for people to establish support and friendship between the two countries. That was seen as a chance to unite the communities to work for preserving their own history together. Following these developments, a group of second and third generation emigrants gathered and produced the idea of a Foundation in November 1999. After officially established as a community in May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2001, the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants aimed to study, learn, preserve and transfer the history, art, culture and heritage emerged through the population exchange.

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<sup>12</sup> Instructor Herkül Millas from University of Athens, Instructor Damla Demirözü from Ankara, Ayşe Lahur Kirtunç from Ege University and literature critic Demosthenes Kourtovik could be given as example scholars from the academic world.

<sup>13</sup> Ercan, “Yaşar Kemal, Ahmet Yorulmaz ve Saba Altınsay’ın Eserlerine Lozan Mübadelesi’nin Yansıması.”

## 1.2 The Burden of “Population transfer” on Turkey

### 1.2.1 Flow in Population

According to the statistical data, as a result of the First World War, Turkish Independence War and the Population Exchange of Minorities, briefly in ten years, the whole population living in Anatolia decreased as an amount of 2 million people.<sup>14</sup> It is not wrong to claim that such decrease in population will result into sharp ruptures in the social pattern, economic power, political stability and military efficiency of any country. Additionally, wars were accepted as one of the major disadvantageous influences that avoids the increase in population.<sup>15</sup> There was already a harmonious heterogeneity of different cultures, religions and languages under the Ottoman Empire flag in Anatolia, however this time exchange of huge communities was the main concern which would break that harmony. As Kemal Arı highlightens, the new settlers had to abandon their old habits and customs behind to be able to get used to the new environment. The reason was believed to be a necessity of homogeneity in order to build a nation state and stand against the foreign influences as a single body, a unified nation.<sup>16</sup> At this point, in order to understand the severity of the occasion, it would be beneficial to examine the available magnitudes.

According to the numbers that was demonstrated by Ömer Celal Sarç, even though these are approximations, in 1844, 1884 and 1927 13,5 million people were

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<sup>14</sup> Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik*. (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yay., 1970). See also: Kemal Arı, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikası*. Homepage, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr>, accessed on June, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Kemal Arı, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikası*. Homepage, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/>, accessed on June, 2008. See: Ratip Yüceuluğ, *Savaş Sonu Türkiye Meseleleri –Türkiye Nüfusu Üzerinde İncelemeler ve Fikirler-* (Ankara: İstatistik Gn.Md. yay., 1944) Also see: Celal Aybar, *Türkiye’de Nüfus Politikası Ne Olmalıdır*, *Siyasi İlimler*, XV/175 (Ekim, 1945), 368-373, 386.

<sup>16</sup> Arı, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikası.”

living between the boundaries of Modern Turkish Republic.<sup>17</sup> Yet, Mihri Belli gives convenient statistical data about the population flow before the Population Exchange Convention, January 10, 1923:<sup>18</sup>

1912-1913, Orthodox Greek numbers migrated from Turkey : 151.892

1914, Moslems migrated from Balkans : 115.000

1922, Orthodox Greeks migrated from Turkey: 1.069.957

1923-1926, Orthodox Greek exchanged from Turkey: 189.916

1923-1926, Moslems exchanged from Greece: 355.635

Between 1921-27 in Greece, 700.000 Orthodox Greeks were settled in cities, 125 new neighbourhoods and 27.343 dwellings were built. Similarly in Turkey, 463.534 Moslems settled in several cities and towns.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the numbers bolded what was mentioned before. Such massive flows of population and the urgent requirements of supplying basic needs to survive, such as dwellings, were only the first part to mention as a burden of this experience of population exchange. As Renée Hirschon claims, the scale of the population transfer, ranging a hundred years past, is “asymmetric” which is already observed from the numbers that the Orthodox Greek emigrants are three times bigger in number than the Moslems.<sup>20</sup> This asymmetry is crucial to be acknowledged because such unbalance would directly influence the social, economic and physical structure of the displaced societies.

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<sup>17</sup> Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç 1923-25*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003). Also see: Kemal Arı, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Nüfus Politikası*. Homepage, <http://www.lozanmudadilleri.org.tr>, accessed on June, 2008.) and Ömer Celal Sarç, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Genel Esasları*, İstanbul, 1949, s, 141 and d.

<sup>18</sup> Mihri Belli, *Türkiye-Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi*, Ekonomik Açıdan Bir Bakış, unpublished masters thesis, Missouri University, 1940. Trans. M. Akın, (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Edirne: 49.441, Balıkesir: 37.174, İstanbul: 36.487, Bursa: 34.000, Tekirdağ: 33.728, Kırklareli: 33.119, İzmir: 31.502, Kocaeli: 27.687, Samsun: 22.668, Niğde: 15.702, Manisa : 13.829, Çanakkale: 11.638, and etc.

<sup>20</sup> Especially 1820, 1876-77 and 1913-14 are the years of major flows of population before the convention. See: Renée Hirschon, “Ege Bölgesindeki Ayrışan Halklar,” in *Ege'yi Geçerken*, ed. Renée Hirschon (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 17-28.

### 1.2.2 Shift in Social Classes

Kemal Arı claims that compulsory exchange of minorities was a rupture in the socio-economic, cultural and the political structure of the both societies.<sup>21</sup> The Turkish Republic was expected to be totally new and modern compared to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the emigrants of Lausanne Conventions and the loss of 1,5 million Orthodox Greeks were not only a flow in population but a shift in the existing social structure of the nation. The previous class stratification was altered and the transformations were observed in many fields since abolishing caliphate, removing Sultan, transporting the capital city and establishing Republic were the first steps of Modernisation.<sup>22</sup>

In order to understand how the social structure transformed, it would be crucial to examine the social structure of the Orthodox community before the migration. The society of Orthodox Greeks were majorly living in big cities and dealing with industrial developments and over-sea trades.<sup>23</sup> As Naim Moralı mentioned, they were mostly rich people and characterizing an important field in the economic power of the Ottoman Empire and even canalizing the monetary investments.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the removal of more than a million people who were holding such power could be accepted as traumatic. On the other hand, half a million Moslem society arrived in return. However, as Kemal Arı pointed out, they were mostly farmers from open fields and mountains and would be insufficient to replace the economic pattern which was lost with the mutual population transfer. It is not wrong to admit that not only the feeling of being alien in the new lands but also the process that was confronted were totally ripped of experiences from what was "known" and

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<sup>21</sup> Arı, "1923 Türk-rum zorunlu mübadelesi ve Türkiye'ye etkileri. " Homepage, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr>, accessed on June, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Yıldırım Yavuz and Suha Özkan, "The Final Years of Ottoman Empire" and "Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style." In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam*, (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000).

<sup>24</sup> Nail Moralı, *Mütarekede İzmir: Önceleri ve Sonraları, ...*

what was “natural” for the emigrants. Those people could be either a teacher, a farmer, a landlord or a shop-keeper possessing different life styles either wealthy or not. Yet, ignoring the dependence on the already owned abilities or interests would probably have resulted into a failure.<sup>25</sup> Besides, such rupture in the autonomous life patterns would result into *something* more than a difficulty of survival or adaptation.

### 1.2.3 Wasted Physical Environment

As already understood that the people, who were fleeing from the war, left every single possession but their lives behind. Differently, the forced emigrants of Lausanne Convention had the chance to keep the properties as documents to be able to carry with them and when they arrive to the new country, be able to transform it into farms, houses, animals and etc. This procedure simply aimed to return what they had evenly when they arrived. To this end, Kemal Arı claimed that the purpose seemed clear, however the process resulted in more complex procedures and details than expected. As also Hirschon mentioned, because of the asymmetric separation, the land left behind by the Orthodox Greeks were immense. Moreover, those 1,5 million people arrived into a country whose population was no more than 4 million and they could not find enough place to settle. Therefore, on the one hand, Turkey was incapable of filling the empty lands and farms that were waiting to be harvested. On the other hand, Greece was totally over-populated with no neighbourhoods for the re-settlement. That problem could not be defined by ignoring the shifts in the social stratification and unavoidably triggered the agricultural and the economic collapse.

First of all, all the farms left behind were full with corns, tobacco, grapes, olive trees, grains and etc. However, there were not enough people to cultivate and harvest them. Secondly, emigrants from the Balkans were aware of certain professions but not all of them. For instance, people from Thessaloniki were experts of cultivating tobacco, however tending vineyards, growing grapes and

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<sup>25</sup> Arı, “1923 Türk-Rum Zorunlu Mübadelesi ve Türkiye’ye etkileri.” Homepage, <http://www.lozanmuhadilleri.org.tr/> accessed on June, 2008.

producing wine were totally new fields for them. Since the Orthodox Greeks were holding the trades and financial accumulation, the gap of the community that was holding the economic power was more than every estimation which resulted in inevitable fractures.<sup>26</sup>

### **1.3 Significance and Promises of the Study**

The compulsory exchange of minorities that took place mutually between Turkey and Greece was never a simple migration. At the end of the era of empires, at the center of the great continents Europe and Asia, more than two million people's lives ripped off and displaced. Such influential and massive experience -may be the experiment- could not be expected to reflect itself only on the political platform. The social, economic, cultural and physical pattern of the two societies and the environments were affected and transformed accordingly. As Halil Berktaş mentioned, that event totally altered the lives of the entire emigrants.

Kemal Arı's purpose while approaching that vital event was evoking and generating consciousness about the recent history which had not attracted the attention it deserved until 90's. Similarly, Hirschon mentions that two opposite perspectives were presented about the compulsory exchange of minorities. First one claims that the peace was declared in the Aegean regions and the ongoing wars between Greece and Turkey were ended. Yet, the writers, politicians and historians who were behind this perspective believed that the population transfer was a necessity. The opposition, as Hirschon adds, was emerged in several platforms such as political science, economy, sociology and antropology. Besides, not only they believed that the results were unsatisfactory, but also there was no evidence that could prove that short term solutions would also be an answer for the long term ones. What Hirschon wants to highlight was actually all of the discussions and struggles through different professions on the either side, the situation was far

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<sup>26</sup> Ayhan Aktar, "Nüfusun Homojenleştirilmesi ve Ekonominin Türkleştirilmesi Sürecinde Bir aşama: Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, 1923-24", *Ege'yi Geçerken*, 118.

beyond the ultimate estimations and more complex than any other event that confronted so far since it was experienced for the first time.<sup>27</sup> For nearly thirty years the two sides of Aegean Sea experienced several difficulties and transformations and today the mutual communication and cultural interaction were primary concerns among the world.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, she raises a question: What can still be learned from the “population exchange?”. Besides, both the Economic and History Foundation of Turkey and The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants were spending their efforts to support more scientific research, oral history studies and archival documents for the next generations. The common belief is the significance of the population exchange was not only being the first example of its kind, but also the perfect platform to understand the effects of migration on a single person and a whole society. Although the reasons or the results were the important concerns, this experience was a total struggle of existence in the world in all the fields meaning physical, mental and spiritual for an individual.

To this end, it should be stated that the population exchange directly influenced the individuals. Besides, after all the research and discussions, the thesis attempts to reveal an important criteria that is not yet studied. The rupture and the displacement as a result of the compulsory population exchange would trigger social, economic, cultural and political structure of a nation. Yet, all the experiments and the studies discuss and illustrates the reasons, the “rights and wrongs” of the process or the results. However, one important detail is lost attention through the discussions. It is the individual itself. Every attention is turned towards the “population exchange” as an *event* both realistic and nostalgic ways but what is happening to the individual starting from the very first moment of the ripping off, and until the re-settling process is less interested. These foreigners were not foreign at all when they first arrived to the “new” world. Because they carried a very valuable possession with them, their own accumulated knowledge, culture, being and memory. I strongly believe that one single individual and as a group the whole society was actually both the social and the physical world itself.

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<sup>27</sup> Renée Hirschon, “Ege Bölgesindeki Ayırışan Halklar,” in *Ege’yi Geçerken*, ed. Renée Hirschon (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 13-14.

<sup>28</sup> Renée Hirschon, “Neler Yitirdik, Neler Öğrenebiliriz: Lozan Antlaşması’nın Geriye Doğru İncelenmesi,” in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 1-2.



At this point, the thesis presents sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's approach towards both the social world and the physical world as its reflection, yet, how they both replicated and preserved across generations. Pierre Bourdieu constructs a multi-dimensional social space where every single individual fights for a better place to possess. Also, he claims that every person has its own perception, idea and reaction towards the world which he calls *habitus*. Since the habitus leads an individual's choices and shapes its life, the social structure Bourdieu presented and the extended capital that will be explained later would be a beneficial tool to approach population exchange from a different perspective. Therefore the thesis suggests to learn from Bourdieu and juxtapose the understanding with the population transfer and re-evaluate the "results" of the exchange on the transformation of the physical environment.

In addition to the above mentioned statements, this thesis also is a personal contribution to myself. At this point, the preliminary reasons behind the choice of the topic would be appropriate to mention. First of all, the original homeland of my mother's family is the Balkans. My grandmother's mother was from Ioannina/Greece and her father was from Delvine/Albania. They departed in 1912-13 Balkan wars and finally arrived in İzmir. Since half of my family confronted the devastating wars and fled from homes with no possessions but their lives, the experience of migration has always been an unfortunate story that would not be recalled through the family at all. However, the necessity of glorifying their survival and tending to preserve our past, this thesis is also a result of the devotion to my family from my own self. Secondly, the architectural studios and lectures that were given during the masters degree, under the supervision of Ali Cengizkan and Didem Kılıçkırın in Middle East Technical University, highlighted the exciting and interesting points of the "migrations and population exchanger" as a research topic. Likewise, the significance of "oral history studies" as a valuable source during the migration studies and meeting with the invaluable friendship of The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants are all stimulating influences that led to the topic of this thesis. All past three years in the masters degree, the short trips through the island Chios and Northern Greece mainland annually with a group of emigrants, the presentations concerning the impacts of migrations, site studies and preservation projects of Temelli village that was built for the emigrants have been

flawless and exciting experiences to define the exact position to stand in this particular study.

Keeping the mentioned aims in mind, in Chapter 2, the thesis first examines and spatialize Pierre Bourdieu's extended capital and multi-dimensional social space through three major sources: his book *Distinction*, his article *The Forms of Capital* and another article that was written on Bourdieu's class reproduction *The Replication of Class*. Second, the chapter generates a sequent exercise aiming to depict the ultimate experience of collusion in the structure of each of the previously established capitals both individually and as a whole. This chapter pursues to define the theoretical frame of the new perspective towards the population transfer as an event and its results on the social space and the physical environment.

Chapter 3 presents a survey on the methods of reproducing the required knowledge on the migrations between 1900-1930. This survey firstly examines the perception and the representation of the population transfer in the works of both Greek and Turkish literature beginning from the 1930s until today. The variety in perspectives illustrates the parameters of the awareness and the knowledge that is transferred to each generations about the reasons, the process and the results of the population transfer. It has to be mentioned that most of the sources belong to the second and third generation writers who did not experience the war and confront the migration. Therefore, in relation to the previously discovered perspectives, the second part assigns orally transmitted records as the major sources of the thesis which are directly gathered from the first, second and third generation emigrants. This part primarily assigns Çeşme Peninsula (including Çeşme and Alaçatı as the major towns) as a sample location which experienced the war and the migration in the first place. The local history and developments are described briefly and 25 emigrants are chosen for the interviews. The information gathered from the involvement of these interviewees from the assigned location is given as appendixes after the conclusion of the thesis.

Consequently, in Chapter 4, the thesis relates Bourdieu's spatialized capitals as a valuable perspective and appropriate tool in order to criticise the results of the migrations on the region in focus. Therefore, firstly the capital networks of the previous society of the Çeşme Peninsula, that covers the period until early 1900s,

is re-constructed. This renovation in the structure attempts to decipher the social space and the physical environment of the peninsula before the migration period in order to determine the distorted status of both, after the removal of a uniformed society. Second, this chapter introduces the migration flows and the population transfer of 1923 as the rupture moment and examines the status of the social space after the “collapse” of the capital networks. In addition, this part elaborates the re-settling process of the emigrants and the overlaps of the new capital networks over the previous distorted structure. This attempt is followed by the reconstruction of the final capital system of the peninsula and determination of the transformation in the physical environment as a result.

## CHAPTER 2

### A NEW PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS POPULATION EXCHANGE: INTRODUCING BOURDIEU

#### 2.1 Understanding Pierre Bourdieu

It is usually believed that *social classes* are determined according to the social status and economic prosperity reflected by “a measurement of wealth, income, occupational status, and education.”<sup>29</sup> At this point, Pierre Bourdieu's challenges to the common understanding of social structure seems to be valuable and appropriate to understand the term from a broader perspective to help with understanding the case of population exchange in 1922-1925. According to him, “class” as an influential social category held a major role on defining the life style of a person.

It is claimed that there exists a major distinction between sociology and the human sciences.<sup>30</sup> In that sense, the problematic of subjective and objective knowledge that is adressed by Bourdieu might be considered as an example. According to Bourdieu this division between the subjective and the objetive sides of the knowledge is harmful in the social sciences.<sup>31</sup> Thus, in order to overcome the division, the “problem” is combined by him into “constructivist structuralism” that distributes the weight equally on both the structure (objective) and the agency

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<sup>29</sup> Kenneth Allan, Chapter 8, “The Replication of Class,” in *Contemporary Social and Sociological Theory*, 170.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

(subjective).<sup>32</sup> He claims that the objective structures both influence and restrict the social practices or their representations because during the production of their “lives” through the society, despite the apparent choice of one’s self, the human kind is interacted and collaborated into the certain situations that are assigned for himself/herself out of his/her own will and consciousness.<sup>33</sup> Yet, Bourdieu also emphasizes the subjective view which he calls “habitus” by defining “scheme of perception, thought and action” in relation to the objective knowledge.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, one could understand that Bourdieu’s empirical studies and theory demonstrates a circle of dual structures which are highly related to each other and could not exist without another.

It is comprehended that there exists a strong tension between structure and agency which obviously “stand in opposition to one another.”<sup>35</sup> From this point, Bourdieu defines a dialectic relationship between field and habitus. The field which stands for the objective knowledge is defining the social structures, meanwhile the “habitus” –subjective knowledge- is directly the individual’s own perception and actions through the society. In order to fully understand these terms which would be crucial to define the capital groups that will be presented later on, it would be beneficial to clarify the meanings.

Up to now it is understood that, Bourdieu splits the social world into different spaces where the competitive actions take place and continuous struggles are achieved in order to occupy the commanding positions and scarce resources. He calls these hierarchically based dynamic social spaces as “fields” where people pursue the desired positions.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, he defines a system of dispositions which were based on one’s perception, thought and action.<sup>37</sup> Namely, an individual

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. Also: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 466.

<sup>34</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 173.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>36</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 101.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 170.

confronts a situation and an idea is generated with reference to his/her perception, and resulted into an action. This theory conceptualizes the objective structure into individual's subjective experience. Therefore, it is comprehended that Bourdieu generates his idea of social reproduction what he finds crucial to define and regulate the social practices and acquire a social status.

After defining the basic terminology, it would be helpful to remember the theory proposed by Bourdieu. His approach is associated with sociology and the reproduction of culture, in other words, "class reproduction". Hence, he claims, the social world is a field of struggles and competition as mentioned before where the control of the resources means power. This type of competitive structure throws people into an unequally divided realm which could be estimated as the multidimensional social space with a variety of social classes. The socioeconomic-status of people becomes insufficient in terms of defining the results of the intense struggles which are triggering an unevenly distributed economic capital.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, it is understood that Bourdieu grounds his research and theory on that dilemma and presents the extended version of capital as a whole with four varied sub-groups: Economic Capital, Social Capital, Cultural Capital and Symbolic Capital. However, it would be beneficial to understand one more basic term, "misrecognition" which is proposed by Bourdieu himself as a crucial feature to be determined before passing to any capital groups.<sup>39</sup>

### **2.1.1 Misrecognition**

According to Bourdieu, "misrecognition" is a vital tool of "symbolic" capital and the condition for the "symbolic violence". What is understood from misrecognition is that it was an idea of "false consciousness" which means the inability to understand the existing oppression generated from the dominating class on the

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 323. See also: Allan, "The Replication of Class," 185.

working class.<sup>40</sup> Although, this notion of ideology could be introduced according to Marx to conceptualize the failure in recognizing through awareness, Bourdieu – different from Marx’s approach- extends the general notion and claims that misrecognition could exist in all “social practices and forms of knowledge.”<sup>41</sup> For instance, Bourdieu gives the language as an example for the use of symbolic violence. It cannot be wrong to mention that every social class would obtain its own way of use of language such as scholarly and in intellectual world. Therefore a simple student from a village school could not easily communicate with the graduate students from a prestigious university since the type of terminology and the way of thinking is different that would shape the use of language. The example illustrates a major factor that highlights a different path of social practice. Thus, it becomes easier to estimate why Bourdieu designs his own theory by expanding Marx’s approach to social class as mentioned before.

To this end, we understand Bourdieu’s purpose as to identify the statements of structural constructivism. Yet, it would be wise to understand his method as the next step which could be defined like a feedback system after examining his book *Distinction* as an example. First, he conceptualizes his theory and continues his empirical research. Under the light of the results, he reconsiders the theory from a different but a more developed point of view. If we consider the process as a diagram, it does not imitates a graph in a shape of circle but a spiral growing forward. Since there is no arrival or an end simply, the social practice and the empirical research evolves and preserves eachother with the tension generated in between that grounds the system dialectically with reference to the relation between field and the habitus. It might be called considering and reconsidering again which was already claimed by Bourdieu.

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<sup>40</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 174, 185.

<sup>41</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 174.

### 2.1.2 Theory of Practice

One can claim that history is a field where the recorded information could be written all over again at certain periods of time. That flexibility comes from the historian himself/herself. From the examples among historians, critics and the publications they are producing, it is observed that one historian could define a certain incident, which could be either an extremely influential or rather insignificant regarding the globe, far more different from another historian. Then again, the same historian could define the same incident different in different periods of time. Therefore, this type of knowledge accumulates into a volume of observations and surveys where the professionals or the authority(!) considers and reconsiders the certain parts of the history or the relation of the parts to the whole. From this point, “accumulation” stands as the key word to define the knowledge in that field which could be reproduced either written or oral media.

According to Bourdieu, the social world is “accumulated history” and the capital is “accumulated labour”.<sup>42</sup> Yet, he defines the relation between the social world and the capital as a combination of subjective and objective structures within an autonomous social balance. However, he claims, this balance is not simple results of opportunities that an individual might come across by chance. Rather than that, there is a certain web of principles that defines the rules of the game where the aim is seeking better positions in the life. Namely, he criticises the general belief of so-called possibility of instant changes of individuals’ social positions among the society. He insists that the social world is mobile and one could move towards any direction and occupies any position through the social space. However, the capital requires “time” to accumulate in order to produce and reproduce “profits”.<sup>43</sup> That was the exact ground where Bourdieu pushed the button of continuous empirical research with regard to his theory of practice. Consequently, there occurs a question: “what is theory of practice?”

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<sup>42</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital.” ed. Reinhard Kreckel, trans. Richard Nice (Goitengen: Otto Schartz & Co., 1983), 241.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.



Bourdieu claims that sociology is defining the attitudes and the practice of people considering how they act and how they react which can be also labelled with his own words as “Theory of Practice” as far as one could understand. Thus, in order to fully analyse and estimate the cultural practices, the normative sense of the term must be brought back into the anthropological sense.<sup>44</sup> From this point, his empirical research was defined as follows:

Surveys established that all cultural practices (museum visits, concert-going, reading etc.), and preferences in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to educational level (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin.<sup>45</sup>

Since Bourdieu pursued a language to define and relate his theoretical ideas with his empirical research, his work has given emphasis on the manner that defines how social stratification is achieved through societies that highlight certain divisions of social privileges and preserve them across generations.<sup>46</sup> Bourdieu claims that one’s social position among the society which is defined as a 3-dimensional social space rather than a basic categorisation is developed starting from childhood under the protection and supervision of the family, and strengthen and broaden by the education of the present period.<sup>47</sup> Thus, one’s aesthetic dispositions meaning artistic preferences and distances from other groups of people meaning the assigned membership to a social class is a preparation for the social mobility. Moreover, Bourdieu’s scientific observations highlight that cultural practices are products of certain education and the influence of families. As he mentions prosperity and supervision of “home background” and “former education” differs in terms of the social origin and the educational level of the society in concern.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Bourdieu, introduction to “Distinction,” 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 170, 187.

<sup>47</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 114-115.

<sup>48</sup> Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 244-247.

### 2.1.3 Spatializing the Capitals

The social positions (the strata of a society) demonstrate themselves physically not only in the economic level, as understood so far, but also through the life itself. According to Bourdieu, the capital can be understood in four sub-groups: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Additionally, there is a multidimensional space that includes everyone from every social class. That means there is no certain division but rather positioning. Moreover, this proposed system of capitals maintains the ability of defining the autonomous structure of the social world at a given period of time.<sup>49</sup> From this point, it could be claimed that his theory of class fractions are actually a combination of capitals at a variety of degrees.<sup>50</sup> Yet, he points out the differences in the cultural capital that are actually triggering and defining the differences between social classes.<sup>51</sup> At this point, the definition of capital could be given as follows;

The basic fact of capitalism is capital. Capital is different from either wealth or income. Income is generally measured by annual salary and wealth by the relationship between one's assets and debt. Both income and wealth are in a sense static; they are measurable facts about a person or group. Capital, on the other hand, is active: It's defined as accumulated goods devoted to the production of other goods. The entire purpose of capital is to produce more capital.<sup>52</sup>

Therefore, capital is an active and autonomous system defining a continuous accumulation. Since the aim of the capital is to produce more of itself, reproducing and improving process supports the continuity. After this brief definition of the capital, it is appropriate to examine the first sub-group.

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<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 242.

<sup>50</sup> Bourdieu, "Distinction," 66.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>52</sup> Allan, "The Replication of Class," 176

### 2.1.3.1 Economic Capital

According to Bourdieu, *economic* capital which could be accepted as one's income, wealth and debts in total, is the first important step that gives a start to the mobility through the social stratification and is strongly related to one's positioning.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, "economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights".<sup>54</sup> Yet, one can claim that the economic capital is simply produced and reinforced with regard to the maximization of profit.<sup>55</sup> That idea is restricted in one sense: to function individually and interdependently. However, "disinterestedness" fails through the theory. Because, Bourdieu claims that economic capital could not be separated from other forms of capitals, which means these practices could be transformed into one another in certain degrees regarding their bonds. For instance, a master piece of Van Gogh could be counted as priceless, however everyone knows that it could have a price in a sense. The "priceless" part is the experience of artist which was accumulated through his life and the product was not as old as the time from the first brush stroke until the last, but rather the artist's age.<sup>56</sup>

Up to now, the expanded theory of capitals and the economic capital are illustrated with response to other types. The main argument of this thesis will be grounded on the cultural capital, and up to that step, it would be beneficial to examine and understand the social and symbolic capitals first.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 243.

<sup>55</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 242.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 243.

### 2.1.3.2 Social Capital

*Social* capital could be illustrated as a network of people that you are acquainted with and their social class among the society. Such relations would help certain individuals or groups to solve problems in terms of gaining certain positions through the society. According to Bourdieu, these “institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” could be preserved identical with surnames of important families, groups or guilds.<sup>57</sup> For instance, a successful student from a medium quality university would attend a high quality university if he or she could pay the annual costs of that university. The system that enables the family to earn and save money in order to send their offspring to the college perfectly matches the definition of economic capital. From that point, the economic capital leaves the floor to social capital because the social connections could begin with the interdisciplinary and international environments of the top-rank university where people can meet with anyone from elite class, or members of important families of that country. Those connections will structure a web-like scheme that would strongly influence the individual’s position in the society in the successive periods of his/her life. Additionally, it should not be forgotten that the existence of the network could be a result of kinship, neighbourhood or endless other social ties as well.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, maintaining, reinforcing and preserving could be essential as a result since the social capital is a real investment and accumulation of one’s self to strengthen the availability of opportunities to put in progress when necessary. This is a continuous movement and dynamic structure that will reproduce itself by a strong bond among other capitals in a variety of levels. Yet, the size of the network system and the level of proximity to other agents could develop through time. Hence, it is quite logical to extend the limits of your network by modifying it with regard to the importance of the agent, in other terms, the social class of the person or the group.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 249.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 249.

Therefore, a partial answer comes to the mind with reference to a previous question popped up at that moment: “Can Social, Cultural and Symbolic Capitals transformed into Economic Capital which is briefly the start button?” That question could match with the idea of feedback mechanism that considers first and reconsiders next which would be accepted as a manner of reproducing in dialectic sense.

### **2.1.3.3 Symbolic Capital**

Symbolic capital is defined as “the capacity to use symbols to create or solidify physical and social realities.”<sup>59</sup> Social groups are created by certain individuals under a common purpose and articulated by internal ranks and membership with a variety of positions. From the leader to the most basic member, the group is defined and recognized with a name which could be identified as a symbol. In order to become visible and imposing, the social group must hold a certain rank or title that illustrates honor and prestige. Actually, the importance of the symbolic capital arises from its major difference from other forms of capital. It cannot be converted into economic, social or cultural capital because it exists in collaboration with them.<sup>60</sup> It was the grounds where other types of capital exists. However, the meaning –definition- of symbolic capital changes accordingly with the symbolic value one assigns to the object, situation or person. For instance an automobile from Ferrari might be accepted to be a symbol of high fortune and good wealth, and the class of the owner among the society could be imagined. Therefore, the economic capital exists in relation to the symbolic capital and the combination of two produces the expected value of the object for someone. Besides, that value could vary for different agents in accordance to their habitus. Or, a rank like “Professor of Art” could be just a prestigious title with a symbolic value but refers to the cultural capital and accumulation of advance knowledge and specialization.

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<sup>59</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 176.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 178.

This time the symbolic capital emerged regarding to the cultural capital. The title “professor” could not be given any person irrelevant to academic life by chance. That title could only be achieved after completing the necessary scholarly steps and requirements for that port; in short, a huge amount of academic experience and production. Since symbolic capital does not transform into cultural capital, but rather is attached to it, the in collaboration produces the value of a person and his/her social class among the society. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous example, that value could differ among instutitutions where regulations and requirements in order to gain the rank would vary also.

#### **2.1.3.4 Cultural Capital**

Cultural Capital, finally, is the last form of capitals from Bourdieu’s expanded serial. Since this type is assigned as the crucial item for this thesis, it is also crucial to examine and explore two important terms Bourdieu proposed, with closer look before fully observing properties of the capital.

*Habitus*: According to Bourdieu, “the social space is the practice of everyday life” and “ordinary experiences, with its gaps and discontinuities.”<sup>61</sup> Then again, an organised system of strategic positioning to the world. There is, firstly, an identified objective space that could be illustrated as the physical structure of everything around us, and the subjective views, the perception and ideas of the individual’s in relation to the objective world. That means, the habitus could be found in every part of us with a variety of attitudes we present and choices we make, i.e., our posture, reactions to certain situations and even speaking.<sup>62</sup> Bourdieu adds that after the invention of an idea, one can either preserve or transform it according to his social position within the multidimensional social space. Therefore in order to avoid any confusion, it would be beneficial to examine “the habitus” with the inventor’s own words at the beginning:

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<sup>61</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 169.

<sup>62</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 178.

The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted.<sup>63</sup>

This definition could enlighten the relation between this practice, judgement and the product in a single body. Since the “habitus” is a system of dispositions and generates a variety of practices and meanings attached to them, Bourdieu mentions that the term could be defined as a formula of classification.<sup>64</sup> He claims that the habitus is not only a scheme of practices and judgements, but also highlights the fact that the perception of the world is also a product of the social classes itself. This internal structure, in his words “structured structure”, varies according to the properties of social groups and classes. Therefore, the dispositions assign the structure that includes all types of social practices and demonstrates itself as a life-style of an individual, in other words, “life-styles are systematic products of habitus”.<sup>65</sup> This formula “is both a system whereby people organize their own behaviour and a system through which people perceive and appreciate the behaviour of others.”<sup>66</sup>

The dimensions of the life-style including the physical environment that we decide and shape, use of language and the unconsciously assigned practices to one’s self represented in the habitus of an individual. The choices that we make are actually the products of certain conditions that could be produced by a combination of the four capitals. Hence, “product of the produced” has the ability to transform according to the transformation in the production process meaning the conditions of the capitals. Therefore, if there occurs a change in the social position it directly affects and alters the habitus by switching into another condition.<sup>67</sup> At this point,

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<sup>63</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 170.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>66</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 178. Also: Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 170.

<sup>67</sup> Bourdieu, “Distinction,” 175.

one could admit that how we act and how we react according to certain conditions were unconsciously embedded to our bodies and minds. This definition will be extended later to conceptualize the *cultural* capital, so it is better to approach from a basic point of view for now. The habitus, therefore “works below the level of conscious thought and outside the control of will.”<sup>68</sup>

For instance, in most of the languages, there is a certain division in the “greeting” terminology that differs according to the periods of a day, the proximity of the people we interact and their social classes. “Good morning, good afternoon, how do you do, hello, hi, good evening Miss.Yıldırım or good evening Senem” could be accepted as the variety that was generated from English. First we see a person, at that second our mind works instantly and indentifies the person, if we know s/he, the classifying process works accordingly. Whether our relation to the person is close or not, either the time is day or night, and what ever the social class that person is belonged to become the major criteria to influence our judgement about what word or sentence we are going to use to greet. Therefore, it could be admitted that after perceiving the person, an idea is generated about what to do and we act accordingly. That choice of action is a product of our habitus, and that habitus is actually developed in our body and mind through the influential space of culture. Hence, it is important to mention that the proximity to one person, i.e., Senem Yıldırım might be our best friend and her relation to another person could be limited with an involvement in school, such as being her teacher for instance. Then, I could call Senem like “Hi Senem.” On the other hand the other person could call “Good morning Miss. Yıldırım.” From this point we understand that two people knows the same person however, their action varies in accordance to the proximity to the person and additionally the social class of themselves which directly influence the habitus of the individual and also the product. Two different habitus starts with the same subject, but results differently.

According to Bourdieu, observing and practicing the world, in other words the tendency to action as a reflection of one’s habitus is structured and generated by

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<sup>68</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 179.



“forms of educational qualifications.”<sup>69</sup> That system works like a catalyzer that orients the people to a higher degree positions in the social space, meaning a levitation. The second important factor, he adds, the independency against the survival in the world. This second issue could be defined by a clear division between the lower class and the elite class including all their members. A person from the elit class could act freely while deciding how to live or where to live, free to choose which school to attend or which hobby to learn because the system protects that person and preserves the opportunities among the strata. On the other hand, a person from the lower class should consider the “necessities of life”<sup>70</sup> because, there is no other choice to survive. The continuity of daily life depends on their efforts to survive. They cannot choose high priority schools because they are expensive, they could not have time to possess any hobbies because they do not have such leisure time and even they might not afford it. At this point, in order to clarify the grounds of the term habitus, it is appropriate to pass the next term.

*Field:* Field is basicly the space where every story that was mentioned before takes place. It can be defined as the network of relationships among objective positions filled with the agents and the dimensions of the field is defined by the connections between those positions.<sup>71</sup> Therefore the dimensions and the positioning of the field cannot be stable and they transform or change position according to the changes among the relationships that define the limits. There is a certain hierarchy defined in the field regarding to the positioning of the people or groups in the multidimesional social space. As already mentioned, these position were defined with a combination of four capitals, however Bourdieu claims that although the combination as a whole gains the major importance, the value on the parts were not distributed equally and the primary values were demonstrated by symbolic and cultural capitals.<sup>72</sup> Since the four capitals derive their definitions and limits from

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<sup>69</sup> Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 243.

<sup>70</sup> Allan, “The Replication of Class,” 179.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

specific societies, fields vary in accordance to cultures and capitals logically are grounded on them.<sup>73</sup>

To this end, Bourdieu's theory of Habitus and Field were examined and tried to be defined. Bourdieu's class structuring was illustrated by Kenneth Alan in his book:

The figure starts on the far left with the objective field and the distribution of the capitals ... the objective field becomes real and potentially replicable through the use of symbolic capital. The use of symbolic capital creates the symbolic field, which in turn orders and makes real the objective field. The exercise of symbolic capital, along with the initial distribution of capitals, creates cultural capital that varies by distance from necessity and by education. And cultural capital produces the internal structuring of class:habitus.<sup>74</sup>

This illustration simplifies the overall view of the two terms and a good start to determine the final capital. Bourdieu classifies the cultural capital in three parts: "embodied state", "objectified state" and "institutionalized state". The embodied state refers to the habitus: the perception, idea and action. Gaining the major importance, the embodied state represents the reflection of cultural capital on the human body and behaviours, in other words choices and "taste". Objectified state, on the other hand, refers to the "cultural goods (pictures, books, computers, etc.)."<sup>75</sup> Finally, institutionalized state refers to the "certifications (like degrees and diplomas)" meaning "educational qualifications."<sup>76</sup> According to Bourdieu, the cultural capital as an accumulation of knowledge, defines one's position in the society in collaboration with other capitals and illustrates the achievements, successes and investment. It would be beneficial to explain this claim with Bourdieu's own example.<sup>77</sup> The success and the failure of a child in the academic

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<sup>73</sup> Allan, "The Replication of Class," 183.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 178. See also: Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 243.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 243-244.

environment is not related with his or her ability to study and learn but directly influenced by the cultural capital. The leadership and supervision of the family starts from the childhood and education plays a major role parallelly. The opportunities and the support from different classes of the society definitely varies in terms of the final product. A lower class family could never financially assist their kid at the same level with a higher class family. Additionally, the social relations, meaning the network of social capital of an elite class family, should be broader and should include valuable connections with compare to the lower class family. Therefore, the academic success or scholastic achievements with an acceptance from a prestigious university might be a possibility to a child from elite class. That result demonstrates exactly what Bourdieu underlines in terms of the contribution of four capitals to shape a life-style of an individual.

It could be claimed that the accumulated knowledge, rich experiences and the social connections channel a person to occupy a more desired position in the competitive field of social structure. However, Bourdieu criticises a point which is about transforming the cultural capital into economic capital, in other words the concept that considers the educational investment as a monetary investment.<sup>78</sup> The problem of that concept is highlighted by Bourdieu simply. The cultural capital is directly related to an individual concerning his or her habitus. The accumulated labour and the investment shape the perception which generates an idea and results in action which was mentioned before. Then, is there a possibility for an artifact or an object which belongs to that person to be able to carry the cultural capital of the owner attached to itself? According to Bourdieu, one can claim the artifact and pay for it, however the monetary exchange is completed with the object itself, cultural capital cannot be transferred, neither be raised immediately. Yet, the capitals basically requires time to be accumulated. An individual could occupy any position any time, however the different levels of four capitals are combined in return to trigger such changes, and change themselves accordingly. In that point, the example of Van Gogh which was given previously in relation to the definition of economic capital could be reminded once more.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>79</sup> A master piece of Van Gogh could be accepted as priceless because the experience of the artist actually has no price. The artifact could be sold, but the experience of artist could

To sum up the sub-types, according to Bourdieu, the embodied cultural capital, which “presents itself in an autonomous and coherent universe”, was favoured by the objectified state in terms of the ability to objectify, meaning the possession of material objects such as paintings or instruments, and the “institutionalized cultural capital is the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications.”<sup>80</sup>

To this end, the last and may be the most important capital type, the cultural capital is defined and exemplified. It could be beneficial to remember certain points about Bourdieu before passing to the next part. Yet, reading Bourdieu from his own book and article by the help of an individual article (Replication of Class) written briefly to summarize Bourdieu’s theory of Habitus and the life-styles were the major tools to recognize him and conceptualize his theory of practice and the capitals. His theory of constructivist structuralism demonstrates the dual structure of the structure and the agency (the objective and the subjective knowledge) and their tension with regard to the relation to each other by defining the existence of a dichotomy. Additionally, Bourdieu extended Marx’s theory of Capital into four sub-groups which holds significant importance individually and works with regard to each other with a dense and crucial relation. According to Bourdieu’s theory, an individual’s social class is strongly related to a varied combination of these four capitals in different levels which let the person to occupy a desired position in the multidimensional social space. Thirdly, Bourdieu introduced two important terms “habitus” and “field” to identify the cultural capital and its influential structure on an individual’s choices and life-styles. Lastly, although the social positioning of individual have different parameters that were defined by the four capitals, Bourdieu strongly insisted on the importance of social origin and education that were majorly effective on the accumulation of the knowledge, investment to the one’s self and the struggle on the competitive field.

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not be sold with the object. One can only pay in routine for continuous production to the artist in order to “use” his or her experiences.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 247-248.

From this point, it is understood that the process of investment starts from childhood under the dominance of family, supported by education in that country, imbued by symbolic capital, strengthened and broadened by social capital and the circulation is enriched by the economic capital. Therefore, the “accumulated knowledge and experiences” are replicated on the child. The social position is reproduced by repeating the same process that is experienced by the family members before. However, it is known that the imitation process is not an exact match. The process is influenced by different variables –but still under the titles of the capitals- and certain parts are preserved, certain parts are transformed. Nevertheless, the manner of “reproduction” is preserved across generations. The surnames, the membership of social groups, certain achievements, the elit class ranks and titles are the tools of conservation. Every change (either a development or a failure) that is experienced by the agent (subject) on the field will be reflected on the positioning of one’s self.<sup>81</sup>

## **2.2 The Reflection of the Capitals in Physical World**

The life style of a person or a group and their social positions through the society are strongly related to the relation between different levels of the four capitals. In order to occupy such positions, the investment of one’s self creates a pool of accumulated knowledge and experience. With every new generation this knowledge either slightly developed or lost but most probably preserved and transported from parents to the children. Yet, Bourdieu underlines that “different conditions of existence produce different habitus”.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, it is beneficial to consolidate cultural capital and the strong correlation between the terms habitus

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<sup>81</sup> This theory could be illustrated by a brief example to conclude. For instance, there would be a royal family from a kingdom. The borders and the description of the life-style are perfectly and strongly marked and demonstrated. There could be no other way for a person from the royal blood who raised in the family to represent a different type of life style or to possess a habitus of a person from a lower class family. The four types of the capitals performed their significance in the most obvious way.

<sup>82</sup> Condition of existence, habitus and life-style. See, PierreBourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), 171.

and field in order to understand their crucial influence onto the life-style of a person.

Conversely, the scale of an individual as understood is a small one when compared to a neighbourhood, a village, a city or a society as a whole. Nevertheless, from the bigger scales, the system does not change. The cultural capital by standing on the habitus and the field still requires time to accumulate and was replicated every generation. Secondly, the social network starts with the basic communication between two families, enlarges with the other families getting involved and with every new entry, the neighbourhood created. These neighborhoods define villages, towns and cities. With the developing technology and the communication abilities even cities are connected virtually to each other. Every person holds a job, a proper house, a family, friends from other cities and countries -either ordinary or important- a certain position in the society. Actually, such network might be understood only as an abstract and theoretical structure, however it demonstrates the whole physical structure either. The class divisions is a reality and this stratification builds the society. Every part of society is bounded to each other and to the world with four capitals. This network makes the life continuous and autonomous. Like the glue or the nails holding a furniture, if these four capitals are disturbed or removed by an influential external effect, the system would probably broken. At this point, the thesis asks a question:

“What kind of a situation could disturb or even rupture the whole system between Bourdieu’s extended capital and the physical world?”

In order to find the appropriate answer, the study will propose a theoretical exercise to exemplify the possible distractions directed to each capital both individually and as a whole to discover the parameters of a collusion. Afterwards, these parameters will be related to the population transfer to determine the crash and shock effect of the ripped off process over the social space and the physical environment.

### **2.2.1. Disturbing the capital network**

The four capitals of Bourdieu could be combined in different levels to define a person, a group of people or a society. Actually, this huge variety of combinations could not be estimated 100% because of the sudden changes in the accumulation since it is already mentioned that the replication of classes and the capitals were not preserved as they are but rather improve or lose some values through the process. Therefore, every new generation is slightly different than the previous one. At this point, without repeating the type of connections between the capitals, directly the fatal blows could be demonstrated over already mentioned relations.

#### **2.2.1.1 Failure in Economic Capital**

Economic capital could be the one to begin with since it is accepted as the start button to put things on. All the monetary investments and involvements including the debts, the taxes or the lotteries should be considered in terms of examining the capital. First of all, without thinking about the wealth of the family coming from the ancestors titled by the surname, in order to omit the other capitals for a second, at the current moment as accepting all the gained and lost grants at a side, losing a job or being promoted to a higher level in the same or another job could shift the money that is gained annually for that person. Buying or selling things like a house or a car could shift the savings in a short period of time but not affect the monetary prosperity since the value is preserved by transforming the cash into a type of investment, a property. Winning a lottery by chance would shift the wealth of that person in a few seconds. Similarly, a will may also change the life of a person into a wealthier one, but that will would come from another ancestor which should be related logically to the social capital and the cultural capital. At this point, as it is observed, it is quite hard to visualize the economic capital separated from the other capitals. Therefore, it would be better to draw the picture by including the others but still for trying to define the same capital. The wealth coming from the social origin, (meaning the wealth from the ancestors), additional monetary investment

(possessing a job), the properties (that would be transformed into money any time), the savings (that were located at a bank) could be accepted as the past and present economic capitals. Besides, the social capital and the titles we possess meaning the symbolic capital could increase the money we earn through a job or several jobs. Yet, the future plans and possibilities are open to the consideration. Therefore, it is easy to estimate the slight changes in the continuous development of the capital. The question is, what could disturb that autonomous process sharply and alter it into a different shape? There could be several examples to this question.

First of all, a big and unexpected or unavoidable natural disaster could devastate a huge region demolishing the houses and the stores. Such destruction could erase a neighbourhood easily. Not only the social and economic catastrophe but also the physical environment could be damaged and transformed. These kind of huge properties would cost a lot to afford one more time and even rebuilding the neighbourhood would require a lot more time and money, too. Secondly, losing a valuable job or a crash meaning the loss of all the savings in a bank could erase the current wealth of a person, a family or even a company. Such unfortunate events would result in a compulsory change into another type of life such as a non-luxurious one for instance moving to a cheaper flat. Thirdly, losing a family member or most of the family members could remove all the income of that house, and leave the rest of the members desperate. Actually, these examples could be increased but the common point is that such disturbance in the economic capital will not stay calm in its own boundaries but strongly affect the other capitals. The bonds between the capitals that create the network will suffer as a whole rather than partial. Losing all the savings will disturb the social position of the person immediately. Losing a prestigious job can result in a fatal drop in the social class. The social capital will be harmed by the collapse of the social network meaning losing important people since they will not keep their bonds with someone from lower class. The wealthier life style will end and the inclusion of the wealthier lives will end accordingly. The economic capital is a catalyser to accumulate experiences to develop the cultural capital and to possess better positions in the multidimensional social space. However, the cultural capital will stop at a dead end



–at least for a while- and the symbolic capital will lose power since there would be no platform to use it efficiently.

### **2.2.1.2 Failure in Social & Symbolic Capital**

If considered alone, the people you have acquainted with might seem as the most valuable power that would save an individual in every problematic struggle that could be confronted in any platform. Although, this capital might be accepted as the most dependent one among the others, it is still the most vulnerable one. First of all, the bonds should be presented in order to understand how it can be harassed. The people you know, and the people you can reach face to face or on the phone could be a weapon sometimes. However, in order to gain such power, meaning important people, someone has to deserve it first. If that person earns a lot, simply, posses a strong economic prosperity and succesful at his/her job probably had the chance to meet strong people and gained their confidence and friendship. Attending a high quality university would present different people from higher class families to you, even the future presidents. Important meetings, balls or conferences would gather important people from the diplomatic, scientific or industrial world. Just a single identity card from a company would change the entire life of a person if used efficiently. However, to be able to attend such “gatherings” and meet new people, the other capitals play important roles.

In order to attend a high rank university, someone has to be flawless in terms of scholarly and intellectual potential. The same person needs either a scholarship or enough money to afford the costs of the university. To be known by the academicians somehow could be beneficial. For instance wining an academic competition or being a top ten student could be advantegous. After entering that particular university, the opportunities are endless. Once an individual builds a succesful social network, it seems hard to lose the people since one phone call would be enough to reach. However, economic capital already proved that social network is built and preserved by the social class the person belongs to. Therefore, any fatal disturbance in the social class would result in a collapse in the social

network. Secondly, social scandals could damage one's own titles and the reputation among the society. For instance, losing a rank from the academic life might not be recovered. Being fired from the army or entering to jail are quite catastrophic social ruptures that a person could ever experience. No matter which social class that a person belongs to, noone would like to keep in touch with someone who lost power or social rank by a disastrous event either to be ashamed of or not. Lastly, may be the most uncommon example, someone could get lost in every terms such as not able to be communicated even by phone. Such occasions could be a result of an accident, an illness or simply changing the life by leaving the old one behind as a choice of the self. Although this example exceptional, it is not impossible.

### **2.2.1.3 Failure in Cultural Capital**

Cultural capital is the skeleton of the four capitals. It carries the others from different joints and holds the body as a whole. Different levels of combinations produce different people with different perceptions, ideas and actions. A huge variety of positions in the social space is the result of this accumulated knowledge and experience mass. Although it is an autonomous system, there could be certain catastrophies that could disturb the continuity not different than the other capitals might ever experience.

For instance, a child could be accepted as a vulnerable target for the environment. However, this child is protected by the family and the governmental system. The family is where the child is born into. The ancestors were already assigned. What happens than if the family was not there, if the child left alone in the world? Although there exists several defence mechanisms to protect human being in the modern world, a great loss of family members will throw the child into desperation and a totally different type of life than s/he could possess once. The wealth or the social network s/he could have is no more. That person's habitus will not be shaped the same since the social origin is lost. The education system is the second step to shape a person's life. It was already mentioned that, the replication

of class and the reproduction of culture was a continuous process where the experiences and the knowledge was transferred to the next generation by the family and education system of that particular country. Therefore, it could be accepted that any harm to the basic bond of the family would result in a shift in the cultural capital of the person. Similarly, the same disturbance would occur if the education system collapses. Of course such examples are not the ultimate possibilities. However, other than the rupture in reproduction process, other three capitals could influence the continuity in a negative way too as described previously.

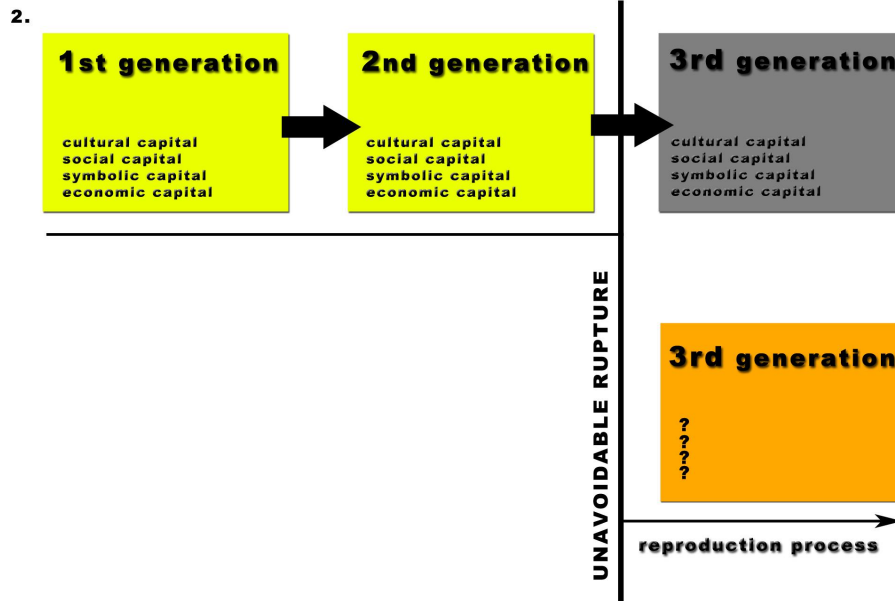
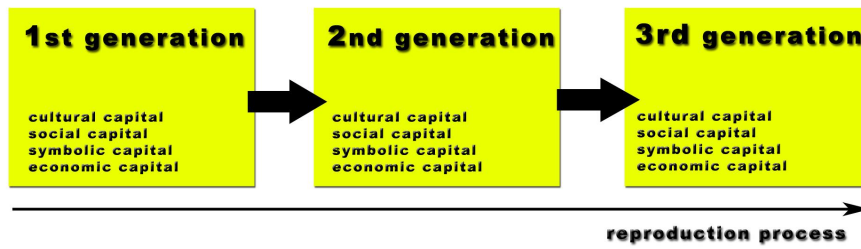
In conclusion, illnesses, deaths, poverty, accidents, natural disasters, social scandals or collapse of a government could disturb the network of capitals and alter the lives of “many” people at most. As mentioned and stressed before, the four capitals do not define an abstract structure that exists only in the theoretical space separated from the world. A combination of four capitals defines a human which is a basic unit of a society. The bonds of that human to the physical world is achieved and preserved directly by the capitals. Hence, the physical world was a product of all the combinations of the capitals in a multi-dimensional social space. This study aimed to highlight an important point to this end which was “the physical world (the “known” world) is the reflection of the capitals.” Therefore, this study claims that every unexpected and unavoidable fatal rupture in the capital network will result in a transformation in the physical world. At this point, this thesis assumes that “wars” could be the ultimate devastation for the capital network. Yet, it is aimed to discuss the compulsory exchange of minorities in 1923 under the light of Bourdieu’s four capitals and the parameters of the ultimate displacement. In the next part, the possible rupture of the mutual population transfer and migrations will be discussed. In order to clarify and support the assumption, in the next chapter the theory will be exemplified by a migration period that was experienced between 1900 and 1930 in Aegean regions.

### **2.3. Population transfer as a *rupture* in the capital network**

In relation to the previous exercise which demonstrated the sharp failures in the capital networks, all the phrases such as population transfer, exchange of minorities or forced migration have a common point in their meanings. People are the target group who were migrated either by force or by treaties. The four capitals are based on the people and the starting point of this discussion was the parameters of a displacement that would occur at the very first moment of a ripped off. In order to fully understand what could the ultimate rupture ever be it would be beneficial to set an example that would support the process.

First of all, it has to be decided either this imaginary migration will be faced after a war or a treaty. However, it should be realized that neither of the presented reasons has an advantage over the other. Because, they both will end up forcing people “to leave” what they knew permanently behind and go somewhere else. Therefore, what has to be examined is “the rupture moment”. Then, illustrating a question chart could be helpful as a start.

**1. EXPECTED CONTINUITY AND AUTONOMOUS SYSTEM OF CLASS REPLICATION**



**Figure 1.**Disturbing the continuity of reproducing the capitals

As it is observed from the chart that the autonomous system reproduces itself with every generation. Slight differences or sometimes peaks could be expected from each generation since the fields were changing with every new struggle and people are fighting to possess better positions in life. However the imaginary rupture disturbs the continuity and leads it into another path. Now what is going to be analysed is the parameters of “the ripped of” process of the population transfer. Yet, Pierre Bourdieu’s extended capital will be the crucial tool of approach to identify and clarify the results.

If a war occurs and devastates that village killing many people and forcing the rest to migrate in groups either leaving every thing they possess behind or let them carry

some primary stuff, the first loss would probably be the properties. The properties are all the invested money which cannot be carried like cash in the pockets. Therefore, wealthy life dies with the village at the first step. Either the rich or poor, only matter becomes the survival. Protecting family members and trying to preserve the safety became the major problem. Any loss from the family could break the bonds between people and psychology of the family by leaving them into desperate and helpless position. If the parents die, probably the children will be lost. On the other hand, if the children die, there will be no next generation at all.

At the moment of the ripping, all the neighbourhood system will collapse and the people will be separated from each other by losing any type of connection. Even the mayor will not hold the same position again. Losing his or her wealth, losing all the important connections, losing the title "mayor" and losing several family members could be a disaster for that person because all the positions held in the multidimensional social space were lost at the very first moment. Although some people could migrate in groups by aiming to preserve the relation they held before, the chance to establish the same network would probably be lost forever.

There exists only one type of most protected possession that could be carried by the immigrants at any age. It is the memory. The accumulated knowledge and experiences that were shaped by the existing culture, religion, habits, families, neighbours and education could be carried with the body as long as the mental health is preserved. Cultural capital could be the last entity that a person could ever preserve from the catastrophe. All the properties could be lost, all the people that person acquainted with for many years would be lost, all the connections and all the ranks would be lost, briefly the social stratification and the bonds of the four capitals to the physical world would entirely collapse. However, the memory carries the required knowledge to reproduce what is known and influence the future accordingly. If such an individual arrives at a totally new place, where s/he feels totally alien, the habitus will take action since it is the only possession so far. That person's perception of the new world will trigger certain ideas and choices which will result in a variety of actions. Those actions would still be alien to the new regions, however, since there is no alternative knowledge carried from the homeland, there might probably be no other choice of reaction for that person.

Up to now, the effects of an imaginary war on an ordinary village was examined and the parameters of the rupture in the capital networks were tried to be determined. Before passing the next part, it has to be underlined once more that, Pierre Bourdieu's four capitals are the most beneficial tools to understand the multidimensional social space and the physical world as a reflection of it. Bourdieu's point of view enlightened the way to describe a possible rupture in the life styles of people that could occur after a migration process. Yet, such understanding could fit any people around the world since the network of four capitals were universal. Additionally, the study highlighted the ultimate parameters of a collapse in the network by Bourdieu's help. At the next stage of the study, these principles would guide the thesis to determine the most probable "displacement" the emigrants could experience on a target region that exists on the known world.

## CHAPTER 3

### REPRODUCING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE POPULATION EXCHANGE

Population transfer appeared as a “research topic” in Turkey quite recently. For instance, Kemal Arı claims that such an immense experience took place in our country but this event was not examined or studied as much as it deserved. Regarding this fact, this chapter aims to discover required knowledge about both the population transfer of Lausanne Convention and the previously started migration flows between the years 1900 and 1930. It is already acknowledged that Compulsory Exchange of Minorities was more than an ordinary migration which triggered social, economic, political and cultural transformations in both Greece and Turkey. The proposal of mutual exchange of Orthodox Greeks and Moslem public was accepted as a quick and clever solution towards the incoming catastrophe of the collusion in economic power and social space of both countries. However, the process and the results concluded in far beyond the overall expectations. The burden of population transfer in physical and social space can still be observed today. Likewise, similar to Arı’s point of view, Hirschon raised a question: “What can be learned from the population transfer?” Another researcher Onur Yıldırım aims to prove the necessity to study population transfer as a research topic and completed extensive observations on the historical documents about the convention and its reasons and results in his Ph.D dissertation.<sup>83</sup> He adds that after this very first proposal of mutual exchange of ethnic groups; Germany, India, Israel and other countries followed very similar procedures which might be accepted as an influential and original idea generated at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç: Türk-Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-19.



At this point, as a first step, it would be beneficial to examine the existing works of literature that were produced in both Greece and Turkey after the migration period from a “broader perspective”. The parameters concerning the perception of the experience and how it was represented to the next generations would be visible through those documents. Yet, if there occur any changes in the perspectives of both countries towards the migrations through the years, it could be again determined from the same documents. Second phase is an inspection by focusing on the case of Çeşme Peninsula. This time a brief literature survey concerning the population transfer will be given including the written documents about Çeşme, Alaçatı and neighbouring settlements over the years. Third step is choosing oral history studies as a tool to evoke the knowledge that was carried in the first hand by the emigrants and the reproduced informations that have been transferred and still recalled by every new generation. Therefore, it is appropriate to introduce the region that is chosen to be analysed.

### **3.1 Population Exchange in *Literature***

Literature could be a broad platform to understand the perception of certain events through history, since “language” either written or oral might be accepted as the most efficient tool to transfer knowledge from one generation to another. The difference of literature or better to call the advantage of literature is the attitude to preserve and conduct the memory with several ways. This study seeks a variety of ways to determine the different approaches that mainly define or present the “population transfer” to following generations in order to enrich and support more evidence to visualize the equivalents of the “results” of the exchange in the physical world. From that point, both Greek and Turkish works of literature could be useful to compare the visions and reflections of “the other”<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>85</sup> Renée Hirschon, “önsöz,” *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, XIV. Damla Demiröz, “Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç,” in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 156, 164. Damla Demiröz briefly claims that the term “other” appeared as a result of lack of empathy between the two sides.

As a start, it is important to realize Herkül Millas<sup>86</sup> idea of “victory vs defeat division” about the understanding and the reproduction of the term “population exchange” between the Greek and Turkish literature. Hence, such variety in perception and also representation in different media was mentioned by several critics and historians too. It has to be comprehended that “1922” was not only a simple date of a war through a series of continuous disturbance and struggles devastating certain regions. That date seemed to produce one single result but two different opinions in the end.<sup>87</sup> The war between the Turkish troops and Greek army was ended, for sure, however as observed, what it represented in both nations was totally different. First, it was the end of the ultimate Hellen Utopia of combining Anatolia with Greece mainland under the Greek Flag forever (Megalo Idea)<sup>88</sup> and the loss was called as “Disaster of Asia Minor” and also as the “Symrna Affair”.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, from Turkish point of view, it was mentioned that there was an absolute “victory”. These counter results, I believe, were not the physical product of the war but the assigned “symbolic meaning” of what happened. Therefore, as mentioned at the beginning, the division of perspectives towards the result of the war influenced the understanding of forthcoming “compulsory exchange of minorities” and how it was reproduced in the written media.

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<sup>86</sup> Ankara, 1940.

<sup>87</sup> Damla Demiröz, “Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç,” in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 155.

<sup>88</sup> The term Megalo Idea was defined as the salvation of Greek race and gathering the people under one single flag with the capital Constantinople in the Modern Greek Dictionary by Yeorgios Babinyotis. See Damla Demiröz, “Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç,” in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 157.

<sup>89</sup> Athanasia Anagnostopulu, “Göçmen Yerleşiminin Toplumsal ve Kültürel Etkileri,” In *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 77. Herkül Millas, “Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mübadele,” In *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 125, 128. Baltiotis, 402-403. Demiröz, 156.

### 3.1.1 Through Greek Literature, 1930-1980

It is worth to mention that the impact of 1922 on the Greek Literature was identified and described extensively by the Greek writers from 30's and represented in their published works.<sup>90</sup> From that point, it would be helpful to determine those documents and examine the summary of the studies completed by Damla Demirözü considering eleven important writers of that period. Actually, Demirözü admits that 1922 was not an ordinary war but a destruction from the Greek point of view. Besides, the term "other" emerges from this point, as she underlines, where the Greek people were the first to start a riot and ended with a new country seperated from Ottoman Empire, continued the riots in Crete, invaded Izmir and even tried to accomplish Megalo Idea.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, such seperation and harm resulted into a disturbance and rupture triggering the idea of "the other". To this end, in order to fully understand what "1922" means to Greeks, Megalo Idea and the term "the other" were defined concisely. However, as Demirözü mentions, the reason to name the year as a "disaster" there exists more than one reason. Herkül Millas supports that variety similarly by comparing the Greek and Turkish expression of the exchange. The opposition of victory versus defeat, the numbers of Moslem emigrants versus Greek Orthodox, or compulsory migration versus unprepared escape were examples that gained attention.<sup>92</sup> Yet, from the possible causes that are pointed out I believe two of them are the most influencial ones.<sup>93</sup> Firstly the preleminary idea of redeeming the entire race in Anatolia was a failure. The dream lands were lost for all. Secondly, more than 1,5 million people left their homelands which was a totally uncommon disastrous event for that age. At this

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<sup>90</sup> Demirözü, "Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç," 155.

<sup>91</sup> Megalo Idea is the Ultimate Hellen Dream of combining the western and northern Anatolia with Greece mainland under the flag of Greece. See: Damla Demirözü, "Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç," in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005),156.

<sup>92</sup> Herkül Millas, "Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mübadele," In *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, der. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 132-133.

<sup>93</sup> Demirözü, "Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç," 159.

point, it would be appropriate to introduce the writers that are studied by Damla Demiröz and her approach to the process of analysis.

Demiröz classifies eleven writers into two groups in terms of their proximity to and relation with the “population exchange”. First group<sup>94</sup> was gathered by the people who did not get involved into the migration at the first place. However, the second group<sup>95</sup> did directly confront the event. Such division highlights a certain point. First group, as it seems, has a production of “second hand” stories as compared to the latter. At that point, Demiröz adds that, first group of writers were not telling stories about 1922 but rather mentioning the event with hidden references meanwhile stressing the term “other”, however the second group strongly talk about the “population exchange” and the impact of it that altered the lives of individuals. Then, there occurs a major difference. On the one side, the effects of migration were directed to the Greek society as a whole and 1922-23 gains the attention. However, the second group carried the individuals and population exchange on the focus point. As far as it seems, the “insiders”, meaning the people who confronted such an influential event, presented inconsiderable variety of perception and reaction in terms of the way how they described the results of the population transfer. However, the “outsiders” presented a variety of approaches, determination and description. Therefore, it might be accepted that despite the number of the arguments the first generation of emigrants shared a similar perspective since they simply experienced the event.

Greek writers from 1930s were at peak representing “compulsory exchange of minorities” in literature at the beginning of the century. The following couple of decades the attention continued, but at around 80s the value of the disaster was distracted and lost concern. However, as Millas mentioned, in Turkey the writers paid attention to the “population exchange” after mid-90’s. Although recently published materials about the population exchange will be examined in the following part, it is not wrong to mention what Millas similarly agrees with Demiröz: the writers, whether Turkish or Greek, who did not directly experienced

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<sup>94</sup> Youlielmos Ambot, M. Karagatsis, Thrasos Kastanikis, Lilika Naku, Thanasis Diomidis Petsalis, Pandelis Prevelakis, Angelos Terzakis. Demiröz, 182-185.

<sup>95</sup> Ilias Venezis, Yorgos Theotokas, Stratis Mirivilis, Kosmas Politis. See also, Damla Demiröz, “Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç,” in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, ed. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 182-185.

the incident did partially or totally represent their ideas in a more abstract, indirect, sometimes symbolic and even nostalgic way.<sup>96</sup> This realistic opinion is easy to agree with, since they were reproducing the knowledge they did not actually experience by themselves but rather acquired from the members of first generation. May be that is why Millas points out that the second and the third generation writers mostly belong to the above mentioned group.<sup>97</sup>

Another information that comes with Demirözü's studies is about the quotes from the first generation people that directly remind the four capitals of Bourdieu. There are several stories to exemplify the effects of that fraction caused by the migration, simply the uproot. For instance, George Theotokas called the disaster as the murderer of the idealism of the Greek freedom and points it as an obstacle that blocks the power of being a "society".<sup>98</sup> The female writer Naku talked about an emigrant who transformed into a purposeless empty-headed person after the 1922 disaster in her book April (1946).<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Prevelakis says that the misfortune started after the Asia Minor Catastrophe that threw Greek people into an infertile type of life, meaning a small world that was stuck between the work and the house with no future or past.<sup>100</sup> These examples underline that the difference between Turkish and Greek perspectives does not actually share the racial origins but rather the surrounding circumstances and the psychology of the self.<sup>101</sup> Similarly Millas mentions a detail reinforcing the argument that is represented in most of the written examples. The most important value that was left behind was not a country or a fertile land but a neighbourhood, an environment and actually a house.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Millas, "Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mübadele," 127.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Demirözü, "Yunan Düzyazınında Zorunlu Göç," 160.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>102</sup> Millas, "Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mübadele," 127.

To conclude, second group of writers, the emigrants, as observed, are talking about the recent events that they practically confronted and presented characters who could be easily found in the real world. They differ from the characters of the first group stories as simply being a human rather than the “other” because of the aim of telling the individual’s unfortunate experiences. Such perspective, I claim, might clarify our vision about what happened, how it was perceived by the emigrants and in what way it was represented –again- despite the variety of the reviews either positive or negative.

### **3.1.2 *Through the Turkish Literature***

Herkül Millas compares Greek novels with Turkish literature and expose the results as a proof to clarify certain differences that was seeked to define the understanding of “the other”. Similar to Demirözü’s research attitude, he studied 290 randomly chosen novels belong to 105 Turkish writers and 60 volumes of stories.<sup>103</sup> After examining these rich sources, he claims that in Turkish literature “nationalism” and “homeland” features are conceptualized strongly and the stories aim to stress them instead of focusing on individuals and gives “Ömer Seyfettin, Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Kemal Tahir, Halikarnas Balıkcısı and Atilla İlhan” as examples to this group of writers.<sup>104</sup> Besides, Millas underlines that the Greek novels that were produced in early 20<sup>th</sup> century were influenced not only by the nationalist understanding but also the Marxist idea of class division.<sup>105</sup> He gives Mirivilis, Kazantzakis and Dido Sotiriu as examples to this group. However, similar to Demirözü’s classification to define the variety in reproducing and representing the knowledge and experiences of the writers, Millas divides the century into periods and groups the Turkish writers accordingly which will help to classify the changing perspectives of the society towards the understanding of migration.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 129.

### 3.1.2.1 Until 1990

Millas assigns the year 1990 as a milestone when the population exchange gained attention for the Turkish literature. Of course the establishment of The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants in 1999-2000 was a boost for the production of such novels, however until that date, especially until early 80's, there was a huge period of "silence".<sup>106</sup> The possible reasons that influenced the Greek writers and the Greek literature about the concept of population transfer at an early age has been explained already. Now similar to that attitude, Millas tries to conceptualize effective reasons to explain why that impact was totally ignored in Turkish literature for nearly 60 years. Through those reasons, the main concern was the perspective that was shaped under the title of a victory. Nevertheless, the writers of that period who cared about the compulsory exchange of minorities and talked about it, were separated in three main groups by Herkül Millas. First group are stressing "the other" issue meaning the loss is not a loss at all, but the incident is fair.<sup>107</sup> Second group generally pays attention on the "compulsory" part of the exchange and criticise the results.<sup>108</sup> Third group, on the other hand, stresses on the disadvantages and the disastrous impact of the population transfer claiming it should have never happened.<sup>109</sup> However, still there is an important detail which is common for all these writers. They are all second or third generation people, meaning "outsiders". They did not experience the war or the migration, but generated their own ideas from the reproduced information. Therefore, how the emigrants perceived, thought and reacted to the extreme and uncommon situations were still unclear to define exactly from the second hand production. Nevertheless, after the silent period the works of literature about the population transfer made a peak. It is observed that there was a strong classification through the characters underlying their "nations" such as Greek or Turkish. That means, individuals were

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>107</sup> Aka Gündüz, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Fikret Otyam.

<sup>108</sup> Sebhattin Ali, Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, Kemal Tahir.

<sup>109</sup> Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Zaven Biberyan, Yusuf Atılgan, Salim Şengil, Mario Levi, Mehmet Eroğlu.

out of concern but the societies were at the center. Millas defines this continuous and unavoidable process simply.<sup>110</sup> Parameters of such stratification clearly defines that “the nations” are characterized as the infinite, ageless titles refering the past of Greek and Turkish cultures. Since the demonstration of such titles is so strong, the idea of “the other” becomes more dominant. The concept of the “other” reinforces the nationalist understanding and increases the use of references from the past of those nations. The result of that attitude highlights the significance of “the other” even more.

### **3.1.2.2 After 1990**

Up to now, the “silent” period was defined by the help of Herkül Millas’ research. After those years, the perspectives towards the “population exchange” could be claimed as newly discovered, more developed and enriched by the oral history studies which were further steps to understand what actually the real experience was. Millas divided the writers that were produced novels related to the “compulsory exchange of minorities” in that era into three groups.<sup>111</sup> First group produced novels about the “population exchange” as an event, the second group were talking about the “emigrants” and the third group were discussing the “migration” that actually reminds the oral history projects.<sup>112</sup> What worths to mention here is the expression of “the other” was not the only concern any more. The individuals appeared as they were and especially the third group was talking about the experiences of the first generation emigrants which were totally new for the Turkish literature.

If compared with what Damla Demirözü studies and presents, it is observed that the Turkish literature after 1990 was evolved to be “even” with the Greek literature

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<sup>110</sup> Millas, “Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mübadele,” 135.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>112</sup> First group examples: Ahmet Yorulmaz, Ahmet Coral, Yaşar Kemal, 136-140. Second group examples: Barış Balcıoğlu, Oya Baydar, Yiğit Okur, Sergun Açar, Rıdvan Akar, 143-144.



of 30's. Either realistic and becoming an insider, or non-realistic as an outsider the products of written media go beyond the previously drawn boundaries. Actually according to Herkül Millas, the Greek literature still holds the advantage since their peak period is just after the years of migration.<sup>113</sup> Secondly, lacking empathy to "the other" -what Demirözü claims- is recovered and the writers are talking about three more aspects as Millas underlined: the novels stand as an identity which is suppressed before, rise complaints referring displeasure and put forward criticism towards the nationalist understanding.<sup>114</sup> In conclusion, I believe that either Turkish or Greek, despite the several writers that produce their novels as an outsider point of view, there are many examples that illustrate the unfortunate experiences of the individuals and their displacement from the familiar geography that make the characters and the reproduction of the knowledge more realistic. Hence, studying the literature as a field of knowledge and a platform of reproduction of the memory become advantageous in terms of comprehending and comparing the views of all generations towards the displacement and the rupture caused by the population exchange in the physical, cultural and social world of people.

### 3.2 Introduction to Locus: Çeşme Peninsula

Çeşme Peninsula is the western arm of İzmir extending towards the Aegean sea. It is stated that the peninsula has been also called "Urla Peninsula" especially after the first Turkish Geography Congress<sup>115</sup> (1941) in Turkey.<sup>116</sup> From west to east, Çeşme, Alaçatı, Karaburun and Urla are the four major towns located on this territory. Although the geographical and morphological structure were quite similar,

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<sup>113</sup> Millas, "Türk ve Yunan Edebiyatında Mücadele," 142.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>115</sup> 6-21 June 1941.

<sup>116</sup> Emel Kayın, *Çeşme Tarihi Doku Araştırması Koruma ve Restorasyon Önerileri* (İzmir, 1988), 3. Also see: Ardel, *Çeşme Yarımadası'nda Coğrafi Müşahedeler* (1962) and Darkot, M. Tuncel, *Ege Bölgesi Coğrafyası* (1978), 94-95.

the social and professional tissue varied precisely during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Beginning from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the continuous migrations disturbed the stability of the existing society and the urban tissue with certain shifts in the structure. Although the wars of 1787-88 (93 *Harbi*) and 1912-13 did great impacts on the lives of inhabitants and considered as the beginning of the “migrations”, the mobility through the region had started much earlier. Accordingly, it would be essential to start from the date when the tranquil life of the peninsula was altered for the first time.



**Figure 2** Cesme Peninsula, Izmir. (source: [www.mapsofworld.com/greece/greece-outline-map.html](http://www.mapsofworld.com/greece/greece-outline-map.html), accessed June 2008)

According to the oral history studies produced by the help of the 1st and 2nd generation inhabitants, there were two people whose names were Hacı Memiş Ağa (17??-1842) and Mustafa Ağa (17??-1843), who were strongly embodied the physical, social and economic pattern of the peninsula.<sup>117</sup> It was believed that, these men came to Chios from Egypt after the Ottoman occupation ended in that country. After spending several years in the island dealing with trades, they moved to the mainland, the peninsula (1780-85).<sup>118</sup> It was stated that, they were so rich and became the landlords of huge fertile lands of Çeşme, Alaçatı and Urla. Therefore, they also became the most famous, rich and at the same time Moslem land owners at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until that date, the inhabitants were also Moslem where major interest was in agriculture. However, the continuous wars between foreign countries and the Ottoman Empire resulted in disadvantageous ends, and every year more Moslem soldiers were sent to the fronts in several wars. For instance, it was claimed that nearly all young male inhabitants of Çeşme had been sent to the wars in Arabia.<sup>119</sup> Of course, the innovations that were introduced from new orders brought by the Treaty of Balta Liman (1838), The Tanzimat (1839), Islahat Fermanı (1856) and Treaty of Paris (1862) gave extensive priorities to the minorities in that period and accelerated the decrease in population since the non-Moslem residents did not become soldiers anymore.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, according to the “Aydın Salnameleri (1895)”, Urla had a population of 8.570 Moslem, 13.168 Greek; Çeşme had a population of 3.861 Moslem, 27.403 Greek; Alaçatı had a population of 132 Moslem and 13.845 Greek.<sup>121</sup> This situation created a great loss in the man power and the huge fertile lands needed to be tended. Consequently, Hacı Memiş Ağa began to call for help from the islands and invited Orthodox Greeks to work on his lands. Every year, he continued to call for more workers with respect to the decrease in the Moslem population, yet that was an opportunity for a wealthier life for many Greeks living in

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<sup>117</sup> The data was given in the cemetery of Çeşme Hacı Memiş Ağa Mosque. Also: Interview with Fevzi Ergun.

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Fevzi Ergun.

<sup>119</sup> Ömer Akyüz, “Mübadele Yılları. Bir Şehri Yaşamak”, *Çeşme Life* 15 (July 2006): 63.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

both the islands and the mainland. After a certain period, the Greek workers decided to stay in the peninsula, and the first Orthodox inhabitants began to settle at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In subsecutive years, the number of Greek workers that had settled in the peninsula posed a high density, and they started to rent the lands instead of working for someone else. When the landowners became poorer, the workers started to buy the lands. Therefore, at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, a great majority of Greek inhabitants became the dominant power in the society of the peninsula. As an example, it is demonstrated that in 1900, there were 5000 Moslems in contrast to 45000 Greeks in Çeşme and Alaçatı.<sup>122</sup>

### **3.2.1 Survey on Çeşme and Alaçatı regarding Population Exchange**

In the first part of this chapter, the works of literature concerning the “population transfer” from both Greece and Turkey are examined by the help of Herkül Millas and Damla Demirözü. Their studies highlight the variety of perspectives towards the exchange of minorities, the process of this experience and the results as a whole. Regarding the aim of this thesis, focusing on the case of Alaçatı and Çeşme through the works of literature and examining the examples of extensive research over the peninsula would give ideas about the region before re-evaluating the results of the migrations on the social and the physical world.

It should be mentioned that, in the reference part of the thesis, there are only 11 sources discovered and cited that directly give information about İzmir with regard to the population transfer.<sup>123</sup> Although that does not mean there might not be other sources or studies concerning the peninsula, still the availability of the sufficient research and observations are limited. As Arı underlined, there are not enough studies on population exchange yet, and that fact is clear for the Çeşme Peninsula.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Alaçatı: 3 books; Çeşme: 1 Symposium & 2 Masters Dissertation; Mordoğan: 2 books; Karaburun: 1 Masters Dissertation; İzmir in general: 2 books.

First source is one of the most valuable one since it is actually a written copy of a symposium that took place in Çeşme in 1995. The titles covered in the symposium demonstrate an important fact that, such studies are concerned for the first time and that enthusiasm should be broadened. The subjects are about history of Çeşme including population flows, architecture of the dwellings, the urban settlement, a variety of the artifacts, and most crucially, the population transfer and the oral history studies. Secondly, there are three valuable academic works two of which are focusing on Çeşme concerning the local architecture of the settlement. Thirdly, three books about Alaçatı are pointed out which demonstrate the recent history of the town including oral history studies. To this end, briefly, it is observed that half of the sources are recently published books and the rest are dissertations and academic research. Therefore, this thesis gains an important value and also a great responsibility by becoming a new source both towards the population transfer in general and the peninsula as a local survey. Additionally, it is not wrong to mention that, all above mentioned sources are either giving brief information about the population transfer under the title of “recent history” or just highlighting the burden once more like any other sources. However, this thesis is a new approach towards the understanding of population transfer and its reflection on the social and physical space by the help of Bourdieu’s four capitals. Yet, this re-evaluation of the results on both multi-dimensional social space and the physical environment would collaborate with further research regarding any place under the title of migrations.

### **3.3 Oral History Studies**

Oral History is briefly the living memory of the past in the present. It would be beneficial to describe this satisfactory research method by historian Paul Thompson’s speech in the “Oral History Atelier” that took place in İstanbul in 6-7 June 1993. Oral History Projects pursue to obtain information about an historical era, event or experience of someone or a group of people. In order to achieve that aim, interviewers record the information based on experiences and personal opinions of the individuals. These recordings might include personal stories, myths

and small quotations that could be defined as both subjective and objective data. Yet, the methods to lead the interviewees to speak and tell the relevant information about the research topic is varied. At this point, it would be beneficial to scan through three examples of “oral history studies” including one broad research with no specific region, and two other examples covering directly Alaçatı and Çeşme.

In the example of “İki Vatan Yorgunları”, İskender Özsoy presents 75 interviews with the emigrants, 61 of which were the members of the first generation, from both countries.<sup>124</sup> Since the time is limited to find and communicate with people who confronted the migration in the first hand, this study is invaluable in terms of the content. Second example is a study on Çeşme by Yaşar Aksoy who is a journalist and writer. In the Çeşme History and Culture Symposium of 1995, Aksoy presented an interview with Leyla Kabasakal whose family is one of the oldest Moslem inhabitants of Çeşme. He claims that the popularity of “oral history study” as a method of research is expanding today. Especially, digging through the forgotten stories, knowledge and memories of the elders become a sufficient and satisfactory source by avoiding generalizations and enlightening uncertain historical events. Asking the right questions and leading the conversation in the appropriate path, such interviews would unfold valuable informations about forgotten periods from the eyes of the inhabitants. Although there are oppositions about the reliability of the orally transmitted records since the subjective knowledge is expressed and recorded, these datas could be transformed into concrete facts after an extensive examination. Third example to be presented in this part of the study is a research concerning Alaçatı and including 7 interviews with the eldest members of the emigrants from 7 different communities, in other words departure points such as Bosnia, Albania, Kavala and Crete.<sup>125</sup> The significance of these 7 interviews is being one of the first oral history study that took place in Alaçatı in order to enlight the 1930s of the region. Moreover, the choice of the interviewees by varying the emigrants in terms of their departure points is a valuable aim to determine the different perspectives. In the end, the data demonstrated that 95% of Alaçatı is a

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>125</sup> This research is completed by Nedim Atilla and Nezih Öztüre in collaboration with the inhabitants of Alaçatı.

society of emigrants who arrived between the years 1900-1930 which proves the settlement as a valuable source for the study area of this thesis.

## CHAPTER 4

### TRANSFORMATION OF A SETTLEMENT: ÇEŞME PENINSULA, 1900-1930

This chapter firstly pursues to decipher the previously established social, economic and cultural networks and the physical environment of the chosen settlement by the theoretical frame that is developed by Pierre Bourdieu's extended capital and his multi-dimensional social space. This perspective claims that the life pattern of an individual is defined by a unified combination of four capitals at different levels. That combination is the primary influence on the perception, idea and action of that person when s/he confronts a certain situation. From the very beginning, thesis aims to propose an alternative and appropriate way of thinking towards the effects of population transfer on the social and the physical environment. Bourdieu's four capitals not only defines the position of a single person in the multi-dimensional social space, but also clarifies the boundaries of a whole society. Therefore, after revealing the already existed social space on the peninsula, this chapter examines the rupture and the collapse of the entire structure with regard to the findings gathered from the exercise of disturbing the capital network. Second, the emigrants will be taken into consideration and the overlap of new and the old capital networks will be presented in order to understand the manner of transformation in the social structure. Since the physical environment is claimed to be the reflection of the social space, the transformations in the physical environment will be evaluated accordingly. This re-construction of the capital network after the population transfer is believed to be the alternative method that this thesis deciphers to re-evaluate the results of the compulsory exchange of minorities on the social and the physical world.



## **4.1 Methodology**

### **4.1.1 Oral History Records**

The most important part of the sources that this thesis derived from the extensive studies are the “orally transmitted records” by the involvement of 25 individuals from the first, second and the third generations of the emigrants.<sup>126</sup> Such knowledge would illustrate their pasts, presents and the futures in the peninsula. Besides, the most important benefit is the ability of recalling the previous capital structures in the homelands, demonstrating how they collapsed and determining the manner of reproduction. In this part, the orally recorded data will be classified under three headlines. First of all a short summary of Urla and Karaburun will be given between the context of the “peninsula” in order to support the later examples. Secondly the list of the people will be given from both Çeşme and Alaçatı after brief descriptions of these settlements. The extensive information will be presented in the following part in order to rebuilt the old capitals first and juxtapose the new capitals next.

#### **4.1.1.1 Urla & Karaburun**

The geography of peninsula extends towards west where we come across Urla, the first district on İzmir province. The town is actually located closer to the north shores and on the edge of the road to Karaburun from the city center. This ancient town was called Klazomenai –one of the twelve cities of Ionia- in the past. Therefore, the vivid union of different cultures appeared again after the examples in Thrace where the dates of the first settlements belonged to the antique periods.

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<sup>126</sup> Çeşme: 7 people, Alaçatı: 12 People. (Additional interviews: Çiftlik: 2 People, Karaburun: 4 people.)

According to the oral history studies, the population of Urla was a heterogenous mixture of Moslem and Greeks. There were certain villages entirely Moslem. The following chart would give an idea about the original communities of the neighbourhoods before the migrations. However, it should be never forgotten that, those villages which were purely Orthodox were either Moslem before early 18<sup>th</sup> century or did not exist at all.

**Table 1** The distribution of the inhabitants to the villages of Urla regarding their religion. The exact date of the data on the chart could not be estimated sharply but the approximate year is 1900.

<b>MOSLEM</b>	<b>MIXTURE</b>	<b>ORTHODOX</b>
Devederesi V.	Kuşçular V.	Bademler V.
Kızılca V.	Barbaros(Nohutalan)	Oturca V.
Helvacılar V.		Menteş V.
		Ildırı V.
		Gülbahçe V.
		TOWN CENTER

After the 1912-13 migrations, and the population transfer of Lausanne Convention, 1923, the new societies and their original homelands are given in the following chart. As a matter of fact, from a broader perspective, it is observed that generally the inhabitants of former Yugoslavia and mid-Balkan communities settled in the villages of Urla considering the first wave of the migration started around 1910's. As an additional information, Devederesi and Kızılca Villages were burnt down in the invasion of 1919.

**Table 2** The distribution of the emigrants to the villages regarding their homelands.

<b>Villages</b>	<b>The original Homeland of the emigrants</b>
Oturca V.	Bulgaria, <b>Albania</b> , Crete, Greece
Nohutalan V.	<b>Bosnia</b>
Ildırı V.	<b>Bosnia</b>
Bademler V.	Greece mainland
Güzelbahçe V.	<b>Albania</b>
<b>Town Center</b> Serin & Sıra Neighbourhoods	Bulgaria, <b>Albania</b> & Crete

According to the inhabitants, Urla was a wealthy town at the beginning of the century. The location would be an essential factor in that issue. It was emphasized already that starting from Çeşme, there was a huge trade route towards east passing through the peninsula, and Urla was on that route.

Karaburun is both a district and a peninsula of İzmir Province. On the eastern shores of that peninsula, Mordoğan is located. Actually, there are two centers under the name of Mordoğan that is emphasized in the same region. The old settlement belonged to the Greek society of 2000-2500 people. The new center emerged later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similar to Urla, an invasion occurred in May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1919, on these shores. However, after 1922 the invasion was no more, and the Orthodox Greeks left the town in big groups immediately after the defeat. The following table was about existing population pattern of the villages of Mordoğan and Karaburun in 1920, and the next table is about the migration flows between late 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1930.

**Table 3** The distribution of the inhabitants to the villages of Karaburn and Mordoğan regarding to their religion.

<b>MOSLEM</b>	<b>MIXTURE</b>	<b>ORTHODOX</b>
Çatalkaya V.	Kocabağ V.	Tekke V.
Hacılar V.	Ambarseki V.	Yenice Pınar V.
Eğlenhoca V.	Saip V.	Sazak K.
	Parlak(Boynak) V.	MORDOĞAN
	KARABURUN	

**Table 4** Arrival dates of the emigrants to Urla and Karaburun.

<b>Dates</b>	<b>The original Homeland of the emigrants</b>
1812	Zanda, Morea, Gallipoli
1877-78	Hungary, Romania
1912	<b>Bosnia, Albania,</b> Macedonia, Batum, Kosova
1924	Thesseloniki, Florina, Karaferye, Serez, Drama, Komotini, Kavala and Nevreko

Another part of the migrations took place between the Aegean islands, too. Eğriboz, Zanda, Crete, Limni, Midilli, Chios and Rodos were important in terms of the fluctuations of population from both sides.

#### **4.1.1.2 Alaçatı**

Alaçatı is located on the southwest shores of the peninsula, and quite close to Çeşme. The town has its own municipality today, but still accepted as a district of Çeşme. In the ancient times, the oldest community was settled between four important Ionian towns: Teos(Sığacık), Erythrai(Ildırı), Klazomenai(URLA) and

Chios.<sup>127</sup> However, the original name varies from source to source. Agrilia<sup>128</sup>, Alasata and Alacaat are the most dominant guesses. Yet, the name Alacaat (Alaçatı) was recorded in the Ottoman archives which were actually 500 years old.<sup>129</sup> Actually, it was also recorded that, İzmir was a district of Aydın Province before mid-19th century, moreover Çeşme and Urla was mentioned as different towns of İzmir Province.<sup>130</sup>

Starting from 1900s, especially people from Crete and Western Thrace migrated to the western shores of peninsula. In 1912-13 Balkan Wars people from Bosnia and Albania, and later in 1923 the rest of the exchanged minorities arrived. It was acknowledged that most of the people from former Yugoslavia domains and Albania came through the Thrace, and Istanbul, however after the Lausanne Convention, emigrants followed the sea route from Thessaloniki to İzmir. There were also other routes which were not directly reached peninsula, but followed Suriye, Şam, Halep, İskenderun, Urfa, Adana or Samsun and Adapazarı before İzmir. Yet, following table illustrates the names and the original homelands of the new-settlers with whom this thesis interviewed.

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<sup>127</sup> Cevdet Bayburtoğlu, *Arkeoloji*, T.C.Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları No:46 (Ankara, 1982) 382-384.

<sup>128</sup> Ayça Adalılar, 38-39.

<sup>129</sup> 1. Çeşme Kültür ve Tarih Sempozyumu

<sup>130</sup> Himmet Akın, "Aydınöğulları Tarihi Hakkında bir araştırma" A.Ü.Dil ve Tarih Coğ.Fak.A.Ü.Basımevi (Ankara, 1968) 98, 101-102.

**Table 5** Interviewees who were settled at Alaçatı.

<b>Inhabitants</b>	<b>The original Homeland before the Migration</b>
Bayram and Sevim Topal	Kosova/Priştina (Pirtican, Novalan and Merasol Villages)
İbrahim Topal	Kosova/Priştina (Pirtican, Novalan and Merasol Villages)
Hasan Arıcı	Thessaloniki/Kavala (Kınalı Village)
Selime Arıcı	İskeçe
Hasan Yürük	Thessaloniki/Kavala (Kınalı Village)
Kemal Çetinkaya	Thessaloniki/Kavala (Kınalı Village)
Mükerrem Orbay Ekinci	Bosnia (Saray Bosna/Taslica Village)
Tevfik Orbay	Bosnia (Saray Bosna/Taslica Village)
Osman Çiftçi	Thessaloniki /Karaferye
Rasim Özkan	Thessaloniki /Karacaova
Remzi Özen	Bosna/Mitrovitsa (Lepenaks/Kolaşun Village)
Yusuf Gençalp	Bosnia

#### **4.1.1.3 Çeşme**

Çeşme is the last western district of the İzmir province. According to the oral history studies, until 1820's the population of the Orthodox Greeks increased continuously and reshaped the environment in Çeşme district. It is observed from the urban organisation that there was a physical division between three neighbourhoods that were conceptually erected according to the religions. Jews, for instance were living very close to the castle over the hill with a dense formation of rowhouse system. This neighbourhood actually constructed in one single street. However, the Moslem and the Orthodox neighbourhoods were the major concerns of Çeşme that will be introduced extensively later. Yet, following table illustrates the names and the original homelands of the new-settlers with whom this thesis interviewed.

**Table 6** Interviewees who were settled at Çeşme.

<b>Inhabitants</b>	<b>The original Homeland before the Migration</b>
Ali Ergen	Thessaloniki /Kavala (Pirinçova Village)
Ayşe Albayrak	Chios
Fevzi Ergun	Chios and Çeşme (original inhabitant)
Hasan Dönmez	Thessaloniki /Kavala
Hüseyin Babacan	Thessaloniki /Kavala (Pirinçova Village)
Osman Kabasakal	Chios and Çeşme (original inhabitant)
Coşkun Vural	Thessaloniki and Çeşme (original inhabitant)

#### **4.2 Revealing the previous Capital Structures in Çeşme and Alaçatı, 1900s**

In this study, in order to exemplify the ultimate destruction of the capital networks that would occur after a migration, a certain location was chosen that experienced the migration at the first place. Since the accumulation is continuous and autonomous, there should be an established past, an on-going present and the future -which could not go far beyond the approximate estimations. Çeşme Peninsula, according to previously mentioned continuity in the accumulation had a past, and a present in 1900s. There was an established capital network through the neighbourhoods. It is important to analyse the already structured network in order to fully understand in what manner it was ruined and what was left to the new-settlers after the migration, in other words what was already there at the moment of the arrival of the refugees.

## 4.2.1 Neighbourhoods in Alaçatı & Çeşme

The orally transmitted knowledge demonstrates the unified capital networks of the towns before the great collapse. Capitals as the major criterias to define a whole society and the physical environment as its reflection. Therefore examining the records and reconstructing the collapsed structure will demonstrate particular properties of the societies.

### 4.2.1.1 Social Stratification

From 1800's until 1914, Alaçatı transformed into a Greek settlement and developed an advanced life pattern with extensive trades and agriculture. An example data by Tuncay Karaçorlu could illustrate this change simply. As he claims, 78 Moslem out of 4152 people were living in Alaçatı, however this number shifted into 132 Moslem and 13845 Greek in 1895.<sup>131</sup> Actually, the Agrilia port and the trade route that was starting from Çeşme were great opportunities for the town to increase the life standarts and the social level of the inhabitants rapidly. In 1900, Çeşme, Alaçatı, Reisdere, Ildırı, Uzunkuyu, Dalyan, Çiftlik were mostly Orthodox Greek. Only recorded example for the mixed society was Ovacık. On the other hand, Germiyan, Karaköy, Uzunkuyu-Barbaros, Kadiovacık, Zeytinler-Zeytineli were mostly Moslem.

It is already known that, before Hacı Memiş Ağa and his brother Mustafa Ağa, there were no such dominant settlements in these districts.<sup>132</sup> However after the necessity of human-power to farm the lands, the Orthodox population increased through the years. According to the orally transmitted records, Alaçatı was described as a modern town full of wealthy people and fertile lands at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, generally the settlers from formar Yugoslavia domains and

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<sup>131</sup> A.Tuncay Karaçorlu, *Koruma Olgusu ve Politikaları Alaçatı Koruma Planlaması* örneği, 98.

<sup>132</sup> Only Karaköy Village which was in ruins today was mentioned to be existed.



Aegean islands gives this information since their arrival was earlier than the Lausanne Treaty emigrants. Regarding the economic capital, the professions would give several clues. For instance, one of the major professions was cultivating grapes in the huge vineyards and producing wine. Similarly, olive trees and mastic production were at their peak. As it is understood, the agricultural developments were achieved successfully after the long periods of adaptation since this particular region was no more than a century old. Secondly, commercial activities were generated by the Greek society and boosted by the explicit existence of the trade routes. Therefore the economy of the town might be accepted as a settlement holding a dominant position in the peninsula. However, this power could not be defined without the other capitals.

The profession of the settled people and the established commercial and economic flows were the products of a successful combination of accumulated knowledge of the land, topography and climate, and additionally the specialization of the cultivating grapes, olive and mastic. Such knowledge could be transferred by teaching the required information to the young generations in order to achieve the continuity in the production. Since it had taken at least 50 years to establish such experience, it was necessary to reproduce that knowledge to keep the stability of the economy. The monetary investments that grounded on the trades and the already mentioned production networks influenced the social positions of the families accordingly. Yet, the first generation Greeks were called for work seasonally in the farms. The next generations began to settle and started to purchase lands for themselves. Such improvement brought a strong unity between the workers and established a stable social network through the town. Moreover, it was acknowledged that the municipalities of both Çeşme and Alaçatı were both Orthodox Greeks in those periods. Therefore, even the diplomatic privilege was in their hands.

The western harbour-town Çeşme was one of the most active trade centers of İzmir. Besides, the immense productions of grapes, wine, olive oil and mastic through agricultural and commercial activities were the primary professions. The mutual collaboration and communication between the island Chios and Çeşme bolded the location as a dominant trade hinterland in the Aegean Sea. Such power was not established immediately. As it was mentioned previously, through the

years of 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the continuous arrivals of the Greek workers and the increase in population, the lands started to be used more efficiently. The Greek community improved their knowledge about these new lands and adapted to the environment to initiate a harmonious economy which transformed Çeşme into the strongest trade center of the peninsula. Yet, they were not the only community that was residing in here. It was acknowledged that the Moslem community in Musalla Mahallesi existed within the surrounding dominant Orthodox society by the help of Hacı Memiş Ağa's already established capital network. His economic prosperity and the symbolic power of the name "Memiş Ağa" were enough sources to replicate the dominance every new generation. Regarding this balance, although the private lives were totally separated, the two communities established a strong friendship and collaboration in their public world. The economic power and the improved knowledge of the Greek society was indeed an investment and took years to be established. The improvement in the cultural capital was observed from their commitment to the production and efforts to preserve the economic stability. For instance, even the children of the Greek families were described as dynamic and very hard working. Yet, the old cemetery stones of the Orthodox society were engraved with a bunch of grapes to illustrate how they cared about the vineyards since that was *the* profession, the identical knowledge of the society.

It is important to mention that the first Greek workers that arrived to the peninsula might be advanced in construction skills or harvesting crops in their homelands. However, after many years of working in this peninsula, the adaptation was inevitable. For instance, they learned how to approach and process this new lands, what were the perfect crops to produce, in short, what the available resources were. They preserved their knowledge, culture, habits and beliefs, then they brought this extensive memory to the peninsula. By each generation, these knowledge was reproduced and improved by learning from the peninsula and living among the other societies who were already there. That was the exact process of transformation and adaptation for the inhabitants. They built their own society from the beginning by constructing a cultural and social network. Yet, they established a social stratification through the new society. Although they were not the only community, meaning the Moslem and Jews, the multidimensional social space was constructed as a whole including everyone.

#### 4.2.1.2 Physical Reflection

Social space and the individuals cannot be visualized without a physical world. Regarding to this fact, Alaçatı could be defined as a multidimensional social space settled on a land mass. Without the people, there would be no society and no settlement at all. The point is, physical environment is actually the reflection of the social space itself. Yet, the social space is defined with the four capitals and bonded to the individuals. Therefore, the town as a whole could be demonstrated in the physical world by the networks of the capitals.

It would be beneficial to examine the neighbourhoods of the town before the migration. Mithatpaşa Street was the major part of the northern neighbourhood of Alaçatı and surrounded by vineyards in the north and along the street all the commercial activities were situated.<sup>133</sup> Secondly, Tokoğlu neighbourhood was located to the south of Mithatpaşa street. They were both the locations of commercial activities and uniformly connected to each other with perpendicular streets. The church of Tokoğlu was located in the middle of that territory by defining the only avenue of Alaçatı. This attitude might be explained simply. The religion as a part of all different societies always preserved its importance to identify that particular community and also differentiates from the others. Such commanding position for a church was not surprising since the Orthodox Greeks were the major public in the town. However, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Hacımemiş Ağa first established this settlement close to the southern bay, he built a mosque in the southern district of the town, which was called Hacı Memiş Ağa neighbourhood.<sup>134</sup> This third neighbourhood was the first district that was built and only place where the Moslems were gathered since the mosque and the cemetery gives relevant dates and names about the inhabitants. However, as it was observed, after the population pattern shifted the social space was defined by

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<sup>133</sup> This neighbourhood was called Yeni Mecidiye today, but only the street was existed in that period. Yet, the names of the streets will be used as they were called by the inhabitants.

<sup>134</sup> The construction date of Alaçatı Hacı Memiş Ağa Mosque could not be determined clearly because different sources gave independent dates such as: 1813 (Gezgin) and 1827 (Atilla and Öztüre).

the stronger society and all the neighbourhoods were shaped accordingly. The only profession of the inhabitants were processing the land and cultivating certain grains and olives. That is why the southern district became an image of a poor neighbourhood by its simple dwellings and old streets. On the other hand middle and the northern neighbourhoods were wealthy and the dwellings were both commercial stores or the wine and olive oil production spaces on the ground level and the private houses on the upper level. Even the construction materials were chosen according the wealth of the owner. That was a strong clue to understand how wealthy a person was. Large mansions were built only after the richest people of the Orthodox society emerged. Huge lands were separated by the hands of the strong families. Landlords and merchants became the leaders of the society. Therefore, since the social space imitated itself in the physical world, it becomes possible to figure out the settlement from structure of the society.

To this end, the settlement pattern of Alaçatı is examined through the information gathered from the available interviews under the aim of defining the social structure of the communities in Alaçatı and visualize the physical environment accordingly. In the next part, only the different features of the atmosphere of Çeşme before the migration will be re-constructed and examined.

After 1820s, the dominant increase in the number of the Orthodox Greeks affected directly the settlement pattern of Çeşme. There was only Musalla Mahallesi before that period which was established near the castle and dominated by the Moslem public more than 300 years. However, after the arrival of the workers the emerging division was ended into a clearly defined different neighbourhoods including a harmonious social network between the both societies. The first Greek settlements were built above the castle district and continued to all three directions around Musalla Mahallesi. For instance, Uzun Sokak, Maraş Sokak and Hükümet Sokağı were established as Greek neighbourhoods after the second half of the 19th century. Besides, not only the schools or the churches were separated but also a strong division between the commercial pattern was observed.

It is important to mention that the relation between Çeşme, Alaçatı and Urla defined the trade route towards the city center of İzmir. That is why all the

commercial pursuits were located *on* this route while the agricultural activities took place *around* it. To conclude, the peninsula was an established network of an active capital structure within its social space and the physical environment. However, starting from 1900s, this balance began to shake.

#### **4.2.2 The rupture, 1915-25**

It is beneficial to remind that the continuous disturbance and the partial migrations in the Aegean regions started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and accelerated after the Balkan Wars. Yet, the Lausanne Convention of 1923 was the last step to finalize the ongoing problem by taking the control of the population flows in the hand of the governments and proposing a compulsory exchange of minorities. This study holds the dates of 1922 and 1923 in the definition of the rupture since the compulsory and mutual exchange terminated every single hope of a reverse in the migration period and any chance of returning to the homelands. Additionally, the exercises about the ultimate collapse of Bourdieu's four capitals and its effects on the social and physical world already shapes the idea of that rupture. At this point, this thesis will explore the ruins of the capital networks abandoned on the peninsula after the departure of the entire Orthodox society under the light of the findings of the exercises.

#### **4.2.3 Unavoidable Collapse of the Old Structure**

Removing the entire Greek society from the peninsula resulted in demolishing the capital network they established. Generally speaking, it is already acknowledged that Bourdieu's four capitals are the system that creates the social space, defines the physical environment by the reflection of it and holds the individuals within the structure. After the migration flows and the entire removals, this structure will obviously collapse since the major source, the individual, is no more residing. This is an unavoidable process with no hesitation. The capital structures and the multi-

dimensional social space that was uniformly defined, will collapse together. However, the physical environment which was shaped already would not probably face the same consequence. Therefore, thesis will aim to explore and visualize the deformations in both the social space and the physical environment after the collusion of the entire system of the capitals.

#### **4.2.3.1 Distortion in Social Space**

First of all, it is already mentioned that the accumulated knowledge and the experiences of the individuals are carried with them in their memories. Yet, the severe point is without any written documents which would possibly left behind, the only sources to define the “past” of the region would be the memories of Moslem people who lived among them and did stay in the peninsula after the departure. However, the situation did not develop exactly in this particular manner. Before the convention, people were fleeing for their survival. It was claimed that just simple gossips about an incoming attack or harassment would mean enough threat for the people and impelled them to leave. Those people were hearing from their neighbours or even the news was carried from other towns. Those stories were either fake or real, when the mobility started it did never end. People were watching each other and being influenced by them. The interviews highlighted an important fact that once a group of people began to leave the town, entire society got affected and was mobilized to leave afterwards. It is not surprising to observe that “survival” gained the ultimate importance because either today if a war occurs and people begins to leave, they do not care about the belongings but their lives. On the other hand, the convention brought a major difference. People who were impelled to migrate were allowed to carry any belongings and even to document the proportions and the amounts of the properties such as lands, dwellings and stores. Such privilege did not exist before the convention because this time lives of individuals were supposed to be protected by the governments. The accomplishment of the procedure or the bureaucratic perspectives are not the concerns of this study. Conversely, it is important to examine how the nonexistence of this privilege before the convention affected the collusion of the

capital networks. At this point, the most vulnerable capital might help to seek an answer.

The most inevitable result of the ripped of moment was the collapse of the social capital. All the bonds and relation between the individuals were disturbed first, and demolished afterwards. First impact came with the war. Such catastrophe would possibly influence the gangs or caused fear on the people who started to threaten their own neighbours. The continuity of the war demonstrated two significant identical divisions about the rivals. First one was the Greek versus Turkish and the second was Orthodox versus Moslem. Either way the situation was getting harder to determine and the reactions were not independent from one particular attribute, Bourdieu's extended capital.

Habitus as a term is already defined and might answer the above mentioned discussion. People confront a situation, their awareness and perception shape and introduce an idea (or a group of ideas) and the person react accordingly. This time the major headline was either religion or the origins. Therefore it was not important either two people were best friends or serious rivals; if they were both Orthodox or Greeks, they should both be in danger and had to act together. This particular understanding was valid for the Moslem side, too. Yet, acting together was not a sudden action but directly related to the habitus of the individual. Regarding to this fact, which is probably unconsciously established by the emigrants at the period of the departure, the social network between the Moslem and the Orthodox communities collapsed at the very first moment. Afterwards, the social network in between the Greek society collapsed, too. Those people might have reacted together in the same way, but the migration flows took several years and finalized with the convention. That means, it was extremely hard to carry the existed network to the new country as a whole, even though it is not impossible to preserve certain relations. At this point, the fate of the social capital gave an important clue about the previously mentioned division about the privilege presented by the convention. The people who were fleeing for their survival before the convention abandoned whole properties and most of the belongings behind. These belongings were not only significant objects. All the relations and connections that were established in a few life times, meaning the social network and the attributes

gained, meaning symbolic capital were left forever. The convention, on the other hand, gave an opportunity to preserve at least the monetary investments and to depart in groups (in some examples a whole neighbourhood). Only the dwellings and the lands left behind that would probably be replaced by the government when they arrived at Greece.

The capital networks were disturbed and in several examples they collapsed in a variety of degrees. Therefore, the multidimensional social space [where every single person possessed a location] was distorted. This distortion could be visualized by imagining the social space as a volume with a skeleton of countless combination of four capitals. If these sets of capitals are disturbed, damaged, collapsed or lost, the skeleton will lose stability and the volume begin to lose its unified flawless shape. If the entire skeleton collapses, the volume will not exist at all. Likewise, the world is the territory where this volume exists and its reflection defines the physical environment. If the volume is distorted, a similar distortion will be expected in the reflection either. Therefore, the next part will examine the limits of the distortion in the physical environment.

#### **4.2.3.2 Distortion in Physical Environment**

The first thing to mention would be the neighbourhoods. This study defined a neighbourhood by its location, its name and its inhabitants. For instance, the Hacımemiş Neighbourhood was located at the southern districts of Alaçatı where the Moslem public lived. Likewise the Tokoğlu neighbourhood was the location of the Orthodox public. The church and the commercial zone were the additional features to illustrate the complete image. Without the inhabitants, the definition loses the meaning. After the Orthodox community left, all the commercial activities sharply stopped and the identical feature “Orthodox” neighbourhood was lost with the departure. Since the social space shifted, in other terms has been distorted, the neighbourhood transformed into abandoned web of streets. However, several dwellings were preserved with every furniture and the belonging of the owners since many people just fled and could not have time to carry anything at all with



them. Moreover, the farms were full of crops and grapes waiting to be harvested. Besides, the abandoned structures and the urban space would be demolished by the war, too. That would entirely change the physical image of the town. As a matter of fact, the economic capital was distorted by the abandoned properties, cultural capital was carried with the emigrants, social capital was collapsed, and the symbolic capital was no more. Therefore, every physical space which gains its function from those networks, lost it immediately after. However, it is observed that this collusion did not entirely affect or distort the physical environment in the same level with the social space. Likewise, this thesis will explore the re-settling process after the arrival of the Moslem emigrants in order to fully analyse the effects of migration on the transformation of the physical environment since the compulsory exchange of minorities was a “mutual” exchange.

#### **4.3 Re-settling Process and Overlapping the New Capitals**

The continuous migrations and the Lausanne Convention forced the entire Orthodox society to leave. However, this was not a one way flow away from the peninsula. The unrest and disturbance in the Balkans started much earlier and this activity triggered the partial migrations in both countries since the wars continued for a long period of time in those regions. Therefore, this study divides the re-settling process into two sub-groups according to the scope and the extent of the Lausanne Convention. That method would help to locate the new settlers in the peninsula and compare them according to the division of being a *muhacir* or a *mübadil*. First group includes the people who migrated after the Balkan wars at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the second group covers the whole emigrants of the Treaty.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> The term *muhacir* is used by the emigrants who came by the wars from the Balkans. They use the term *mübadil* for the people who came with the Lausanne Treaty.

#### 4.3.1 After the Balkan Wars, 1912-13

The Balkans -in total- is the term to define a group of regions which are: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosova, Hungaria, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia and Greece. After the 500 years of Ottoman occupation, the Balkan wars were the last disasters before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The countries that were involved aimed to gain more lands and enlarge the territories. Meanwhile a huge catastrophe continued on the societies of these regions. The first migrations started from these lands directed to Anatolia. Yet considering the emigrants of Alaçatı and Çeşme, Moslem public mostly left Albania, Bosnia and Macedonia in those years. They arrived to the peninsula and found nothing different in terms of the population flows. This time the Orthodox Greeks were leaving, and every new arrival triggered more departures.

It is acknowledged that the first communities that arrived were majorly the Bosnians and Albanians.<sup>136</sup> They were described as strong people from rural regions and they found the abandoned houses to settle. They had no possessions and even lost several family members either in the homelands or on the journey. Although several Bosnians settled to Mordoğan since they were mostly stock-raisers, the emigrants gave the priority to Çeşme and Alaçatı as a preference. Because, Karaburun and Mordoğan were described as small towns and not on the trade routes. The primary professions of both communities were agriculture and stock-raising. Besides, people from Kosova and Bosnia aimed to continue harvesting the vineyards.

One of the major differences between these two societies was the linguistics. They both have their own languages, own cultures and habits. The only common point was being Moslem which turned to be the greatest threat for them. Therefore, they all fled from the Balkans to the new lands full of olive trees and vineyards which they were totally alien. Many of them saw the sea for the first time and there were no open fields, no mountains and no rural type of settlements that they were used

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<sup>136</sup> People from Aegean islands such as Crete arrived probably at the same time with the Albanians and Bosnians. (Interview with Remzi Özen)

to see. Those people directly came to very well established modern towns with a huge trade hinterland. However, their knowledge about harvesting crops and breeding animals did not help them directly to adapt the new environment. Most of them did not know each other, and generally they aimed to gather in groups under the title of Bosnians or Albanians. Because, the homelands were the only common identical features that were exposed. The necessity of gathering in groups was a natural defense mechanism in a foreign environment to survive. Therefore, in terms of abandoned capitals, the emigrants confronted empty dwellings (mostly furnished), barns (full of animals and equipment), stores and fertile lands including farms, vineyards and fields of olive trees. Other than the physical environment, they met with the Moslem inhabitants who were terrorized because of the ongoing wars and the population flows. Yet, that was the first time to observe the circumstance of overlapping capitals whose origins were from totally different social spaces.

#### **4.3.2 After the Population Exchange, 1923**

The Lausanne Convention made the northern Greece mainland including Thrace and Macedonia, and also the Greek islands such as Crete and Chios as the major target. Yet, the numbers would illustrate the percentage of communities: Kaylar(Kayalar)/Ptolemaida (%93), Drama (%79), Kavala (%69), Pravi (%60), Langaza (%60), Serez (%40), Yenice (%39), Kastorya (%24), Kozana (%40), Thessaloniki (%26), Kilkış (%66), Igumenitsa (%42), Edessa (Vodina) (%48), Florina (%32), Verea (Karaferye) (%20) and Crete (%20).<sup>137</sup> Generally speaking, Çeşme and Alaçatı became the new homelands -mostly- for the people from the towns of Thessaloniki (such as Kavala and Karacaova) and the Thrace region. Therefore, the thesis will choose and reside on the interviews with people from Thessalonki and Chios.

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<sup>137</sup> Konstantinos Tsitselikis, "1923'ten Önce Yunanistan'da Müslüman Cemaatler Yasal Süreklilikler ve İdeolojik Tutarsızlıklar", *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar*, 344-345.

One of the major differences between the emigrants of 1923 (*mübadil*) and the previously mentioned groups (*muhacir*) was the privilege of carrying any possessions with them during the journey to be able to establish a very similar life in the new lands. This idea of guaranteeing the reproduction of life-styles will be criticised in the next part, therefore it would be beneficial to continue presenting the characteristics about the emigrants of the treaty. It was narrated that villiages of Thesselonkki were depleted systematically and they had the chance to leave in big groups, even could preserve the whole society of villages. They resided in both Alaçatı and Çeşme in big groups. The advantage of being a group of already known public means the social capital somehow preserved. However it is early to talk about reproducing the capitals. Nevertheless, it is understood so far that the second group of refugees were more advantageous than the previous groups.

The professions of the people especially from Kavala were told to be cultivating tobacco and corns. Additionally, people from the islands knew how to deal with Olive trees too. However, noone was actually aware of the vineyards or producing olive oil as the most valuable profession of the peninsula. At this point, it would be beneficial to start examing the overlaps and evaluate the displacement in both Çeşme and Alaçatı considering the whole emigrants.

#### **4.4 Re-evaluating the Displacement**

It is important to mention that in the previous survey, a question was delayed to be answered which is about the opportunities proposed by the Lausanne Treaty that included carrying all the possessions to the new lands. Likewise, the governments promised and guaranteed the privilege by documenting even the properties such as dwellings and the farms. Although such opportunity was claimed [supposed] to be the most beneficial method of reproducing the lives of the emigrants, there was one point missing. The life style of a person is defined by a harmonious combination of four capitals in a variety of levels. If the four capitals could not be preserved as they are, the transformation of *the* life style is inevitable. Since the ripped of process already proves that wars and migrations are the ultimate collapse

of the networks, thesis claims that no matter what proposed or achieved by the governments, the life styles of individuals could not be preserved as they are after such experience.

Second important narration was that many Moslem communities from northern Greece did not confront a war but forced to migrate after the convention. Those people were insisting on the regret of leaving their homelands where they lived without any problem. However, it was already mentioned that Albanians and Bosnians fled from the war territories. That is why they claim to appreciate to arrive the new lands, in this case, the peninsula. It was a matter of survival rather than leaving a luxurious life behind, because they did not even have that chance or time to consider about it. Since the first group of people were losing their family members and fleeing in fear, they could not preserve the social network. They even hardly kept their own families together. On the other hand the people of Kinalı for instance departed and arrived to Çeşme as a whole village.<sup>138</sup> Moreover the treaty emigrants not only carried every valuable possession including the documents of properties, but even brought their own animals with them. The envy of those privileges was mentioned by the interviewees from Bosnia and Albania many times. They added that in the period of their arrival all the people settled to the abandoned houses, since there was nothing else to do. However, when the treaty emigrants arrived, several already settled house were required to be given to the new settlers. Many Albanian and Bosnian families left the dwellings to the new people. However, although the aim was an effort to combine the people of different regions together to accelerate the collaboration and communication, the people acted as their own. They left the mixed neighbourhoods and created their own regarding to the previous homelands. For instance, Bosnians gathered in one district, Albanians gathered in another. Likewise, people from Kavala tried to remain in groups and replicate their own neighbourhoods here in Çeşme and Alaçatı. It was told that, even the people who settled in the city center of İzmir or Mordoğan heard the news and arrive to these towns to establish a whole society of their own social origin.

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<sup>138</sup> Kinalı was a village of Kavala.

At this point of the study, after considering the information gathered so far, it would be the correct time to construct the new capital network to define the newly established social space.

#### **4.4.1 Re-construction of the Capital Network**

Up to now, this study explored the previous capital networks and their condition after the departure of the Orthodox society. In the next step, the arrival of the new societies have been examined. The aim of this part will evaluate the reconstruction of the new capital networks over the abandoned old structures in Çeşme and Alaçatı.

At the first step of the arrival, the first thing that emigrants brought to the new lands, was the individual itself. At this point, it is appropriate to repeat the definition of the individual once more from the perspective that is developed from the capital networks. Either distorted or partially preserved, that single person carries a combination of four capitals along with the journey. The most valuable possession is –again- the accumulated knowledge that is carried with the memory. In that case, at the first step of the arrival, those people brought their “cultural capital” along with them to the peninsula. In order to have some ideas about the origins of the preserved knowledge, the emigrants will be classified with regard to the regions they come from. It has been mentioned that emigrants from Albania, Bosnia and Crete were the major first flows before the convention to the peninsula. Greek Macedonia (mostly Thessaloniki) and the Thrace were the domains of next flows which started after the treaty. Therefore, it would be beneficial firstly to examine their pasts from their own stories.

The rural fields of Albania was claimed to be rich and fertile. Many of the interviewees informed that they left broad farms and fields of fruit trees. These fields were sufficient for agriculture and stock-raising, but they could not find similar lands in the peninsula. These terrains became an obstacle for them. The knowledge they possessed was influencing them to perform what they could do the

best. However, their practices were not satisfied with the new environment and several of the Albanians traveled around the peninsula to claim any open fields to start their new life by exchanging the already settled dwellings. Additionally, the dwellings they left behind in the homelands were generally two storey houses and all the ground levels were the barns where they kept the animals and the equipment. Secondly, Kavala, Karacaova, Karaat, Kesriye and Karaferye were the major homelands from where the new settlers of the convention departed. Their professions were agriculture, mostly cultivating tobacco and merchantising. As far as understood, the emigrants firstly talk about the rich and fertile lands where they produced their food and crops which they sold annually. Secondly, they describe the dwellings and the animals they possessed. At this point, the information gathered so far highlights an important feature. These emigrants as a whole value the economic prosperity and the professions while recalling them as the primary merits of their previous lives in the original homelands. That is crucial in order to reproduce the new capitals because the cultural capital, meaning the accumulated knowledge, is very selective to remember and to reclaim. The first things to recall will be the first things they miss and attempt to possess again. That is the rule of reproducing the previous lives of themselves. However, it is impossible to replicate the previous lives as intact. If someone cannot reproduce the exact combination of the previous capital network into the new land, that person cannot reproduce the previous life either.

Second feature discovered from the interviews is the families from Bosnia preserved the language as an identical feature and kept speaking in their own language in the household, and preferred to use Turkish in the neighbourhood since it was the common tongue. Language could be accepted as a part of cultural capital and a strong mortar in the definition of social network under the title of social capital. After the people from Kavala arrived they were speaking Turkish or Greek and they mention that all the public spaces were full of Albanians speaking Albanian, and the Bosnians speaking Bosnian. The intergration was blocked by the strong dominance of the division in the language since it was the first step to start a mutual communication. However, it was also mentioned that people from Kavala did not confront any harm or exclusion from the previously established former-Balkan society. On the other hand, the Bosnians and Albanians admitted that they

envied the new communities departed from Thessaloniki since they brought their possessions with them and settled without confronting the same problems that they experienced. Third group which was not mentioned yet is the Moslem inhabitants of the peninsula. They were here before the wars and living with the Orthodox society in a harmony. However, those migrations took their neighbours away and brought the new settlers. This situation was hard to adapt for the inhabitants and it was claimed that many people were blaming the emigrants and they did not accept the new communities easily. Therefore, it could be said that language is not the only problem of intergration.

To this end, the study has declared an overview of the knowledge about the previous lives of the emigrants and the most valuable attributes they recall at the very first moment of the interviews which directly point out the primary necessities they looked for at the period of their arrival. Additionally, it is observed that cultural capital is the start button this time to trigger the economic and the social capital after the settling process started. Yet, the thesis presents the social capital and additionally the symbolic capital as the most vulnerable sub-groups in case of a collapse in the networks. Therefore, it is appropriate to examine that fact through the examples given by the interviewees.

Koparalı, Tınaz and Gençalp families were claimed to be the most wealthy families of both Çeşme and Alaçatı.<sup>139</sup> The interesting part is all the interviewees mentioned these wealthy families by their surnames and defined their so-called wealth by the land masses they possessed. Such information highlights a significant truth about the identification of an individual or a group of people (even a society). That particular claim illustrates the manner of determining the social class of these families and quoting the information by using exactly the economic prosperity of those people and the symbolic capital attached to it. Therefore, these surnames are not just words but carry sufficient amount of knowledge about the position of the family members in the social space. However, a foreigner who is new to this region would not estimate any detail just from the surnames for sure. Yet, becoming a foreigner to any region would result in such experience. “Gençalp” would not make any sense to a visitor from outside of the peninsula. If it is taken

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<sup>139</sup> For instance interview with Remzi Özen.



into consideration in a vice-versa manner, this fact reminds the collapse of capitals after the ripped of process. Gençalp surname would not make any sense to the inhabitants of a foreign town. What makes the surname to possess such information is firstly the economic capital regarding to the wealth of the family. Secondly the cultural capital, because the family arrived here after the treaty and established a succesful life pattern which grounds their names to the peninsula. Thirdly, their connections to the public were improved with other contribution and mutual colloborations through the neighbouring towns. Therefore, a person from another town could be expected to know a family member because of the social network they established *through* the time. Such powers could not be gained immediately.

The avialible ruins of previous capitals are illustrated and the new arrivals of the capitals are clarified. Therefore, it is beneficial to set up a whole society after these partial examinations. In this case, Pirinçova village could be a valuable example.

“Princova Village” can be written and pronounced as two words, but it does not only define a settlement but also a network of neighbourhoods and families with a life pattern. From Bourdieu’s perspective, it defines a social space including different sets of capital networks established in a harmony. However, it is understood that the ripped of process deformed the existing network structures and people arrived with what is left from the old system. Moreover, they confronted the ruins of capital networks from the old society in addition to the new lands. According to the interviews, the inhabitants of Princova village firstly arrived Dalyan which was a small village of Çeşme at the northern shores. They claimed that there were very well preserved houses and the settlement was directed to the sea. However, the emigrants were from a region of huge farms of tobacco plants. They were neither use to the sea nor the olive trees in the gardens of Dalyan for earning money or supplying food. They carried their animals with them and could not find any open fields for stock-raising. Those were their primary problems. Although the dwellings were all sufficient for them, they valued the economic stability more and did not prefer to stay in Dalyan and instead they moved to Çeşme. This decision could be discussed from several perspectives, however the theoretical framework of this thesis leads the way under the light of Bourdieu’s four capitals.

First of all, those people from Kavala possessed a privilege of carrying their animals and several equipments with them. The priority of preserving economic power might be succeeded in one sense. Secondly, they brought the entire village as a whole with minimum losses to the diseases and the severe conditions of the journey. Nevertheless, the whole village arrived by preserving one of their most valuable and most vulnerably entity, the social network. These are extremely strong privileges in terms of reproducing their lives in the new lands compared to the emigrants arrived before the treaty. These people tried to keep the families together and aimed to establish the same economic capitals by the help of their cultural capitals. They brought their knowledge about cultivating tobacco and stock-raising to the lands, and they left their properties behind. Therefore, they pursued to find dwellings to settle and open fields both for breeding animals and cultivating crops. However, in Dalyan they could not satisfied their needs. There were not enough open lands for everyone and all the farms were filled with olive trees. The reason behind the departure from Dalyan was not a fancy behaviour, but exactly related to the four capitals. The villagers' perception is defined by the habitus. Their habitus shared the same field. Their ideas were generated similarly towards the new environment since they were all from the same village and their accumulated knowledge was actually accumulated in accordance to each other. Therefore their action demonstrated only one option: leaving Dalyan. They had no other choice to do according to them. Because their reaction is shaped directly by their cultural capital meaning the only possession that can be preserved in flawless condition.

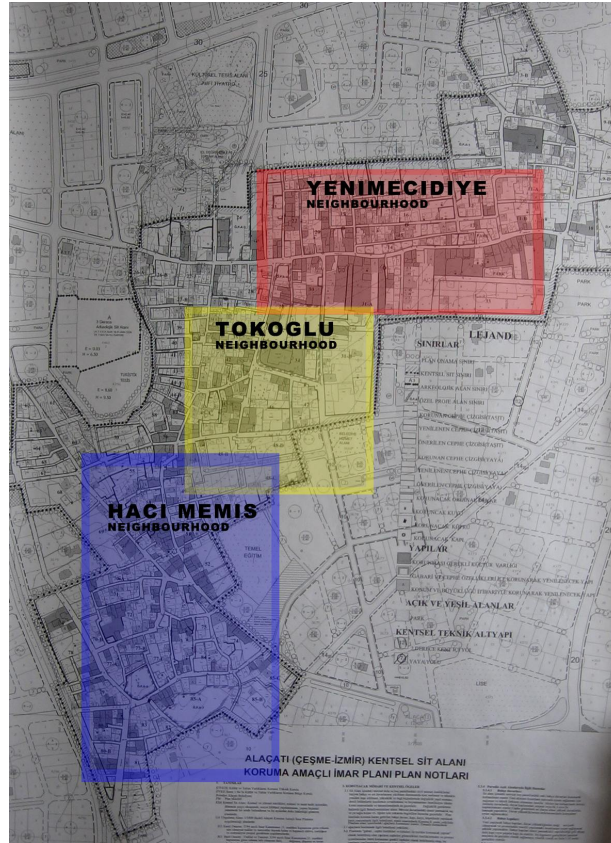
After searching for a new place to settle, they established their society in Sakarya Neighbourhood which was abandoned by the Greek community. The web of the streets, dwellings and stores of this neighbourhood is located in between the town center of Çeşme and Dalyan. The location was admitted suitable since there were wide farms and the settlement was closer to the open fields rather than Dalyan. The choices of the houses were quite random in terms of the re-settling process in Alaçatı which will be introduced later, and families shared the houses according to their proximities towards each other. If one of the family members was married with kids, they had another house which was located at the closest point to the major house of the main family. This attitude was an aim of retaining the family closer

and these group of houses were defining the society by preserving it as a whole. Therefore, from the simple unit to the whole community, families and the dwellings shared the same value in terms of defining the social space. Yet, after re-settling, the cultural capital was already put in use and the social capital was established in the most appropriate manner. In order to survive, the economic capital should be established as soon as possible. Therefore, people looked for sufficient lands to cultivate tobacco and rushed to the fields to breed their animals. However they confronted huge lands of olive trees and endless vineyards. The reaction of the villagers of Princova village towards the alien nature of the abandoned professions accelerated the already started transformation in the physical environment. However, before examining the chain of shifts, it would be beneficial to examine Alaçatı in collaboration with Çeşme.

The new inhabitants of Alaçatı after the migrations of 1912-13 and the population transfer of 1923 were shown in the following table and the three main neighbourhoods of Alaçatı were illustrated on the following map.

**Table 7** The classification of the communities in the neighbourhoods of Alaçatı according to their homelands.

<b>The original homeland of the emigrants (Alaçatı, 1930)</b>	
Yenimecediye Neighbourhood	Bosnia, Kesriye, Romania
Tokoğlu Neighbourhood	Bosnia (majorly), Karaferiye, Karacaova, Karaköy (local)
Hacımemiş Neighbourhood	Albania (majorly), Kavala, Bosnia, Karacaova



**Figure 3** The neighbourhoods of the town. From north to south: Yenimecidiye N., Tokoğlu N. and Hacı Memiş N.

It is observed from the interviews that people from the same societies aimed to gather in groups and settle accordingly. It was an obvious fact that they were all Moslem. However, Bosnian people were speaking a different language than the others and they departed from a different geography very close to the mid-Europe. Likewise, Albanian people were speaking their own language and minding their own professions. It was claimed that the stories of re-settlers were travelling through the peninsula and people were informing each other in order to find better location to settle since they were from the same homelands. For instance Mükerrerem Orbay claimed that several Bosnians were settled in the city center of İzmir, however after they heard that a huge community of their fellows settled in Alaçatı, they all left the dwellings they possessed and moved to this town.

Similar to Çeşme, the re-settling process was quite random in Alaçatı at the beginning which was changed later. Before the convention, the families arrived to the abandoned dwellings and possessed according to their tastes and demands. However, after the convention, with the newsettlers of –especially- Kavala, an inconvenient situation occurred. It was mentioned that even small families were occupying more than one house. These people were the survivors of the continuous wars and they left every possession behind. Therefore, their desperate situation threw them into a greedy position. They tried to possess more than they needed. Yet, after the arrival of the emigrants in 1923, this so-called “balance” shifted. Because this time a committee was in charge of the re-settling process.<sup>140</sup> Additionally, the communities who migrated after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were included in the procedure. Therefore, many families were forced to leave their dwellings to the new public. That situation seemed to be a solution and a right for the settlement of the emigrants of Thessaloniki. However, the inhabitants did not perceive in the same way. Because, the *new* emigrants were holding privileges of carrying their possessions with them which resulted in a quicker recovery in terms of economic capital. Yet, the previous emigrants were compelled to leave their new dwellings which inevitably put a distance between the emigrants of convention and the already settled inhabitants.

Another important view that should be highlighted is the division between the social classes in Alaçatı. Although most of the new-settlers of Çeşme were the emigrants of the convention, the most clear examples were observed in Alaçatı. The reason for underlining the new-settlers is actually the privilege of re-establishing the economic capital quicker than the previously arrived emigrants. For instance, the Çetinkaya House was an example of wealth in that period. It was told that the owner of the house was a rich Orthodox family, that was why the dwelling was luxurious in terms of volumetric organisation and the external features. However, the important point is, after the arrival of the emigrants, that particular house was given to one of the richest families from Kavala, Çetinkaya Family. Behind this scene, there could be several reasons. First of all, the communities of treaty preserved their economic prosperity better than the others. Secondly, either

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<sup>140</sup> The Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Population was established with regard to the Lausanne convention between 1923-1929. See: Mihri Belli, “Türkiye Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi,” 47.

Moslem or Orthodox, the economic capital reflects itself onto the physical environment which was the dwelling this time meaning rich people always move to rich areas and dwellings. That was not the only example of the coincidence of rich families claiming luxurious dwellings. However, that will be the concern of the next part of this study.

#### **4.4.2 Transformation in the Physical Environment**

The combination of four capitals in different levels defines the life style of a person. Yet, these networks as a group would create a multidimensional social space, namely a society. From the beginning, this study claims that the physical environment is the reflection of social space and the parameters are defined by the capital networks. Therefore, every single improvement and failure is expected to be observed in the physical reflection either. Since the wars and migrations are accepted as the ultimate devastations on the capital networks, the direct result of such catastrophes will be the inevitable transformations in the physical environment. In the case of Çeşme and Alaçatı, the ruins of previously established capital structures and the overlaps of the new networks are examined. Following the observation and evaluation in the new social space after the re-construction of the capital networks by the hands of emigrants, it would be easier to determine the parameters of the transformation in the physical environment of these two towns. At this point, there might be counted two primary topics at first glance. First one is the dwellings that were abandoned by the departed Orthodox communities. Second one is the neighbourhoods meaning settlement patterns and the lands which were waiting to be harvested and cultivated.

It would be appropriate to start with one of the major discussions that confused everyone and generally resulted in a common agreement. That particular argument is about the transformation in the fields of olive trees and the huge wine yards of Çeşme and Alaçatı. It was mentioned that Çeşme Peninsula as a whole was famous with its broad vineyards and wine production. When the first emigrants of Balkan wars arrived to the peninsula, Albanians and Bosnians were quite alien to

the new environment and to these new professions. Nevertheless, they were used to stock-raising and continued what they knew the best. Interviewees mentioned that some of the families aimed to continue the production of olive oil even though many were not quite successful except the emigrants of Crete. Cultural capital intervened in that point and influenced the behaviours of the emigrants towards the new environment. As mentioned before, Prinçova village arrived in Dalyan first and they changed location because they looked for broader lands for stock-raising. That is why while looking for a reason towards a particular reaction, first of all, the networks of capitals should be examined and especially the cultural capital has to be realized as the major influence since our perception, thoughts and action ground on that capital.

After the arrival of the treaty emigrants, the established balance shifted. It was claimed that the emigrants of Thessaloniki, and especially the people from villages of Kavala knew only cultivating tobacco, and the rest of the inhabitants learned that profession from these new-settlers. At that point, again under the light of cultural capital and the necessity of balancing the economic capital, the society of Kavala – no matter from what village they were- started to transform this foreign geography into a familiar one by cutting the olive trees –since they did not know how to collect olives or produce olive oil- and removed the vineyards in order to gain free lands to cultivate tobacco. Today, many people are arguing about this fact and sentenced the communities as guilty by performing such nonsense and selfish behaviour. From the perspective of today, the oppositions might seem right, however the capitals enlighten the way through this discussion and the reasons behind that particular reaction, meaning destruction of the invaluable vineyards.

First of all, all the emigrants claimed the same reality that would be crucial to mention at the beginning. Both the new and the old societies were all Moslem who do not drink wine. Yet, there were no area of commercial chance to sell that amount of wine. Besides, until that stage, these people did not even know how to deal with the vineyards. They underlined that “tobacco” meant money, and worth enough to survive. Because it is important to realize that, the main concern is to survive since everybody experienced the ripped of process and run from a catastrophe. The economic capital is the urgent necessity to be balanced as fast as possible, and the only profession they knew was cultivating tobacco. They

did not even have chance to consider whether destroying the vineyards or cutting down the olive trees were the worst choice that could ever be imagined. The only concern was providing enough land for tobacco to grow which would bring money in return. As broader perspective, the accumulated knowledge that was carried inside their head was forcing them to do the best action to preserve their lives. They simply perceived the new environment, apart from all the fear and trauma, they generated certain ideas and performed an action which was found “wrong” today, but probably it was “right and the best” for that day. Yet, countless arguments would be proposed to prove that there should be another choice. However, the reason is as simple as the result. Those people had no other choices, not even a slightest alternative. The trauma of the migration, the collapse of the previous network of capitals and the urgency of survival with the only possession – the cultural capital- influenced them to react in that way. At this point, it is crucial to underline that without Pierre Bourdieu’s extended capital and the dense relation between the social space and the physical environment, this kind of an alternative way of thinking could not be proposed and this re-evaluation of the results of population transfer on the social and the physical environment could not be accomplished.

The transformation in the abandoned dwellings is the second important reflection of the social space. In both Çeşme and Alaçatı, the emigrants mentioned that they confronted two storey stone buildings in good condition. Yet, they underlined that the ground floors were either store for commercial activities or the spaces that were used for wine or olive oil production. The emigrants did not have the luxury to demolish and build the dwellings regarding their taste. The significance of the study over the dwellings starts from this point. These people had the opportunity to transform the fields and farms according to their needs and abilities. However, these dwellings were in good condition and the most economic way to establish their new life was accepting the house as it was. Nevertheless, accepting the house did not mean to preserve it as it was either. The emigrants of all the communities mentioned the first different feature that surprised them while aiming to explore the dwelling and deciding on what to change in accordance to their particular needs. That specific feature was the “bathroom” which could not be found in anywhere all around the peninsula including Karaburun and Mordoğan.



Several interviewees mentioned that the Orthodox public preferred to go public baths instead of possessing their own private space. Since all the emigrants claimed to have a bathroom (a simple space to have a bath) in their previous houses meaning Bosnia, Albania and even Crete, the reason appears to be the religion. It seems that Moslem public feel the necessity of a space to have a shower frequently. This newly added space was generally located under the wooden staircase. The emigrants mentioned that these staircases were defining sufficient space underneath and they added a door and a wall in order to define a private space to have a bath when necessary.

Second different feature to be added or transformed in the dwellings was the function of the ground floor. These spaces were separated for commercial uses or as stores for keeping the equipments and rarely the animals. Yet, most of the dwellings had a space for producing olive oil or wine. However the Moslem communities transformed the existing function into their own use which might be barns for stock-raisers or storage spaces for the farmers. The transformation in the use of the dwellings and the stores influenced the definition of the existing neighbourhoods accordingly. For instance, in Alaçatı, northern hills of Yeni Mecidiye Neighbourhood were all vineyards, and the commercial zone was located on especially the Kemal Paşa Street and Tokoğlu neighbourhood. However, after the removal of the Orthodox public, the new society of Moslems transformed the settlement socially and as result physically. The church is the best example to be given which was transformed into a mosque (1930) and a minaret (1952) added afterwards. Moreover, most of the commercial stores were closed and transformed into storage spaces. Therefore, it would be not wrong to mention that once in the past there was a dynamic structure including people shopping all around, gathering in the square of the church and may be performing religious rituals. However, after the establishment of the new structure, that particular "life style" of the neighbourhoods was shifted.

It should be understood that, the life style of a person or a whole society could be determined through examining the relations and combinations of the capital networks of that particular society. In the case of Çeşme and Alaçatı, the Orthodox public left ruins of old capital structures behind, including the Moslem inhabitants

who have been living in this region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The new arrivals brought their own capital structures, or better to say, what was left from the ripped of process. Their most valuable possession, the cultural capital, defined their attitudes and reactions towards the new world they confronted. Therefore, overlapping the new capital structures on the old ones, the re-construction of the final capital networks established. This new entity both defined the multi-dimensional social space of the all Moslem communities no matter where they came from, and transformed the physical environment of the peninsula accordingly.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The thesis articulated an alternative way of understanding and perception towards the period of migrations that took place in Turkey at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The major concern of this study is not considered as an interrogation of the reasons behind the “compulsory exchange of minorities” but defined as an evaluation of the process and the results of this experience which covers diverse parts of Greece and Asia Minor. Although the geography of the population flows could be admitted as the entire Ottoman domains, the thesis suggests a case study of a peninsula in order to make observations about a significant group of emigrants, their life styles, the societies they defined and the physical environment they transformed. Regarding the variety of discussions on the advantages and the disadvantages of this influential experience, the thesis suggests Pierre Bourdieu’s cultural capital and the multi-dimensional social space as the theoretical frame of a new perspective towards the understanding of population exchange and the transformation of the physical, social and cultural environment. Additionally, the thesis spatializes the capital networks and relates them to the definition of the social space and the transformation of the physical environment in the case of Çeşme and Alaçatı.

Regarding above mentioned suggestions and aims, the thesis first examined and spatialized Pierre Bourdieu’s four capitals by especially putting the terms habitus and field in focus. Secondly, the thesis generated a sequent exercise aiming to depict the ultimate experience of collusion in the structure of each of the previously established capitals both individually and as a whole. Although countless arguments and history studies have been completed in the last decade of the century, the thesis pursued to define an alternative theoretical frame to articulate a new perspective towards the population transfer as an event and its results on the social space and the physical environment. In order to clarify the parameters, the

thesis examined the existing sources which claim the population transfer as a research topic.

Subsequently, the reproduction of the required knowledge on the migrations between 1900-1930 was achieved by examining the works of both Greek and Turkish literature beginning from the 1930s until today in order to clarify the perception and the representation of the population transfer. As a further step, a detailed survey on population transfer through the available written sources that concern especially Çeşme and Alaçatı was presented. This survey has been pursued to discover the sources that directly concerns these two significant towns. However, in order to understand the consequences of the population transfer, the thesis suggested to turn towards the people themselves who experienced the migration in the first place. Therefore, another survey was established by recording orally transmitted informations in collaboration with a significant group of emigrants living in Çeşme and Alaçatı.

Thereafter, the thesis related Bourdieu's spatialized capitals as a valuable perspective and appropriate tool in order to criticise the results of the migrations on the example region. Therefore, the study initially aimed to re-construct the abandoned capital networks of the Orthodox society in Çeşme and Alaçatı before their departure. After the rupture era between 1915-1925, the collapse of this network and the new capitals were overlapped after the arrival of Moslem emigrants. The evaluation of the re-constructed capital networks, including the ruins of the old and the emergence of the new, the multi-dimensional social space and the physical environment after the migration periods became visible. Regarding the whole, discovering the perceptions, thoughts and reactions of emigrants towards any kind of situation was the result of the alternative theoretical frame that was defined by the thesis with Bourdieu's help.

## 5.1 Re-evaluating the Results of the Population Exchange

These lands experienced an important and influential event at the beginning of the 20th century. Today, it is claimed that nearly half of the population in Turkey are actually the members of the following generations of emigrants who were compelled to migrate from former Ottoman domains to Asia Minor in the past 200 years.<sup>141</sup> According to Paul McCarthy, who is a demographer and professor of history, almost 5 million Moslem people departed from their home-lands and re-settled in Anatolia between 1821-1922.<sup>142</sup> It should be underlined that changing homelands and abandoning every possession behind forever are not such experiences that people can recover easily. It might be accepted that the awareness of this underlined significance of migrations and their effects over the entire lives of people is developed in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Turkey. Yet, beginning from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and boosting between the years 1900-1930, these population flows were appeared as serious and inevitable results of the continuous wars. Besides, the Lausanne Convention of 1923 and the new concept of “compulsory exchange of minorities” was the first of its kind as a forced migration which was proposed as an *official solution*. The unrest and fear triggered by the wars consolidated by the trauma of “leaving forever”. When the compulsory transfer applied, the situation turned into a catastrophe. This experience cannot be expected to be overcome in a few years. However, as Kemal Arı mentioned, there is a limited number of historians, sociologists and critic who focused on population transfer as a research topic in Turkey. Moreover, the autobiographies and memoirs are rare to be found from the first generation emigrants unlike the Greek samples.

Today, migration as an event is a vivid topic around the world. Concerning Turkey, especially after 1990's, many people have realized that at least one of the grandparents of their family was born out of Asia Minor. Yet, digging through the untold stories and forgotten memories are now exciting and enthusiastic interests

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<sup>141</sup> İskender Özsoy, “İki Vatan Yorgunları,” 11 (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2003).

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

for everyone. Each year, a new research is completed, a new book is published or a new play performed telling stories about different emigrants from Balkans or Aegean islands and the unfortunate memories are unfolded and presented to the readers. Regarding to whole, the thesis maintained a source of reference on Alaçatı and Çeşme with the extensive research including literature survey, oral history studies and proposing a new perspective for everyone towards not only the understanding of “what was” but also “what is”.

To conclude, the theoretical framework of this thesis is a valuable source to raise awareness and broaden our perspective. Whatever the reasons behind the concept of mutual exchange of minorities, that experience was confronted by more than 2 million people and became a part of our history. The variety in perspectives towards the process and the results is a current issue. However, the purpose of drawing attention to the new understanding was underlined and proposed as the most valuable finding of this thesis for all of us. With regard to the tension between the reason and the result, everyone should be aware of “what happened 80 years ago, and what would ever happen if the same incident is experienced today.”

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## APPENDIX A

### GREECE AND TURKEY

#### **Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations and Protocol, signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923<sup>143</sup>**

French official text communicated by the Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Berne.  
The registration of this convention took place January 27, 1925.

The GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY and the  
GREEK GOVERNMENT have agreed upon the following provisions:

#### Article 1.

As from the 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of 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 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 the Greeks who were already established before the October 30, 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.

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<sup>143</sup> Pekin, "Ege'yi Geçerken," 387-393.

All Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 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 October 18, 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 I.

The expression "emigrant" in the present Convention includes all physical and juridical persons who have been obliged to emigrate or have emigrated since the October 18, 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 installment 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 and Moslems in Greece shall not be prejudiced in consequence of the exchange to be carried out under the present Convention.

Article 6.

No obstacle may be placed for any reason whatever in the way of the departure of a person belonging to the populations which are to be exchanged. In the event of an emigrant having received a definite sentence of imprisonment, or a sentence which is not yet definite, or of his being the object of criminal proceedings, he shall be handed over by the authorities by the prosecuting country to the authorities of the country whither he is going, in order that he may serve his sentence or be brought to trial.

#### Article 7.

The emigrants will lose the nationality of the country which they are leaving, and will acquire the nationality of the country of their destination, upon their arrival in the territory of the latter country.

Such emigrants as have already left one or other of the two countries and have not yet acquired their new nationality shall acquire that nationality on the date of the signature of the present Convention.

#### Article 8.

Emigrants shall be free to take away with them or to arrange for the transport of their movable property of the kind, without being liable on this account to the payment of any export or import duty or any other tax.

Similarly, the members of each community (including the personnel of mosques, tekkes, medresses, churches, convents, schools, hospitals, societies, associations and juridical persons or other foundations of any nature whatever) which is to leave the territory of one of the contracting States under the present Convention, shall have the right to take away freely or to arrange for the transport of the movable property belonging to their communities.

The fullest facilities for transport shall be provided by the authorities of the two countries, upon the recommendation of the Mixed commission provided for in Article II.

Emigrants who may not be able to take away all or part of their movable property can leave it behind. In that event the local authorities shall be required to draw up, the emigrant in question being given an opportunity to be heard, an inventory and valuation of the property left by him. Procès-verbaux containing the inventory and the valuation of the movable property left by the emigrant shall be drawn up into four copies, one of which shall be kept by the local authorities, the second transmitted to the Mixed Commission provided for in Article II to serve as the basis for the liquidation provided for by Article 9, the third shall be handed to the Government of the country to which the emigrant is going, and the fourth to the emigrant himself.



#### Article 9.

Immovable property, whether rural or urban, belonging to emigrants, or to the communities mentioned in Article 8, and the movable property left by these emigrants or communities, shall be liquidated in accordance with the following provisions by the Mixed Commission provided for in Article II.

Property situated in the districts to which the compulsory exchange applies and belongings to religious or benevolent institutions of the communities established in a district to which the exchange does not apply, shall likewise be liquidated under the same conditions.

#### Article 10.

The movable and immovable property belonging to persons who have already left the territory of the High Contracting Parties and are considered, in accordance with Article 3 of the present Convention, as being included in the exchange of populations, shall be liquidated in accordance with Article 9. This liquidation shall take place independently of all measures of any kind whatever which, under the laws passed and the regulations of any kind made in Greece and in Turkey since the October 18, 1912, or in any other way, have resulted in any restriction on rights of ownership over the property in question, such as confiscation, forced sale, etc. In the event of the property mentioned in this article or in Article 9 having been submitted to a measure of this kind, its value shall be fixed by the Commission provided for in Article II, as if the measures in question had not been applied.

As regards expropriated property, the Mixed Commission shall undertake a fresh valuation of such property, if it has been expropriated since the October 18, 1912, having previously belonged to persons liable to the exchange of populations in the two countries, and is situated in territories to which the exchange applies. The Commission shall fix for the benefit of the owners such compensation as will repair the injury which the commission has ascertained. The total amount of this compensation shall be carried to the credit of these owners and to the debit of the Government on whose territory the expropriated property is situated.

In the event of any persons mentioned in Articles 8 and 9 not having received the income from property, the enjoyment of which they have lost in one way or another, the restoration of the amount of this income shall be guaranteed to them on the basis of the average yield

of the property before the war, and in accordance with the methods to be laid down by the Mixed Commission.

The Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11, when proceeding to the liquidation of Wakf property in Greece and of the rights and interests connected therewith, and to the liquidation of similar foundations belonging to Greeks in Turkey, shall follow the principles laid down in previous Treaties with a view to fully safeguarding the rights and interests of these foundations and of the individuals interested in them.

The Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11 shall be entrusted with the duty of executing these provisions.

#### Article 11

Within one month from the coming into force of the present Convention a Mixed Commission shall be set up in Turkey or in Greece consisting of four members representing each of the High Contracting Parties, and of three members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations from among nationals of Powers which did not take part in the war of 1914-1918. The Presidency of the Commission shall be exercised in turn by each of these three neutral members.

The Mixed Commission shall have the right to set up, in such places as it may appear to them necessary, Sub-Commissions working under its order. Each such Sub-Commission shall consist of a Turkish member, a Greek member and a neutral President to be designated by the Mixed Commission. The Mixed Commission shall decide the powers to be delegated to the Sub-Commission.

#### Article 12

The duties of the Mixed Commission shall be to supervise and facilitate the emigration provided for in the present Convention and to carry out the liquidation of the movable and immovable property for which provision is made in Articles 9 and 10.

The Commission shall settle the methods to be followed as regards the emigration and liquidation mentioned above.

In a general way the Mixed Commission shall have full power to take the measures necessitated by the execution of the present Convention and to decide all questions to which this Convention may give rise.

The decisions of the Mixed Commission shall be taken by a majority.

All disputes relating to property, rights and interests which are to be liquidated shall be settled definitely by the Commission.

#### Article 13

The Mixed Commission shall have full power to cause the valuation to be made of the movable and immovable property which is to be liquidated under the present Convention, the interested parties being given a hearing or being duly summoned so that they may be heard.

The basis for the valuation of the property to be liquidated shall be the value of the property in gold currency.

#### Article 14

The Commission shall transmit to the owner concerned a declaration stating the sum due to him in respect of the property of which he has been dispossessed, and such property shall remain at the disposal of the Government on whose territory it is situated.

The total sums due on the basis of these declarations shall constitute a Government debt from the country where the liquidation takes place to the Government of the country to which the emigrant belongs. The emigrant shall in principle be entitled to receive in the country to which he emigrates, as representing the sums due to him, property of a value equal to and of the same nature as that which he has left behind.

Once every six months an account shall be drawn up of the sums due by the respective Governments on the basis of the declarations as above.

When the liquidation is completed, if the sums of money due to both sides correspond, the accounts relating thereto shall be balanced. If a sum remains due from one of the Governments to the other Government after a balance has been struck, the debit balance shall be paid in cash. If the debtor Government requests a postponement in making this payment, the Commission may grant such postponement, provided that the sum due be paid in three annuities at most. The Commission shall fix the interest to be paid during the period of postponement.

If the sum to be paid is fairly large and requires longer postponement, the debtor Government shall pay in cash a sum to be fixed by the Mixed Commission, up to a maximum of 20 per cent. of the total due, and shall issue in respect of the balance loan certificates bearing such interest as the Mixed Commission may fix, to be paid off within 20 years at most. The debtor Government shall assign to the service of these loans pledges approved by the Commission, which shall be administered and of which the revenues shall be encashed by the International Commission in Greece and by the Council of the Public Debt at Constantinople. In the absence of agreement in regard to these pledges, they shall be selected by the Council of the League of Nations.

#### Article 15

With a view to facilitating emigration, funds shall be advanced to the Mixed Commission by the States concerned, under conditions laid down by the said Commission.

#### Article 16

The Turkish and Greek Governments shall come to an agreement with the Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11 in regard to all questions concerning the notification to be made to persons who are to leave the territory of Turkey and Greece under the present Convention, and concerning the ports to which these persons are to go for the purpose of being transported to the country of their destination.

The High Contracting Parties undertake mutually that no pressure direct or indirect shall be exercised on the populations which are to be exchanged with a view to making them leave their homes or abandon their property before the date fixed for their departure. They likewise undertake to impose on the emigrants who have left or who are to leave the country no special taxes or dues. No obstacle shall be placed in the way of the inhabitants of the districts excepted from the exchange under Article 2 exercising freely their right to remain in or return to those districts and to enjoy to the full their liberties and rights of property in Turkey and in Greece. This provision shall not be invoked as a motive for preventing the free alienation of property belonging to inhabitants of the said regions which are excepted from the exchange, or the voluntary departure of those among these inhabitants who wish to leave Turkey or Greece.

Article 17

The expenses entailed by the maintenance and working of the Mixed Commission and of the organizations dependent on it shall be borne by the Governments concerned in proportions to be fixed by the Commission.

Article 18

The High Contracting Parties undertake to introduce in their respective laws such modifications as may be necessary with a view to ensuring the execution of the present Convention.

Article 19

The present Convention shall have the same force and effect as between the High Contracting Parties as if it formed part of the Treaty of Peace to be concluded with Turkey. It shall come into force immediately after the ratification of the said Treaty by the two High Contracting Parties.

In faith whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, whose respective full Powers have been found in good and due form, have signed the present Convention.

Done at Lausanne, the 30th January, 1923, in three copies, one of which shall be transmitted to the Greek Government, one to the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and the third shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, which shall deliver certified copies to the other Powers signatory of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

(L.S.) E. K. VENISELOS

(L.S.) D. CACLAMANOS

(L.S.) ISMET

(L.S.) DR. RIZA NOUR

(L.S.) HASSAN

## PROTOCOL

The undersigned Turkish Plenipotentiaries, duly authorized to that effect, declare that, without waiting for the coming into force of the Convention with Greece of even date, relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations, and by way of exception to Article 1 of that Convention, the Turkish Government, on the signature of the Treaty of Peace, will release the able-bodied men referred to in Article 4 of the said Convention, and will provide for their departure.

Done at Lausanne, the 30th January, 1923.

ISMET

DR. RIZA NOUR

HASSAN

**YUNAN VE TÜRK HALKLARININ  
MÜBADELESİNE İLİŞKİN SÖZLEŞME VE PROTOKOL  
30 OCAK 1923 TARİHİNDE İMZALANMIŞTIR<sup>144</sup>**

TÜRKİYE BÜYÜK MİLLET MECLİSİ HÜKÜMETİ İLE YUNAN HÜKÜMETİ, aşağıdaki hükümler üzerinde anlaşmaya varmışlardır:

**MADDE: 1**

Türk topraklarında yerleşmiş Rum Ortodoks dininden Türk uyruklarıyla, Yunan topraklarında yerleşmiş Müslüman dininden Yunan uyruklarının, 1 Mayıs 1923 tarihinden başlayarak, zorunlu mübadelesine (exchange obligatoire) girişilecektir.

Bu kimselerden hiç biri, Türk Hükümetinin izni olmadıkça Türkiye'ye, ya da Yunan Hükümetinin izni olmadıkça Yunanistan'a dönerek orada yerleşemeyecektir.

**MADDE: 2**

Birinci Maddede öngörülen mübadele:

- a)** İstanbul'da oturan Rumları (İstanbul'un Rum ahalisini);
- b)** Batı Trakya'da oturan Müslümanları (Batı Trakya'nın Müslüman ahalisini) kapsamayacaktır.

1912 Kanunuyla sınırlandırıldığı biçimde, İstanbul Şehremaneti daireleri içinde, 30 Ekim 1918 tarihinden önce yerleşmiş (etablis) bulunan bütün Rumlar, İstanbul'da oturan Rumlar (İstanbul'un Rum ahalisi) sayılacaklardır.

1913 tarihli Bükreş Andlaşmasının koymuş olduğu sınır çizgisinin doğusundaki bölgeye yerleşmiş (etablis) bulunan Müslümanlar, Batı Trakya'da oturan Müslümanlar (Batı Trakya'nın Müslüman ahalisi) sayılacaklardır.

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<sup>144</sup> Pekin, "Ege'yi Geçerken," 395-400.

MADDE: 3

Karşılıklı olarak, Rum ve Türk nüfusu mübadele edilecek olan toprakları 18 Ekim 1912 tarihinden sonra bırakıp gitmiş olan Rumlar ve Müslümanlar, 1 nci Maddede öngörülen mübadelenin kapsamına girer sayılacaklardır.

İşbu Sözleşmede kullanılan "göçmenler" (emigrants) terimi, 18 Ekim 1912 tarihinden sonra göç etmesi gereken ya da göç etmiş bulunan bütün gerçek ya da tüzel kişileri kapsamaktadır.

MADDE: 4

Aileleri Türk ülkesini daha önce bırakıp gitmiş olup da kendileri Türkiye'de alıkonulmuş bulunan Rum halkından vücutça sağlam erkekler, işbu Sözleşme uyarınca, Yunanistan'a gönderilecek ilk kabileyi meydana getireceklerdir.

MADDE: 5

İşbu Sözleşmenin 9 ncu ve 10 ncu Maddelerindeki çekinceler (ihtirazi kayıtlar) saklı kalmak üzere, işbu Sözleşme uyarınca yapılacak mübadele yüzünden, Türkiye'deki Rumların ya da Yunanistan'daki Müslümanların mülkiyet haklarına ve alacaklarına hiç bir zarar verdirilmeyecektir.

MADDE: 6

Mübadele edilecek halklara mensup bir kimsenin gidişine, herhangi bir nedenle olursa olsun, hiç bir engel çıkartılmayacaktır. Bir göçmenin, kesinleşmiş bir hapis cezası bulunduğu, ya da henüz kesinleşmemiş bir cezaya çarptırıldığı, ya da kendisine karşı ceza soruşturması yürütüldüğü du rumlarda, söz konusu olan göçmen, cezasını çekmek ya da yargılanmak üzere, kendisine karşı kovuşturmada bulunan ülkenin makamlarınca, gideceği ülkenin makamlarına teslim edilecektir.

MADDE: 7

Göçmenler, bırakıp gidecekleri ülkenin uyrukluğunu yitirecekler ve varış ülkesinin topraklarına ayak bastıkları anda, bu ülkenin uyrukluğunu edinmiş sayılacaklardır.

İki ülkeden birini ya da ötekini daha önce bırakıp gitmiş olan ve henüz yeni bir uyrukluğun edinmemiş bulunan göçmenler, bu yeni uyrukluğunu, işbu Sözleşmenin imzası tarihinde edinmiş olacaklardır.



#### MADDE: 8

Göçmenler, her çeşit taşınır mallarını yanlarında götürmekte ya da bunları taşıtırmakta serbest olacaklar ve bu yüzden kendilerinden çıkış ya da giriş vergisi ya da başka herhangi bir vergi alınmayacaktır.

Bunun gibi, işbu Sözleşme uyarınca, bağıtlı Devletlerden birinin ülkesini bırakıp gidecek her topluluk (cemaat, communaute) üyesinin (camiler, tekkeler, medreseler, kiliseler, manastırlar, okullar, hastahaneler, ortaklıklar, dernekler, tüzel kişiler ya da ne çeşit olursa olsun başka tesisler personelini de kapsamak üzere) kendi topluluklarına ait taşınır malları yanlarında serbestçe götürmek ya da taşıtırmak hakkı olacaktır.

11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyonların tavsiyesi üzerine, her iki ülke makamlarınca, taşıma işlerinde en geniş kolaylıklar sağlanacaktır.

Taşınır mallarının tümünü ya da bir kısmını yanlarında götüremeyecek olan göçmenler, bunları, oldukları yerde bırakabileceklerdir. Bu durumda, yerel makamlar, bırakılan taşınır malların dökümünü (envanterini) ve değerini, ilgili göçmenin gözleri önünde saptamakla görevli olacaklardır. Göçmenin bırakacağı taşınır malların çizelgesini ve değerini gösteren tutanaklar dört nüsha olarak düzenlenecek ve bunlardan biri yerel makamlarca saklanacak, ikincisi, 9 ncu Maddede öngörülen tasfiye işlemine esas alınmak üzere 11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyona sunulacak, üçüncüsü göç edilecek ülkenin Hükümetine, dördüncüsü de göçmene verilecektir.

#### MADDE: 9

8 nci Maddede öngörülen göçmenlerin ve toplulukların kent ve köylerdeki taşınmaz mallarıyla, bu göçmenlerin ya da toplulukların bırakmış oldukları taşınır mallar, 11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyonca, aşağıdaki hükümler uyarınca tasfiye edilecektir.

Zorunlu mübadele uygulanacak bölgelerde bulunan ve mübadele uygulanmıyacak bir bölgede yerleşmiş toplulukların din ya da hayır kurumlarına ait olan mallar da, aynı şartlar içinde, tasfiye edilecektir.

#### MADDE: 10

Bağıtlı Tarafların ülkelerini daha önceden bırakıp gitmiş olan ve işbu Sözleşmenin 3 ncu Maddesi uyarınca nüfus (halkların) mübadelesinin kapsamına girer sayılan kimselere ait taşınır ya da taşınmaz malların tasfiyesi, 9 ncu Madde uyarınca, Türkiye ile Yunanistan'da,

18 Ekim 1912 tarihinden bu yana yürürlüğe konmuş kanunlarla her çeşit yönetmeliklere (tüzüklere) göre ya da başka herhangi bir zorlım (müsadere), zorunlu satış, v.b. gibi, işbu mallar üzerindeki mülkiyet hakkını herhangi bir yoldan kısıtlayıcı nitelikte hiç bir tedbire konu olmaksızın yürütülecektir. İşbu Madde ile 9 ncu Maddede öngörülen mallar, bu çeşit bir tedbire konu olurlarsa, bu mallara, 11 nci Maddede öngörülen Komisyonca, bu tedbirler uygulanmamışçasına, değer biçilecektir.

Kamulaştırılmış mallara gelince, Karma Komisyon, her iki ülkede mübadele kapsamına girecek kimselere ait olup da, mübadele uygulanacak topraklarda bulunan ve 18 Ekim 1912 den sonra kamulaştırılmış olan bu mallara yeniden değer biçecektir. Komisyon, bir zarar verilmiş olduğunu görürse, bu zararı mal sahiplerinin yararına onaracak bir zarar-giderim (tazminat) saptayacaktır. Bu zarar-giderimin tutarı, mal sahiplerinin alacak hesabına ve kamulaştıran ülke Hükümetinin borç hesabına geçirilecektir.

8 nci ve 9 ncu Maddelerde göz önünde tutulan kimseler, şu ya da bu yoldan, yararlanmadan yoksun bırakıldıkları malların gelirlerini elde edememişlerse, bu gelirlerin tutarlarının kendilerine geri verilmesi, savaş öncesi ortalama gelir esas alınarak ve Karma Komisyonca saptanacak yol ve yöntemler uyarınca, sağlanacaktır.

Yunanistan'daki Vakıf mallarının ve bunlardan doğan hak ve çıkarların, ve Türkiye'de Rumlara ait benzer tesislerin tasfiyesine girişirken, 11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyon, bu tesislerin ve bunlarla ilgili bulunan özel kişilerin haklarını ve çıkarlarını tam olarak korumak amacıyla, daha önce yapılmış Andlaşmalarda kabul edilmiş ilkelerden esinlenecektir.

11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyon, bu hükümleri uygulamakla görevli olacaktır.

#### MADDE: 11

İşbu Sözleşmenin yürürlüğe girişinden başlayarak bir aylık bir süre içinde, Bağıtılı Yüksek Tarafların her birinden dört ve 1914-1918 savaşına katılmamış Devletlerin uyrukları arasından Milletler Cemiyeti Meclisince seçilecek üç üyeden oluşan ve Türkiye'de ya da Yunanistan'da toplanacak olan bir Karma Komisyon kurulacaktır. Komisyonun Başkanlığını, tarafsız üç üyeden her biri sıra ile yapacaktır.

Karma Komisyon, gerekli göreceği yerlerde, bir Türk ve bir Yunanlı üye ile, Karma Komisyonca atanacak tarafsız bir Başkandan oluşacak ve Karma Komisyona bağlı olarak çalışacak Alt-komisyonlar kurmaya yetkili olacaktır. Karma Komisyon, alt-komisyonlara verilecek yetkileri kendisi saptayacaktır.

#### MADDE: 12

Karma Komisyon, işbu Sözleşmede öngörülen göçü denetlemek ve kolaylaştırmak ve 8 nci Madde ile 9 ncu Maddede öngörülen taşınır ve taşınmaz malların tasfiyesine girişmekle yetkili olacaktır.

Karma Komisyon, göçün ve yukarıda belirtilen tasfiyenin yol ve yöntemlerini saptayacaktır.

Karma Komisyon, genel olarak, işbu Sözleşmenin uygulanmasında gerekli göreceği tedbirleri almağa ve bu Sözleşme yüzünden ortaya çıkabilecek bütün sorunları karara bağlamaya tam yetkili olacaktır.

Karma Komisyon kararları oy çokluğu ile alınacaktır.

Tasfiye edilecek mallara, haklara ve çıkarlara ilişkin bütün itirazlar Karma Komisyonca kesin olarak karara bağlanacaktır.

#### MADDE: 13

Karma Komisyon, ilgilileri dinledikten ya da dinlemeğe gereği gibi çağırdıktan sonra, işbu Sözleşme uyarınca tasfiye edilmesi gereken taşınmaz mallara değer biçme işlemine girişmek için tam yetkili olacaktır.

Tasfiye olunacak mallara değer biçilmesinde, bunların altın para ile olan değeri esas alınacaktır.

#### MADDE: 14

Komisyon, ilgili mal sahibine, elinden alınan ve bulunduğu ülkenin Hükümeti emrinde kalacak olan mallardan dolayı borçlu kalınan para tutarını belirten bir bildiri belgesi verecektir.

Bu bildiri belgeleri esas alınarak borçlu kalınan para tutarları, tasfiyenin yapılacağı ülke Hükümetinin, göçmenin mensup olduğu Hükümete karşı bir borcu olacaktır. Göçmenin, ilke olarak, göç ettiği ülkede, kendisine borçlu bulunulan paraların karşılığında, ayrıldığı ülkede bırakmış olacağı mallarla aynı değerde ve aynı nitelikte, mal alması gerekecektir.

Yukarıda belirtilen biçimde bildiri belgeleri esası üzerinden, her iki Hükümetçe ödenmesi gereken paraların hesabı, her altı ayda bir çıkartılacaktır.

Tasfiye işlemleri tamamlandığı zaman, karşılıklı borçlar birbirine eşit çıkarsa, bununla ilgili hesaplar denkleştirilmiş (takas ve mahsup edilmiş) olacaktır. Bu denkleştirme işleminden sonra, Hükümetlerden biri ötekine borçlu kalırsa, bu borç peşin para ile ödenecektir. Borçlu Hükümet, bu ödeme işine süre tanınmasını isterse, yıllık en çok üç taksitle ödenmek şartıyla, Komisyon bu süreyi ona tanıyabilecektir. Komisyon, bu süre içinde ödenmesi gereken faizleri de saptayacaktır.

Ödenecek para oldukça önemli ise ve daha uzun sürelerin tanınmasını gerektirmekteyse, borçlu Hükümet, borçlu olduğu paranın yüzde yirmisine kadar Karma Komisyonca saptanacak bir parayı peşin olarak ödeyecek, geri kalan borç için de, Karma Komisyonca saptanacak oranda faizli ve yirmi yıllık bir süre içinde anaparaya çevrilebilecek (amortise edilebilecek) borçlanma bonoları (istikraz tahvilleri) çıkarabilecektir. Borçlu Hükümet, bu borç için, Komisyonca kabul edilecek sağlanmalar (rehinler) gösterecektir. Bu sağlanmalar, Yunanistan'da Uluslararası Komisyonca, İstanbul'da Devlet Borcu (Düyun-u Umumiye) Meclisince yönetilecek ve gelirleri toplanacaktır. Bu sağlanmalar konusunda anlaşmaya varılamazsa, Milletler Cemiyeti Meclisi bunları saptamaya yetkili olacaktır.

#### MADDE: 15

Göçü kolaylaştırmak amacıyla, ilgili Devletlerce, Karma Komisyonun saptayacağı şartlarla, Komisyona öndelik (avans) olarak ödemede bulunacaktır.

#### MADDE: 16

Türkiye ve Yunanistan Hükümetleri, işbu Sözleşme uyarınca, ülkelerini bırakıp gidecek olan kimselere yapılacak bildirimlerle, bu kimselerin varış ülkesine taşınmak üzere yönelecekleri limanlara ilişkin bütün sorunlar üzerinde, 11 nci Maddede öngörülen Karma Komisyonla anlaşmaya varacaklardır.

Bağıtlı Taraflar, mübadele edilecek halklara, gidişleri için konmuş tarihten önce yurtlarını bırakıp gitmelerine yol açacak, ya da mallarını ellerinden çıkartmak üzere doğrudan ya da dolaylı hiç bir baskıda bulunmamayı karşılıklı olarak yükümlenirler. Bağıtlı Taraflar, ülkeyi bırakıp giden ya da gidecek olan göçmenleri hiç bir vergiye ya da olağanüstü bir resme bağlamamayı yükümlenirler. 2 nci Madde uyarınca mübadele dışı bırakılacak bölgelerde oturanların, bu bölgelerde kalmak ya da oralara yeniden dönmek haklarıyla, Türkiye ve Yunanistan'da özgürlüklerinden ve mülkiyet haklarından serbestçe yararlanmalarına hiç bir engel çıkartılmayacaktır. Bu hüküm, mübadele dışı bırakılacak söz konusu bölgelerde oturanların mallarını başkalarına geçirmelerine ve bu kimselerden Türkiye'yi ya da

Yunanistan'ı kendi istekleriyle bırakıp gitmek isteyenlerin gidişine engel olma vesilesi olarak öne sürülmeyecektir.

MADDE: 17

Karma Komisyonun çalışmaları ve işlerinin yürütülmesi için gerekli giderler, Komisyonca saptanacak oranlar içinde, ilgili Hükümetlerce karşılanacaktır.

MADDE: 18

Bağıtlı Taraflar, işbu Sözleşmenin uygulanmasını sağlamak üzere, yasalarında gerekli değişiklikleri yapmayı yükümlenirler.

MADDE: 19

İşbu Sözleşme, Bağıtlı Yüksek Taraflar bakımından, Türkiye ile yapılacak Barış Andlaşmasının bir paçasıymış gibi, aynı güç ve aynı değerde sayılacaktır. İşbu Sözleşme, söz konusu Andlaşmanın Bağıtlı Yüksek Taraflardan her ikisince onaylanmasından hemen sonra yürürlüğe girecektir.

BU HÜKÜMLERE OLAN İNANÇLA, yetki belgelerinin, karşılıklı olarak, usulüne uygun olduğu görülmüş ve aşağıda imzaları bulunan Tamyetkili Temsilciler, işbu Sözleşmeyi imzalamışlardır. LAUSANNE'da, otuz Ocak bin dokuz yüz yirmi üç tarihinde, üç nüsha olarak düzenlenmiştir. Bu nüshalardan biri Yunanistan Hükümetine, biri Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümetine verilecek, üçüncüsü de doğruluğu onaylanmış birer örneğini, Türkiye ile yapılmış Barış Andlaşmasını imzalayan Devletlere yollayacak olan, Fransa Cumhuriyeti Hükümetine, bu Devletin arşivlerine konulmak üzere, teslim edilecektir.

(L.S.)E.K. VENİSELOS. (L.S.)M. İSMET

(L.S.)D. CACLAMANOS. (L.S.)Dr. RIZA NUR.

(L.S.)HASAN.

## APPENDIX B

### THE INTERVIEWEES

Although the number of the interviewees are 25, some of the individuals are the members of the same family, the orally recorded datas of 7 people were used to reinforce the whole network of informations.

<b>INTERVIEWEE # 1</b> .....	Ayşe Albayrak
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 2</b> .....	Hasan Arıcı
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 3</b> .....	Selime Arıcı
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 4</b> .....	Hüseyin Babacan
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 5</b> .....	Osman Çiftçi
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 6</b> .....	Rasim Özkan
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 7</b> .....	Hasan Dönmez
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 8</b> .....	Ali Ergen
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 9</b> .....	S. Fevzi Ergun
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 10</b> .....	R. Halil Gemici
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 11</b> .....	Osman Kabasakal
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 12</b> .....	M. Orbay Ekinci
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 13</b> .....	Remzi Özen
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 14</b> .....	Cemal Şenkul
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 15</b> .....	İbrahim Topal
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 16</b> .....	H. Coşkun Vural
<b>INTERVIEWEE # 17</b> .....	Hasan Yürük

## APPENDIX C

### THE FAMILY CHARTS

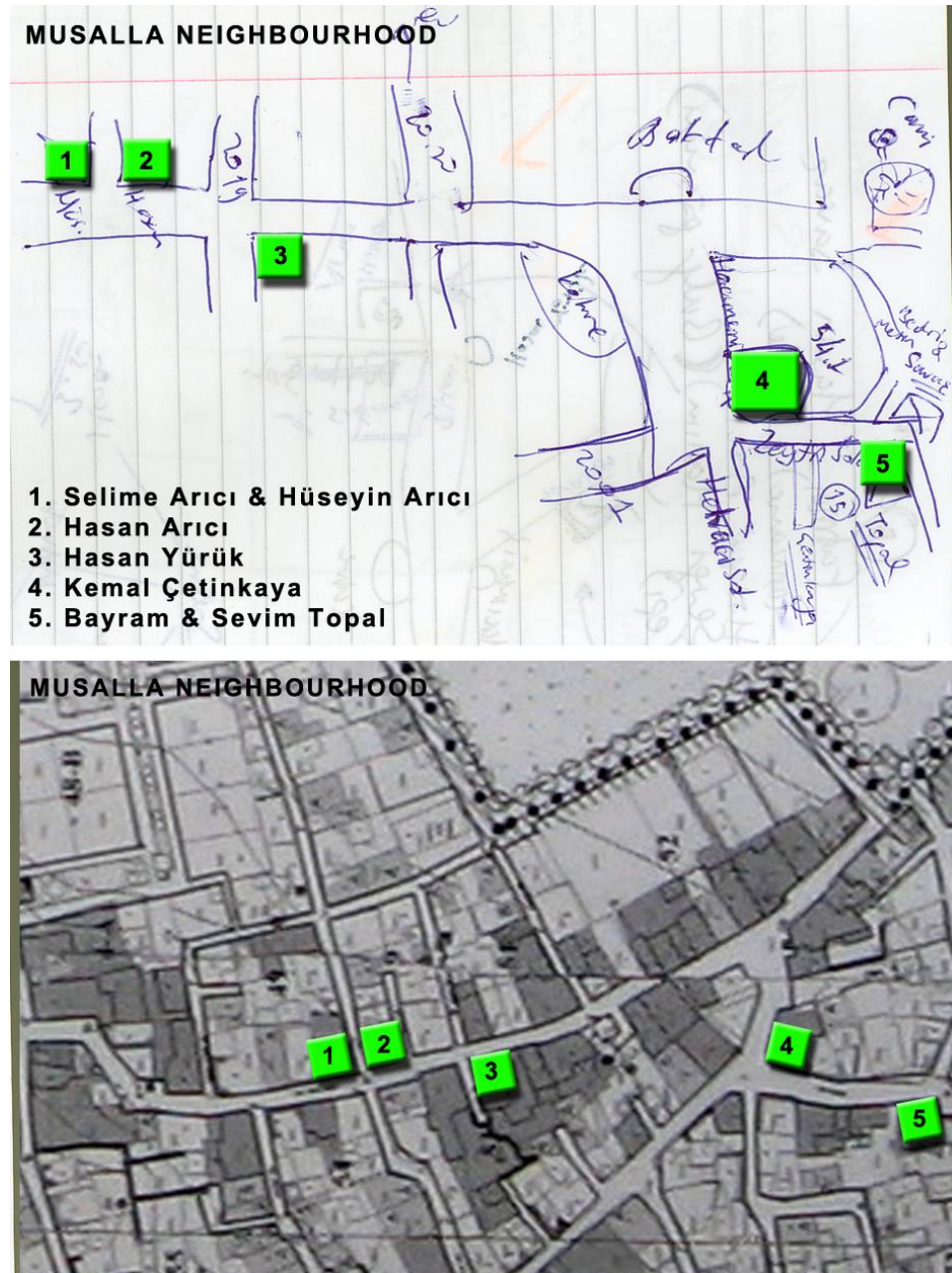


Figure C.1 Alacati Examples in Musalla Neighbourhood

# ALACATI

**SELİME ARICI, Hasan & Hüseyin Arıcı**

**Origin:** Kavala/Kinalı - Thessaloniki  
**Arrival Date:** Grandfather - 1924

**Family Tree:** Father: Hasan Savaş  
Mother: Fatma Savaş  
Selime ARICI (3 Sis. / 1 Bro.)  
Husband: Mümin ARICI - 1899  
(marr.1938 - 2nd wife)  
Children: Hasan(from 1st wife)  
Hüseyin, Mahmut, Gülseren,  
Hatice



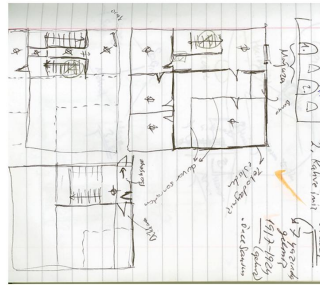
**Quotations:** Selime ARICI: "...we were leaded to Samsun first. However, we had to leave that place. I do not remember clearly but my family could not adapt to the environment. We moved to Adapazarı, then Izmir. In Izmir, we did not have any farm or dwelling. Because we had left the house given to us by our own wills. Therefore, they did not give us a new one here..."

Hasan ARICI: "...the Greek people were going to the public baths. They did not build any space in the dwelling to have a shower. However, Moslem people need a space. My father found a suitable location in the ground floor for that purpose..."

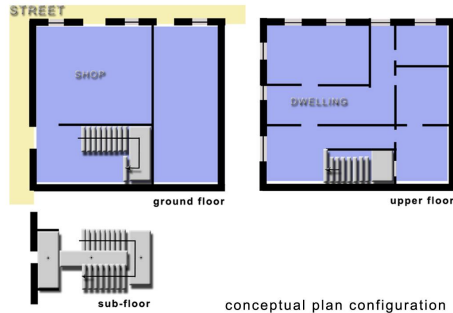
## DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is shop

**Transformations:** Ground floor windows were filled with brick from the inside.  
The function of the ground floor is just storage.  
No plaster used in order to preserve the original walls, but painted several times.  
A space to have shower was added on the ground floor.  
Toilet is renovated.



hand-drawing from the interviewer



conceptual plan configuration



interior view



detail from interior



staircase



front elevation



exterior view

Figure C.2 Alaçatı, Selime Arıcı's House



# ALACATI

Hasan YÜRÜK

**Origin:** Kavala/Kinalı - Thessaloniki  
**Arrival Date:** 1924

**Family Tree:** mother: Mümine Yürük - 1911  
father: İsmail Yürük - 1916  
(No other family members survived)



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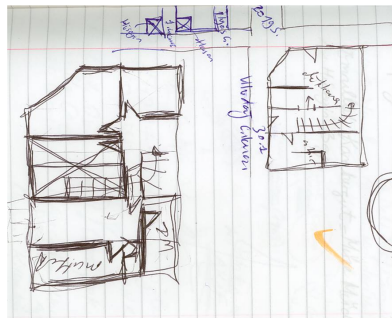
**Quotations:** "...my father told me that the lands they had left in the Balkans were all fertile and full of crops. However they could not find the same richness in here. many people left these lands after their arrival. The rest settled and tried to adapt to the new environment. They had no other choices..."

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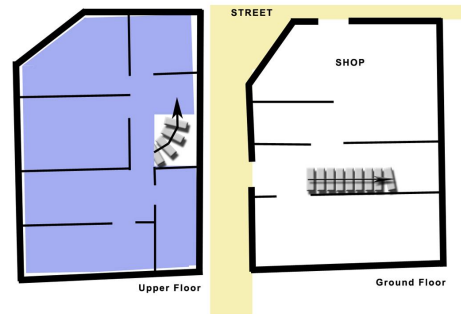
## DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is Shop

**Transformations:** There was *taraça* (terrace) underneath where they keep their cows. However, after 1980's they quit stock-raising and demolished *taraça*.  
A new space in use of a kitchen was added.  
A space to have a shower was added.  
The staircase was renovated.



hand-drawing from the owner



conceptual plan configuration



elevation



exterior view



exterior view

Figure C.3 Alaçatı, Hasan Yürük's House

# ALACATI

## BAYRAM TOPAL & SEVİM TOPAL

**Origin:** Kosova/Priştina Pirtiyen&Merasol

**Arrival Date:** Father-1912  
Mother-1936

**Family Tree:** Grandfather's father: Malik  
F\_Grandfather: Ali Topal-1888  
F\_Grandmother: Seride Şah-1907  
Father: Bayram Topal-1931  
Mother: Sevim Topal  
M\_Grandfather: Hayrettin Sunay  
M\_Grandmother: Malike Sunay  
İbrahim Topal(Alaçatı Koruma Derneği Başkanı)

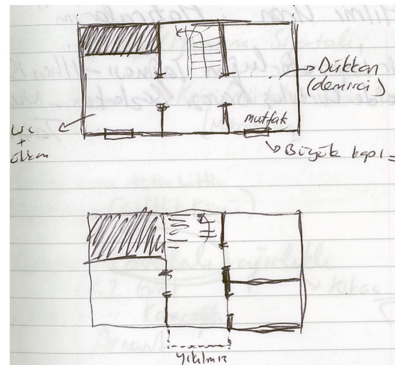


**Quotations:** "...There were toilets, however there were no space to have a shower. This staircase was timber and my father changed the space underneath into a small room in use of a bathroom. ... The houses in Pristina were multi-spaced one-floored row-houses with gardens. People were stock-raisers and farmers..."

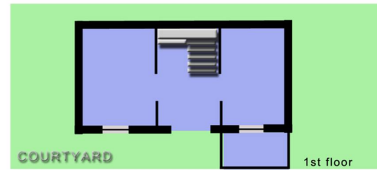
## DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is Blacksmith

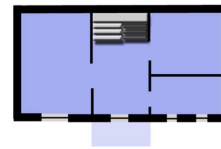
**Transformations:** The extruded space on the upper floor above the main entrance door has been collapsed.  
An external space added to the ground floor to satisfy the urgent need of a kitchen.  
The staircase has been replaced with a new one made out of marble.  
Bathroom space added to the ground floor underneath the staircase.



hand-drawing from the owner

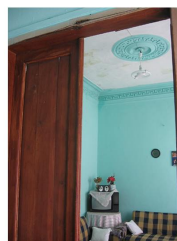


1st floor



2nd floor

conceptual plan configuration



interior view



staircase



exterior view



front elevation

Figure C.4 Alaçatı, Bayram Topal's House

# ALACATI

**MÜKERREM ORBAY EKİNCİ**  
**TEVFİK ORBAY**

**Origin:** Saray Bosna - Bosnia  
**Arrival Date:** 1912-13

**Family Tree:** father: Raşit - 1305  
mother: Kıymet - 1910  
(brother)Tevfik ORBAY - 1925

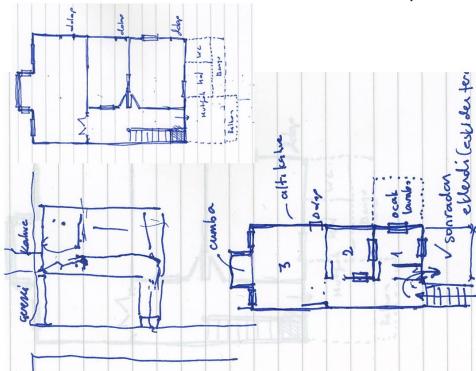


**QUOTATIONS:** "...next to the square there is a huge building which was the old ministry building. At first, it was given to my father. However, my father said that it is too big, we cannot accept it. He preferred a more reasonable place which is suitable for a small family like ours. Yet, they have given us this house..."

## DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is Shop

**Transformations:** A new toilet was added.  
A new space in use of a kitchen was added.  
An exterior balcony was added.  
A new space in use of a bathroom was added.  
All the additions were located on the back side of the building including both levels.  
The extruded space on the upper floor (front elevation) was renovated.



hand-drawing from the owner & interviewer



conceptual plan configuration



interior view



staircase



front elevation



exterior view

Figure C.5 Alaçatı, Tevfik Orbay's House

# CESME

## ALI ERGEN

**Origin:** Kavala/Pirincova - Thessaloniki

**Arrival Date:** Father - 1912  
Mother - 1936

**Family Tree:** F\_Grandmother: Ayşe  
Father: Bekir  
Mother: Ayşe  
Ali ERGEN - 1914  
Brother: Sefer  
Sister: Ziyet  
Wife: Nesibe - Kavala/Princova



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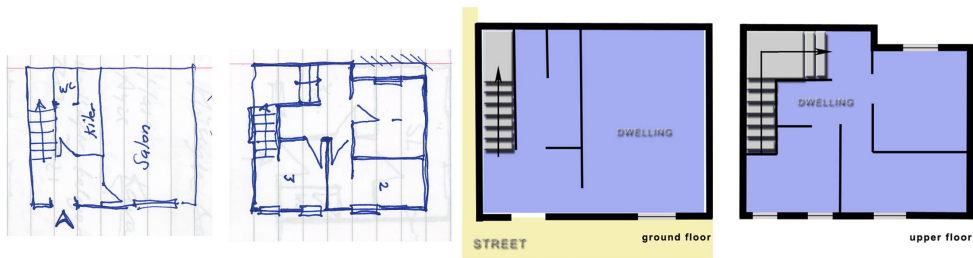
**Quotations:** "Our village was a pure Moslem settlement with 100 dwellings. When the greek arrived, we shared our houses and animals equally. They mentioned that all the orthodox public left their houses in perfect condition...  
...We were cultivating tobacco. Our houses were double-storey stone houses and in the upper floor there were 5 rooms. We had our toilet and a space in the function of a bathroom...  
...We first arrived to Dalyan. However, we carried all the animals with us. There were not enough space, and asked for a larger space. Later we moved to Sakarya Mahallesi."

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## DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is animal barn

**Transformations:** The staircase has been replaced with a new one made out of marbel.  
Bathroom space added to the ground floor underneath the staircase.  
The ground floor was covered with lime-plaster and the barn was replaced with a living room.  
The fireplace was re-formed.



hand-drawing from the interviewer

conceptual plan configuration



interior view



staircase



exterior view

Figure C.6 Çeşme, Ali Ergen,s House

# CESME

## COŞKUN VURAL

**Origin:** Çeşme  
**Arrival Date:** local inhabitant

**Family Tree:** F\_Grandfather: Yeniçeri Ağası  
Deli Şerif  
Father: Hasan Vural - 1900  
Coskun VURAL  
Brother: M.Oral Vural - 1933  
Haydar Vural - 1925

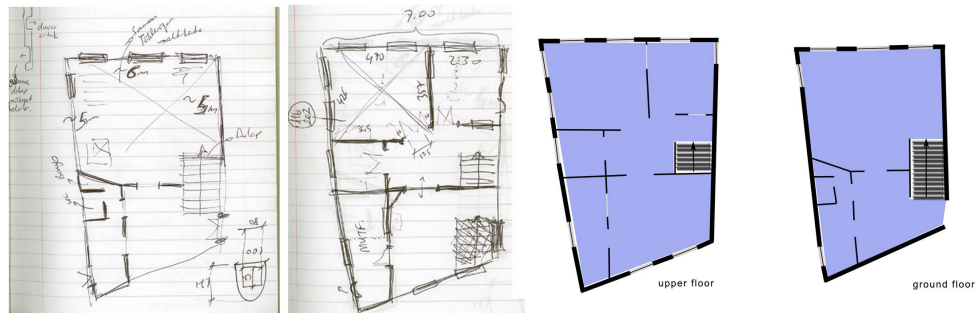


**Quotations:** " ... this house was grounded on strong and balanced rock. The foundation is extremely strong. It resisted to the earthquakes...  
...The entrance of the basement floor is from the basement level, and the main entrance is from the ground level on the upper street. Therefore, the building is two storey on the upper street and three storey on the lower one...  
...The ground floor has the main entrance hall, kitchen, toilet and bathroom.  
Upper floor contains 3 bedrooms and one living room which is projected from the front elevation...  
---The ceilings are 2.5 meters high."

### DWELLING

**Original form & function:** Upper floor is the main living space  
Ground floor is living space  
Basement floor is animal barn and storage

**Transformations:** No transformation was mentioned or recalled.



hand-drawing from the interviewer

conceptual plan configuration



interior view



staircase



exterior view



exterior view

Figure C.7 Çeşme, Coşkun Vural's House