

THE TRANSFORMATION IN HABITUS IN AN EXCHANGE VILLAGE IN
THE BLACK SEA REGION OF TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

İLHAN ZEYNEP KARAKILIÇ DAĞDELEN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2015

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

THE TRANSFORMATION IN HABITUS IN AN EXCHANGE VILLAGE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION OF TURKEY

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September 2015, 262 pages

This dissertation aims to construct theoretical and conceptual framework to describe and explain the dynamics of *the exchangee habitus* and the interrelatedness of *the exchangee habitus*, the social memory of the population exchange and identification processes of the exchangees. These multidirectional relations among the concepts of habitus, social memory and identification processes constitute the main theoretical framework and the conceptualization of these relations is examined by introducing the *exchangee habitus*. The construction is employed to analyze the case of Sarıdünya village in Samsun, populated by the exchangees from Greece to Turkey in 1923 as a result of Lausanne Peace Treaty. Tobacco production, the main economic activity of the villagers, provided for a nest for social memory and distinctive daily practices. In order to understand dynamics of *the exchangee habitus* and to provide a holistic picture of the case, the study is based on a field work that spanned in the summer of 2011 including qualitative research methods. According to the main conclusions of the study, first, there emerges specific *exchangee habitus* as a result of the interrelation among (1) the social memory of the population exchange and the homeland; (2) continuous tobacco production for the decades and (3) the villager's daily encounters with non-exchangee people. Second, according to the villagers' intensity of identification with *the exchangee habitus*, there are three different groups among the villagers were identified: conscious but indifferent, interested, and committed villagers. The

dissertation contributes to the literature on the population exchange with its originality and holistic perspective.

Keywords: Greco-Turkish population exchange in Turkey, exchangee habitus, social memory, identification, tobacco production

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’NİN KARADENİZ BÖLGESİ’NDEKİ BİR MÜBADİL KÖYÜNDE HABİTUSUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

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Tez Yöneticis: Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger Tılıç

Eylül 2015, 262 sayfa

Bu tez hem *mübadil habitusunun* dinamiklerini hem de *mübadil habitusu*, nüfus mübadelesinin sosyal bellekteki etkileri ve mübadillerin kimliklenme süreçlerinin birbiri ile bağlatısını tarif etmek ve açıklamak için teorik ve kavramsal bir çerçeve oluşturmayı amaçlar. Habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme süreçleri kavramları etrafındaki çok yönlü ilişkiler tezin ana teorik çerçevesini oluşturur ve bu ilişkilerin kavramsallaştırılması *mübadil habitusu* adı altında incelenir. Bu kavramsal çerçeve, 1923’te Lozan Barış Antlaşması’nın sonucu olan, Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ile Yunanistan’dan Türkiye’ye gelen mübadillerin yaşadıkları Samsun, Sarıdünya köyü örneğini anlamak için kullanılır. Köyde tütün üretimi sadece köylüler için ana geçim kaynağı değil, aynı zamanda sosyal belleğin ve ayırt edici günlük pratiklerin yuvalandığı bir alan da yaratır. Mübadil habitusunun dinamiklerini anlamak ve köyün bütüncül bir resmini sunabilmek için bu çalışma 2011 yazı boyunca süren nitel metodları içeren bir alan çalışmasına dayandırılmıştır. Çalışmanın ana sonuçlarına göre, *mübadile habitusu* (1) nüfus mübadelesi ve memlekete dair sosyal belleğin (2) on yıllar boyunca devam eden tütün üretiminin ve (3) mübadillerin mübadil olmayanlarla günlük etkileşimleri sonucunda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Köylülerin mübadil habitusu ile kendilerini tanımlamalarının yoğunluğuna göre bilinçli ama ilgisiz, ilgili ve aktif köylüler olarak üç ana grup ortaya çıkmaktadır. Tez, mübadele ile ilgili yazına, mübadil deneyimine bütüncül ve orijinal bir bakış getirerek katkı sağlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye’de Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, mübadil habitusu, sosyal bellek, kimliklenme, tütün üretimi

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Question and Key Concepts

This study focuses on how the exchangee people of the Sarıdünya¹ village have constructed an exchangee habitus since the population exchange and how they have utilized their past, tobacco production and complex identification processes in this construction. What I intend to do in this dissertation is to analyze these dynamics working in the exchangee habitus by focusing on the daily life practices of the villagers, the effects of macro economy policies, especially in the tobacco market, and villagers' responses to these policies and their interactions with non-exchangees and their reflections of it.

My analyses are based on a field research which spanned between June and September 2011 in Sarıdünya, a village in Bafra township in Samsun province. During this period, I spent forty days in the village and conducted in-depth interviews with 62 villagers out of approximately 400 villagers². I employed techniques of in-depth interviews, participant observation and interviews with well-informed informants. The “exchangee” character of people from Sarıdünya is owed to the Greek Turkish Population Exchange which took place in 1923 and 1924. As a part of the Lausanne Peace Treaty which is considered as a landmark event for Turkey's acceptance as a sovereign state in the international system, Turkey and Greece signed a Protocol for the Exchange of their respective minorities on 30th January 1923. According to this convention, Turkey received nearly four hundred thousand Muslims-Turks from Greece which received more than one million Greeks including those who had to flee to Greece during the Turco- Greek war.

¹ The name of the village and the villagers are changed to the pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the villagers. The names of the other villages, especially the ones which are the neighbors with Sarıdünya are also changes to the pseudonyms. Only the names of the homeland of the Sarıdünya villagers, Karlıkova in Turkish and Mikropolis in Greek are the real names.

² The population of the village changes widely according to the seasons. In summers, the population climbs up to nearly 500 villagers, however it decreases to 300 villagers during winters.

The exchangees of Sarıdünya were among these people who had to migrate to Turkey. Since the villagers had been from a rural area of Greece and produced tobacco there, they settled in Sarıdünya which was in the hinterland of Bafra, one of the main centers of tobacco production in Anatolia. The course of the villagers' journey from their homeland which is a small village in Macedonia region of Greece to Samsun, Turkey can be seen in the map below.



Illustration 1: Map of the exchangees' journey. The exchangees' journey started at their small village called Kırılıkova in Macedonia region of Greece. Their sea fare started at the port of Thessaloniki. The ship also stopped at ports of İzmir and İstanbul and finally arrived to port of Samsun. From Samsun, the exchangees moved to Sarıdünya village which is near to Bafra.

According to accounts of the exchangees, first they were offered housing opportunities in Samsun. But they refused this because they could only grow tobacco as the peasants. They wanted to settle in a village, so they moved first to another village, then to Sarıdünya from Samsun. Thus, they were allowed to move to a rural area and stay together as a village. In this respect, it can be said that during their settlement the villagers benefitted from being able to settle in a preferable place and to stay together. Other exchangee groups were not allowed to stay together and settle in a place they wanted (Kosova, 1998; Gökaçtı, 2005). This situation of Sarıdünya villagers can be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation is that since the villagers are the tobacco producers, the state also wanted them to settle in a village to continue producing tobacco. So their settlement

was in accordance with the execution of the population exchange (İpek, 2000). However, in another interpretation, even if the state had had initial plans for the settlement of the exchangees, the settlement of the exchangees was mainly arbitrary, and even if they stated that they wanted to settle in places according to their economic abilities, this was not allowed, unless they disclaimed their rights on the real estates which were offered by the state (Yıldırım, 2006). According to this interpretation, the case of Sarıdünya village is an exception which also shows the arbitrariness of the settlement process. At this point, one important point should be emphasized. The settlement process for the villagers was not totally a top down decision and they could exert some agency during their settlement under some certain limitations. For example, coming to Samsun port was not their decision; but insisting on moving to a rural area by refusing the real estates in Samsun shows that they were not the ones who just follow the rules. I think that this decision making process is an example of how the exchangees exert their agency. They have some choices and when they can have the opportunity they can pursue their interests. In this respect, it signifies the limited agency of the exchangees at their very first encounter with Turkish state as part of the structure and I will conceptualize this kind of agency by employing the concept of habitus in the following pages.

Moreover, this is a sign that shows the importance of tobacco production for the villagers. It is actually the reason why they settled in Sarıdünya to begin with, and they have continued tobacco production since the settlement under the changing conditions of the tobacco market in Turkey. The last major change took place in the sector in 2010, and as a result of massive privatization, the villagers stopped harvesting tobacco altogether which has been a part of their identity and daily life practices. I will also explain how the transformation in the tobacco sector in Turkey affected the village life in coming chapters.

This case can be examined and conceptualized with the help of different theoretical perspectives. One of these perspectives is drawn upon the rural transformation or rural development literature. The prominent perspectives of this literature like the studies of Boratav (1980), Keyder (1983), Berktaş (1983), Erdost (1984), Aydın (1986) and Ercan (1993) discuss the capitalist penetration into the

village economy, how the village economy is connected to the world economy and what the consequences of the capitalist penetration are for the villages in terms of organization of production. This discussion mainly was focused on the transformation in the rural areas in economic sphere and especially on the property ownership issues. Kıray (1998) and Ecevit (1999) also explore and explain the transition in the rural areas with the toolbox of sociology.

Another array of these studies in the rural development literature conceptualizes socio-economic development as a measure to change the power (economic or symbolic) distribution in the rural areas. In this respect, it relates the development with gender, class and ethnicity which are the factors directly affecting the individuals' abilities to reach sources that set the power balances (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2011; Hippert, 2007). Many of these studies examine the intersection of rural development and gender in other contexts than Turkey (Frenandez Kelly, 1989, Moghadam, 1993; Gill, 1994) as well as in Turkey (Tunalıgil, 1980; Kandiyoti; 1984, Behrooz, 1992; Sirman, 1993; Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2010). These studies aim to understand how the development projects and policies affect the women in rural areas and what kind of projects and priorities can empower the women in rural areas. In addition to gender dynamics, other scholars also examine the nexus of development studies and ethnicity and class to understand the possible ways to include underrepresented ethnic or class closures in the development processes, such as Weitz (1967), Hickson (1975), Mazur (1991), Medina (1997), Li (2000), Warren and Jackson(2005) and Hippert (2007).

Another set of literature which can be used to understand this case includes the studies that explain and explore nationalism, ethnicity and ethnic identities. This huge literature can be grouped into some major clusters. The first one is the primordialist studies that argue given and enduring primordial ties constitute the basis of nations and nationalism (Cornell and Hartman, 1998). A least primordialist account in this group is the prennialism of Smith (1999) in which he claims that ancient ethnic identities turn to be core of nations in modern eras with the effects of suitable economic, political and social conditions. The second group in the literature is the instrumentalist and circumstantialist studies which focus on the

conditions that nationalism arises rather than then ascribing a fixed nature to nation. These studies also emphasize that building a nation is a matter of collective interests and practical uses and it is “a result of intensive struggle between groups over new strategic positions of power” (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998: 56-57). Anderson (1991), Hobsbawm (1990) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1984), Gellner (2009) are among the most elaborative studies in this group. The third group of studies includes the constructivist studies which are built upon the instrumentalist assumption. However, they also benefit from key insights of primordialist studies argue that there is a connection between the things that are accepted as ancient or durable and the circumstances. The nation is both asserted and ascribed and the ways in which assertion and ascription take place and their conditions are the major topics of these studies (Bal, 2006). The pioneer of this approach is Barth (1969) and among the other important studies are Cohen (1994), Baumann (2003) and Nazroo and Karlsen (2003). Another perspective is ethno-symbolism which places the cultural content into the center of research, however also considers about the situational factors like migrations, wars, invasions, slavery and exile. To give importance to these two dimensions of nationalism, Smith (1999) distinguishes between ethnic communities which have ethnic consciousness, common name, territorial claim and social memory and ethnic categories which lack these features. According to this, transmission from ethnic category to ethnic community should be examined by investigating ethnic consciousness, social memory, myths, language, homeland, nostalgia and traditions, since these notions are what make an ethnic community a nation (Baykal, 2011). In this respect, especially, the approach which is developed by Smith (1999, 2003, 2004) seems to be promising to understand the dynamics of this case that I present here with its emphasis on homeland, nostalgia and social memory.

However, rather than solely employing one of these two frameworks, I employed another one with the some insights from these two frameworks. I have summarized the theoretical framework of the study below. However, before proceeding with it, I will clarify three reasons behind my decision about not employing these two frameworks. First, the theoretical body that I use is much

more inclusive than the others to build the relations among daily life practices of the villagers, their identification processes and their understanding of past and social memories. If I confined one of these theoretical bodies that I mentioned above, I would have to exclude some of the data that I collected and this would cripple the descriptive power of the study. Providing a description of the exchangee life is not the only aim of this study. However, it is one of its important aims, especially considering the fact that the current study is among the very few holistic studies that examines the exchangee experience in Turkey. Second, rather than employing one of the theoretical frameworks above which are well studied in the context of Turkey, I think that endeavoring to construct a framework which is based on relation among the concepts of habitus, identification and social memory is much more original for this case. In this respect, it is not only an application of a theoretical body to a case, but also an explanation of a suggested model with the help of the case. Third, I feel myself more proficient to move around the concepts of this framework and reshape them in order to understand and evaluate this case. However, I do not claim that this framework is the best one for the case; the other frameworks can shed light on the different and important aspects of being an exchangee and these studies together can portray a better picture of the exchangee life.

To understand the case and dynamics between the villagers' practices and the factors arising from outside of the village, their past and today, their main economic activity and mnemonic practices within the limited but still capable agency of the villagers, I employ Bourdieu's (2007) theorization of the social as "theory of practice", since I think his concepts can explain the whole picture of how the villagers see the world and themselves in it and what kind of practices are shaped by and shape this specific way of seeing the world better. He defines theory of practice as "science of the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (Bourdieu, 2007:72) and uses it as a way to understand why people do what they do in certain ways instead of other things. Habitus is among the key concepts of Bourdieu's theorization of the social. Bourdieu (2007) defines the concept as "systems of durable, transposable

dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, this is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively regulated and regular without being the product of obedience to rules..." (72). It denotes social subjectivity in relations of the agents with wider world which functions as an objective constraint on the agents. Habitus is the place where bodies meet with institutions. It is the medium in which the interaction takes places between the agents (who have a limited freedom) and the structures (which are structured by the agents). It is subjective but not individual system of internalized structures (Bourdieu, 2007; 86; Bourdieu, Wacquant, 2003:116). According to Bourdieu (2007) habitus is one of the main aspects that make a group of people a community which is based on common (but not the same every time) experiences, memories, practices and perceptions. One of the definitions of habitus by Bourdieu highlights this binding role of the concept as the following: "the conductorless orchestration which gives regularity, unity, and systematicity to the practices of a group or class, and this even in the absence of any spontaneous or externally imposed organization of individual projects, one is condemned to the naïve artificialism which recognizes no other principle unifying a group's or class's ordinary or extraordinary action than the conscious co-ordination of a conspiracy" (Bourdieu, 2007: 80). His other concepts such as game, field, capital (economic, cultural, social capitals) also support his main theorization and function as the building blocks with habitus. I will also explain these concepts and how they work in the chapter about theoretical framework.

In this study, habitus will serve as a magnifier on the relations among different domains and different levels as well as a base which the other concepts of the theoretical framework of the study stand upon. Bourdieu, as a critique against other ways of doing social research and theory, refuses to give a coherent, stable definition of the concepts he used in his own theorization; rather he uses them sometimes in a vague way in each different examination on different subjects. In these different adaptations, he redefines the concepts over and over again. However, both as a general critique of Bourdieu's overall theory and for the sake of its

convenience within this study, there arise some important points which must be clarified from the very beginning.

One point to clarify is about social change and transformation. For many, Bourdieu mainly theorizes social reproduction but not transformation. In this respect, even some of his important works (*The Algerians* (1962), *The Bachelor's Ball* (2008) focus on transformation of traditional societies, his analytical tool box is criticized for not conceptualizing social change especially in a global world which is mostly defined as influx, slippery, fractured (Swartz, 1981; Jenkins, 1982; Gartman, 1991). Then if the theory of practice is unable to explain social change, how can it be employed in a study which mainly examines agents' responses to changing conditions? I have two answers to this question. First, as some critics like Wacquant (1992), Calhoun (1993) do, I will try to show that the theory of practice with the concept of habitus opens up a space which enables social change in a slow pace, but not in the form of rupture. Second, I will follow Lane's (2006) understanding of habitus not as a "straightforward expression of external reality" but rather as "constructions of that reality, whose relation to it is necessary contingent, never essential" (80). In this respect, Lane (2006) takes habitus not as a concept that is structurally determining but as a mediation between practices and structures, similar to Swartz's (2011; 293) suggestion.

This issue is also related with the structure and agency dilemma, which Bourdieu claims to have solved. Does the theory of practice really accentuate the importance of agency and structure equally or is it another version of structuralist approaches which rule out the possibilities of agents? Lahire (2008), King (2000) and Evens (1999) claim that Bourdieu cannot provide elasticity for the interplay of structure and agents in equal terms. They argue that habitus in Bourdieu's theory functions as a trap for the agents and it allows only the reproduction of the existing relations of power. Other critics like Wacquant (1987), Harker (1984) and Taylor (1993) point out that even if Bourdieu's perspective is mainly for understanding the social reproduction which seems to give very small opportunity for agency to act, habitus is not a total prison for the agent. It is the framework in which the agents articulate the possible repertoire for acting. They can improvise and integrate

among different aspects that they have at hand. But, this is not an agency which is limitless. However, these limits are also results of the former acts. This is the way which Bourdieu sees agency and structure feed each other constantly. This is actually a perspective which Bourdieu takes from Marx who states that “men (*sic*) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past” (1978). This perspective can also enable the researcher to look for the ways how people struggle with and slowly change status quo in their daily practices which otherwise cannot be noticed at all. In the theory chapter I will elaborate more on the extended definition of habitus and the important issues on social change and agency structure debate. Moreover, I will support this position with Bhaskar’s (1989) critical realism ontologically in the chapter that I describe methodological approach and the methods I employ for this study. With these evaluations and explanations, I try to contribute to these debates.

Another important concept of the study is social memory because of that the very existence of exchangee villagers of Sarıdünya is highly related with the event of the compulsory population exchange and its memory which is passed from generation to generation in different ways with different focuses. The narrative about the population exchange functions as a story which connects them with their ancestors, former village in Rumelia³ and also with Turkish state and Anatolia. In this respect, social memory’s content and its relation with identification of the villagers and its function in habitus are very important while investigating the relations between objective conditions of the villagers and their perceptions about these conditions and their positions. Misztal (2003) defines social memory as “a group’s representations of its past, both the past that is commonly shared and the past that is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to that group’s identity, its present conditions and its vision of the future” (158). Memory

³ Rumelia, originally Rumeli, means land of Rums or Romans. It is the geographical name given to the Balkan peninsula by the Ottomans. It is also the name of the Ottoman province which included this region. The region spread from European part of the Istanbul to Sarajevo in the west and Dobrudja in the north including all of the modern day Greece and most of Bulgaria (İnalçık, 2015).

is social because it depends on the existence of significant others whom to share language, events, symbols, social and cultural contexts. It provides symbolic representations and frames which can be used in understanding the conditions in which agents live in and organize their actions and conception of themselves. Thus, social memory offers a base for social identification for people (9-14).

Among the different approaches to social memory, I have found the dynamics of memory approach which is summarized with the above definition compatible with the perspective I try to develop for this study. The biggest advantage of the dynamics of memory approach is that it does not conceptualize memory completely from above or below, but it defines memory as a process of negotiation, whereas the other approaches focus on only one dimension of social memory. Halbwachs (1941) who is the protagonist in memory studies equates social memory with the group's survival and its identity. Presentist memory approach, in which social memory is seen as a tool in the hands of powerful groups, claims that social memory is shaped according to today's needs. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) concept of 'invented tradition' is the major example of this conceptualization. Popular memory approach which sees social memory as a way of resistant against the forces which write the history. Its main theoretical body is highly influenced by Foucauldian analysis of power. Unlike these approaches, the definition of social memory by the dynamic approach takes the effects on social memory both from above and from below. It creates a space between an ideology and personal experience (Misztal, 2003).

The dynamics of memory approach also concentrates on the complex relation between past and present in the process of shaping social memory. According to this approach, past cannot be only a construction which someone makes as they wish. Agents have different capabilities and powers to shape it. Available materials and repertoires are not limitless but they are bounded with objective conditions. Schwartz (2000) also claims that what is remembered and what is forgotten, permanent and changing versions of the past are part of each other. So, memory "is never solely manipulated or durable; instead, the role of agency and the temporal dimension of memory as well as historicity of social

identities are stressed and analyzed” (Misztal, 2003: 69). For this reason, the act of recollection of memories gains importance as a relation with past. The recollection of the past materializes in the narratization, which means “telling a story about past and telling a story about past relation to present” (70). The ways the past endures in the present such as psychological, social, linguistic and political processes, are the main issues of the approach. However, since the conditions and priorities of the interpretation of the past in the present change, the interpretation and representation of the past is also not stable but changeable. Social memory turns a version of past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism. It becomes a “cultural program that orients our intentions, set our moods and enables us to act” (Misztal, 2003:72). Another scholar who can be counted in this approach, Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) sees cultural memory as a “collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experiences in the interactive framework of a society” (125). Thus, this approach conceptualizes social memory “as unifying process that provides a framework of meaning through which society maintains stability and identity while adapting to social changes” (Misztal, 2003: 73). Habitus and social memory are related through the daily practices which people perform without intention, the habits that they just learn in the family circles, the bodies which moves according to established codes and the words which denotes specific objects or situations, that are meaningless outside of the context. That Connerton’s approach to function of social memory highlights resemblance with habitus, according to him, “our experiences of the present largely depend upon our knowledge of the past, and that our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order” (1999:4). Bourdieu also defines habitus as “history, turned into nature” (1977: 78) to emphasize that it is shaped within the social memory with some aspects which are remembered and some others which are forgotten. Both habitus and social memory are the products of a continuous negotiation between past and present; individual and social. In this respect, like habitus, social memory swings between macro and micro levels under the permanent struggles of agents with each other and with structural factors.

The third concept of the study is identification. According to Hall (1992), identities are the stitches which connect the agents with the multiplicities of historicity and sociality. They are the meanings which the agents give to their positions in the broader world. The narratives and practices around the identities, and the identities they are in relation with, are also products of power relations in a specific society, and they have always the traces of historicity. Moreover, since the identities are constructed through difference, the competition among narratives can turn out to be exclusion, othering and border drawing at different levels (Hall, 1992; 1996). At this point, I have turned to the concept of identification rather than identity, since the first, as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) define, focuses more on the process itself, its articulation and construction, with more emphasis on historicity and dynamics of the social. I think these two approaches are complementary with each other rather than opposing. Moreover, integration identification and habitus can also highlight the pendulum of social life between structure and agency, while they trim each other's structuralist or subjectivist aspects and provide a balanced interpretation of the answers for the questions above. Moreover, such an integration of two concepts also opens up a space to examine how the people differentiate themselves from each other, how they make boundaries between them and the others since both of the concepts work mainly as creating differences and distinctions. To have a better understanding in identification process and boundary making, I also employ the conceptualization of Barth (1969) about the group boundaries as the denominator of the groups, rather than the cultural content they have.

After having shortly defined some important theoretical concepts to be detailed later, it is important to clarify these concepts' relations with each other. Identification and social memory of the exchangees of Sarıdünya are not simply parts or elements of their habitus. From my understanding, habitus works as a medium or interface between objective conditions and subjective perceptions. In my perspective, it functions as translator between these two levels. These levels can reach each other through the medium of habitus. However, there are two crucial points in this translation process. First it is not a one way process. As much as

objective conditions are able to affect subjective perceptions; subjective perceptions are capable to affect objective conditions. Yet, these effects are produced in different ways. Second, the translation is not a one-to-one process. There is always a possibility of free translation. But, it is a limited freedom. In this respect, exchangee habitus denotes how exchangee identity and exchangee memory relate in which specific ways with specific objective conditions.

In this respect, to put it more theoretically, my main aim in this study is to understand and describe the dynamics of exchangee habitus, the role and function of the socialmemory of the population exchange in it and the relation between the exchangee habitus and the social memory of the population exchange. In addition to this, since the specific relation between the exchangee habitus and the social memory of the population exchange is a source for differentiation for the villagers, the dissertation also aims to understand how this relation affects the identification processes of the villagers and in turn how these processes affect the relation between habitus and social memory.

Then, with this theoretical framework and a short description of the case, the research questions of the dissertation can be formulated as the following: what are the specificities of the exchangee habitus? What kind of practices, experiences and perceptions does this habitus have? Which objective conditions and subjective perceptions are involved in this habitus especially through the remembrance of the population exchange and tobacco production? Or in more theoretically speaking; how the habitus, social memory and identification processes are related with each other through the daily practices of the villagers? And finally, how does the exchangee habitus respond with changing conditions and in turn how does this affect the memory practices and identification processes?

To find answers of these questions, after providing a detailed account of methodological in the second chapter and theoretical approaches of the study in the third chapter, I will first describe and explain how the three key concepts of study- habitus, social memory and identification- work together in a dynamic relation and fortify each other. In other to operationalize this interrelation among the concepts, I will focus on three important domains of the exchange life: the content and the

effects of the social memory about the population exchange and the homeland, tobacco production and the practices around it and identification processes of the villagers during the daily encounters with non-exchangee people. I call this operationalization of the three concepts by focusing on these domains “the exchangee habitus” which I elaborate throughout the fourth chapter.

Then, I scrutinize the differentiation among the villagers according to their interest in the exchangee habitus and its effects on the villagers’ lives. According to this differentiation, it is possible to identify three different groups among the villagers: “conscious but indifferent villagers”, “interested villagers” and “committed villagers”. When the conscious but indifferent villagers have the least attachment to the exchangee habitus, committed villagers are the ones who have the strongest identification with the exchangee habitus. I suggest that such a differentiation among the villagers is mainly resulted from two factors. The first is the amount of the time spent by the villagers in the close vicinity of the people who are knowledgeable and willing to talk about the population exchange and homeland. The second one is that the living and working arrangements of the villagers which increase their opportunities to meet with non-exchangee people. When the time spent around the people who share the memories increases and when the villagers’ live or work outside of the village, their interest and attachment to the exchangee habitus increase. Moreover, I argue that this differentiation of the villagers also brings a differentiation of the social memory and different possibilities for the future of exchangee habitus. I claim that the villagers who are conscious but indifferent about the exchangee habitus will contribute to its oblivion in their own family and close circles, whereas the committed ones will contribute to its evolution into a form structured and formal form of the social memory and they will carry it to a different domain in exchangee habitus which is more symbolic than practical. This examination will take place on the fifth chapter.

There are four conclusions that are derived from the study. First, there is a specific exchangee habitus. Second, there is a differentiation among the villagers according to their interest and attachment to the exchangee habitus. Third, there are two main reasons behind this differentiation and these reasons arise from the daily

life practices of the villagers. Fourth, due to differentiation among the villagers, there are two main possibilities for the social memory of the population exchange and the exchangee habitus. I elaborate these conclusions together at the sixth chapter.

To draw a plausible line between the research questions and the conclusions of the study as much as to present the data and the inferences from it in a coherent way are the main aims of this study. Having these main aims are realized, the dissertation will contribute to the literature about population exchange in two ways. First, it will provide an empirical contribution, since it is based on the data from an under-studied group of people. The existing literature on the population exchange which flourished only after late 1990s mainly focuses on urban populations who in western Turkey like İstanbul, İzmir or close vicinity of these two big cities. However, by focusing on a rural settlement, its settlers and their practices in and around of the fields, this study aims to bring a new focus to the existing literature. The second related contribution will be a more theoretical one. By integrating the main three concepts of the study, namely habitus, collective memory and identification and using these as compact tool box for the explanation of exchangee experience, the dissertation also aims to provide a sound theoretical conceptualization of the relations between daily practices and mnemonic practices which are both under effect of more macro dynamics and also together are shaped and shape the identification process of a specific group. I think such a theoretical integration is similar to a junction, which provides ways to proceed for exploring the relations between macro and micro levels; structure and agency.

1.2 Historical Context

I want to provide some background information about the historical context which surrounds Sarıdünya for having a better understanding of its position within this context. For this purpose, in the following pages, I first present some information about the population exchange between Greece and Turkey which took place in 1923 and 1924, since it was the reason why the villagers had come to Sarıdünya in the first place. Then, I move on to describe the economic transformation through a survey and discussion of the tobacco production and its

relation with Turkish state formation, since the tobacco sector, which was under the state monopoly between 1925 and 2005, constituted the mainstay of Sarıdünya's economy. In this part, I will describe certain aspects of these two macro processes without details on how they affect the daily lives of the villagers in Sarıdünya.

1.2.1 Greek Turkish Compulsory Population Exchange 1923-1924

The Lausanne Treaty and the population exchange should be understood within the context of nation state formations and population homogenizations of Greece and Turkey during the disintegration of the multi ethnic and multi religious Ottoman Empire. The tension between Greeks and Turks in Greece heightened after the Greek Independence and reached its peak during the 1912-13 Balkan Wars. Many Turkish villagers who lived in mountainous regions of Macedonia were caught between Greek and Bulgarian fires. During the World War I(1914-1918) the Greek invasion of western Anatolia harmed mutual living experiences of Greeks and Turks in Anatolia. At the end of the war, Ottoman Empire lost. However in 1919, Turkish Independence Movement developed and fought mainly against the Greek army. This struggle between Greek and Turkish sides for Anatolia was the highest point of the tension between Greek and Turkish populations of Anatolia. After the victory of the Turkish nationalist forces in the war to gain sovereignty in Anatolia, they also gained power and confidence to negotiate the future of the minorities both in Greece and Turkey and the formation of a new nation state with Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece among other states during the Lausanne Peace Treaty (Pentzopoulos, 2002). The idea of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, which turned to be nation states in the aim of strengthening their national bases and homogenizing their populations, was agreed at the very beginning of the negotiations with a special protocol for the exchange of minorities on January 30th, 1923 (Yıldırım, 2006). The sides of the treaty thought that the population exchange would solve the minority issues in both of the countries and end any irredentist intent associated with these minorities. With the convention, the sides agreed on that, except the Orthodox of İstanbul and Muslims of western Thrace, all the Orthodox population of Anatolia and Muslim population of Greece would be exchanged with each other and their real-estate

would cover each other's loss. (Yildirim, 2006). For the Turkish side, the important consequences of population exchange were creating a homogenous population and a national economy (Yildirim, 2006). At the end, Greece received over than one million people with the ones who had to flee there before the Treaty and Turkey received nearly four hundred thousand Muslim exchangees from Greece (Pentzopoulos, 2002; Hirschon, 2005a). With the treaty of Ankara in 1930, the real estates of exchangee populations were handed over to the governments and the exchange process was finished. However, since both of the governments, did not take the necessary measures and could not administer the process properly, many of the exchangees could not find proper houses and jobs in the places where they were settled (Yildirim, 2006). Only a limited number of them had enough resources to refuse the government's offer and found more appropriate places to live. Most of them had to struggle with local people for improving their lives and this led to harsh conflicts between exchangees and local people in the economic and social domains (Yildirim, 2006; Gökaçtı, 2005).

Samsun and Bafra were also parts of this process. Since Samsun was an important urban center at the Black Sea coast and it was an important center for Greek Orthodox patriarchate, it also became, before the Greek-Turkish war, a central place for Greek nationalism. Thus, Samsun and its surroundings witnessed many clashes between Greeks and Turks during the war. The Turkish independence struggle also started in Samsun when Mustafa Kemal came to Samsun in 1919. From there, he went into the inner parts of Anatolia and organized the resistance. During these battles, many members of the Greek population of Samsun had to leave. Before these clashes, due to increasing economic activity, Muslim and non-Muslim population of both Samsun and Bafra had increased. In 1885, Samsun had 32,925 Greek Orthodox and 1,163 Armenians, in 1914 the same groups' population increased to 54,709 and 4,791 respectively. The Muslim population of Samsun also increased from 33,419 to 44,993. In 1885, Bafra had 22,834 Greek Orthodox and 1,012 Armenians, in 1914 Greek Orthodox population increased to 30,838 and Armenian population increased to 1,725. In the same period, Muslim population also increased from 38,936 to 48,944 between 1885 and 1914 (Yurt Ansiklopedisi,

1984: 6565). However, after the ethnic clashes, the last remaining ones were subjects to the Lausanne Treaty and they had to leave Samsun involuntarily. The Greek Orthodox minority of Samsun and Bafra who mainly had lived in urban areas working primarily as traders, artisans, bank clerks, had to flee to Greece. According to İpek (2000), during the population exchange, 22,668 Greek Orthodox, who were from Samsun and the surrounding small settlements left the port of Samsun for Greece. Samsun and Bafra also received in return Muslim-Turkish exchangees from Greece. İpek says that in 1927, after the end of exchange, there were 6, 463 exchangee people in center of Bafra out of 56,414 total population. These people were from the cities and hinterlands of Kavalla, Thessaloniki and Drama. According to İpek (2000), the settlement of these exchangees to the area in and around Samsun was a result of Turkish government's choice on the basis of the belief that the people who were from these cities of Greece were experienced tobacco producers and workers. The government wanted to settle them in Samsun and Bafra because most of them had worked in jobs related to tobacco production before the population exchange, thus they could adapt the new life in Turkey more easily and also be productive in shorter time (İpek, 2000).

In the literature about the population exchange in Turkey, apart from a few historical investigations such as İpek (2000), Arı (2009) and Çomu (2011), many of the pieces are non-academic ones. Actually these novels and memoirs were the ones which broke the long silence about the population exchange in Turkey. The translation of Sotiriyu's well-known novel (1996) and the books by Yorulmaz (1997) Kosova (1998) and Yalçın (1999) played a very important role in bring the exchange to the attention of Turkish public. Especially Yalçın (1999)'s book *Emanet Ceyiz* (Entrusted Dowry) informed people who are non-exchangees and third or fourth generation of exchangees who already knew nothing about the population exchange. The book is based on a true story of Yalcin who tries to find the owners of dowry which was left behind by his family's Greek neighbors. In this process, he also interviews some Greek exchangees. Later he also conducts interviews with his own family and neighbors who still remember their Greek neighbors. These narratives by Yalcin helped surface many similar stories and

stimulate an interest in the population exchange. As I will show in the following chapter, some of the exchangees whom I conducted interviews with told me that after reading this book, they started joining in the activities of the exchangee association in Samsun.

The second wave of non-academic works consist of the books of Yoannu (2002), Yorulmaz (2003), Andreadis (2007), Özsoy (2007) and Kobakizade (2008). Except Yorulmaz`s pieces (1997, 2003), all of these works are memoirs. They are narratives of either first generation exchangees from Greece or Turkey or the interviews which were conducted with them by descendants of the exchangees. These books have also similarities other than being memoirs. They both focus on the good old days in which Turkish and Greek people in Anatolia and Greece had lived peacefully. Then they describe the ethnic conflict which led to the population exchange as the result of what they considered wrong deeds of the politicians who did not know how close the people were to each other. Even though some people be Greek or Turkish, took places in the attacks against one another this was not because two nations were enemies, but because these people were just ignorant, bad tempered and greedy, according to the narratives in the book. These narratives put blame on the political leaders of two nations or foreign powers and highlight that there is no intrinsic hostility among Turkish and Greek people. Second, all of these books include many detailed accounts of daily lives in small towns from both side of the Aegean. These details are about how people had lived as neighborhoods, how people had traded with each other, how people had struggled with the hardships of population exchange and how they had settled in their new lands. These narratives can, to a certain extent; help to compensate the absence of first hand testimonies of the exchangees. In this respect, all of these books contributed to this study both in terms of developing an understanding of the conditions before and after the population exchange. Needless to say, they provided me with a sound background for the preparation of the field work for this study.

In 2005, two compilations which employ a more sociological perspective on the population exchange were published in Turkish. These books can be considered as pioneering books which broke the silence in Turkish social scientific

literature about the population exchange. First book (2005) is edited by R. Hirschon, who had earlier authored *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe* (1998) one of the major anthropological studies about the exchangees in Athens, Greece. In this compilation, especially two articles are very important for the purposes of this study: These are Köker and Keskiner (2005:291-312)'s and Koufopolou (2005: 313-329)'s articles. Both articles explore how the exchangee populations in different places built their new daily lives around the framework of issues about identity, memory and integration. Their studies are based on interviews with both exchangees and their non-exchangee neighbors. Köker and Keskiner (2005) dwell on how exchangee people compare and contrast their old and new lives, their unsuccessful attempts for return and their longing for homelands. They also illustrate the relationship between the exchangees and locals with the help of interviews. They conclude that since population exchange divided families and communities, it impoverished the people economically, culturally and socially. Koufopolou (2005), on the other hand, examines how Cretan exchangees in Cunda created multiple identities, because of the Cunda's specific location as a border town. The exchangees from Crete saw the locals and other exchangees and immigrants from Balkans as peasants, while they viewed themselves as modern city-dwellers. As a result of this complex leveling, Koufopolou (2005) claims that they have multiple identities as national (Turkish), local (Cundalı) and ethnic (Cretan). The second compilation of the essays on the Population Exchange (Pekin, 2005) is also a volume with papers on political and socio-economic consequences of the population exchange, literary works about it and cultural heritage of the population exchange such as the architectural structures. Moreover, it has also papers focusing on the experiences of individuals as members of a minority before and after the Lausanne Treaty.

After these two compilations Gökaçtı's study (2008) which focuses on the whole process of the population exchange exchangees, with a focus on the exchangees' experiences and struggle in housing and labor market in Turkey, provides information especially on the exchangees from Thessaloniki and Crete. He also talks about the efforts of the exchangees to organize in order to make their

voices heard by the broader public and to draw the public's attention to their problems. This is important since Gökaçtı's (2008) arguments show the differentiation of the exchangees and their hesitant situation about Turkish state. Tanc also (2001) emphasizes how displacement and resettlement affected national and social identities of the exchange people. He especially investigates the difference between individuals' experiences of nationalism and national identity and the official version of nationality and national identity based on three oral history interviews. Based on the interviews, he argues that the experiences of the refugees/exchangees and the official narratives on nationhood do not confirm each other since official narratives do not include the peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Turks before the introduction of nationalist ideologies to Anatolia. Most importantly, he posits that the endurance of the refugee/exchangee experience is related with the role of the memory and its links to the remains of the past. He concludes that "memory is 'not merely a passive receptacle or storage system, an image bank of the past [but] historically conditioned, changing color and shape according to the emergencies of the moment, so that far from being handed down in the timeless form of "tradition" it is altered from generation to generation'"(14) .

Iğsız (2007) analyzes how the experiences of the exchangees are represented as cultural products such as books, movies and music albums in 1990`s. With the help of these products, she tries to answer the question, "How did their experience mediate the category of *ethnicity* and what other, if any metaethnic concepts did they resort to an interpreting their own identity?" (168). She sees that these products are attempts to negotiate exchangee identities and in many of them, the geographical kinship (which finds meaning as being from the same homeland) and memory narratives of homeland are important parts of the negotiation. Iğsız (2007) states that such an interest in these cultural products is related to the disillusionments caused by non-inclusive citizenship practices of Turkish Republic. In another article (2008), she also explains the tendency of writing their past among exchangee people with their curiosity for their own past and homelands. She argues that the existence of such a curiosity is a sign for the unsuccessfulness of

“administered forgetting” which is promoted by official discourse in every possible way.

In addition to Iğsız’s studies, the publications of Köker and Keskiner (2005), Koufopoulou (2005), Gökaçtı (2008) and Tanc (2001) are the pieces which inspire the main questions behind this dissertation and they help me to think about the crucial relationship among daily life practices, the past and the identification processes. Hirschon’s study (1998), in which she represents a different interpretation of the population exchange from the perspectives of the Greek exchangees in Athens, provides an anthropological account on these people’s lives. She focuses on how the Ottoman past still affects the daily lives of the exchangees and how they build an identity based on this past and their differences within the different domains of social life. Karakasidou’s study (2010), which is another anthropological study based both on historical documents and extensive field research in Macedonia region of Greece, explains the nation formation process including the population exchange and its effects on this region. All of the studies above, challenge the official discourses both in Turkey and Greece which underestimate the burden of the population exchange upon in daily lives of the people and erase the memory of population exchange. They highlight that there are a lot of ways and aspects that the population exchange still affect the life chances, daily lives practices and perspectives of these people who were subjected to compulsory relocation 90 years before. In this respect, these studies constitute the part of the literature about the population exchange that this dissertation aims to contribute to, with such a relational perspective.

Yıldırım’s (2006) book focuses on two side of the population exchange. First, he provides a detailed account about the diplomatic maneuvers of both Greek and Turkish sides during the Lausanne Treaty meetings, transportation and settlement processes of the exchangees, and redistribution of abandoned real properties among new comers. The book draws attention to the definition if the term “minority” by Greek and Turkish sides during the negotiations at Lausanne. Since Turkish side wanted to include in the Exchange scheme the remaining Armenians who fled to Greece, they insisted on the use of the broad category of

non-Muslim instead of Greek Orthodox. But the Greeks stressed on the latter term, since they only want to accept the people who fit into their definition. Yıldırım (2006) concludes that upon the conclusion of the Exchange, the remaining minorities in both countries were abused by the policies of both states and fates of these people were dependent on the direction of the relations of Turkey and Greece (322).

In addition to the studies which examine national consequences of the population exchange, there are more specific regional monographs on the population exchange which focus on regions like Samsun. For example, Köseoğlu (2007) examines an exchangee village in Samsun and the exchangees' relation with the local population with the help of an interview with an exchangee. İşler (2007) also presents his own family's story as an example of an exchange family who had come from Thessaloniki to Samsun. Sepetçioğlu (2007) examines the general consequences of population exchange on social, economic and cultural life of Samsun. Another study by İpek (2007) focuses on term "exchangee" and the author compares the term with *émigré*, immigrant or exile. He states that since the term "exchangee" symbolizes a migration which is forced and organized by the state, exchangee people prefer to use this term. There are two more specific studies on Samsun. While Üner's (2009) paper looks at exchangee people's traditions in Samsun and explores the villages' organization, family structure, neighbor relations, and rituals of marriage, funeral and special days, another study by Turan (2009) examines how experience of population exchange is transferred from one generation to the other one. Turan claims that the links between the generations about population exchange are not strong. In her view, when the absence of the Population Exchange in official discourses significantly affects the transfer of information on the Exchange among the generations.

In many of the academic and literary writings about the Greek-Turkish population exchange, the authors emphasize its uniqueness in its size which affected nearly 2 million people on both sides of the Aegean Sea and its method which crowd out any choices of the people. Even if such perspective stresses on the significance of the population exchange on the lives of people who were subjected

to it, the perspective decontextualizes the population exchange in the national formation processes of the countries and it misses the opportunity to compare it with similar forced migrations. Many of the similar cases have taken place in the history of Eastern Europe since 1820s (Stola, 1992). Stola (1992) and Morawska (2000) related this situation with several reasons. First of all, Eastern Europe's political map was drawn repeatedly firstly by the multi national empires then by the national-states which followed the empires. Secondly, there were long armed conflicts such as Balkan Wars and World Wars. Thirdly, the region witnessed emergence and expansion of totalitarian regimes. Finally, during the period between 1820s and 1980s, the technology of deportation, which the states could have, developed. Stola (1992) identified three population exchanges in East Europe between 1945 and 1946 and concludes that 25 percent of East European population was national minorities in 1930s; this percentage regressed to 7.2 in 1970s as a result of forced migrations. Morawska (2000) argues that the personal pain and trauma which was caused by forced migration can be portrayed in the novels, poetry and memoirs. Not only newly emerging nation-states of Eastern Europe, but also post-colonial states which became independent after World War II used forced migrations as a means of nation building processes. Khan (2007) examines the partition of India in 1947 into India and Pakistan in a very detailed manner. She argues that the population exchange started spontaneously after the partition, and then gained an official character. Khan (2007) concludes that "echoes of Partition resonate in contemporary discourse, and domestic and foreign policy decisions are shaped, and received, by the experience and memories of 1947" (203). In this respect, the Greco-Turkish population exchange is far from being the unique case for the population exchange especially during the formation nation state. Moreover, the effects of the population exchanges in other countries still can be traced in different aspects of social life.

1.2.2 Tobacco Production in Bafra

Bafra is the second largest province of Samsun, located 50 km west of Samsun. After the Crimean War between Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1856, Samsun lost its importance as a port, since the trade routes between south and north

of Black Sea were cut off. However, it gained its weight again after the introduction of steamboats and widespread tobacco agriculture around Samsun especially in Bafra. Samsun and Bafra became important trade and agricultural centers in Black Sea region, due to increasing volume of economic activity, its Muslim and non-Muslim population continued to increase until the First World War.

After 1850s, Samsun's and Bafra's economic history and its industrialization can be followed with the direction of the tobacco agriculture. Bafra was the first place in which tobacco agriculture was started in and around Samsun. It has very fertile soils since it was founded an alluvial plain of Kızılırmak. Its economy was mainly dependent on tobacco agriculture, industry and trade and also the production of corn, sun flower and animal husbandry (Cembeloğlu and Cembeloğlu, 1969). The soil was cultivated mainly by families who run small scale enterprises. During late 1800s, due to the fiscal hardships, Ottoman economy had to open up for foreign traders and also the Empire had to give some autonomy to the private companies to operate in important sectors. The tobacco sector was one of these sectors. The Tobacco Administration⁴ which was an Austrian and German partnership was founded in 1883 as a privileged monopoly in the sector. The producers had to sell what they produced to the Tobacco Administration at a price fixed by the management. Then the management was used to sell the tobacco in foreign markets and subtract it from the Ottoman debt. Since many of the small tobacco producers were Muslim and the administrative and executive cadres of the Administration were non-Muslim, the tension between the producers and the monopoly had also an ethnic dimension (Doğruel and Doğruel, 2000). Moreover, around Samsun, the buyers were not only the Tobacco Administration; three-fourth of the tobacco production of Samsun was exported to Germany and Holland by other non-Muslim traders (Yurt Ansiklopedisi, 1984). The third tobacco factory in

⁴ The name of the company was originally was *Müşterek-ül Menfaa İnhisarı Duhanı Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye* in Turkish or *Société de la Régie Cointeressée des Tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman* in French. It was a private enterprise which was found by Austrian and German partners in 1883. It was a monopoly in tobacco industry since it had privileged by the Ottoman state (Doğruel and Doğruel (2000).

Turkey was established in Samsun by the Tobacco Administration in 1887.⁵ Between 1887 and 1897 there were 500 workers and 12 foremen in the factory and they produced 60 tons of tobacco per year. Its production was mainly sold in the Black Sea region. At the beginning of the 20th century, around Samsun 4,245 ton tobacco was produced and nearly half of it came from Bafra (Doğruel and Doğruel, 2000).

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Samsun maintained its central position at the Black Sea coast and became one of the important economic centers of Turkey. The Tobacco Administration was nationalized in 1925. Samsun tobacco factory, which operated until 1997, was also bought by the newly-founded Turkish Republic in 1926. The Management was turned into a state monopoly and named as Tobacco, Tobacco Products and Alcoholic Beverages Administration or shortly TEKEL⁶ -a state owned economic enterprise. In addition its activities in tobacco sector, it also monopolized the alcoholic beverages, salt and even coffee for a short time. However, its main function was to regularize all domains of the tobacco sector. By regulating minimum and maximum prices of each tobacco product, it set the economic conditions in which peasant populations live in all over Turkey. By opening cigarette factories it supported Turkish modernization and industrialization. Rather than a company which focused on maximum profit, it worked as a state agency which promoted a specific kind of development model for rural and urban areas. TEKEL was the largest buyer of the

⁵ In the three sources which I used for the history of tobacco in Samsun, I found three different years in which the factory was founded. Doğruel and Doğruel (2000) claim that it was 1897, Sarısakal (?) claims that it was 1887 and Yurt Ansiklopedisi (1984) claims that it was 1903. In this study, I took the year which Sarısakal (?) asserted. I accessed Sarısakal's article on August, 19th 2015 on the web page: <http://www.bakisarisakal.com/SAMSUN%20REJ%C4%B0%20FABR%C4%BOKASI.pdf>

⁶ TEKEL or *Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü*, General Directory of State Monopolies. According to Ertürk Keskin and Yaman (2013), in 1925, after the Reji was nationalized, a state monopoly for local tobacco production was founded. One of the first orders about TEKEL was to change the internal correspondences to Turkish from French and increase the number of Turkish employees. In this respect, it was nationalization in every sense of the word. In early years, the monopoly was only responsible for tobacco, cigarette and cigarette paper for national consumption, but after 1935, it included alcoholic beverages, salt and gun powder. This organizational structure did not change a lot until 1984, when TEKEL was turned to be a state owned enterprise, which can be seen as the first step towards privatization.

Turkish tobacco and also main seller of it in the foreign markets as a source of foreign currency to finance development projects in Turkey.

Thus, the policies and regulation of TEKEL is important and decisive in the daily lives of Sarıdünya villagers, since they shape everything about the tobacco production from seeds and fertilizer to minimum price and buying date. At this juncture, one point about the role of the tobacco production in the lives of the villagers should be emphasized. The tobacco production was not only important as the main economic activity for the villagers. With all time consuming and labor incentive practices in and around the tobacco fields which spans several months in a year, tobacco production functioned as a nest for opportunities to transmit the social memory of the population exchange among different generations, to highlight certain ways of tobacco processing as the exchange way and to shape the certain perceptions of the villagers about themselves and non-exchangees. It is a resource for the identification process in which the villager compare and contrast themselves with other people as the bearers of different historical background and practices as much as it is the main economic activity for the villagers. In this respect, tobacco production as a set of practices is the main channel for social memory and identification processes to be embedded into the habitus. This match between the main economic activity and main channel to the people's background and self perception is the key which operates the habitus. I will give detailed account on how TEKEL regulated the tobacco sector and how these details affected the daily lives of the tobacco producers in Sarıdünya both in economic and other domains in the fourth chapter.

TEKEL's dominant role in the tobacco sector was continuously diminished after 1980s with the ascendancy of the neo-liberal policies in economic sphere and it lost this function gradually. With the January 24th economic decree, economic policies which had aimed an industrial development based on import substitution were transformed into an open market economy and export led growth. With September 12th military coup, the working class movement and other opposition groups to this economic transformation were oppressed. After this, the state role in the economic domain was cut with downsizing or privatization

(Kazgan, 2002). This transformation directly affected the people who worked in the tobacco sector as producers or workers in Bafra and Samsun. In 1983, TEKEL turned to be a state enterprise rather than a monopoly so its main economic aim changed to gaining profit. In 1986, the private companies were allowed to produce cigarette with the partnership of TEKEL. In 1991, producing cigarette, importing and exporting tobacco by private companies were allowed. In 1997, Samsun tobacco factory was closed down, and then in TEKEL stopped its support purchases of tobacco which were vital for the peasants in the region. In 2001, privatization efforts for TEKEL were started, in 2002 it turned to be stock company and stopped the support purchase and minimum price policy, in 2003 it was divided into two and put on the market for privatization and finally in 2008 it was sold to British American Tobacco Corporation. With increasing cost of producing tobacco and uncertainty in the market, like many villagers, villagers of Sarıdünya stopped producing tobacco completely in 2009. In 2001 there were 58 thousand registered tobacco producers in Black Sea region including Bafra, this number reduced to 12 thousand by 2008. The total production of tobacco in the region also diminished to its one sixth during the same period. As a result of this process many people lost their tobacco related jobs or had to be retired early (Özerman, 2009). I will describe and analyze the details of economic transformation and its effects on the villagers' daily life practices in the fourth chapter.

Bafra's economic structure is still dependent on production and trade of agricultural products. It has a population of 86, 509⁷. There are 115 villages which are bounded to Bafra as the county center. It can still pull some of the domestic migrants from less developed areas around Samsun; however, due to unemployment after the privatization of TEKEL and migration to big cities for seeking better employment opportunities and schooling hamper both economic and social activities which are needed young population. In 2004, 68,39% of the population worked in agricultural sector, 6,78% of it worked in industrial sectors, 24,83% worked in service sector, while 8,07% were unemployed (Bafra Ticaret ve

⁷ <http://www.bafra.gov.tr/?haberNo=371> accessed on August 19, 2015.

Sanayi Odası, 2007). This report suggests that especially after the 2001 economic crisis, Bafra turned to city of retirees and civil servants (Bafra Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, 2007).⁸ In the following pages of the study, I will provide a description and explanation of how the transformation of the tobacco sector affected daily lives of the villagers in detail.

⁸ http://www.bafratso.org.tr/uploads/yayinlar/panorama/eko_pano_1.pdf

Accessed on November 30, 2013.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH AND RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to provide detailed accounts of both research and analysis processes and to allow the reader a critical examination. In the following pages, I first explain the interpretative research methodology and critical realism which has shaped my position within this perspective. Then, I provide a detailed description of the research and the analysis process. The reader can see how I chose the field site, what types of methods I employed, how I entered and proceeded in the field, which difficulties I experienced during the field research and how I analyzed the data. Finally, I mention the limitations of the research both for the readers to have a better judgment of this study, and for future researchers who want to avoid similar limitations in their own work.

2.2 Methodological Approach

Due to the fact that there is limited statistical data which allows an elaboration of population exchange in Turkey, I chose to gather data with qualitative research methods within an interpretative methodology. Such an approach is also much more appropriate for the research questions of the dissertation, which are: what are the specificities of the exchangee habitus? What kind of practices, experiences and perceptions are typical for this habitus? Which objective conditions and subjective perceptions are involved in this habitus; and especially which roles are played by the remembrance/social memory of the population exchange and the material conditions of tobacco production and its reflections on daily life experiences? How does the exchangee habitus respond to changing conditions and vice versa, how does this specific habitus affect the memory practices and identification processes? The fact that there exists only limited statistical data pushed me to employ a variety of alternative data and moreover, as Mills (2000) suggested as the craft of a sociologist, I had opportunity

to link biographies with history with the help of these accounts (Henn, Weinstein and Foard, 2005: 9).

Based on Weber's emphasis on the meaning of social action and the conditions in which social action takes place, the works of Chicago School which focused on social and cultural life of immigrants in urban areas were among the first interpretative studies in the discipline of sociology. Later, qualitative techniques gained much more validity and value to understand the complexity of the social world. Feminist theory, postmodern critique, race research and critical theory questioned both qualitative and quantitative techniques. As a result of these criticisms, the relation between researcher and research participants was rethought and reformulated. These developments opened a way for researchers to share their experiences during field research, which can be called a reflexive approach (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Anti-realist critics highlighted commonalities of positivism and naturalism. Both of the paradigms assume that there is a social reality which is independent of the researchers' and can be grasped by using proper techniques. Constructivist and post-constructivists debates roughly argued that during ethnographic field research, the social world and meaning of it is constructed through the relationship among ethnographer and the local people. The captured meanings are not stable but dependent on this relationship. Moreover, what is accepted as real or unreal, true or false is determined as the exercise of power. Thus, a responsible researcher should know these values and affiliations, see their effect on her/his studies and let the others know about them (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:10-16).

I agree with some arguments of these critiques about interpretative research, especially the ones about the neutrality of the researcher and sharing one's experiences in the field as an informative practice. Since interpretative research practices locate the researcher in the world as herself/himself with her/his consciousness, every research output, which is in fact a representation of the world from the eyes of the researcher, has the trace of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; 3). In this respect, it is a responsibility of the researcher to reflect the effects of her/his values, affiliations and positions in the field rather than claiming ultimate

neutrality. However, I prefer to retain naturalistic and realistic premises of the interpretative research methodology. I think it's naturalistic, since it tries to make sense of phenomena within its own social setting even if the researcher affects this natural setting. It is realistic, because even the social world is mediated by the relation between the researcher and the respondents; there is an aspect of the social world which will continue to exist without these mediations.

2.2.1 Bhaskar's Critical Realism and Bourdieu's Metatheory

At this point an important question emerges: is it possible to have a methodological standpoint which includes the criticisms of new currents towards positivism without being extremely pessimistic or relativistic? Critical realism, developed by Bhaskar (1978, 1989) has such an integrative position. For Davies (1999), this perspective is "a fully reflexive yet realist basis for research practice that can be expected to yield explanations which are open to informed debate and criticism and which provide qualitatively better understandings of human societies and cultures" (ibid.:18). Bhaskar's main criticism about positivist and hermeneutic perspectives is that their focus on epistemology remains without an ontological basis. The question about how we know and the question about the nature of things we know are totally different questions according to Bhaskar. Rather he suggests a three-layered ontological reality: the empirical, the actual and the real. In the empirical domain, the experiences of the agent take place. The causal and generative mechanisms of social structure take place in the domain of real. The actual is the domain of reflection between the empirical and the real domains. In the real domain, the structures are free from the effects of the agents, so the non-subjectivist naturalist and realist premises of a social science lie here. The social structures and mechanisms cannot be experienced directly; they can only be known with the help of experiences (Bhaskar, 1978). Phenomenological reality which the qualitative researchers chase in their fieldwork is the reflection of social structure. Society is independent of people's conceptions on it and it has a deterministic power on them. However, the very thing which reproduces the society is actions of the agents. In this respect, the society's relation to the agents is both real and transcendent. Society and agents belong to different domains of reality. They are on

different ontological levels but inextricably connected to each other and under influence of each other. In this respect, an ethnographic research supported by critical realism can provide explanations based on tendencies rather than strict laws, while it emphasizes the value of the concrete experiences which take place in a specific time and place (Davies, 1999; Bhaskar, 1989).

Since we as human actors belong to the empirical domain and are dependent on the context we live in, and since the social structures belong to the real domain, we cannot produce knowledge completely free of our context. Thus, our knowledge of the social world is always imperfect (Bhaskar, 1989). We do not have access from a point which is detached from our experiences. There can be the best available theories but not a final theory (Collier, 1994; 23). In this respect, there is enough space in critical realism for reflexivity. The researcher must have a continuing reflexive awareness in all the steps of a scientific investigation, since she/he cannot have a privileged position in her/his relation with the social world. The reflexivity which allows the researcher to see the effects of her/his position in the social world may bring her/his explanation close to the possible best one. When combined with a realist stance, reflexivity can be transformative and emancipatory. The dialectic of intransitivity and interdependency in the relation between social structures and human actors allows critical realism to be a reasonable philosophical basis for interpretative research.

In this respect, critical realism functions as an ontological safe ground, both for my claims and for critiques about my claims to which they can anchor. The dynamic relations between the different levels of reality permit hermeneutical interpretations while they protect the claims being “anything goes” type of an arbitrary relativity. At this point, after settling the ontological base, the argument must be proceeded to relate this base and the main theoretical canon, namely metatheory of Pierre Bourdieu, which is employed in every step of the dissertation; choosing and clarifying the research question, conducting the field work and analyzing the research findings. In this attempt, I will follow Vandenberghe (1999) who thinks that Bourdieu’s metatheory which misses the link between epistemological and ontological levels deserves a much stronger ontological base.

According to my interpretation, Vandenberghe (1999) claims that Bourdieu builds his metatheory on Bachelard's rational materialism which does not distinguish different levels of realism. It is a realism of the second position which "reacts against usual reality, a realism made of realized and experienced reason" (38). According to this type of realism, a scientist creates reality while s/he develops the theories about it. There is no independent reality of the world besides the theory. Science gives the structure of the world which is known by scientists. When such a point of view is investigated by a critical realist stance, since it assumes that statements about knowledge and statements about being are the same type of statements, Bourdieu's position falls in epistemic fallacy. According to Vandenberghe (1999), even Bourdieu claims that scientific representations have their own foundations in reality; most of his epistemological arguments adapt the idea that reality has its foundations in scientific representations which correspond with a rationalist position rather than a realist one (39). Vandenberghe (1999) claims, that if Bourdieu's theory in general would be based on a critical realist account as an ontological foundation, its premises would be much stronger. For example, Bourdieu's attempts to develop a reflexive sociology gain much more meaning and importance in the application within the critical realist account, since it allows comparing different representations of reality which exist independently of the representations. Vandenberghe (1999) argues that "if he (Bourdieu) wants his theory to come to grips with and to have an effect on the social world, then he ultimately has to presuppose that the social world is more than an epistemic effect of his theory" (62). Moreover, to relate his political intentions and his theory of the social, he should have a less deterministic and more creative concept of reproduction, which Vandenberghe (1999) suggests he can have with the critical realist account of the real. Bourdieu's emphasis on relational mode of thought which can be seen in internally related operations of habitus and field, requires this kind of openness and relatedness of the social and the actor which are the main features of critical realism.

2.3 Research Process

After I decided to conduct a research about the Greek-Turkish population exchange, I delved into the literature in Turkish and English about the people who settled in Turkey. There are two features of the literature which affected my decision to conduct a field research in Sarıdünya village, in the Bafra province of Samsun. First, the literature mostly includes historical investigations about the exchange. They investigate how the population exchange affected the economic, religious or demographic structures of Turkey or some specific cities (Ari, 2009; Çomu, 2011). They are based on state statistics and some memoirs of the top brass officers. They reflect the official approach towards the population exchange. Second, both macro studies and a few studies which are based on field research focus on cities or towns located on the Aegean or Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Thus, giving priority to a location on the Black Sea coast would fill a huge gap in the literature on population exchange. Among the many cities in the Black Sea region which were affected by the exchange, Samsun stands out with its crowded exchangee population (İpek, 2000).

After deciding to conduct a field research in Samsun, I spent a few days there in March, 2010. I was able to make some informal interviews with the director and members of an association whose aim is to increase consciousness on the issue of population exchange in Samsun. I also met a family with three generations of exchangees with the help from a family friend. The general idea that I came along during these few days was that it would be nearly impossible to make an ethnographic field research in Samsun in a reasonable time period, because the exchangee people are scattered in different neighborhoods in the city.

From the people I talked to in Samsun I learned that there is a neighborhood in Bafra called Gazi Paşa which is mostly populated by exchangees. The neighborhood was originally populated by Greeks before the population exchange. After they had to leave, exchangees mostly from Thessaloniki and Drama of Greece were settled in the neighborhood. The neighborhood has a small museum about the population exchange, and the community organizes a special celebration every October 29th for Republic Day, apart from the official

celebrations. As far as I know, this is the only civil celebration of the Republican Day in Turkey. On this day, the exchangee organization in the neighborhood organizes a march with torches and a public concert. Many exchangees who left Bafra for various reasons come here only for this celebration. This was the information that I gathered from books about Bafra and Samsun (Sarısakal, 2007; Ahıshalıođlu, 2011) and from some people from Bafra. I was not able to go to Bafra in March, 2010. However, Bafra seemed to me to be the ideal, since I assumed that there was a close-knit community of exchangees who were in the tobacco trade which took shape under the effect of state policies and the world markets. With a close knit community, I hoped to be in a site of memory (Nora, 2006) and with the economic politics of tobacco, I wanted to relate this place of memory with macro issues.

My next visit to Bafra took place in September, 2010. I spent three days there. With the reference of people I met in Samsun, I arranged a meeting with the mukhtar⁹ of the Gazi Paşa neighborhood. Before this meeting, I noticed that the museum had closed permanently and most of the old houses which give the character of the neighborhood were demolished and replaced by new apartments. When I met with the mukhtar, I talked about my intentions of staying and living there among exchangee people and of making interviews with them in the summer of 2011. The reply of the mukhtar was devastating for my imagined research. He said that most of the exchangee population of the neighborhood had left there for better jobs and educational opportunities and moved to big cities. He especially emphasized that the ones who still live there also go to their summer houses in other parts of Samsun or other coastal areas. Because of the material that I had read, I was expecting something very distinctive, easy to see and to detect as “exchangee”. Due to the time constraint, rather than focusing on the neighborhood and trying to dig deeper layers, I jumped to see other possibilities around Bafra. On my second day there, I met the mukhtars of two other exchangee villages which are

⁹ Mukhtar is the headperson of a village or a neighborhood who is elected in the local elections for four years. Their position is the one with lowest rank in the administrative body of the state in Turkey.

very close to Bafra. Both of the men were very open to my questions and I could see how they were excited about the idea that I would choose their village as a “model” exchangee village. I think that because I introduced myself as a graduate student from Middle East Technical University (METU)¹⁰ in Ankara, it caused them to see me as an authority about population exchange. They both appreciated my efforts and tried to help me in my research. One of them is the mukhtar of another exchangee village located to the North of Bafra with nearly 150 households. It is a huge village with scattered neighborhoods on the hills. In addition to the exchangees, there are Albanians, local people and other migrants from the east Black Sea coast. In that village, I had the opportunity to speak with seven elderly exchangees. They talked about the forced migration and settlement process which they had heard from their fathers and mothers. After leaving the village, I met with the mukhtar of Sarıdünya for the first time. He was in his work place and his wife and two sons were also visiting. They were very sincere, hospitable, and talkative. The mukhtar had a visible passion for issues of the population exchange and this had spread to the other members of his family. Both husband and wife liked to speak about the population exchange and the traditions of the exchangee people. We also arranged my next visit in the village on a date close to the Republican Day, October 29th, so I could see the celebration in the neighborhood. I participated in the celebrations and also met a few people from Sarıdünya who lived in Bafra.

Afterwards, I was able to pay a visit to Sarıdünya village late November, 2010 for three days. I stayed in Bafra, but in the daytime I visited the village. The mukhtar’s wife, Gül, became my guide in the village and introduced me to others. I met with eight elderly people and visited six households. I learned that the

¹⁰ METU was founded in 1956 in Ankara to cover the highly skilled workforce need of Turkey and other Middle Eastern countries. Currently, in a campus of 4500 hectares, 26,500 students are enrolled in 43 undergraduate, 100 masters and 66 doctorate programs. According to THE, METU stands in the 201-225 group in “World University Rankings Top 400”, as the highest ranking from Turkey. In addition, its academic reputation, to general public, being a METU student generally connotes being a leftist from any fraction. Due to the relatively liberal environment in the campus, many different leftist organizations are able to recruit members. This reputation of METU is on the rise nowadays due to student protest against Prime Minister, R.T. Erdoğan’s visit in the campus in December, 2012 and a highway construction in the campus in September, 2013.

villagers' ancestors had lived in the same village in Greece and all had been tobacco producers. This is very interesting because most of the people who came to Turkey were not allowed to stay with their co-villagers after the population exchange, since the administrators thought that this would ease their assimilation with other people. However, in this case, the villagers wanted to settle in a village to be able to produce tobacco as they did in their homeland and refused the government's housing offers in the center city of Samsun. In this respect, their settlement decision was not a fully top down decision and they could enjoy limited agency during their settlement. I also listened to the stories about the relations with their Greek neighbors in Greece and the painful process of forced migration and settlement. Every villager, to whom I was able speak with at that time, emphasized how Atatürk and his ideals were held very precious among all the exchangee villagers. They also showed me the statue of Atatürk, which is located in the most visible part of the village. Atatürk was not only the savior or founder of Turkey, but also a fellow townsman who was born in Thessaloniki in Greece. Moreover, I noticed that the tobacco production in the village had stopped completely and the villagers had other economic resources to live on.

In addition to the many things that I learned about the historical background of the village, the villagers' attitude towards me was unbelievably nice and warm. From the very first moment I started meeting with them, I didn't feel or hear anything negative or discouraging. The location of the village was also very convenient. It is only 4 km away from Bafra and there is a shared taxi, or *dolmuş*, line between Bafra and the village. All the houses are in walking distance and mostly wall to wall to each other. Moreover, this village, Sarıdünya, is smaller and less populated than Kardag, and with the exception of five or six households, all the villagers are exchangees. This visit marked a decisive point for my research. Not only because of its people's receptive approach to me and my intended field research, but also because it arose as an ideal place for ethnographic research about the population exchange.

When I think about this decision making process retrospectively, my effort seems to be very inept. My obsession about finding a site of memory (Nora, 2006)

in the form of a neighborhood or a close knit community is not just a naïve endeavor, but also very limiting in terms of seeing other opportunities which I could explore in my thesis. Moreover, the narrowness of my focus led me from urban to rural areas. However, at the end of this process, I believe I was able to find a unique case at the intersection of many historical and contemporary relations among the micro and macro levels.

My field research in the village can be considered as a modest ethnographic endeavor. Ethnography can refer to a particular method or set of methods (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Kottak, 1997). During my research, I used several methods to broaden my knowledge about the people in the village and their social worlds. By employing multiple techniques in the fieldwork, which is called triangulation of the methods (Snape and Spencer, 2003), I was able to check the accuracy of the data that I gathered using one technique with another technique. As the most basic form of social research, ethnography engages with participating in people's lives as long as possible, watching and listening to the daily incidents, and asking endless questions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). In ethnographic research, researchers try to understand how people "arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social roles..." (Berg, 1989: 6) by living in the same place, staying in a same type of house, eating the same type of food, and even experiencing the same atmospheric conditions with the local people.

To study cultures with a holistic perspective, researchers mainly adapt two different approaches: emic (actor oriented) and etic (observer oriented). While the emic approach investigates how natives imagine and explain the world and focuses on the natives' viewpoint; the etic approach emphasizes the researchers' understanding of categories, expressions, explanations, and interpretations. According to the etic approach, the natives are too much in their own culture to interpret it impartially, and in this respect, the researcher shall give more importance to what s/he sees and thinks to be important as an outsider (Kottak, 1997). In my research I attempted to achieve both of these approaches at different moments. When I was in the field, actively observing and participating in the daily

routine of the village, I tried to capture the emic perspective. However, subsequently when I was taking notes and then analyzing the data, I took an etic approach, since I wanted to relate the thoughts and behaviors of the informants with the outer economic, political and social domains.

Another factor that differentiates field work experiences of researchers is their different theoretical perspectives. According to Miller (2004), there are two main perspectives that lead researchers: cultural materialism and interpretivism. The first group of researchers generally starts with the research questions before the field research, then gathers data related to those specific questions, and finally analyzes the findings in relation to the original questions. For the second group of researchers, the goal of the field research is to reach holistic and detailed information on insiders' views (Miller, 2004). My approach to field work also can be placed among the cultural materialist practices. Rather than trying to understand the whole exchangee culture in the village and specific everyday incidents, I focused on the social memory of the population exchange, tobacco productions and perceived differences from the non-exchangee people and the exchangees. Moreover, I tried to understand the reflections of these aspects on the daily lives and experiences of the exchangees. However, I also paid attention to the interpretative meanings of other spheres of social life; issues such as marriage patterns in the village, some rituals specific to exchangee people, and culinary habits stood out as meaningful interpretative spheres during the field research.

According to Geertz (1973), what defines ethnography as an intellectual effort on its own is "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Geertz describes culture not as "a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed: it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly- that is thickly described" (1973: 14). So, to make a behavior meaningful for an outsider, a thick description should illuminate not only the behavior but also the context, i.e. culture in which the behavior takes place. For Geertz (1973), the duty of a good ethnographer is to understand "a people's culture, to express their normalness without reducing their particularity" (14). Another point which I found especially important is Geertz's emphasis (1973) that the villages

and small towns in which the researchers conduct their fieldwork are not merely smaller versions of wider nations, civilizations or great religions. My major aim of conducting a field research is to relate daily occurrences and perceptions with the social memory of the population exchange, the tobacco production which is the main economic activity of the exchangees, and the exchangees' relations with other people which I suggest as the main proponents of the exchangee habitus.

Ethnography does not only provide an opportunity for a researcher to see the dynamic relations between micro and macro structures, but it constantly challenges the everyday being of the researcher as an outsider in a strange place. During the research, both the researcher and the informants interchange. As the researcher interprets the lives of the locals, locals also interpret his or her life. The data have the traces of these dialectical relationships. First, the presence of the researcher affects the data. Second, the researcher's demand of their own accounts about their own lives from the locals shapes the data (Robinov, 1977). Robinov (ibid.) also points out the significance of the researcher's attitude towards the informants during the fieldwork as a factor which alters the data. The thing which distinguishes a researcher from a tape recorder is her/his interaction with the informants and awareness about the dialectical processes in the field. Before entering the field, I planned to be as straightforward as possible. I somewhat naively thought that this would produce more prolific discussions. However, soon after entering the field, I noticed that it was very hard to be straightforward especially about sensitive issues related to politics and religion.

It is not wrong to claim that all the data that are gathered in field work are mediated by the people in the field; both by the researcher and the informants. In this respect, in my opinion, any claim to be in a privileged position or to have an absolute perspective about the reality in the field is meaningless. In field research, there is no data which is free of the participants' prints. Regardless of posture, the researcher becomes a social actor in the field and perceived by informants as such. If the researcher cannot be entirely socially neutral, how can the knowledge s/he produces be trustable and valid? One approach to this quandary, I attempt to follow here, is the reflexive approach in that the author informs the readers about her/his

orientations and the possible effects of her/his own subjective position in interactions in the field, interpretative focus and analysis.

Both the critical realist ontological base and the Bourdieuan metatheoretical base of this study which I tried to discuss on former pages encourage such a perspective. Since both of the perspectives exclude the possibility of socially neutral position for the researcher, the reflexivity which informs the readers about the author's perspective and experiences gain importance. For Bourdieu, (Bourdieu and Wacquant; 2003) this importance mostly stems from the obscurity about the research and analysis process can cause symbolic violence and reproduction of existing forms of domination. For Bhaskar (1989) the reflexivity is a tool, which brings the researcher closer to the reality which s/he cannot study directly. Moreover, in this way, readers are included in the struggle to fairly represent subject positions that might be at odds with those of the researchers, especially along the differentiation lines such as gender, class, ethnicity, race and social status.

In this respect, I tried to include a reflexive approach as much as possible during both the fieldwork process and the analysis. Compatible with this approach, rather than employing a single method during the field research, I employed four different methods. These methods are participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews and detailed informal talks with well-informed informants.

In its classic form, a participant observer spends an extended period of time among the people of a culture which is not her/his own and tries to have an understanding of that culture as completely as possible. However, in sociological tradition, since the works of Chicago School, this method was not used to understand afar cultures, but rather specifically particular urban groups (Davies, 1999). Participant observation requires a researcher to look, see and participate as much as possible in every minute detail of daily life, routines and unusual happenings. Usually, the researchers take detailed field notes. The first days in the field are especially important for the note taking; the researcher must write down every strange thing before accepting them as usual with passing time. Participant observation also provides opportunities for a reflexive field research, since the researcher takes part in the community life in every possible way. Due to the nature

of research, the researchers cannot be totally impartial and s/he can see the consequences of her/his choices (Kottak, 1997); in this respect, participant observation is a process in which a researcher reflexively examines the field research process.

An ideal participant observer tries to adapt the lifestyle of being studied in a possible way. She/he eats the same foods, speaks the same language, and wears the same cloths (Miller, 2004). In my case, I tried to follow these basic guidelines; however, I made some modifications about my clothing style. Rather than wearing long skirts and headscarves as the villager women mostly do, I mostly wore causal trousers and short- sleeved t-shirts, which were the usual clothing style of some of the young women in the village. I especially abstained from the headscarf, since in Turkish context (Saktanber and Çorbacıoğlu, 2008) it would reflect me as a person who I was not actually. Such a distortion might have had a more negative impact on my presence.

Even if I speak the same language with villagers, there are two important points which different language usages reveal. First, after entering the field, I noticed that there are different sets of vocabularies about different aspects of daily life. I learned a lot of new words about all the stages of the tobacco production, the types of tobacco and the land, and the tools that are used in the fields. Second, especially the members of the older generation use some Greek words while speaking in Turkish which also has a specific style of pronunciation. These Greek words were the key points of entry into the older generation's memories about the population exchange and daily life in Greece.

Interviewing is the most commonly used method of data gathering in qualitative research. Even if interviewing can be generally described as an exchange of knowledge with the help of questions and answers, the qualitative research interview has some features which distinguish it from other types of interviews. King and Horrocks (2010) suggest that there are three features of a genuinely qualitative interview:

- It is flexible and open-ended in style
- It tends to focus on people's actual experiences more than general beliefs and opinions.
- The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is crucial to the method (ibid3).

My interviews during the fieldwork also have these features. They were open-ended, and the questionnaire had a flexible structure. Even if I tried to ask similar questions to all the villagers, I did not have a structured list of questions that I used during the interviews. So rather than providing a list in this section, I will provide a detailed account for the course of the interviews. During the interviews, I asked questions which can be categorized in three groups.

The first questions were related with the population exchange. I asked the participants what they learned about the exchange from their parents or grandparents, how they learned it, in which circumstances they heard these memoirs, how the elders felt while they were telling these stories. With these questions, I was able to learn both the villagers' stories about the exchange and the way in which the memories were transferred to the next generation. The second set of questions was related to the biographical accounts of the participants. Rather than a very detailed life history, I tried to grasp the possible effects of the population exchange on their daily lives and learn about important turning points such as leaving school, marriage, military duty or migration inside Turkey. I also wanted to learn which nationwide or worldwide issues may have affected the life in the village, especially from a historical perspective, in the absence of radios, TVs or other electronic communication devices, so I asked about their experiences of and memories about World War II, the Korean War (1950-1953), 1960, 1971 and 1980 military coups. Thirdly, I asked the informants about their village, how they think about the change and transformation the village underwent, whether it was better before or now, how they described their village mates to the outsiders, and what they consider as the main characteristics of the villagers and themselves. The last section of the question led me to the role of tobacco production which emerged as one of the most important aspects managed almost without asking. Thus, I may conclude, an unstructured questionnaire form was used and questions were not

rigidly worded. Instead I used a flexible format and sometimes I reframed the questions and changed the sequencing. Still, I followed a common line of thought. Moreover, I gave the informants opportunities to change the subject as their thoughts flowed and at some point I encouraged them by probing. In this respect, my interviews can be named as “semi-structured in-depth interviews” (Davies, 1999: 94) or “semi-standardized interview” (Berg, 1989: 17).

The issue of consent is a problematic one for an ethnographic research. Having informants’ informed consent means that the researcher must have the informants sign a form that shows that the informant participates in the study with her/his free will. These forms mostly include full name, address and signature of the informants. However, in most of the field work situations, demanding such kind of document from the informants may make feel the informants uncomfortable and can damage the trust relation between informants and researchers. In this respect, requesting “implied consent” of the informants can serve better. Implied consent means that since an informant spares time for a long interview and lets her/his voice be recorded; it can be assumed s/he gives consent to be a part of the study with free will (Berg, 1989: 138). For the interviews, I can say that I have the implied consent of all the informants. I explained to them what I studied, why I wanted to talk with them and what kind of questions I would ask. Moreover, I assured them of confidentiality of the recorded pieces and their identity.

Not every member had the same willingness to speak about their own community or same amount of knowledge of their community. Knowledgeable community members who are talkative consist of well-informed informants for a researcher (Kottak, 1997). I can count five well-informed or strategic informants who immensely contribute my field work. Two of them are sisters, who are actually from outside of the village, and had settled in the village through marriage. They are outsiders and they learned everything about the village after their marriage, thus, they have an etic perspective on what makes the village life more distinctive, having known others. Because I was in the status of being an outsider, foreigner, and stranger once as they had been, they did not hesitate to share their knowledge with me. The other two well-informed informants are two middle aged women who

had returned to the village during the summers after their retirement. They had experience as tobacco farmers and as workers in a tobacco factory. Their experiences with the transformation of the village as young women became very valuable and instructive for me while trying to understand the transformation process. The final well-informed informant was an old man who spent his whole life in the village as a farmer and café owner. He produced tobacco, traded animals and then retired. Most of my knowledge about the tobacco production process and its trade come directly from him. He also told about details of the relations of the villager men, since he was a café owner.

With well-informed informants, I could also talk a lot about the genealogies of the prominent families in the village. Rather than reaching complete family trees of these families, I tried to understand their household structure when they had arrived to Turkey from Greece. I also investigated the stories of the family¹¹ names which could shed light the stories of the families, since those name were given due to some characteristics of prominent family members¹². Moreover, I aimed to understand the continuity and the discontinuity of the relationships among the families, since most of the families shared common descent. Furthermore, I was able to see some divisions among families which intersect with the dominant alliances in economic and political life of the village. I spoke with these people at different times about many different subjects. Sometimes they called me to tell me about something they just remembered about the village life in general. After a while, I could ask them some issues which I could not directly talk about with other informants. The information that I learned from them dramatically enriched the data that I gathered. During long conversations with them, I also had the opportunity to see their personal belongings which they inherited from their parents such as rugs, kitchen tools or pieces from their dowry.

¹¹ In Turkey, most of the time family names and official surnames of the families differ, since the related law of 1935 prohibited the usage of titles and nicknames in surnames.

¹² I can see this relation only with the help of informants' account since I could not reach the complete land distribution schemes of the village and information about the size of individual families, due to the regulation that Turkish State Archives restricted the access to these official registers to family members only.

I had went there in November and returned to Bafra on June 21st, 2011 this time staying there until June 24th. This time, my main task was not to meet and talk with people but to make some arrangements, so I could stay in the village for my actual fieldwork. Between my two visits to Bafra, in Ankara, I met a lawyer from Bafra. His experiences in Bafra and his network among the exchangee people proved invaluable for me. First, I listened to his perspective about the transition that has taken place in Bafra from the 1960s to today. Even if he warned me that I would not learn a lot of things from the villagers, he helped me and gave me contact information of two exchangees. One is another lawyer who is from Bafra, but not from the village. The other is a medical doctor who grew up in the village.

When I arrived in Bafra, I firstly called Oktay Bey, the lawyer. Like his friend in Ankara, he is locally known both by his personality and by his successes in his profession. He told me about the “old and beautiful” Bafra and recalled his own life story. His story actually did not tell a lot about the exchangees who produce tobacco in the rural areas. However, his emphasis on transition casted light on the fact that Bafra and its surrounding villages were highly affected by the economic transitions that Turkey underwent due to its importance in tobacco production, trade and also its fertile soil which attracted many migrants. Interviewing him provided an overview which enabled me to see the importance of rural transformation before entering the field. After our interview, I added new questions to my semi-structured questionnaire about the transition of the village.

My second strategic meeting this time was with Dr. A. Even though he lives in Bafra, he has strong ties with his relatives in the village. He is also an important figure in the development of the village. When I met him, he was at the hospital and very busy. It was obvious that I could not have an interview with him this time. However, since he talked to the lawyer in Ankara about me, he wanted to help me. Thus, even though I said that I could arrange a place to stay at the village with the mukhtar and his wife, he took me to the village with his red convertible sports car and arranged a place for me within half an hour. He introduced me to some of his relatives in the village, a family of three. While I was trying to tell him about my plans in the village, he interrupted me and said that I would stay with

them. Even if I tried to say “if you would like”, “I do not want to bother you”, “if it is okay for you”, the family had the message from Dr. A and started to tell me that their home was big enough for a guest, and their daughter who was the same age as me welcomed me, too. Since the father was an intercity bus driver, he was away from home and I could be a companion for the daughter and the mother. Moreover, I also offered to pay rent for the room. They decisively refused it.

However, in the coming days, I would see that finding a place to stay in this way has its own problems which are eventually more complicated than finding a place at all. The first problem arose just the day after meeting with the family. I finally found the mukhtar, who did not answer my calls for a while and I noticed that he had taken offence at my meeting with Dr. A. because Dr. A. had called him and asked him to help me in every possible way with an imperious manner. The mukhtar said that “we, the exchangees are very sensitive and proud people, so when he called me, I was humiliated”. I assured him that I had not known this or expected it. After this, the mukhtar himself was very helpful. I noticed how even though I speak the same language and have a similar rural background, Sarıdünya was a field in which I was a stranger. The comfort that I felt until that first day is delusive. I learned that I needed to be very careful about my behaviors and wording when I was with villagers and when I made some arrangements which involved more than one person.

With this awareness, the next day, which was the last day of this trip, I went to the village to visit the family with whom I would stay. As I asked some questions and Seçil and her mother also asked me a lot of questions about my stay in the village, my family, my fiancé and my school. I tried to answer them as much as possible. They described the village as very clean and neat and the villagers as sensitive, easy-going, epicurean and even lazy. They emphasized that everybody gets along well with each other and there are never any fights in the village.

Since I experienced the issue of being susceptible with the mukhtar, it affected my style and subsequent manner in the field. The fear of upsetting or offending someone made me distant and aloof to some degree. Every researcher adopts a role in the fieldwork with which the local people can locate the researcher

and make sense of her/his existence in their place. I also had a role during the fieldwork; however mine was not that different of my real life position. I presented myself to the villagers as a student with certain duties to fulfill, a student from a small Black Sea town. Being a young woman with these qualifications mostly helped a lot, but sometimes it had its own backdrops. Having a profession and a university education at METU which is considered as one of the best universities in Turkey is one of the most important ladders for upward mobility, and having a good education is perceived as a valuable asset. The people with this attitude towards education feel a duty to help students. I benefitted from this orientation very much in the village.

Beyond my status as a METU student and residing in Ankara, their next and more vital question was about my hometown. “Where are you from?” This question is the question which most of the people ask each other just after they learn their names. It is more important than one’s job, wealth, education or political affiliation, since being from the same town, *hemşehrilik*, is critical because of the networks. My hometown proved to be very positive for the villagers. If I had been from the north-eastern part of the country in the Black Sea region where people are known for their “temper, rashness and using guns”, it might have possibly created other tensions, since the exchangees generally see these behaviors as uncivilized or childish when compared to their perceived calmness and sensitivity. I was not judged as one of those “rude people” they had met in Bafra as a result of domestic migration.

Unlike my education, my job or my hometown, my personal characteristics affected my position in the village in a much more complicated way. I think most of the villagers perceived me as young and educated, but naïve and ignorant of village life. For them, this must be the reason why I asked about things that were are very clear for them. This perception was a two-edged blade. It is good, because it made people trust me easier. It was also unfortunate, because it made people underestimate me. Most of the time, the perception that I was an inexperienced person helped the “know-all urbanite” perception linked to being a METU student from Ankara. Moreover, most of the people, especially elderly

women, who thought that I searched merely for factual information about the population exchange, would say that they do not know much about the population exchange and hesitated to talk to me at the first instance. Some of them resisted talking by saying that they did not hear or remember anything; some also said there was nothing in their life to talk about. However, I could persuade most of them by saying that I was interested in the memories that they heard from their elders and their lives in the village. When I could not do this, I did not go on insisting. The tape recorder too created some tensions, especially at the beginning of the interviews, but again some people forgot about it in a couple of minutes.

The political atmosphere of the summer 2011 also created additional tensions and suspicions. On the 12th of June in 2011, just before I started the fieldwork, a general election took place. Before the election, all major parties rallied against each other which heightened the political tension and polarization in the society. Especially the JDP¹³, which has been the governing party since 2002, started the discussion about the deeds of the early Republican era to propagate against the major opposition party PRP¹⁴ which is also the founder party of the Republic. Some of the exchangees who supported the PRP and the NMP¹⁵, which is the main nationalist party in Turkey, were very critical of the government and its way of discussing the Republic and the founding fathers including Atatürk. Since the votes for the JDP exceeded for the first time the votes for the other parties, supporters of the PRP and the NMP were angry and resentful. Moreover, like other people who did not vote for the JDP, they were afraid of being marginalized by the government. In such a political atmosphere, my presence in the village attracted more attention. While I was using a tape recorder, some informants felt the need to emphasize that they did not have anything to hide. One of the informants, who first accepted to be interviewed but then distanced himself from me, warned the mukhtar that I could be a “spy of an intelligence service”. The mukhtar’s answer was not a straight “she is not spy” even though he knew me better than most of the villagers;

¹³ Justice and Development Party, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*.

¹⁴ People’s Republican Party, *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*.

¹⁵ National Movement Party, *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*.

instead he answered, according to another informant, “We do not have anything to hide”. I was affected by a tense political climate and felt marginalization since I did not support any major political leanings that most of the citizens and the villagers supported.

The process of my fieldwork unfolded in three phases. Interviewing occurred in the first two phases whereas the third phase involved a more in-depth participant observation of village life. The first phase occurred over the first fifteen days of the fieldwork. In the second phase, both the interviews and the participant observation slowed down due to the religious holiday Ramadan. In the third and final phase, the period of winter preparations, the village revived and my position as a participant consolidated. At the beginning, my main aim was to participate in the daily lives of the villagers. However, from the very first day, I noticed that this would not be easy. I could not enter into the male dominated places like coffee houses or mosques until the end of fieldwork. So, I was confined to female dominated places, at least in the beginning. However, the activities in these places are watching TV, doing needlework, taking care of plants in the garden plots, cleaning the house, cooking and “gossiping”. I tried to spend as much time as possible in the gardens or houses of the interviewees to observe what was going on. In time, I noticed that the villagers performed mostly domestic activities which were hard to participate in for a newcomer. This is the most visible face of the village’s transition. After they stopped tobacco production or retirement, they did not need to go to the fields or work places. Young people had already left the village for the big cities and come just for holidays. Luckily, since some of the villagers saw my interest in activities that they performed such as making breads or pasta, sorting the beans, or just going to gather fruits, they started to invite me, too. These invitations provided me an opportunity to see the most dormant season of the village. Moreover, during the interviews, people told me how the present day is different from former years which were not only full of work, duty and obligation but also solidarity, joy and activities.

The second phase of my field research started when I joined Mutlu’s house, who was my closest informant. Due to the time we spent together and their

openness, I started to feel as a member of the family. My days in the village in August in this second phase coincided with Ramadan in which daily routines revolve around the fasting. Only after dinner, I was able to make interviews; however, people wanted to spend those times with their friends and relatives at the mosque or at their homes. Thus, in those days I could make only a few interviews, but observed some Ramadan traditions of the villagers and participated in some religious practices. Maybe the most important issue which arose in that period revolved around the practice of *fitre*, a certain amount of money¹⁶ which non-fasting people give to the people in turn for every day they do not fast. Mutlu asked me if my parents fast or give *fitre* to any one, I said that they do not fast because of their health problems but I did not know if they gave *fitre*. She did not insist on questioning me further.

The third phase of the fieldwork occurred in a ten day period in September 2011, just after the Ramadan Feast. During this period I was able to join the daily life in the village actively. This was not only because of the fact that both the villagers and I had gotten used to each other, but also because of the winter preparations which started to take place at the end of the summer. I learned that when the main source of income in the village was tobacco production and consumer goods were not widely available, the winter and coming summer preparations every August were much more onerous and time consuming. In previous times, the women who lived close by helped each other while making couscous, homemade pasta, canned food, pickles or *tarhana*¹⁷ for domestic consumption. However, today, the villagers only make some pasta for themselves and *tarhana* for the market. The village's *tarhana* has a reputation in Bafra since it is "exchangee *tarhana*", which is spicier. Thus, *tarhana* had become the only good which women produce and sell. For me, its production process was the only example of collaborative work among the women who actually were not very close

¹⁶ This amount is determined by the Directorate of Religious Affairs which is the official religious authority in Turkey. It is determined for a day.

¹⁷ *Tarhana* is a type of soup consisting of flour, onion, pepper, tomato and some spices which are fermented with yoghurt and then dried under the sun. It is consumed as a soup by mixing it with stock or water.

to each other, and pasta is mainly produced in the domestic sphere. During my last stay, I was able to participate in making, drying, crumbling, packing and selling *tarhana*. The stage of crumbling is the most crowded and collective one, since each hand is needed; members of every generation have a seat around the chunk of *tarhana*, while they are having tea or snacks from noon to midnight. If there was a chance to observe people in their “natural”, “normal” or “undisturbed” setting, for my fieldwork, this was sure during the *tarhana* production process. People were so busy; they eventually forgot that I was a researcher but only considered me as a young woman who could crumble *tarhana*.

When I had time apart from making *tarhana*, I continued with interviews. I also was able to spend more time in the male domains of the village at this time. This was due to the fact that I had come to know more men than I had met on the first trips, so they could help me in convincing their friends to speak with me. I also started to tour around the village to say goodbye and thank people again for their participation. The day I left, Mutlu, the mukhtar and his wife, who is the younger sister of Mutlu, and all the girls, came to the bus station and waved goodbye to me. After spending a few days in Ankara, I noticed that I missed the people and the village. I still have close contact with these village people. We call each other regularly. The dialectic of fieldwork did not pass by; it had changed me, and I could see my presence had affected people to some degree.

At this point the field research can be summarized as follows: the first phase of the field research took place between the 3rd and 22nd of July. During that time I interviewed 28 villagers. However, I had very little opportunity for participant observation. The second phase spanned from the period between the 23rd and 27th of July and the period between the 10th and 16th of August. During these days, I completed interviews with 22 villagers. The days in August were not very efficient due to the month of Ramadan. The final part of the field research took place between the 2nd and 12th of September. In this duration, I interviewed 12 villagers. During these different stays, I also increasingly had the chance to do systematic participant observations of the daily life of the villagers. Thus, in total I stayed 44 days in the village and interviewed 62 persons.

When I think about the research process generally, there are three issues which emerged as sensitive issues which are hard to be told. As I mentioned before, the first one pertains to political issues. Some villagers clearly did not feel safe while they were speaking about politics or they completely refused to talk about it. Some of them made me turn off the recorder and then continued to talk.

The second one was the land and property issue. When the ancestors of the villagers first settled in this village which had been formerly populated by the Orthodox-Greek population, the existing houses and lands were distributed by state officers among the villagers according to the number of household members. Since then, handovers took place among the villagers and villagers from other villages. Early in the research process, all the villagers whom I asked about land distribution or later handovers, emphasized that they were very calm people, and that there had never been a conflict about land or handovers. However, later, I learned that there had been a big conflict about a land issue and one person had died. The conflict arose between two rival groups and still continues very quietly. The mukhtar solved another land disagreement by building an Atatürk monument in that very small contested lot, so de facto confiscating the lot.

The last issue is about recalling some memories of one's family. When I asked about experiences of the hardships in Greece, the journeys and the settlement, some respondents, especially the elder people, were affected emotionally very much. Some of them cried but continued talking willingly. However, I stopped one of the interviews, since the informant who was an old man could not stop crying. These situations were also sensitive for me and they made me think about my questions and my presence in the village. Even if I tried not to dominate or patronize people when I was in the village, I intervened in their life in some ways. I asked to them questions that perhaps they had never thought of before, and made them remember the things that they preferred to forget a long time ago. Even if I tried to balance the relations of power between me as a researcher and them as the informants during the fieldwork, the process of analyzing and writing; I am aware that a perfect balance is impossible since I entered into their village and their lives and started asking questions, not they. My only justification is my hope that my

efforts will help make these stories heard more broadly, and the long lasting impact of the state's intervention in peoples' lives in the form of forced migration more visible.

2.4 The Analysis of the Interviews

During the fieldwork, I conducted 62 interviews, as mentioned above. In the village 110 households were living. These 62 people are from 46 different households. The population of the village changes according to the season. In the summers it is around 500 people, and in the winter it declines to around 300 people. Of my 62 interviews, 34 women were interviewed whereas 28 of them were conducted with men. Except two, all interviews were tape recorded. Before starting to record, I asked every participant if they would give me permission to record their voices or not. During the interviews which were not recorded, I took notes. Some of the interviews took for hours to complete, since the informants wanted to tell a lot of things. I also met some of them a few times subsequently to finish the interviews. However, some interviews took only fifteen minutes. I counted them as a proper interview, because I spent a lot of time besides the interview in daily life in the village with these more reticent people. An average duration for the interviews was approximately 45 minutes. Besides the people who accepted to talk to me, there were four persons who openly refused to talk with me.

In the table below, the readers can find the basic socio-demographic characteristics of the informants which include their gender, year of birth, job, education and generation. While I differentiate among the generations, I named the people who were born in Greece, during their migration to Turkey or in Turkey until 1934 as the first generation. The members of this generation remember their own experience of the population exchange or the hardships of settlement and adjustment in Sarıdünya. The ones who were born between 1935 and 1959 are in the second generation in my sample. They were born after the settlement when the villagers were mostly engaged with tobacco production, and some of them had left the village for big cities. The members of the third generation were the ones who were born after 1960. They were only engaged with tobacco production when they were kids or young adults, but later they had other jobs outside of Sarıdünya, or

were unemployed. The people whose names are shaded in the table are the ones who spend their summers in the village but remain in the big cities during winter where they had migrated mainly to work in tobacco factories. The numbers given to the persons interviewed and marked with an asterisk (*) indicate that these people are originally from other villages but moved to the village after they married a villager. The tilde (~) shows people who migrated to Germany for a period but are now living in the village. The number sign (#) also shows the exchangees who were born in Greece before the population exchange.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Villagers

No	Name	G	Year of Birth	Occupation	Education	Generation
1	Oktay (uncle)	M	1930	Lawyer	University	1st
2	Birsen (sister)	F	1969	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	3 rd
3#	Sevil (granny)	F	1921	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
4	Asiye (granny)	F	1927	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
5	Cemal (uncle)	M	1944	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
6	Naile (aunt)	F	1944	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
7	Fatma (aunt)	F	1948	Retired worker	Left sec. s.	2 nd
8	Osman(brother)	M	1970	Worker	Left sec. s.	3 rd
9	Emin (aunt)	F	1948	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
10	Zeynep (aunt)	F	1924	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
11	Naime (aunt)	F	1951	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
12	Gülhan (sister)	F	1962	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	3 rd
13	Sema (sister)	F	1967	Insurer	University	3 rd
14	Hatice (granny)	F	1928	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
15	Halime (aunt)	F	1948	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
16	Melahat (aunt)	F	1936	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
17	Necdet (grandpa)	M	1937	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
18*	Rana (aunt)	F	1937	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
19~	Esra (aunt)	F	1935	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
20	Asuman (sister)	F	1965	Retired worker	Secondary s.	3 rd
21~	Fatma (aunt)	F	1941	Retired worker	-	2 nd
22	Murat	M	1977	Teacher	University	3 rd
23	Fuat (uncle)	M	1940	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd

Table 1 (Continued)

24	Yunus (uncle)	M	1945	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
25	İbrahim (uncle)	M	1938	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
26	Nevra (sister)	F	1965	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	3 rd
27	Hadi (uncle)	M	1934	Farmer	-	1 st
28	Macide (granny)	F	1931	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
29	Cem (uncle)	M	1943	R. imam/retailer	Primary s.	2 nd
30	Ahmet (uncle)	M	1945	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
31	Macit (uncle)	M	1942	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
32	Vahit (uncle)	M	1940	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
33	Vahide (granny)	F	1925	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
34	Bahadır (uncle)	M	1938	Farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
35	Baki (brother)	M	1974	Accountant	High school	3 rd
36	Eşref (grandpa)	M	1930	Farmer	Primary s.	1 st
37	Bahriye (aunt)	F	1935	H.wife/farmer	-	2 nd
38	Kadriye (aunt)	F	1970	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	3 rd
39	Kadri (uncle)	M	1936	Teacher	High school	2 nd
40~	Kaya (uncle)	M	1934	Teacher	High school	1 st
41	Alp (uncle)	M	1948	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
42	Feride (aunt)	F	1957	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
43*	Ayşe (aunt)	F	1950	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
44	Çelik (grandpa)	M	1931	Farmer	Primary s.	1 st
45*	Mutlu (sister)	F	1970	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	3 rd
46	Nadire (aunt)	F	1936	H.wife/farmer	-	2 nd
47	Nedret (aunt)	F	1932	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
48	Nedim (uncle)	M	1929	Farmer	Primary s.	1 st

Table 1: (Continued)

49	Pakize (aunt)	F	1950	Teacher	University	2 nd
50#	Hamdi(grandpa)	M	1905	Farmer	-	1 st
51	Fahriye (aunt)	F	1953	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
52	Mehmet (uncle)	M	1945	Tradesman	Primary s.	2 nd
53	Sezen (aunt)	F	1955	H.wife/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
54	Fikret (uncle)	M	1952	R.worker/farmer	Primary s.	2 nd
55	Abidin (uncle)	M	1953	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
56	Kadri (uncle)	M	1946	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
57*	Kıymet (aunt)	F	1941	H.wife/farmer	-	2 nd
58	Samime (aunt)	F	1949	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
59	Faruk (uncle)	M	1948	Retired worker	Primary s.	2 nd
60	Sonnur (sister)	F	1975	Housewife	Primary s.	3 rd
61	Beyhan (aunt)	F	1927	H.wife/farmer	-	1 st
62	The mukhtar	M	1975	Civil s. /farmer	High Schl.	3 rd

When we have a quick look at the table, there are 7, 43 and 12 respondents out of 62 informants in the sample who are members of first, second and third generations respectively. 45 informants stay in the village for all the seasons, whereas 17 of them are only summer residents in the village. 58 of the informants were from the village, whereas only 4 of them came to the village due to marriage.

After finishing the fieldwork in Sarıdünya in September 2011, I started to examine the data on May 2012. Until this time, I finished with the transcriptions of the interviews and transferred the field notes that I had collected in small notebooks to word processor files. I read and reread the whole data. In this period, I took notes about the data and I tried to relate the words of villager with theoretical concepts. After getting some familiarity with the data, I was able to see recurring themes in the narratives and also some similarities and divergences. In later phases, I was able to see emerging themes as “the memory of the population exchange”, “the transformation of the village around the tobacco production” and “the differences of the villagers that expressed by themselves”. Then, I sorted the quotations from

the villagers' narratives under these headings. Nearly every villager spoke about these themes which then turned out to be the main chapters of the dissertation. With these grouped quotations, I was able to compare and contrast villagers' arguments about an issue and also each villager's words about different issues. With this "constant comparative method" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) I was able to see the underlying relationships or factors among these themes. At this stage, it was also important to be aware of diverging, or negative, cases in order not to lose them within the more general patterns, since these cases can shed light on conditions that make general patterns not hold and of other important dynamics (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Since my fieldwork took place in a small village which seems homogenous from a distance, during the fieldwork and the data analysis, I especially looked for the lines of cleavage which distinguish people economically, socially or politically. I explored how these cleavages related to other dynamics and population exchange themes. I also detected seven informants who stood out with their life style or personality to be analyzed as special cases. The accounts of these informants turned out to be a measurement tool by which to gauge and further understand the differences among other accounts.

During the analysis I often had to choose among possible competing interpretations (Snape and Spencer, 2003) even if I tried hard to be faithful to the meaning that I supposed the informants gave to their own words, all stages of the analysis process require interpretative judgments. In this respect, the reader must remember that all the data that I used as evidence for theoretical abstractions are conveyed through my interpretation.

In addition to the analysis of the data that I gathered during the field research, I also wanted to support the data with a historical document analysis and literature review. For the purpose of accessing the historical documents, I several times in Ankara visited the Republican State Archives, which keeps the documents of the Republican era. My main aim was to reach information about the households who had settled first in Sarıdünya, the number of household members and the amount of land they had received from the state. I had known former studies of local historians from Samsun whose authors had been able to reach even the

identity registers of the exchangees. In this respect, I was hopeful about accessing some documents about the population exchange. However, during my first visit to the Archives, I learned that unless I was a family member, I was not allowed to see the detailed documents about each exchangee family. When I objected and said that many researchers had been able to reach those documents in former years, the officer told me that the regulations about the State Archives changed in 2002. All the local archives which held most of the official documents about the population exchange in the port cities like Istanbul, Samsun or Izmir were carried to the Republican Archives in Ankara. Moreover, rather than filing the population exchange documents as public documents, they filed them as private ones only accessible to the family members, since the documents included names, surnames and land registers in Turkey. An ordinary researcher like myself only was able to access the request of clearance which showed the real estates left in Greece by the exchangees before the exchangees had come to Turkey. These documents also contain names, surnames and real estate registers in Greece and they are also in Turkish with Arabic letters as the later documents¹⁸. In my point of view, this restriction on accessing the documents about the settlement process in Turkey indicates that this issue is still a complicated one for the state. It functions as a reminder that once upon a time Anatolia was inhabited by non-Muslim and non-Turkish people and these people had to leave the country in some ways forcedly or seemingly voluntarily. This reminiscence is very contradictive with the newly founded republic's argument that Anatolia is the land of Turkish nation and it is inhabited always by Turks.

When I reviewed the academic and popular or non-academic literature about the population exchange and its consequences in Turkey, I faced a similar silence and avoidance. Until the late 1990s, academic studies mostly ignored the

¹⁸ In Turkey, with the alphabet reform, the official alphabet was changed to Latin alphabet from Arabic on 1st of November, 1928. Before this date, all the official documents, newspapers, books were written with Turkish words but in Arabic letters. After this date, the alphabet changed into Latin alphabet. Thus, most of the materials about the population exchange were written in Arabic alphabet. Since I am not able to read Arabic letters, even if I were able to access the documents that I mentioned, I had to consult a researcher who was able to read it.

issues. Even the ones about the foundation period of Turkish Republic mentioned the population exchange with a few lines. Except Belli's study¹⁹ (2006), there was no historical, sociological, anthropological or economic study about the population exchange. Moreover, there was no effort to collect life histories or testimonies of the first generation exchangees. Only after the 1990s, first in the non-academic literature in the form of memoirs or novels and then in the academic literature, especially historical studies were published and a new interest in population exchange emerged. While I was trying to interpret my data, I heavily benefited from the studies by Onur Yıldırım (2006), Mehmet Gökaçtı (2008) and Renee Hirschon (2005).

To judge and evaluate the qualitative research findings theoretical inferences out of it I choose to employ Hammersley's (1992) account, since his understanding is also based in realism and in this respect in accordance with this study's ontological stand point. To evaluate the validity of a research within the pragmatic limitations of truth and practical limitations of the research process, Hammersley (ibid: 70-72) suggests three criteria. First, the claims of the study should be plausible and credible within the limits of our existing knowledge. Second, central claim of the study should be supported with stronger evidence. Third, the evidence which is used for supporting a claim must be in accordance with the type of the claim. When these three criteria are examined together, the validity definition of Hammersley "involves identifying the main claims made by a study, noting the types of claim these present, and then comparing the evidence provided for each claim with what is judged to be necessary, given the claims' plausibility and credibility" (ibid.: 72). Hammersley (1992) noted that validity can be used for evaluating qualitative and quantitative research, and its requirements can alter widely from case to case depending the products and audiences.

Hammersley (1992) also suggests that the relevance of the study is another criterion for evaluation and there are two main components of it. First is the importance of its topic or the centrality of the topic within the field. Hammersley

¹⁹ The study is master's thesis of Mihri Belli which was originally completed in 1940 and later it was published in 2006.

(1992) thinks that social scientist should retain some autonomy in deciding whether a topic is relevant. Second, a study must include novel and theoretically developed claims. Davies (1999) also argues that not empirical generalization but theoretical inference can be much more applicable to ethnographic research. For her, generalization, which means the development of law-like statements, is not possible within the limits of critical realism, since critical realism takes the social world as an open system. Since my fieldwork is fed by a distinctive theoretical framework, Davies's (1999) approach on generalization can be much more appropriate for assessing this study. However, Davies (1999) does not emphasize on the place of the study in the related literature, for this issue, I find Hammersley's (1992) emphasis important and applicable to my study.

2.5 Some Final Comments about the Field Research

I mentioned several limitations in the above description of the fieldwork. However, making these limitations and effects clear and visible permits readers to make their own assessments about my claims and might also help other researchers to overcome these problems in creative ways. As I mentioned, my gender created some restrictions while I was trying to enter the male spheres and I postponed solving this problem until my last visit to the village. Only at this time, I directly entered the coffeehouses or the mosque patios. Another issue which arose as a limitation in the field was my efforts to control my possible reactions or answers in some situations. That is, I censored myself frequently and erred in the direction of non-probing. This tendency of mine increased after I learned about the sensitivities of the exchangees. Especially during the first days, this made me very hesitant about asking some questions or digging into some important issues.

Another important limitation was that I did not conduct interviews with the non-exchangee people who lived close by to the exchangees and had ties with them. This would have given a sense of the external judgments and assessments of this group. In the village, the health center, the school and the branch of TEKEL were all closed, so the only non-villager who lives in the village was the imam. I was able to make a short informal interview with him. The other non-villagers with whom I spoke with were women who lived in the village as a result of their

marriages. I should admit that in the beginning of the fieldwork I did not plan to make such interviews, since I wanted to learn mainly the perspective of the exchangees. In this respect, a study which adds a focus on other people's perception of the exchangee population and the relations among them, would present a more holistic picture of the dynamics impacting the people of the population exchange and its ongoing effects.

Another limitation of this study is not about the field research but about historical research and literature review. As I mentioned in the former pages, I was not able to reach the historical documents about the exchangees from Sarıdünya at the first hand. This hindered me in my efforts to understand how the Turkish state dealt with the issue of population exchange and to relate what the villagers told me during the field research with official resources. This would have also helped me to deepen some of my hypotheses about the settlement process of the exchangees. Moreover, during the literature review, I noticed that these documents that I am not allowed to access were not also used in any other studies about the population exchange. This is due to the fact that sociological studies about Greek-Turkish population exchange are flourishing only in the last couple of years. Since there was no sociological investigation about the population exchange until 1990s, the remembrances and experiences of the first generation are almost lost. Even if it is valuable in itself what the later generations say about the first generation, their testimonies are not able to replace those of the first generation. In this respect, not being able to access the original documents about the population exchange and the testimonies of the first generation through the archives is one of the most important limitations of this study.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE KEY CONCEPTS:

HABITUS, SOCIAL MEMORY AND IDENTIFICATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter of the study, I will provide the main theoretical tenets of the dissertation. This chapter will elaborate upon the concept of habitus and Pierre Bourdieu's meta-theory, the concepts of social memory and identification. Through elaboration of these concepts, I aim to build the conceptual framework on which the rest of the dissertation is built upon. First, I will explain Bourdieu's meta-theory in three subsections. In the first subsection, I will provide an introduction for it with its historical roots and main tenets. Then, in the second subsection I will focus on how Bourdieu theorizes the social with his important concepts habitus, field, game, doxa and misrecognition. In the third subsection, I will mention the main criticisms of Bourdieu's theory and the possible ways to overcome these criticism within the theoretical body. In this part, I will especially focus on the concepts of habitus and field, to employ them in the following parts of the dissertation. In the second part of the chapter, I will explain how I conceptualize social memory and try to connect the concepts of habitus and social memory. In the third part, I will clarify in what sense and why I adopt the concept of "identification", and try to integrate it into the theoretical framework that I build in former parts of the chapter. In the conclusion of the chapter, I will evaluate the important interrelation among the concepts of habitus, social memory and identification on which the main argumentation of the dissertation is built on.

3.2 An Introduction to Meta-Theory of Pierre Bourdieu

The colossal contribution of Pierre Bourdieu to the social sciences is not an easy one to summarize. Not only his interest in diverse topics which range from the native tribes of Algerian deserts to the highest echelons of French academic life, but also his usage of a new set of concepts without proper and coherent definitions are the main reasons behind the difficulty of evaluating the complete canon of

Bourdieu²⁰. However, there are some important points which prevail over all of his work. The first subsection of this section will be on these key points.

3.2.1 Some Key Points of Bourdieu`s Sociology

There are some points or themes that function as a basis on which Bourdieu built his theoretical understanding. Although the outlook or weight of these points changes from time to time, they have a permanent effect on his whole perspective. Since I believe that they are keys to having a better understanding of Bourdieu`s sociology, I will highlight these five main points. The first one is Bourdieu`s own life story which can illuminate his stance toward French intellectual academic life and social sciences in general. The second one is his strong rejection the dichotomies which are strongly prevalent in the history of social science. This rejection can be seen as a driving motive behind his conceptual framework which mainly aims to transcend these dichotomies. The third one, as a result of his effort to transcend dichotomous understanding of society and the social sciences, is his conceptualization of reflexivity. The fourth one is his theory of practice, which is one of the constituents of his sociological understanding. The final one is his view on how society operates, the basis on which it works and the kind of relations or actors that make the society at all. These points will be an introduction for Bourdieu`s theory, before I evaluate its conceptual framework in a detailed manner and the significant critiques toward it.

According to Swartz (1997), Bourdieu`s life story is a story of upward mobility. Bourdieu`s early experiences as a boarding student created a tension between his origin and his later status, between his background and his future plans. His experiences were actually experiences of estrangement (Reed-Dahaney, 2005). Such an estrangement both in his school and home made him aware of the distinctive features of these two environments and how the natives of these environments legitimize, naturalize and reproduce these features flawlessly. These early experiences marked his approach towards cultural domination and social

²⁰ Actually, most of the works of Bourdieu does not belong to Bourdieu only, but they are edited or co-authored pieces, since Bourdieu worked with a crowded group of researchers who worked under his guidance. This is one of the main reasons behind the prolificacy of Bourdieu.

reproduction which he conceptualized as habitus, symbolic violence and different types of capitals in his works. He also experienced the hierarchical and centralized power of French education system as a pupil. Reed-Dahaney (2005) claims that this has a great impact on Bourdieu's conceptualization of social agency which is mostly based on chance and habitus rather than choices.

Another effect of his experiences in French intellectual and academic life on his works can be seen in his continuous effort to transcend dichotomies which are prevalent in the social sciences, especially the subjectivity-objectivity dichotomy. According to Bourdieu, this dichotomy can be seen in different forms in which most of the theories and approaches in the social sciences were built around such as theory vs. practice, micro vs. macro, interpretative vs. positivist, idealist vs. materialists dichotomies. This polarized view of the social world, for Bourdieu, was superficial and destructive for scientific enterprise. Moreover, these dichotomies are not only results of epistemological debates but they are also results of social and political struggles on power and recognition (Swartz, 1997: 55). However, he argues that rather than being on different ends these two points of view are in a dialectical relationship with each other and a genuine social science must relate these points (Wacquant, 1998). According to Bourdieu, the distinctive moment of building this relation is to break first with the subjectivism and then objectivism. Breaking with subjectivism can take place with breaking with commonsense and everyday representations of social life. Even if this kind of knowledge is important to understand social dynamics, it cannot be the base for scientific knowledge. There should be an objectivist moment where the subjective knowledge is produced. The second break should correct the limitations of objective knowledge which is the base of scientific knowledge. One critical reflection at this point is to count the practices as constitutive of structures but not only as determined by the structures (Swartz, 1997). All the theoretical artillery that Bourdieu developed through his carrier, like the concepts of doxa, illusio, game, logic of practice, habitus, field and capital are employed to transcend these dichotomies by employing the two aforementioned critical breaks with subjectivism and objectivism. However, Swartz argues that "rather than effectively transcend this opposition, Bourdieu's work

seems paradoxically plagued by it” (1997:55), and most of the critics also emphasize the same point.

The third theme which is very important to Bourdieu’s work is his emphasis on reflexivity. Actually, this is a strategy which strengthens the break with subjectivity and objectivity, however since Bourdieu sees it as a must-have of social science, it deserves to be investigated by itself. As Calhoun (2000) clarifies, reflexivity has two meanings for Bourdieu. The first one is an awareness towards the social scientist’s own position, own presence in the social space. This position includes the ascribed features, such as gender or race, and the chosen ones like political views. The second one, which is the distinctive feature of Bourdieu’s understanding of reflexivity, is its emphasis on the power relations in the intellectual field. Bourdieu’s concept of reflexivity aims to reveal how the main perspectives that work in an intellectual field are produced and reproduced, and what kind of relations produce these perspectives. In this respect, reflexivity is a criticism which shows that the neutrality of science is not something natural but pre-accepted as a result of some power struggles. However, such a critique of science is not an anti-scientific stance; on the contrary it is a perspective that forces the scientific community to be more scientific. A scientific endeavor must put a distance between itself and the commonsense of scientific field as much as commonsense of daily life. Calhoun (2000) claims that this understanding of scientific enterprise can strengthen the status of social sciences against perversions for political or economic profit.

Without the proper conceptualization of practice and its logic, the conceptual framework of Bourdieu does not work at all. In this respect, the fourth theme which functions as a base for all works of Bourdieu is his theory of practice, which can be seen as an important step to transcend the objectivity vs subjectivity dichotomy. To avoid the dangers of objectivism or subjectivism, social scientist should “construct the theory of practice, or, more precisely, the theory of the mode of generation of practices, which is the precondition for establishing an experimental science of the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality, or more simply, of incorporation and objectification”

(Bourdieu, 2007[1977]:72). This conceptualization of practice refuses both that practice is a function of social rules and that it is the result of the limitless will of the agents. Practices of individuals are not independent from the externalities of structures directly or indirectly, moreover they are also result of a tendency which is unintended and unconscious. They are both structured by the structures and structuring the structures (Wacquant, 2000). The practical sense is the basis of social in Bourdieu`s understanding, since it makes objective the subjective meaning. In this respect, theory of practice relates the practice with culture, structure and power via the individuals` agency. The scientist must understand the logic behind the practices to understand the social life; however she/he also must deviate from this logic to see the underlying relations of this logic.

The fifth and final theme is about how Bourdieu conceptualized the social world. According to Bourdieu social structures come to life twice (Wacquant; 1992). First, it is constituted by the distribution of material resources and means of appropriation of socially important goods and values. Second, it is constituted in the form of systems of classification, schemata, mental or bodily, that function as symbolic models for practical activities of agents. Moreover, there is a correspondence between these different levels of structural existences, between social and mental structures. Those systems of classification constitute a stake both in the struggles of opposing parties and in the ordinary daily life practices which are based on social taxonomies. In this respect, this continuous process of formation, selection and imposition of systems of classification which every struggling and strategizing collective or individual agent has to refer, is the basis of social domination. What keeps the agents in this struggle is the interest, material or nonmaterial, which they will get at the end. However, the notions of interest and strategy do not denote simply economic calculations in here. The interests and strategies are not adopted by the agents as the results of intentionalist or utilitarian motives. "By strategy, he refers not to the purposive and preplanned pursuit of calculated goals, but to the active deployment of objectively oriented `lines of action` that obey regularities and form coherent and socially intelligible patterns, even though they do not follow conscious rules or aim at premeditated goals

posited by a strategist” (Wacquant, 1992: 25). Agents have a sense of practice about the struggles. They know the rules of the struggle, what to expect from the competitors, what they win or lose at the end. In this respect, social life is a game in which the players who have the sense of the game and talent to improvisation excel (Calhoun, 2000).

3.2.2 The Working of the Social

Many of the introductory texts to Bourdieu`s work start with an emphasis that Bourdieu`s theory, in general, aims to show the ways of legitimation, misrecognition of power and naturalized ways of symbolic violence (Calhoun, 2000; Schwartz, 1997; Wacquant, 1992; Brubaker, 1985; DiMaggio, 1979). Bourdieu claims that the class distinctions of the economy inevitably generate the symbolic distinctions of culture. Those symbolic distinctions, then, legitimize the class distinctions in the economic sphere. This is an attempt to the reintegration of economic and cultural dimensions of society. Brubaker (1985) and DiMaggio (1979) also point that in Bourdieu`s theory such an aim culminates in integrating theories of Durkheim and Marx. Bourdieu shares his interests in origin and persistence of patterns of thought and perception with Durkheim. However, he transfers Marxian political economy into the symbolic domains. Moreover, he takes many of the conceptual resources for the function of symbolic goods and practices from Weber. Brubaker (1985) claims that “if Bourdieu`s programmatic aims are derived from Marx and Durkheim, the substance of his theory owes to Max Weber” (747).

While Bourdieu is trying to create such a theoretical integration, the concept of **habitus** turns to be keystone to his conceptualization. In this respect, a definition of habitus and a description of how it works will be the first step for a detailed analysis of Bourdieu`s theory. Even if Bourdieu does not provide a permanent definition of the concept, most of the scholars use the below definition of the concept:

System of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively regulated and

regular without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (Bourdieu, 2007 [1977]: 72).

Habitus is the way we exist in the world, it is how we understand, see, and make sense of the world and ourselves in it. It is the way of relation between the individual and the social world. However, it is neither individualist nor collective. It operates as a structuring mechanism within the agents. It is “collective individuated through embodiment” (Wacquant, 1992: 18). It is not a product of some rational calculation. But it leads the individuals to behave reasonably. In this respect, Bourdieu claims that “it is necessary to abandon all theories which explicitly or implicitly treat practice as a mechanical reaction...” (2007 [1977]: 73). It suggests that even the most personal aspects of our lives like choosing a partner, education and career plans, choosing a hobby for the spare times, are socially constructed. It usually does not duplicate the initial conditions, but it can adapt to the new conditions with the existing resources. It is a strategy generating principle which can guide the people in unexpected conditions. However, it sets its limits which are historically and socially situated, upon the individual practices. “As an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions, and no to others” (Bourdieu, 2007 [1977]:95). In this respect, habitus has a tendency to be persistent and resistant to change. Individuals have a conditioned and conditional freedom within the habitus. Habitus does not imply any unpredictable innovation or simple mechanical reproduction. Moreover, according to Schwartz (1997), habitus relates the objective structures to the individual practices; macro structures with micro analysis. Moreover it relates very different domains of social life. This is how the concept helps Bourdieu to transcend the dichotomies of social theory.

Another important feature of the habitus is that it includes the time, timing and agents` manipulations about time. In Bourdieu`s theory, “time is what practical activity produces in the very act of whereby produces itself... Time is engendered

actualization of the act or the thought, which is by definition presentification and de-presentification, that is, the 'passing' of time according to common sense" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:138). This is the feature that gives the flexibility that agents need to employ their strategies. Thus, the social agents, rather than following strict rule, develop strategies. This aspect brings flexibility and uncertainty into the whole system. Manipulation of time in the habitus implies the agents' incapacity to make certain plans, since every agent manipulates time (Bourdieu, 2007 [1977]:8-9). They can only sense the next move of the other agents with their experiences in the **game** which they gain through habitus.

The first motive which leads the practices of the agents is **interest**, which I have described above, but not juridical or customary rules which are only secondary principle of the determination of practices. The rules only intervene, when the major factor, interest, fails (Bourdieu, 2007 [1977]:78). However, the interest is buried in the common sense or **doxa** of the habitus. It artfully turns to be a second nature, while it is in fact history. Bourdieu describes this situation as "genesis amnesia" or "intentionless invention of regulated improvisation" and it operates "like a train brining along its own rails" (2007 [1977]: 79). This is the reason why the system of domination can perpetuate among the dominated classes seemingly flawlessly and naturally. Moreover, doxa, by ruling out possibilities of the content about the rules of the game, ease the agents' participations into games. In this respect, misrecognition, which is the result of agents' situated positions in the social field, is the essential for the games of the social world. The doxa implies main points which we as the agents accepted without knowingly, it comes before any conscious thought. Wacquant (1998) also describes doxa as a submission which legitimizes the current conditions of existence, to daily life in an undisputed way. It is the knowledge on how to be a participant in the games of social life. It comes and is inscribed in each individual before they become agents. It seems to be so natural but it is in fact a cultural construct and varies from culture to culture. Moreover, it is not unbiased towards each agent. While it encourages some practices, it also discourages some other practices, in this way it generates inequality among the practices and their performers (Calhoun, 2000).

Doxa can be seen as an example of misrecognition which lies in the working of the social. Misrecognition makes doxa possible. **Symbolic violence** which is another important concept that Bourdieu uses in his analysis is another example of the misrecognition mechanism. Symbolic violence functions as if it is not a type of violence at all. This misrecognition makes it possible and prevalent. It is a violation which is only possible when an agent accepts the domination of the violator. It is the non-coercive form of social integration which operated through sentiment, habit and custom. Bourdieu also claims that the language is one of the main mediums in which symbolic violence takes place. With this claim he challenges the idea that the language is neutral and arbitrary. For him, all the linguistic utterances are acts of power which are the reflections of power relations outside of the linguistic domain. Bourdieu gives the example of that a French person speaks with an Algerian and a WASP American speaks with a non-white American. In these situations, these are not innocent conversations but they carry all the baggage of colonialism and slavery, respectively (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992b: 144). Symbolic power “is defined in and by a definite relation that creates belief in the legitimacy of the words and of the person who utters them and it operates only inasmuch as those who undergo it recognize those who wield it” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992b: 148). With such a description he points out both dominated and dominant social agents contribute the effect of symbolic power, inasmuch as the symbolic power determines their relations (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992b:166).

This mechanism of misrecognition is the reason behind why we, as the social agents, accept the world in which we were born. Because of misrecognition, it is impossible for social agents to know the working of their habitus completely from inside, since it is so naturally and deeply inscribed in them as doxa. It defines what is thinkable and unthinkable in a habitus. These common limits and possibilities within the habitus which are the results of homogeneity of conditions of existence, in turn, cause the homogeneity of habitus of a class or group. Bourdieu explains:

In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history. The systems of dispositions- a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles, an internal law relaying the continuous exercise of the law of external necessities (irreducible to immediate conjunctural constraints) is the principle of the continuity and regularity...(2007 [1977]:82).

However, Bourdieu also explains that habitus is not a destiny. As a product of history and an open system of dispositions, it faces new experiences all the time, and is affected by them. It is durable but not fixed. However, Bourdieu puts it as being relatively closed due to the priority of first experiences which were had, and dispositions which were acquired during the childhood among the family members. Bourdieu compares habitus to a spring that needs a trigger; the very same habitus can generate different practices under the different stimulants and fields. So he emphasizes that what is depend on the agent is the second move but not the first move (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 135-136).

The buried dispositions in the habitus work both as differentiating and integrating factors for the agents. Habitus creates both the feeling of belonging and distance. It helps agents to understand where they belong or not belong in a stratified society, because it legitimizes economic and social inequalities by making them acceptable at the practical level. Moreover, habitus provides a framework for persistence of the group. Since the members of a group had internalized the same objective structures, they have similar perspectives which transcend subjective intentions or plans of the agents (Bourdieu, 2007 [1977]:81). Moreover, social memory, which is defined as “cultural program that orients our intentions, set our moods and enables us to act” (Miztal, 2003:72), constitutes an important aspect of habitus and groupness. Habitus, with its effects on bodily practices and thought schemata relates past and present to each other. If habitus is the naturalized history which is effective on the bodily practices and thought schemata of the agent, it also relates past and present through agency of the individuals. In this respect, habitus is both related with forming a group and social memory of that group. I will evaluate

the relationships among these concepts in a more detailed way in the following pages.

Another important concept of Bourdieu's theorization of the social is the term **capital**, which he defined as the "energy of the social physics" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 118). It is "any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it" (cited in Wacquant, 1998: 268). There are three main types of capital: economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital is any kind of material and financial resources which one has. Cultural or informational capital is embodied, objectified or institutionalized forms of knowledge. Social capital is "the sum of resources, cultural or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). Besides these three types of capital, symbolic capital constitutes the fourth type of capital which denotes "any form of capital when people do not perceive them as such" (Wacquant, 1998: 269). This can be seen as the ability to manipulate the symbolic power of the agent. It enables the agents to mask the domination in the other domains, especially in the economic domain.

According to Calhoun (2000), these definitions of capital show that there can be different kinds of capitals which function differently in different parts of social space, thus they are inevitably socially defined. Moreover, it is also important to reproduce the capital in any type as much as accumulating it at the very first hand. Another importance of these differentiated definitions of capitals is to let us draw elaborated picture of the social space by positioning the agents in it. The composition and volume of the capital that individuals or groups have place them in their position in the social space. In addition, the change in the volume and composition of the capitals defines "the trajectory through social space and provides invaluable clues as to their habitus by revealing the manner and path through which they reached the position they presently occupy" (Wacquant, 1998: 269).

However, according to Bourdieu, especially in contemporary societies, social space is highly differentiated. Bourdieu calls each differentiated social space **field** which has its own rules and at least some autonomy from other fields. The field can be defined as a space in which the specific rules of the field are effective. The dynamics of the field lie in the relations among the agents who take place in the field according to their capitals. In this respect, a field has its own effective agents, own accumulation history, logic of actions and forms of capital (Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun, 1993). A field can be seen as the objective relations or configurations among the positions of these capital holders (Swartz, 1997). The strategies of the agents are determined by their positions in the field which means the composition of their capitals and their perspectives about the field which is also a product of their position.

The field is the force field in two senses. First, it can enforce the participant to follow its own structure and rules. However, this enforcement is not partially successful and this partiality is one of the sources of dynamism in the field. Second, it is the environment where institutions or individuals with different compositions of capital struggle over the definition or distribution of the dominant capital of the field (Wacquant, 1998). In this respect, the field is not a structure which controls every agent completely. It is also shaped by those struggles. While the agents of the field struggle over the issues of the field, there is also an ongoing struggle over the boundaries of the field or autonomy of the field between the outsiders and insiders. Both Wacquant (1998) and Swartz (1997) note that the agents who are in the dominated position in a field can support outsiders who want to change the field, whereas the dominant agents of the field try to conserve the field as it is. Any field is the result of a history of struggles in and around it. Moreover, even in the most stable situations when the dominating agents are the strongest, the field is not a static one, but always a battlefield among the agents. The pace of the change is slow since it takes place in the logic of reproduction. In this respect the change happens mostly not in the form of revolution but a transformation (Swartz, 1997).

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992c), there are three consecutive steps in the examination of any field. First, a researcher must examine the relations between any specific field and the power field, how the power field exposes itself on this field, and how the agents in this field respond to these exposures. Second, a researcher must construct the objective relations among the positions of actors and the institutions of the same field. Third, the researcher must examine the habitus of the agents in the field (1992c:104-105). In this respect, an analysis of the field provides a frame for relational analysis, since it depicts the multidimensional space of positions, and the position takings of the agents and the interplay between the agents' habitus, capital and field (LiPuma, 1993).

At this point, the issue of homology arises. The term homology refers to the relations, which take place in both ways among social structure, cultural order and individual agents. This relation which includes the agents is generated and spread through habitus. Thus, the homology is also between the agents' positions in a field which means the configuration in the field and their motive or drive behind this position taking which is a result of operation of their habitus. In this respect, homology relates three of the key concepts of Bourdieu's theorization: field, capital and habitus. An agent's social practice is a result of her habitus and the capitals that she can have within this habitus. Moreover, her position in a specific field is also related to the composition of her capitals, thus her habitus. Because of such a complicated relationship among the capital, habitus and field, Bourdieu claims that

People are not fools; people are much less bizarre and deluded than we would spontaneously believe precisely because they have internalized, through a protracted and multisided process of conditioning, the objective chances they face. They know how to 'read' the future that fits them, which is made for them and for which they are made (by opposition to everything that the expression 'this is not for the likes of us' designates), through practical anticipations that grasp, at the very surface of the present, what unquestionably imposes itself as that which 'has' to be done or said (and which will retrospectively appear as the 'only' thing to do or say) (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 130).

I think the issue of homology, i.e., the relations among different fields and subfields and a specific field and a specific habitus, is the key to Bourdieu's

theorization of the social. Its nature can make a social space more rigid or flexible for the actions of the agents and the social change.

3.2.3 Criticisms towards Bourdieu's Theory

Some of the critics argue that Bourdieu's theory cannot provide a space for social action and change, it is a theory of social reproduction rather than social change (Jenkins, 1982; Sulkunen, 1982), that it cannot overcome the dichotomy of objectivity and subjectivity as it claims (Evens, 1999), and it is ahistoric (Gartman, 1991) and reductionist (Evens, 1999). Some of them also claim that Bourdieu's main concept, habitus is very rigid for his own theory of practice (King, 2000), and it functions both as an explanation and an explanatory factor, in this respect it is of black box (Akram, 2013; DiMaggio, 1979).

Lane (2006), who investigates the political possibilities that Bourdieu's conceptualization opens up for the political action of social action, as well as LiPuma (1993) who explores the concept of culture in Bourdieu's theory, see that the perfect homology between habitus and field, position taking and position, culture and class that Bourdieu invoke, turns out to be a causal determination and a limit for Bourdieu's explanation of the social. It limits his theory in explaining the social change and turns it into a mechanical model. For Lane (2006), this is also valid when Bourdieu explains the relations among different fields or subfields. Lane (2006) argues that the reason behind such rigidity is that Bourdieu's usage of habitus as if it is an essential or immanent definition. Lane (2006) argues that even though Bourdieu develops the concept of habitus against the structural determination, when he defines and employs the concept operationally, he uses it very mechanically. According to Lane (2006), the rigid definition of habitus translates all the dynamism of the social world into a same phrase of habitus. This means that if a person has a hammer as a result of her habitus, she tends to see everything as a nail; since only she can act upon a nail with the hammer she has. Instead of such a definition, Lane (2006) suggests to use habitus as a mediating concept among different fields and subfields. He wants to redefine the relationship of homology between field and habitus by redefining the concept of habitus. The homology between field and habitus should be statistical correlation rather than a

law of causal determination. Lane insists on having more contingent and constructed nature of values in habitus by emphasizing the margin of uncertainty between the objective positions of agents and the subjective presentation of positions and between the social world and representation of the social world. It should be emphasized that there are numbers of different possible symbolic representations of the same social position. This means that such a conditional definition of habitus enables the agent to act on the nail different than hammering even with a hammer. With such a conceptualization, Lane (2006) criticizes Bourdieu for evaluating position and position taking as ‘two translation of the same phrase’ by referring Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992). At this point, Lane (2006) substitutes Bourdieu’s conceptualization of political field with that of Rancière’s which sees political field as the place for disidentification rather than identification with a group and representation of this group’s interests.

Rather than subsidizing Bourdieu’s theory with another one, my intervention, at this moment, will be towards extending the limits of Bourdieu’s theory. In this respect, it will be in the forms of emphasizing or showing the possibility of a more flexible definition of habitus and the relationship between habitus and field by adding it the dimension of time or historicity. Even if Bourdieu did not provide a stable and unitary definition of habitus, scholars generally take the definition of habitus from *Outline of Theory of Practice* (2007 [1977]) (which was also mentioned above). His emphasis on the concept’s durability and unity in this definition limits the flexibility of habitus. However, his later emphasis of the concept’s more open and changing features, can be more functional to understand its relation with field:

Habitus change constantly as a function of new experiences. Dispositions are subject to a sort of permanent revision, but one that is never radical, given that it operates on the basis of premises instituted in the previous state. They are characterized by a combination of constancy and variation that fluctuates according to the individual and her degree of rigidity or flexibility (2000:161).

This later clarification has two important points to draw attention. First, it is habitus in plural form, so habitus seem not unitary, fixed, or static. According to

Wacquant (2014), this is a point which Bourdieu touched at some of his studies but not very much elaborated. Wacquant defines primary habitus, as the one the people have from their family, during the early years without any conscious effort. However, the primary habitus is a baseline which the people build later habitus on it, in this respect this is a generic habitus. It has an inevitable priority when compared with later acquisitions and it is a relatively close system of dispositions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; 133). The secondary habitus is mainly what we have from our schooling. It is more pedagogical, more academic. It is grafted on to us from outside of our family or primary circle. Wacquant (2014) also claims that the distance or compatibility between generic habitus and the later ones will shape the agents' positions in different fields, since it is directly related to the agents' symbolic capital.

This definition also points out a second feature of habitus: whether primary or secondary (or tertiary etc.), habitus is under the constant change rather than being fixed, essential or static. As Bourdieu puts it clearly, it is “the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal!” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; 133). Habitus is conditioned by given fields and stimuli, the same habitus can generate different practices in different situations.

Moreover, a habitus, which can be seen as adjustable and improvised set of responses, practices and discourses, can also fail to be a resource for action during a crisis or sudden change. Especially the dominant agents who were perfectly fit in the previous stages have major difficulties while adjusting the new one. Their dispositions turn to be useless in the new game. In this respect, Bourdieu (2000) explains that “habitus has its ‘blips’, critical moments when it misfires or it is out of phase: the relationship of immediate adaptation is suspended...” (162). I think, what Bourdieu terms as “critical moments” in above quotation is the process of translation which Lane (2006) criticizes Bourdieu as being static, thus, it is the relation between habitus and field. Redefining and reinterpreting the concept of habitus also change the static nature of relation between habitus and field. In my

point of view, after this point, it cannot be described as “two translations of the same phrase” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992c: 105). If I use the metaphor of translation again, we cannot assume that we have two independent and fixed languages, i.e. language of habitus and field, language of position takings and positions. As the above definition of habitus makes it clear, the “dictionaries” of these languages which are the base for translation are durable, but not stagnant. With every new experience, new “phrases” are added to these dictionaries or some of them are forgotten. Moreover, the paces of growth in the dictionaries and the phrases are not the same, so it is already impossible to have the exact translation, even in most of the case the translation makes sense, there is always the possibility of senselessness or losing the meaning. This is why Bourdieu defines this relation as “double and obscure” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 126). Because he says;

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On one side, it is a relation of conditioning; the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field (or set of intersecting fields, the extent of their intersection or discrepancy being at the root of a divided or even torn habitus). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one’s energy” (128).

As far as I can see there are three important points stand out which are illuminative about social transformation, historicity and social agents’ capability in Bourdieu’s theory. First, I argue that imperfect translation process and possibility of meaninglessness are the motors of change in the social that Bourdieu built with his theoretical framework. Habitus constantly changes. This change takes place at a very slow pace in case of a fit between habitus and field, but it gets faster during a crisis or sudden change from outside of the habitus. However, this never takes the form of a revolution, but always a transformation. Second, the translation is a process rather than a moment. The practice which connects habitus and field introduces time into analysis. Most of the practical activities can be meaningful when only they take place in a sequence, in this respect; timing turns to be the

hearth of the meaning. Moreover, habitus which bridges between the past that shapes it and the future that it will shape is historical in double sense. The habitus and field which are connected time turns to be history and future. Since reproduction of the social is historical it can never be mechanistic or exactly the same translation. Third, within this relation between habitus and field which is a constant process of feedback, the agent can open a space for her to see these mechanisms with the help of reflexive analysis which let her know that she is partially responsible for the effect of situation on herself. By this, she can examine the situation and she can change her reaction. In my opinion, even if this capability of reflexive analysis is not equally distributed among every agent in society, Bourdieu's agent is a sociologist who can manipulate the knowledge of her position and the way she takes positions in order to follow her interests in the sense similar to Gramsci, who claims that "everyone is a philosopher, though in his (sic) own way and unconsciously" (1971, 323). The last but not the least, it should also be emphasized again that all the possibilities of the social agent are bounded with broader social and economic conditions and it cannot be seen as the absolute free will. Its possibilities are determined by complicated relationships among habitus, field and agency.

3.3 Social Memory

After having defined the social in which the relation between habitus and field takes shape and showing how this relation works in the social universe, I can now advance on the next important concept of the conceptual framework, which is social memory. Social memory can be defined as "a group's representations of its past, both the past that is commonly shared and the past that is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to that group's identity, its present conditions and its vision of the future" (Miztal, 2003; 158). Memory is social because it depends on the existence of the other people who share language, events, and symbols, in social and cultural contexts. It refers to the memories of people which they articulated with the help of cultural forms and it refers to the cultural forms which people employ in order to construct their relations with the past. Practices of traditions, commemorations, rites, festivals, mourning and celebrations

are the tangible forms of a social memory. Moreover, social memory provides symbolic representations and frames which can be used in order to understand the conditions in which people live in and organize our actions and conception of ourselves. Thus, social memory offers a base for people' social identification (Olick, 2008: 9-14).

Social memory studies are based on the premise that even the individual who remembers, and what she or he remembers is dependent on the social frameworks. The past is an intersubjective domain. The main aim of social memory studies is to understand how this intersubjectivity is constituted in different domains in different ways (Miztal, 2003); and how the relation between past and present affects different spheres of life (Radstone, 2008). The first scholar who studied on social memory as a different theme than individual memory and who took it as a representation which reflects sociological information about a specific group was Durkheim. He defines social memory as a part of society's "intellectual and moral framework" among other rituals and representations that function as a cement for society (Schwartz, 2000). After Durkheim, his student Maurice Halbwachs, who has been mostly accepted as the founding figure of social memory studies, wrote the book titled, "The Social Frameworks of Memory" ([1941], 1992). Halbwachs, following Durkheim, studied memory not as "a matter of reflecting on the properties of the subjective mind; rather,..as a matter of how minds work together in society, how their operations are structured by social arrangements" (Olick, 2007: 7). Halbwachs suggests that individuals use social frameworks when they remember the past and adds "the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories" ([1941], 1992: 40), this is why the social memory manifests itself in the traditions of families, sects and classes and how the collective memory relates the individuals and the groups through the rituals. Halbwachs' importance comes from the fact that he focuses on the persistence of what is remembered in a society as well as his insistence on social memory being important not only for traditional societies but also for the modern ones.

So, Halbwachs relates the individual and the group through social memory and its different manifestations. After Halbwachs, this academic field seemed to be relatively inactive until the memory boom of the 1980s. However, Olick and Robbins (1998) claim that there are important studies which turned to be important references for later studies on social memory and this even though the effects of these seminal studies have different lineages. Historians Blondel and especially Bloch, who used social memory when he dismantled the social structures of the feudal society (1974), were colleagues of Halbwachs when he developed his ideas about social memory and they were important historians to transmit the importance of social memory to the next generations of historians (ibid.). The emphasis of the Annales School historians including Bloch, which on the practices of daily life, transmission of the practical sense between generations and the ordinary people as the real actors of history (Braudel, 1993), is also an important aspect which proliferated the social memory studies in later periods. Apart from the Annales School, Adorno's essay named as "What Does Coming Terms with the Past Means?" (1986), in which he discusses the ways to understand how fascism prevailed in Germany before Second World War; how ordinary Germans can understand and process their past and how the recurrence of it can be prevented, turned to be a source highly referred among studies about the Holocaust, trauma, recovery, remembering, forgetting, justice and reconciliation. Benjamin's article "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (1968) in which he provides valuable insights about the past, its relation with present, nostalgia and modernity, still triggers new research questions in the field. Moreover, some early sociological and anthropological studies also contributed to the development of social memory studies. Evans-Pritchard developed the notion of "structural amnesia" in his study about the Nuer (1940), while Cooley (1918) and Mead (1932) theorized about the social frames of remembering.

Pioneering studies which particularly focus on social memory are but not limited to Zerubavel (1981), Yerushalmi (1982), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Lowenthal (1985), Connerton (1989), Irvin-Zarecka (1989), Evans (1989) and Nora (1996). Zerubavel (1981) shows how national or religious calendars are socially

constructed within the daily practices of social life. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Lowenthal (1985) and Nora (1996) explain different uses of the past by different groups within a society and how these uses turn to be parts of identities of the nations from very different perspectives. Connerton (1989) investigates different ways of social remembering. The studies of Yerushalmi (1982), Irvin-Zarecka (1989) and Evans (1989) are on the effects of Holocaust, its effects on people, political cultures and also identities of victims as well as perpetrators. Assmann ([1992], 2011) Schudson (1992), Huyssen (1995), Wagner-Pacifici (1996), Zerubavel (1996), Schwartz (1996), and Olick (1997) are another important set of studies, which can be seen as the second generation in the field. I think the importance of these studies comes from their detailed investigations in the working of social memory rather than the case studies they explain. These studies shows the theoretical and methodological possibilities which can be employed in exploring relations between past and present. Moreover, many of those studies are also theoretically on sociological traditions by relating old and new concepts, so they turned to be reference points for later studies in the field.

Around late 1980s and early 1990s, studies on social memory from different disciplines such as historical sociology, anthropology, cultural studies and psychology which try to understand different aspects and operations of social memory proliferated. Due to “non paradigmatic, transdisciplinary and centerless” (Olick and Robbins, 1998:106) features of the field, it lacks common definitions and even common lineage of references (Radstone, 2008; Olick 2008). There are some sets of concepts which stand out in this memory boom. One of these important concepts is nostalgia. Nostalgia is a term which was used for homesick soldiers in seventeenth century (Lowenthal, 1995). According to Huyssen (1995), it is an escape point for people who are disillusioned of modernity and its consequences, whereas Boym (2001) argues that thinking and imagining about past can only be possible, when the people focus on the future, thus it is a part of modernity and modern thought. For social memory studies, the concept of nostalgia has a critical potential. Because it can be studied as a mournful and melancholic emotion tied to home or on the other hand it can be understood as a helper in the

new life as a negotiation between past and present, it can be enabling and practical, especially in the cases of diaspora groups, refugees (Atia and Davies, 2010; Radstone, 2010). Moreover, the studies such as Brah (1996), Tuğal (2006), Canefe (2007), Black (2013), Mann (2015), which focus on the relationship between identity and social memory of people who experience exile or forced migration illuminate different aspects of nostalgia.

Another important set of concepts includes forgetting, amnesia and silence. The studies around these concepts argue that forgetting is not an unsuccessful form of remembrance or commemoration, but it is a different act on the memory and it signifies a different relation with the past (Connerton, 2008; Auge, 2011). Many studies relate the formation of a new identity and forgetting the past which reminds the old residues (Renan, 1990; Carsten, 1995; Estbenschade, 1995; Assche et al. 2009). Induced or administrated forgetting which aims to repress certain memories mostly in order to build new identities is another important topic within this current. Kuizo (2002), Iğsız (2006), Vinitzky-Seroussi and Teeger (2010) and Rosoux and Ypersele (2011) investigate the ways which were employed to repress memories, the consequences and resurrection of the repressed memory in the contexts of four post-Soviet states, Turkey, Israel and Belgium, respectively.

The studies about confrontation with past crimes, especially the ones under the authoritarian regimes, forgiving past crimes, reconciliation and regret constitute another branch within the social memory studies. These studies investigate how the societies, both victims and perpetrators or their descendants come to terms with their past in contexts of Latin American countries under military juntas (Grandin, 2005; Bucciferro, 2010; Bakiner, 2015), during and after the Holocaust (Olick, 2008; Schlink, 2007), Northern Ireland (Hackett and Rolston, 2009) and Turkey (Sancar, 2007).

Among these many concepts which can be employed to understand the case of the exchangees in Sarıdünya village, I decide to stick with the concept of social memory rather than others. There are two main reasons behind this decision. First, many usages of these concepts above are constructed around the testimonies

of the people who experienced the actual happening or they are employed to examine the commemoration practices, monuments, texts in different forms or discourses on these happenings. Whereas in the case of Sarıdünya, I have only one informant who actually experienced the population exchange and there is no textual (in any form) products about the population exchange to scrutinize. So by employing one of these concepts, I did not want to confine their limitations, when my data is already limited in terms of reaching the exchangees who came from Greece or observing the commemoration practices of the exchangees. In this respect, for this study, I want to employ the concept of social memory in order to investigating the memory of the population exchange and its effects on daily lives of the villagers in its broadest sense, instead of the other concept which mainly focus only some aspects of the social memory. Second, the concept of social memory, with all theoretical and methodological debates around it, is much more open to different interpretations and connections with the other important concepts of this study. The concepts of nostalgia, confrontation, diasporic memory and forgetting can be employed in order to understand some aspects of the exchangee experience and especially the identification process of the exchangees. However, the practical dimension of the memory about the population exchange which I conceptualize in relation with the concept of habitus would be missing, so I want to build the conceptual framework with these three concepts but not with the others.

In accordance with this, rather than examining social memory studies with the help of different concepts or in a chronological order, I will employ Misztal's (2003) examination which groups the studies according to their theorization about the power differences among the actors and the relation between past and present. Misztal (2003) claims that contemporary memory studies developed within three different perspectives. The first perspective is presentist approach which is also called "invention of tradition" perspective or the theory of the "politics of memory" approach. This approach sees collective memory in the service of the present with the manipulative power of some powerful groups or of a strong state which tries to legitimize their political deeds. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) conceptualization of the "invented traditions" is the major example in this approach. According to

them, these traditions seem to be old. However, they are actually new constructions which were founded on the depth of a nation`s history by nationalist elites who can establish these rituals with the help of the state apparatus. It mainly focuses the questions of who controls or imposes the collective memory and which means they use for this aim. Main criticisms towards the approach are about its assumption that there are real traditions and invented traditions and the invented traditions are fabricated and thus less authentic than the real traditions. It also fails to see the past endurance in the present against the interventions of politicians and other powerful actors (Schudson, 1997). Moreover, it is claimed that the approach can be useful for understanding the period of early modern nation states or newly formed states, but for other cases its assumptions were reductionist, equating the collective memory with an ideology and far from understanding the complexity of social memory (Misztal, 2003).

The second perspective is the “popular memory approach”, which can be seen mainly as opposed to the “presentist approach”. As with the presentist approach, the past is conceptualized as a function of present needs in this approach as well. However, popular memory approach is less deterministic than the presentist approach and it opens a space for the less powerful actors in manipulating the collective memory and asserting their own version of the past. This perspective is highly connected with the Foucauldian framework which sees memory as a practice with discursive materiality, thus allows investigating different discursive formations in the collective memory. For Foucault, collective memory is a form of popular knowledge of the disadvantageous groups and it can be used against hegemonic forms of knowledge. In this respect, remembering or forgetting are seen as legitimate ways of resistance for the less powerful agents. However, this approach is criticized because of its inability to set the relation between popular memory and the dominant discourses. It is also criticized, since it underestimates the differentiation in the popular memory which reflects the differentiation among the groups with varying power in the society (Misztal, 2003: 63). These criticisms towards the approach led another type of study by the Popular Memory Group of the Centre of Contemporary Studies in Birmingham which tries to explain the

connections between memories of local groups and powerful elites. The researchers in the group aim to delve into the layers of individual memory and plurality within popular memory as well as they want to investigate the interaction between private and public accounts of the past and all possible ways to construct a sense of past. Even if they accept that the state and some cultural and education institutions are the most powerful players in the field, they also accept that the link among different accounts of the past, since every account bend the past within its own way.

The third approach, which I also employ for the conceptualization of the social memory of the population exchange of Sarıdünya villagers here, is the “dynamics of the memory” approach. Schudson (1997) criticizes the interest of the presentist approach about the self-conscious commemoration practices. He claims (1997) that the past affects the daily life of the people through social, linguistic and political processes in which those people do not take place intentionally. The past is not the collection of stories about the past but it is “the claim of events that set the conditions about which people feel compelled to tell stories” (ibid.; 5). Past “continues into and shapes the present personally, as it is transmitted through individual lives; socially, as it is transmitted through law and other institutions; and culturally, as it is transmitted through language and other symbolic systems” (ibid.; 6). In this respect, this approach does not conceptualize the past in terms of interest or utility; past is remembered or kept alive because it helps the people to make sense of the present. Moreover, the approach does not conceptualize memory completely from above or below, but it defines memory as a process of negotiation. It emphasizes that the actors, even the ones who seem very powerful in manipulating the relation between past and present, have limits to rewrite the past according to their wishes (Schudson, 1997). To illustrate this point, Schudson (1997) paraphrases Marx and concludes: “People do indeed rewrite the texts of history. But they do not choose which texts to work on” (ibid.; 15). According to Schudson (1992), there are some important reasons why the past is so hard to rewrite. First, the living memories of people are the identities, attachments and promises that people hold on. Memory, training, habit, and long experiences give a specific way of seeing the world which is hard to change. Second, even if there are

dominant versions of memory, there are also different multiple versions of it, which can coexist. Thus, it is hard to erase or change all these versions all together. Third, the examination of the past, according to Schudson (1992), is not only used for the legitimization of the present but also for guidance and accurate knowledge. People “seek in the past some kind of anchor when they are adrift” (ibid; 213). Fourth, in every society, there are some rules about how to discuss the past with proper materials. Since these rules are not very flexible, they also make the interpretation of the past rigid. Fifth, once the memory is institutionalized in the shape of text books, monuments, museums, calendars, celebrations, even if it is not impossible to change the past, it turns to be very hard. Lastly, Schudson points that the past sometimes is similar to a scar which is not recovered. It is living in the present and it cannot be organized at will (ibid.; 207-215). While Schudson insists on the reality and durability of the past; he also adds that people actually interpret the past. The past is a reconstruction, however in a more complicated way as the present affects people’s perceptions about the past. The relation between the past and the present is a complex and dynamic one which can be called a continuous dialogue (Olick and Levy, 1997; Schudson 1997, 1992; Radstone 2000).

The conceptualization of social memory as an unfinished, two way dialogue between the past and the present gives a way for understanding it within modernity with all of its ambivalences and equivocations, while the “presentist approach” sees social memory as a project of modernity and “popular memory” approach which conceptualizes the social memory as a tool to fight the discontents of modernity. Radstone suggests that the value of social memory does not lie on its capacity to enlighten contradictions of modernity, but its ability to hold these unsolved issues of modernity (2000: 3-9). This faculty of social memory can lead us to another important point that the approach makes, which is that alternative memories to historical happenings can shed light on different aspects of these happenings and transform the meaning of them for a broad public. The publicly shared memories can honor the victims of historical traumas and they can help to prevent the repetition of this kind of traumas. In this respect, the approach sees a

link between remembering and transformation. However, this transformation is never a final one, since social memory is a process of negotiation.

Since the negotiation about social memory never concludes what is remembered and what is forgotten, permanent and changing versions of the past are complementary parts of each other, and the links among them are alive. Thus, the researchers who adapt this approach focus on the past in today's daily life, non-commemorative memory and activities of recollection rather than commemorative practices which are seen as an important factor in group's cohesion according to Halbwachs' conceptualization of collective memory. Because of this particular meaning that the approach attaches to daily life, the act of recollecting the memories, as a relation with the past, gains importance. The recollection of the past materializes in the narration which means "telling a story about past and telling a story about past relation to present" (Misztal, 2003:70). Collective memory turns out to be a version of past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism. It becomes a "cultural program that orients our intentions, it sets our moods and enables us to act" (Misztal, 2003:72). Thus, Misztal (2003) summarizes that this approach conceptualizes collective memory as a frame for society.

The studies of Assmann (2008, 2011) and Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) are also the ones which can be evaluated in this approach. The authors claim that a specific group of people is defined by their shared past. Thus, the "collective memory", which is socially mediated at different levels, provides the group's peculiarity and unity; it is a "concretion of identity" (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995, 126). However, they distinguish two different types of collective memory: communicative memory and cultural memory. According to them, communicative memory, which is also a part of cultural memory, can be found in the routines of everyday life. It directs behavior and experiences of the members of a particular group, thus eases the communication among group's members. It helps people understand each other's jokes, experiences and sense of practice. It is transmitted among the generations who are connected in daily life personally without any institutionalized forms. Each individual participates in this memory and becomes

related with the group who conceive their unity and peculiarity through a shared understanding of the past (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995; 126). The second type of memory is the cultural memory which is characterized by its distance from the everyday life. Even if it is in distance from the everyday situations, it also provides a close link between the group and its identity, since it reflects the organized culture and ceremonial communication of that group. It marks the fixed points of that group and it does not change with time passing. Since it is highly organized and institutionalized, it is also independent of the generations or their ability to transfer the memory. However, according to Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) this does not mean that it is fixed. One of the main features that they define as cultural memory is its capacity to reconstruct. Actually, reconstruction is the way how cultural memory works. Cultural memory always relates its knowledge to the changing situation; however its main body remains stable. I think the most interesting feature that they attribute to “cultural memory” is being an obligation. This means that:

The relation to a normative self-image of the group engenders a clear system of values and differentiations in importance which structure (sic) the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995; 131).

What I understand from this excerpt is that cultural memory provides a framework which imposes the values on its bearers. The bearers embody this system within their cultural tool box unintentionally. Moreover, by providing the knowledge about a situation and transmitting the experience of the former generations, the “cultural memory” turns to be a resource to consult. This is why Assmann (2008) sees the memory as culture and claims that the memory is the main identity maker. To him, “remembering is a realization of belonging, even a social obligation. One has to remember in order to belong” (Assmann, 2008; 114).

Schwartz (2000), who deliberately names his conceptualization of memory as “memory as a cultural system”, also asserts that the “dynamics of memory approach” focuses on how the past is symbolized in daily life and how it mediates the meaning, unlike the other perspectives on social memory which focus on the causes and consequences of the usage of social memory as a leverage in power

relations. For Schwartz, social memory turns to be a “unifying process that provides a framework of meaning through which society maintains stability and identity while adapting to social changes” (Mizstal, 2003: 73). In this respect, according to Schwartz (2000:17), by connecting past events and present events, collective memory becomes a “part of culture’s meaning-making apparatus”. It explains “how collective memory establishes an image of the world so compelling as to render meaningful its deepest perplexities” (Schwartz, 2000:17) gains importance. Mind, tradition and culture are built on traces of “collective memory” and without it they will not be as consistent as they are. Moreover, members of society contemplate about past with each other or against each other in different groups by using the knowledge and symbols that they acquire in the society. This knowledge and symbols constitute the social memory which people believe, evaluate, identify or think about the past. However, even if there are common knowledge and symbols in the social memory, it is not a consensual entity. It is open to struggles and different interpretations, even if this openness to interpretation is not a limitlessly free one (Schwartz, 2012). By this definition, historical and commemorative practices are linked to the individual understanding. The changing relation between individual beliefs about past and more structured commemorative practices reveals questions about the difference among the variety of interpretation of the past and the direction of the influence among these interpretations (Schwartz and Schuman, 2005). These questions are the ones that are not being posed and answered by the other perspectives on social memory which mostly focus not on the social memory as an entity in itself but on its political consequences (Schwartz, 2000; Schwartz and Schuman, 2005).

In his examination of memory of Abraham Lincoln in American culture, Schwartz (2000) asserts that Lincoln’s personality was not a mirror of his age which is considered as the cradle of American values such as freedom, equality among the races or union between the South and the North. Rather, his personality and his deeds function as a model for later generations with specific needs of their own eras. Schwartz tries to understand how the perspectives on Lincoln’s life and the conceptualization of his life change from generation to generation. In this

respect, social memory cannot be seen only as an “act of power but a symbolic filter through which experience -political or otherwise- is apprehended” (Schwartz, 2000: 18). Schwartz elaborates the workings of social memory as in two different but closely related functions. First, the past provides a model *of* society. It represents and reflects past events in the light of needs and interests of the present. Second, social memory is also a model *for* society, because it offers a pattern that organizes and activates behavior and a frame in which members of society place and acquire meaning for their current experiences. According to Schwartz (2000), social memory:

reflects reality by interpreting the past in terms of images appropriate and relevant to the present; it shapes reality by providing people with a program in terms of which their present lines of conduct can be formulated and enacted; it frames reality through standards in terms of which effectiveness and moral qualities of their conduct can be discerned (18).

Thus, social memory reflects, shapes and frames social reality. It helps individuals to place their experiences into cultural schemes and make sense of it. In this respect, according to him, a proper investigation on social memory should focus on how and why social memory works as a framework and under which conditions people use the past for today. By defining social memory as a framework for meaning, Schwartz (2000) suggests that the ways of transmission of social memory between generations and its importance in daily lives should be investigated, with a similar stance to Hodgkin and Radstone (2003). His definition also lets the researchers find the continuation between past and present despite many political or economic changes. According to Schwartz (2000) “the present is constituted by the past but the past’s retention, as well as its reconstruction, must be anchored in the present” (302). Thus, against the Lowenthal who suggests that past is a foreign country (1985), he (2000) claims “the past, then, is a familiar rather than a foreign country; its people different, but not strangers to the present” (303).

The approach also suggests some correction on Halbwachs’ perspective, which assumes a stable collective memory of a community and a stable identity that is related with it. The approach “argues for the need to historicize identities and

meaning systems and tries to comprehend not only how people use the past but also how the past endures in the present” (Miształ, 2003: 69). Radstone also asserts that we are made of memories and memories can remind us of whom we are. But, she also emphasizes that, even memory practices can transform experiences and the meaning we attach to these experiences, “such acts do not bestow freedom: history’s constraints and contingencies cannot be easily sloughed off” (Radstone, 2000: 13).

3.3.1 The Relation between Habitus and Social Memory

Bourdieu (2007) defines habitus as a factor which gives regularity and unity to the practices of a group of people. In this respect, the social memory which is understood as a framework for people’s actions by the scholars in the dynamics of memory approach and habitus turn to be concepts which are intertwined and conditioned by each other. The scholars generally link these two concepts through the concept generations. A generation is made up of collective experiences, tastes, preferences and their places in the memory of the people. Sharing a collective culture and habitus supplies a generation with social memory which unifies the members of the generation (Miształ, 2003: 88-90; Eyerman and Turner, 1998; Eyerman, 2004). Eyerman and Turner (1998) argue that “generational cultures become embodied in their cultural dispositions (dress, language and emblems) and the postures of individuals (walk, dance preferences and songs)” (93). Thus, they redefine the concept of generation around a common habitus and culture, and it facilitates as a way of social closure and a strategy for controlling social memory. Habitus provides a cultural memory that integrates the members of a generation. The writers also claim that their definition gives priority to common cultural field and embodied practices due to the close link between habitus and social memory (Eyerman and Turner, 1998).

Connerton (1996), who mainly studies social memory through more structured practices or edifices of material culture, argues that our bodies can “keep the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions” (72). Moreover Connerton (1996) claims habits are a way of remembering with the hands and the body. These habits, which we acquire mostly

in a past that we do not remember, can affect our direction of action because they are there in every action even if we do not acknowledge it.

By following a similar line of thought and merging this with the definition of social memory as a framework for action, I argue that habitus and social memory are connected through practices. In order to have a better understanding between habitus and social memory, we should turn back to the relation between habitus and the field again. When the configuration of relations between habitus and the fields changes, this change eventually affects the daily practices. The change in the daily practices, which are guided and framed, at least to some degree, by social memory, makes the social memory less powerful and accurate for the actual practices. Then, the social memory loses its importance as a framework or as a source of knowledge. The practices move away from the area which is guided and regulated by social memory. With this development, what to remember – and so what to forget- and how to remember also vary from the former situation, and thus social memory adopts the change slowly. The details more suitable for the new situation and the new ways to remember them thrive around the new practices and become the knowledge, which is distilled by the filter of the old generations, for today's practices. This process can result in forgetting some aspects of social memory or changing the way of commemoration and blending them into daily life.

However, even if the statement above seems to indicate a one way relation between habitus and social memory, I think this is not the case. Some new practices which, are required by the changing relation between the field and the habitus, can be refused or simply can be ignored, if they are found unacceptable by the people on the bases of established customs, traditions and values which are founded on the social memory. In these situations, social memory can function as a filter which can be seen as an extension of its function as a model as Schwartz (1997) claims. It can show what is wrong or right, what is acceptable or unacceptable. In this respect, the relations between habitus and social memory are complex and complicated.

Moreover, I think the weavings of habitus and social memory as defined above are very similar and thus they can work together to understand the complex dynamics in the lives of exchangeers. Both habitus and social memory pose similar

opportunities and limitations to the people who want to manipulate them. They are also open, however not totally permeable to both different factors from above, i.e. the practices of forceful social actors and from below, i.e. minuscule practices of everyday life. In this respect, habitus provides a solid but penetrable surface for the agent to act on, while the social memory provides a depth to this surface by linking past and present through the practices. The pair of habitus and social memory working together, provides an intrinsic knowledge for people about their place in the surrounding world. As I put it formerly, this knowledge can be restrictive or emancipatory if it is acted upon.

3.4 Identification

I think that the knowledge about our place in the world can be seen as the base of our identity. Identity is the result of our relation with outer world as a member of a specific family, a class, a gender, an ethnicity, a race or a nation, since it can be seen as a temporary meeting point between the subject and structure (Hall, 1992; Hall, 1996). It is “never being unified and in late modern times increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply, constructed across different often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions” (Hall, 1996:4). Hall (1996) also argues that identities are a “point of suture, between on the one hand the discourse and practices which attempt to interpellate, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, on the one hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be spoken” (5-6). Identities stabilize both the subjects and the structures into coherent and probable relations. Moreover the term can help overcome the duality between the subject and the structure or the individual and the society.

Identities are contingent on the social, however, they can never fully absorb it or include every domain of it. For Laclau (1990), this has three main consequences which are important to understand the concept of identity. First, they take shape in a historically specific social context. They are not isolated in the subjects as if psychological features of the individuals, but they are results of the constant interaction between the subject and the social world as Hall also puts it (1992; 1996). Second, since the identity cannot grasp the social altogether, it has to

be patchy and fragmental. Even if the identities claim to be total and all encompassing, the very nature of the identity is fragmented. Third, every identity is relational to each other and every identity is defined by its difference with each other. Different identities can coexist because they feed each other with their difference. They can be articulated together, because they are not fixed or total (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

One other important issue arises after these three points. Even if the identities are not totalizing, in the articulation process they turn out to be comforting stories or narratives which can answer to questions such as who we are, where we come from, where we lead to. These narratives make identities as if they are monolithic, all-encompassing, and fixed. Through the narratization and practices that support this narratization, the subjects can emphasize the points of articulation and take the identity as if it is fixed and stable. However, these narratives and practices, even when they seem to be hegemonic, are open to the rivalry of competing ones. In this respect, these narratives and practices, and the identities they are in relation with, are also products of power relations in a specific society, and they have always the traces of historicity. Moreover, since the identities are constructed through difference, the competition among narratives can turn out to be exclusion, othering and border drawing at different levels (Hall, 1992; 1996).

One of the important modifications to the concept of identity arises when it is compared with the term of “identification”, which puts emphasis on the process of articulation and formation of identities. Whereas Hall’s (1992, 1996) emphasis is much more focused on “identity” as a point of suture or of meeting point between subject and structure, Laclau’s (1990) and Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001) emphasis is much more on the process of identification as articulation and as constructing a discourse. Even if Hall’s definition does not mean an essentialist character of identity and in spite of the fact that he gives weight to the temporariness, fragmentedness of the identity, it is very close to daily usage of the word which implies a hardly changing ahistorical essence of the groupness. I think it will not be wrong to claim that Hall’s and Laclau’s definitions are complementary rather than

opposing. As far as I can see, Hall sees identity as a picture, consisting of different parts, but Laclau emphasizes the process of articulating identities or getting together the different parts of the pictures that Hall sees. In this respect, identification turns to be a much more dynamic and historically and socially specific process, while the identity turns to be a still of this process, albeit it is emphasized that identities are temporary and fragmented.

Another important critique of the concept of “identity” originates from the fact that there are so many usages of the term. While the researchers try to point too many important aspects of the social life with the concept, they easily can end up with saying nothing. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) who sees such a danger in using the concept, offer a different set of alternative conceptualization for different cases which is different from the concept of identity. Among many others, the emphasis they put on the term “self-understanding” is especially important for the purposes of this study. They define “self-understanding” as a dispositional term which means “one sense of who one is, of one’s social location and of how (given the first two) one is prepared to act” (17). In this respect it is an understanding in the realm of practical sense and daily life in a Bourdieuan definition. They emphasize that “self” in this definition is not a self in the distinctively modern Western sense. In this respect, it is not a universal claim but a culturally and historically specific claim about an individual or group’s approach about their position in the social universe. Moreover it can change “across time or persons, but they may be stable”. (18). Such a definition also takes into account the fact that all the processes of self-understanding and self-locating take place in relations to others who have similarities or differences, and every positioning shows the important aspects about the relations with others.

At this points, Barth’s (1969) emphasis on the groups’ boundaries rather than the groups’ culture gains importance as a part of self-understanding and identification processes. Barth (1969) claims that boundary drawing for a group is a process of exclusion and inclusion, thus defining the insiders and outsiders, us and the others. So, rather than the cultural stuff which seems to characterize a group, the boundaries between the group and the others which were built on the cultural stuff

and their interactions with the others are the true denominators of a group. When this claim overlaps with the claim of that groups' characteristics also organize the people's interaction in daily life with themselves or the others (Barth, 1969;11), then the daily life interactions, relations and descriptions turn to be sites to look after for hints of identification processes which are also processes of inclusion and exclusion. In addition to his conceptualization can be merged in the concepts of self-understanding and identification, Barth's focus on difference and the boundaries as the points of collusion of differences is also a valuable extension both for Hall's description of identification that emphasizes a construction through the differences and also Bourdieu's understanding of social which is built on symbolic distinctions.

In my opinion, there are other advantages of using concepts of "identification" and "self-understanding" rather than "identity". In addition to focusing on the processes rather than the result of the process at a moment of history, they also direct the attention to the agents who make the identification or understanding, who interpret the conditions and act upon them, who articulate the discourses in their daily lives. They open up a limited space- limited by historical and social conditions- for interpretation. Moreover, the concepts of identification and self-understanding also open up a space for the researcher who wants to focus on more stable or slowly changing aspects of the identity formation process which are shaped by structural factors rather than the perceptions or the experiences of the agents together with changing factors at a rapid rate. Finally, they also provide the opportunity to examine not only groups' relations with the external world which are mainly defined by the terms of difference, but also intra group relations which can reflect the aspects of group's conception of sameness and internal differences in addition to the group's relation with the "others". In this respect, in this study, to keep the focus on the dynamic relations of the group within itself and outer world and to see these relations change in time across different historical conditions, I will adopt the term of "identification" which includes aspects of "self-understanding" as defined by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), rather than the term identity.

3.5 Conclusion: the Relation among Habitus, Social Memory and Identification

After having introduced adjustments to the term identity and adopting the term identification, now I can relate the concept of identification with other important concepts of the study. I argue that the impacts of the social world and the power relations on the identification processes establish a ground for using the concepts of habitus and social memory to explain the identification processes. I claim that habitus provides and explains the working of a social universe in which the agents collectively draw the maps of possible locations for identity formations. Moreover, it provides the basic knowledge of shared daily life, practical sense of togetherness, the distinctions between different groups and cosmology that explains the existence of the group. In addition, the collective memory also comes into the stage during the identification, especially the process of narratization which can be seen as telling a story about the group's past, its relation to the group's present (Schudson, 1995: 357). Collective memory provides a repertoire for possible actions and cases in which people refer as models. Moreover, the dynamic workings of habitus and collective memory also contribute the dynamism of identities since they are both open to change within the limits of specific historical periods and material conditions. If I adopt the metaphor of map again, the habitus is a very slowly changing map. It is being redrawn continuously; however the difference between the versions is minimal. It is a map that shows the locations of time and space which are available to the agents to act upon. The remnants of social memory in this social universe work both as shortcuts among different locations of time and space and as a tool to move in this universe. Within this picture, the identification process can be seen as the representations and the practices that originate from this representation of and around this social universe. More precisely, it is a representation of the coordinates which hosts the important crystallization points within and around the social universe.

In the following chapters, I operationalize this theoretical framework to understand the changing dynamics of daily life in Sarıdünya. My main theoretical claim in this dissertation is that there is a specific habitus which takes shape and

shapes within social memory of the population exchange and the identification processes of the exchangees, and I call this habitus **exchangee habitus**. There is a continuous relationship among these three concepts. Habitus, social memory and identification processes by amplifying each other constitute a loop which is imperfect, since all of these concepts are open to the influences from outside and each other. This imperfection is the source for the change in the model. I call it **exchangee habitus** because it functions as a habitus does; it can be seen in the daily practices and bodily dispositions. It also makes visible the social memory as well as the identification processes and their effects on these practices. These two domains, i.e. the social memory of population exchange and homeland and the identification processes which occur during the exchangees' daily encounters with non-exchangee people give the exchangee character to the habitus and turn it to the **exchangee habitus**. In this respect, the **exchangee habitus** is the operationalization of the loop among those three concepts. The figure below shows how this model of concepts works both operationally and theoretically. The shaded area within the broader social world shows the **exchangee habitus**. The conceptualization of the **exchangee habitus** includes the habitus, social memory, identification processes, their two-ways relations with each other and finally their two-ways relations with the structural factors.

In the following chapters, first I provide a detailed analysis of the operational definition of this model by scrutinizing the actual operations of the **exchangee habitus** in the different domains of the exchangees' daily lives. Then, in the second analysis chapter, I show how the **exchangee habitus** affects the villagers in their daily lives in varying degrees and I finally created a typology of the villagers to understand the different dynamics.

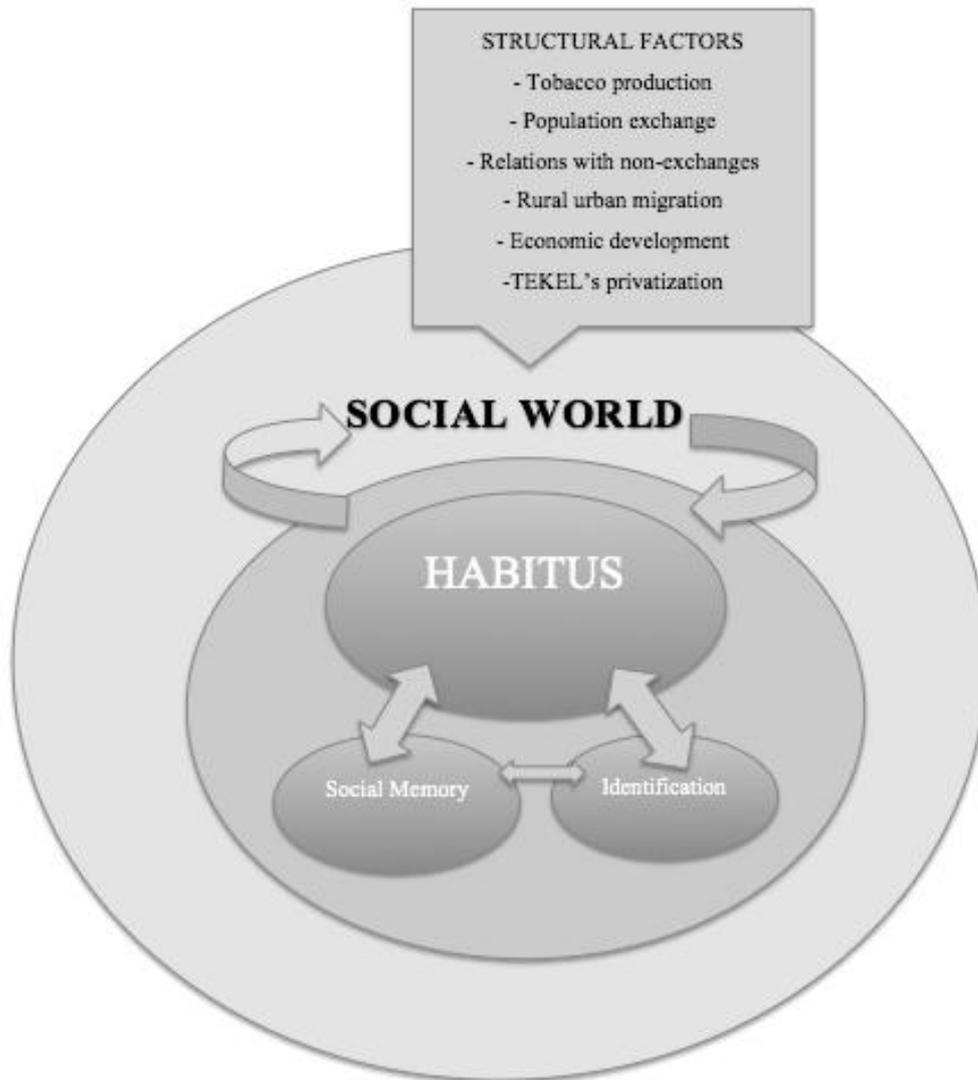


Illustration 2: The theoretical chart: The working of habitus, social memory and identification in the social world.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGEE HABITUS: OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

After having provided the main theoretical tenets of the study to understand the exchangee experience, in this chapter, I will operationalize the theoretical framework as exchangee habitus and analyze the data that I collected during my field research with this operationalization. My main argument here is that there is a specific relation among the habitus, social memory and identification processes which I call “exchangee habitus” in which the villagers think with and act on. The exchangee habitus has three important and intersecting dimensions: exchangees’ usage and referral to their past including the homeland and population exchange, the tobacco production which was carried out in the village as the main economic activity until the early 2000s since the population exchange in 1924, and finally their descriptions of perceived differences of themselves and their village which mainly arise during the daily encounters of the exchangees with non-exchangee people. There are mainly two reasons why I take these domains as the tenets of the exchangee habitus. The first one is that the exchanges gave great importance and put emphasis on these domains of their daily lives during the field research. Second, practical aspects of these domains and relations of these practical aspects with deeper layers of the social world make them very appropriate to theoretically connect under conceptualization of the habitus, social memory and identification processes which I integrate together as the exchangee habitus.

4.2 Population Exchange and Homeland

The first aspect of the exchangee habitus is the villagers’ specific relation with their past and homeland. The villagers’ relations and perception about their past was among the main issues I wanted to investigate during the field research, since it is the main characteristic that differentiates the villagers from other people.

However, distillation of the social memory into the daily practices and the ways of the distillation shows that the villagers mainly remember or commemorate their past through their daily practices. This is the main reason why I employ a perspective that explains social memory as a cultural system that infuses into the daily life (Schwartz, 2000) under the same structural effects with daily life (Schudson, 1992). When this is integrated with the concept of habitus and its inclusiveness of the social memory (Bourdieu, 2007[1977]), the practices of the villagers turn to be the media to observe the working of the social memory. This is the main reason why I define social memory of the homeland and the population exchange as one of the dimensions of the exchangee habitus.

The stories about *memleket* or homeland were recalled when I asked about their grandparents' or parents' memories of the days before the population exchange. These stories and knowledge about the homeland give the villagers a sense of togetherness and distinctiveness. For some of the villagers, the homeland is a distant place where their family elders came from years ago. It only means as much as other distant places mean. But even when they said that they do not know anything about there, they used the word homeland, which shows where their past lies. For some other villagers, homeland is where their roots are. It is a bountiful place where their grandparents had to leave involuntarily for the unfruitful lands of this village. All the struggles that their family had to have after the population exchange confirm this reasoning. Thus, they are very curious and interested in everything about the homeland, the place their elders yearned for. Homeland is important for them because of the variety of reasons which I will explore below, but they also know that for their children and sometimes for them the homeland is Sarıdünya. In this respect, the exchangees' perception of homeland is different from the many cases²¹ which are built upon the hope that they will return there one day. Only two of the interviewees out of sixty-two told that they wish their grandparents

²¹ For example, Aydıngün and Aydıngün (2007) and also Aydıngün and Yıldırım (2010) explain that for Crimean Tatars the idea of homeland and return to the homeland after an exile provide an impetus for the strengthening of the national identity. These studies are based on the understanding of nationalism that is developed mainly by Smith who claims that homeland provides both a mythical final destination to absorb the energy of nationalism and also a resource for unifying narratives to mobilize national consciousness (1999, 1995).

would not come to Turkey at all and none of them expressed their intention of turning back to the homeland. Their perception of homeland, which is supported by the sorrowful stories of leaving there, actually expresses their devotion and commitment to a new homeland, Turkey. It was a place they had to leave to remain Muslim and Turkish and according to them, the Turkish Republic which provided a new homeland should be honored for this hospitality in every occasion. However, as I will show in the following pages, they use the homeland as a tool to compare and contrast the new one and the stories about homeland mainly function as a guide, which they use in sustaining their daily life rather than expressing the national feelings toward homeland. In this respect, the social memory about the population exchange and the homeland as a guide turns to be part of the daily habitus, as claimed by Bourdieu (2007) and Schwartz (2000).

The villagers' knowledge about the homeland, *Karlıkova*, a small village in Northern Greece, today called *Mikropolis*, is mostly based on stories and recollections of their parents and grandparents. These stories and experiences are transmitted to new generations, through the conversations and anecdotes told by elderly relatives. Some interviewees told that they listened to their grandparents' or sometimes parents' experiences of the population exchange as a story, when they were small kids or youngsters. They said that rather than watching TV or spending time on the PCs as their grandchildren do now, they listened to these stories when they had time. Some other informants told that their family elders told the stories about the homeland during the daily chores, such as working on the tobacco fields or preparing couscous together. In these situations, the occasion triggered the recollecting memories of homeland. For example, many interviewees told that they learned that their family had worked on tobacco fields and the details of their lives in the homeland, while they were harvesting and stringing tobacco leaves in Sarıdünya. They tell that when their elders faced with hardship, they compared the homeland and Sarıdünya. For example Uncle Cemal replied to me with the following answer, when I asked how he learned and asked about all these recollections from his grandmother:

Back then there were many reasons to ask. For example, we're tobacco producers, we plant tobacco. My grandmother was a 70, 80 years old woman. She used to sit and start singing Rumelia folk songs. Dıdıdıdı. Rumeli folk songs. Then, you hear them from the mouth. There's a meaning in folk songs as well. I always say meaningful things like that. I used to ask what this, "didn't you see my Recep on the banks of Danube" is. The banks of the Danube, you know, for example, something that comes all the way from our grandfathers, a historical thing. War memories, she used to tell back then. I used to ask her, there would be a meaning. We also asked for the folk songs, like, "the red rose has a name, all those who see it cry". Why would you cry? What does it mean? You tell what happened to you. It's difficult for you to change it. She's taken the damage. They started telling as if they're bombs ready to explode. What they've seen, how they've suffered, what they did. Our adults would tell. We don't have much other information. That's it.²²

I think this evidence shows that remembering the homeland and the family stories around the population exchange are not a matter of any official or planned commemorations, but rather they are the part of the daily lives of the people, since they function as a bridge between new and old homeland and between generations. Moreover, they find expression in the daily practices. Thus, the past is reconstructed in daily practices whether the exchangees were entertaining their grandkids or making them work on tobacco easily. The memories present the tobacco production as the only possible way to live on in a village like Sarıdünya by emphasizing the exchangees had produced good quality tobacco in their homeland, and to build their prosperous lives in the new homeland, they should continue producing it. In Bourdieuan terms (2007), the tobacco production is the game that they knew how to play, that they thought they mastered the rules. In this way, the stories do not only bear the social memory, but also social capital which is

²² O zaman sebepler çoktu sormak için. Mesela biz tütüncüyüz, tütün dikedik. Benim nenem 70-80 yaşında kadındı. Otururdu başlardı Rumeli türküleri yakmaya. Dıdıdıdı. Rumeli türküleri. O zaman duyuyorsunuz yani ağzından. Türkülerde de bir anlam var. Ben hep söylerim öyle bir manalı bir şeyler. Sorardım ona nedir bu "görmedin mi aslan Receb'im Tuna boyunda". Tuna boyu biliyorsun bizim mesela teey dedelerimizden kalma, tarihi bir şey. Savaş anıları, e anlatırdı o zaman. Sorardım ona, bir sebebi olurdu. Türküde de sorardık böyle "kırmızı gülün adı var, her gören ağlar biri var". Niçin ağlarmış? Sorardık, dinlediğimiz zaman sorardık yani. Niye ağlarsın? Ne anlamı var bunun? E anlatırsın başından geçeni. Onu değiştirmen zor. Yarayı almış. Patlamaya hazır bir bomba gibi hemen başlarlar anlatmaya. Neler görmüş, neler çekmiş, neler şey yapmış. Anlatırlardı yani büyüklerimiz. Bizde başka fazla bir bilgi yok. Öyle.

vital for the play of tobacco production. While the grandparents are telling stories about the tobacco fields of the homeland, in the same time they teach the tricks of tobacco producing. They are the media that show the new generation the doxa of the exchangee habitus in its hidden way. Moreover, the stories about the homeland also help the people who underwent very hard conditions, to make sense their life in Sarıdünya, as Schudson claims (1997). As the excerpt just above shows, the meaning in the folk songs sung by the grandmother are only meaningful after she told the story behind it. Moreover, the story is not only helpful in learning about the past and the homeland, but it also gives a meaning to the practices of daily life and explains why they live in Sarıdünya and why they produce tobacco by connecting past and present.

These are ways of transmitting the social memory especially for the exchangees who were born between 1900 and 1934 and also between 1935 and 1959 in the village²³. If the exchangee did not live in other places than the village, the family elders remain as the only resource about the homeland or the population exchange. However, for younger exchangees, other factors besides listening to the stories about homeland emerge, such as living among non-exchangee people or meeting with other exchangee people from different parts of Turkey. Moreover, for them, TV or the internet also revitalized some specific aspects of the exchangee tradition such as some special foods, some words or phrases, dances or songs. This coincides with the younger people's enthusiasms about the food culture or dance and the music of the homeland. I will explain these changes in the transmission of memory and the main reasons of this differentiation in the following chapter, which is about typology among the villagers according to the experience of the villagers within the exchangee habitus.

When it comes to the content of the stories and memories, there are two main topics which are covered by nearly every villager. The first one is about a massacre of the villagers' ancestors in the homeland, and the second topic is comparing and contrasting the homeland with Sarıdünya. It can be safely said that

²³ A more detailed explanation for the age groups among the villagers can be found in the second chapter on the methodology and the methods of the study.

all the stories about the homeland share these two themes, even if the interviewees are the members of different genders, generations, educational or occupational groups.

The first theme which all the stories share is about the clashes among the different ethnic and religious groups living in the region which peaked in a massacre of the villagers' family elders. This massacre, in which some of the interviewees lost their grandfathers, is the most important and influential remembrance about the homeland. The narratives about the massacre cast a shadow of horror over all the other memories about the homeland. It is a very sad and terrible beginning point for the stories of homeland; usually concentrate on how the land was more fertile, how the people were healthier and happier. Moreover, it is also a historical turning point in the lives of their grandparents, according to the villagers. After it had happened, after the Ottoman Empire reign in the Balkans had diminished, the villagers' ancestors understood that they could not live there anymore. Thus, the massacre narrative also makes experience of the population exchange an obligatory step for survival rather than solely forced migration. Even if the exchangees had not come to Turkey with their free will, they needed to choose to come to stay alive. It was a manifestation for their fathers and mothers that they could not live with their non-Muslim neighbors anymore, whether Greek or Bulgarian. It was the peak of the national and religious tension which prevailed over the Macedonia region, especially after 1878 when Bulgaria became an autonomous principality.

The massacre is told by nearly every interviewee with slightly changing details. Even if the nationality of the aggressor, the number of people who were killed, whether young men, old men or women were killed, or the place of the massacre change in the narratives, the importance that the individual interviewee attributed to the massacre does not change. Most of the interviewees' accounts cover only the massacre with changing details which makes me think that there had happened only one massacre and its memory was transmitted to next generations with changing details. However, some of the interviewees had a narrative which included all these different details together, not in one event but in the consecutive

events which took place during the period between the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913 and the Population Exchange, 1924. These accounts also show the extent of the events and the memories about them which shape the exchangees' perception about homeland. One of these accounts is that of Uncle Kadri who is a 79 year old retired teacher:

Uncle Kadri: Now when those Bulgarians entered our village, they gathered our village folk to the village square. Our village then was a big one, the village I call "Kırlıova". Seriously, a crowded village... I don't know the exact number... My mother's father, people like my grandfather gathered on the square then, roughly 40 something adults, youth, people who have children. They gather them all in the village square, tied their hands and arms, lined them up. There then was a creek next to the village, a dry creek filled with water in winter, flows dry in the winter. They cut their heads off on this square those 46 people had their heads cut off.

Z: There's also the story of the mosque?

Uncle Kadri: Those who were stuffed in the mosque, the torture of the Rums start after that. Here, on the shores of the Black Sea, they raided Rums, the Turkish gangs, they attacked them, the ones there raided our people through gangs. In the meantime they butchered my grandfather, they butchered those like him, a crowded group. My mom stayed with my uncle. After these 1912 things got heated up in Greece, it came up to the year of 1919... But in 18-19 years. The Rums there started torturing the Turkish people, local Rums, not those from Bulgaria. They also gathered village folk in the mosques, announcing that they will give advice, they'll preach, they'll come to the mosque... They stuffed them in the mosque, they'd burn them. At that moment the 1923 Lausanne Treaty was in meeting. In the years of Lausanne Treaty, perhaps, the agreement here is over; the exchange treaty with the Greeks was established. Someone with a horse arrived in the village. They'd burn them in the mosque, stuffed in the mosque. We don't know what news the person on the horse brought, but the news of the treaty arrived so they left the mosque free.

Z: I see...

Uncle Kadri: They opened the doors. Due to the treaty they wouldn't touch the Turks, from there to Anatolia, to Turkey, to the villages where Rums lived, they'd

take the Rums from here to there, they'd put them in the Rum villages. That's why they call us exchangee, immigrant.²⁴

Another similar account is that of 88 years old Granny Asiye who was born three years after the population exchange. She told a story that she heard from one of her aunts:

They tied up 18 youngsters at home, they'd butcher them. Young people just like you, young guys. Then the infidels butchered them, the youngster who are just becoming adults ... like our grandsons, they butchered them all, then it was the morning, she said we're gone. They've gone to the creek, wherever it was at home, then, she said, we looked inside, it was all heads, she said, in the creek, she said. Then it is always the blood that flows in the village, she said, instead of water, blood flows, she said. We've seen them, she said. She used to tell, deceased, since they came from there. From home. Infidels' fright, she used to say, let it be my mom or my dad, we've suffered a lot, and they used to say. Infidels, women. Those who love Allah come to the mosque. Who doesn't love Allah, everyone does. One night they gathered them, they'd butcher all women

²⁴ Uncle Kadri: Şimdi o Bulgarlar bizim köye girdiğinde, bizim köy halkını toplamışlar meydana. Bizim köy o zaman büyük bir köy "Kırlıova" dediğim köy. Kalabalık köy vallahı... Sayı olarak kesin olarak bilemeyeceğim... Köy meydanında o zaman benim annemin babası, dedemin emsalleri toplanıyor aşağı-yukarı 40 küsür yetişkin, delikanlı, çoluk-çocuk sahibi insan. Köy meydanında bunu topluyorlar hepsini bağlamışlar ellerini-kollarını sraya sokmuşlar. Dere varmış köy kenarında, kuru dere kışın su dolu, yazın kuru akıyor. O meydanda bunların kafalarını kesmişler o 46 kişinin de kafaları kesiliyor.

Z: Bir de camii hikayesi var?

Uncle Kadri: O camiye doldurulanlar, onlar daha sonra işte ondan sonra başlıyor Rumların işkencesi. Burada Karadeniz sahilinde Rumlara, Türk çeteleri baskın yapıyorlar, saldırıyorlar, ordakiler de bizimkilere baskın yapıyorlar çeteler vasıtasıyla. O arada benim dedemi kesiyorlar, onların emsalleri de kesiliyor işte kalabalık bir grup. Annem kalıyor dayılarımın yanında, amcamlarla. O emsallerden sonra 1912 savaş bitmeden Yunanistan'daki olaylar biraz daha fazla kızışıyor, geliyor 1919 yıllarına kadar.. Ama 18-19 yıl içinde oradaki Rumlar, Türk halkına işkenceye başlıyor, yerli Rumlar, Bulgaristan'dan gelme değil. Bunlar da köy halkını topluyorlar camiilere, nasihat vericez, vaiz vericez diye ilan ediyorlar, camiye gelecekler.. Dolduruyorlar bunları yakacaklar camide. İşte o sırada da 1923 Lozan Konferansı toplantı halinde. Lozan Konferansı yıllarında anlaşma bitiyor galiba buradaki, Yunanlılarla yapılan mübadele anlaşması gerçekleşiyor. Köye birisi geliyor atlı birisi. Onlar camide yakacaklar, camiye doldurulmuş. O sırada atlı köye gelince ne haber getirdi tabi konuyu bilmiyoruz ama bu anlaşmanın yapıldığı haberi geliyor ki camiye serbest bırakıyorlar...

Z: Anladım...

Uncle Kadri: Açıyorlar kapıları. Türklere dokunulmayacak anlaşma gereği oradan Anadolu'ya yani Türkiye'ye, Rumların olduğu köylere, Rumları buradan oraya alacaklar, onları Rumların köyelerine koyacaklardı. Mübadil, muhacir o yüzden biz diyorlar.

there. Then, said my aunt, we gathered together, all women of the village, and we went. Then, she said, someone on a horse came, I don't know whether it was Kemal Paşa or someone else. He came right on time. There's no more doing this to Turks, he said. It's over. Then they let all women go. She was also saved from the hands of the infidels. Thank God for Kemal Paşa, he saved us. They used to say he sorted us out from the infidels, like sorting out bulgur²⁵.

These narratives and the other similar ones anchor the narrators to the history of the Turkish Republic with the references to the Lausanne Conference and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Moreover, even most of the villagers accepted the hardships of the population exchange, due to these occurrences; the population exchange became inevitable for them to survive. These narratives make Turkey a safe haven for exchangees who are also grateful to be able to come here, even if they had to leave their beautiful homeland where they knew they could not live any more. Many exchangees think that their ancestors sacrificed their homelands for staying true to their nationality and religion. Thus, when non-exchangee people tell them they were originally from Greece and imply that they are Greek, the exchangees react and explain their situation as Uncle Kadri did in the statement below, when I asked him how he felt about being an exchangee:

I really don't know any other thing but, being an exchangee is a matter of pride for me, for me personally. Because coming to this homeland arises from loving this country, would a person who doesn't love this country come here leaving behind his establishment, his organization? No, he wouldn't. Then, it means our people mainly liked the nationalism, so they left and came here although their

²⁵ 18 tane delikanlıyı ipe bağlamışlar memlekette kesecekler. Hep sizin gibi gençler, hep delikanlılar. Ondan sonra gavurlar onları kesmiş, yeni yetişen delikanlıları, ... bizim torunlar gibi demek, onlar onları hep kesmişler, sabah oldu biz dedi gittik dedi. Dereye gitmişler işte, memlekette neresiyse, ondan sonra, bir de baktık dedi, hep kelle dedi, içi dedi. Ondan sonra köy hep kan akar dedi, su akacağına kan akar dedi. Gördük dedi onları dedi. Anlatırdı rahmetli, onlar oradan gelmiş ya. Memleketten. Gavur korkusu derdi, annem olsun, babam olsun, biz çok çekti, derlerdi. Orada ne yapmışlar bilir misin? Allah'ını seven camiye gelsin. Gavurlar, karılara. Allah'ını seven camiye gelsin. Kim sevmez, herkes sever. Bir gece toplarlar, bütün karıları kesecekler orada. Ondan sonra, halam dedi, gittik hep topladık, bütün köyün kadınları gittik dedi. Ondan sonra dedi, aman dedi, bir atlı yetişti, artık Kemal Paşa mıydı, başkası mıydı. Yetişir, Türklere demiş, daha böyle yapmak yok demiş. Bu iş burada bitti. Ondan sonra o karıları hep salmışlar. Kurtulmuş o da gavur elinden. Allah razı olsun Kemal Paşa bizi kurtardı. Gavurdan bulgur gibi ayıkladı bizi derlerdi.

opportunities and establishment was very good and they left them and came here.²⁶

When they were threatened to be killed because they are Muslim and Turk, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk or Kemal Paşa in the above story of Granny Asiye personally secured their wellbeing. This makes him a liberator rather than a remote historical figure, and the population exchange was perceived as an agreement to save them among the hostile neighbors. The fact that Atatürk was also an immigrant to Anatolia from Thessaloniki, Greece makes him a member of kin, a neighbor or a fellow townsman and it reduces the distance between him and the exchangees. The stories which personally specify Atatürk as a savior from the massacre by the non-Muslims also strengthened his role in the history of the exchangee people. Such a value placed on Atatürk, which I witnessed in many of the villagers' talks, can be best seen in the statement of Osman who is a 35 year old worker, about his short trip to old Karlıkova, now called as Mikropolis a few years ago:

It is not easy to go to the Balkans from Konya Karaman, stay there for 300 years and come back. When you are in the garden that Atatürk has run, you have goosebumps. Atatürk did not go back to Thessaloniki. He didn't live long enough to. Where the most clever, the greatest man of the world used to roam. Being fellow townsman with Atatürk. Everybody owns him. Laz says he's one of my people, Circassian says he's one of my people. I don't accept that. His mom is known, the place is known, his hometown is known.²⁷

²⁶ Valla bilemeyeceğim ben, farklı bir şey de, mübadil olmak benim için bir gurur meselesi, benim için şahsen. Çünkü bu memlekete gelebilmek bu ülkeyi sevmekten doğar bu ülkeyi sevmeyen bir insan orasını düzenini teşkilatını bırakıp buraya gelir mi gelmez. Demek ki bizimkiler burayı esas milliyetçiliği seviyorlardı ki kopup da geldiler buraya imkânları teşkilatları çok güzelken orada bırakıp da geldiler buraya.

²⁷ Konya Karaman'dan Balkanlar'a gidip orada 300 sene kalıp geri dönmek kolay değil. Atatürk'ün koşturduğu bahçede sen de koşturunca tüylerin diken diken oluyor. Atatürk Selanik'e geri dönmemiş. Ömrü yetmemiş. Dünyanın en akıllı, en süper adamının gezdiği yerde. Atatürk'le hemşeri olmak. Herkes sahip çıkıyor. Laz diyor benden, Çerkes diyor benden. Ben kabul etmiyorum. Anası belli, yeri belli, memleketi belli.

Osman's statement also reveals another aspect of the relation with the homeland. Many villagers think that their ancestors were originally from Anatolia before the Ottoman sultan settled them in the Balkans²⁸. In this respect, for some of the villagers coming to Turkey from the Macedonia region is not an exile or expel from the homeland, but it is repatriation to the real, old homeland Anatolia. This argument is mainly used against the non-exchangee people who claim that the exchangees are originally Greek, thus they do not have a say about Turkey at all. This point of view was stated during the other interviews as well as in informal talks. For example, during a home visit, Grandpa Eşref who is 85 years old farmer and his non-exchangee friend's conversation about relaxing on the couch after the dinner turns out to be about the homeland and Atatürk. His friend, who is a Yörük²⁹ from a neighboring village, told Grandpa Eşref that he himself should rest on the couch first, because Grandpa Eşref is an exchangee, which means robust and lively in this conversation. Then, he explained to me that all the exchangees and also Atatürk are Yörük too, since they had migrated from Konya to the Balkans formerly. At this point, Grandpa Eşref intervened in and corrected him with a visible anger "How come! Atatürk is from our homeland". So, according to Grandpa Eşref, as Osman's excerpt puts it, Atatürk was one of them, but not a Yörük or a member of any other group.

Some exchangees, who see Atatürk in this way, also take him as a model figure in their daily lives. Many grandparents praise their grandchildren who are successful at school and they encourage the kids to be as Atatürk. Or some toddlers who have blue eyes and blonde hair are praised being so adorable because they look like Atatürk. When I interviewed with Sonnur who is a married young women living in İstanbul during her visit to their family home in the village, she told me that when people asked her about her homeland in İstanbul, she said that her family

²⁸ The presence of the Turkish population in Balkans dated backed the sixteenth century. According to *sürgün* (exile) policy, Anatolian peasant groups forcedly were settled in the newly invaded lands in the Balkans. This was a measure to turkify the Balkans as well as a measure to punish insurgent groups in Anatolia with forced migration (Tekeli, 1990).

²⁹ Yörüks, a Turkic group of people, had a semi-nomad lifestyle in Anatolia. However, first the Ottoman Empire then the Turkish Republic made them settled forcibly or voluntarily. Bafra is one of their settlement places and there are few Yörük villages around it.

were immigrants from Thessaloniki and then, Atatürk brought them to here. Then, her older sister, who is not married, told that she is not married because she waits for someone like Atatürk, who is clever and brave to bring the villagers to Turkey. Atatürk, an immigrant himself, who saved the ancestors of the exchangees and brought them to Turkey more than ninety years ago, still sets an example through the stories. I think this case of Atatürk in the memories of exchangees can be understood in the light of conceptualization of collective memory by Schwartz (2000) who focuses on the symbolization of the past in daily life and setting an example for today's issues.

For some other exchangees, this specific relation with Atatürk is also shaping their perceptions about temporary politics and the Turkish nation state. During my interview with aunt Pakize who is a retired teacher, her son Kerem, who is also a teacher, intervened in our conversation and explained why being an exchangee is important for him and why he wanted to learn about their homeland as shown in the following.

Kerem: Recently, you look and see that racism has unbelievably developed in the country. Prejudice has already existed in our society for years. But then you look and see, especially after the terror incidents, racism is all around. Always to the person, where are you from? I'm Circassian, okay. Where are you from, I'm a Kurd... But for years, for example from around Thrace or from those who are exchangees like us, none of that has emerged. For example there are sometimes people, fellow teachers who are very prejudiced at school. Basically I say, we've founded the country, okay?

Pakize: I always put forward Atatürk right away.

Kerem: I mean I would like that a little in this sense. Although I'm not the type who is apt to racism, fascism as a philosophy, as a thought.

Pakize: We're not, at all.

Kerem: Inevitably you feel the need to own. Therefore I wonder. To go and see... Most basically, as I get older I get more interested in our folk dances. I want to dance more. I own them.³⁰

³⁰ Kerem: Son zamanlarda bakıyorsun ülkede acayip ırkçılık da ilerledi bizde. Yani ön yargı zaten yıllardan beri toplumumuzun içinde var. Ama bir de bakıyorsun bir de özellikle bu terör olaylarından sonra hep bir ırkçılık. Hep insana sen nerelisin? İşte ben Çerkez'im tamam. Nerelisin

Another example of a relation between past experiences of the population exchange and homeland was given by Osman whom I quote about being a fellow townsman with Atatürk on previous pages. He defines coming to Turkey from the homeland as a sacrifice as Uncle Kadri did and puts forward this to strengthen his position in the debates about contemporary politics in Turkey. After this statement, he had me turn off the voice recorder³¹, and then criticized the current JDP government policies, especially about the privatization of the state owned enterprises like TEKEL. According to my notes that I took during the interview, he said that the JDP sells the country which was won by the thousands of martyrs and added, “Did we come here in vain? How can I advocate Menderes³², instead of Atatürk?”

On the other hand, some other villagers remember the days just after the population exchange and the poverty that their family elders had to face, which I cover in detail in coming pages, and they use these memories to praise the current government some for other policies, as Uncle Hadi, who is a 81 years old former farmer, while he was describing his continuing illness:

I’m sick for 11 months, almost 12 months. I stayed at the medical school for 28 days, at the pulmonary hospital for 21 days. I went to Bafra and stayed there for

Kürt’üm... Ama yıllardan beri mesela Trakya tarafında veya bizim gibi mübadil olanlarda hiç böyle bir şey çıkmadı. Ben de mesela okulda bazen insanlar, öğretmen arkadaşlar var önyargılı yaklaşan. Devleti biz kurduk diyorum çok basit bir şekilde, tamam mı.

Pakize: Atatürk’ü ben hemen sürerim ortaya.

Kerem: Yani bu anlamda biraz isterim. Bir de felsefe olarak, düşünce olarak da ırkçılığa, faşizme yaşanan bir tip de değilim ama.

Pakize: Hiç değiliz.

Kerem: İster istemez de sahiplenme gereği hissediyorsun. Dolayısıyla merak ediyorum yani. Gitmek görmek... İşte en basitinden hani yaşım ilerledikçe kendi oyunlarımıza daha bir merak salıyorum. Daha oynamak istiyorum. Sahipleniyorum.

³¹ For the political situation in Turkey during my field research in Sarıdünya and its implication on the relations between me and the villagers, please see the methodology chapter.

³² Adnan Menderes (1899-1961). After he was expelled from the RPP, he formed the Democrat Party in 1946 as the main opposition party. After winning the 1950 elections which was the first multi-party election in Turkish history became the prime minister. He was hanged by the military junta in 1961 after 1960 coup d’etat. He is perceived as one of the leading figures of Turkish right wing parties, including the JDP and highly admired by the JDP founders.

some days. You stay in for free, you pay less. If it was the way it used to be, would I have any property any possessions left? I would have nothing left. Was it this way back then? When we were kids, old and sick, old and sick, the men used to moan and moan. They used to be in agony for days and days. So there was no care, no this. Why are deaths easier now, so, there is all kinds of care.³³

Moreover, some other villagers interpret an easy adoption of the early Republican era, Atatürk and the RPP policies differently. Murat, who is a 34 years old history teacher, interprets the result of the last elections which took place in June 2011, with visible excitement and content as the following, after he stated that the RPP, which was founded by Atatürk, won all the previous elections:

On the contrary, AK Party [JDP] won the election this time. NMP became the third. AK Party also won in the village. Even I was personally surprised that it won, it usually wasn't able to win, it won this time so perhaps it did not care that those who brought it were exchangee. So perhaps, the balances, and generation changes, inputs and outputs affect it. And also television, people started to be able imagine who was more or less what, voting for whatever discourse they were hearing more. They also don't vote for, those who are a bit,...my father voted for it I will vote for it as well. I don't force my family on this issue, it is private anyway.³⁴

What I infer from these statements, as Schwartz (2000) claims, these interviewees build a relation of guidance between past and present. When they act on, think about or perform, they look back and consult the past, which is shaped around the population exchange and its results in this case, to give a meaning to

³³ Ben 11 aydır, 11 ay 12 aya gider hastayım. 28 gün fakültede kaldım, 21 göğüs hastanesinde kaldım. Bafra'ya gittim bilmem kaç gün kaldım. Bedava yatıp çıkarsın, verdiğin para daha az. Peki bu eskisi gibi olsaydı, benim malım mülküm kalır mıydı? Ya birşey kalmazdı. Eskiden böyle miydi? Bizim çocukluğumuzda, aa yaşlılık hastası yaşlılık hastası, adamlar inim inim inlerdi. Günlerce can çekişilirmiş, can çekişilirmiş. E demek ki bakım yoktu, şey yoktu. Niye şimdi ölümler kolaylaştı. Demek ki bakım var her türlü.

³⁴ Tam tersi bu seçimde AK Parti bu sefer kazandı. MHP üçüncü oldu. Köyde de AK Parti kazandı. Ben bile şaşırđım şahsen kazanmasına, genelde kazanmazdı yani, bu sefer kazandı demek ki şeye pek bakmamış hani muhacirdir onu getirendir. Demek ki dengeler, bir de nesil değışir, girdiler çıktılar etkiliyor. Bir de televizyon, kişiler kimin şey olduğunu az buçuk şey olduğunu tasavvur edebilmeye başladılar, daha çok söylemden ne duyuyorsa oradan da oy vermeler. Biraz da şeye oy vermezler babam oraya atmış ben de oraya atacağım ben ailemde o konuda zorlamam zaten gizlidir.

their deeds and thoughts. I think, among these statements, Murat's deserves further evaluation. He does not only claim a change in the political behavior of the villagers, but also he interprets this as a kind of process or leap for the villagers whom he thinks are much freer from their own exchangee past and more integrated into a larger society. However, the more important thing in his statement, I think, is his emphasis on the past which shaped and still shapes – at least some of the people like Kerem or Osman- the political behavior. Even when he slightly disapproves such an effect of the past, he actually acts on and evaluates with the same past and its ramifications. In this respect, I claim he still uses the past as a framework to follow but to unfollow, to divert. The case of Murat also shows how hard it is to change or rewrite the past, as Schudson (1992) claims. Murat, as a villager who has a different political reasoning than his elders and some villagers of his own generation, according to his own perception, cannot simply deny the link between the exchangees and the foundation of the Turkish Republic or the founding cadres. But, this link pops up, when he interprets the election results, even if he does not retain the link anymore.

In addition to this link between the past and the present, there are some cases, which I witnessed during my field research, that show also how the villagers deal with the disputes by using and consulting the past. The most salient thing in Sarıdünya is a statue of Atatürk with a saying of his about the exchangees: "*Mübadiller kaybedilmiş topraklarımızın milli hatıralarıdır*", the exchangees are the national remnants of our lost lands.



Illustration 3: A photograph of Atatürk statue in the village, which was taken by the author. The writing top of the statue says that “*Söz konusu vatansa gerisi teferruattır*” which means that if the matter is land, the rest is the detail. The middle writing says that “*Mübadiller kaybedilmiş toprakların milli hatıralarıdır*” which means that the exchangees are the national remnants of the lost lands. The official signature of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the date of erection of the statue are also on the statue.

The statue can be seen on the photograph below. It stands in the only fork of the main road which connects Bafra, Sarıdünya and the other villages. So, even a passerby sees the statue. Many villagers also show it as a proof of their respect for Atatürk. During the field research, I asked questions about the statue, about when and why it was erected, if the people remembered its inauguration or not. Interestingly, the villagers who were so proud of the statue could not give proper information about it, except, that it was erected by the Mukhtar and there were military officials and the district governor in its inauguration. Even the Mukhtar was silent about it, until my interview with him which took place the very last day of the field work. However, towards the end of the field work Aunt Fahriye and her

daughter Semra told me about the story behind it which involved a close relative of theirs, and then during his interview the Mukhtar also confirmed it. According to this, the plot on which Atatürk statue was erected, had belonged to the relative of Aunt Fahriye, but then they discovered a water supply underneath and turned it to a drinking fountain which all the villagers could use. The fountain became very important for all villagers, especially when they had to carry water for their daily usage before having plumbing in their houses. However, a few years ago, the fountain ran dry and the original owner of the plot wanted to get it back. The rest of the villagers objected to it and the dispute over the plot could not be solved among the villagers. The Mukhtar also could not solve it with the original owner of the plot. Then, he took an Atatürk statue from the local government and added the saying about the exchangees and erected the statue with the help of his friends. He solved the problem by turning the plot into a public space for all the villagers with an Atatürk statue rather than a fountain. He said that the original owner could not do anything after he saw the statue. He also organized the inauguration a while after with the officials from Bafra. Moreover, after it was heard around Bafra that Sarıdünya had an Atatürk statue, the owner of the plot started saying that he donated it for the Atatürk statue. I think this is the most revealing case how the villagers remember their past. They do not need it, in this case, only as a subject of commemoration or of nostalgia, but putting an Atatürk statue makes sense for the situation, as Schudson (1997) claims it. Moreover, having an Atatürk statue in the middle of the village and an inauguration with all of the officials from Bafra can be seen as an intervention to the social memory of the villagers from above. However, in this case, seemingly such an official way to commemorate the exchangee past turns to be a practical way to solve a dispute which was a result of the decision of a few villagers, then backed by nearly all the villagers. This is how remembering the past becomes a negotiation among different actors with varying powers to affect the situation. In this respect, this case fits well with Schudson's definition of social memory as a process (1997).

The second topic which arises around the homeland is the comparison between the old village and the new village. Many villagers agreed that the living

conditions in the homeland were considerably better than those of Sarıdünya. Their lands in the homeland were much more fertile and richer than Sarıdünya. They emphasized that the air was fresher because of the mountains next to the village; the spring water tasted better; the nut trees on the mountains provided nuts of every type, so their parents or grandparents did not need to eat simple bread. All these details about the homeland were recollected to emphasize how life got harder for the exchangees when they came to Turkey. Every exchangee said that especially the first years after the migration were very tough. They had no proper housing or proper food which was depopulated by their Greek-Orthodox dwellers around 1920. Aunt Halime told me that her mother always missed and praised the homeland in the below excerpt:

Z: Did she use to miss there at all, where they came from?

H: Ah, my mother used to say, ah only if we had our homeland, ah only if we had our homeland, there were all the walnuts, all the chestnuts there. She used to say we would sit and eat them after evening; we left those gardens there and came here.

Z: Didn't she like it here?

H: She used to say it's all dry here, it's missing something. She used to say there was nothing missing in our homeland, nothing missing. After the evening, she used to say, we would bring down the walnuts, the chestnuts to eat. And water. She used to say that they brought us to dry land.³⁵

According to them, the most important difference between two places is about the production of tobacco. The villagers told that in their homeland it was easy to produce quality tobacco with the help of abundant water resources and fertile fields. Uncle Cemal described the situation in the homeland by comparing his own working life as a farmer in Sarıdünya: "They could live on even with small

³⁵ Z- Peki hiç özleyor muydu orayı, hani o geldikleri yerleri?

H- Ah derdi ki annem ah memleketimiz olsa ah memleketimiz olsa, ne cevizler, ne kestaneler vardı derdi. Akşamdan sonra oturup yerdik, o bağları bıraktık da geldik buralara derdi.

Z- Burayı sevmiyor muydu?

H-Buraları derdi kuru yerler, bir şeyler yok. Bizim memleketimizde derdi, olmayan yok, olmayan yok. Akşamdan sonra derdi, indiririz tavandan o cevizleri, kestaneleri yeriz derdi. Bir de su, kuru memlekete getirdiler derdi bizi.

work, the land was fertile... You don't have to work as much as you do here"³⁶. Over there, they could sell all the tobacco they produce to the merchants who had paid with the golden coins. The villagers who told me these details also wanted to emphasize how hard it was for them and their ancestors to deal with tobacco production after the population exchange. In addition to poor soil and inadequate water, the newcomers also had to deal with absence of agricultural equipment, livestock and tobacco seeds. Moreover, they did not know how to sell tobacco even if they could produce it against all odds. Every single detail that they told about the homeland is actually to show how it had been different and better than here, Sarıdünya. After the population exchange, their struggle for survival turned out to be an economic one in Turkey, which was a secure harbor in terms of ethnicity and religion.

In this respect, the homeland and its prosperity are always remembered while comparing and contrasting with the conditions after the population exchange. These recollections about homeland emphasize that the exchangees gave up these beautiful lands in order to sustain their ethnic and religious identity, as the statements showed above. In this respect, it can be said that the villagers think that their ancestors sacrificed what they had had before, to come to Turkey where they can live as Muslims and Turks. Moreover, these memories also demonstrate how hardworking and tough people exchangees are to survive under these very harsh conditions and to continue producing fine quality tobacco in their newly adopted homeland.

In addition to the details about the prosperity of the homeland, the neighborhood relations with especially non-Muslim people appear in the narratives. Many people emphasize that their ancestors had had good relations with the neighbors, until the intra-ethnic and intra-religious conflicts started in their community. Then, they could not trust their non-Muslim acquaintances again whole-heartedly. However, they also shared the stories about non-Muslim people who helped their families during the conflicts before or during the population

³⁶ Az çalışmaklan geçinirlermiş, toprak verimliymiş... Öyle bir çalışmak zorunda değilsin buradaki gibi.

exchange. Aunt Naima who is also a retired tobacco factory worker shared how her great grandfather's life had been saved by a Greek friend of his:

He used to say that he had very good Rum friends. Of course way back. Then, actually when the relationships had gotten worse, they were going to raid the coffee house. Because, it was a coffee house where the Turks worked at. My grandfather's Rum friends had warned him, saying don't go to the coffee house tonight, they're going to raid the coffee house.³⁷

Moreover, the interviewees also stated that their family elders developed close relations with the Greek exchangees who had come to Greece from Turkey before Turkish exchangees left Greece for Turkey. These close relations were the result of that they had to share their homes with Greek exchangees and that Greek exchangees also spoke Turkish. Some villagers told that their grandparents learned the initial knowledge about Turkey and the potential cities they would migrate from Greek exchangees. Grandpa Hamdi who was 107 years old during the interview remembers Greek exchangees with whom they had shared their home:

A widower came from Giresun, she had a very clever daughter, beautiful like a doll... We lived like that for a year, them in one room, us in one room. Many of us, we were like brothers and sisters, you don't become brothers and sisters but we were, with those old Rums, the new Rums were a bit cross. The old Rums would not give them a chance, would not give them the opportunity. Because they had just arrived, they would say you only arrived here. But they would not say anything.³⁸

³⁷ Çok iyi Rum arkadaşları olduğunu anlatırdı. Tabii çok eskiden. Ondan sonra hatta bu ilişkiler bozulduğu evrede kahveyi basacaklarmış, Türklerin çalıştırdığı bir kahve olduğu için. Dedemin Rum arkadaşları dedeme ikaz ediyorlar bu akşam kahveye gitme, bak kahveyi basacaklar şeklinde.

³⁸ Giresun'dan geldi, bir dul karı geldi, bir dul karı geldi ki akıllı, bir kızı var, bir içim su o kızı... Bir sene durduk öyle, onlar bir odada biz bir odada. Çok da bir sürü, kardeş gibiydik, kardeş olunmaz amma, kardeş gibiydik, o eski Rumlarla yeni Rumlar biraz zıttı. Eski Rumlar onlara meydan vermezdi, bereket vermezdi. Onlar çünkü oraya yeni gelmiş, siz yeni geldiniz diye. Ama belli etmezlerdi.

After a period, living with the Greek exchangees from Anatolia, the time for migration for themselves had arrived. Many of the exchangees heard stories about the sail from the port of Thessaloniki to the port of Samsun. Even many of these narratives include the hardships of the journey; none of them contain the melancholy of leaving the home or homeland, rather the ancestors of the villagers celebrated when they arrived in İzmir as the first stop in Turkey. In this respect, it can be said that after all these troublesome years in the homeland, coming to Turkey seemed to be liberation even for the exchangees who just left their homeland. Many of the interviewees emphasized that their Muslim-Turkish neighbors around their former village in the Balkans and their relatives had come in the same ship and arrived at the Samsun port together. All of them emphasized that it was suggested by their ancestors to settle in the city center of Samsun after staying in a state hostel. However, since they did not know how to economically survive in an urban area, they wanted to settle in a village. Aunt Fatma, whose statement is very similar to the statements of other villagers about this issue, explains how her parents with other villagers had decided to settle in Sarıdünya:

They brought them here from Bosphorus to Black Sea, to Samsun. All houses were empty in Samsun. All locked up, they said live in whichever one you like, pick one you like and settle in it. They said no, they had come from a village back there. They said our children will be hungry, we have no occupation, no education, they looked for land to make tobacco, to produce. Then they said once more villages are all empty, pick one you like and settle. They came to Evrenuşak. There were no houses in Evrenuşak, they stayed in tents. There were no houses left from the Rums that have left. There, when there was a change of air, our grandmothers, there was also famine, Turkey was just out of a war, old people had died from despair. That's what my mother used to say, they came and our grandmothers died. Then they liked this village, every village has a leading figure. This place makes better tobacco, they said, let's settle there. There used to be infidel (*gavur*) places here as well back then. Many of them came and settled here. A minority had also stayed in that village; we're relatives with that village.³⁹

³⁹ Buraya, İstanbul Boğazi'ndan Karadeniz'e Samsun'a getirmişler. Samsun'da bütün evler boş. Kilit vurmuş, buralarda beğenin de oturun, hangi evi isterseniz beğenin yerleşin demiş göstermişler,

Thus, first, these stories about the population exchange and the whole settlement process exactly suit the social memory definition of Misztal (2003) by representing the exchangees' past and giving a substance for their exchangee identity. Moreover, they give answers to the questions like, who they are, why they had to come to Turkey, why they settled in Sarıdünya, why they produced tobacco and how one produced the best tobacco. They help the one to navigate her place and her past in the present. They provide the hints of meaning to the present conditions from the past as Schudson (1997) defines one of the functions of social memory. The stories also present the actors abilities and inabilities to twist the social memory, a dynamic relation between the past and the present. Second, these stories prove that they are valuable not only on a symbolic level, but also on a practical level, since they provide the hints and the lessons for daily life as Schwartz (2000) defines social memory as a model for society. The stories reinforce certain ways of behavior or practice such as stringing the tobacco leaves in a fast and tidy manner, since the stories praise it. The social memory is not only a repertoire of stories about the past, but it is also a bridge which transmits the knowledge of the past to today by embedding it around the practices, burying it in to the habitus, thus it turns to be a part of the strategy generating principle as long as the relation between the habitus and the larger field fits. In this respect, what I claim here, for the villagers of Sarıdünya, the social memory of the population exchange function in these two specific and interwoven ways in the exchangee habitus, both as a resource of meaning and also as a guide.

yok demişler, orada, köyden gelmişler. Burada çoluk çocuğumuz aç kalır, mesleğimiz yok, tahsilimiz yok demişler, tütün yapacak toprak aramışlar, tütün yetiştirilecek. Ondan sonra gene böyle işte gidin köyler boş hep, seçin beğenin yerleşin demişler, Evrenuşak'a yerleşmişler. Evrenuşak'ta çadırda kalmışlar, ev yokmuş orada. Hani giden Rum'lardan kalma ev yok. Orada anneannelerimiz, babaannelerimiz hava değişimi olunca bir de şeylik olunca, kıtlık da var savaştan çıkmış Türkiye, bakımsızlıktan yaşlılar ölmüş. Öyle geldi diyordu annem, öyle geldi annelerimiz öldü. Ondan sonra oradan bu köyü beğenmiş, her köyün bir ileri geleni var. Burası daha güzel tütün yapar demişler, oraya yerleşelim. Burada gavur yerleri de varmış o zaman. Gelmiş işte çoğu buraya gelmiş yerleşmiş. Çok az bir azınlık da o köyde kalmış akrabamız yani o köyle.

4.3 Tobacco Production and Daily Life

The second aspect of the exchangee habitus is the tobacco production. The reason why I define tobacco production as one of the dimensions of the exchangee habitus is that it is the main economic activity that the villagers earn their living between 1924 and first decade of 2000s. During the field research, even before my questions about the flow of the village life, many of the villagers told about the time they spent on the tobacco fields or tobacco factories. This is not only because of the fact that tobacco production is a very time consuming and labor intensive process which spreads through the year, but also it provides channels that link daily practices which are the main tenets of the habitus with the social memory and the identification processes of the exchangees. This specific link among the habitus, social memory and identification processes is the main relation that constructs the exchangee habitus and completes the loop. The tobacco production provides a set of practices which connect past and present of the villagers since the ancestors of the villagers in their homeland also engaged with tobacco production. The practices around the tobacco production function as vital media to transmit the social memory of the exchangees. The ways in which older generations produced tobacco were reproduced in these practices and the social memory functions as a model for the present in this case as Schwartz (2000) claims. The tobacco production practices as much as it brings together the exchangees from different generations and offers opportunities to talk, to remember, to teach and to learn about the villagers' pasts, the homeland, the journey from Greece to Turkey, the hardships of the settlement process and how the older people struggled with these hardships together. Moreover, the way they produce tobacco which they learned from the elders also distinguishes them from other tobacco producers who are non-exchangees. The villagers claim that they can process the tiny leaves with a great patience, that they can dry the leaves without damaging them, which they sell it to higher price than the other non-exchangee villagers can sell. The reasons for all differences, according to them, are lying behind their exchangee past. Since they came from Rumelia and since their ancestors were expert tobacco producers, they know these specific ways of tobacco production which increase the prices that they

have their tobacco. All the manners that they claim they have during tobacco production such as orderliness, neatness and quickness, which can be described as the cultural capital vital for the exchange habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), turns to be points of distinction which furnish the boundaries between the exchangees and non-exchangees, as Barth (1969) states.

To understand and evaluate the effect of tobacco production in the exchange habitus, one must understand the place of tobacco and its production process in the villagers' lives. Tobacco requires a labor intensive and tedious production process. This process starts early March and finishes around late January of the next year. Moreover, it requires the participation of the all members of the family regardless of age. In this respect, all of the other economic and social activities should be scheduled accordingly with the tobacco production. Moreover, since the tobacco market in Turkey was highly regulated by the state, every move in the tobacco market as an individual producer turns to be an encounter with the state or the state officials. Even if the villager did not sell their tobacco to the state, they had to follow the state's regulations. For many of the villagers, the relation with the state through the tobacco market as a tobacco producer is the only relation with the state at all. In this respect, it can be said that the tobacco production affects the villagers' lives both structurally as the main economic activity and practically as a labor intensive and all-encompassing daily activity. In addition to these, tobacco production's weight in daily life arrangements also shows itself in the transmission of social memory, as I have shown in the previous section. Tobacco production and many activities around it provide opportunities for the members of different generations come together and talk about the past. Because of its practical and structural importance, being a tobacco producer or *tütüncü* is not only an economic activity but also a link to their past and a way of life. Before giving the details about this, I want to provide some background information about tobacco agriculture in Anatolia and Rumelia, tobacco monopolies in Turkey, transformation of tobacco agriculture in Sarıdünya village since 1923 and the differentiation among the villagers which also takes place around the tobacco production.

4.3.1 Tobacco and Saridünya's Transformation around It

The main type of tobacco which was produced in the Balkans and Anatolia is oriental tobacco, which was used as an aromatic compound of handmade luxury cigarettes especially among the elite consumers of the United States and Europe, when smoking tobacco gained popularity during the 1800s. It was blended with Virginia tobacco which is rich in nicotine but poor in flavor (Brooks, 1952). During the early 1900s, the quantity of the oriental tobacco in the market decreased due to ongoing wars in the Balkans and Anatolia, which led to an increase in the price. The Western consumers started using it in small amounts in a blend with Virginia tobacco which was cheaper and easier to find. Although in the following years, the supply of oriental tobacco increased again, the consumers continued favoring the blend of oriental and Virginia tobaccos which was easier to smoke. However, oriental tobacco already turned to be a resource of foreign currency in the Ottoman Empire which tried to cope with a fiscal crisis (Doğruel and Doğruel, 2000; Brooks, 1952). In 1833, as a fiscal measure, a new enterprise called *Memalik-i Şahane Duhanları Müşterekül Menfaa Reji Şirketi* or shortly the *Reji* was founded to impose and collect tax on tobacco production and its sale in the local and international markets for thirty years. The operations of the Reji continue until 1923 when the Turkish Republic was founded. To increase the income and to regulate the tobacco market efficiently, the *Reji* built cigarette factories and centers of distribution in the cities which had plentiful tobacco production in their hinterlands such as Samsun, Adana and İzmir. Even if Reji did not operate in Eastern Thrace or Rumelia which the Saridünya villagers migrated from, this region was also famous with its first quality Oriental tobacco and the producers could sell their tobaccos to the traders in return for cash to sell in the western markets⁴⁰ (Arslan, 2010).

⁴⁰ During the late 1800, especially around Drama, the way of collecting tobacco from the individual producers was called *salem*. According to Arslan (2010), this was similar to contract farming. The traders made a deal with the producers on a fixed price, before the harvest and after harvest they bought it on that fixed price, even the market price rose. Arslan (2010) states that this way of buying tobacco could be possible with a very wide network of small scale, mostly Muslim traders, who then sold the tobacco that they had, to the traders with larger capitals mainly in Thessaloniki or Kavala. Finally these traders sold the tobacco to French or Austrian state monopolies.

After tobacco gained importance as a cash crop, Samsun and its province Bafra turned to be the center of high quality oriental tobacco production in the Ottoman Empire and then in the Turkish Republic, mostly due to the fertile fields of alluvial that were brought by the Kızılırmak River (Yolalıcı, 1998). Because of the increasing importance of Samsun region's tobacco, the *Reji* built a cigarette factory in Samsun in 1887 and a pier to transport tobacco. In later years, this pier also served for passengers including Greek and Turkish exchangees who were the main tobacco producers both in Greece and Turkey (Doğruel and Doğruel, 2000). Similar to the tobacco of Rumelia, the tobacco of Samsun was also oriental tobacco. Moreover, some part of the region, including Sarıdünya, has Maden type oriental tobacco which was more qualified (Doğruel and Doğruel, 2000), due to the fact that Sarıdünya is not located in the lowland in the Bafra plain. Its lands lie on the border of fertile, watery plain and dry mountainous land with a mild slope. Thus, the leaves cannot grow very much. Moreover, the air ventilation between the plain and the mountain makes the leaves hale and easy to dry.

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the *Reji* administration was nationalized and turned to TEKEL⁴¹ in 1925. After the establishment of TEKEL in 1925, it classified the tobaccos in Turkey into two groups as second and first quality. The tobaccos from Samsun and Bafra are always in the first quality. Birinci-Bafra (Premium-Bafra) brand and Samsun brand cigarettes are the oldest brand of TEKEL inherited from the *Reji* (Öner, 2007). Those brands were made of only oriental tobacco and produced for the domestic consumption. In the early 1980s, according to Erdoğan and Akar (2008), one fifth of Samsun's total population, which was nearly one million people, earned their life in the tobacco

⁴¹ TEKEL or Tekel Genel Müdürlüğü, General Directory of State Monopolies. According to Ertürk Keskin and Yaman (2013), in 1925, after the *Reji* was nationalized, a state monopoly for local tobacco production was founded. One of the first orders about TEKEL was to change the internal correspondences to Turkish from French and increase the number of Turkish employees. In this respect, it was nationalization in every sense of the word. In early years, the monopoly was only responsible for tobacco, cigarette and cigarette paper for national consumption, but after 1935, it included alcoholic beverages, salt and gun powder. This organizational structure did not change a lot until 1984, when TEKEL was turned to be a state owned enterprise, which can be seen as the first step towards privatization.

sector. Even if the international demand for oriental tobacco decreased as a result of high demand for blend cigarettes and a more general decrease in demand for cigarette, TEKEL continued the support purchases for stability of the tobacco sector until 2002. After this, during the 2000s, both the tobacco purchases of TEKEL in the Black Sea region and the number of tobacco producers in the region decreased. With the change in the economic policies in Turkey⁴², TEKEL turned to be a profit oriented enterprise. However, according to the policy makers, it was not possible under state control. Then both of the tobacco factories in Samsun were sold to the private sector after the privatization of TEKEL in 2008. Today, the cigarette factory in Ballica is operated by British American Tobacco. The Samsun cigarette factory, after being out of use and vacant for a while, in 2006, was turned to be a renovation space by the decree of the Council of Ministers. In 2008, it was sold to private entrepreneurs and renovated. Now the historical building is in use as a shopping mall⁴³ (Özerman, 2009).

⁴² Turkey pursued a development strategy which was depended on import substitution between 1960 and 1980. According to this, national economy was protected from the competition of exported goods with high tariff rates and was expected to produce these goods locally, so to break the dependency on the exported goods, especially on consumption goods and also to increase the industrialization level of the country. In this respect, new factories and workshops were opened all over the country by the state; also private enterprises which invested in certain sectors were supported. Moreover, to increase the purchasing power of the populace and support the new industries, the workers were paid high wages and supported with welfare benefits. However, 1974 oil crisis and political unrest in the country in late 1970s hampered the development. In 1980, with coup d'etat, the worker class which gained strength during the past decades was harshly crashed and economy policies were changed toward a new direction and it was aimed to open Turkish economy to the competition from the world economy and make it less state controlled and free. In this respect, since then, all the state institutions within the industrial sectors were firstly rationalized and then sold to national or foreign private enterprises during the last three decades in a faster pace under the JDP government. Expansion of TEKEL during 1960s and 1970s and then its shrinking and then privatization during 1990s and 2000s should also be seen as a part of Turkey's changing economy policies with changing targets (Keyder, 1989; Boratav, 2012; Özerman, 2009).

⁴³ Urban redevelopment is another face of the rising liberalism in Turkey. According to Yalçınat al. (2014), the hints of the urban redevelopment in Turkey can be found since early 1990s; however it turned to be aggressive and very determinative (especially for Istanbul) under the JDP government. This process can be described as deindustrialization of the cities, gentrification of the city centers, and redistribution of the city space. Kuyucu and Daniş (2014) show that privatization of public land and buildings can be attractive for private investors in especially small or medium scale cities due to their centrality in the city space. The transformation of Samsun cigarette factory into a shopping mall in the center city of Samsun should also be viewed in this light. The website of the shopping mall and its usage of the factory building can be seen at www.bulvarsamsun.com.tr

In Sarıdünya, even if the state gave the lands, including tobacco fields, woodlands, an orchard and a plot for building a house, the exchangees did not have the agricultural tools and economic capital to produce tobacco, which is their only ability, only capital that they could feed their families. Even some of the families could bring some valuables –namely golden- from there, these things fell short soon after the exchange. Immediately after the population exchange, some of the villagers could start producing tobacco in their own fields with the help of their crowded households, family labor and small capital that they had brought from the homeland. However, some other families, who lacked these resources, had to work as sharecroppers in neighboring villages. Then, this turned to be the main source of socio-economic differentiation among the villagers⁴⁴. From the narratives of the villagers, it can be said that sharecropping in the village continued until the beginning of World War II. During the war, the male members of the household had to serve in the precautionary army for two or more years, thus, they had to leave their families in the village with other relatives. After 1941, TEKEL's role expanded in the tobacco sector. It became the biggest buyer from the tobacco producers who were mainly small land owner peasants and the biggest seller of Turkish tobacco in the foreign markets. Moreover, it started to regulate the conditions of tobacco production and processing to increase the level of standardization among the leaves. In 1946, TEKEL also started support purchase at the minimum price which was also determined by TEKEL (Öner, 2007; Ertürk Keskin and Yaman, 2013). Moreover, it also supported certain types of tobacco production and certain practices of production.

According to Koç (1991), TEKEL was not only an economic tool, and increasing the yield from tobacco production was not its only aim. It was also a tool for expanding the state authority, commodity relations and also modernization in the rural areas. In this respect, having storage units for tobacco in very remote villages of the country or providing financial or technical assistance for peasants about modern ways of tobacco production can be seen as the parts of an endeavor

⁴⁴ I will show how this differentiation operated and how continued later years in the following pages.

to modernize the agriculture and living conditions of the peasants and expanding the state authority and relating every corner of the country with the center (Koç, 1991). Later on, especially after the 1960s, these supports for rural areas also turned out to be election promises which were kept or forgotten. Especially during the 1960s and 1970s, according to Koç (1991), all those regulations regarding tobacco production supporting peasant families can be also seen as measures which were for having the votes from peasant population as much as for increasing the capital accumulation and expansion of the commodity relations in rural areas of Turkey. At this point, emphasizing the labor intensive and time consuming production process of tobacco which spans fourteen months (Aysu, 2013) should be considered again, since it requires a special societal organization around it. This societal organization provides a nest for small family farms and dependency relations within the family and also among the families in a small setting, thus it contributes to formation of close knit communities with a strong sense of ethnic or religious identities (Sandoval, 2009; Aysu, 2013)⁴⁵. It is the economic base that supports petty commodity production and it keeps the labor force in the rural areas, as Koç (1991) argues. Aysu (2013) also claims that especially oriental tobacco which can be cultivated on hilly and less fertile soil is very hard to replace with another crop. In this respect, tobacco is a very important economic tool which connects the people, who work on it, with the land and the state. For example, Küçükırca (2012), who discusses the situation of Kurdish seasonal workers, argues that there are two main reasons behind the increase in the number of seasonal workers in Turkey lately. According to her, some of the workers are internally displaced people due to the security measures. However, some of the people started to be seasonal workers due to the developments in the national tobacco market. After 2002 when TEKEL stopped minimum price regulations (Ertürk Keskin and Yaman, 2013), they could not continue producing the tobacco and also could not cultivate any other crop both due to the lack of knowledge about other crops and the unsustainability of the crops

⁴⁵ Sandoval (2009) who examines the tobacco production in Dominican Republic states that due to labor intensive character of the production, there are differentiated job definitions based on gender and racial differences. Moreover, this societal organization diffuses into the identities of the producers and it becomes one of the fundamental elements in Dominican culture.

on the lands. Many of them are not the legal owners of the land, so any new regulation by the state or new companies in the market cannot reach them (Gümüř et al., ?). Moreover, many of the new regulations increased the mechanization in the tobacco production and weakened the ties which kept the individual villagers on the fields as a part of the family labor. So, when the tobacco production cannot provide a living and a position for all members of the families, the families leave the land and become seasonal workers (Küçükırca, 2012).

Not only TEKEL, but also Tarım Kredi Kooperatifi (Agricultural Credit Cooperative) which was established in 1936, became widespread during the 1950s and expanded its credit base. With the help of the Cooperative and Ziraat Bankası (Agricultural Bank of Republic of Turkey) which was founded in 1863 to support the agricultural sector, the villagers could get credit for agricultural expansion such as buying tools, seeds or fertilizers. Aunt Beyhan who was born in 1927 and a former farmer told me how her father was happy and relieved when he had heard about Ziraat Bankası:

Then, I heard well, my father, I heard well that *Ziraat Bankası* has opened here first. *Ziraat Bankası* had been opened in Bafra. Opened up credits for villagers. Back then, things were all in the hands of merchants. Poor people. Merchants used to buy even their tobacco for nothing. I cannot forget that. My father came and thanked Allah; *Ziraat Bankası* was giving credit to villagers. My Allah, he said, bless for we have this, he said, we're free of the merchants.⁴⁶

These opportunities eased the hardship of producing tobacco for small scale producers. As a result of all these developments, the male members who returned to the village after the war, even those families without mentionable capital could start to cultivate tobacco on their lands. In addition to the policies regarding tobacco producers in the villages, its cigarette factories and tobacco processing workshops all around the country, TEKEL also contributed to spreading

⁴⁶ O zaman hele ben iyi duydum, babam, iyi duydum ki, Ziraat Bankası buraya ilk defa açılmış. Bafra'ya Ziraat Bankası açılmış. Köylüye işte kredi açmış. O zaman şeyler, hep tüccarların elindeymiş. Fakir fukara. Tüccarlar tütünlerini bile mesela yok pahunı alırlarmış. Ben hiç onu unutmam. Babam geldi ki Allah'ına şükretti, Ziraat Bankası kredi vermiş çiftçiye. Allah'ım dedi çok şükür buna kavuştuk dedi, hani tüccarın elinden kurtulduk dedi.

the workers' culture and industrial stock of the country which was especially accelerated after 1960 with a planned development leap. TEKEL factories provided secure income, union membership, retirement and various amenities for young families who newly migrated to urban centers from rural areas (Ertürk Keskin and Yaman, 2013).

In Sarıdünya, this period also marked the stabilization of the village's border with neighboring villages, so producing tobacco in their own lands became much more secure. This was not a topic that the villagers wanted to talk about during my field work, but as I can infer from their statements, the neighboring villagers which were originally immigrants from Albania, thus named as Albanians by the villagers, invaded the lands of Sarıdünya in some ways- mostly by letting their flocks to graze, especially when the villagers went to sharecropping. As a result of this, Sarıdünya villagers had to sell their lands which were adjunct to these villagers at a very low price for just preventing any confrontation. The motorway which was built during the second half of the 1950s between Bafra and Samsun, built also a border between the two villages and it stopped the flocks for good and so that the border disputes were finished. Only the mukhtar explained it to me very implicitly as the following, when we were talking about the total land that the village had before and after:

M: The three thousand acres I was talking about, the area where G village is located today, was in this village, and the...

Z: The village where Albanians are? The other side of the road down there?

M: Yes, the other side of the road, village separated from Albanians. That village of G... was within the borders of A, village of A. We were with them, we were neighbors. The area was that village, plus there was another village there. Then when our people sold it and settled in that village and A has become too big of a village, state has separated it calling it G. Made it a different village, it became two different villages.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ M: O bahsettiğim üç bin dönüm yani bugün G köyünün olduğu alanın tamamı bu köydeymiş ve orada ki..

Z: O şu Arnavut'ların olduğu köy mü orası? Şu alt taraf yolun öbür tarafı olan?

Another villager, Uncle Alp, directly connects the issue with the diffidence of his own villagers, when I asked about the relationships between them and their Albanian neighbors:

Z: Okay, you've said they were very poor when they came and settled here, how did they get along with other people around, with other villages? For example there were Albanians, I think, around here.

A: We were constantly – nine of ten of the reasons why immigrants are shy is because they were oppressed, they were oppressed there, Turks oppressed them when they came here. Eh, the Rums who had, from here were oppressed the same way, they're apparently still oppressed. There's that oppression, being bruised.⁴⁸

After all these issues settled with the neighbors, between the 1960s and early 2000s, for the villagers, life started revolving around the routines of tobacco production. It will not be wrong to claim that during the early 1960s, all the families of the village engaged in tobacco production on their own lands with the monetary and agricultural implements that they could obtain from the state agencies which aimed a fast paced economic development in both industrial and agricultural sectors. In addition to tobacco production, some of the villagers were engaged in animal trade or sunflower and wheat production since the settlement. However, all of these activities remained secondary when compared with the tobacco production. This is both due to the fact that many obligatory activities linked to tobacco production are spread all over the year and also that tobacco production with all this state support provided a steady and guaranteed income for the villagers. When

M:He, he yolun öbür tarafı Arnavut'lardan ayrılma bir köy. Yani o G'in köyü... şimdi A köyünün sınırları içersindeydi bu köy. Yani onlarla beraberdik, komuşuyduk bu köyün bulunduğu alan bir artı köy daha vardı orda. Daha sonra işte bizimkiler satıp da, o köyde yerleşim tutunca orası da A çok büyük bir köy haline gelince G diye onu devlet ayırdı. Farklı bir köy yaptı orayı iki farklı köy oldu orası.

⁴⁸ Z: Peki, onlar hani buraya gelip yerleştiklerinde dediniz ya çok fakirlik çekmişler diye, böyle etraftaki insanlarla nasıl anlaşmışlar, başka köylerle? Mesela Arnavutlar falan varmış galiba buralarda.

A: Ya, bizi sürekli yani- zaten muhacirlerin böyle pısrık olmasının onda dokuzu ezginliğin, orada ezilmişler, buraya gelince Türklerden ezilmişler. E, aynı şekilde buradan giden Rumlar da eziliyorlarmış, halen daha da eziliyorlarmış. Ya, o ezginlik, eziklik var.

much of the other agricultural production was for household consumption, tobacco production was totally for the market which was strictly regulated by the state. According to the villagers, when they could produce high quality tobacco, they could sell this to the private traders, who also operated under the regulations of TEKEL. If their yield was not founded quality by the experts of the traders, then, they had to sell it to TEKEL which bought every leave whether poor or good quality. Some villagers told that while they were selling some part of their harvest to the private traders who paid more than TEKEL for the high quality tobacco, they were selling the rest of the whole yield to TEKEL at the minimum price. With such a differentiation, they both could earn more money and also benefit the financial and technical supports of TEKEL, as producer who sold tobacco to TEKEL. Thus, until the TEKEL's complete privatization in 2005, tobacco production provided a strong framework for economic and social life of the villagers in Sarıdünya.

Even after the privatization of TEKEL, at least some of the households in Sarıdünya continued producing tobacco. However, due to increasing cost of inputs like fuel oil or fertilizer and disadvantageous position imposed by contract farming which turned to be the main way of selling tobacco to multi-national tobacco giants like BAT or JTI (Erdoğan and Akar, 2008; Özerman, 2009), the villagers stopped producing at all. In addition to the external factors that were engendered by the tobacco market, there were internal dynamics which were the results of differentiation among the villagers that caused such a development. As I stated before, the early hints of the differentiation in the village were already present even after the settlement process. Some villagers could stay at the village, farming their own lands, while some others had to go to be sharecroppers in neighboring villages and farms. This difference can be understood to some point with the difference of the economic capital. However, according to the statements of the villagers, especially having adult male members who could organize the tobacco production in addition to working in the fields was also an important factor in this differentiation. For example, Uncle Cemal's and Aunt Naile's answer to my question about the notable landowners of the village explains the perceived link between the massacres in the homeland and later the economic situation in Turkey:

Z: Who are the landlords of this village?

C: Landlord? It's me, you, him. There is no landlord here. The landlords are those who were not in that mosque, who came here with their children without having their heads cut off.

Z: You mean the men who were able to come here?

C: Of course. Those who were able to come here with children became a landlord. They protected their children. My grandfather was butchered there. My father has 7 brothers and sisters. My father is the oldest, he was 14 years old. His sisters were after him, they all came together here. There was no one protecting them, no one gave us a house, either. No one gave us a place for a house, either. There was a hodja in our village, we used to call him Tall hodja, you wouldn't know him...

Z: I've heard his name.

C: He owns the place above our border. That man had built a partition for our folk in the garden, gave them a place, my deceased grandmother had started to cry. She felt out of place without a place in the village. The man gave us two acres across the place...

N: Because she came without a husband, Zeynep, that's why.

C: When Hodja gave it, when he partitioned from here to below, they divided the place to him, and gave it, that's it. Old man, he was old back then as well. Those are the landlords. Those who came here old, 40-50 years old, 35-40 years old came from the army. He was in the army. I don't know those who worked in some places there. Those who weren't in the village that day and weren't butchered became landlords here. There were some who owned sheep there, some who owned businesses. Those men both weren't butchered and their property wasn't harmed. Protected his home, brought it here. Those are the landlord, there's no such thing as wealthy landlord back then. Back then everyone was struggling to earn a living, struggling.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Z- Bu köyün ağaları kimler?

C- Ağaları mı? E sen ben işte. Ağa yok burada. Ağalık şu az şeydeyken o camide bulunmayıp da, çoluk çocuğuyulan başı kesilmeden buraya gelenler.

Z- Gelebilen erkekler yani?

C- Tabii. Çoluk çocuk gelebilenler burada ağa olmuş. Çoluk çocuğuna sahip çıkmış. Benim dedem kesilmiş orada. 8 kardeş babamlar. En büyüğü işte babam 14 yaşında. Onun peşinde kız kardeşleri, hepsi beraber gelmişler buraya. Sahip çıkan yok, bize ev veren de olmamış. Bize burada ev yeri veren de olmamış. Köyümüzün hocası vardı, biz ona Uzun hoca derdik, sen tanımazsın...

Z- Duydum ismini.

According to this, these adult male members could protect both their families and belongings during the population exchange and settlement, whereas the other families who consisted of mainly women, children and older people, needed others' help. Moreover, those families, whose male members were killed in the massacre, could not farm their lands and mainly went to sharecropping which required less resources in and around Sarıdünya. Some of them also sold their lands, which they could not farm, to other villagers of Sarıdünya or neighboring villagers. As I stated earlier, all the families could start farming their own lands during the 1950s and during the 1960s, they could obtain support from TEKEL for tobacco production. This situation, rather than levelling the existing differentiation among the villagers, made the differentiation more complicated. During the 1960s and the 1970s, the families who formerly sold their lands needed more land to feed their increasing household population. This relative scarcity of land for these families coincided with the development leap of the 1960s and opening of new factories (Keyder, 1989), including TEKEL factories which opened a new cigarette factory in Maltepe, (Erdoğan and Akar, 2008). Some of the families who did not have enough land to earn a living for their expanding families encouraged their young members whether men or women to go to the big cities and be workers in these factories. Moreover, the hardship of the tobacco producing was also a factor in the decision to migrate to big cities. The villagers told that they learnt about the positions in the factories with the help of their exchangee relatives and acquaintances who already worked in these factories. The exchangee people who

C-Bizim sınıırım üst tarafındaki yerin sahibi. O adam bahçede bir bölme yapmış bizimkilere, burada yer vermiş, nenem rahmetli ağlamaya başlamış. Garipsemiş yer olmayınca köyün içinde. Herif de vermiş bize karşıda 2 dönüm yer...

N- Kocasız gelmiş ya Zeynep onun için.

C- Hoca verince işte, buradan aşağısını bölünce, bölmüşler yerini kendine, vermişler işte o kadar. Yaşlı adam, o zaman da yaşlı. Ağalar bunlar işte. Oradan yaşlıca gelip de 40- 50 yaşında 35-40 yaşında olan, askerden gelmiş. Askerde bulunmuş yani o şeyin devrinde. Ne bileyim orada bazı iş yerlerinde çalışanlar. O gün köyde bulunmayıp da kesilmeyenler ağa olmuşlar gelmişler buraya. Orada koyun sahipleri olanlar varmış biraz, iş sahipleri olanlar varmış. Hem o adamlar kesilmemiş hem de malı ziyan olmamış. Hanesine sahip çıkmış, almış toplamış getirmiş buraya. Ağa bunlar yoksa varlıklı ağa diye bir şey yok ki o zaman. Herkes o zaman geçim peşindeydi, geçim derdinde.

were director general or foremen in these factories let the exchangees who lived in the villages know new job openings. Aunt Naime who was a retired factory worker told that all the villagers including her family sent the members to big cities when the lands came short and poverty struck:

The rice did not exist back then, there was poverty so couscous and bulgur were in demand back then. As land became scarce, for example, they gave land per household to those who came here. One who came here had five kids, had ten kids, not like now, they have two kids and close the doors but back then there were ten, would a land given to one person be sufficient for ten? What happened then is migration, it started; during our time. Everyone went outside, half our village went outside.⁵⁰

Aunt Fatma who was also a retired cigarette factory worker described the decision to work in the factory and how they learned about it like this:

F: My husband was a barber for men. When he finished elementary school he worked in Bafra, then, became a headman, he has a diploma, he became a master. He told me that village is difficult. He hasn't done it before because he thought it was difficult, too, we had heard that a factory had opened in İstanbul, they appointed an exchangee manager from here, from Samsun, so, he had sent thenews.

Z: What kind of factory?

F: Cigarette factory, he has sent the newsto exchangee villages, he said that send the kids and the young so they can have a job. We can't be farmers our whole life, we said let's go. We were five months married and three months pregnant. We went to İstanbul.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Bu pirinçler falan yoktu o zaman demek ki fakirlik vardı kuskuslar bulgurlar revaçtaydı o zaman. Geriden de zaten herkese yer az geldikçe mesela hane başına yer vermişler burada memleketten geline. Bir gelenin beş çocuğu olmuş, şimdiki gibi, on çocuğu olmuş şimdi herkes iki tane yapıp kapatıyor kapıları ama o zaman on taneymiş bir kişiye verilen diğer on kişiye yeter mi? O zaman ne oldu dışarıya göç başladı mesela bizim zamanımızda diyeyim. Şu anda hep dışarıya gitti bizim köyümüzün yarısı dışarıya gitti.

⁵¹ F: Eşim erkek berberiydi, ilkokulu bitirince Bafra'da çalışmış, sonra kalfa olmuş, diploması var, usta oldu. Bu bana dedi köy işi zor. Hiç yapmamış çünkü ona da zor geliyordu yapmak, gidelim İstanbul'da da fabrika açılmıştı duymuştuk, gene mübadil müdürü vermişler buradan, Samsun'dan, o haber yollamış.

Z: Ne fabrikası?

The exchangees benefitted from their social capital, the network among the exchangees who spread out in different positions in the tobacco sector. In a situation they lacked the economic capital, they could carry on by trusting on their social capital which was “more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). The decision to migrate was not like burning all the boats; more like changing from one boat to another one which could be more useful. Moreover, the strength of such a networking also was based on the exchangees’ skills and knowledge about tobacco, which also work as the social capital which was defined as embodied, objectified or institutional forms of knowledge, for the villagers. So, the exchangee directors or foremen could know and trust that the exchangees could work on tobacco whether in the factory or in the field. In this respect, this kind of migration which was led by the networks can be seen as the working of social and cultural capitals of the exchangees together.

During my fieldwork, I asked how and why the exchangees decided to migrate to urban centers, when I interviewed with people who were retired workers. I also asked why they did not migrate at all during my interviews with the people who stayed in the village. When I asked this to Uncle Cem whose family was perceived as one of the notable families in Sarıdünya by the villagers answered me as follows:

C: Those who were poor had left the village, those who were well off, who had land, who had ox, cow – there were no tractors back then of course.

Z: Then you weren’t so, I mean, not to the extent of leaving...

C: We weren’t aggrieved.

Z: You weren’t aggrieved.

F: Sigara fabrikası, mübadil köylerine hep haber yollamış, çoluk çocuk gençleri yollayın işe girsin diye. Yok, biz yapamayız dedi ömür billah rençperlik, hadi gidelim mi gidelim. Beş aylık evli üç aylık hamile gittik İstanbul’a o gidiş.

C: We weren't, we weren't... Let's say middle class. We were five brothers and sisters then, four brothers and a sister but we were rather very hard working.⁵²

Uncle Vahit, who was a member of another notable family of the village, also replied to me as in the excerpt below:

Z: You know how there are people who went to TEKEL and all, did anyone leave your house like that?

V: No, no, we were well off as you'd understand therefore we weren't leaving, we were making tobacco here.

Z: Did rather those who could not get by go to TEKEL?

V: Of course, of course those who were unemployed, those who did not own fields. For example, many from this village went to İstanbul, those who did not have land. Some went to TEKEL they would now buy us 10 times they have houses there, their kids went to school there, they're better off. We were doing better here.⁵³

While some families were sending their young members to the big cities, other families who stayed in the village also expand their economic activities to animal trading, transportation sector or craftsmanship, especially in the village or in Bafra. For example, Uncle Cem, whom I quoted above, worked as a substitute imam in the other villages, but always lived in Sarıdünya. Uncle Vahit also worked as a small bus driver between Samsun and Bafra. Other villagers had a flour mill, a

⁵² C:Fakir olanlar köyü terketti, durumu iyi olanlar, arazisi olanlar, öküzü olanlar, ineği olanlar – traktör yok tabii o zaman.

Z:O zaman sizin de böyle çok, o zaman hani gidecek kadar nasıl diyeyim..

C:Mağdur değildik.

Z.:Mağdur değildiniz..

C:Değildi, değildik... Orta halli diyelim. Biz beş kardeştik o zaman, dört erkek, bir kız kardeş ama çok çalıştık daha doğrusu.

⁵³ Z: Peki şey hani böyle TEKEL'e falan gidenler var ya sizin evden de gidenler oldu mu öyle?

V:Yok, yok, bizim durumumuz iyidi senin anlayacağın o yüzden gitmiyorduk, tütün yapıyorduk biz burada.

Z:TEKEL'e hani geçinemiyenler mi daha çok gidiyordu?

V:Tabii, tabii işsiz olanlar, tarlası olmayanlar. Mesela bu köyden çoğu İstanbul'a gitti, arazisi olmayanlar. Bir kısmı da TEKEL'e girdi şimdi bizi on defa satın alıyorlar orada daireleri var, çocukları da okudu orada, onlar daha iyi. Bizim burada durumumuz iyiydi.

small shop or coffeehouse in the village. The differentiation in the village between the workers and the farmers and its effects become more visible when the workers' families came to spend their vacation in the village which was very common, since they needed to help their families who were still engaged in tobacco production. When I asked about the features of the village, Uncle Alp replied by saying that everyone in the village was so gossipy, because everyone was retired. His wife, Aunt Emin also approved what he said and also added that "everybody in the village is retired, there is no difference". Upon this, Uncle Alp intervened and the conversation twisted to the differentiation in the village:

A: There's a difference. They're Bağ-Kur retirees, we're SSK retirees.

F: They're free. They've retired without tiring themselves. We suffered at strangers' businesses, this is how we retired. That's our difference.

A: What I resent most is that when I first came to this village, you laid, you laid, you didn't come, you laid you laid you didn't come. I resented it so much you'd be shocked.

Z: When you came here, when you were building this house?

E: Apparently we've retired taking it very easy

Z: Didn't they know that you were working at the factory?

A: Let them know. But they don't know what laboring is. In your life, I've told the owner of K, for God's sake, how many days have you worked for someone else?

Z: The owner of what?

A: You know the owner of K, Mehmet. A couple of people, in front of the mosque, in front of the coffee house, under the quince. Now, I said, how many times have you worked as a laborer, wage laborer? You, I said, don't know how it tastes. I don't know about being a boss. And I tell you that you're a blood sucker. You're earning money from people's backs. Isn't that great! Don't do this, don't do it. Look I could not come to my grandmother's funeral. My grandmother is my mother's mother, who is closer to me than that? I could not take day off to come. How many times, I said, did you drop kidney stones on the top of that pole? Can one survive stone pain on the top of that pole? You'll survive like a donkey. You'll either survive or you'll go. Don't do it, I said. There's nothing harder than working for someone else.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ A: Bir fark var. Onlar Bağ-Kur emeklisi, biz SSK emeklisiyiz.

In this respect, even if the villagers like to emphasize how their village is united and free of any conflict, as I will show in the following section, there are some issues which created conflicts among the villagers.

In addition to the fact that some villagers migrated to urban centers, some other people in the village were able to have professional jobs such as teachers or civil servants, especially by using education as a ladder for upward mobility. These opportunities came up when the teacher of the village could persuade the parents of the child to let them take the entry examination of the other schools and when the family's economic situation could let the child go away for the school. For example, Uncle Kadri, Uncle Kaya and Aunt Pakize could go to the teachers' high school in another province only if these conditions were met. Uncle Kaya who was the first student could go to the boarding school in Ladik was very proud of his education in the Ladik Village Institute⁵⁵. Upon hearing that he worked in Germany as a Turkish teacher for the children of Turkish immigrants in Germany, I asked if

E: Onlar serbest. Kendini üzmeden emekli oldu. Biz elin işlerinde mahvolduk, öyle emekli olduk. Farkımız o.

A: En zoruma giden şey bu köyde ilk geldiğim zamanlar, yattınız yattınız gelmediniz, yattınız yattınız gelmediniz. Bir zoruma gidiyordu, aklın durur.

Z: Buraya, bu evi yaptırırken geldiğinizde mi?

E: Yani biz yata yata emekli olmuşuz.

Z: Ama sizin fabrika'da çalıştığınızı bilmiyorlar mıydı?

A: Bilsin. Ama işçiliğin ne olduğunu bilmez. Ömrünüzde, K'nın sahibine dedim ya, Allah'ınızı seversiniz kaç gün kula kulluk yaptınız?

Z: Neyin sahibi?

A: K'nın sahibi var ya Mehmet. Birkaç kişi, caminin önünde, o kahvenin önünde, ayvanın altında. Şimdi dedim sen ömründe kaç defa amelelik yaptın, yövmiyecilik yaptın? Yapmadım. Sen bilemezsin kardeşim, sen o konuya hiç girme. Sen dedim, o tadı bilmemezsin. Ben de patronluğu bilemem. Ben de sana diyorum ki kan emicisin. Milletın sırtından para kazanıyorsun. Ne kadar hoş değil mi bu iş! Yapmayın bunları, yapmayın. Bak ben anneannemin cenazesine geledim. Anneannem de annemin annesi daha, daha bundan yakın kim var? Ben izin alıp geledim. Sen dedim o direğin tepesinde kaç kere (böbrek) taş(1) düşürdün. O direğin tepesinde taş sancısı çekilir mi? Eşşek gibi çekeceksin. Ya çekeceksin ya çekip gideceksin. Yapmayın dedim. Öyle kula kulluk yapmak kadar dünyada zor bir şey yoktur.

⁵⁵ The village institutes were founded in 1940 to educate the children from villages to become village teachers. In addition to the academic knowledge that the teachers need, the students were also thought how to build buildings with simple materials, how to take care of animals and crop in a scientific way. They were expected return to the villages and teach these knowledge to all the villagers (Arayıcı, 1999).

he felt any difference in Germany. He simply put that there was no difference than the language, since their education prepared them for everything. However, he said that some other villagers, especially other girls, could not continue education as in the case of Aunt Emin, who told me that after primary school, his father did not let her go to a boarding school for teachers, because he did not want her to go out of the village. She also said in a visible regret that she was a child and she could not argue with his father. However, she added that after her marriage, she could dare to convince her father-in-law to let her and her sisters-in-law to move to İstanbul to work in the cigarette factory, when her husband was in the military service, so, she said, she saved the future of all family.

The children of the villagers who migrated to big cities grew up and schooled in these cities. They mostly became first generation urbanites in Samsun or İstanbul. These workers mostly retired from these factories during the 1990s. Moreover, with a regulation after 1983, the tobacco producers who stayed in the village were covered by a pension plan of a special social security regulation for agricultural workers⁵⁶. The villagers learned it and benefitted from this regulation, as early as 1986. This accountant was the son of a family who formerly migrated to Samsun from the village to work in the cigarette factory. With his guidance and snatching the opportunity very early, they were able to get their pensions with regular monthly payments in a relatively short time. Thus, as far as I was told, the farmers also started receiving their pensions during the early 2000s. In addition to this, the villagers who had additional jobs also were entitled to pensions in those years. After having a regular pension, many villagers stopped cultivating tobacco due to increasing costs and decreasing prices which were the results of the state withdrawal from the tobacco sector and privatization of TEKEL. Today, none of the households in the village produce tobacco. The villagers who once migrated to big cities also partially returned to the village after their retirement. Many of them

⁵⁶ In Turkish, Tarımda Kendi Adına ve Hesabına Çalışanlar Sosyal Sigortalar Kanunu was legislated with number 2926 in October 20th, 1983. According to Levent (2013), there were some problems about the announcement of the regulation and thus, the enrollment was very accidental and disorganized. The full text is available on http://haged.istanbul.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/1983_2926_Sayili_Tarimda_Kendi_Adina_Ve_Hesabina_Calisanlar_Sosyal_Sigortalar_Yasasi.pdf

restored their old family houses or built brand new ones for them and started to spend most of the year –especially the summers- in the village. The younger villagers try to earn their living in big cities or sometimes in Bafra with the help of an easy daily commute between Bafra and Sarıdünya. The children of retired workers stay in big cities where they grew up and have various jobs; however, they join their parents in the village in weekends or holidays with their own kids. In this respect, in the summer time Sarıdünya reaches the most crowded population from every generation, nearly six hundred people, I was told by the Mukhtar. But, during the winter, the population decreased below three hundred, mainly composed of the older people. The agricultural activity, apart from the tobacco production also nearly stopped in the village. There are only a few families who cultivate wheat or sunflower for the market, however, this is not their main source of income. All of the villagers only engage in their small garden plots for individual consumption. After the long years of hard work in the tobacco fields or cigarette factories, the villagers are mainly retirees and the village now looks like a holiday resort mostly. However, this does not simply mean that the differentiations, from the different jobs as farmers and workers or from different living arrangements like living in the village or spending the winter in the city, were washed out. When I asked Uncle Cemal if his grandson helped him with the animals as he had done when he was a kid, he replied me by emphasizing influence of the kids coming from the cities during the summer time:

You can't send 11 year old kids after the herd. There's no one, there are no friends with you, there's no one to go. There's something wrong with the kids. There are now people who come for the summer, there are 100 households in our village. Two months later it's 60 households. There a lot of those who'll return to İstanbul, they come here with their children. When their child is running around with the bike, you can't send your kids to work. You can't send them to wait for the herd either. You have to break their heart to send them, and that does not work for us.

Therefore animals are fed in the barn. But when I was 10 years old, my brother went to the army. I became a farmer.⁵⁷

Moreover, as I stated earlier, the influence of the differentiation on the villagers also becomes visible in stopping the tobacco production. There is an opinion among especially the villagers, who returned to the village from big cities after their retired; about the other villagers stopped farming tobacco immaturely because they wanted to show off. According to this, when the retired workers returned to the village and when they did not farm tobacco fields, other villagers also wanted to have this as sign of wealth. One of the villagers who think in this way is Aunt Feride who has been receiving pensions for 15 years. She and her husband lived in Istanbul for some time, but she did not work in the tobacco factories, and her husband was working as a taxi driver. However, after a while, since her husband had an accident in İstanbul, they returned to the village and continue with tobacco production until they received their pensions. She explains why the villagers stopped tobacco production in an annoyed manner:

They say I will quit when he or she quits. Are you the same as me? You do it, go on living. I did in the past, I worked. You'll now work so that you save your life. You're not the same as me. Then you'll say "oh she's got a pension, she doesn't give anything from her pension". I went through a lot of suffering in the past... There are a lot of animals; I did tobacco to pay off that money. To retire. I thought of my present day... These days they don't have animals or a job. That's it, a garden, okay, it's done. They sit all day. Getting by is difficult. It's not easy. But when you work it's easier, getting by is easier.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ 11 yaşındaki çocukları gönderemezsin, mal peşine. Yok yani yanına arkadaş da yok, giden de yok. Çocuklarda bir aksilik var. Yazlıkçılar var şimdi bizim köyümüz 100 hane var. İki ay sonra 60 hane. İstanbul dönüşlüler var burada çok, gelirler buraya çoluk cocuğunlan beraber. Onun çocuğu bisiklet koştururken, onun çocuğu yolda oynarken, sen çocuğunu işe de gönderemezsin. Mal beklemeye de gönderemezsin. Göndermek için kalbini kırman lazım, o da bize gelmez. O sebepten dolayı hayvanlar tamda beslenir, içeride. Ama 10 yaşındayken ben, abim askere gitti. Ben oldum çiftçi.

⁵⁸ Yahu, o bu bırakınca ben de bırakacağım der. Yahu sen benimle bir misin? Sen yap, yaşamana bak. Ben yapmışım zamanında, çalışmışım. Sen şimdi çalışacaksın ki sen de hayatını kurtaracaksın. Sen benimle bir değilsin ki. Sonra dersin ki aaa, onun maaşı var, maaşından beş kuruş para bile koklatmıyor. Yahu ben zamanında çok sıkıntı çektim... Bir sürü hayvan var, tütün yaptım o parayı ödemek için. Emekli olmak için. Bugünümü düşündüm... Şimdikilerde ne hayvan var ne iş var. Bu

According to Uncle Vahit who is also a retired farmer, the villagers follow each other in stopping tobacco production because they wanted to do what others do: “When neighbors start quitting tobacco, you see it from them and you also grow apart”⁵⁹. In this respect, in addition to the economic factors which took root from macro economy policies of Turkey such as privatization of TEKEL, increase in input prices and having retirement pensions, the villagers’ decision on stopping tobacco farming seemed to be affected by the differentiation among each other. Even if this was a just a perception, in my opinion, this perception says a lot about the identification process which I will examine in the coming pages.

4.3.2 Tobacco Production in the Exchangee Habitus

As I stated before, the importance of tobacco in the exchangee habitus can be seen in their long relation with tobacco from the homeland to Sarıdünya. Being tobacco producers also affected the settlement processes of the villagers from the very beginning of the population exchange. The reason why the villagers settled in their current village rather than the dwellings in city center which were offered to them by the government officials immediately after the population exchange was that they thought that they could not survive in a city since they were tobacco producers who lived in the village before the population exchange. As in the narrative of Aunt Fatma in the former pages, the villagers settled in Sarıdünya to continue producing tobacco as their ancestors had done in the homeland. Not only Aunt Fatma, but many of the other villagers also stated that their parents or grandparents chose to settle in Sarıdünya because of the tobacco production. For example Aunt Naime’s narrative relates the settlement in Sarıdünya and being a tobacco producer directly:

On livelihood again, because they were producing tobacco there they wanted a place where they can grow tobacco when they were searching for a place to live because they did not have any other economic income, there wasn’t anything else they could do. Since growing tobacco was their source of income when they were

kadar bir bahçe tamam bitti iş. Bütün gün otur aşağı. Geçim çok zor. Kolay bir şey değil. Ama çalışınca rahat edersin, geçim kolaylaşır.

⁵⁹ Komşular bırakmaya başladı mı tütünü, sen de ondan görüyorsun, sen de soğuyorsun yani.

asking for a place from the state in the moment of exchange, they were given this place since it is suitable to grow tobacco and they continued their tradition there. It existed until recently this year tobacco is finished as well.⁶⁰

The settlement decision of the villagers in Sarıdünya was a voluntary one. They were able to reject the houses which were offered to them in the center city of Samsun, in order to settle in a village to be able to produce tobacco, because tobacco producing was their only social capital which they could use to earn a living. Moreover, they could stay together as a village, so they could be able to use their existing social capital in the settlement process. In this respect, the settlement of the villagers in Sarıdünya was very different from that of many other exchanges. Many of the exchangees could not settle with their fellow villagers and relatives, since it was not allowed by the government in order to fasten their adaptation to Turkey. Moreover, due to the lack of a coherent plan to settle the exchangees according to their professions and abilities, many of the newcomers had to settle in the places where they could not perform the profession they had (Yıldırım, 2006; Gökaçtı, 2008). Even if the Turkish state, which did not have a coherent plan about the settlement of the exchangees, also did not hinder this decision of the villagers, since the decision also contributed to the main reasons behind the population exchange in general which was increasing the population of Anatolia with Turkish immigrants and turkifying the main economic sectors, including the tobacco sector which was one of the main resources of foreign currency needed by the newly founded Turkish Republic (Aktar, 2005). In this respect, the settlement process can be seen as a result of a negotiation between the villagers and the state. It was not a top down decision in this case as it was claimed by many scholars (İpek, 2000; Arı, 2009). It shows the capability of the exchangees in making decision for themselves, so it shows their agency and their ability to negotiate with the state in order to get

⁶⁰ Yine geçim üzerine mesela orada da tütüncülük yaptıkları için tütün yetiştirebilecekleri bir yer istemişler yerleşim yeri ararken çünkü daha başka ekonomik bir gelirleri yokmuş, yapabildikleri başka bir iş yokmuş. Tütüncülük onların geçim kaynağı olduğu için devletten yer isterken de değiş tokuş anında işte tütün yetiştirmeye müsait bir bölge olarak burası verilmiş onlara ve burada o gelenekleri devam ettirmişler. Çok yakın bir zaman kadar vardı bu sene artık tütün de bitti.

the result that fit them best. This case proves that the exchangees were not on the only receiving end of the whole process of the population exchange, but they were active agents who sought their interests under the given conditions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

When history is considered, it can be seen that both the Ottoman Empire and the newly founded Turkish Republic saw tobacco production as an important source of revenue and also a strategic tool to expand state power both in the agricultural sector and among rural population. This decision by the state to settle the villagers in the villages in which they can continue producing agricultural products is also known by the villagers. Uncle Kadri who is a retired teacher explains the settlement as follows:

Tobacco growing area there, here as well due to the government agreement, everyone was settled in regions where they know their own trade. They placed them in Samsun because it is the tobacco region, 1924 is the date they arrived. It is after the Republic when they came to Samsun. They came to Samsun, they stayed here and there for a year, in nomad tents. Then they settled our fold here.⁶¹

In this respect, the villagers' wishes and the state's plans for the settlement of the villagers did not clash, but rather matched. With such a decision, the villagers continue living in a rural area and producing tobacco which they were familiar to; government also benefits from this by settling the exchangees and increases the agricultural production and revenue which decreased after the ongoing wars and population loss. The villagers perceived this also as an acceptance for their expertise on tobacco production, and also an acceptance of themselves for Turkey, their new homeland. They were not only exchangees who were coming from foreign lands, but they were tobacco producers who could contribute to the betterment of new founded Turkey. After this point, they gained importance as tobacco producers in their relation with the state, but not as exchangees. During the

⁶¹ Tütüncü olan bölge orada, burada da hükümetin anlaşması gereği herkes kendi ziraatini bildiği bölgelere yerleşti. Tütüncü bölge diye Samsun'a çıkartıyorlar bunları işte, 1924 buraya gelmeleri. Cumhuriyet'ten sonra "Samsun'a gelmeleri. Samsun'a geliyorlar bir yıl orada-burada kalıyorlar göçebe çadırlarda. Sonra bizimkileri yerleştirmişler buraya.

many interviews and small talks with the villagers, I noticed that being a tobacco producer, being acknowledged as a good tobacco producer by the state which initiated their exchange and being helpful and productive for this state are the resources for pride for many villagers⁶². Moreover, their relation with state also confined to being tobacco producer mostly because of the state being the largest actor in the tobacco market for a long time. Beside, a small school building which served the village with one teacher, the only public building of the village was the building of the tobacco cooperative in which villagers sold their tobaccos to the state and bought agricultural goods. As I stated earlier, the villagers were the tobacco producers in a market which was regulated by the state. All the villagers knew that the state's moves in the sector were very determinative for all of them. In the excerpt below, grandpa Necdet who is a 74 years old farmer during the interview informed me about the factors that affect the price of the tobacco:

Z: When was the price of the tobacco good, when did tobacco have a high worth?

N: There's no when for tobacco, tobacco does well for three years, does bad for five years.

Z: When it's bad, when it's scarce, the price is more expensive, right?

N: The price of the tobacco is lower when it's worse.

Z: Because the quality is lower, is it?

N: That's what I call bad. When is it bad, when there's no buyer even if the tobacco that is sold is gold when there's no buyer it is called bad, do you understand? There should be buyers.

Z: According to what is there a buyer?

N: The state will do a good policy; will support the peasant, when it supports the villager he's not suffocated by the merchant he does not give his product to the merchant for cheap. When he's not supported he has to give it to the merchant, do you understand?

Z: I understand but I could not understand when you said it can be good for three years, is it because of the tobacco plant, the soil, or the price?

N: No, no, it depends on the weather conditions. And also, even if it's good, if the price does not start off well the product is not worth much.

Z: How does the price start off well?

⁶² I will examine this issue in detail in the following section about identification of the exchangeees.

N: You know how the price starts of well, our leaders communicate with the outside. They govern the country, find buyers, find corporations from other countries. If it opens the market according to that the market starts off high when there are many buyers. When there aren't buyers the price starts off low, my daughter. What do people do when it stars off low, they're obliged to give it cheap under the feet, you get it? Everything's like that, nuts as well... Grapes and figs of Aegean are like this as well, do you understand? No matter what the villager sells, the state has to support the people. If it supports, villager cannot be defeated, if it does not, he's stranded, that's how it is.⁶³

As many villagers stated, the name of the village was changed by the local authorities into Sarıdünya⁶⁴ because of the high quality of tobacco that they produced. However, now none of the villagers produce tobacco. During the interviews, the villagers show this contradiction between the past of the village and

⁶³ Z: Peki tütünün mesela fiyatı ne zamanlar iyiydi ne zamanlar iyi para ediyordu tütün?

N: Tütünün ne zamanları diye yok, tütün üç sene iyi olur beş sene kötü olur.

Z: Kötü olduğu zaman, az olduğu zaman fiyatı daha pahalı oluyor değil mi?

N: Daha kötü olduğu zaman tütünün fiyatı düşük oluyor.

Z: Kalitesi düşüyor çünkü öyle mi?

N: Ha kötü dediğim bu. Nasıl kötü olur alıcı olmadı mıydı satılan tütün altın da olsa alıcı olmayınca ismi kötü olur bunun, anladın mı? Alıcı olacak alıcı.

Z: Neye göre alıcı oluyor peki?

N: Nasıl, devlet politikasını iyi yapacak köylüyü destekleyecek, köylü desteklendiği zaman tüccara boğulmuyor tüccara ucuz vermiyor malını. Desteklenmedi mi tüccara vermek zorunda anladın mı?

Z: Anladım da şeyi anlamadım hani dediniz ya üç sene iyi oluyor tütün, o tütünün bitkisinden mi, toprağından mı, yoksa fiyat mı?

N: O yok yok hava şartlarına bağlı bir şey. Bir de var ki iyi de olsa, fiyat iyi açılmadıkça mal para etmiyor.

Z: Fiyat nasıl iyi açılıyor peki?

N: Fiyat nasıl iyi açılır bilir misin, dışarıyla temas kurar büyüklerimiz. Memleketi idare eder alıcı bulur dış ülkelerden şirketler bulur. Piyasayı ona göre açtı mıydı yüksek açılır piyasa bu sefer alıcı fazla olunca. Alıcı olmayınca fiyat düşük açılır kızım. Düşük açıldığı zaman n'apıyor millet kalıyor ayaklar altına ucuz vermek zorunda, anladın mı? Her şey böyledir fındık da böyledir... Ege'nin üzümü inciri de böyledir anlıyon mu? Ne satarsa satsın köylü, destek vermek zorunda millete devlet. Desteklerse bu köylünün sırtı yere gelmez, desteklenmezse kaldı yolda işte, bu böyle.

⁶⁴ Sarıdünya is not the real name of the village, but a pseudonym to protect the identities of the villagers. However, the old name of the village was changed into the current one which was emphasizing the village's tobacco production.

current situation by emphasizing the name of the village. When I asked to Uncle Ibrahim, who is also a retired tobacco farmer, he both emphasized that the tobacco production was the main and the original job of the villagers and also that they had produced a fine quality of tobacco because they did it in an exchange way as he stated:

Z: Did you then used to always sell the tobacco to the cooperative or to the merchant?

I: Since our villagers did their own work we always gave it to the merchant, few to the state. This village, the village of Sarıdünya took its name from the Bafra District Governor. There's no tobacco left to the state, always sells it to the merchant, to private.

Z: Because it is good.

I: Because it is good they gave that name to our village, Sarıdünya...

Z: Was it because of the soil, how was it good then?

G1: [Rather than] the soil, labor was more important. The people here are tobacco producers, from the cradle let's say, from ancestors grandfathers, all the way from homeland. And everyone used to collect the tobacco by hand, exchange style. Others for example, there have been times when it was collected in seven times, eight times when tobacco was neat. Other people finish it in three times.⁶⁵

So, the exchangees' social capital on tobacco producing, which they could transfer from the homeland and transmit between the generations, affected where they settled immediately after the population exchange, how they earned their living for a long time and, how they built relations with the state around tobacco

⁶⁵ Z: Peki o zaman hep kooperatife mi satıyordunuz tütünü tüccara mı satıyordunuz?

I: Biz devamlı olarak bizim köyümüz çok kendi işini kendi yaptığı için devamlı tüccara verirdi devlete pek az. Bu köy Sarıdünya köyü ismini Bafradaki Kaymakamı'ndan almıştır. Devlete hiç tütün kalmaz hep tüccara satar özele satar.

Z: İyi olduğu için.

I: İyi olduğu için o ismi bizim köye verdiler Sarıdünya köyü diye...

Z: Toprakta mı peki nasıl iyi oluyordu?

G1: Toprakta [çok], yapılan işçilik çok önemliydi. Buranın halkı çekirdekten diyeyim, atadan dededen, taa memleketten tütüncüdür. Bir de herkes tütünü elle kırarlardı, macir usulü. Başkaları mesela burada yedi defa sekiz defa bir tütün kırıldığı olur çok düzgün tütün olunca. Başka milletler bunu üç seferde bitirirler.

producing. During the settlement process, the exchangees could only trust their ability to handle with high quality tobacco, so they refused to settle in city centers. After settlement, for the decades that they produced tobacco, most of their relation with the Turkish state was also shaped around tobacco producing as tobacco producers and based on their social capital. Moreover, the years of tobacco producing was perceived by the villagers as a kind of approval of their tobacco producing skills and exchangee status, since they could vitalize their exchangeeness through the activities around tobacco production. This was also because they learned tobacco production “*çekirdekten*” (from the cradle), “*atadan dededen*” (from ancestors, grandfathers), “*taa memleketten*” (all the way from the homeland). It was so deep in their habitus that it turned to be something that distinguished them from the other people, as if they were different nations.

It will be right to claim that tobacco production connects the past and present of the villagers since it provides a repertoire of activities and opportunities to make connections between the homeland and Sırdünya. It also provides a continuous domain for exchangee identity. Despite so many changes that the villagers underwent involuntarily, the tobacco production remained relatively stable for generations. The tobacco production also functioned as a stitch that connected the villagers to the wider world. It was the reason why they were settled in Sarıdünya, it was the reason they were supported or employed by TEKEL. In this respect, the privatization of TEKEL was also a dissolution of this identification that the villagers built around the tobacco production. According to the villagers, the privatization of TEKEL is not only an unfavorable economic policy for the village’ economic structure which was based on tobacco production, but it was also a denial of their exchangee identity. I think, this is one of the important reasons apart from the nostalgia for the old days. While many villagers are now economically better off, they long for the old days of the village which were more fulfilling, joyful and full of the activities of tobacco production.

Tobacco production in the village also practically weighed a lot in the daily lives of the villagers, as I previously stated. The working in the fields usually starts in March and ends in September. First, the seeds are sown in special places to turn

to seedlings. Then the seedlings were transplanted from this special place to the tobacco field. The villagers moved these seedlings and had sown them into the soil by their hand one by one. Then, until they established strong roots, they watered it nearly every day by hand in the lack of sprinkle or any other way of irrigation. Until harvesting, the villagers also had to weed the soil and apply fertilizer at least twice. During the harvest, the villagers collected the leaves in a very tidy and organized manner which took usually at least two months according to their narratives. In the same time, after they collected the tobacco, then they strung the leaves by hand in the very same day. This season was the busiest season of the tobacco producers. The harvest was followed by the cleaning and bundling of the dried leaves very carefully into the proper bales. This processing also took at least one and a half months. When the villagers could sell their tobacco mainly in January or February, they already had to start the preparation for the upcoming harvest which would start in March.

During my field research, many of the villagers told how exhausting tobacco production was and that they could not sleep or eat properly during the summer. The women said that all of their current illnesses which mainly affect their skeletal system are the result of their laborious lives which passed between the tobacco fields and duties of the home. The men said that they spent their best days after the sale of tobacco after the harvest when they collected the money from TEKEL or at the cooperation building of the village where they paid their debt from previous years. Not only the farmers but also the workers who left the village for factory works also turned to the village during the harvest season which overlapped with their vacation to help their family. Uncle Cemal, whom I also referred in previous pages, gives a very detailed account of how tedious and tiresome tobacco production had been:

We used to work 20 hours out of 24. We used to work 20 hours out of 24 hours, day and night. We had 4 hours of rest. Whether to serve yourself or serve your children. Whatever you do, that was it. It took 3 months to collect the tobacco here. Collecting it, I mean, planting it and so you struggle a lot until you're past those days. The hook, the harvest, the anchor, planting the tobacco, this and that, a lot of work, collecting the tobacco is the last job in the story. All the other work is

done, there's only one ahead of you, but that takes 3 months. You arrive at the field at 4 in the morning in the chill; you can't sleep until 12 at night. You'll string it then, you'll string tobacco, you'll string tobacco until 12, maybe until 1. Our work was a national struggle, our work. Like mobilization, a lot of work, we struggled a lot in a lot of labor. We worked hard. 8 people on the table, 2 people on the field. Your aunt and I. You have to be there, you have to see those days; you have to live to see them. How can I tell you, you cut the crop with two hands, you tie them up with other hand, you turn around to collect it, you stack them up in the field, then you turn around and bring them to harvest, with the ox cart, your aunt will give me a bundle, we'll stack them on the cart, we'll come home and give a bundle – When the harvest is bundled, we call it a bundle, she'll give it to me, I'll stack them up here. If a crop has this much service, grubbing the corn, grubbing the tobacco, you plant the tobacco by hand, there were no machines back then. Their name wasn't even around. The tobacco machine. You plant by hand. You enter the seedbed at 4 in the morning, inside at 9 or 10 at night. At night you come at 6, 7, from the field, at 8. It's evening at 8, you water the seeds until 9, then, you go back again. You'll feed the ox, take care of them, and prepare them for the morning. You'll prepare yourself, you'll prepare your ox, you'll prepare your work. Ours is a national struggle, mobilization. We've lived the life like national struggle, how can I tell you...⁶⁶

All the activities around the tobacco production whether small or big also provide opportunities for telling stories of the homeland. During the tedious works

⁶⁶ Mümkin değil biz 24 saatin 20 saatini çalışırdık. 24 saatin, günün gecenin 20 saatini çalışırdık biz. 4 saat istirahat vardı. İster kendine hizmet et, ister çoluğuna çocuğuna hizmet et. Ne yaparsan yap, o kadar yani. 3 ay sürerdi tütün kırması burada. Kırması yani, ekmesi dikmesi o günleri geçirincede kadar zaten bayağı bir mücadele verirsin. Oraktı, harmandı, çapaydı, tütün dikmekti, şuydu, buydu, bir sürü iş, hikâyenin içinde tütün kırmak son iş. Biter öteki işler, tek iş kalır önünde ama o da 3 ay sürerdi. Sabah 4'te tarlada olursun serinde, gece 12'ye kadar yatamazsın. Onu dizicen o zaman, tütün dizicen, 12'ye kadar tütün dizicen, en az 12'ye kadar, belki de 1'e kadar. Bizim işimiz milli mücadeleydi, bizim işimiz. Seferberlik gibi, çok çalışmamız, çok büyük işçilikte biz çok büyük ıstırap çektik. Çok çalıştık. Sofrada 8 kişi, tarlada 2 kişi. Yengenlen ikimiz. Olacaksın, göreceksin o günleri, yaşayacaksın da göreceksin. Ben nasıl anlatayım sana ki iki ellen biçersin, döner ellen bağlarsın, döner onu toplarsın, tarlada yığın yaparsın, oradan dönersin harmana getirirsin, öküz arabasıyla e yengen bana demet verecek araba yığacaz, eve gelicez demet verecek-demet deriz ekin bağladığın zaman, ona demet derdik, onu vercek bana, yığın yığacağım burada. Bir ekinin bu kadar hizmeti olursa, buna mısırın çapası, tütünün çapası, dikmesi, ellen dikersin tütünü, makine o zaman nerede. İsmi bile yoktu onların. Tütün makinasının, ellen dikersin. Sabah 4'te fideliğe, akşam 9'da 10'da içeri girersin. Akşam gelirsin 6'da 7'de tarladan 8'de. 8'de ancak akşam olur, 9'a kadar fide sularsın, tekrar gene dönersin. Öküzlerini doyuracan, bakacan, sabaha hazırlayacağın, kendini hazırlayacaksın, öküzünü hazırlayacaksın, işini hazırlayacaksın. Milli mücadele bizimkisi, seferberlik. Milli mücadele gibi hayat yaşadık biz, nasıl anlatayım sana.

of tobacco production in which different generations of a family have to work together, the older generations can transmit to young generations their memories about the homeland, what happened there, why they had to come from there, how they moved here and settled in Sarıdünya, while they were teaching the delicacy and detail of tobacco production, as I also showed in the previous pages about transmission of the social memory of the population exchange and the homeland. Moreover, many of the social activities also take place around the tobacco production. All weddings and circumcision feasts in the village take place in accordance with the tobacco production and its revenue. Selma, who works in Bafra, was one of my first interviewees and she gave the example of her wedding when she tried to tell me how the tobacco production was the center of her and her family's lives:

Z: Did your family do tobacco?

S: Of course, I grew up in tobacco. When I became a bride at 24 years old, even if I had a vacation, my family still did tobacco and the date of marriage was arranged according to tobacco time. May is the time to plant it on the field. Let's do this wedding before we go out on the field, it was said, the families talked to each other and we had the wedding. I think tobacco was left six years ago. State policies, agricultural policies, not paying for tobacco...⁶⁷

Not only special events like weddings or celebrations but also other activities scattered around the drudgery of tobacco production and many of them aim to ease the tobacco production. Due to the fact that I could spend time mostly with women during my field work, I could hear about the details of their daily lives when the villagers still produced tobacco as much as their experiences of today. From these testimonies, it is safe to say that culinary habits of the villagers are the ones with obvious effects of the tobacco production and they are also among the

⁶⁷ Z: Sizin aileniz tütün yapıyor muydu?

S: Tabii, ben tütünde büyüdüm. 24 yaşında gelin olduğumda, tatil yapsam da hala benim ailem tütün yapardı ve tütün zamanına göre benim evliliğimin tarihi. İşte Mayıs'ta tarlaya dikme zamanı. Tarlaya çıkmadan yupalım artık şu düğünü artık hesabıyla aileler görüştü, düğünü yaptık. Ne kadardır bir altı yıldır sanırım tütün bırakıldı. Devlet politikaları, tarım politikaları, tütüne para verilmemesi...

most distinctive aspects of the village at all. These culinary habits depend on making noodles, couscous, *tarhana*⁶⁸ and some tomato products such as tomato paste or canned tomato. The common feature of these foods is that they can be stored and then used in need as ready-made food once they are cooked. However all of them require tremendous labor and cooperation among the women in the preparation phase. All these activities, which take place accordingly with the tobacco production, are also carried to support the tobacco production. These readymade foods ease the hardship of tobacco production, when there is no time to cook food after long hours working in the fields, having couscous or noodles provides a simple yet filling meal for every member of the family.

The season for *tarhana* and tomato products is the late summer or early fall, when the ingredients are abundant. It is also convenient, since the big part of the tobacco harvest is done, so women can find much more time. After the harvest, these occasions in which women get together and work in the gardens of the homes rather than fields, also provide time to socialize. For the noodles and couscous, the winter was the high season. When noodle making was mainly confined to the household, since it was much easier than the other foods, making the couscous turned to be big event for all the villagers, because it turned to be a meeting occasion for the young girls and boys of the village. Most of the villagers told that when the girls of the neighboring houses gathered in one of the houses at a winter night, they first got the instructions from the older ladies about the proper ways of making couscous. Then, they started to make it around the big bowls in which they continuously mixed up bulgur with the wheat flour. When the first pair of girls was tired, then another pair replaced them. This continued through the night, until they had enough couscous. While the girls were working inside the home, the boys outside the home tried to see the girls between the curtains which were left ajar consciously. Sometimes, the head of the household – a father of one of the girls-

⁶⁸ Tarhana is a soup base which is made of yogurt, flour, tomatoes, tomato paste, red peppers and onions. First, all these ingredients are mixed up in a huge bowl for nearly ten days. In these ten days, *tarhana* is fermented and gets its consistency. Then, it is smeared over clean sheets as a thin layer and kept under the sun for a few hours. Finally, a group of women who are mostly relatives or neighbors collect these dried pieces and grind them into flour by hand.

tried to pursue them, but the father also knew that this is useless. Sometimes one of the boys who got too cold or fell in the small spring around the home was accepted into the home and could have a better glimpse of the girls inside. The girls also threw some pieces of fabric they embroidered for the boys through the window, before the elders who were supervising the couscous, noticed. During these nights, the young girls learned about the stories of the homeland or folk tales and songs from the homeland. They listened to the experiences of the older people about the population exchange or the settlement. Aunt Fatma's recollections illustrate such a gathering:

And then, we had wooden basins opposite from each other. You make couscous in them, you have a girlfriend across from you, and you're here, there's a basin again here at the opposite. A house has two basins, another three; you're six girls making it. You sit for it in the morning then the night then until the morning without taking a rest but, songs, folk songs, when the home owner is asleep at night the youngsters come to the window. Everyone's lover, they knock on the window, you open the thick curtain, they watch from outside we make it inside. Short folk poems are told, you bicker with each other. Songs are requested, sang outside. Very nice, very happy, we were very happy, we were very happy with our traditions.⁶⁹

In this respect, these preparations can be seen both as a practical activity which helped the continuation of the tobacco production and also as a mnemonic practice in which the transmission of memory of the population exchange and homeland took place among the generations. However, many of these preparations are not carried out any more since the tobacco production stopped in the village. Rather than making bulk of these foods, the villagers buy couscous or noodles from the shops. Only in very rare occasions, they make just a serving of it for the meal. Actually, one of these occasions arose on the very last night that I spent in the

⁶⁹ Ondan sonra işte böyle karşılıklı tahta teknelerimiz vardı kuskusu onda yapıyorsun, karşında bir kız arkadaşın burada sen, burada bir tekne daha gene karşılıklı. Bazı evde iki tekne, bazı evde üç tekne, altı kız yapıyorsun. Sabah oturuyorsun ona gece bir daha sabaha kadar hiç dinlenmeden ama, şarkılar türküler, gecenin bir vakti ev sahibi yatınca delikanlılar cama gelir. Herkesin sevdiği onlar böyle tıklatırlar, perdeyi kalın perdeyi açarsın onlar oradan seyredir biz içerde yaparız. Maniler söylenir, birbirine atılır, atışılır. Şarkılar iste istek şarkı yapılır, söylenir dışarıda. Çok güzel yani, öyle mutlu olur, çok mutluyduk, adetlerimizle çok mutluyduk.

village. Mutlu, who was my host during my fieldwork, wanted me to see the real couscous which I heard so many stories about but never could see in the village. So she and her sister decided to prepare couscous before I left. When they started making it in a bowl in the middle of the kitchen, their kids and husbands encircled and watched them. Their husbands,⁷⁰ who were very reserved about my being there and conducting a field research about the population exchange, started talking about how their mothers made couscous, how couscous was important for them, when the villagers were all so poor or how hard it was after the population exchange. After a while, a neighbor of them, Uncle Alp, with whom I also conducted an interview during my field research, heard about the couscous and came to visit and taste the couscous. He also joined the conversation. Meanwhile, the couscous was being cooked and everyone was growing impatient to taste it. While all of us tasted it, the conversation was about the origin of the exchangees and why Atatürk initiated the population exchange. At the end of the night when everyone was happy about eating couscous which they haven't eaten for a long time, Uncle Alp told me about the couscous: "Now, nobody does it, but before, it was our only meal. Without this, no tobacco or any other thing could be produced"⁷¹. Among these foods which were described as one of the important hallmarks of the village, only *tarhana* is still being made in bulk, but rather than for daily consumption to sell to the grocery shops in Bafra in which it is advertised as *macir tarhanası*, *tarhana* of the exchangee by the shopkeepers. It turns to be a commodity to sell, rather than to ease the drudgery of tobacco production. I will give this and other perceived differences and the hallmarks of the village and the villagers by themselves in the following subsection.

⁷⁰ The sisters' husbands were very helpful to me during my fieldwork. Mutlu's husband operated one of the coffeehouses of the village, helped to contact many people so I could interview with them. Mutlu's sister's husband was the mukhtar of the village and he was also very helpful for all the arrangements a field work requires. However, both of them, in spite of the sincerity and friendship among us which also spanned after the fieldwork were very reserved and taciturn about their own experiences of being an exchangee. I could not interview with Mutlu's husband. I could only convince the mukhtar for interview at the very last day of the fieldwork and only about the history of the village. I could only know some details of their lives, like their education or familial backgrounds because that their wives had told me.

⁷¹ Bakma şimdi kimse yapmıyor ama önceden tek yemeğimiz buydu, bunsuz ne tütün ne bir şey olurdu bu köyde".

To sum up, the tobacco production was a very important aspect of the villagers' lives both before and after the population exchange. On the one hand, it was the main economic resource for the villagers. Whether they worked in the fields or the factories, their jobs were mainly around tobacco. This was because their tobacco processing skills which they could transfer from the homeland as a cultural capital was known by the state authorities who settled them. Moreover, they were also aware of this asset and they preferred to settle in a village where they could continue producing tobacco as in the homeland. When it came to the migration to urban areas, the villagers again turned to one of their assets that they could transfer from the homelands, the networks among the exchangees. By employing the knowledge about the job openings in the newly founded factories from the other exchangees and turning these networks to social capital, they easily found the jobs in the urban areas. The other exchangees who knew the villagers' disposition to tobacco could be mediators between the villagers and the jobs.

On the other hand, the tobacco production and all other activities around it made the daily life in the village revolve around the tobacco production, since they were time consuming and tiresome. But also just because of this, these activities provided the perfect medium to transmit the memories and stories of the homeland, traditions as well as practical solutions for daily life problems among different generations of villagers. In this respect, the tobacco production as a whole permeated into the exchangee habitus very deeply and became one of its main tenets throughout the decades. It functioned as a key stone on the memories and identification of the exchangees about the homeland, the exchange and Turkey because of this deep penetration. The transformation of the tobacco sector which escalated during the 2000s also changed the ways of transfer of the memories and daily life practices among generations. I will examine these changes and new ways of remembering the population exchange in the next chapter, in which I will also describe the different levels of the exchangee habitus.

4.4 Establishing the Boundaries in Daily Life

The third aspect of the exchangee habitus is the differences and boundaries that are built on these differences that the exchangee villagers claim that they have

between themselves and the non-exchangee people that they encounter on a daily basis. These perceived differences can be seen as the residues of their long time relationships with neighboring villages or the state officials after and during the population exchange and the settlement. Moreover, these differences also can be read as the ways how they differentiate and exclude the others from their definition of exchangee and how they define some distinctive features as the exchangee characteristics. These differences can also be interpreted as the desired reflection of the village and a way to strengthen their identity as the exchangees against the certain others. What the villagers do in their daily encounters with non-exchangee people can be understood in terms of an identification process which takes place in a distinctive habitus by the definitions of Bourdieu (2007) and Barth (1969). Most of the time, these perceived differences turn to be praise for themselves and their village, while they criticize the other non-exchangee people around the villagers⁷². In my opinion, all these perceived differences are related with each other; they originate in being from a different place, being from Rumelia, being an exchangee and this situation is expressed by many villagers as “being European” or “*Avrupalı olmak*” which mainly means to be more even-tempered, tidier and cleaner when compared with others.

When I asked about the main characteristics of the village or how the villagers introduce their village to the other people during my field work, the villagers’ replies showed that the idea of homeland for the exchangees turns to be a source for being different, and in the case of exchangees, this is also a source of pride for being more modern, more civilized and more European, since the homeland is in Europe. Whereas these perceptions and interpretations can stem from one main event of population exchange, they can be seen in very different aspects of daily life and put into words in very different ways by the villagers. One of the main examples that the villagers gave to me as a characteristics of the village

⁷² The neighboring villages around Sarıdünya are mainly populated by non-exchangee people. The populations of these villages are composed of people from diverse ethnic and regional background like the migrants from eastern Black Sea towns and villages or the people who are natives to Bafra. The other exchangee village that the villagers claimed that they had come together from the homeland and they were distant relatives resides after neighboring village towards the mountainous area.

is being experts on tobacco production. As I put before, the main source of income was the tobacco production since the population exchange until the mid-2000s. Not only the quantity of the tobacco was important for the villagers, but also its quality which took root mainly from the way of processing, so the name of the village is also related with the tobacco production of the village. For example Grandpa Necdet explained to me that he and his family could sell their tobacco at a higher price, because of the orderly way they dried up the leaves as he contrasted other untidy people who could not sell their tobacco at the same price:

Z: Who couldn't sell the tobacco then?

N: Who couldn't sell those who couldn't put in order those who did not have a good establishment?

Z: What do you mean by establishment?

N: When I say establishment... Tobacco doesn't grow itself. Tobacco needs an establishment. Now if I took you to my *salaş*, to places where I dry the tobacco you'd say "What is this uncle, how did you spend money on all these things". You'll dry tobacco in them; he dries tobacco on two branches on the middle of the street in dust and dirt. That tobacco turns out different, the one that is made in order, when you enter into my *salaş* the wind does not mix in even once it's ordered and organized.⁷³

Grandpa Çelik, who is also a retired farmer, explains the quality of his tobacco with how he handled the tobacco:

Ç: We've dealt with tobacco since we were twelve years old, but I did very good quality tobacco, I loved producing tobacco. I think TEKEL did not get tobacco from me for thirty years; it was always the merchants coming to get from here.

Z: So you made good tobacco?

Ç: Of course, of course.

⁷³ Z: Kimler satamıyordu peki tütününü?

N: Kimler satamıyor, tertipli yapamayan teşkilatı iyi olmayan.

Z: Teşkilat derken?

N: Teşkilat derken...Tütün kendi kendine olmuyor. Tütünün bir teşkilatı vardır. Şimdi ben seni salaşlarıma getirsem ha tütünü kuruttuğum yerlere götürsem dersin ki "bu ne ya N amca bunlar bu kadar şeye nasıl masraf yaptın sen böyle". Onda tütün kurutacaksın adam da iki dalda tütün kurutur sokak ortasına toz pas içinde. O tütün başka olur tertipli yapılan tütün, benim salaşlarıma girdiğin zaman rüzgâr böyle bir tane karıştırmıyor tertipli düzenli.

Z: How did you do that then, I mean how come someone else's was bad and yours was good, what did you do?

Ç: No, now there's collecting the tobacco by hand. Also during drying it, when you're baling, you have to pick them well. I used to put the small ones and big ones separately, some people mixed them up. Separated them by hand. We call it hand for example, first you hit root tobacco on the soil, then you collect it a second time, then you collect it a third time, when you say fourth hand these are very high quality things, four five times. When you dry them right away on racks, I would hang them separately; I would put a rope in between so they wouldn't mix up. When baling, if there's a bad rotten leaf in it, we'd collect them and throw them away.⁷⁴

Another villager, Uncle Cem who is both a retired substitute imam and a tobacco farmer, also emphasized that they learned these ways of producing tobacco from their parents and grandparents whom he perceives as agricultural pioneers in Bafra:

They did consciously, they did it here, the local villagers, here, they also did what they saw from them... In the tobacco collecting business, tobacco producing business, the locals collected the tobacco from the roots at once. Our exchangees the first hand what we call the root, then the second hand towards up in five, six times... It was one of the villages that sold tobacco very well... More conscious people, they've seen this in Europe...⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Ç: On iki yaşından beri tütünle uğraştık biz ama çok yani kaliteli tütün yapardım ben tütüncülüğe çok hastaydım ben. Yani TEKEL benden zannedersen ki otuz sene tütün almadı hep tüccarlar gelirler alırlardı buradan.

Z: İyi tütün yapıyordunuz yani?

Ç: Tabi tabi.

Z: Peki onu nasıl yapıyordunuz yani hani başkasının ki nasıl kötü oluyordu sizinki iyi oluyordu, ne yapıyordunuz?

Ç: Hayır şimdi tütünü kırmasının da el el kırmasında şey var bir de kurutmasında denkleme yaparken de onu güzelce seçmek lazım. Yani büyüğünü ayrı koyardım küçüğünü ayrı koyardım şimdi bazısı karma karışık yapardı. Ayrı ayrı yani şey el el. El deriz biz mesela ilkten dip tütününü yere vurursun ondan sonra ikinciye kıracaksın üçüncüye kıracaksın dördüncü el deyince bunlar en yüksek kaliteli şeyler dört beş sefer. Ee onları hemen şeyde sergende kuruttuktan sonra burada ayrı asardım ben onları ip çekerdim ara yerine ki karışmasınlar birbirine. Denkleme yaparken de içinde bir kötü yaprak çürük şey varsa onları kopartıp atardık.

⁷⁵ Bilinçli yapmışlar, burada yapmışlar, burada gördükleri şeyi bizim burada yerli köyler de onlardan görerek yapmışlar... Tütün kırma işlerini, tütün yapılma işlerine girdiği zaman yerliler bir girmede

According to the villagers, especially the older ones who spent most of their life harvesting tobacco, this emphasis on orderliness and organization in the tobacco production which they learned from their elders, is the key for their higher quality of tobacco and also one of the main characteristics of the village. However, in the village no one produces tobacco anymore and the villagers recollected how well the tobacco was that they had produced, and how the days were cheerful when they worked in the fields all together, even if these were exhausting times.

In addition to remembering the good old days of tobacco production, the villagers now can be tidy and clean in other aspects of village life, according to them. As having beautiful flowers and whitewash for many houses, having plumbing and sewer systems which other villages do not have or being free from any manure smell are now listed as the characteristics of the village which as a visitor one cannot see in any neighboring villages, according to Sarıdünya villagers. This also shows that how clean and tidy they are. During my field work, in our small talks, some of the villagers also claimed that some flowers such as carnation or lady's mantle, some plants like leeks, whitewashing of the houses, having a cook stove are all characteristics of the village, because these things were unknown before the exchangees came to Turkey. Aunt Fatma's reply to my question about the traditional clothing's that she wore during her wedding shows how these flowers are important for the exchangees:

Then our heads, we had a new muslin or a handkerchief, we immigrants, exchangees, we also grow lots of carnations. We used to plant carnations, geranium, yarrow, a lot when we were girls. We used to put them next to the muslins like this.⁷⁶

dipten doğru bir kırıyor tütünü, yani bizim mübadillerde hem dip dediğimiz ilk el, ikinci el yukarı doğru beş, altı defada... Tütün satarken de çok, çok iyi satan köylerdendi... Daha bilinçli insanlar, Avrupa'da bunu görmüşler...

⁷⁶ Ondan sonra başımıza da yeni tülbent veya yemeni bir de biz karanfil muhacirler, mübadiller çok yetiştiririz. Karanfil, ıtır, civan perçemi çok ekerdik kız iken. Yanına onlardan koyuyorduk aynı böyle.

These things are also symbols of luxury, according to the villagers, since they have the retirement benefits or other resources of income and they are not engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry any more, they can plant flowers or leisurely tend their small gardens which are full of different types of vegetables.

Another set of emphasized characteristics of the village is associated with being peaceful and safe. When I asked about the village, most of the villagers told me that the gendarmerie⁷⁷ never has come to the village. Nearly all of the villagers used the same phrase about the gendarmerie when they emphasized on the safety of the village, even though there were at least three occasions in which people got killed during some disputes in the village both among the villagers and among the villagers and non-villagers, according to my knowledge. However, I could only learn about these occasions very imprecisely, especially about the reasons of the disputes, since many people strictly refused the existence of them or they said that they do not remember or know about them. One of these occasions was about the border dispute with the neighboring village which I mentioned before. They also said that the village is so safe; most of the time they do not need to lock their doors, there is no one in the village who would commit theft. The villagers also said that their fellow villagers were very hospitable and welcoming, when some strangers or non-villager people came to the village; so the village was safe not only for the dwellers but also for the visitors.

These characteristics of the village like being tidy, clean and safe are also being reflected on the daily activities of the exchangees and their relations with non-exchangee people. As the village life, the villagers also defined themselves as quiet and peaceful. Uncle Kemal, a retired worker of TEKEL factory in İstanbul, compared the exchangees with other people and concluded: “If he is an exchangee, do not be scared, he’s frank, obedient and silent”⁷⁸. Uncle Fahri, an exchangee from another village, moved to the village after retirement with his wife from Sarıdünya described the villagers as “warm, civilized, they would not ask anyone why they

⁷⁷ The General Command of the Gendarmerie is a branch of the Turkish Armed Forces and responsible for the maintenance of the public order mainly in rural areas.

⁷⁸ Macir mi korkma, dürüst, uysal, sessiz.

came”⁷⁹. Baki, who grew up in the village and now works as an accountant in Bafra, admitted that sometimes the village men can spend money on alcoholic beverages or even sometimes gambling unlike the people of other villagers, but in spite of this, he claimed that one could not find any exchangee convict in the prisons. He also added that the exchangees were not prone to fight. When I asked about the old disputes in the village, Aunt Ayşe who was originally from the Eastern Black Sea but married one of the villagers replied: “muhacir people are a little bit coward or timid so to speak, they do not get involve much of things”⁸⁰. However, these features that many of the villagers approved and accepted are not good for some other villagers. Uncle Ahmet who was the only businessman of my interviewees (who were retired or active farmers or state employees) emphasized the inertia of his fellow villagers, when I asked about if his business partners were exchangees or not:

To be honest, I wanted to do business with other exchangees; the exchangees are not very active people. They like to eat, drink, spend time by without working. I like to work, exchangees like to eat. We’re one of a kind among them.⁸¹

These characteristics, which are expressed by the villagers, are especially visible in their relations with their Albanian neighbors with whom they had border disputes and immigrants from the mountainous East Black Sea region who settled in and around Bafra especially after the 1960s⁸². It is also noteworthy that these two

⁷⁹ Sıcak, medeni, kimseye niye geldin demezler.

⁸⁰ Muhacir milleti zaten çok böyle azcık korkak mı desem çekingen mi desem yani, öyle çok bir şeylere karışmazlar.

⁸¹ Vallaha, başka mübadillerle ben çok istedim iş yapmak, mübadiller o kadar aktif bir insanlar değil. Bunlar işte yesin, içsin, çalışmadan geçsin. Ben çalışmayı severim, mübadiller de yemeği sever. İşte biz içinden bir tane çıkmışız öyle.

⁸² Bafra was a target both for internal economic migrants from different places of Turkey and also for state induced international and internal migrants. As well as the exchangees, immigrants from different immigration waves from Bulgaria, Albania, former Yugoslavian states and the Caucasus since late Ottoman and early Republican period. Moreover, during the same period, the state authorities settled Kurdish villagers who were evacuated because of the uprisings in eastern Anatolia. In later periods, the authorities also settled the villagers from Black Sea region whose villages faced with natural disasters like flooding or landslide. In addition to these state induced migrations, with its fertile soils and especially dam construction projects in 1970s and 1980s, Bafra

groups of people are known to be aggressive and quick tempered in popular culture in Turkey. For example, Rya⁸³ who is the daughter of Aunt Fatma, told me about her relations with her co-workers in Samsun. One of her co-workers, who was from Trabzon, the biggest city in the East Black Sea Region, 328 kilometers east of Samsun, was talking about his new hand gun in a very excited way, because he would use it for the first time in his village in the coming weekend. Then, he asked if Rya and her villagers liked and used hand guns in their village. Rya replied him that in their village, Sarıdnya, they did not need or use hand guns, because they were civilized and they did not live on a mountain like him. Her co-worker than said that they- the exchangees- did not know about anchovy, the famous fish of the East Black Sea, and could not eat it, if they did not learn about it from the people of the Black Sea. Rya described this conversation as a friendly spat which was actually a joke, but she also told me that she could shush him by saying that they –the exchangees- brought the white bread from the homeland, so the Black Sea people could eat it rather than corn bread which was also very popular for the people from the Black Sea, however, mainly accepted as inferior and rustic to the white bread especially in the urban areas.

Another similar anecdote was also told by Uncle Cem. While he was talking about the marriage practices of the villagers, he said that formerly the villagers married with other exchangees from different villages, but nowadays they had brides or grooms from Southeastern Turkey (which is mainly populated by Kurdish people) or from the Eastern Black Sea⁸⁴ region. When he went to

was attractive for individual economic migrants. In this respect, Bafra's population is very cosmopolitan due to these different waves of migrants from very different regions around Anatolia (Cembelođlu and Cembelođlu, 1969; Bafra Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, 2007). However, especially after the economic crisis of 2001, Bafra turned to be a migrant sending place rather than a receiving place. According to the Bafra Chamber of Trades and Commerce, after this date, Bafra turned to be a city of retirees and civil servants.

⁸³ I did not have an individual interview with Rya, but I could spend some time and have multiple conversations with her.

⁸⁴ In addition to the fact that there were a lot of migrants from East Black Sea in Bafra, the other reason why the comparison between the exchangees and these migrants became a topic so frequently during the field research is that I am also from the region and the villagers knew this, since I told them when they asked me about my hometown. The details about this can be found in the chapter about methodological approach and the methods that I employed during the field work.

Bulancak, a province of Giresun 180 kilometers east of Samsun to arrange the wedding for one of his relatives, he found the locals talking so strange, he thought that they were fighting with each other. Moreover, even if he was not politically active, he could not say that he was from Bafra which was known to be rightist in Bulancak which was leftist, since he thought that they were very aggressive and inapproachable. He also described Sarıdünya as very friendly place in which people trust each other and help each other when they need. However, he added that these characteristics were much stronger before, when all the villagers were engaged in tobacco production busily. He continued that now the villagers do not need each other that much, they have all pensions and they are not fine with each other as in the old days. He said that in the old days the conditions obliged people to be in good relations with fellow villagers. He thinks that they were much more civilized before and sums up:

C: Our past, that's what I'm trying to tell since earlier. I'm saying we're European exchangees; I'm looking for the past. In the past...

Z: Were you more European in the past?

C: Of course, I mean, Europe is over now, we've now become Anatolian. We've mixed, now there are a lot of people... There are Kurds, Lazs...⁸⁵

The emphasis on being European, being civilized and advanced compared with the locals or other groups of people who live around Bafra is very common among the villagers and they think that the cleanliness, orderliness, niceness, calmness are all the different aspects of being exchangee who are originally European and different than all people around them. Moreover, all these values are introduced by them, especially by referring to Bafra.

These more European ways, according to the villagers, are also the things that they are discriminated against. For example, Sonnur, who is a 36 years old

⁸⁵ C: İşte bizim öncemiz, buydu anlatmak istediğim deminden beri. İşte Avrupalı mübadiliz diyorum, burada ben eskisini arıyorum diyorum. Eskiden...

Z: Eskiden daha mı Avrupalıydınız?"

C:Tabi ki yani şimdi Avrupa bitti şimdi olduk Anadolulu. Karışık tabii şimdi bir sürü insan var... Kürt de var, Laz da var...

housewife living in İstanbul, said that some people in İstanbul accuse her of being European as if it is something bad. She said that “they say I am European. Of course I am European, my past is from Greece”⁸⁶. When I asked about any discrimination they faced in daily life because of being an exchangee, Sonnur put it bluntly “those who do not love Atatürk, do not love us either”⁸⁷. As I explained before, this is also related with being the fellow townspeople with Atatürk. This situation is more problematic than ever especially for some villagers under the JDP government when many of Atatürk’s deeds and his legacy were questioned and disfavored (Çınar, 2008; Tepe, 2006; Hale and Özbudun, 2010). Uncle Cem, who worked as a substitute imam for a long time in different villages around Bafra, said that people in the villages where he had worked were surprised when they learned that he was from Sarıdünya, because most of them thought that the exchangees do not make imams. When I asked which village this happened in and why those villagers thought in this way, he explained:

C: The village on the seaside. I was an imam there, 192 households. The village is cosmopolitan, you can find Turkey there. There’s Kurd, those from Trabzon, Tonya, Alica, Giresun, Ordu, Gerze, Sinop, Boyabat, they’re all there. One day there was a ceremony there, a funeral. The community is crowded, I’m preaching like imams do. When I spoke well, the man, I never forget this memory, it’s in my mind, you asked about the characteristics of the exchangees. I came out here; there are men with beards, etc. I’m young back then, “hodja welcome, where is your home town? Of⁸⁸? Çaykara?” “No, Bafra”, “Where in Bafra?” “Sarıdünya” village, I say, they give strange looks. The said “no way”, “why?” “Exchangees do not make imams”, “Why?” “Exchangees are more social they’re more filled with affection for people”. They were afraid of hodja back then, not now, of mosque hodjas. They were seen like monsters. We did not have that; we weren’t educated like that by our elders.

Z: Did you get your religious education from your elders?

⁸⁶ Diyorlar sen Avrupalısın. Tabii ki de ben Avrupalı’yım yani, geçmişim Yunanistan.

⁸⁷ Atatürk’ü sevmeyenler bizi de sevmiyor.

⁸⁸ These are the towns in Eastern Black Sea region and they are famous with the religious cadres all around the country.

C: No, we had a hodja; he worked here for 55 years. He came here from Greece.⁸⁹

According to the villagers, another reflection of these characteristics can be seen in their attitudes towards women. The villagers said that they do not marry their daughters off without consent, and they do not allow kin marriages. Moreover, they also claim that the relations between men and women are much more equalitarian when it is compared with the surrounding villages. Even if I did not witness something totally different from the rest of the country, the villagers frequently referred to the saying that claims “marry your daughter with an exchangee man, but do not marry your son with an exchangee girl⁹⁰”. This is because they behave with their daughters and sisters much better before they marry, and they can have difficulty in the groom’s family after they marry. But if a non-exchangee woman marries to an exchangee, since they are so kind and nice to the women, the woman will be happy. The villagers believe that the reason behind there being so many single women in the village, whereas they have many non-exchangee brides from other villages, is this. Moreover, the economic conditions of the village also support this process. Since most of the villagers do not engage in agricultural activities, they do not want their daughters or sisters to marry to the grooms in other villages in which they have to work in the fields. Murat, who is a 38 years old history teacher in Bafra, explains the situation of his younger sister:

Of course there’s a regular income. She knows her sum, she won’t have troubles, once she’s better off. Once, she composes herself, she won’t go to the village, I

⁸⁹ C: Deniz tarafında. Orada da imamlık yaptım 192 hane köy. Köyde işte kozmopolit, Türkiye’yi orada bulabilirsin. Kürt de var, Trabzonlu da var, Tonyalı da var Alıcalı da var, Giresunlu da var, Ordulu da var, Gerzeli, Sinoplu, Boyabatlı hepsi var orada. Ben bir gün orada merasim oldu, cenaze merasimi. Kalabalık cemaat, vaaz ediyorum, imamların yaptığı gibi. Güzel güzel konuşunca adam. Hiç unutmam hatıra bu beynimde, siz dediniz ya muhacırların özellikleri ne diye. Çıktım sakallı makallı adamlar, o zaman gencim tabii “hocam hoş geldin memleket neresi? Of mu?, Çaykara mı?”, “Yo Bafra”, “Bafranın neresi?”, “Sarıdünya” köyü diyorum, garip garip bakıyorlar, dediler “olmaz”, yahu “niye?”, “Muhacırdan imam olmaz”, “Neden?”, işte “muhacırlar daha sosyal görüşlü daha insan sevgisi ile dolu”. Hocalardan korkmuşlardı o zaman şimdi değil de camii hocalarından. Öcü gibi görülüyordu. E bizde öyle bir şey olmadı, öyle bir eğitim almadık büyüklerimizden.

Z: Siz dini eğitiminizi büyüklerden mi aldınız?

C: Hayır, bizim hocamız vardı, 55 yıl burada görev yapmış. Yunanistan’dan buraya gelme.

⁹⁰ Muharice kız ver ama kız alma.

won't give away my sister personally either, if she won't be more comfortable than she is at my father's house, she won't go, only to marry, that's how you look at the people who're coming in. It's like that in every family, if she'll get married just for the sake of getting married and she'll have troubles, there's no meaning to that, she's had troubles to this age; we couldn't send her to school because of the family situation.⁹¹

One of these single women in the village is Sonnur's sister Aliye who is 37 years old. She said that she wanted to find someone like Atatürk who was honest and brave. Her older sister Sonnur replied to her, "keep looking, Aliye, maybe, you will find one". However, they also emphasized that after the marriage of Sonnur, Aliye should take care of their old parents and grandparents and or at least help them in their daily activities; so she refused a lot of candidates because they lived in distant villages.

The villagers also told about some bad characteristics of their fellow villagers. Being a show-off and being gossipers lead the way among many things, according to the majority of the villagers. Actually, many villagers believe that these bad characteristics are all related with each other, as are the good ones. According to these villagers, even stopping tobacco production is a result of being pretentious. As I mentioned in the previous sub section, they thought that the villagers stopped tobacco producing when their neighbors stopped. About being gossipier, nearly all the villagers think similarly, they admit that the villagers like gossiping a lot. Murat who is a teacher puts these two bad habits together clearly, when I asked about the characteristics of the village:

The village is peaceful, it's a nice village. I'm happy, I mean I like it. But by character we like a bit of gossip... We envy each other, it's our bad habit. If I rise,

⁹¹ Tabii düzenli bir gelir var. Hani biraz daha hesabını biliyor hiç sıkıntı çekmez şimdi rahata erdikten sonra. Biraz daha kendilerine gelebildikten sonra kişilerin, yani köye gitmez ben de şahsen vermem kardeşimi, babamın evinden daha rahat etmeyecekse gitmesin öyle, yani sırf evlenmek için ona göre bakıyorsun gelene. Her ailede bu böyledir evlenmek için evlenecekse gidip sıkıntı çekecekse bunun anlamı yok zaten, bu yaşına kadar sıkıntı çekmiş biz aile durumundan dolayı okutamamışız.

they ask how come he has risen. There's this going on, this kind of envy going on. Maybe not everyone has it, it's such a thing by character in general sentiment.⁹²

According to the many villagers, these are the bad habits that the villagers got mostly after the tobacco production ended. They believe that after stopping the tobacco production and having the pensions, villagers stopped helping each other and started being much more selfish. All of them told that in old days, all the villagers mutually supported each other, because they knew that they would need the help at some point. However, after having pensions this type of mutual support was weakened, since the villagers' interdependency on each other was also weakened. Many villagers, even the ones, who told that they spent all of their lives in tobacco fields and who complaint that they could not reap what they sow in every way, said that they longed for those old days in which the village was full of people, everyone was busy with her or his own business, but also ready to help to others. Moreover, even if they had to work for long hours in the tobacco fields, they had the companionships of their friends or relatives. They could have a friendly chat or they could visit each other. But now, according to them, even if they visit each other, rather than chatting, they watch TV. In addition to this, they claim that since people do not need each other as much as before, they see no harm talking or gossiping about the others openly. So this is the explanation how the villagers became gossipers for them. However, the same villagers, who complaint about the interpersonal relations in the village, also said that their village with its modern infrastructure and clean houses is much better today. They also said that they are better off and mostly content with their lives. Some of them said that now they have their best of times, and they wished they had these conditions when they were young and fit to enjoy the dynamic village life.

To sum up this subsection, it can be claimed that the villagers mostly define their characteristics by referring their superiority over their neighboring

⁹² Köy huzurlu güzel bir köy ben memnunum, yani severim de. Ama biraz dedikoduyu severiz yapı itibari ile... Birbirimizi çekememezliğimiz vardır yani kötü huyumuzdur ben yükseldi isem niye yükselmiş bu durum var yani öyle bir hasetlik olayı. Belki herkes de yoktur, genel hissiyat içerisinde böyle bir şey yapımızda.

villagers. Rather than emphasizing their commonalities within the village, focusing on their differences with others and obtaining the commonality from this difference, I think, it can be best explained in theoretical terms with the Barthian concepts of boundary making and defining the group's identity within these boundaries which are dynamic and depend on the relations with others (1969). So as Barth (1969) claims, as a cultural group, they pick their differences from others rather than the similarity of their members with each other or shared cultural traits and built their groupness on these differences. Picking up the differences and using them as constitutive parts of their exchangeability in every possible everyday encounter with the non-exchangeable people turn to be their identification processes. One important point about this identification process is that it is under constant change. First, the exchangeable villagers were proud of their ways of tobacco production. They emphasized how it was orderly, organized and clean. However, after the tobacco production stopped in the village, they started emphasizing how their village is clean, safe and orderly. So they can reflect their perceived differences on different domains which change according to the conditions in which villagers live.

Moreover, I think, claiming to be more European, clean, orderly, and tidy, superiority with this and describing the others as not being so can be also seen as an example of symbolic violence which Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992b) describes as the misrecognition buried in doxa which makes the habitus operate so smoothly. According to this, all these characteristics were actually working for the interest of the villagers both as tobacco farmers and newcomers to a state which was founded mainly on Western ideals. So, to claim to be tidy which lies in the very practical aspect of daily life is also a way to show the interest and willingness for the new game which they found themselves after the population exchange. However, when the game changed as in the case with the privatization of TEKEL and stopping the tobacco production in the village, such a strong doxa was transferred to the different domains of life such as claiming to have a prosperous, orderly and beautiful village which is similar to a holiday resort, since the doxa and the social memory behind it cannot be erased suddenly, but changed towards another focal point of life.

There are two important points arise about the identification processes of the exchangees from the analysis. First, these differences are perceived and put into the words with the help of daily practices, since they materialize during the daily encounters of the exchangees with non-exchangees as the quotations show above. Second, the exchangees relate all these differences with being an exchangee, with being from Rumelia or Europe. They think that being an exchangee makes them different from the other people and they embrace these differences as the pieces of inheritance from their family elders. In this respect, these differences and their materialization in the daily life practices strengthen the exchangee habitus and are strengthened by the operation of the exchangee habitus.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, after theoretically building the relation between habitus, social memory and identification processes and explaining the how this relation/model works, I operationalize this model in this chapter under the name of exchangee habitus. I argue that there are three important and related aspects of exchangees' daily lives in exchangee habitus: namely remembering the past and the homeland, engaging in tobacco production for a very long time and claiming to be more civilized and orderly than other people in certain ways. The most important point of this chapter puts is that these different aspects are all connected to each other and they shape each other in a dynamic way. The past is not only stories and narratives about the common homeland, but also a guide for tobacco production and a resource for differentiation from the other villages around Sarıdünya. The tobacco production is not only the main economic activity but also a media which the exchangees can show their difference. Moreover, it also provides practices that connect the past and the present. The characteristics are not only differences but also a unifying narrative for villagers which shows their interest as well as the symbols of their past. I think this relation of interdependency is the main reason why the exchangee habitus stays stable but not stagnant ground on which the exchangees can act.

These three interconnected dimensions compose the characteristics that make these villagers exchangee villagers and give them a different mindset on

which they behave. During my fieldwork, I noticed that it was relatively less visible, when the exchangees were talking about themselves, but it stood out when they made comparisons between themselves and their neighbors and also between themselves and their ancestors' lives in the homeland. The exchangee habitus and its effect on the lives of the exchangees are explained by the exchangees as a way of behaving, speaking, thinking and practicing in daily life in the above experts. Bodily habits, different wordings, ways of talking all signify that they are different. These are so distinctive that they can match such a difference only ethnic or national differences.

In the following chapter, I will explore how the exchangee habitus can be observed with varying degrees in the daily lives of different villagers by constructing a typology. I believe such an investigation will show the interaction of the dimensions of the exchangee habitus and the exchangee habitus as a whole with some important structural factors in the villagers' lives.

CHAPTER V
DIFFERENTIATION AMONG THE VILLAGERS WITHIN THE
EXCHANGE HABITUS

5.1 Introduction

After describing the exchange habitus, its constitutive parts, and their operation together in the social domain in and out of the village, in the previous chapter, I will show and explain the differentiation among the villagers, according to their different levels of attachment to the exchange habitus. This means that the exchange habitus does not affect everybody in the village in the same way, or their daily lives revolve around the exchange habitus differently. I think that providing a typology of the villagers and presenting the reasons behind the emergence of the typology can provide a better understanding, both into the operation of the exchange habitus, and also in how the villagers reflect and act upon the exchange habitus differently. This chapter is devoted to such an effort.

In this respect, I first provide a detailed grouping of the villagers according to their reflections on the exchange past, experiences of the exchange habitus and the degree of identification with the exchange habitus. I present the distribution of the villagers in the groups and the specific features these groups which I define as similar attitudes toward each dimension of the exchange habitus that I explored in the previous chapter. In addition to the groupings, I also present how the individual exchangeees in each group reflect and act upon the exchange habitus. Then, I show the reasons behind such a differentiation with the help of the interviewees' life stories and relate these reasons with the structural factors, such as rural-urban migration or change in the tobacco sector. Finally based on these differentiations among the villagers, I explore the future possibilities for the exchange habitus.

5.2 Groups According to the Exchangee Habitus

The table below shows the distribution of the villagers according to their experiences in the exchange habitus. Depending on the in-depth interviews, informal talks and my experiences as a participant as well as my observations

through my field research, I constructed a subjective scale of exchangee habitus and how the villagers experienced it. This can be seen as an endeavor to create an ideal typical exchangee typology in a Weberian sense based on different experiences in the habitus. In this respect, these groups are not factual, but rather the emphasis on some aspects both of the groups and the exchangee habitus to make it more visible and understandable (Weber, 1949).

Table 2: Groupings among the Villagers

Exchangee Groups	Gender	Born after 1960	Born btw 1959-1935	Born btw 1934-1900	Total in Gender	Total in the group
Conscious but indifferent	F	2, 38,	57, 16, 43, 46,	4,14,37, 47	10	14
	M		24*, 32, 34~,52~		4	
Interested	F	20*, 26, 45, 60~	6, 11*, 15, 18*,19*, 21*, 42, 51*, 53*, 58*	3, 10, 28, 33*,61	19	39
	M	22~	17, 23*, 25, 29, 30~, 31, 39*, 41*, 54, 55*, 56*, 59*	1~, 27, 36, 40*, 44, 48, 50	20	
Committed	F	12~, 13~	7*, 9*, 49*		5	9
	M	8~,35~,62	5		4	
Total in Age Group		12	34	16		62

According to this scale, I clustered the villagers into three different groups and created the table above. In the table, the numbers, excluding the bold ones, show each interviewer. These numbers are the numbers that I assigned for each individual interviewer. The details about the interviewers such as their age, education and profession can be seen in Table 1 in the methodology and methods

chapter. In the methodology chapter I also explained the groupings according to the age.

In the table above, the first row shows the group that I name as **conscious but indifferent** about the exchangee habitus. The second row shows the group that I name as **interested** in the exchangee habitus. The third row in the table shows the group of villagers who are **committed to** the exchangee habitus. The conscious but indifferent group is consisted of people who experience the exchangee habitus least, whereas the committed group has the people who experience the habitus most. I also added the gender and age dimensions to the table. With this, the intersection between the habitus and gender and between the habitus and age turn to be more visible. Moreover, the numbers with an asterisk (*) show the interviewers who worked and retired from a job outside of the village, mostly in tobacco factories in Samsun or Istanbul. These interviewers spend their summers in the village, while spending the winter months in Samsun or Istanbul. The numbers with a tilde (~) show the interviewers who work in Bafra or Samsun but mostly commute between the home in the village and work, or even if they work and live outside of the village, they visit the village very frequently, at least once a week to see their relatives and help them with yardwork.

In the following sections, I present how each of these groups differentiate according to their attitudes towards each dimensions of the exchangee habitus, which are the villagers' relation with their past, how the tobacco production affected their daily lives and how they perceive the village's and villagers' distinctive features in their everyday encounters.

5.2.1 Conscious but Indifferent Villagers

The first group of the villagers, which I name as conscious but indifferent, consists of the villagers on whom I could observe the effects of the exchangee habitus at the minimum level. They are fourteen villagers out of sixty two villagers in total. Ten of them are women and four of them are men. Whereas two of them were born after 1960, eight of them born between 1935 and 1960, and four of them were born before 1935. Only three of them, who are all men, have lived or worked outside of the village.

The member of this group all know that they are exchangees and their ancestors came from Greece and settled in Sarıdünya. Some of the members of this group barely know any details about the population exchange or the settlement process, whereas many of the villagers in this group know about all the stories about the experiences of their parents or grandparents who lived through the population exchange, their conditions of life and livelihoods in the homeland, the violent events that they witnessed in the homeland and the journey to Turkey and settlement in Sarıdünya. The excerpt below, which is from the interview with Aunt Kadriye, shows the reaction of the villagers in this group to my questions about population exchange.

Z: You must have known, you must have heard some stories from Eşref the Grandpa?

K: No I haven't heard.

Z: Nobody had told stories at home?

K: No.

Z: Stories about how they came, what they did?

K: No. They never tell such stories. My mother-in-law does not know much about this.⁹³

I was not able to hear the stories of the village about the population exchange of settlement from these villagers. They stated that they did not remember or know about the things what they had overheard from their family elders. Many of them also said that in their family circles they do not talk about the population exchange at all, especially when they were young. While the other villagers tell a lot of stories on the massacre or on the homeland, some members of this group including Aunt Kadriye did not narrate these stories at all. Moreover; they were very reluctant to talk about the issues about the population exchange during the

⁹³ Z: Biliyorsunuzdur canım duymuşsunuzdur hikayeler, Eşref dededen filan.

K: Yok duymadım.

Z: Hiç anlatmazlar mıydı evde?

K: Hayır.

Z: Hani böyle nasıl gelmişler, nasıl etmişler?

K: Yok, yok hiç anlatmazlar... Kayınvalidem de pek bilmez.

interview. But, in other times, when I spent time with them in a routine day and talked about many other subjects like the tobacco or specific foods that the villagers traditionally cooked, they were so talkative and informative.

Another example of the villagers in this group is from the interview with Aunt Sezen. This long excerpt from the interview including Mutlu who was my main gatekeeper shows an example of how I proceeded with the villagers in this group generally:

Z- Have your relatives told you at home about, I don't know, how they came here, how they settled here?

S- Ehm. I don't know, when there were tortured there, they came this side, from Thessaloniki from this side via ships. But they never tell how they came. Only maybe while they were chatting, we might have overheard playing around them.

Z- Do you know what kind of tortures they had gone through?

S- Well the foreigners there, there were Greeks yes? Sure, Greeks I suppose, they made our folks, mostly Turks, align in front of their children, in front of their eyes, made them align and tied them, that's what we had heard. They blindfolded them, in front of their children; they butchered them.

Z- How they were living there before all those things happened? Were they working on tobacco?

S- Tobacco was also the thing, the order of there. It was nice I mean. There were lots of nut trees. I mean tobacco, but a lot, it was, the tobacco, like a golden. I mean it was that precious.

M- Many of them say that they were receiving gold instead of money

S- Sure, I know that much. When we were children, while they were chatting, that much left in my mind.

Z- Have they ever been talking about how they came?

S- About that, they came with ships. They also left many of their belongings. Left them there at their land. I mean, just to save our lives.

Z- Do you know anything about their settlement here?

S- I don't know about that much. They came from their hometown anyway; my mother was born here while they were settling here. When we were young, my mother's mother, like my father's mother, died when we were very young, my mother's mother died, when we were very young anyway. I mean we cannot know.

Z- Was your father born here?

S- My father came from his homeland but came very young, like 4 or 5 years old, how could he know?

Z- Hasn't he told anything?

S- I don't know my father; he died when I was young. I mean some fragments left here and there from what we overhear while they were talking to each other.

Z- How they were talking? I mean, you said "while they were talking to each other", what made them talk?

ZT- By themselves, [they said] I mean here, at this place, we are very comfortable. Back there we endure many tortures. They were living at the same house. One building I mean, with foreigners and Turks. Is it easy to get along?

Z- So they were content that they came from there?

ZT- Sure they were content. They were content that they came to this side. But surely they were longing for those places. They had been longing for there.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Z- Akrabalarınız hiç anlatıyor muydu evde filan ne bileyim mesela nasıl geldiklerini, nasıl buraya yerleştiklerini?

S- Eee işte ne bileyim ben orada o zaman işkence olunca, bu tarafa, Selanik'ten bu tarafa gemilerle gelmişler. Ama nasıl geldiklerini, ne anlatırlar. İşte öyle ağlaşırlarken, biz de öyle çocuk işte oynarken yanlarında belki.

Z- Nasıl işkenceler görmüşler peki, hiç onları biliyor musunuz?

S- Ya orada şimdi, oradaki o yabancılar, Yunanlılar mı kız? Tabii Yunanlılar herhalde, bizim çoğu Türkleri, gözlerinin önünde yani çoluğunun çocuğunun, gözünün önünde dizmişler sıraya, bağlamışlar, öyle duyular aldık hep. Bağlamışlar gözlerini, çoluğunun çocuğunun gözü önünde, kesmişler.

Z- Peki orada nasıl bir hayat yaşıyorlarmış, bütün o şeyler olmadan önce, tütünle mi uğraşıyorlarmış?

S- Tütün orasının da şeyi, düzeni, güzelmiş yani. Ceviz ağaçları çok varmış oralarda. Yani tütün, ama çok yani, tütün bildiğin ne altın gibi. Yani o kadar değerliymiş.

M- Zaten para almazdık, altın alırdık diye söylüyor çokları.

S- Tabii, ben de o kadar yani biliyorum. Çocukken anlaşırlarken, o kadar kalmış yani şeyimde.

Z- Sonra nasıl gelmişler peki onu anlatıyorlar mıydı hiç?

S- Onu da işte gemilerle gelmişler. Çoğu şeylerini de bırakmışlar gelirken yani. Memlekette. Yani sadece canımızı kurtaralım.

Z- Buraya yerleşmelerine dair filan bir şey biliyor musunuz?

S- Hiç o kadarını bilemem. Zaten memleketten gelmişler, burada yerleşirlerken annem burada doğmuş. Biz küçükken de anneannem, mesela babaannem, çok küçükken ben, ölmüş anneannem zaten biz de küçüktük gene öldüklerinde, yani bilemeyiz ki.

Z- Babanız burada mı doğmuş peki?

S- Babam memleketten gelmiş ama küçük gelmiş. 4-5 yaşlarında, o ne bilecek?

Z- Hiç anlatmıyordu yani?

The main issue in the interview with Aunt Sezen is the hardship to have the answers from her. She, as many of the villagers in this group, knows about stories of the population exchange. But, with every question that I ask, she first replies me with a disclaimer about how she does not know anything, why she does not remember anything. Only after these disclaimers, she continues talking about the population exchange. She also, as the other members in this group, tries to convince me that all these stories are unimportant, the things are in the past now and the social memory of the population exchange is not significant any more for themselves and for their children.

Describing the social memory of the population exchange is redundant and insignificant is the main characteristic of every villager in this group. Even if they all call Karlıkova their homeland, this is not because they feel a special attachment to there as far as I can observe, but rather because of a habit that they picked up from their families.

Another reason why I put these people in this category is their attitudes towards tobacco production. Some of these respondents also did not engage with the tobacco in the field or factory as much as the many of the other villagers did. When they were engaged in tobacco production, I noticed that the tobacco production was just an agricultural activity which they had to do to earn money. Even if they admitted that they spent a large amount of time in the tobacco fields, they did not talk about how good and special their tobacco was or if it provided some opportunities for them to spend time with the family elders. Tobacco production for them did not mean an opportunity to spend time with the family elders but it was solely hard work. For example, Birsen, a single woman who spent

S- Ben babamı zaten bilmem, ben küçükken babam öldüğü için. Ben yani işte, anlatırlarken bu işler böyle böyle, biz de yanlarında oynarken öyle işte biraz kalmış.

Z- Nasıl anlatıyorlardı? Yani anlatırlarken diyordunuz ya ne vesile oluyordu da anlatıyorlardı?

S- Kendi kendilerine yani buraları hani, buraları çok rahatız yani. Oralarda çok işkence çektik gibisinden. Aynı evde oturulmuş yani. Bir binada oturulmuş yani, hem yabancı hem Türk'ü. E anlamak kolay mı orada?

Z- Geldiklerine memnunnardı yani orada?

S- Ee tabii memnundular. Memnunnardı bu tarafa geldiklerinden. Ama tabii özlem vardı yani oralara. Oralar için bir özlemleri de vardı.

all her life in the village, did not work in their tobacco fields after her teenager years. Her mother died when she was a kid. Her father was a craftsman and a driver who worked both in the village and in Bafra. They stopped tobacco production in the mid-80s, after her brothers went to military school.

Many of these villagers also densely engaged in tobacco production. Many of them in this group are the ones who stayed at the village and cultivated tobacco leaves in their own lands with their family for long years, when many other villagers sought other job opportunities in mainly TEKEL factories in big cities. In this respect, I could find quite detailed accounts of the actual process of tobacco production in their narratives. They told how they produced it as much as how it was very important for them as their main income; how they spent many years with tobacco production and how they produced much higher quality of tobacco than any neighboring villages. However, they do not have any nostalgic feelings about the tobacco production or the time that they spent in the fields or house plots with their families or friends. They are glad that it is over and they have a reliable pension after years of hard work. During my interview with Uncle Vahit and his daughter, Ayşe, who was born in 1968 and described as “the most tobacconist one in the family” answered my request to compare past and present as the following:

V: Now is better. We are freed from tobacco. We were afraid to be left broke, without making a living if we left tobacco. But when we left tobacco, we eased.

A: We were eased. Now we have a garden. Everybody has a garden enough for themselves, it is easier. Tobacco was very difficult as it is done with bare hands.⁹⁵

Uncle Bahadır, who is a retired farmer, also emphasized that producing tobacco is very hard and burdensome. He added that even if he had other jobs such as being a driver of a shuttle line between Bafra and Samsun, he had to work in the tobacco field so much at the end, he became sick and now he is so in pain because of the tobacco.

⁹⁵ V: Şimdi daha iyi tütünden kurtulduk yani biz korkuyorduk tütünü bıraktık parasız, harçlıksız kalırız diye ama tütünü bıraktık daha rahat ettik yani.

A: Daha rahat ettik. Bir bahçe yapıyoruz şimdi herkes kendine kadar bahçe yapıyor şimdi daha rahat. Tütün işi bayağı bir zordu yani elle yapıyorduk ya.

Granny Asiye also who was born in 1927 and spent all of her life in the village, told me that even when she was a baby, her mother had taken her to the tobacco field with her. Then when she was a toddler she learned how to collect and string tobacco. After her mother died when she was just 10 years old, she turned to be the main home maker and also helper of her father in the fields, since she was the oldest sibling. She continued tobacco production after she married and even after her husband died. Finally her son gave up tobacco a few years ago. When she said that she produced tobacco for 80 years with pride, her granddaughter who was with us during the interview asked her, if she ever missed the tobacco, and she replied with the following:

Tobacco? No my girl, who would miss tobacco? Well I can string the tobacco with the blind eye now, if there are some. We got used to it.⁹⁶

As Granny Asiye and Ayşe, many of the women in this group have a strong aversion to tobacco production, more than many of the men and they clearly stated that it is because of the hardships and burdens of tobacco production and home making duties together. Many of the men who said that they worked a lot with tobacco actually worked only in stringing the tobacco, which was the easiest and also the most convivial part of all the tobacco production. However, the women, especially if the male household members worked outside of the village mainly as an animal seller, a driver or even a civil servant, had to tackle all the duties of tobacco production in addition to their responsibilities at home. For example, when Uncle Vahit said that they produced the largest amount of the tobacco in the village, his daughter Ayşe angrily corrected him that he did not work in the fields, he was driving the shuttle between Bafra and Samsun, but she and her siblings worked in the fields with the other workers that they hired. Many elderly women, including Granny Asiye, who suffer from skeletal diseases also claimed that the tobacco was the reason why they had intense pain and hardship in their movements. When I asked if they preferred the past or today, they said that they

⁹⁶ Tütünü mü? Yok be kızım, kim özler tütünü? Ha olsa, gene dizerim kör gözle. Alışmışız.

prefer now, but because the past which was full of hard, frustrating and back breaking work, could not be enjoyed. For them, the tobacco, which once was vital for their livelihood, belongs to their past and it is not that important any more. Moreover, they think that this situation is not something bad, it is even convenient for these people.

The last of the common characteristics of these people in this group is that their attitudes toward the perceived differences of the villager and the village which constitute the main topics of the identification processes of the villagers. As their relation with the past of the village, these villagers are also very indifferent about being an exchangee. They do not think that the characteristics that the other villagers mentioned as distinctive for Sarıdünya village are specific characteristics of this village. Sarıdünya village is just another village like many others. They love their village; they think it is a good and safe place to live, but when it comes to its characteristics, it may only stand out with its different foods, like couscous or tarhana which also belong to the past days mainly for the villagers in this group.

In this respect, these villagers are conscious about the population exchange and their homeland but they are nearly completely indifferent about it and its consequences that the other villagers perceived as important, such as being a proud tobacco producer or being an exchangee. They have very little knowledge about the population exchange to share with me and when they have knowledge and stories, they think it is all redundant for their lives and unconnected to today. In addition to their relation with the past, the other dimensions of the exchangee habitus are weak for them. Tobacco producing was just an economic activity for them, but nothing special about being an exchangee. They also have no nostalgic feeling about the years they produced tobacco with all family members, relatives or friends. Moreover, they do not think that having an exchangee background or having roots in the homeland is something special that is affecting their daily practices and relationships with other people. In this respect, the effect of the exchangee habitus on their life is very limited. They are all conscious about the population exchange but indifferent about it, during my field research.

To evaluate this group of villagers better, the dimensions of the exchangee habitus should be taken into consideration together with some important findings about this group within the theoretical framework. I think there are two main features of this group. The first one is that it consists of the people who mainly spend their lives in the village without any regular job or living arrangement outside of the village. The second one is that these villagers do not have any personal ties with the past of the village whether in the form of stories about the population exchange or nostalgia for the days of tobacco producing, unlike the villagers in the other groups. This has again two consequences for the exchangee habitus of the villagers. First, since the villagers who do not have regular encounters with non-exchangee people do not perceive a boundary which is strengthened by the differences in daily life between them and non-exchangees à la Barthian sense (1969), they do not differentiate between themselves and the others. Second, since the villagers who do not have any personalized relationship with the social memory of the population exchange which is also embedded into the practices of daily life, they do not think it as something important both for their identification process and daily lives. The social memory of the population exchange does not function as a framework for their lives (Misztal, 2003) or as a model for it (Schwartz, 2000). In this respect, it did not turn to be the part of daily practices, practical sense, or common understanding surrounding the lives of the villagers, so it did not become naturalized into the habitus, as Bourdieu puts (2007). These two reasons weaken all three dimensions of the exchangee habitus for these villagers.

5.2.2 Interested Villagers

The second group of the villagers, which I name as interested villagers, consists of the villagers on whom I could observe the effects of the exchangee habitus at the moderate level. They are thirty-nine villagers out of sixty-two villagers in total and they constitute the most crowded group. Nineteen of them are women and twenty of them are men. Whereas five of them were born after 1960, twenty-two of them were born between 1960 and 1935, and twelve of them were born before 1935. Twenty of them have lived or worked outside of the village.

The villager's stories in this group about the past including the population exchange, settlement process and later years full of tobacco production have much more detail, when it is compared with the stories of conscious but indifferent villagers. Moreover, their narratives contain a lot of personal memories and the emotions around them popped up during the interviews. These people provided many details about the lives of their family elders back in the homeland, the difficulties that they faced and how they survived, how the journey from there to Samsun took place, how they handled the hardships in Samsun and settled in Sarıdünya, and then how they founded their new lives.

In addition to the richness of their narrative, their approach to all details which mostly took place already two generations ago was the most distinct part of their narrative. They opened up to me about the details of their family stories with the help of the memories that they told. I think as much as they were good listeners for their older family members, they were also very good story tellers for both their children and me and they provided invaluable data pieces for this study. During the interviews they were sentimental and excited enough to make me believe that rather than listening to all these aspects of the experiences of the elderly people many years ago, they were telling the stories which they recently had heard or at least they remember frequently before I asked them. Different than the former group of interviewees, these people also remembered that their elders had missed their homeland and lived a life full of yearning for the homeland. Moreover, when they made statements about the homeland, they generally recalled it as "our homeland" or "my homeland". One of the interviews which have all of these features is the one with Aunt Halime who was 65 years old. When I asked her if her mother had missed the homeland, she said that her mother had been always telling about the big trees and fresh springs of their homeland and she could not really adjust to Sarıdünya which was drier and more barren. When I asked if she ever wanted to visit their homeland, she burst into tears and gave the answer below:

Ah, where can I go my child! Ah, I wish there would be an opportunity so that I could go. I wish there were an opportunity, so I would go, I would visit. I would like to visit my homeland. I wonder about my father's places. One wonders where

their father lived once. My old grandfather; while my father was born, they took my grandfather to kill; my father was born at that moment. My grandfather told them to stop so that he could see my father. He opened up my father's face, wishing him a long life. He saw my father's face only for five minutes. My father used to say he lacked his parents' love. (She cries telling this) He saw my father's face. They took him, killed him. He was taken away from his mother when he was only one. Then my aunt brought him up, made him get married.⁹⁷

A similar account also was told by Uncle Kadri who was a retired teacher. When I asked how the events developed before his family was exchanged, after briefly describing them, he continued about how his parents always missed the homeland, as shown in the following:

K: I mean, a measured thing started there, first they seized people's work and there was distress... Then they start torturing and tormenting Turks. There should be no one in distress. It is a very bad thing to be in distress especially at the place where you were born, where you grew up. My parents used to talk repeatedly about how their lands there were more fertile and ours not, how we did not have any water. We extracted water via drilling. Now there is water at the village, drinking water came everywhere now. That's another thing.

Z: Were your parents missing those places?

K: How could they not. Of course they missed it a lot.

Z: How did they talk about there?

K: I grew up with all those stories. They used to talk about that all the time, telling about those days of agony, old days. But what could they do, they did not have any economic power to go there to visit... Anyway, for a time it was not even possible as you know, when it was possible, then they could not afford to go. When my father improved his condition, he was already too old to go. He died at

⁹⁷ Ah nereye gidecem be yavrum! Ah fırsat olsa da keşke gitsem! Keşke fırsat olsa da giderim, ziyaret ederim. Memleketimi ziyaret etmek isterim. Babamların yerlerini işte merak eder insan görse ki babamlar nerede yaşamış babaları. Benim kendi rahmetli dedem, babam doğduğunda rahmetli dedemi almışlar kesmeğe, o sırada da babam doğmuş. Dur demiş gideyim, yüzünü açar babamın, demiş ki ömürlü olsun. Bir beş dakikacık görmüş babamın yüzünü. Ben bir ana baba sevgisi göremedim derdi. (Bunları anlatırken ağlıyor) Görmüş babamın yüzünü, almışlar, kesmişler. Annesinden de bir yaşında şey yapmış, kalmış. Sonra halam büyütmüş onu, evermiş.

88 years in 1983. He could not go but they used to talk about there with praise. I don't know.⁹⁸

These examples and excerpts from the interviews, I think, show that for these people the past and the population exchange are not something which belong to the history of the village, but they are their parents' first-hand experiences that they heard from them. For these interviewees these stories do not only mark the beginning of their story in Sarıdünya, but also mark turbulent times that their families had to live through and survived at the end against all odds. Moreover, they felt and also internalized their parents' emotional luggage, and their yearnings and sighs turned to be their own.

For the people in this group of interested villagers, the days they spent with tobacco production, which they admitted were so hard as did everyone in the village, were also a source of nostalgia. According to them, those days were full of friendly conversations, solidarity among the villagers, joy and happiness. Moreover, tobacco production and the way they produced tobacco were also very distinct from other people that produce tobacco and thus, tobacco, in itself, turns to be an identifier for those villagers. In this respect, for them tobacco production both provide a frame to life turn around and also an anchor for the identification processes.

However, the interesting point about their relation with tobacco production is that sixteen of the villagers in this group did not actually engage in tobacco

⁹⁸ K: Yani o bir ölçülü şey başlamış orada, el koymuşlar vatandaşın çalışmalarına sıkıntı başlamış... Türklere başlıyorlar işkence etmeye, eziyet etmeye. Huzursuz kimse olmasın. Huzursuz olmak çok kötü bir şey hele doğduğu, büyüdüğü yerde. Bizimkiler burada devamlı sayıklayıp durdular, onların toprakları verimli bizim burada yok, su da yok sadece burada biz kendimiz sondaj usulüyle çıkarttık su var köyde şimdi her bir yanı içme suları geldi o başka...

Z:Peki çok özleyorlar mıydı anneniz, babanız oraları?

K:Özlemezler mi... Ya tabii çok özlediler...

Z:Nasıl anlatıyorlardı peki?

K:Ben onların bu lafları içerisinde büyüdüm, hep onu anlattılar te bu acı günlerini anlatırlar, eski günlerini anlatırlar ama ne yapsın o günkü şartlarda ekonomik güçleri yok ki gitseler, ziyaret etseler... Zaten bir zamanlar mümkün olmadı biliyorsun, mümkün olduğu vakit de bizimkilerin durumu müsait değildi gitmeye, babamın durumu iyi olduğu vakit de yaşlandı gidemedi. 88 yaşında öldü babam 1983 yılında. Gidemedi ama çok överek anlatırlardı, bilemiyorum.

production as much as the villagers in the former group. This means that those people mostly left the village when they found jobs in the big cities, but they came to help their families during the harvest and they returned to the village after their retirement, and they spent at least six months of a year in the village. The other four of the villagers in this group also had jobs outside of the village, but they continued living in the village. Many of these people had been full time tobacco producers in every stage of the production before they found the other jobs, and then they became part-time tobacco producers. In this respect, the rituals of tobacco production were not as obligatory as the other people in the former group who mainly stayed at the village and engaged in the tobacco production as a main source of income. One of these villagers is Uncle Cem who worked as a substitute imam in different villages, but always lived in Sarıdünya. I asked him about the tobacco production, he told me in a very excited manner that they had competition among the neighbors on stringing the tobacco leaves; he was a very fast stringer who could string the leaves very neatly, so he always won. When I asked if he wants to deal with tobacco now against all of the hardships, he replied me as the following:

Z: Are you willing to deal with tobacco?

C: I am.

Z: Despite all of the difficulties?

C: The old times were so different, all those old conditions. In this time of the year, you sit down with fifteen, twenty people, singing, and telling stories. All those neighbors used to come together, chatting, working collectively, in solidarity. I wish not to have anything else if those days can come back.⁹⁹

When I interviewed with Aunt Fahriye and her daughter Semra who both spent many years in tobacco production, even if they stated that they have no

⁹⁹ Z:Tütün yapmaya razı mısınız?

C:Razıyım.

Z:O kadar zorluğa rağmen

C:Vallaha eski bambaşkaydı, o eski hal, tütün şimdiki bu mevsimde oturacaksın böyle on beş yirmi iki kişi türkü söyleyerek, maniler okuyarak. Komşuları toplayıp bir muhabbet, bir sohbet, imeci yapılırdı, yardımlaşma yapılırdı. O günler gelse de hiç bir şeyimiz olmasın.

yearning for tobacco production, they think that their tobacco production was different than that of other people as seen in the following conversation:

F: We used clean tobacco, but not much.

S: Yes. Less but succinct.

F: There is a huge difference between how we make tobacco and how Yörük's make it.

S: That's why our village is named as Sarıdünya. It was Ç. before.

F: Sarıdünya Village see? You can get from the name...

S: Not because we did it a lot. It was less, but sufficient enough.

F: Clean.

S: Less but sufficient.

F: Our people are like that too. They are succinct. It is our thing.

S: They named us Sarıdünya because we make a good product.¹⁰⁰

As the reflection of their identification processes, their approach to the distinctive features of the village is also very significant. According to these villagers, their village is different from the other ones, and the reason behind this is that they are exchangees. An excerpt which includes their response to my question about the specific things about the village from the interview with Aunt Fahriye and Semra can also show how this logic works according to them:

S: We have couscous pertaining to this village.

F: When it comes to food, exchangees, things, have couscous and tarhana.

¹⁰⁰ F: Biz tütünü temiz ama az yapardık.

S: Hah. Az öz.

F: Bizim tütün yapmamızla Yörükler'in tütün yapması arasında dünyalar kadar fark var.

S: Sarıdünya o yüzden kondu. Bizim köyümüz önceden Cırıklar'dı.

F: Sarıdünya Köyü bak. Adından...

S: Çok yaptığımız için değil. Az ve öz.

F: Temiz.

S: Az ve öz.

F: Bizim insanımız da öyle az ama öz. Öyle bizim şeyimiz.

S: Güzel ürün çıkardığımız için Sarıdünya koydular.

S: As a food, couscous. They cook wheat in a huge pot, not pre-prepared couscous.

F: All the things, back then, farina, bulgur, they had everything, used to be made. But now, nothing is left.

Z: For instance, one thing attracted my attention very much, you know this one Atatürk monument, I never saw anything like that in other villages.

F: We love garnish. Our village is thoughtful. Our people are thoughtful. Our words may be tough but our soul is thoughtful.

S: Why there is Atatürk; because, we love Atatürk. We came from Thessaloniki.

F: We are *Atatürkçü*

S: From the same village as Atatürk... We are fellow townsman. We love Atatürk very much.¹⁰¹

When I asked the same question to Murat, a 38 year old history teacher, who lives in the village but works in Bafra, he puts being an exchangee village as the first good feature of the village:

And also it is a beautiful village, orderly village. We have our bad sides but I would like to mention the good ones. First there is exchangeeness. After the thing came, the sewage came, the village became more beautiful. I love it very much since all the bad smell disappeared from village.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹S: Bu köye has kuskusumuz var.

F: Yemek şeylerine geçince, muhacirlerin, şeylerin, kuskusu var, tarhanası var.

S: Yemek olarak kuskus. Böyle teknede yapılıyor buğday, hazır kuskus değil yani.

F: Her şey önceden, nişastalar, bulgurlar, her şeyleri var. Yapılırdı ama şimdi hiçbir şey kalmadı.

Z: Mesela şu şey benim bayağı dikkatimi çekmişti, hani şu Atatürk anıtı var ya bir tane, ben başka bir köyde hiç görmedim öyle bir şey.

F: Biz süsü severiz. Bizim köyümüz incedir. Öyle insanımız ince. Dilimiz kalın ama içimiz, ruhumuz ince bizim.

S: Atatürk neden var? Biz Atatürk'ü çok sevdiğimiz için. Selanikli oluşumuz.

F: Atatürkçüyüz yani.

S: Atatürk'le aynı ilçeden. Hemşehriyiz yani. Atatürk'ü çok severiz.

¹⁰² Bir de güzel bir köy çok düzenli bir köy olumsuz yönlerimiz var ama ben olumlu yönlerden bahsedeyim ilk önce macırlık var. Şey geldikten sonra kanalizasyon su geldikten sonra köy çok daha güzel oldu. Kötü kokular da kaybolmuş köyden onun için çok severim.

From these excerpts, it can be said that those villagers, in addition to the fact that they saw their village different from the other villages, also related these differences with being exchangee. What makes their village beautiful and tidy is that they are exchangees, that they had all the experiences in the homeland. These villagers are mainly in the third group of exchangee habitus, because they related their past experiences and background to their practices of daily life in Sarıdünya.

To understand the villagers' position in this group according to the exchangee habitus, looking at the each dimension of the exchangee habitus can work. These villagers have strong notion of social memory about the population exchange and the events before and after it. Even if they do not want to go back to the homeland, they remember that their parents and grandparents missed it there a lot. In this respect, the homeland is important not only as the homeland or the beginning place of their story, but it is also very important since it is connected to their family elders, and the link between the homeland and the elders are the memories and the stories around the population exchange. Thus, they have personal and direct relationships with the population exchange. It is not something in the past and forgotten, but it is an experience which they know through their family. Moreover, these stories are a part of their knowledge on tobacco production, village life, food preparations, relations with the neighbors, relations with the state officials. In this respect, the social memory of population exchange affects their relations with non-exchangee people as a source of difference and highlights the boundaries between exchangees and the others, as Barth (1969) claims. Moreover, with its function as a guide for daily life and its pervasiveness as a part of early socialization, it is stitched into the everyday doxa which can mark every daily act and reflection (Schwartz, 1997; Bourdieu, 2003). The tobacco production and all the practices around it move such a disposition into the other spheres of life than the family circles. The social memory of the population exchange which could stay within the family is emphasized and it becomes something specific for the all exchangee, Sarıdünya villagers. The opportunities for boundary making encounters increase, when the people regularly come across with non-exchangee people as a result of their working and living arrangements outside of the village identification

process. These people identify themselves as exchangees and they are identified as the exchangees by the other people. These continuous processes of identification significantly contribute to the emergence and persistence of the exchangee habitus and become the last part of the loop. However, at this point I should again note that these three dimensions of the exchangee habitus are interconnected and its significance can be understood better when they operate together as the exchangee habitus.

5.2.3 Committed Villagers

The third group of the villagers, which I name as committed villagers, consists of the villagers on whom I could observe the effects of the exchangee habitus at the highest level. They are nine villagers out of sixty-two villagers in total and they constitute the least crowded group. Four of them are women and five of them are men. Whereas five of them were born after 1960, four of them were born between 1935 and 1960, and there is no one in this group who was born before 1935. Eight out of nine of them have lived or worked outside of the village.

In addition to the many characteristics that they share with the interested villagers, there is an additional characteristic that makes them more committed to the exchangee habitus than the other groups. This characteristic consists of their activities to support their exchangee roots. Rather than only remembering and sharing the stories that they heard from their parents and relating the differences of the village with these memories, they also actively transmit these remembrances to the next generations. Moreover, they keenly seek new information about the population exchange through the Internet or the related publications. For example, Sema, Aunt Fatma and Aunt Pakize regularly attend the activities of Samsun Exchangee Association and take their kids and grandkids to these activities to make them learn about their past. Aunt Fatma also tries to read every new book about the population exchange and says that she pointed the book *Emanet Çeyiz* by Kemal Yalçın as the first book that all the members of her family read and talked about. She also uses this new knowledge in her talks with her neighbors in the village to compare their stories about past with those in the book. Aunt Emin records the stories of older people around her with her recorder and makes her son keep the

recordings safe for her grandchildren. Uncle Cemal whom I referred to in previous sections frequently is also in this group. Gülhan has her teenage son search and find the homeland on the Internet and tells the stories that she heard from her grandmother to her son while they look at the pictures of the homeland on the computer screen. Sometimes her father also joins them. When I asked that if she ever wants to visit the homeland, her reply shows how the homeland is important for her:

Of course, as soon as we get a little bit better, our installment loans finishes. God forgive me, I think about there more than I think about being a pilgrim. I mean I want to see there, especially that thing, the house, in which my grandmother used to live. Maybe it is not there anymore, but it is in my dreams. I would like to see there surely. There are tours there now.¹⁰³

Baki and Osman, who are in this group, are the only villagers who could visit the homeland. Since they could perform the dances of the homeland very well, they were chosen as one of the best dancers around Bafra to perform in a dance competition in Nea Bafra, in Greece where the Greek exchangees from Bafra were settled. Osman and Baki used this as an opportunity to visit their homeland which was in the close vicinity of Nea Bafra. However, they could not go there. But even being in that close vicinity was very important for both of them. They said that people in Nea Bafra welcomed them very warmly and friendly. Osman told me that after they performed the dances of Sarıdünya, a very old lady came to them and said that she has not seen such a dance for 80 years. Then, she asked the villagers by name who were exchanged to Turkey. Osman also told me that when he came back and said this to his parents, both of them started crying. When I asked how he felt there, he replied to me with the following:

¹⁰³ Tabii ki az bir düzelelim, taksit işlerimiz bitsin. Allah beni affetsin hacılıktan fazla orasımı düşünüyorum istiyorum yani oraları görmek. Özellikle de o şeyi nenemim yaşadığı evi durmazdır belki de, yoktur belki de, ama o benim hayalimde ya oraları görmek isterim tabii ki turlar varmış şimdi.

How can I say that, it's difficult to describe. One is affected by it very much. But they welcomed us very nicely, not at that village but others welcomed us very nicely. For instance at there, there is a town called Bafi, Bafra. Was it Neo-Bafra? I forgot its name, Yeni Bafra (New Bafra). It means New Bafra. At that town, from the smallest children to the oldest, everybody speaks Turkish. They invited us to their home, ordered us coffee, we drank. I don't know, they even do the tobacco the same as we do.¹⁰⁴

Another villager in this group is the mukhtar of the village. During our interview which was mainly about the village and its history rather than his own life history, he emphasized how exchangee the village is, even more than the other exchangee villages, when he explains why the village has an Atatürk statue with a saying of him about the exchangee people:

M: I am talking about this village... There is exchangee nationalism. I mean at least I do have, I have.

Z: There is not any at other villages? Other exchangee villages do not have such a thing?

M: No. Normally not. I mean, the places that I know were very mixed. For example, the village A or the village B. For instance at Village B, 50 of 150 households would be exchangee, 50 of them from Trabzon, people who are called Laz, or the local people. There would be people who came from Albania, Yugoslavia or Georgia. They would be there but they do not do thing to each other as much as we do here.

Z: What is that thing that you do?

M: Tie to each other. I mean being exchangee here is a priority here. I mean, they say, for example during a conversation, where? Sarıdünya? That C village? The previous name of our village was C. It was changed in 1986. That C village? First they ask if you are immigrant or exchangee. I don't know it is some kind of obsession, or let's say a wonder. Sometimes I do, too. I mean, I ask people that I met where they come from, this village or whether they are exchangee or not.

¹⁰⁴ Ya vallaha onu nasıl anlatayım, onun tarifi olmuyor. İnsan ne bileyim çok duygulanıyor ama bizi çok hoş karşıladılar, o köyde değil de diğerleri bizi çok iyi karşıladılar. Mesela orada, Bafi, Bafra diye bir kasaba var. Neo Bafra mıydı yanlışlık unuttum ismini Yeni Bafra. Yeni Bafra anlamında yani o köyde çocuğundan tut yaşlısına kadar Türkçe bilmeyen yok. Bizi evlerine çağırdılar kahve söylediler içtik. Ne bileyim tütünü bile, aynı bizim şey yaptığımız gibi şey yapıyorlar.

Z: Are the people of this village usually like that? Do they ask those questions when somebody from other places came?

M: Well, I described my own situation, my feelings. Of course there are people who do ask or do not. Generally, if general is conforming to the majority, there is a majority. ¹⁰⁵

He thinks that the Atatürk statue located in the most visible junction of the village is a hallmark to show the village's pride in being an exchangee village. For him, the Atatürk statue with the saying about the exchangee is a way to emphasize the village's exchangee character and make it visible for everyone who passes thorough the village. Moreover, the mukhtar also knows the full version of the saying which is, "the immigrants and the exchangees are the beloved remnants of our lost lands". However, he did not hesitate to manipulate it by having it on the statue as, "the exchangees are the national remnants of our lost lands", excluding the part about the immigrants and adding the adjective of national rather than the beloved. As many villagers put during the interviews, he also said that they are not immigrants, but they are exchangees. They had to come to Turkey as a result of an agreement. They defended the homeland as much as they could, they did not flee as the immigrants did; however at the end they were exchanged. He also added that

¹⁰⁵ M: Bu köy için söylüyorum yani... Bir mübadil milliyetçiliği var. Yani bende var en azından, bende var en azından.

Z: Öbür köylerde yok mu mesela? Öbür mübadil köylerinde yok mu böyle bir şey?

M:Yok, normalde yok. Yani benim bildiğim yerlerde, çok karıştı yani şöyledir örneğin bir A köyü, ne bileyim bir B köyü. Örneğin bir B köyünde 150 hanenin 50 tanesi mübadildir. 50 tanesi Trabzon" kökenlidir Laz diye tabir edilen insanlardan veya işte yerlisi vardır işte. Arnavutluk'tan zamanında Yugoslavya'dan, Gürcistan'dan gelenler vardır. Onlar vardır yani ama onlar birbirlerini bizim buranın insanı kadar şey yapmazlar.

Z: Ne yapmazlar?

M:Tutmazlar yani burada biraz daha mübadillik bizce ön safta. Yani denir ki mesela bir sohbet esnasında ha neresi? Sarıdünya mı? Ha şu C mı? Eski adı bizim köyümüzün C, seksen altı senesinde değişti. Ha C mı? İlk önce sorulur sen muhacir misin ya da mübadil misin denir ve bu ne bileyim hastalık demeyeyim de bir meraktır. Bende de olur bazen sorarım yani ilk tanıştığım insanlara hangi köydensin, şu köyden, mübadil misin?

Z:Peki genelde hep böyle midir bu köyün insanı, böyle dışardan biriyle tanışınca o mu sorulur yani?

M:Vallaha ben kendim için söyledim az önceki duygularımı anlattım, e tabi ki soran da var sormayan da var, geneli eğer çoğunluğa uymaksa, çoğunluksa çoğunluğu var.

since both they and Atatürk were exchangees, this was the important part of the saying for the statue in an exchangee village.

The characteristics of the villagers in this group should be understood as an extension to the characteristics of the villagers in the group of interested villagers, since they could develop such a strong identification with the exchangee habitus only as a continuation of experiences of the former group. In this respect, as in the case of the former group, their strong relation with the social memory of population exchange, the identification processes which are intensified with the living and working arrangements outside of the village, and engagement in tobacco production which reinforces both the social memory and boundary making all together fortify each other and constitute the exchangee habitus.

Similar to the former group, eight of the nine villagers in this group live or work out of the village or they are retired workers who spend the summers in the village, while they spend the winter months in Istanbul or Samsun. However, a striking feature of these villagers is their age. Five out of nine villagers were born after 1960. In this respect, their ways to connect to homeland and the social memory of population exchange can be understood as the result of the urbanization and highly available sources about the population exchange.

I think the case of these villagers can be understood as not only a smooth operation of the exchangee habitus or its constituents, but how the exchangee habitus adapts to the changes, how it deals with its blips (Bourdieu, 2000). In this case, the most important structural change that affects the operation of habitus is the transformation of the tobacco sector, and as a result of this, the villagers' abandonment of tobacco production. This did not only change the economic structure and the main agricultural activity of the village, but it also destroyed all the activities around tobacco production which nested in the social memory of the population exchange. For example, since the tobacco production has stopped, the villagers from different generations do not meet and talk about the homeland and population exchange during tobacco stringing. Since then, because of not working on the fields for very long hours, the villagers need less ready-made food like couscous, so they also stopped couscous making and all the gatherings around

couscous basins. Moreover, tobacco production, by sustaining the exchangee ways of tobacco producing, also opened a new domain for differentiation and fortified the identification processes. When they stopped producing tobacco, they lost the special ways to collect it or dry it, they lost an opportunity to be proud to sell the tobacco at highest possible prize, they lost the chance to say they were exchangees, thus they could produce high quality tobacco. In this respect, abandonment of the tobacco production disrupted the exchangee habitus by affecting all of its parts.

Thus, the main disruption for the exchangee habitus is the transformation of the tobacco sector. However, rural to urban migration, development of new communication technologies, a new and mostly a critical interest in the founding years of Turkish Republic and an increasing number of associations about any subject also affect the villagers who already strongly identified as exchangees. These people within their habitus, rather than abandoning the habitus as the tobacco production, they reflected their dispositions which are the result of the habitus to new domains. Searching on the Internet or reading and discussing the books with the neighbors about the homeland together replaced the gatherings around tobacco piles. Attending the exchangee association's meetings substituted making couscous. They emphasized some other differences which they thought important like being peaceful, clean and tidy. Rather than being proud of their good quality tobacco, now they show everyone who comes to their village the clean roads, flower beds and fruit trees. However, according to them, the reason behind the clean roads or reading books is the same with the reason behind the high quality tobacco or couscous: they are exchangees, they are from Rumelia and Europe and this is what they learned from their elders. This is how the exchangee habitus adopts the changing structural factors with the practices of the villagers.

5.3 Evaluation of the Groups of Exchangees and Dynamics of the Exchangee Habitus

To overview the groups of exchangees will be suggestive and illuminating before the evaluation of the groups. The first group of villagers which I name as conscious but indifferent villagers are the ones that I claim have the weakest effect of the exchangee habitus in their daily lives. They have minimum knowledge about

the population exchange and the experiences of their parents or grandparents. Even if they have some knowledge, they think it is not important for their daily lives. The stories about population exchange are something that belongs to the past and they do not have any interest to remember them. For those people, tobacco production was also insignificant as a social activity; it did not contribute anything special to village's social life, but was only a matter of economic necessity. They have an indifference towards the years passed with tobacco production. They spent so many years with tobacco production as hard working villagers, but now they think that they do not need to produce it anymore and they deserved these idle times. These respondents in the group of conscious but indifferent villagers also think that their village Sarıdünya is one of the many villages around. It has no specific feature that distinguishes it from the others. These people do not need any strong adjective to describe their villagers to the other people who come from outside of the village.

When we come to the groups categorized as interested villagers and interested and committed villagers, whom I claim have a stronger sense of being an exchangee and an exchangee habitus, the attitudes towards the village's exchangee past, tobacco production and perceived differences of the village change drastically. The people who are in the group of interested villagers say that they know or remember a lot of stories about the homeland, the daily life in the homeland, the happenings that lead to the population exchange, the journey from the homeland to Sarıdünya and the settlement in Sarıdünya. Moreover, they also say that because their ancestors also had produced tobacco in the homeland and they learned the details of producing good tobacco from them, the village's tobacco was also special and high quality. They also think that being an exchangee, being from Rumelia and Europe also gave Sarıdünya some distinct characteristics that the other villages do not have. In this respect, being an exchangee both affected the tobacco producing practices in the later years and daily life practices in the village and the chain effects which have roots from the population exchange is giving the unique features of Sarıdünya, which I describe as the exchangee habitus.

The group of villagers whom I called interested and committed, in addition to that they share the characteristics of the second group, they also actively engage

to broaden their knowledge about the population exchange with sources different than the stories of the family elders, and transmit these to the next generations of kids and grandkids. Thus, they reshape it, while they are being shaped within the dynamics of the habitus.

When the table at the beginning of the chapter is examined in detail, the first thing that stands out is that with the increase of the number of villagers who have living or working experiences outside of the village, the effect of the exchangee habitus strengthens on the villagers. I think this link can produce valuable insights about the dynamics of the exchangee habitus. The villagers who live outside of the village can perceive their exchangee status from the reactions of non-exchangee people whom they meet outside of the village. Moreover, they can also realize their own differences when they live side by side with non-exchangee people. Having formal or informal relationships with non-exchangee people in the neighborhood, in the school, in the factory or office gives the opportunity to compare the differences and similarities among people with different backgrounds. Many villagers also can make acquaintances with the exchangees who had been settled in different parts of Turkey, share the experiences and learn about the exchangee organizations in big cities. In this respect, living in a dominantly non-exchangee setting opens the ways for the villagers for identification as the exchangees because of the reactions from the others and also their own perceptions on the others, as Barth puts it (1969).

This dynamic also explains why the villagers in the group named as conscious but indifferent, are mainly the people who stayed in the village. Since those people spent relatively less time in non-exchangee environments, they did not compare and contrast being an exchangee and non-exchangee in their daily lives. Nobody made them feel discriminated or different because of being an exchangee. The boundary making and thus identification as an exchangee was not a part of their daily lives. Moreover, they do not have the opportunity to compare and contrast the practices of their daily lives with those of other people. They also do not have the chance to enrich their exchangee experience with other exchangees from different cities and use other ways of learning about the population exchange.

However, the villagers' living and working arrangements outside of the village is not the only thing that can explain the differences among the villagers. From the interviews that I conducted with the villagers, I can infer that the relationship between the individual villager and her or his elders is another important factor which strengthened the dispositions of the exchange habitus, and also the stories about the population exchange which feed the dispositions. This proportional relation between the time spent with the people who are knowledgeable and willing to talk about the population exchange and strength of the exchange habitus can be seen especially in the villagers' attitudes toward the social memory of the population exchange. Moreover, this link is also in accordance with the theoretical considerations about the habitus which can be described as the second nature that the people mainly acquire in their primary circles (Bourdieu, 2003). When the stories and the memories about the population exchange is embedded and embodied during the formative years by family members or other influential people, they become more persistent throughout life. I think the focal point here is not only having the storytellers around, but learning these stories and memories during a practice, whether tobacco production or couscous making, so the story gains a sense of practice when it is embedded within a practice, thus providing guidance and gaining coherence. Then it turns to be a disposition and action generating mechanism as Bourdieu (2007) puts it, for example, being tidy and organized in the tobacco production leads people to have a trimmed and decorated village, even years after the tobacco production stopped.

To have a better understanding in this, examining the villagers who are siblings can be illuminative. For example, Aunt Fatma and Aunt Hatice, who are sisters born in 1948 and 1941 respectively, were both very open and talkative during their interviews. They both lived outside of the village after their marriage: Aunt Fatma lived in Samsun and İstanbul; she is a retired worker from TEKEL. Aunt Hatice lived in another village of Bafra, then in Bafra, and in Germany and finally in Samsun. She did not work after returning from Germany, but later she gained a pension by paying her own fees. Both of them now spend half of the year in Sarıdünya and the other half in Samsun. In Sarıdünya, their houses are adjunct to

each other and they pay at least one visit to each other daily. In Samsun, they said, also they live close by. In my classification, Aunt Fatma is in the group of interested and committed villagers and Aunt Hatice is in the group of interested villagers, because Aunt Hatice is less informed about the population exchange when it was compared with Aunt Fatma who masters the details of the population exchange due to her regular visits to the population exchange association in Samsun. Moreover, Aunt Fatma is also much more nostalgic about the past of the village and the tobacco production than Aunt Hatice who did not spend so much time on tobacco fields or factories. However, both of the sisters share the idea that their village is much more clean, organized and civilized than the other surrounding villages.

When I examined the details of their life stories, it is remarkable that their childhood and early adult years are significantly different than each other. Aunt Hatice was the firstborn, whereas Aunt Fatma was the youngest one in the family. When Aunt Hatice was a kid, all the family was engaged in tobacco production heavily, she was the one who was responsible of her siblings and home making while the adults were on the tobacco field. In this respect, she did not spend a lot of shared time with the adults. However, Aunt Fatma was the youngest one and when she was the only kid after her older siblings married and she could spend much more time with her parents, especially with her father who was considerably older than their mother. When I asked how she learned the stories that she knows about the population exchange, she told me that she listened to the conversations between her mother and father, who both came to Sarıdünya when they were young kids, about their homeland, their old neighbors, and their lives in the homeland. Moreover, the illness of her father postponed Aunt Fatma's marriage for a few years and increased the time she spent with her family and gave her many more opportunities to listen to the conversations of her elders, whereas Aunt Hatice was already married with her own kids and living in another village.

Another similar example of siblings is the Mukhtar, who was born in 1975, and his older sister, Kadriye, who was born in 1970. Moreover, I also had an interview with their father, Grandpa Esref, who was born in 1930. In my

classification, the Mukhtar is in the group of interested and committed villagers, whereas Kadriye is in the group of conscious but indifferent villagers. Grandpa Esref is in the group of interested villagers. When I asked him if he ever wanted to visit the homeland, he replied very shortly and said, “Why would I visit there? Here is a village, there is also a village”. He was quite rigid and taciturn in his conversations with me but also with his grandchildren and even children. In this respect, when Kadriye told me that her father did not tell any stories about the population exchange and she could not ask questions about the subject even if she was curious, it was quite understandable for me. Moreover, I learned that their mother died when they were young kids and they were raised mainly by the parents of their mother, since Grandpa Eşref’s parents died also when he was a kid. However, the Mukhtar was the only son of the family who was born after four daughters, and Kadriye was the youngest of the daughters. Only the oldest daughter and the son among the siblings continued their education after graduating from the primary school in the village. Only the Mukhtar graduated from the high school in Bafra, whereas the other daughters first helped their father in the tobacco fields and then married. The Mukhtar could spend more time with his maternal grandparents while his sisters were helping out their father. During the interview with him, I asked how he knows all these details while his father was so taciturn about the population exchange at all:

Z: Not like that your grandfather told Grandpa Esref and then he told you, but you learned from grandfather directly

M: It is exactly how it happened. There is one other thing about my knowledge about the past. For instance my father was born in 1930. If we take into consideration that his father died when he was 8 or 10 years old, how well can a child know his father? The reason that I could not learn from my father is this. And also, not everybody is there. I mean, for example, there were people who came here when they were 30-40 years old, or older, and died here. For example, my late grandfather as I mentioned, used to say he wishes to go back to places that

he used to live. I witnessed how he regrets not to be able to see those places where he lived back in Greece, Thessaloniki. But he could not live long enough.¹⁰⁶

So, since he was the only son and the youngest child in the family, he could spend time with his grandparents who had many experiences about the homeland and the population exchange. During this time, he also witnessed their yearnings for the homeland, whereas his sister could not enjoy time with her grandparents mainly due to her gender. Moreover, since he could continue his education longer than Kadriye in Bafra, and later he worked in Bafra, he could experience the difference between the exchangee and non-exchangee characteristics in a stronger way than Kadriye could.

In this respect, I claim that especially two factors affect the adoption of the exchangee habitus for the villagers. The first factor is the amount of time an individual villager spends outside of the village as a part of her or his living or working arrangement. This time whether for work, education or job increases perceived difference of the exchangee habitus as the exchangees meet with non-exchangee people and open a space for the identification process as an exchangee. The second factor is the amount of time an individual spent with some family members or other people who were knowledgeable and prone to talk about the population exchange, especially in her or his formative years. In addition to these factors, even if I do not have the data directly on this, the gender of an individual is also an important element since it highly affects living arrangements, education, work prospects and the position in the household. Table 3 below visualizes the ideal typical relation between these two factors and the groups. When both of the factors are present in the lives of the villagers, they are more prone to be in the group of

¹⁰⁶ Z: Belki babası yani senin deden Eşref dedeye anlatmıştır, Eşref dede sana anlatmıştır gibi değil de sen doğrudan kendi dedenden öğrenmişsin yani.

M: Aynen öyle oldu bir de şöyle bir şey var yani geçmişe dönük öğrenmede. Örneğin babam 1930 doğumlu yani babasının sekiz-on yaşında öldüğünü düşünürsek yani sekiz-dokuz yaşındaki bir çocuk babasını ne kadar tanır? Babamdan öğrenmememin sebebi bu, ha bir de herkes bu konumda şey değil nasıldır örneğin otuz-kırk yaşında daha yaşlı olup memleketten gelip de burada ölenler vardı. ... Örneğin bahsettiğim rahmetli dedem derdi ki keşke gidip de yaşadığım yerleri bir görebilseydim derdi. Geçmişe dönük Yunanistan'da, Selanik'e gidip de yaşadığımız yerleri bir görebilseydim diye çok hayıflandığını bilirim ama ömrü yetmedi.

interested and committed villagers. When both of the factors are mainly lacking for the villagers, they are more prone to be in the group of the conscious but indifferent villagers. The members of interested villagers group are distributed between these two ends of the scale.

Table 3: Relations between the groups of villagers and factors affecting it: villagers' living and working arrangements and time spent on talking and discussing about the past.

Time Spent on Past		
Living/Working Arrangements outside of the Village	Yes	No
Yes	Committed Villagers	-
No	-	Conscious but Indifferent Villagers

Moreover, I claim that the economic transformation in the tobacco sector, with the help of the other factors, made the village life less important, changed and to some degree ceased transmission of the social memory of the population exchange and the homeland among generations. This also means a change in the exchangee habitus. As I have showed on the former chapter of the analysis, the exchangees, especially the first and second generation of exchangees learned about their homeland and the population exchange from stories and memories of their family elders during the daily practices of the village life, which were mostly shaped around the tobacco production. However, after the privatization in the tobacco sector and taking their retirement in different jobs in this sector, the villagers stopped tobacco production. The main activity that gathered different generations of a household together ceased and the knowledge that the stories convey became useless, since they were all shaped around an active agricultural

life. Moreover, the number of the people who can talk about the homeland also decreased with the passing years. In addition to this, the increasing connection between the village and the outer world, first with the radios, then TV, and finally the PCs and the Internet, started to intervene in the village life. The stories that the grandparents tell became less explanatory, useful and interesting, when they are compared with the sea of information that the Internet can provide or the TV series on teenagers' lives from Istanbul. The statements of Uncle Kadri who is a retired teacher about how he learned about the population exchange and his grandkids' lack of curiosity about it summarizes the situation for many villagers:

Z: Was it you who were more curious or was it them telling you? How was it happening, what kind of environment was it told?

K: Let me tell you like this. You know, there are televisions in houses, there are radios. There is something on the radio, there are programs, you listen all together, you watch them. There was not such a thing at home back then. We used to listen to what our elders told us, we grew up with them, with those words, those sayings, with those bitter memories. Now, I tell myself, "If I become a military officer, I will not let anyone Bulgarian, if I have the chance" because we were raised with such anger.

Z: Do you tell your grandchildren?

K: Without knowledge, there is no listening... I have two grandchildren who have graduated from universities. Maybe one day I told them about this subject, they listened. They asked few questions, that's all. One of them is an industrial engineer, other is a chemical engineer but we did not speak about such topic.

Z: Do they call themselves exchangees?

K: No. ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Z:Peki siz mi daha çok merak ediyordunuz, onlar mı anlatıyorlardı? Nasıl oluyordu, nasıl bir ortamda konuşuluyordu?

K:Şimdi sana şöyle diyeyim, hani şimdi evlerde televizyon var, radyo var, bir şeyler var radyoda programlar yapılıyor topluca izliyorsun, dinliyorsun. O zaman bu yok evde, büyüklerin anlattıklarını dinliyorduk hep, onlarla büyüdük, o sözlerle büyüdük biz, o acı hatıralarla büyüdük. Şimdi ben kendim diyordum ki "ben eğer subay olursam, Bulgarlar'dan bir kişiye fırsat vermem elime geçerse" o hırsla yetiştik çünkü...

Z:Siz torunlarınıza anlatıyor musunuz peki?

K:Bilgi olmadan, dinleme olmuyor...Benim iki tane üniversite bitirmiş torunum var. Belki de bir gün onlara bu konuyu anlatmışımdır, dinlemişlerdir. Bir kaç soru sordular o kadar. Birisi endüstri mühendisi birisi kimya mühendisi çocukların ama böyle bir konu konuşmadık biz.

So, according to this excerpt, the way of transferring the social memory about the population exchange and everything related with it, is not operative any more in the exchangee habitus in the way that it was for first and second generations of exchangees. Since he and his grandchildren did not share the practices of the village life without the effects of outside disturbances, since the social memory did not make a sense of practice for the grandkids, these memories were only the stories without any relation with the daily life. In the daily lives of his grandkids, these stories are not consolidated into the activities or the skills which are social capital as it should be in the habitus (Bourdieu, 2003). So, they do not serve any purpose, they do not provide any guidance as Schudson (1997) describes the social memory. When the grandkids also lack any interest about the population exchange, the stories remained untold and forgotten and the kids do not identify them as exchangees.

However, some villagers find other ways to share these memories with their kids and grandkids besides the activities around the tobacco production. These ways are also compatible with the new technologies which are gaining importance for the younger villagers every passing day. Especially interested and committed villagers are the ones who could do this, as I have shown above. They can share their interest and curiosity about the homeland and the population exchange with their kids and grandkids with the help of different kind of media other than the personal stories and memories which were mainly told around the daily activities. The books, the Internet resources, especially those by the related associations, the activities which were organized by these associations both in Samsun and İstanbul, TV shows like *Elveda Rumeli*¹⁰⁸, Farewell to Rumelia (2007-2010), or movies like

Z:Peki onlar mesela biz mübadiliz demiyorlar mı?

K:Hayır.

¹⁰⁸ Elveda Rumeli was the popular series about a Muslim family who lived in Macedonia around 1890s. After all the conflicts in the Balkans, the family had to leave their village for Turkey. (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1173202/>)

*Dedemin İnsanları*¹⁰⁹, My Grandpa's People, (2011) the celebrations for Republican Day¹¹⁰, dances, folk songs and specials from the exchangee cuisine all turn to be the new carriers of the social memory of exchangees and exchangee identity rather than the daily activities buried in daily life.

In this respect, the exchangee habitus transforms with the agency of the interested and committed villagers. They replace the old practices which were the main frame for the exchangee habitus with new ones. The exchangee habitus which was once very dependent on the daily practices around the tobacco production adopts the other practices and ways of socialization with the changing structural conditions. It can be said that its importance in the daily lives of the villagers decreases, but the symbolic capital that it carries such as being clean, civilized and tidy is circulated much more and gains importance for the villagers in various domains in the lives of the villagers, especially when they encounter non-exchangee people.

Moreover, the transformation in the exchangee habitus is a result of and also resulted from the change in the villagers' relation with social memory of the population exchange. This change can be understood with Assmann's differentiation among communicative memory and cultural memory (2008, 2011). He suggests that the communicative memory which can be defined as the stories and memories about the past events of a group is confined to change nearly after three generations. In this case, it can only span through three generations with the help of the daily practices, since "a change of frames brings about forgetting" (2008; 111). According to him, there are two options for the communicative memory. It will be forgotten or it will be turned into cultural memory which is the social memory in the more organized and institutionalized ways, as Assmann puts it (2008, 2011). In this respect, social memory of the population exchange, which has

¹⁰⁹ A movie by Çağan Irmak. It is about the relation between an exchangee grandpa and his grandkid. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2150209/>

¹¹⁰ These celebrations have been very special for the exchangees of Bafra since the population exchange. On every Republican Day, they gather in Bafra and celebrate the occasion with dances and songs from the homeland. As far as I know, this is the only unofficial celebration of the Republican Day in Turkey.

been under tremendous change in terms of practices and frameworks due the abandonment of tobacco production, is in the junction. It will resolve as the communicative memory or it will be cultural memory and this transformation will be realized by the practices and the reflections of the individual villagers on the social memory. The conscious but indifferent villagers, due to their uninterested attitudes towards the social memory of the population exchange and being an exchangee in general, their social memory about the population exchange will remain as communicative memory in Assmann's terms and soon will be forgotten. However, for the interested and committed villagers who could transfer the social memory into the other domains of their lives after tobacco production, the social memory of the population exchange will turn to be cultural memory with the help of new media and new frames. According to the same logic, the practices of the interested villagers group will resolve into one of these two ways with passing time.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have deepened the analysis of the exchangee habitus by differentiating the villagers according to the degrees of adopting the exchangee habitus. First, I define three groups among the villagers which are conscious but indifferent villagers, interested villagers and interested and committed villagers. Then, I provide detailed accounts for every group of villagers. As a result, I claim that there are two important factors that are affecting the individual villagers' interest and activities within the exchangee habitus. The first one is the villagers' living and working arrangements outside of the village which increase their encounters with non-exchangees. The second one is the villagers' time spent with the people who are knowledgeable and willing to talk about the population exchange which strengthens their relations with the social memory of the population exchange. When a villager lives or works outside of the village and when her or his time, that s/he spent on talking and discussing about the population exchange increases, her or his interest and activities within the exchangee habitus increase. The living arrangements contribute to the exchangee habitus by highlighting the boundaries between the exchangees and non-exchangees. This is in accordance with Barth (1969), who claims boundary making for a group is a

process of exclusion and inclusion, thus defining the insiders and outsiders, us and the others. So, rather than the cultural stuff which seems to characterize a group, the boundaries between the group and the others which were built during the daily encounters and interactions are the true denominators of a group. The time with people who are already into the social memory makes the social memory as a second nature, as Bourdieu (2003) claims. The stories become the parts of habitus as the guides for practices, behavior and thoughts. With these mechanisms, the social memory diffuses into daily life as much as it provides the continuity of the group. This is also why Schwartz (2000) names his conceptualization of memory as “memory as a cultural system”. According to him, social memory diffuses into daily life and mediates meaning. It connects past events and present events, becomes meaning making apparatus for the group, and contributes to its continuity (Schwartz, 2000). Finally, I discuss how the exchangee habitus adopts the structural changes and the future possibilities for the social memory of the population exchange, in this case with the help of grouping. I claim that with the abandonment of the tobacco production the exchangee habitus underwent a huge transformation and its center point shifted to the other domains of daily lives of the villagers. I also claim that by employing Assmann’s (2008, 2011) argument about the differentiation between communicative and cultural memory, the conscious but indifferent villagers’ social memory mostly remains as the communicative memory and will be forgotten, whereas the social memory of the interested and committed villagers will turn to cultural memory due to the new practices that they adopt through their exchangee habitus.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation basically tries to describe and explain the change in the habitus of the people who descend from a group of immigrants, by focusing on the dynamics which are result of relation between the past and present of the villagers and also the structural factors and the villagers' preferences. To understand these dynamics, I have constructed a methodological and conceptual framework which takes shape mainly around Bourdieuan conceptualization of the social world. Then, I employ this framework to scrutinize the case of Sarıdünya village in Bafra, Samsun which provides an environment to see the interplay among many different macro and micro factors and how people perceive and act on these factors. The reason why this village and its people can be a nexus for diverse factors is that the villagers were settled in Sarıdünya as a result of Greek-Turkish population exchange that took place in 1923-1924.

The Greek-Turkish population exchange was administered according to the Lausanne Peace Treaty. According to this, both Greece and Turkey agreed to exchange minority populations compulsorily with the encouragement of international actors. While Turkey received nearly four hundred thousand Muslims from Greece, Greece received over one million people from Turkey with the ones who had to flee from Turkey during the clashes between Turkish and Greek forces. Muslims of the Thrace and Greek-Orthodox population of İstanbul were excluded from the population exchange.

The population of the village where I conducted my field research was among the exchangees who had to come to Turkey in 1924. Before the population exchange, the villagers had lived in a village called Mikropolis in Drama prefecture of Greece today. They had been engaged in tobacco production. After a hard and long travel from their old village, the villagers were brought to Samsun port, since the administrative officials though that they could adapt there more easily because of the similarities between Drama and Samsun especially in terms of the tobacco

production. However, the villagers who were first offered to stay in center city, wanted to settle in a village and choose Sarıdünya which was already emptied by its Greek tobacco producer dwellers. Turkish state that did not let the other groups settle together and choose their settlement place, let these villagers settle in Sarıdünya, according to the villagers' accounts. At this point, it should be emphasized that the villagers were not settled with a top down decision, but their demands about settlement matched with that of the state which wanted the exchangees to be productive as soon as possible. In this respect, they could exert their agency within some limitations. This point is also important, since it present an example how this study conceptualize the agency structure dilemma by accepting the agency of the actors within some structural limitations with the conceptualization of habitus.

After settlement in Sarıdünya, they continued producing tobacco. By the time of the Second World War, all of the villagers completely settled in Sarıdünya and cultivated tobacco on their own lands. The state monopoly in tobacco sector, TEKEL also expanded its activities and supported the tobacco producers in many ways. This expansion in the activities of TEKEL also overlapped with a new development leap in Turkey which aimed to protect and support the national industries from the competition with the foreign companies. In line with this policy, in order to increase the internal demand for the national industries and improve the living conditions in rural areas, the tobacco prices and quantities that were bought were increased. Moreover, in the same period the migration to urban areas for better job opportunities from Sarıdünya gained importance for the villagers. Most of the villagers found jobs in the tobacco factories of TEKEL which had all the rights to buy, to process and to sell all tobacco yield of Turkey in the national and international markets. The villagers, who migrated to big cities, did not lose contact with their village and continued to visit there especially during their vacations. Until the early 1990s, the villagers' lives revolved around the tobacco whether in the tobacco fields or tobacco factories. After this, as a result of the change in the economy policies in Turkey, the state role in the economic domain decreases sharply and TEKEL was also part of this picture. The minimum price policy was

stopped, the amount of tobacco that TEKEL bought decreased, other support mechanisms were abolished and the workers in the factories were encouraged for early retirement. After their retirement during the 1990s and early 2000s, the villagers who once migrated to big cities, returned to Sarıdünya especially to spend the summers over there, while their kids stayed in the cities. After TEKEL's complete privatization in 2008, many villagers stopped tobacco producing mainly due to increasing cost and decreasing prices. The last household, who still harvested tobacco, stopped it in 2010. Today, many of the villagers have their pensions as workers or tobacco producers and the younger generation mainly has jobs out of the village.

I employed an interpretative methodological approach to have a holistic picture of villagers' lives. During the field research and analyzing the data that I collected in the field research, I adopted critical realist approach. I conducted a field research which gave me opportunity to access daily lives of the villagers. In this semi-ethnographic field research, I spent forty days with intervals during the summer of 2011. To learn about memories of population exchange, the life histories of the villagers, the transformation of the village through the decades since the population exchange, I had semi-structured in depth interviews with sixty two villagers. I also joined the daily activities of them as a participant observant. Moreover, I try to get knowledge about the village from well informed informants who were willing to share their knowledge with me.

Within this context, I wanted to know how the villagers remember the population exchange through the memories of their parents and grandparents and how they build a relation between their past and themselves within their daily life. After intense literature review, in-depth examination of my data and employing the concept of habitus by Pierre Bourdieu for explaining the case, my research questions evolved into these ones: what are the specificities of the exchangee habitus? What kind of practices, experiences and perceptions does this habitus have? Which objective conditions and subjective perceptions are involved in this habitus especially through the social memory of the population exchange and tobacco production? Or in more theoretically speaking; how the habitus, social memory and

identification processes are related with each other through the daily practices of the villagers? And finally, how does the exchange habitus respond with changing conditions and in turn how does this affect the memory practices and identification processes?

The metatheory of Pierre Bourdieu and his fundamental concept habitus seemed to be the most appropriate one to draw the line between the daily activities of the villagers and their conception of the population exchange, while also linking the macro structures around the village such as state formation and economy policies and daily practices like tobacco stringing or gossiping about the neighboring villagers. Moreover, it provides enough space and flexibility with some interventions for other important concepts to understand the case, like social memory and identification. I first integrate Bourdieu's metatheory with critical realism to give it a sound ontological base to make it more open and less deterministic by referring Vandenberghe (1999). With this, it became possible to see the relation between habitus and field which gives habitus dynamism. For the second intervention in the operation of habitus, I refer to Lane (2006) who claims that Bourdieu uses habitus as a way of structural determination. Lane (2006) suggests using habitus as a mediating concept among different fields and subfields. He wants to redefine the relationship of homology between field and habitus, by redefining the concept of habitus. The homology between field and habitus should be statistical correlation rather than a law of causal determination. Lane insists on having more contingent and constructed nature of values in habitus by emphasizing the margin of uncertainty between the objective positions of agents and the subjective presentation of positions and between the social world and representation of the social world. Lane (2006) criticizes Bourdieu for evaluating position and position taking as 'two translation of the same phrase' by referring Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992). In this respect, my intervention to Bourdieu's definition of habitus by following Lane (2006) will be in the forms of emphasizing or showing the possibility of a more flexible definition of habitus and the relationship between habitus and field by adding it to the dimension of time or historicity. Bourdieu's later clarifications on habitus let such an intervention:

Habitus change constantly as a function of new experiences. Dispositions are subject to a sort of permanent revision, but one that is never radical, given that it operates on the basis of premises instituted in the previous state. They are characterized by a combination of constancy and variation that fluctuates according to the individual and her degree of rigidity or flexibility (2000:161).

This later clarification has two important points to draw attention. First, it is habitus in plural form, so habitus seem not unitary, fixed, or static. Second, habitus is under constant change rather than being fixed, essential or static. As Bourdieu puts it clearly, it is “the product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal!” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; 133). So, the process of translation between field and habitus cannot be understood as “two translations of the same phrase” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992c: 105). If I use the metaphor of translation again, we cannot assume that we have two independent and fixed languages, i.e. language of habitus and field, language of position takings and positions. The “dictionaries” of these languages which are the base for translation are durable, but not stagnant. With every new experience, new “phrases” are added to these dictionaries or some of them are forgotten.

Another vital theoretical concept of the study is social memory because of that the very existence of exchangee villagers of Sarıdünya is highly related with the event of the compulsory population exchange and its memory which is passed from generation to generation in different ways with different focuses. The narrative about the population exchange functions as a story which connects the villagers with their ancestors and their homeland and it affects the villagers’ practices and thoughts. In this respect, social memory’s content and its relation with habitus and its functions are very important while investigating the relations in order to understand the case.

Among the different approaches to social memory, I have found the dynamics of memory approach very compatible with the perspective I try to develop for this study. The biggest advantage of the dynamics of memory approach is that it does not conceptualize memory completely from above or below, but it

defines memory as a process of negotiation. Dynamics of memory approach also concentrates on the complex relation between past and present in the process of shaping social memory. Agents have different capabilities and powers to shape it. Available materials and repertoires are not limitless but they are bounded with objective conditions (Miztal, 2003). Past is a matter of negotiation among the agents with different interests and capabilities. It cannot be conceptualized completely from above or below. Schudson (1997) emphasizes that the actors, even the ones who seem very powerful in the manipulating the relation between past and present, have the limits to rewrite to the past as they wish. To illustrate this point, he refers to Marx and concludes: “People do indeed rewrite the texts of history. But they do not choose which texts to work on” (Schudson, 1997; 15).

For this reason, the act of recollection of memories gains importance as a relation with past. The recollection of the past materializes in the narratization, which means “telling a story about past and telling a story about past relation to present” (70). The ways the past endures in the present such as psychological, social, linguistic and political processes, are the main issues of the approach. However, since the conditions and priorities of the interpretation of the past in the present change, the interpretation and representation of the past is also not stable but changeable. Social memory turns a version of past embodied in both historical evidence and commemorative symbolism. It becomes a “cultural program that orients our intentions, set our moods and enables us to act” (Miztal, 2003:72). According to Schwartz (2000), social memory can be understood as cultural system within this approach, since it is diffused into the practices, reflections, behaviors and acts. It is in the everyday life of the agents, thus it is in the habitus. With the mechanisms of daily life, the social memory diffuses into daily life as much as it provides the continuity of the group as a cultural framework. According to him, social memory mediates meaning. It connects past events and present events, becomes meaning making apparatus for the group, and contributes to its continuity (Schwartz, 2000). The past is remembered because it helps the people make sense of today (Schudson, 1997).

I also employed Assmann's (2011) differentiation between communicative memory and cultural memory to understand the future possibilities of the social memory of population exchange. He suggests that the communicative memory which can be defined as the stories and memories about the past events of group is confined to change nearly after three generations. In this case, it can only span through three generations with the help of the daily practices, since "a change of frames brings about forgetting" (2008; 111). Other option for the communicative memory is to become cultural memory which is the social memory in the more organized and institutionalized ways as Assmann puts it (2008, 2011). Such a change also brings a transformation of the exchangee habitus and its relation with the exchangee past.

The third concept of the study is the identification which derives from Hall's (1992) definition of identity. According to him, identities are the stitches which connect the agents with the multiplicities of historicity and sociality. They are the meanings which the agents give to their positions in the social world. The narratives and practices around the identities, and the identities they are in relation with, are also products of power relations in a specific society, and they have always the traces of historicity. Moreover, since the identities are constructed through difference, the competition among narratives can turn out to be exclusion, othering and border drawing at different levels (Hall, 1992; 1996). At this point, I have turn to concept identification rather than identity, since the first, as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) define, focuses more on the process itself, its articulation and construction, with more emphasis on historicity and dynamics of the social.

To have a better understanding identification process and boundary making, I employ the conceptualization of Barth (1969) which accepts the group boundaries as the denominator of the groups, rather than the cultural content they have. In this respect, Barth (1969) claims that boundary making, which takes place in everyday encounters, is a process of exclusion and inclusion, thus defining the insiders and outsiders, us and the others. When this claim overlaps with the claim of that groups' characteristics also organize the people's interaction in daily life with themselves or the others (Barth, 1969;11), then the daily life interactions, relations

and descriptions turn to be sites to look after for hints of identification processes which are also processes of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, Barth's focus on the boundaries as the points of collusion of differences is also a valuable extension both for Hall's description of identification that emphasizes a construction through the differences and also Bourdieu's approach to the social world which is built on symbolic distinctions.

At this point, I can relate all three concepts together. I argue that the impacts of the social world and the power relations on the identification processes establish a ground for using the concepts of habitus and social memory to explain the identification processes. I claim that habitus provides and explains the working of a social universe in which the agents collectively draw the maps of possible locations for identity formations. Moreover, it provides the basic knowledge of shared daily life, practical sense of togetherness, the distinctions between different groups and cosmology that explains the existence of the group. In addition, the social memory also comes into the stage during the identification, especially the process of narratization which can be seen as telling a story about the group's past, its relation to the group's present. Social memory provides a repertoire for possible actions and cases in which people refer as models. Moreover, the dynamic workings of habitus and social memory also contribute the dynamism of identification process since they are both open to change within in the limits of specific historical periods and material conditions. If I adopt the metaphor of a map, the habitus is a very slowly flowing map that shows the locations of time and space which are available to the agents to act upon. The remnants of social memory in this social universe work both as shortcuts among different locations of time and space and a tool to move in this universe. Within this picture, the identification process can be seen as the representations and the practices that originate from this social universe. More precisely, it is a representation of the coordinates which host the important crystallization points within and around the social universe.

My main argument in this dissertation is that the cyclical relationship among the concepts of habitus, social memory and identification process creates a specific habitus which I call this habitus exchangee habitus. The continuous

relationship among these three concepts is the key to the exchangee habitus. All the concepts in this case amplify each other and this constitutes a loop which is imperfect, since all of these concepts are open to the influences from outside and each other. This imperfection is the source for the change in the model. I called it exchangee habitus because it functions as a habitus, it can be seen in the daily practices, bodily dispositions. It also makes visible the social memory, identification processes and their effects on these practices. These two domains, i.e. the social memory of population exchange and homeland and the identification processes which occur during the exchangees' daily encounters with non-exchangee people give the exchangee character to the habitus and turn it to the exchangee habitus. In this respect, the exchangee habitus is operationalization of the loop among those three concepts. The conceptualization of the exchangee habitus includes the habitus, social memory, identification processes, their two-ways relations with each other and finally their two-ways relations with the structural factors such as the population exchange, transformation in the tobacco market and rural-urban migration.

Within this theoretical framework, to find answers for the research questions I define three important and related aspects of the exchangee habitus, namely remembering the past and the homeland, engaging in tobacco production for a very long time and claiming to be more civilized and orderly than other people in certain ways. This is also an operationalization of the theoretical construction of the loop among concepts of habitus, social memory and identification processes. The loop is the exchangee habitus. The different aspects of the exchangee habitus are all connected to each other and they shape each other in a dynamic way. The past is not only stories and narratives about the common homeland, but also a guide for tobacco production and a resource for differentiation from the other villages around Sarıdünya. The tobacco production is not only the main economic activity in the village but also media which the exchangees can show their difference. Moreover, it also provides practices that connect the past and present. The characteristics of the villagers which they think they have are not only differences but also a unifying narrative for villagers which shows their interest as well as the

symbols of their past. So, remembering the past, tobacco production and the claim to be different are all in loop to shape each other and are shaped by each other. However, as well as each aspect is changing, the loop or the exchangee habitus also changes. I have examined these three aspects of village life by showing what the villagers remember about the population exchange and how they remember it, the changing dominance of the tobacco production in village's economic life and its importance in the social life of the villagers, how villagers perceive themselves different from other people and how this affects their relations.

Then, I deepened analysis of the exchangee habitus by grouping the villagers according to their involvement in the exchangee habitus and explained how and why people differ among these groups. According to this grouping, there are three groups among the villagers. The first one is the conscious but indifferent villagers. They know that they are exchangees, but for them the past is not important and they do not relate the past events with daily events of today. They do not ascribe any different meaning to tobacco production other than being the most important economic activity of the villagers for a long time. Moreover, according to them, the differences of the village and the villagers than the non-exchangees are not important for them. In this respect, the conscious but indifferent villagers are the ones who reflect the effects of the exchangee habitus at the minimum level when it is compared with the other villagers. The second group is the interested villagers. They know the stories and the memories about the population exchange and the homeland and moreover, they think the social memory is important for them both practically and symbolically. They perceive tobacco production as a continuation of their traditions that they brought from the homeland and they see tobacco production as an important part of being an exchangee. They claim their difference than the non-exchangee people by emphasizing that they are more civil, cleaner and tidy because of their exchangee roots. The third group is the committed villagers. They share the many characteristics with the interested villagers. In addition, they also add new practices to their daily lives to support their exchangee roots. They transmit these remembrances to the next generations with the help of new available media and keenly seek new information about the population

exchange through the new sources. Thus, they are the group that I can observe the most obvious effects of the exchangee habitus.

The detailed examination of the groups reveals that there are two main factors that affect the villagers' involvement in the exchangee habitus. The first factor is the villagers' living and working arrangements outside of the village. If an individual villager lives or works outside of the village for a time, this increases her or his encounters with non-exchangees. The living arrangements contribute to the exchangee habitus by highlighting the boundaries between the exchangees and non-exchangees. This is in accordance with Barth (1969) who claims boundary making for a group is a process of exclusion and inclusion, thus defining the insiders and outsiders, us and the others. So, rather than the cultural stuff which seems to characterize a group, the boundaries between the group and the others which were built during the daily encounters and interactions are the true denominators of a group. Second one is villagers' time spent with the people who are knowledgeable and willing to talk about the population exchange which strengthens their relations with the social memory of the population exchange. When a villager lives or works outside of the village and when her or his time, that s/he spent on talking and discussing about the population exchange increases, her or his interest and activities within the exchangee habitus increase. The time with people who are already into the social memory makes the social memory as a second nature as Bourdieu (2003) claims. The stories become the parts of habitus as the guides for practices, behavior and thoughts. With these mechanisms, the social memory diffuses into daily life as much as it provides the continuity of the group. This is also why Schwartz (2000) names his conceptualization of memory as "memory as a cultural system". According to him, social memory diffuses into daily life and mediate meaning. It connects past events and present events, becomes meaning making apparatus for the group, and contributes to its continuity (Schwartz, 2000).

Finally, I show how the structural changes reflect on the exchangee habitus and how the exchangee habitus reacts to these structural changes. I argue when the tobacco production in the village lost its importance in the daily lives of the villagers, the exchangee habitus changed drastically. I also argue that the

differentiation between communicative and cultural memory takes place at this point (Assmann, 2011). The conscious but indifferent villagers' social memory mostly remains at the level of communicative memory and will be forgotten, whereas the social memory of the interested and committed villagers will be turned to cultural memory due to the new practices that they adopt through their exchange habitus.

At this point, I want to put the main findings of the study one by one again. First, there is an exchange habitus which operates as a framework for the thoughts and practices of the exchange villagers. The exchange habitus is the result of the dynamic relations among the social memory of the population exchange, tobacco production which continued for long time and the perceived differences which arose as a result of daily encounters with the non-exchange people.

The second finding is that the exchange habitus is durable, but not static. It underwent transformation with the changing structural factors. Daily life's function as a nest for the exchange habitus changes, when the labor intensive and time consuming chores, which were shared by members of different generations, were abandoned. The extent of the dynamism of the exchange habitus can be seen with the help of the differentiation among the villagers. The villagers in different groups approach the change differently and adopt it differently. I claim that the conscious but indifferent villagers will soon forget or choose not to transmit the exchange habitus to the next generation. But the committed villagers will adopt new ways in transmitting the knowledge about the population exchange and homeland to the following generations. The interested villagers will go one of these directions. The importance of the tobacco production for the villagers should also be emphasized at this point. When the state sponsored tobacco production was over in the village, the villagers did not only lose their main economic activity, but they lost a set of activities and relationships among each other which made them a close knit community. The tobacco production was an anchor that stabilized the villagers on their land as exchangees, since it is also a strong link between the villagers' past and present.

The third finding is about the reasons behind the different ways of adoption of the change in the exchangee habitus by the villagers. The analysis shows that the importance of the exchangee habitus in villagers' lives varies with two main factors. One is the time the villagers spent with someone who was knowledgeable and willing to talk about the population exchange and the homeland. When the time that the villagers spent with other people who were curious and talkative about the population exchange, mostly close family elders such as grandparents, especially during the formative years of the villagers, increases; such a close relationship makes the people grow with the stories and the memories of the homeland and being an exchangee was inscribed in them. The other factor is the villagers' living and working arrangements outside of the village. When the villagers live or work outside of the village and have more opportunities to meet and socialize with non-exchangee people, their differences as exchangees become more visible both for themselves and also for non-exchangee people and this visibility strengthens exchangee identification. So, these two factors are important, because they affect the interest of the individual villager into the exchangee habitus.

This last finding of the dissertation is about the future transformation of social memory of the population exchange and exchangee habitus. I claim that the social memory of the population exchange which is mainly in the form of communicative memory until now, has two possibilities. The first possibility is that some of the villagers, who do not have a contact with the population exchange with the help of new ways, will forget the stories and memories which they were not very interested in at all. Their kids and grandkids will not have the chance to listen about the population exchange and the homeland from them. So for these people, the exchangee past will be very small part of who they are. This is the case for the conscious but indifferent villagers. The second possibility is that the change in the exchangee habitus will bring new ways to remember the stories and memories of the population exchange and the past will be remembered as a cultural memory in a more institutionalized way. This is the case for committed villagers.

These four findings of the study are important in many ways. First one is the theoretical importance of the study. With a revealing case, the study brings the

working of habitus with social memory and identification processes to light. The concepts of social memory and identification processes are employed to show their contributions to the working of habitus, thus turning it to exchangee habitus. Moreover, these concepts carry different ways of interactions into the habitus and make it multidimensional and less deterministic. These three concepts and their interrelatedness can reveal both subjective experiences of the villagers with their daily life practices, and also the reflections of structural factors such as the population exchange, transformation of tobacco sector or rural migration to the urban centers. In this respect, my analysis can be understood as a structuralist account or on the contrary it can be evaluated as a subjectivist account. This is the reason why I employed habitus as the main concept of the dissertation. This swing between the structure and the agent, which I believe to be very important for this case, can be captured with habitus.

The second importance of the study comes from the case that it explores. The studies about the Greco-Turkish population exchange in Turkey mostly focus on its historical or political implications without paying much attention to the experiences of the exchangees. Moreover, when they explore about the experiences of the exchangees, they focus on mainly the exchangees who settled in big cities especially in and around İstanbul and İzmir. In this respect, this study stands out, since it try to understand the daily lives practices and experiences of the exchangees who live in a rural area in the Black Sea region which is not known its exchangee population. Moreover, it is different than many of the studies in the field which examine the population exchange only as a population homogenization tool but not an experience that the real people underwent. In this respect, this examination also aims to understand the agency of the exchangees and the ways that they perform their agency under the effects of structural factors. To explore and explain the lives of exchangees, that the study presents a very detailed picture of the exchangee life makes it an original and important one, especially among the literature about the population exchange. It is not a classical monograph; however, it focuses a broader scope around the three key concepts. Moreover, it provides a different angle to see

the continuous transformation of Turkey with an emphasis on exchangees whose main economic activity was tobacco production.

Another importance of the study is that it opens the way for the new studies on the population exchange and experiences of the exchangees. This study describes many characteristics of the exchangee life, however due to constraint of a dissertation; it cannot explore and explain every aspects of it. Especially two of these aspects stand out as important topics of future studies. The one is that the relationship among gender, rural transformation and exchangee identity. In this study, I have this topic as a part of the exchangee habitus; however, another study which is supported by rural transformation literature and gender studies literature can shed light many understudied aspects of this relationship in this study. Another topic is the perceptions of the exchangees on the state and nationalism. Such an exploration will be valuable in understanding how the Turkish state formation process which also initiated the population exchange was perceived by the exchangees and how this perception changed since the population exchange.

These topics also signify the limitations of the study. This study has two main limitations. Due to time and budgetary limitations, during the field research I could not conduct in-depth interviews with non-exchangee people who have close relationships with the exchangee people, such as neighbors or co-workers. Those interviews could deepen the understanding on the relations between exchangees and non-exchangees and provide a better picture dynamics of identification processes. Moreover, I also could not conduct interviews or spend more time with the younger villagers during the field research. These missing interviews could show the position of the fourth generation exchangees in the exchangee habitus and thus shed light on the future of the exchangee habitus.

With all these limitations, this study should be seen as an endeavor to understand the exchangee experience, which is only one part of migration history in Turkey. However, its conclusions are far from being generalizable. In this respect, further research on other aspects of migration history of Turkey should be conducted in order to understand and evaluate not only the past, but also the present

in which we witness the people who have fled their countries due to unbearable conditions.

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APPENDICE

APPENDIX A: VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Karakılıç Dağdelen, İlhan Zeynep
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 27 September 1981, Giresun
Marital Status: Married
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU, Sociology	2007
BS	Gazi University, Economics	2003
High School	Giresun High School, Giresun	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2011-2013	Giresun University, Department of Sociology	Research Assistant
2010-2011	Artvin Çoruh University, Department of Sociology	Research Assistant
2007-2010	“The Analysis of the Change in the Transfer, Utilization, and Impact of Remittances: the Cases of Migration from Yağlıdere to New York and Unlupinar to London”, A Project by TÜBİTAK	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Beginner Greek

PUBLICATIONS

1. Karakılıç, İ.Z. “Transformation of Tarhana” (in Turkish), Amargi, December, (2012)
2. Karakılıç, İ.Z., A. Erdemir, G. Dağdelen “Economic (Ir) rationality and Investment Patterns of the Immigrants: the Case of the Immigrants of Yağlıdere in New York” (in Turkish). Journal of Sociological Research: 13(2): 144-182. (2010)

3. Karakılıç, İ.Z. “Reading Historical Sociology via Turkey, Conversation with Çağlar Keyder” (in Turkish) in Tarihsel Sosyoloji, edited by Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Ozdalga. 97-124. Ankara: Doğu- Batı Yayınevi. (2009)

APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY

TÜRKİYE’NİN KARADENİZ BÖLGESİ’NDEKİ BİR MÜBADİL KÖYÜNDE HABİTUSUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin kurucu metinlerinden biri olan Lozan Antlaşması öncesinde 30 Ocak 1923’te imzalanan “Türk ve Yunan Halklarının Mübadelesine İlişkin Sözleşme ve Protokol” ile, İstanbul haricinde, Türkiye topraklarında yaşayan Rum-Ortodoks nüfus ile Batı Trakya haricinde, Yunanistan’da yaşayan Müslüman-Türklerin zorunlu olarak değiş-tokuş edilmesi karara bağlandı ve bu karardan her iki ülkede yaklaşık bir buçuk milyon kişi etkilendi (Hirschon, 2005). Lozan Antlaşması’ndan sonra 1930’da imzalanan Ankara Antlaşması ile mübadillere ait taşınmazların değişimi sağlandı ve mübadillerin geri dönüşü yasaklanarak mübadele süreci hukuken tamamlanmış oldu (Yıldırım, 2006). Bu süreçte söz konusu insanlara gitmek ya da kalmak konusunda fikirleri sorulmadı, kalmak istediklerini beyan edenlerin istekleri dikkate alınmadı ve nüfus mübadelesi zorunlu kılındı (Yıldırım, 2006; Gökaçtı, 2005). Mübadiller Yunanistan’dan Türkiye’ye gemilerle taşındıktan sonra, Samsun’un da aralarında bulunduğu iskân mıntıklarına dağıtıldı (İpek, 2000) ve mübadillerin devletin sağladığı kısıtlı imkânlarla yeni bir hayata başlamaları beklendi.

Sarıdünyalı mübadiller de diğer mübadiller gibi Lozan Barış Antlaşması gereğince Türkiye’ye göç etmek zorunda kalmışlardı. Sarı Dünya köyüne yerleşen mübadiller de gelir gelmez tütün tarımına giriştiler, fakat ellerinde ne tarım aletleri ne de tohumları vardı. Tapulu arazileri olmasına rağmen, ilk yıllarda bu arazilerde tarım yapamayıp, Bafra’nın yerlisi olan daha büyük tütün üreticilerinin yanında ortakçı oldular. Bu süreç özellikle mübadeleden hemen sonraki on yıl içinde doğan mübadillerin belleklerinde çok eziyetli, yoksulluk içindeki zamanlar olarak yer etmiştir. Böyle hissetmelerindeki temel etken alıntıda da görüldüğü gibi geride bıraktıkları “memleket”lerindeki zenginlik ve bolluğun hatırasının çok yeni olmasıdır. Memleketlerinde de tütün tarımı ile uğraşmalarına rağmen, mübadiller büyüklerinden orada tütün yapmanın çok daha kolay olduğunu ve ürettikleri

tütünlere tüccarların “çil çil altın paralar saydığını” duyarak büyümüşlerdir. Ayrıca memleketlerinde herkes kendi tarlasında çalışırken, mübadeleden sonra “başkasının toprağında çalışmak”, “başkasına çalışmak” zorunda kalmışlardır. Aradan yıllar geçtikçe, öncelikle nüfusu daha kalabalık olan aileler -hem aldıkları toprak miktarı daha çok olduğu, hem de ortakçılık sırasında daha fazla kazanabildikleri için-, daha sonra da diğer köylüler kendi tütünlerini ekebildiler. 1940’ların ortalarından itibaren köylülerin ortakçılığa gitmedikleri söylenebilir. Aslında bu tarih 1941’den sonra tütün piyasasının kontrolünü tamamen devletin elinde toplayan TEKEL’in, tütün destekleme alımları yapmaya başladığı 1946 yılı ile keşismektedir. Bunu takip eden yıllarda köye açılan Tarım ve Kredi Kooperatifi ile de Sarı Dünya’lılar kimyasal gübre ya da tarım aleti gibi dışarıdan alınması pahalı girdilere daha kolay ulaşabilmeye başladılar. Artık köydeki aileler kendi evlerinde yerleşik hale gelmiş ve belli bir geçim seviyesine ulaşmış durumdaydılar. 1961’den sonra planlı döneme geçilmesi ve ithal ikameci kalkınma politikasının izlenmesi ile TEKEL’in destekleme alımları ve fiyat belirleme politikaları üreticiyi daha da destekler hale geldi. Bu sırada köydeki sosyal tabakalaşmayı önemli ölçüde etkileyecek olan büyük şehirlere göç de başladı. Toprakları, kalabalık nüfuslarını doyurmaya yetmeyen hanelerin üyeleri, büyük şehirlere yerleşmiş akraba ya da tanıdık mübadiller yoluyla büyük ölçekli işçi alımı yapan Maltepe ve Samsun sigara fabrikalarında işçi olarak çalışmaya başladı. Bazı aileler tüm fertleri ile birlikte göç ederken, bazıları geride daha yaşlı fertlerini bıraktı. Hiç göç vermeyen aileler ise evlilikler ve yeni kuşaklarla daha da kalabalıklaştı ve tütün tarlalarını işlemeye devam etti. Fabrikalarda işçi olan köylüler de, fabrikanın üretim yapmadığı yaz aylarını ya da tatillerini köyde kalan akrabalarına tütün işlerinde yardım ederek geçirdiler. Böylece köy ile bağlantıları kopmamış oldu. Fakat köylülerin bir kısmının göç etmesi bir kısmının ise köyde kalması ile köyde çiftçi/işçi, tam zamanlı/yarı zamanlı köylü ya da kışlıkçı/yazlıkçı olarak basitleştirilebilecek bir ayırım ortaya çıktı. 1946’dan 1980’lerin ortalarına kadar süren bu dönem, Sarıdünyalıların gerek tütün tarlalarında gerekse sigara fabrikalarında en faal oldukları dönemdir. Bugünden bakıp, o günleri anan köylüler özellikle yazları gece yarısına kadar iplere çoluk çocuk tütün dizildiğini; sabahın ilk ışıkları ile de

yeniden tütün toplamak için tarlaya gidildiğini; neredeyse uyumaya bile vaktin olmadığını; hem ne kadar çok yorulduklarını hem de çok çalışkan olduklarını vurgulayarak anlatıyorlar.

24 Ocak 1980 kararlarıyla, ekonominin dışa açılması, ithal ikameci sanayileşmenin ihracata yönelik büyümeye çevrilmesi ile TEKEL'in tütün piyasasındaki yeri de değişmeye başladı. Bu dönüşüme yönelik olası muahalefet kanalları da 12 Eylül 1980 darbesi ile tamamen kapatıldı. 1980'den önce tütün piyasasında TEKEL ile birlikte sınırlı sayıdaki tüccarlar faaliyet gösterebiliyordu. Fakat yerli üretim tamamen TEKEL'in kontrolündeydi. Bafra'da yaygın olan şark tipi tütün oldukça emek yoğun olduğu ve çoğunlukla aile işletmeleri tarafından üretildiği için köylüler, tütünlerini tüccara dahi satacak olsalar TEKEL yönergeleri dışında çıkmak düşünülemezdi. En başından itibaren TEKEL politikaları hükümetler tarafından hem kırsal bölgelerde metalaşmanın hem de bu bölgeleri kontrol altında tutmanın bir yolu olarak görüldü. Şark tipi emek yoğun tütün üretiminin yaygınlaştırılması, küçük üreticiliğin desteklenmesi ve piyasayı her yönüyle kontrol altına alma politikaları da bunun yansıması olarak okunmalıdır (Koç, 1991, 159). TEKEL'in kârlılığı bu yüzden devlet için çok önemli bir sorun değildi. Neoliberal ekonomi politikalarının etkin olduğu bir dönemde TEKEL'in bu anlayışla yönetilmesi imkansız hale gelmişti. Bu yüzden 1980'den itibaren destek alım fiyatları düşürüldü, yurt içinde yabancı sigara satışı serbestleşti ve 1983'te TEKEL kâr etmesi beklenen bir kamu iktisadi teşebbüsüne dönüştürüldü. 1991'de TEKEL dışında sigara üretimi, ithalatı ve satışı belli şartlarda serbest bırakıldı. 2001'de TEKEL içki ve sigara işletmeleri olarak ikiye ayrılıp, anonim şirkete dönüştürüldü ve Özelleştirme İdaresi tarafından satışa çıkartıldı (Özerman, 2009). Bu tarihten satıldığı 2008'e kadar tütün üretici sayısı, üretilen tütün miktarı ve çeşitli sigara fabrikalarında çalışan işçi sayısı azaldı. Karadeniz bölgesinde Türkiye ortalamasının da üzerinde bir düşüş yaşandı. 2002 yılında 58 bin olan üretici sayısı 13 bin civarına; 11 bin ton civarında olan tütün üretimi de 2 bin ton civarına geriledi. Samsun'daki tütün fabrikası 1997'de kapatıldı. Balıca Sigara Fabrikası da hem üretimini hem işçi sayısını düşürdü (Özerman, 2009; Erdoğan ve Akar, 2008). Tütün sektörünün daralması ile Bafra'daki ticaret ve tarım faaliyetleri diğer

ürünlere kaymaya başladı; fakat hiç biri tütün kadar emek yoğun olmadığı için Bafra'da işsizlik ve büyük şehirlere göç arttı. Özellikle 2001 ekonomik krizinden sonra Bafra'nın bir emekliler ve memurlar kentine dönüştüğü gözlemlendi (Bafra Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, 2007).

Bu sırada 1983'te kabul edilen Tarımda Kendi Adına ve Hesabına Çalışanlar Sosyal Sigortalar Kanunu yıllardır tütün tarımı ile uğraşan ve bunu TEKEL belgeleri ile kanıtlayabilen tütün üreticilerine kısa dönemde belli miktarlarda prim ödeyerek emekli olma ve düzenli bir maaşa sahip olma fırsatı tanıdı. Sarı Dünya'dan bir muhasebeci bu konuda tüm köylüleri bilgilendirerek, köylülerin bu sisteme erkenden dahil olmalarını ve çok kısa sürede emekli olmalarını sağladı. 1990'ların sonlarına gelindiğinde, köyde yaşı yeten herkes emekli olmuştu. Köylülerin anlatımına göre 2005 yılından sonra köyde herhangi bir şekilde düzenli geliri olmayan sadece bir kaç hane kalmıştı. Bu durum, tütün piyasasında şark tipi tütüne olan talep azalıp, TEKEL piyasadan çekildikçe ve fiyat düştükçe adını dahi ürettiği tütünün kalitesinden alan köy sakinlerinin tütün üretiminden tamamen vazgeçmesine yol açtı. Şu anda köyde hiçbir tarlada tütün üretilmiyor. Bazı köylüler az sayıdaki hayvanlarına bakıyor ya da tarlalarında buğday ve ayçiçeği yetiştiriyorlar. Köy ise yazın büyük şehirlerdeki köylülerin tatilini geçirdiği, kışın ise çoğunlukla yaşlıların kaldığı; evlerin büyük kısmının boşaldığı bir tatil köyüne dönüşmüş durumda. Tütün de hem ekonomik bir kaynak, hem de gündelik pratiklerin etrafında olduğu, dönüştüğü bir ürün olarak tüm köylülerin hayatından çıktı.

Bu çerçevede, bu tez de Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi sonucunda Samsun'un Bafra ilçesi Sarıdünya köyüne yerleşen mübadillerin, mübadeleden beri nasıl bir mübadil habitusu inşa ettiklerini ve bu inşada mübadil geçmişi, tütün üretimi ve kimliklenme süreçlerini nasıl kullandıklarına odaklanır. Bu tez ile; mübadillerin günlük hayattaki pratikleri, makro ekonomik politikalarının özellikle tütün üretimi üzerinden köy hayatına etkisi, köylülerin bu etkilere nasıl uyum sağladıkları ve köylülerin mübadil olmayan insanlarla günlük hayatlarındaki

karşılaşmalarını incelemek ve bu sayede mübadil habitusu içinde bir arada çalışan dinamikleri analiz etmek istedim.

Bu amaçla, köy sakinlerinin hayatının bütüncül bir resmini elde edebilmek için yorumlayıcı bir metodolojik yaklaşım kullandım. Alan araştırması sırasında topladığım verileri de eleştirel gerçekçi bir yaklaşım ile yorumladım. Alan çalışmasını Haziran 2011 ile Eylül 2011 arasında Samsun, Bafra, Sarıdünya köyünde nitel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılarak gerçekleştirdim. Köyde 2011 yazı boyunca toplam 40 gün geçirdim ve bir hafta ile on beş gün arasında değişen sürelerde, beni misafir etmesine müteşekkür olduğum, köylülerden birinin evinde kaldım. Bafra ilçe merkezine 5 km mesafede olan köyde -100 tanesi mübadil ailelerin yaşadığı- toplam 110 hane bulunuyor. Köyün yaz nüfusu 600 civarında iken, kışın nüfus 300 civarına iniyor. Görüşme yaptığım 62 kişiden sadece 2'si Yunanistan'da ya da mübadele sırasında doğan bireylerdir. Diğerleri, Yunanistan'da doğan anne babaların Türkiye'de doğan çocukları ve torunlarıdır. Görüşmecilerden 34'ü kadın, 28'i ise erkektir. Alan çalışmasının en büyük eksikliği, hem zaman hem de bütçe kısıtlarından dolayı, köy sakinlerinin sıklıkla ilişki içinde olduğu komşu köy sakinleri, Bafra'daki yerel yöneticiler ya da tütün üretimi konusunda uzman kişiler ile tamamlayıcı görüşmeler yapamamış olmamdır.

Alan çalışması sırasında üç farklı teknik kullandım: katılımcı gözlem, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakat ve konuya daha vakıf görüşmecilerle detaylı görüşmeler. Köyde kaldığım günler boyunca elimden geldiğince etrafımda olan bitene katılmaya çalıştım. Başlangıçta zorlanmama rağmen, ancak araştırmanın sonlarına doğru gözlemciden çok bir katılımcıya dönüşebildim. 62 kişi ile gerçekleştirdiğim mülakatlar üç ana bölümden oluşuyordu. İlk bölümde görüşmecilere büyüklerinden mübadele hakkında duydukları hikâyeleri, bu hikâyeleri nasıl ve hangi ortamlarda duyduklarını ve çocuklarına ya da torunlarına nasıl aktardıklarını sordum. İkinci bölümde görüşmecilerin hayat hikâyelerine odaklanmaya çalışırken; son bölümde ise köyün tarihsel olarak nasıl değiştiğini anlamak için sorular sordum. Konuya vakıf görüşmecilerden köy ve köy yaşantısına dair daha ayrıntılı bilgi alabildim. Bu görüşmecilerden ayrıca köydeki kalabalık ve etkin ailelerin soy ağaçlarına ve birbirleri ile akrabalık ilişkilerine dair de bilgi aldım. Alan çalışması sonunda köy

sakinlerinin nesnel koşullarını (tütün üretimi, kırsal dönüşüm gibi), bu koşullara yükledikleri öznel anlamları ve bu anlamların nasıl değiştiğini (hayat hikâyeleri, dönüm noktaları) anlamaya çalıştım. Böylece kişisel hayat hikâyeleri ile tarihsel olayların etkileşimini görmek istedim (Mills, 1961).

Bu çerçevede, köylülerin nüfus mübadelesini ebeveynlerinin ve aile büyüklerinin hatıraları üzerinden nasıl hatırladıklarını, geçmişleri ve bugünleri arasında nasıl bir ilişki kurduklarını öğrenmek istedim. Yoğun bir yazın taramasından ve alan çalışmasında topladığım verileri dikkatlice inceledikten sonra Pierre Bourdieu'nun sosyal teorisi ve habitus kavramı bana bu ilişkiyi açıklamak için en uygunu olarak görüldü. Tez için araştırma sorularım da takip eden sorulara dönüştü: mübadil habitusunun özellikleri nelerdir? Bu habitus ne çeşit pratikler, deneyimler ve algılamaları barındırır? Hangi nesnel koşullar ve öznel algılamalar, özellikle nüfus mübadelesine dair sosyal bellek ve tütün üretimi pratikleri üzerinden, bu mübadil habitusuna dâhil oluyor? Ya da daha teorik bir şekilde belirtmek gerekirse; habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme süreçleri köylülerin günlük pratikleri üzerinden nasıl birbirine bağlanıp, etkileşiyor? Ve en nihayetinde, bu etkileşim sonucunda ortaya çıkan mübadil habitusu değişen koşullara nasıl cevap veriyor ve bunun sonucunda sosyal bellek pratikleri ve kimliklenme süreçleri nasıl etkileniyor?

Pierre Bourdieu'nun sosyal teorisi ve onun içinden doğan habitus kavramı habitus Sarıdünyalı köylülerin günlük işleri ve nüfus mübadelesi arasında kurdukları bağlantıyı kurmak için çok uygun olmasının yansısı, ulus devlet inşası ya da tütün piyasası politikaları gibi makro etmenler ile tütün dizmek ya da komşu köylerle ilgili dedikodu yapmak gibi mikro pratikleri birbirine bağlaması açısından önem kazanmıştır. Ayrıca, habitus kavramı bazı müdahalelerle; Sarıdünya köyü örneğini anlamak için elzem olan sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme süreçleri gibi diğer kavramlarını kapsayabilecek alanı açabilir ve esnetilebilir. Bu tez için benim habitus kavramına yaptığım ilk müdahale Vandenberghe (1999)'yi takip ederek, kavramı ontolojik olarak eleştirel gerçekçi bir tabana oturtmak oldu. Böylece habitus ile alan arasında ilişki daha görünür hale geldi ve kavram daha az belirlenimci ve daha açık bir hale geldi. Yaptığım ikinci müdahale ise Lane

(2006)'nin önerdiği gibi, habitusu bir aracı kavram olarak kullanmak oldu. Buna göre habitus farklı alanlar arasında bir aracı olarak işlev görür. Bu vurgu ile Lane (2006) alan ve habitus arasındaki ilişkiyi dış etmenlere daha açık ve dolaylı hale getirir. Bu ikisi arasındaki ilişki bir sebep sonuç ilişkisi değil istatistiki bir yakınsamadır. Tabiri caiz ise Lane aktörlerin nesnel pozisyonları ile bu nesnel pozisyonların öznel sunuluşları arasında her zaman bir kayma olduğunu iddia eder ve bunu da çeviri metaforu ile anlatır. Bourdieu ve Wacquant (1992), habitus ile alan arasındaki çevirinin “aynı cümlenin iki çevirisi” olduğunu iddia ederken, Lane (2006) aynı cümlenin iki aynı çevirisinin olmayacağını, çünkü alan ve habitusun devamlı değiştiğini, eğer bunları sözlüklere benzetirsek, bu sözlüklerin devamlı değiştiğini, bu yüzden çevirinin hiç bir zaman bire bir olamayacağını iddia eder. Yeni deneyimler sayesinde sözlüklere her zaman yeni sözcükler eklenir ya da bazıları unutulur. Buna göre böyle bir müdahale habitus ve habitus ile alan arasındaki ilişkiye zaman ve tarih boyutlarının katılmasıdır. Bourdieu'nun (2000) habitus hakkındaki sonraki açıklamaları da böyle bir yoruma izin verir. Bu açıklamalarda Bourdieu, habitusun devamlı yeni deneyimlerle değiştiğine, eğilimlerin sürekli bir revizyondan geçtiğine, fakat bu değişimin hiçbir zaman birden bire olmadığına ve hep önceki koşullar üzerinde şekillendiğine vurgu yapar (2000:161). Ayrıca habitusun çoğul olduğuna; bütüncül, sabit ve statik olmadığına dikkat çeker. Habitus açık bir eğilimler sistemidir ve yeni deneyimlere devamlı maruz kalır. Habitus dayanıklıdır ama ebedi değildir (Bourdieu ve Wacquant, 1992; 133).

Bu çalışmanın dayandığı teorik çerçevenin bir diğer ayağı, sosyal bellek kavramıdır. Bunun sebebi Sarıdünyalı köylülerin Nüfus Mübadelesi sonucunda şimdiki köylerine yerleşmiş olmaları ve Nüfus Mübadelesi'nin hatıralarının ve hikayelerinin kuşaktan kuşağa farklı yollar ve farklı odaklar ile anlatılıyor olmasıdır. Nüfus mübadelesi hakkındaki öyküler köylüler ile onların büyükleri ve memleketleri arasında bir bağ kurar ve bu bağ köylülerin günlük pratiklerini ve düşüncelerini etkiler. Bu anlamda sosyal belleğin içeriği, işlevi ve habitus ile Sarıdünya köyü örneğini anlamak için çok önemlidir.

Sosyal belleği anlamak için pek çok farklı kavram ve teori kullanılmakla birlikte, ben burada belleğin dinamikleri yaklaşımını; hem bu örneğin incelenmesi için daha uygun olduğu hem de teorik çerçevenin diğer parçalarıyla uyumlu olduğu için seçilmiştir. Sosyal belleğin dinamikleri yaklaşımının en büyük avantajı diğer yaklaşımlar gibi sosyal belleği ne tamamen yukarıdan aktörlere dayatılan bir olgu ne de tamamen aktörlerin kendi özgür iradeleri ile belirleyebileceği bir alan olarak görmesidir. Dinamik sosyal bellek yaklaşımı sosyal belleğin şekillenmesi sırasında ortaya çıkan geçmiş ve şimdi arasındaki karmaşık ilişkilere odaklanır. Aktörlerin sosyal belleği şekillendirmede farklı yetenekleri ve güçleri vardır. Ulaşılabilir meteryaller ve pratikler sınırsız değildir ve bunlar nesnel koşullarla sınırlanır (Misztal, 2003). Geçmiş farklı çıkarları ve güçleri olan aktörlerin etkileşimleri sonucu ortaya çıkan bir pazarlık alanıdır; tamamen yukarıdan ya da aşağıdan kavramsallaştırılması bu yüzdendir. Çok güçlü aktörler bile hem diğerlerinin güçleriyle hem de nesnel koşullarla sınırlandırılmışlardır (Schudson, 1997).

Bu yüzden, hatırlama işi geçmişle bir ilişki olarak önem kazanır. Geçmişin hatırlanması hikayelerde somutluk kazanır. Bu yüzden mazi ile ilgili bir hikaye anlatılması, aslında geçmişle bugün arasında bir hikaye anlatılmasıdır (Misztal, 70). Geçmişin bugüne sirayet etme biçimlerine, yani psikolojik, sosyal, dilsel ve politik süreçlere bu sosyal belleğin dinamikleri yaklaşımı tarafından büyük önem atfedilir. Fakat, geçmişi bugünden yorumlamanın koşulları ve öncelikleri değiştiği için, geçmişin yorumlanması, sunulması ve bugüne sirayet etme biçimleri de değişir. Sosyal bellek geçmişin tarihsel kanıtlara ve hatırlama biçimlerine içkinleşmiş bir haline dönüşür. Bu yüzden de sosyal bellek, niyetlerimizi yönlendiren ve bize davranışlarımız için alan yaratan bir kültürel programa dönüşür (Misztal, 2003:72). Schwartz (2000)'a göre de sosyal bellek bir kültürel sistem olarak algılanabilir, çünkü sosyal bellek pratiklere, düşüncelere, davranışlara nüfuz etmiştir. Aktörlerin günlük hayatlarının içindedir, bu yüzden onların habitusunun da içindedir. Günlük hayatın mekanizmaları ile, sosyal bellek, grubun devamlılığını sağlayan bir çerçeve sağladığı gibi, bir rehber gibi çalışır. Sosyal bellek anlam taşır. Geçmiş olaylarla bugünküleri birleştirerek, anlamlar üzerinden bir durubun devamlılığını sağlayan bir yapıya dönüşür (Schwartz, 2000). Geçmiş hatırlanır, çünkü geçmişi hatırlamak

insanların bugünkü dünyayı, olayları ve diğer insanları anlamasına yardım eder (Schudson, 1997).

Bu tezde, nüfus mübadelesinin anılarının ne gibi değişimleri getirdiğini anlayabilmek için, Assmann'ın (2011) iletişimsel bellek ile kültürel bellek arasında önerdiği farklılaşmayı da kullandım. Buna göre, iletişimsel bellek bir grubun içinde geçmişteki olaylar hakkında, kuşaklar arasında anlatılan ve herhangi bir şekilde yazılı forma geçirilmeyen anılardan oluşur. İletişimsel bellek, Assmann'a (2011) göre iç kuşak ile sınırlıdır ve ancak günlük pratiklerle aktarılır. Bundan sonra bu pratiklerdeki bir değişimle ya artık unutulur ya da kültürel belleğe dönüşür. Kültürel belleğe dönüştüğünde artık günlük pratikler yardımıyla değil, özel hatırlama pratikleri ile, daha kurumsallaşmış bir düzeyde hatırlanır. Böyle bir dönüşüm mübadil habitusunda bir dönüşüme ve onun geçmiş ile ilişkisinde de bir değişikliğe sebep olur.

Bu çalışmanın teorik çerçevesinin dayandığı üçüncü kavram ise Hall (1992)'un kimlik kavramından türeyen kimliklenme kavramıdır. Hall'a göre kimlikler aktörleri tarihin ve sosyal dünyanın farklı boyutları ile birbirine bağlayan ilmeklerdir. Aktörlerin sosyal dünyadaki konumlarına verdikleri anlamlardır. Kimliklerin etrafındaki pratikler ve anlatılar ve kimliklerin bunlarla ilişkisi belirli bir toplumdaki güç ilişkilerinin sonucudur ve her zaman tarihselliğin izlerini taşır. Ayrıca, kimlikler farklılıklar üzerinde inşa edildikleri için anlatılar arasındaki rekabet farklı düzeylerde dışlamaya, ötekileştirmeye ve sınır çizmeye dönüşebilir (Hall, 1992; 1996). Bu noktada kimlik kavramı yerine Laclau ve Mouffe 'un (2001) katkısı ile kimliklenme kavramını kullanmak daha uygun olacaktır, çünkü kimlik kavramı bir durumu işaret ederken, kimliklenme kavramı bir süreci ve bir inşayı işaret etmektedir.

Bu yüzden, kimliklenme kavramını ve sınır çizmeyi daha iyi anlamak için, Barth (1969)'ın grubun sahip olduğu ortak kültür yerine, grubun başkalarıyla olan ilişkileri sırasında oluşturduğu sınırlarını grubun belirleyicisi olarak alan yaklaşımını benimseyeceğim. Barth'a (1969) göre günlük karşılaşmalarda ortaya çıkan sınır çizme, bir içirme ve aynı zamanda dışlama sürecidir. Bu yüzden içeriden olanlarla dışarıdan olanları belirler. Eğer grubun özellikleri insanların

günlük hayattaki davranışlarını belirliyorsa, o halde günlük hayattaki kendinden olmayan insanlarla olan her karşılaşma kimliklenme sürecinin izlerini ve işleyişini görmek için bir alana dönüşür. Bunun yanı sıra, Barth (1969)'ın grup sınırlarına ve farklılıkların çarpıştığı noktalara odaklanması, hem Bourdieu'nun sosyal hayatın ayrımlar üzerine kurulduğu iddiasının hem de Hall'ın vurguladığı kimliğin farklılıklar yoluyla oluşması olgusunun bir devamı olarak da görülebilir.

Bu noktada, tezin teorik çerçevesindeki tüm kavramları yani habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenmeyi bağlantılandırabilirim. Bana göre, kimliklenme sürecinde görünür olan olan sosyal dünyanın etkileri ve güç ilişkileri habitus ve sosyal bellek kavramlarını kimliklenme sürecinin açıklanmasında kullanmak üzere bir alan açar. Burada, habitusun aktörlerin kolektif olarak kimliklenme süreçlerini dayandırdıkları noktaların sosyal evrendeki pozisyonlarını ve bu noktaların oluşumlarını açıkladığını ve aslında aktörlere bu noktaları sağladığını iddia ediyorum. Ayrıca, habitusun, yine, paylaşılan günlük hayata dair temel bilgileri, birlikte yaşamının temel taşlarını, farklı gruplar arasındaki ayrımları ve grubun varlığını açıklayan hikayeyi de sağladığını iddia ediyorum. Buna ek olarak, sosyal bellek de kimliklenme sürecinde yer alır, özellikle de grubun geçmişi ile bugününü birleştiren bir anlatı olarak ortaya çıktığında. Sosyal bellek olası davranışlar ve durumlar için bir repertuar ve model sağlar. Habitus ve sosyal belleğin bir arada işlemesi de kimliklenme süreçleri için başka bir dinamizm daha sağlamış olur. Harita analogisine yeniden dönülecek olursa, habitus, aktörlere davranışlarını dayandırabilecekleri olası zaman ve mekan bileşimlerini gösteren ve oldukça yavaş bir şekilde değişen bir harita olarak düşünülebilir. Sosyal belleğin kalıntıları ise bu sosyal dünyada farklı konumlar arasında hareket etmeyi sağlayan kısayollar olarak anlaşılabilir. Kimliklenme süreçleri ise bu sosyal dünyadan kaynaklanan pratikler ve onların nasıl sunulduklarıdır, önemli kristalleşmelerin olduğu konumları gösteren simgelerdir.

Buradaki ana argümanım, habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme kavramları arasındaki döngüsel ilişki, çalışmada mübadil habitusu olarak adlandırdığım özel habitusu yarattığıdır. Bu üç kavram arasındaki devamlı ilişki mübadil habitusunun anahtarıdır. Bu örnekte tüm bu kavramlar birbirini

kuvvetlendirir ve vurgular, böylece ortaya tam olarak tamamlanmayan bir döngü çıkar. Döngünün tam olarak tamamlanmaması demek tüm kavramların birbirinden ve dışardan gelen etkilere açık olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu tamamlanmama hali aslında teorik modeldeki değişimin kaynağıdır. Ben bu döngüye mübadil habitusu demeyi seçtim, çünkü bir habitus gibi çalışır; günlük pratiklerde, fiziksel yatkinliklarda gözlemlenebilir. Mübadil habitusu aynı zamanda sosyal bellek, kimliklenme süreçleri ve bu iki kavramın etkilerini de görünür kılar. Bu iki alan, yani mübadeleye ve memlekete dair sosyal bellek ile, mübadillerin mübadil olmayanlar ile günlük hayatta girdikleri etkileşimler sonucunda ortaya çıkan kimliklenme süreçleri bu habitusa mübadil karakterini verir. Bu anlamda, mübadil habitusu bu üç kavram arasındaki döngünün gözlemlenebilir halidir. Mübadil habitusunun bu tanımlaması, hem habitusu, sosyal belleği ve kimliklenme süreçlerini; hem bunların kendi aralarındaki ilişkilerini; hem de bunların nüfus mübadelesi, tütün piyasasındaki dönüşüm ya da köyden kente göç gibi yapısal faktörler ile etkileşimini içerir.

Bu teorik çerçeveye dâhilinde, daha önce belirttiğim araştırma sorularına cevap bulmak için mübadil habitusunun önemli ve birbiriyle bağlantılı üç farklı alanını belirledim. Bunlar geçmişi ve memleketi hatırlamak; uzun süredir tarlalarda ya da fabrikalarda tütün üretimi ile meşgul olmak ve son olarak da mübadil olmayan insanlardan bazı bakımlardan daha uygar ve düzenli olduğunu iddia etmek. Bu aynı zamanda habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme süreçlerinin döngü olarak tanımladığım ilişkisinin gözlemlenebilir bir şekilde ifade edilmesidir. Bu döngü mübadil habitusudur. Mübadil habitusunun farklı boyutları birbiri ile bağlantılıdır ve birbirini devamlı şekilde etkiler. Geçmiş sadece ortak memleket hakkındaki hikâyeler değil, aynı zamanda tütün üretimi için bir rehber ve Sarıdünya etrafındaki diğer köylerden farklılaşmak için bir kaynak haline gelir. Tütün üretimi sadece köyün ana geçim kaynağı değil, aynı zamanda mübadillerin farklılığa kaynaklık eden ve geçmişten gelen hikâyelerin anlatılmasına vesile hazırlayan bir pratikler bütünüdür. Köylülerin sahip olduklarına inandıkları farklılıklar sadece onları diğer insanlardan ayırmaz, onlar için hem birleştirici bir anlatım sağlar hem de geçmişin sembolik anılarını görünür kılar. Yani geçmişi hatırlamak, tütün üretimi ve farklı

olduğunu iddia etmek hem birbirlerini etkiler hem de etkilenir. Bu yüzden, her bir alan değıştikçe, döngü ya da mübadil habitusu da değışir. Köy hayatının bu üç önemli alanını; köylülerin mübadele ve memlekete dair neler anlattığını ve bunları nasıl hatırladıklarını; köy hayatında, özellikle ekonomik anlamda tütün üretiminin dönüşen yerini ve köylülerin sosyal hayatı için önemini ve köylülerin kendilerini mübadil olmayanlardan nasıl farklılaştırdığını ve bu farklılaştırmanın günlük hayattaki yansımalarını göstererek inceledim.

Bu incelemeden sonra, analizimi köylüleri mübadil habitusuna katılımlarına göre gruplayarak derinleştirdim ve bu farklılaşmanın neden ve nasıl ortaya çıktığını açıklamaya çalıştım. Bu gruplamaya göre, köylüler arasında mübadil habitusuna dâhil olma yoğunluklarına göre üç grup ortaya çıktı. Birinci grup, mübadil habitusuna en az dâhil olan köylülerden oluşan, bilinçli ama umursamaz olarak adlandırdığım gruptur. Bu gruptaki köylüler, Sarıdünya köyüne mübadele yüzünden yerleştiklerini bilirler, fakat diğer gruplardaki köylülerin aksine bu geçmişı detaylandırarak çok hikâyeleri yoktur. Daha da önemlisi bu hikâyelerin çok da önemli olmadığını, bugün için bir anlam ifade etmediğini düşünürler. Tütün üretimi onlar için sadece bir ekonomik aktivitedir ve diğer gruptakiler gibi tütün üretiminin yoğun olarak yapıldığı eski günlere dair herhangi bir özlem beslemezler. Ayrıca, köylerinin ve bu köyde yaşayan insanların diğer insanlardan pek de farklı olduğunu düşünmezler. Onlara göre, diğer köylülerin köyün özelliği olarak anlattıkları kuskus tarifleri, halk oyunları ya da Hidrellez kutlamaları önemsiz ce daha da önemlisi geçmişe aittir ve bugün ile bir ilgisi yoktur. Bu yüzden bu gruptakiler mübadil habitusu hakkında bilinçli fakat umursamazdırlar. İkinci grup ise ilgili köylüler grubudur. Bu köylüler, mübadele ve memleket hakkında aile büyüklerinden pek çok anı ve hikâye dinlemişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra bu anlatılar onlar için hem pratik olarak hem de sembolik olarak önemlidir. Tütün üretimini mübadil geleneklerinin bir devamı olarak kabul ederler, çünkü onlar mübadeleden önce memleketlerinde de tütün üretimi ile uğraşmışlardır ve aslında mübadil olmayanlardan farklı bir şekilde tütün üretirler. Hem tütün üretimindeki ustalıklarını hem de pek çok diğer konuda daha uygar, düzenli ve temiz olduklarını iddia ederek mübadil olmayanlardan farklı olduklarını her durumda dile getirirler.

Onlara göre evlerinin önündeki çiçekler, tütünlerine herkesten fazla fiyat alabilmek ya da hiçbir kavgaya karışmamış olmak bu farklılıkların göze görünür sonuçlarıdır ve bunların sebebi mübadil olmaları, Anadolu'ya Rumeli'nden gelmeleridir. Üçüncü grup mübadiller ise benim aktif mübadiller olarak tanımladığım ve mübadele habitusu ile en çok ilişkisi olan gruptur. Bu gruptaki mübadiller ikinci gruptaki mübadiller gibi mübadil olmanın onları mübadil olmayanlardan farklılaştırdığına ve bunun hem günlük hayatta hem de sembolik olarak önemli olduğunu düşünürler. Fakat ikinci gruptaki mübadillere ek olarak, mübadil habitusuna bağlılıklarını bir üst seviyeye daha çıkartırlar ve mübadil habitusunun dönüşmesine gerek çeşitli mübadil derneklerinin aktivitelerine katılarak gerekse mübadele hakkındaki bilgilerini ve büyüklerinden duydukları hikâyelerini sonraki kuşaklara anlatmak için yeni yollar bularak katkıda bulunurlar. Örneğin okudukları kitaplardan ya da gittikleri mübadil etkinliklerinden edindikleri bilgileri büyüklerinde duydukları ile birleştirip, bunu etraflarındaki insanlarla paylaşarak sosyal belleğe yeni öğeler katarlar ya da internetten memleket hakkında çocukları ile birlikte araştırma yaparlar.

Grupların detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesi ile köylülerin mübadil habitusuna katılımlarını etkileyen iki temel faktör olduğu ortaya çıkar. Bunlardan birincisi köylülerin köy dışında yaşama ve çalışma düzenlemeleridir. Bir köylünün köyün dışında yaşama ya da çalışma deneyimi fazla ise bu onun mübadil olmayanlarla karşılaşma ihtimallerini artırmaktadır. Bu çeşit düzenlemeler mübadillerle mübadil olmayanlar arasındaki farklılıkların altının çizilmesine sebep olmaktadır. Bu bulgu Barth (1969)'ın grupların kimliğinin bir içirme ve dışlama süreci olan sınır çizme ile oluştuğu iddiası ile de uyumludur. Böylece grubun üyeleri kimin onlardan olduğunu kimin olmadığını günlük hayatlarında çeşitli şekillerde sınırların belirginleşmesi ihtimalini taşıyan karşılımlar yolu ile öğrenir. Böylece günlük hayatta çizilen bu sınırlar, grubun kendi içindeki kültürel ortaklıklarından daha çok grup için belirleyici olur. Mübadillerin mübadil habitusuna katılımlarını belirleyen bir diğer etmen ise mübadillerin özellikle çocukluklarında kendilerine mübadele ve memleket hakkında hikâyeler anlatabilecekleri aile büyükleri ile birlikte geçirdikleri zamandır. Böyle zamanlar çoğaldıkça, mübadele ile ilgili anılar kişinin

kendisinden uzak ve onunla ilgisiz anlatılar olmaktan çıkar ve kendi belleğinin kişiliğinin bir parçasına dönüşür. Bu hikâyelerden dersler alınır, sonuçlar çıkartılır. Onlarla çeşitli davranışlar pekiştirilirken, bazıları kınanır. Böylece bu anlatılar habitusa yerleşmiş olur. Bourdieu'nun (2003) iddia ettiği gibi sosyal bellek ikinci bir doğaya dönüşür kişi için. Bu mekanizmalarla sosyal bellek günlük hayata dâhil olduğu gibi, grubun devamlılığına da katkıda bulunur. Bu Schwartz'ın (2000) neden sosyal belleği bir kültürel sistem olarak kavramsallaştırdığını da açıklar. Ona göre sosyal bellek, günlük hayata karışır ve anlamın taşınmasına yardımcı olur. Geçmişle bugünün birleştirilerek bir anlam bütünlüğü sağlanmasını, böylece grubun devamlılığına yol açar (Schwartz, 2000).

Köydeki mübadiller arasındaki farklılaşmayı da açıkladıktan sonra, yapısal değişikliklerin mübadil habitusunu nasıl etkilediğini ve mübadil habitusunun bu değişikliklere nasıl cevap verdiğini de göstermek istedim. Buradaki temel iddiam, tütün üretimini, tütün piyasasındaki değişiklikler sonucunda köylüler için hem ekonomik hem de sembolik olarak geri plana atılınca, mübadil habitusunun da önemli ölçüde değiştiğidir. Buna ek olarak, sosyal bellek de Assmann'ın (2011) iletişimsel ve kültürel bellek arasında gerçekleştiğini iddia ettiği farklılaşma da bu noktada ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bilinçli ama umursamaz köylüler için mübadele ve memlekete dair sosyal bellek çoğunlukla iletişimsel bellek düzeyinde kalacak ve unutulacaktır. Fakat ilgili ve aktif mübadillerin sosyal belleği kültürel belleğe dönüşecek ve unutulmak yerine farklı bir yapı kazanacaktır. Bu değişme ile sosyal belleğin habitustaki yeri, dolayısı ile mübadil habitusu da değişecektir. Önceden gündelik işlere kaynaklık eden ve ağızdan ağıza aktarılan anlatılar artık mübadil habitusunun daha sembolik bir alanında kendine yer bulacak ve bu alandaki bir sermayeye dönüşecektir. Örneğin önceden tütünün üretimini anlatan hikâyeler yerlerini mübadillere özgü halk oyunlarının vurgulandığı anlatılara bırakacaktır. Önceden günlük hayatın tam ortasında yer alan böyle bir bilgi, artık danslar hakkındaki daha özel bir alana taşınmış olacaktır.

Bu noktada, çalışmanın ana bulgularını bir kere daha ortaya koymak istiyorum. Birinci bulgu, mübadil habitusu olarak adlandırdığım ve mübadil köylülerin davranış ve düşüncelerine çerçeve sağlayan bir habitus vardır. Mübadil

habitusu nüfus mübadelesinin sosyal belleğe olan etkileri, uzun yıllar süren tütün üretimi ve köylülerin kendilerini başkalarından farklı olarak nitelendirmelerini sağlayan özelliklerinin arasındaki etkileşimden ortaya çıkar.

İkinci bulgu, mübadil habitusunun dayanıklı olduğu fakat durağan olmadığıdır. Mübadil habitusu değişen yapısal faktörlerin etkisi ile bir dönüşümden geçer. Emek yoğun ve çok zaman alıcı fakat farklı kuşakları bir araya getiren gündelik işler bırakılınca, gündelik hayatın habitusun mübadele ile ilgili ihtivasına yuvalık yapması son bulur. Mübadil habitusundaki dönüşüm mübadil köylülerin birbirlerinden nasıl farklılaştıklarına bakılarak da anlaşılabilir. Farklı gruptaki mübadiller, mübadil habitusuna farklı şekilde yaklaşp, onu farklı şekillerde benimsemektedirler. Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi bilinçli fakat umursamaz mübadiller büyük ihtimalle mübadil habitusundan büyük oranda çıkacak; fakat aktif mübadiller bu habitusa yeni boyutlar katacaktır. Mübadillerin hayatlarında tütünün önemi bu noktada bir kez daha vurgulanmalıdır. Devlet tarafından desteklenen tütün üretimi köyde tamamen durunca, köylüler sadece ana geçim kaynaklarını kaybetmekle kalmadılar, aynı zamanda, onları sıkı sıkıya birbirine bağlı bir grup yapan pratikler ve ilişkiler bütünü de kaybetmiş oldular. Köyde tamamen bırakılan tütün üretimi köylüleri mübadiller olarak topraklarına ya da fabrikalarına bağlayan ve dolayısı ile onların geçmişleri ile bugünlerini bütünleştiren bir çapa idi.

Tezin üçüncü bulgusu mübadil habitusunun farklı uyarlanmalarının arkasındaki sebeplere dairdir. Analiz göstermektedir ki mübadil habitusunun mübadillerin hayatlarındaki yerini belirleyen iki ana unsur vardır. Birincisi mübadele hakkında konuşmaya istekli ve bu konuda bilgili aile üyeleri ya da tanıdıklar ile geçirilen zamandır. Bu zaman arttığında, mübadil habitusunun kişi üzerindeki etkisi artmaktadır. İkincisi ise köylülerin köy dışındaki yaşama ve çalışma düzenlemeleridir. Bu düzenlemeler köylülerin hayatlarında önem kazandıkça, onları günlük hayatlarındaki mübadil olmayan kişilerle karşılaşma olasılıkları artmakta ve mübadil kimlikleri güçlenmektedir. Bu iki faktör bir kişinin mübadil habitusuna olan ilgisini etkilemektedir.

Tezin son bulgusu ise mübadeleye dair sosyal belleğin ve mübadil habitusunun geleceği ile ilgilidir. Bana göre bu zamana kadar mübadele ile ilgili

sosyal bellek köylüler arasında genellikle iletişimsel bellek olarak aktarılmıştır. Bundan sonra ise izleyebileceği iki yol vardır. Birincisi, nüfus mübadelesi ve ona dair bellek ile yeni yollarla yeni ilişkiler kurmayan mübadil köylüler, çok da ilgilenmedikleri bu hikâyeleri ve anıları unutacaklar. Onların çocukları ve torunları, onlardan mübadeleye ya da memlekete dair bir hikâye dinleme şansına sahip olmayacak. Bu insanlar için mübadil olmak kendilerinin gittikçe daha az önemli bir parçası olacak. İkinci olasılık ise, mübadil habitusundaki değişiklikler beraberinde mübadele belleğini canlı tutmanın yeni yollarını da getirecek ve geçmiş daha kurumsallaşmış bir biçimde kültürel bellek olarak saklanacak. Bu özellikle aktif mübadiller için geçerli olabilecek bir olasılık olarak gözükmektedir, çünkü onlar çocuklarına mübadeleyi anlatırken kendi büyüklerinden duydukları hikâyelerin yanında, mübadele ile ilgili yazılan kitaplara ya da filmlere de başvurmaktadırlar. Bu anlamda artık tütün tarımı ile uğraşmayan nesillere mübadeleyi yeni yollar ile tanıtmaktadırlar.

Tezin bu dört önemli bulgusunun önemi çeşitli şekillerde tartışılabilir. Birincisi tezin teorik önemini vurgulamaktadır. Böyle önemli bir alan araştırması ve örnek incelemesi ile birlikte, mevcut çalışma habitus, sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme süreçlerinin nasıl çalıştığını aydınlatmaktadır. Sosyal bellek ve kimliklenme kavramları habitusa katkılarının gösterilmesi için kullanılmıştır ve sonuçta bu iki kavram habitusa mübadil niteliğini verip, onu mübadil habitusuna dönüştürür. Ayrıca bu kavramlar habitusun içine farklı etkileşimler taşıyıp onu daha katmanlı ve az belirlenimci yapmaktadır. Bu üç kavram ve onların ilişkiselliği hem mübadillerin günlük hayattaki öznel deneyimlerini açıklar, hem de bu öznel faktörlerin üzerine yansıyan, Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, tütün sektöründeki değişiklikler, kırdan kente göç ya da yeni iletişim teknolojilerinin günlük hayata girmesi gibi yapısal faktörlerin etkilerini görünür kılar. Bu anlamda buradaki analiz hem bir yapısalcı yorum gibi hem de bir öznelliğe burjuva yapan bir açıklama olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu sebep tam da habitus kavramının neden bu tezde kullanıldığını açıklamaktadır, böylece sosyal evrenin her iki tarafına da gerekli vurgu yapılmaktadır.

Bu tezin ikinci önemi ise açıkladığı örnekten ileri gelmektedir. Türkiye’de Türk-Yunan nüfus mübadelesine odaklanan tezler genellikle mübadillerin deneyimlerine çok da önem vermeden, mübadelenin tarihsel ya da politik önemine ya da sonuçlarına odaklanmaktadır. Mübadillerin mübadelen sonraki deneyimlerine odaklanan çalışmalar ise genellikle İstanbul ya da İzmir gibi büyük şehirlerde ya da bu şehirlerin etrafında yaşayan şehirli mübadillere odaklanmaktadır. Bu bakımdan gerek mübadillerin günlük deneyimlerini yansıtmaları, gerekse bunu mübadil nüfusun yoğunluğu ile pek de bilinmeyen Karadeniz Bölgesi’nde bir köye yerleşmiş mübadiller üzerinden yapması ile bu çalışma diğerlerinden ayrılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, bu çalışma mübadillerin nüfusun homojenleştirilmesinin örneklerinden biri olarak görülebilecek mübadele sürecinde kendi iradelerini nasıl ortaya koyabildiklerini anlamak açısından da önemlidir. Mübadillerin günlük hayattaki deneyimleri araştırmak ve açıklamaya çalışmak amacıyla yola çıkan bu çalışmanın mübadil hayatının çok detaylı bir portresini ortaya koyması da, özellikle Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ’ne dair yazın bakımından, bu çalışmanın orijinalliğini ve önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Fakat buna rağmen çalışma klasik bir monografi değildir, üç ana kavram çerçevesinde günlük hayatın büyükçe bir bölümünü ele alır. Bunun yanı sıra bir mübadil köyü örneği üzerinden, Türkiye’nin geçirdiği sürekli değişimi görmek için farklı bir perspektif sağlar.

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer önemi, daha sonra gerçekleştirilebilecek Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve mübadillerin deneyimleri konularına eğilen çalışmalar için yeni bir yol açıyor olmasıdır. Bu çalışma mübadil hayatının pek çok yönüne temas etmekle birlikte, bir tezin sınırlılıkları dolayısı ile her bir önemli meseleyi araştırıp, açıklayamamaktadır. Bunlardan iki tanesi gelecekte bu konuya eğilebilecek çalışmalar açısından özellikle önemlidir. Birinci konu toplumsal cinsiyet, kırsal dönüşüm ve mübadil kimliği konularının kesişiminde yer almaktadır. Bu çalışmada, bu noktayı mübadil habitusunun bir parçası olarak ele almayı denediysen de toplumsal cinsiyet ve kırsal kalkınma yazınından daha çok beslenen bir çalışma bu noktayı daha detaylıca inceleyebilir ve öne çıkartabilir. Bir diğer nokta ise mübadillerin devlet ve milliyetçiliğe dair algıları ile ilgilidir. Bu konuya odaklanan ve bunu mübadillerin günlük pratikleri ile ilişkilendirebilen bir

alıřma hem Trk Yunan Nfus Mbadelesi'ne n ayak olan Trkiye'de ulus devlet formasyonuna farklı bir bakıř aısı saęlayabilir hem de ulus devlet formasyonunun mbadiller tarafından nasıl grldęn aıklayabilir.

APPENDIX C: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
- Enformatik Enstitüsü
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Karakılıç Dağdelen
Adı : İlhan Zeynep
Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI: The Transformation of Habitus in an Exchangee Village in the Black Sea Region of Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

