

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL
NARRATIVES BY THE REFUGEE AND EXCHANGEES ASSOCIATIONS IN
GREECE AND TURKEY

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts

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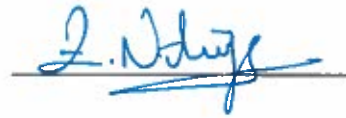
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Doruk IŐIKŐI

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL NARRATIVES BY THE REFUGEE AND EXCHANGEES ASSOCIATIONS IN GREECE AND TURKEY

IŐIKÇI, Doruk

M.A., International Relations

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This thesis comparatively analyzes the roles played by the exchangee associations, whose numbers have increased gradually in the last decades in Turkey, and the refugee associations, which have a deep-rooted history in Greece, in the construction of their respective nationalist narratives. Taking from the 1922-23 Forced Migration/Population Exchange discourses used in both countries, the study begins with a historical discussion and aims at introducing how these discourses are reproduced by the refugee associations in Greece and the exchangee associations in Turkey. In this regard, the official statements of the associations, the events organized by them and the semi-structured interviews conducted with their members (both in Greece and Turkey) are examined and under the light of the obtained results, three main hypotheses are tested. In order to conduct this research, a modernist nationalist approach is taken as a starting point, and particularly the assumptions of Michael Billig's banal nationalism are employed to construct the framework of the thesis. It is hoped that these findings will fill a void in the International Relations and Political Science literature on the role of the two understudied actors, i.e., the refugee and exchangee associations, as well as to contribute to the refugee/exchangee research in both countries.

Keywords: Population Exchange, Asia Minor Catastrophe, 1922-23 Forced Migration, Refugee and Exchangee Associations, Banal Nationalism.

ÖZ

YUNANİSTAN VE TÜRKİYE'DEKİ MÜLTECİ VE MÜBADİL DERNEKLERİ TARAFINDAN OLUŞTURULAN ULUSAL ANLATILARIN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALIZI

IŞIKÇI, Doruk

Master of Arts, International Relations

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Hakan Övünç ONGUR

Bu tez, Türkiye’de son on yılda sayıları giderek artmakta olan mübadil derneklerinin ve Yunanistan’da köklü bir geçmişi olan mülteci derneklerinin kendi milliyetçi anlatılarının inşasında oynadıkları rolleri karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz etmektedir. Her iki ülkedeki 1922-23 Zorunlu Göç/Nüfus Mübadelesi söyleminden yola çıkarak, çalışma tarihsel bir tartışma ile başlayıp, bu söylemlerin nasıl Yunanistan’daki mülteci ve Türkiye’deki mübadil dernekleri tarafından yeniden üretildiğini göstermeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu anlamda, derneklerin resmi açıklamaları, organize ettikleri etkinlikler ve dernek üyeleriyle gerçekleştirilmiş yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlar (Türkiye ve Yunanistan’da yapılmış olan) analiz edilecek ve elde edilen bilgiler ışığında bu tezin üç ana hipotezi test edilecektir. Araştırmayı gerçekleştirmek için, modernist milliyetçi yaklaşımlar bir başlangıç noktası olarak alınacak, özellikle Micheal Billig’in banal milliyetçilik varsayımları tezin teorik çerçevesini oluşturmak için kullanılmıştır. Bu bulgularla, her iki ülkede de mülteci/mübadele araştırmalarına katkıda bulunulmasının yanı sıra, mülteci ve mübadele dernekleri gibi, yardımcı aktörlerin rolleri hakkında Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Siyaset Bilimi literatüründe bir boşluğun doldurulması umulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nüfus Mübadelesi, Küçük Asya Felaketi, 1922-23 Zorunlu Göçü, Mülteci ve Mübadil Dernekleri, Banal Milliyetçilik.



To my beloved family and friends...

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ABBREVIATION LIST

CAMS : Center of Asia Minor Studies

EU : European Union

JDP : The Justice and Development Party

RSC : Refugee Settlement Commission

FLTE : The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants

WWI : World War I



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“And I wondered, not for the first time, what patriotism is, what the love of country truly consists of, how that yearning loyalty that had shaken my friend's voice arises: and how so real a love can become, too often, so foolish and vile a bigotry. Where does it go wrong?”

Ursula K. le Guin, *The Left Hand of Darkness*

I should confess that the festival called Παρχάρια (*Parharia*) which I participated in the last week of June, 2014, is the main motive behind this thesis. The journey towards the rocky parts of the Kozani region with a group of young Pontian people started my motivation to conduct research on the refugees in Greece. While climbing slowly from among Kozani's coil based electric plants, the Ιερά Μονή Αγίου Ιωάννη Βαζελώνος (*The Moni Agiou Ioanni Vazelonos*) church and the monastery complex we visited were the first rings of this trip. This building, the reconstructed monastery located near Μαçka (*Ματσούκα/Matsouka*) in Turkey, was built in Kozani where the Matsoukian refugees lived intensively. This church, in which the icon coming from the original monastery in Turkey was the centerpiece, was a structure where the Matsoukian and Pontians who participated in the festival Παρχάρια performed their religious duties. The festival area where the kamancha voice spread and people danced on the grass reminded me of an activity taking place in the Pontus highlands. Meals such as stuffed meals with grape and black cabbage leafs (*dolma/ντολμάδες*), havits (*kuymak/χαβίτς*), and special kinds of cheese were served for the participants, who came from various places of Greece and the world as if they were the most special

secrets of the Pontus culture. Yet, the most memorable moment of the all day-long event was when the participants went to the houses of the highland and attended small meetings called muhapet (Μουχαπέτ/Muhabbet) and when the songs of Pontus were sung as a call-and-response duet in Pontian dialect.

Along the way, the Pontic songs continued to be played by young Pontian people on the bus, and the biggest question that I had in my mind was how this identity and culture could still be exhibited after ninety years. As a child of an immigrant family, I questioned why I did not have this kind of cultural affiliation. While my family settled in Samsun and I did not feel that kind of familiarity with this city, how can the young Pontians who lived in Greece pointed to Samsun as their hometowns? During my ten-month stay in Thessaloniki, my awareness of the refugee identity that started with the Παρχάρια was strengthened by realizing the refugee symbols, presentations, monuments, events and discourses in many places in my daily routine. Furthermore, the difference in the narrative in Greece about the forced migration experience in 1922-1923 was spectacular when I compared it with what I was taught about the same period in my own country. At that point, I realized that the main institution that led to such discursive and practical differences about the refugee identities in Greece and Turkey was the established refugee associations in the former. Thereafter, the question whether there are similar associations in Turkey emerged and I began my research.

Even though the so-called earthquake diplomacy opened a new chapter into peaceful diplomacy between Greece and Turkey, the last fifteen years have witnessed an increased interest in the (bitter) phenomena of 1922-23 forced migration and the Population Exchange both in Greece and Turkey. The growing number of established associations, academic studies, films, books and documentaries on these subjects indicate both awareness and sensitivity towards this particular history in the respective

countries. Additionally, improved relations among these associations and their role in the relationship between two countries have made them more visible in the international area. Jointly organized concerts, conferences, folk dancing demonstrations, and trips to “motherlands” have brought the refugee associations in Greece and the exchangee associations in Turkey closer to each other at a certain level and have led to growing number of peace messages.

However, this development at the shores of the Aegean Sea is not taking place at the same level or intensity. While the subject of the forced migration occupies the social and political conversations significantly in Greece, the topic has just begun to be known in Turkey. The visible reflection of the refugee culture and history in the daily life puts Greece in a different standpoint than Turkey. Thus, the difference in the narratives about the forced migration experience and the presence of contradictory symbols, discourses and images lead to the questions what possible roles are played by the refugee/exchangee associations in each country, how they differ from each other and how they reproduce the peace/conflict dialogue among their societies. While those associations claim that no problems seem to exist among the peoples but that problems are caused by the governments of Greece and Turkey, it is not certain how much they support or indeed construct the national narratives in reality.

Perhaps, the recent years have witnessed the closest relationship between the two societies, which had not happened before in their national histories. Yet, in parallel with this, a serious amount of contradiction has also piled up through the constant repetitions of different discourses over the activities/events and statements of the refugee and exchangee associations. The incident that happened on May 19, 2018, for example, showed how an objection or denial of the refugee narrative can easily turn into an attack on the mayor of Thessaloniki, Giannis Boutaris and it also proved that

the narratives of the associations were not just simple cultural narratives.¹ In this way, the questions what will happen to the current improved relations in a possible crisis between the two countries or when the national discourses become stronger against the other side should be elaborated – as this study also aims.

In this sense, the exchangee associations whose numbers have reached over eighty in the last ten years in Turkey and the hundreds of refugee associations that have spread even to the smallest settlements of Greece are examined comparatively in this thesis. The relations of the refugee and exchangee associations with their respective national narratives and the reflections of these relations on the associations constitute the main problematic. Besides, this thesis aims at revealing the functions of refugee and exchangee associations in their societies. Considering the growing rate and scope of the development of the refugee and exchangee associations, it seems difficult to explain this development solely as a cultural demand.

In this respect, this study aims at making another contribution to the IR literature that highlights the significance of the refugee and exchangee associations as political (sub-state) actors in international politics. It is shown in detail that these associations have great power in constructing or re-constructing national identities, belongingness and collective memory. To borrow from Iver B. Neumann's (1999) nexus of "the self and the other," it is emphasized here that the refugees and the exchangees compose their others reciprocally, which helps in turn construct their self-identities. However, it is also noted that a new climate of the peaceful diplomacy between Greece and Turkey and the increased relations have established a newly emergent self/other

¹ CNN Greece, 19.05.2018, "Επίθεση στον Γιάννη Μπουτάρη στις εκδηλώσεις για τη Γενοκτονία Ποντίων", <http://www.cnn.gr/news/ellada/story/130748/epithesi-ston-gianni-mpoytari-stis-ekdiloseis-gia-ti-genoktonia-pontion>.

relationship. In this sense, the subject that the thesis intends to challenge is that whether such a relationship could be established when national identities and narratives are still so powerful. While, as Pierre Nora (1989) remarks, the mobilization of the collective memory as a tool of the nation-state substituting the real environment of the memory and all components of the refugee and exchangee associations are created based on this collective memory, the persistency in slowly occurring improvements between the parties is questionable. Thus, this thesis examines the statements, events and discourses of the associations and their members and attempts to find clues about their role in the reciprocal identity-construction in Greece and Turkey.

In order to conduct this research, a modernist nationalist approach is taken as a starting point, where it is understood that nations and nationalities are not inherent in the history but they are modern phenomena that have emerged after the ideology of nationalism spread in the seventeenth century. How a national identity functions is further perceived in the framework presented by Michael Billig's 'banal nationalism' and it is argued here that symbols, myths, ceremonies and other daily routines function as the main reminders of national belongings, which also include refugee/exchangee identities.

This thesis consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, the historical background behind the formation of Greek and Turkish national narratives is examined. Firstly, the studies on the developments of nationalism in two countries are presented, then the literature on different historiographies about the 1922-23 forced migration experience is elaborated. Moreover, the history of the refugees in Greece and the exchangees in Turkey are portrayed. Lastly, the literature about the role of the refugee and exchangee associations in identity-construction at both domestic and international levels is discussed. The second chapter includes theoretical and methodological discussions. At

that point, together with a discussion on the theories of nationalism, both the boundaries of the thesis and the problems experienced during the research and preferred methods are presented. The third chapter thereafter examines the differences in the respective national narratives and also traces the reflections of those on the refugee and exchangee associations. The three main hypotheses of this thesis are tested on the official statements of the associations, the events organized by them and the semi-structured interviews conducted with their members (both in Greece and Turkey) in this chapter as the main findings of the study. In the first hypothesis, the reflections of the nation-state narratives on the refugee and exchangee associations are examined on the question, whether the national narratives of Greece and Turkey differed or not and their position as an institution are compared. In the second hypothesis, depending on the different historical and political background, the reflections of the associations within respective societies are observed, and how these factors affect the behaviors of the associations in Greece and Turkey are questioned. In the third hypothesis, how the associations play a role at local and international stance, and whether this role varied are analyzed. It is aimed at that point that these findings will contribute to the IR and Political Science literatures on the role of the two understudied actors, i.e., the refugee and exchangee associations, in constructing peaceful or conflictual identities in societies. In conclusion, some final remarks will be presented.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Differing perceptions of history are a crucial factor in the construction of narratives on the 1922-1923 forced displacements between Greece and Turkey. The different perspectives of these countries have resulted in disparate historical narratives for the very same period and events. Therefore, the way in which history is perceived also affects the way events are perceived in these societies. In this sense, the main differences in the aforementioned discussion arise from the perception of time (Liakos, 2001).² Thus, this study takes history as a dynamic artifact consisting of current relations, targets and approaches that result in continuous interpretations of the role of previous actors. Although history is perceived as a stable phenomenon in a general sense, its relation with present time emerges as a determining factor by period and place (Carr and Fontana, 1992). Its continuous dialogue and relations with facts, events and targets in present time makes a particular history selective and negotiated (Fulda, 2005). In other words, the presented historical narratives and definitions of national boundaries are not solid and fixed as claimed.

Accordingly, this study discusses the relations between the differing historical narratives of the nation-states and associations in Greece and Turkey. In this sense, the literature about the boundaries of the nationalism, developments of the historical narratives in both countries and the historical process of the associations until the

² Antonis Liakos notes that “these two approaches to the nation differ in the readings of the direction of time. In representation the direction is from the past to the present; in interpretation it is from the present to the past.” (2001: 28).

present time within the scope of Greece and Turkey are evaluated. In this regard, the chapter firstly compares the evolution of nationalisms in both countries and presents their cornerstones. In the second place, the historiographies about the forced migration process in 1922-1923 are shown on the basis of their differences. Thus, the legitimate points and backgrounds of the different historical narratives can be comprehended thoroughly. In the third section, the social, economic and political stance of the exchangees and refugees in the societies are outlined and their positions in their countries are initiated. Lastly, the associations which are the subject of this study are explored drawing on the literature and the gap in literature in this respect is underlined.

2.1. Greek Nationalism vs. Turkish Nationalism until the 1930s

Although nationalist ideologies in Greece and Turkey share similar tendencies, their constitutional features and processes differ from each other as far as details are concerned. Instead of linear historical explanations, the study intends to approach both nationalist ideologies as the products of multifaceted and complex processes (Sofos and Özkırmı, 2013: 36). Thereby, the way the selected images, symbols and discourses of the nation-states receive widespread acknowledgement in the narratives of the associations can be understood. In this context, a literature review about the evolution of nationalisms will be conducted in parallel with the modernist approaches which understand the concept of the nation as a product of the modern age and the ideology of the nationalism, not the other way round (Özkırmı, 2000: 85-86). In this sense, the literature is examined separately and the study seeks to offer the developments of the nationalism in both countries.

2.1.a. Greek Nationalism

The Greek national movement, which began almost a hundred years before the Turkish national movement, culminated in the armed independence movement in 1821 and resulted in the formulation of a nation-state after gaining independence in 1829. However, from the beginning, the question of ‘what is the Greek nation’ posed a problem for the first proponents of nationalism and the people who joined the movement. In this sense, the polemical borders of the nation and nationals became one of the main occupations of scholars of Greek nationalism.

In this context, Umut Özkırımlı and Syros Sofos claim that the shared aim of the participants of the Independence War, who had different cultural backgrounds and various motivational targets to collaborate together, was to stand against the Ottoman government in that era (2013: 44-45).³ They suggest that the national perceptions of the participants were permeable, changeable and debatable and participation in the war of independence occurred on the basis of sense of belongingness (2013: 15-25). Similarly, Herkül (Iraklis) Millas mentions that even the name of the nation had been discussed for decades, before and during the independence war and finally, in accordance with the main approach of the newly founded nation-state, it was called as “Ellada” or “Ellas” which referred to the Ancient Greece (2004: 163).⁴

³ The participants of the Independence War consisted of the elites, who mainly lived in diaspora and were educated in Europe, the local Christian landowners, who were uncomfortable with the corrupted Ottoman authorities, the idealist and educated Orthodox people, who came from various parts of the Ottoman Empire, the warlords (Armatols) (Papageorgiou, 2015; 60), the sailors or pirates, the large mass poor or the unemployed Christian population. Besides aforementioned supporters of the Independence War were comprised of the people who spoke different languages, such as Greek, Albanian, Vlach, and their dialects and had different cultural background. In this sense, the borders of the nation and Greek identity were discussed by proponents of nationalism and these borders had preserved their fluid feature for a long time.

⁴ In this point, the name issue of the Greek nationalism should be underlined. Although in ancient era, people called themselves as “Ellinoi” which was seen merely after Persian invasion to differ the ‘civic world’ from the ‘barbarians’, this concept had been abandoned with the acceptance of Christianity because the being “Ellinoi” referred the paganism. However, for centuries, Orthodox people called

Özkırmılı and Sofos refer to rising Neoclassicism, Romanticism and an admiration for Ancient Greece in Europe as a root of the Western European Enlightenment, which provided a ground for Greek nationalism (2013: 70).⁵ Hence, Greek nationalism was constructed on two main features as Özkırmılı and Sofos maintain: being a part of European civilization and a sense of moral superiority against the “backward” or “barbarian” Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a utopian vision of Ancient Greek civilization mainly constructed by European intellectuals and bourgeoisie was found appropriate for use by the Greek national movement (2013: 21-22).

In addition to this ideological background, Eric J. Hobsbawm indicates that Greek nationalism had an opportunity to find proto-nationalist factors in language and the religious separation in the Ottoman Empire (1992: 76-77). In this point, Ioannis Grigoriadis, in line with the arguments of Hobsbawm, points to how the existence of the religion and its institutions became one of the main identifiers for the Greek national continuity (2014: 61-67). Moreover, Greek nationalism found physical elements such as columns, statues and ancient cities in the surrounding geography. Therefore, as Robert Shannon Peckham notes, the ancient monuments—perceived as unworthy stones by the locals—served as evidence of the continuity of the Greek

themselves as “Romaioi” which means Roman citizens. Because the concept of “Byzantium” was penned by the German historian Hieronymus Wolf in 16th century, in reality, people had never called themselves as “Byzantine”. In this sense, while this society name continued its life in the Ottoman Empire as “Rum” or “Romaioi,” which referred only to Orthodox Christianity and included the all Orthodox population in Balkans and Ottoman territories, the European countries called them as “Greek”, “Grekos” and similar words. For this reason, when the Greek nationalist movement was established the name of the “Ellinoi”, which is related with Ancient Greece, did not meet widespread acceptance in the beginning. Only after long discussions aforementioned name were chosen by nationalist elites (Millas, 2004; 44-52); Further reading; Victor Roudometof, “From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1, May 1998. pp. 11-48

⁵ Thus, Roudometof points out that particularly new generations of the Orthodox merchant families in Europe and Balkans were influenced by aforementioned admiration and revolutionary ideas of the Western Europe (1998; Koliopoulos and Veremis, 2009). Thus, as Kitromilides mentions, the Greek Enlightenment was born under the ideas of the secular statehood and nationalism, and undermined not just the Ottoman governmental organization but also Orthodox unity and the Patriarchy of Constantinople (1989).

nation and history in the territories which were claimed as Greek (2000: 82). For them, these visible heritages became the unarguable signs of their past at the public level which determined the borders of the nation (Sofos and Özkırıklı, 2013: 74). In this way, state institutions (i.e. centrist education system, cultural policies, army, royal family, welfare institutions) began to construct the history of the country based on Ancient Greece and, from the beginning, the narrative of the Greek nation-state had a vision to extend its territories.⁶

Sofos and Özkırıklı also claim that although the Greek national identity was fluid and included many people with different cultural backgrounds, its boundaries were limited in terms of religion. Especially as a separatist movement from the Ottoman Empire, the Greek nation-state mainly imagined its own “other” based on the Turkish-Muslim identity (Sofos and Özkırıklı, 2013: 43-46). In this sense, even the differences of sect in Christianity created separation in the period against the Catholic population of Aegean islands (Mavrogordatos, 2003: 128). Although the ancient monuments became the determinant of the Greekness for the people, being a member of the Orthodox Church was another central characteristic for Greek national identity, while the language and cultural features were considered negligible (Mavrogordatos, 2003: 128-129). However, as Ioannis Grigoriadis mentions, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Patriarchy of Constantinople were excluded from the nationalist movement due to the enlightened characteristics of the movement (2014: 35-46). Yet, the participation

⁶ Nonetheless, when the Greek nation-state was founded in 1930, imagining of the Greek nationalism was not a small state in Peloponnesus peninsula. Thereby, it was understood that the imaginary lands of Greece reached far from current borders and still potential Greeks and Greek-speaking people widely lived out of the borders of Greek nation-state (Özkırıklı and Sofos, 2013; 95). Accordingly, Peckham denotes that “the title bestowed upon the new King George I in 1864 as ‘King of Hellenes’, rather than King of Greece” (2000, 85).

of the clergy to “the Independence War” in the local level was seen as a common phenomenon (Grigoriadis, 2014: 45).

Nevertheless, the reference to the Ancient Greece and European centric viewpoint created opposing ideas, especially among the local elites.⁷ Antonis Liakos indicates that while the basic criterion was to be member of Rum millet, the exclusion of Orthodoxy and Byzantine past associated with religion created a contradiction for the Ancient Greece-centric narrative (2011: 31-33).. These contradictions within the narrative of national continuity from Ancient Greece to present time were questioned (Liakos, 2011: 31-33). In this sense, one of the most famous historians of Greece, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, intended to unify two stages of history to provide continuity for the Greek nation and formulated the “Helen-Christian” synthesis, which was gathered from totally two opposite view-points (Liakos, 2011: 32; Sofos and Özkırmılı, 2013: 75-76; Grigoriadis, 2014: 49-61).

Following this development, the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church were irrevocably and properly integrated into the description of the nation-state. As a result of this process, not only ancient Greek cities and monuments, but also Christian literature became the main identifiers of the Greek national legacy, and the salvation of Orthodox Christian heritage was added to the national targets. Therefore, according to Stephen Xydis (1969), the synthesis of Ancient Greece and the legacy of the Byzantine Empire inspired a political concept and movement called the “Megali Idea”, which aimed at reaching all Greeks and to expand the Empire borders in accordance with the Ancient Greece ideal, and which, thus, began to draw the ideology of the

⁷ The motivational and cultural gap between diaspora elites and locals, the opposition of King Otto administration who grounded his ideology on Ancient Greece references and the exclusion of the church in harmony with nationalist secular view became problematic issues for Greek nationalism. Moreover, this policy could not reach mass support by public (Sofos and Özkırmılı, 2013; 74-75)

country as a revisionist state. Although the aforementioned policy was not accepted by all social or political groups, it shaped and dominated the main political discourse in Greece, and its effects predominantly lasted until 1922 (Sofos and Özkırmılı, 2013: 97-98). Nonetheless, Harris Mylonas (2016) mentions that Greek nationalism followed different paths to deal with various expectations according to time and place.⁸ In this sense, it can be claimed that although the Greek national identity shaped itself in line with the context and time, it also became more institutionalized, stable and fixed than Turkish nationalism when the 1922-23 forced displacements happened.

2.1.b. Turkish Nationalism

It can be considered that the Turkish nationalist movement had a characteristic of trying to keep up with the changing world and reactions to it. In other words, as Sofos and Özkırmılı (2013) indicate, nationalism is revealed to be the result of the comprehensive changes in relation to modernization and the interpretation of the Ottoman Empire within it.⁹ Mainly, the economic changes in the world led to social differentiation and new kinds of social coalitions in the Ottoman society (Karpas, 2006: 7-70). Thus, the millet system, which shared a degree of legal autonomy and authority with religious based communities (Braude, 1982: 15) and organized the society based on the major religious communities, confronted a new perception of identity which was in parallel with the social and economic changes in the first half of the 19th century

⁸ After the enlargement of borders till Thrace, it was seen that new citizens of the Greek state such as Muslim, Jew and Slavic speaking population shared different features than Greek national identity. For this reason, speech and vision of the political leader changed deeply in new conditions. Referring to the sense of belonging for national criteria was expressed by politicians (Mylonas, 2016).

⁹ However, in addition to global change, the reasons of the modernization of the Ottoman Empire can also be explained with internal dynamics of the Empire; Kemal H. Karpas, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi – Toplum, Kuramsal Değişim ve Nüfus*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, Şubat 2004

(Karpat, 2011: 170-177).¹⁰ In this context, Kemal Karpat notes that genuine public movements, such as the Greek and Serbian revolts as a consequence of the social unrest in the Ottoman Empire (Zürcher, 2004: 58), began to re-shape the religion-based relations by acquiring national features and brought a new paradigm (2011: 176-177).¹¹ Thus, as Erik Jan Zürcher (2004) maintains, the Ottoman Empire entered a period which transformed the structure of the government in line with the Western states, bringing in modern bureaucracy or sufficient transportation and communication systems to empower the central government and to deal with aforementioned change. Yet, although different political elites ran various and competing policies to empower some identities to try to preserve the integrity of the empire, all acts to establish control on the citizens and centralization were perceived as a threat and led to fear for minorities from the nationalist tendencies (Karpat, 2011; Ülker, 2005: 621).¹² As Mesut Yeğen argues, despite the policies designed for a community with egalitarian citizenship, Turkish nationalism became more visible in the society (2007: 324-326). However, as Erol Ülker (2005: 617) states, rather than exclusionist nationalism, the

¹⁰ Although the study of Karpat points out proper and important information about the millet system, his approach to the era does not fit to this study's approach. In this sense, the mentions of Karpat presents ethno-symbolic viewpoint and claims that the origins of the modern nations in Balkans has to be seek in the millet system. However, this study finds the aforementioned mindset contradictive and follows the modernist viewpoints about the nationalism and nations. In this regard, the study prefers to follow the claim of Sofos and Özkırımlı which is about the closed structure to ethno-linguistic differences of the millet system (2013; 40)

¹¹ Apart from the pressure of the Ottoman rule, which could be also read as the empowering of the central government and the response of the regression in the local autonomies in parallel with it, awareness of being an 'other' in the society became visible for the non-Muslim population and the opposition to the central government attracted more supporters. Thus, nationalist revolts became widespread and the nation-states began to be established in the Balkans one by one.

¹² Besides, the reactions to the changes in administration raised the doubts for the minorities in the nationalist mindset and they strengthened the centralist policies and forced people to take a side. Hence the developments caused to create fear spiral between communities and administration and so the separationist fears in the Empire became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Also, Karpat indicates that the transformation of the millet system to equal citizenship caused the millets to turn into the minority against to the Muslim majority and an irrevocable process had begun, in which the majority of cultures would dominate the society (2011).

policy of *İttihat-ı Anasır* (The Union of the Subjects) was embraced by the Ottoman elites in the constitutional revolution of 1908.

Yet, Ülker points out that although an egalitarian citizenship and Ottomanism were also acknowledged after 1908, Turkish nationalism began to occupy more and more of the agenda of the country, and the dominant position of the Turks was expressed and approved by the Young Turks (2005: 617-619; Hanioglu, 2001: 295-302). Şükrü Hanioglu (2001) argues that the Ilinden Revolt, the Independence of Albania and the loss of Macedonia, especially Thessaloniki in 1912, became the milestones and led to the approach which perceived nationalism as a unique option to preserve the existence of the Muslim population. Therefore, Turkish nationalism was well-received as a last hope against continuous treats, which came from nationalist movements, by the Muslim mass population, and they began to construct a shared identity as a reaction to it (Hanioglu 2001; Şeker, 2013: 5).¹³ As Karpat mentions, although a shared Muslim identity was presented for centuries as a passive identity rather than a dynamic political identity, it had never been an identity that constituted mutual social awareness among Ottoman Muslims (1990: 131-137). However, as Soner Çağaptay notes, the Muslim population, who felt consistently unsafe because of the non-Muslim nationalist revolts, found a ground for their fate with nationalist ideology (2006: 6).

¹³ In this sense, the Turkish nationalism aroused result of pragmatic and inevitable needs for both Ottoman state and Muslim public, instead of a conscious and inescapable option (Sofos and Özkırımlı, 2013; 38). In this context it should be understood that nationalist ideology in the Ottoman Empire was chosen as an ideology which was an opportunity to protect the country and to preserve statue of Muslim population and Ottoman elites. For this reason, nationalization and transformation of country as a modern state was not the main target of the Ottoman elites. They chose this way as an instrument to reach their aims. Hanioglu here discusses the subject in the chapter titled “Ideological Roots of the Young Turks” and examines how the Westernization was perceived by the Ottoman administration and elites. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 7-32. In similar vein, the founders of the republic and all process until today can be discussed with same consideration.

In this respect, Karpat points out that the Young Turks, who struggled for the idea of a multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, began to focus on a Turkish core to preserve the kept lands (2004: 655-690). However, the aforementioned Turkish core mostly consisted of Muslims regardless of the ethnicity or language.¹⁴ Yeğen states that the new national identity was constructed according to the exclusive identities such as non-Muslims more than inclusive identities (2017: 327). Thus, as Ülker (2005) denotes, the nationalist project of Turkification began to be enacted by the government which gained ground upon the 1913 coup d'état. The government began to use population studies and policies to create a Turkified population for the Anatolian part of the Empire after 1913. In his study, Fuat Dündar (2015) shows how, after 1913 coup d'état, the ideology of nationalism ruled over governmental staff and how the government began to homogenize Anatolia and Thrace by prioritizing the elites' hopes over the future of a Turkish nation.

As Dündar notes, although the settlement policies were used often by the Ottoman Empire to integrate the population and create a balance between religious groups, the new policies were implemented to homogenize the population in favor of the Muslims and prospective Turkish nation (2015: 39).¹⁵ In this sense, in the early 20th century, the Ottoman government began to mobilize against non-Muslim communities in the Empire such as Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians and various other Non-Muslim groups.

¹⁴ Ülker claims that the Turkification process is garbled in the literature and is used wrongly about its period and place. Therefore, he denotes that the concept of the Turkification can be claimed spatially for the Anatolian part of the Ottoman Empire after 1913. He refers that before than this period, although Turkish nationalism became stronger, the policies of centralization cannot be read as a Turkification process (2005).

¹⁵ Therefore, a homogenized county in Anatolia was considered as a solution to protect what the country had as a territory and they followed the policies coherent with the aforementioned targets. Especially, the belief that Anatolia was the fatherland of the Turks and intense migration from various parts of the ex-Ottoman territories made Anatolia the center of Muslim and Turkish population (Çağaptay, 2006: 15). In addition, although many people had different cultures and spoke different languages, Islam became as the prominent and useful catalyzer for the prospected nation. Hence, the elites and policymakers utilized religion to integrate immigrants from Russia, Balkans, Cyprus, Greece, Crete, the Caucasus, the Sancak of Alexandratta, and the Middle East (Çağaptay, 2006: 82).

Nesim Şeker (2013) explains that the resettlement policy, public campaigns, forced migrations, military actions and economic transformation acts in favor of the Muslim traders became a means of population engineering and homogenization. Dündar (2015) explains the acts of the government against non-Muslim population by using these means in detail.¹⁶

In this respect, the claim of this study is that although the Compulsory Population Exchange was one of the unique examples of forced migration and international law in the world, the compulsory population exchange decision was not the first but indeed the last stage of the homogenization process. Thus, at the end of this process, the rate of the Anatolian non-Muslim population to the Muslims dropped from one fifth to one fortieth (Keyder, 2013: 103).

¹⁶ Firstly, Dündar shows that the government began to take action against Bulgarian minority in Thrace and Western Anatolia for the protection of the Istanbul against any invasion attempt in 1913 (2015; 188-191). Following this, the Greek Orthodox subjects became targeted in the very same regions. Yet, the administration preferred to use boycotts, bandits and bureaucratic obstacles to make the daily life of non-Muslim difficult because of the potential reactions of the public opinion at international level (191- 230). Dündar claims that the main aim of the government was to portray the immigration process as a voluntary action of immigrants. However, although the Greek and Ottoman governments intended to execute a voluntary population exchange in 1914, it did not happened because of the First World War and the Ottoman administration determined unilaterally to use forced migration against the Greek Orthodox subjects. Nonetheless, the Greek state position in the War caused to stop the policies against to the Greek Orthodox population in 1915 and the forced migration changed its routes to the inner Anatolia to protect seacoast from the possible Greek aggression (228-229). In this period, approximately 200.000 Greek Orthodox immigrated to out of the country or inner Anatolia because of pressure on them (245). Finally, the policies reached to the peak in 1915 against the Armenian and Assyrian populations. Because of the accusation that the Armenians helped and joined the Russian army and to the relocation of the Armenians from the conflict zones, approximately one and half million Armenians forced to migrate out of the Anatolia from all part of the country and many Armenians and Assyrians were killed or died in the deportation process. Also, many non-Muslim soldiers who joined the Ottoman army were disarmed and sent to labor battalion (Amele taburu) where caused the deaths of man them because poor conditions, disease and misbehavior against non-Muslim soldiers. Moreover, Dündar asserts that the government began to spy out all non-Muslim population and used pressure on them.

2.2. Catastrophe vs. Treaty

The 1922-23 forced migrations have become the subject of a great deal of research due to its modern-day political and sociological consequences. However, the literature on the subject varies, explaining the very same period with different concepts and developments. However, addressing these studies is beyond the scope of this study. The chapter will deal with the general tendencies within the literature and the comparative studies which refer to the official narratives of both states.

In this regard, Damla Demirözü emphasizes the differences between the parties by saying “it is a part of our identity, how we called the year of 1922 and what it implies to us” (2005: 155). As Onur Yıldırım (2006) states, the developments, which formed the national historiographies in Greece and Turkey in harmony with their national goals, caused a large discrepancy in the narratives between parties about the forced migration and population exchange process. Soner AYTEK ALPAN (2012) also shows a comparative outline of the official discourses and textbooks about the subject, supporting Yıldırım’s research. Both authors claim that the period of three-year lasting war, which began with the Greek military campaign in Izmir in 1919 and ended with the control by the Turkish side in all Anatolia in September 1922, was presented with different attention points in the official historiographies. In this context, while the victory of the Turkish side was mentioned as a legendary triumph in the nation-state narrative against all enemies—it is called the “Independence War”—, the Greek nation-state narrative embraced the defeat and forced displacement period, referring to it with the name the “Asia Minor Catastrophe”, symbolizing the tragic destiny of Greece and the Greek people.¹⁷ On the other hand, the victory of the Turkish side was

¹⁷ In this sense, the concept of the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” referred not just to the defeat of Greek army and “Great Fire of Smyrna”, but also to the ideological change of the Greek nation-state. Thus,

considered to be a chance to found the Turkish nation-state and to reach the target of the nationalized Turkish lands.

However, although 1922 is not a related subject for the forced displacement according to the Turkish national narrative, approximately one million Orthodox Ottoman citizens left the Ottoman lands either due to fear of reprisal or because they were forced to leave as soon as possible with military actions or revenge rumors by the Turkish authorities all year after the defeat (Yıldırım, 2006). Thus, the Turkish national narrative tends to ignore that the Greek-Orthodox population substantially accomplished the mass immigration to Greece before the Lausanne decision on the Compulsory Population Exchange. In this regard, the forced migration became meaningful after the year of 1923 for the Turkish historiography. Yet, it is observed that the Compulsory Population Exchange was mainly quoted as the final chapter in the “Independence War” and the victory against Greece or it was mentioned as a chapter of the Lausanne Treaty, which recognized Turkey as an independent state.¹⁸ That is why, when the literature is examined for the exchangees in Turkey, it can be seen that the Compulsory Population Exchange and the process of the forced migrations are not popular in the nation-state narrative of Turkey and do not exist

3000 years existence of Greeks in Asia Minor, Pontus and Thrace ended with a sudden war in the vision of the nation-state. The lands which were referred to in the Orthodox Christian literature and the Ancient Greek legacy were lost for Greek side. Besides, “Catastrophe” had been not a complete process for refugees in Greece yet. Thousands of refugees began to gather in the Aegean Island, ports and temporary refugee camps in poor conditions and the Greek government could not find a quick solution for the basic needs and citizenship problems.

¹⁸ Especially increased Islamic tendencies of the governments and political discussions made the secularist and Kemalist people more sensitive about the Republic and its essential elements. Therefore, in parallel with the discussion on the Lausanne Agreement, it can be followed that Lausanne Agreement became a holy item for the Kemalist republicans. In addition to this, the discussions on agreement was perceived as humiliation by the exchangee associations and they embraced the agreement with not only the part of the population exchange and but also all other chapters which were not related with their situation. Thus, for instance LMV organized seminars on the Lausanne Agreement and published the results of the seminars as a book to “prevent the misinformation” about it. Sefer Güvenç (ed.), *Güncel Tartışmalar Işığında Lozan*, İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, December 2017.

independently apart from the other important issues for years. Similarly, the Greek national narrative focuses on the year 1922, the Catastrophe and the persecuted people who suffered due to “the army of Kemal”. Thus, the Compulsory Population Exchange is mentioned as the last phase of the forced migration process and the survival of the few remaining Orthodox refugees in Turkey. Additionally, the period before 1922 or the Muslim refugees who forcibly migrated from Greece to Turkey are not a part of the Greek historiography. Also, Umut Özsu (2011) points out that along with concluding of the Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, the forced migration of one million Greeks obtained legitimacy under the international law without any sanctions. In this sense, the main target of the Treaty was to describe a completed mission, a view that dominated the Greek nation-state narrative.

Lambros Baltiotis’s (2005) work explains that the process of the constitution of the national narratives about the forced migration is affected by multiple determinants. Firstly, the meanings which the national narratives ascribe to the abandoned territories are not the same for either party (Baltiotis 2005: 402-411). Thus, he claims that while the Greek national narrative mentions Anatolia with all its Ancient Greece legacy and Orthodox Christian literature; the Balkans, especially the Northern Greece, do not become an intense target for the Turkish nation-state narrative. Secondly, he argues that Turkey has a victors’ narrative and mentions the historical events in parallel with it. However, the official narrative in Greece points to the concepts of defeat, “Catastrophe” and later “Genocide” (Baltiotis 2005: 410). Therefore, he refers to the different forced migration experiences of the people in both parties and its result on the political, economic and social life as a determinant of differing narratives. Lastly, Baltiotis mentions that the disproportionate population rate of the exchangees and

refugees resulted in different resettlement and integration policies by the states (2005: 411-413).¹⁹

Similarly, the literature on the forced migration reflects the narratives and becomes an explanatory tool to elaborate on the discussions on the subject. Thus, Demirözü (2005) analyzes the Greek literature on 1922 and forced migration and she introduces why and how the Catastrophe appears in the Greek literature. In this context, Millas (2005) goes a level further and presents comparative research on the literature and novels between Greece and Turkey. Therefore, he mentions similarities in the accounts of differences by other authors in the official discourses, textbooks and historiography. He also outlines the literary works in both countries and points out how the literature changes over time.

However, when the general tendency of the literature is considered, it is seen that the majority of the literature consciously or unconsciously ignores the different patterns of the aforementioned narratives. Besides, even the primary sources of the 1922-23 forced migration show large differences in the Greek, Turkish and English versions of the event. For instance, while one of the major studies on the 1922-23 forced migrations is called “The Heirs of Catastrophe” in the English and Greek versions, it is known as “The Heirs of the Exchange” in Turkish translation. This should not be perceived as a coincidence. The majority of the literature prefers the vocabulary and concepts, which cover the different narratives of the two countries.²⁰

Besides, Demirözü (2017) argues that a similar tendency is also observed in the literary

¹⁹ The proportion of exchangees in all population was one of 26, this rate was a quarter of the population of Greece and so half million exchangees could be settled separately in parallel to integration and settlement policies of Ankara.

²⁰ Almost all mentioned sources have similar tendencies in this study. In this regard, the translations of the literature on the exchangees and refugees also appear as a tool to reproduce nation-state narratives. For this reason, it is a factor that makes it difficult for the parties to understand each other while the concepts are being translated according to national narratives.

works and translations that are made according the sensitivity of both countries. In this sense, the translations of the studies on the subject should be analyzed *per se* to fill the gap in the literature about it.

2.3. Refugees vs. Exchangees

A similar distinction mentioned in the previous chapter is also observed in naming the societies who forcibly migrated from their lands. Tuncay Ercan Sepetçioğlu (2004) explains that because of the huge scope of the subject and interdisciplinary research, there are many concepts to introduce to the societies in both countries such as refugee, exchangee, migrant, emigrant, *muhacir* or *macur* or *majiris* (Balta, 2014), patriyot and the names of the abandoned territories. Nevertheless, he states that the concept of the exchangee does not correspond with the international literature.²¹ In this sense, the concept of the refugee is preferred to describe the 1922-23 immigrants in parallel with the Greek concept Προσφυγες (*refugee*). Moreover, Evangelia Balta offers another distinction between the concepts. According to the author, the people who had to migrate after the Lausanne Treaty from inner Anatolia and some part of the Pontos do not consider themselves as refugees. Instead, they prefer to use the concept of ανταλλισμος (*exchangee*) (2014). Therefore, it is seen that the several concepts in use refer to different viewpoints of the parties and express varied targets. In this context, the substitution of concepts creates a sense of confusion in the literature and makes it difficult to properly comprehend the parties. Thus, the determination of the concept

²¹ Also Sepetçioğlu mentions to the concept of the exchangee in Turkey. He claims that the reason of the choosing the name of the exchangee depicts the differences than other migrants societies. Although the name of the *muhacir* (refugee) was used in the beginning, associated with the academic research papers, the concept of the *mübadil* (exchangee) became the preferable concept to denote the difference.

which the researcher uses emerges as a crucial methodological point. Furthermore, although the amount of comparative research has increased in the last few decades, the majority of the studies deal with one side of the history, and thus, understanding the process in the two countries emerges as another difficulty. For this reason, because both parties have their own literature, the literature review is addressed separately.

Turkey	Greece
<p>Muhacir (<i>refugee</i>) \rightleftarrows macir, macur \searrow emigrant</p> <p>Mübadil (<i>exchangee</i>)</p>	<p>Προσφυγες (<i>refugee</i>)</p> <p>Regional identifications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pontian • MinorAsian • Constantinopolitan • Tracian • Cappadocian <p>ανταλλισμος (<i>exchangee</i>)</p>

Table 2.1. Table of Concepts in the 1922-23 Forced Migration

2.3.a. Return to the “Homeland”: Greek Refugees

The literature which mentions the refugees in Greece begins one year earlier than the historiography in Turkey. Therefore, the year 1922 can be considered as the beginning and reference point for almost all literature about the refugees in this context. In this way, Dimitra Giannuli (1995) argues that in the following months after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, approximately one million refugees who left their lands by forced displacement gathered in camps, ports and any available place which were used as a shelter in the Aegean islands and the main cities of Greece, showing the efforts of the relief organization and Greek government to improve basic life conditions. She indicates that the lack of a comprehensive plan to evacuate the

refugees, the inadequacy of available accommodation, food and welfare services made the problem greater, and so the Greek government began to implement any practical solution in the pre-Lausanne period. Giannuli (1995) and Elçin Macar (2005) point out that mostly US based relief organizations got involved during the period to help the refugees. However, Giannuli claims that the first encounter between the refugees, locals and officials was not friendly and constituted unfavorable relations from the beginning (1995: 274-275). She underlines that the discrimination against the refugees by the locals because of their cultural differences and poor conditions exacerbated the refugee crises and caused decades-long tension in Greece (Giannuli, 1995: 277).

In this sense, as Yıldırım points out, the Greek side of Population Exchange decision came to an agreement to solve the refugee crises in 1923 (2006: 50). In this regard, Bruce Clark argues that while the Compulsory Population Exchange agreement in Lausanne signified the disappointment of the idea of return for the one million refugees in Greece (Hirschon, 2000: 33), it was regarded as a solution for the resettlement process and a road map for the problems of the abandoned properties and citizenship rights by the state (Clark, 2008: 13; Giannouli, 1995: 276).²² However, the state became helpless and the scope of the refugee crisis led the state to apply to international institutions. In this sense, the “Refugee Settlement Commission” (RSC) was founded under the League of Nations and the settlement process was actualized under this institution until 1930 (Yıldırım, 2006: 165).

In this respect, the literature focuses mainly on the resettlement policies, integration process and economic, political, and social environment of the refugees in the inter-war period. The first study examining the minority exchanges in Bulgaria, Greece and

²² Also, due to many men were into the labor battalions in Turkey, the Treaty was signified for many families a chance to reunite (Clark, 2008).

Turkey was published by Stephan P. Ladas in 1932.²³ Although Ladas concentrates on the failure of the liquidation and exchange of the properties and several other problems, he does touch upon the successful efforts of the RSC and the Greek government in the resettlement process with comprehensive data. According to Ladas, because of its result, the minority exchange can be addressed as a method to terminate conflicts at the domestic and international level (1932: 726). Likewise, Dimitri Pentzopoulos (2002) refers to the population exchange decision as a solution for the problems of minorities. Although he mentions the problems of the refugees in the interwar period, he claims that in a short while, the refugees became valuable in the economic, political and social life of the Greek society (Pentzopoulos, 2002: 143-224). Also, the arrival of the refugees is referred to as a Hellenizing factor for the Greek population and an element to provide stability and security at the domestic level (Pentzopoulos, 2002: 142). However, Yıldırım (2010) criticizes the aforementioned authors, who had become the dominant resources for the literature for decades, and offers a new perspective. In this context, first of all, he examines the reliability of the data and the approaches of the Ladas and Petzepoulos, which claim the population exchange as a successful solution, and presents their fallacies. Therefore, according to Yıldırım, while Ladas and Petzepoulos constitute a “meta-narrative,” which influenced the literature through a misinterpretation (2010: 185), they are also inclined to ignore the problems of the refugees from the individual perspectives due to their state-centric viewpoints.

In parallel, Yıldırım (2006) also challenged the dominant literature through a comparative study, representing the migration period and resettlement process of two

²³ In this point, it should be underlined that the process of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey was still an on-going process in 1932.

countries from a critical viewpoint. He propounds that the resettlement policies and compensations promised by the parties could not reach the target of Treaty because the participating parties of the participant countries did not focus on how the compulsory population exchange would execute and provide compensations for the people who would suffer from it. Instead, Yıldırım argues that the main target of the envoys was a peace treaty and establishing nationalized states. Thus, there were many topics for negotiation such as capitulation, the *etablis* problem, the Patriarchate of Istanbul (Constantinople), the borders of Turkey and minority rights, whilst they ignored the structural issues of the population exchange decision (Yıldırım, 2006: 35-37). Yıldırım portrays not just the treaty conditions and resettlement process, but also investigates the public opinion, political discourses and institutions responsible in the resettlement process in both countries (2006: 85-188). Similarly, Clark (2008) discusses the success of the Treaty and claims that although the population exchange provided the national homogenization and reached the aims of the states, it had a negative impact on the refugees and exchangees.

Elisabeth Kontogiorgi (2006) also contradicts the success-thesis of the resettlement policy in her detailed study of the resettlement process in Northern Greece. She notes that the orientation and integration process of the refugees did not happen without problems. Specifically, the quantity and quality of the lands (2006: 145-146), constraining bureaucratic procedures, tensions between locals and refugees mainly grounded on the land share (2006: 165-170), and problems on the title deeds (2006: 153) led to more problems and the RSC could not achieve its target of self-sufficiency. This caused the refugees to demand more from the state and created coherence and togetherness within the refugee communities (Karakasidou 1997: 157-161). Similarly, Anastasia N. Karakasidou supports the outputs of Kontogiorgi's study and asserts that

the refugees were used as a homogenization tool of the state for the Northern Greece against the population who were perceived un-Greek by the state (1997: 141-152). In this sense, she indicates that the experiences of being a refugee were felt intensely in this region. Similarly, the refugees were challenged with various difficulties in the urban areas. According to George T. Mavrogordatos, economic difficulties and competition were also prevalent in the urban areas (1983: 186-191).²⁴

Thus, the inadequacy of property for the refugee resettlement led to the establishment of new neighborhoods and villages where the refugees lived together and were known by the concept of a Προσφυγικά (*refugee neighborhood*) (Salvanou, 2013; Hirschon, 2000; Anagnostopulu; 2005). Moreover, Alice James (2001) shows that the refugees preferred to identify themselves and their settlements with the names of their territories which they forcibly left in Turkey. Therefore, revitalization of the past in the new territories occurred not only in the names of villages or neighborhoods, but also with the names of the churches, streets, cultural centers and presentation of carrying relics such as icons, religious materials, even stones (James, 2001: 2). Thus, the newly-founded settlements made the reconstruction of the lost geographies possible, and they gained new meanings with references to the Ancient Greek and Orthodox Christianity.²⁵

²⁴ Despite all intentions of the state and the RSC for the resettlement process, until the 1930s thousands of people continued to live in the camps, fabrics, theaters, state buildings and hangars which remained from entente states presence in Northern Greece. Furthermore, the refugees who almost could not find a position in civil service positions generally worked for some occupation which had very low salary range and other people did not want to work. Proportionately, 40 percent of the refugees worked in agriculture sector, 30 percent of them worked in the manufacturing sector and 10 percent worked in trade sector which were mainly small scale enterprises or street trading. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic*, 185. The demographic structure of the refugees was another important issue. Because many of man were in prison or labor battalion in Turkey and later on many of them couldn't return reason of high death rate in these battalions, population of the refugees were significantly woman and children. Therefore demographic situation of the refugees caused lower salary range and exploitation. Hirschon, *Mübadele Çocukları*, 34-36.

²⁵ The revitalization also provided a unification of the nation in the current borders with the references to the heritages. Thus, the first time in the history, all Greeks became under the same roof. Therefore,

Mavrogordatos also mentions the outputs of the political life of the interwar period as indicative for the development of refugee existence and identity (1983: 182-225). Accordingly, the refugee crisis constituted a rivalry between the Venizelist and the Conservative political parties. While the refugees were against the Royalist side as the culprit of the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the Conservatives gathered support from the locals because of their anger against the refugees (Mavrogordatos, 1983: 198). The Venizelist party comprehended the importance of the refugees as a massive vote source and embraced their demands (Mavrogordatos, 1983: 202). Thus, the interwar period witnessed the tension between locals and refugees in the political life and campaigns. Nevertheless, the study presents that the 1930 Ankara Agreement between Greece and Turkey terminated the last hopes for compensation and besides continued mass support for the Liberal Party. The Communist Party (KKE) also gained support from the refugees in the urban areas (Triadafilopoulos, 1998: 22-23). However, the political rivalry and importance of the refugees in political life concluded suddenly with the Metaxas dictatorship (Triadafilopoulos, 1998: 23-24).

The reactions resulting from economic competition, land-sharing conflicts and political rivalry also reflected social discrimination (Yıldırım, 2010). When “salved Greek brothers” arrived in their “motherland”, locals hesitated to embrace them due to the difference in their appearance, culture and the language they were using (Mavrogordatos, 1983; Hirschon 2000; Giossos, 2008; Triadafilopoulos, 1998). Also, as Athanasia Anagnostopoulou points out, although the refugees were considered to be an inseparable part of the nation and society, discriminatory behavior against the

the efforts to recreate the abandoned territories in Greece were supported or at least were not precluded by the state. Besides, the government considered as a harmless act to the naming policies of the refugees for new settlements, in which the state deeply involved to change all names in line with Greekness for decades especially in Northern Greece to remove all evidences were related to un-Greek populations, and thus they did not intervene.

refugee community was used by both the state and the society (2005). In other words, while the narrative of Asia Minor became nationalized by the existence of the refugees, their cultural differences were considered a threat against the national culture.

Associated with the Metaxas regime, Axis occupation (1941-44) and the Civil War (1943-1949), Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos argues that the visibility of the refugees changed drastically and the representation of the refugees evolved from the public sphere to personal one (1998: 24). New separations also occurred in this period despite the pre-existing ones between the locals and refugees (Salvanou, 2013: 9).²⁶ In this context, Salvanou claims that the debate about the Asia Minor Catastrophe was perceived as an innocent and important topic in public, while the discussions on the Civil War, the Occupation or the juntas were considered to be risky topics in the Greek society (2013: 9-10). In this sense, Triadapoulos also mentions the unifying features of the Asia Minor Catastrophe in the Greek society, which had been politically divided for twenty years (1998: 25). Besides, according to Salvanou, the fortieth commemoration of the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1962 gave a chance to the leftist political parties to become a part of the political agenda (2013: 9-10).

Along with these, as Hirschon asserts, the identity of the refugees maintained continuity because the second generation of the refugee population grew up in the

²⁶ Also the tendency of the literature has a feature that agrees the relation among the refugees and left in the Civil War and later on. Besides, as Hirschon (2000) presents, after the Civil War the concept of the refugees became synonymous with leftist in public. However, Marantzidis (2000) disagrees to the common acceptance on the aforementioned relations. According to Marantzidis, although many refugees joined to ELAS which was left partisan groups against occupation and played fundamental roles, some of them collaborate with Axis powers or in the Civil War they supported the government side against leftists. He argued that the hitherto similar political tendencies of refugees diversified with the new conditions. Especially Marantzidis shows that the Turkish-speaking Pontian refugees fought side by side the governmental forces against Left partisans to prove their loyalty. Similarly, Balta (2014) also objects to the literature and analyzes the behaviors of the Cappadokian population in the same period and reaches the similar results like Marantzidis.

refugee settlements (2000: 4).²⁷ Moreover, the refugees contributed more than past in everyday life and art in the Greek society. Excluded and censored “Rembetika” by the locals and state (Pappas, 1999) and published novels on Catastrophe began to meet an increasing demand from wider society. Thus, Anagnostopoulou (2005) mentions that the figure of the refugee symbolized victimhood in the war as well as a part of a living and developing culture empowering Greek society. Kitromilides (2005) also indicates the importance of the Center of Asia Minor Studies (CAMS), which has had an essential role in providing unique resources for the visibility of the refugee culture and research on the topic.

In addition to these, the period witnessed the politicization of the refugee memories and the mnemonic narrative, which referred to the nostalgic histories and “lost homelands” used by the new generations (Salvanou, 2013; Exertoglou, 2011; Liakos, 1998, 2011). Especially, Baltsiotis (2005) mentions the victory of the PASOK in 1980 and the policy of ριζες (*roots*), which allowed the refugee narrative to enter into the nation-state narrative and the recognition of the refugees’ culture as a part of Greek culture, as a significant change for the refugee narrative. Thus, he claims that particularly under the influence of the anti-Turkey movements in the late 1980s and 1990s, the refugee narrative became visible in the wider Greek society and was well received by the public and the state (2005: 431). In this way, Salvanou indicates that the visibility of refugees in the nation-state narrative was inseparably included in national ceremonies as well as the country’s agenda, textbooks and culture (2013: 12). In other words, by means of all these changes, cultural backgrounds which caused

²⁷ Until 80s, the poor conditions of the refugeehoods and their different character than other neighborhood made a living culture which was fed from being refugee. Thus, the new generations grow up with the conscious of being other in the society and constituted segregation in the cities region by region. Although the rural-urban migration changed the image of the refugeehood, the main boundaries is still apparent.

suspicion earlier became inarguable instruments of Greekness. Moreover, the recognition of the Pontus Genocide in 1994 and Asia Minor Genocide in 1996 by the state opened a new stage for their nation-state narrative.

2.3.b. Exchangees: National Memories of the Lost Countries²⁸

In contrast to the literature about the refugees, the exchangees had not occupied the academic research agenda for decades. As Fahriye Emgili (2017) mentions, the subject of the population exchange and exchangees became notable only after the 1990s. In this sense, Kemal Arı (2010) points out that the aforementioned gap is not only related to the case of the population exchange, but also related to the lack of the research on migration in the Turkish academy. He also claims that exchangees were not interested in recording their culture and history as it happened in Greece. However, when there is such a difference in the literature between the parties, this explanation seems to be insufficient. As the research of Alpan (2010) shows, the exchangees were organized from the beginning and intended to be effective in society in 1924. Yet, the Turkish government perceived them as separatists and so shut down their associations. In this sense, the silence is likely to be related with the nation-building project of Turkey, as Biray Kolluoğlu points out (2013). The analysis of Yeğen about the rise of the Turkish nationalism shows that the culturalist policies of Ankara increased in the 1930s and the 1940s in parallel with the change in Turkish nationalism and did not allow for the expression of cultural characteristics different from the national culture (2017: 328-331). In other words, intolerance against differences from Turkishness, centrism and

²⁸ “Muhacirler, kaybedilmiş ülkelerimizin milli hatıralardır.” M.K. Atatürk, date accessed: 11.05.2018, <http://www.bursaselmanikgocmenleri.com/>.

powerful features of the nation-state did not give a chance to the exchangees to identify themselves.²⁹

In this context, the studies about the exchangees were formed as a part of the studies of the refugees in Greece. Thus, the situation of the exchangees became one of the major parts of the study of Ladas (1932). Nevertheless, Ladas claims that the exchangees were settled easily because of the relatively low exchangee population and the rate of the available and empty properties in Turkey (1932: 705). Therefore, the situation on the Turkish side was introduced as an effortless and unproblematic process and, because the study of Ladas dominated the literature, the process was perceived in this way for many years. A similar tendency was also seen in the study of Hirschon (2000: 34).

Nonetheless, although the literature has not been sufficient to explain the political, economic and social behaviors of the exchangees in numerous fields, the last two decades witnessed much comprehensive research about the exchangees in Turkey. Especially, Kemal Ari contributed greatly to the field, leading to more research in the field. In this sense, the detailed work of Ari (1995), which covers many subjects such as the migration period, the resettlement process, problems of the exchangees, is considered to be the first major study in the literature.³⁰ Although Ari (1995) outlines the problem of the exchangees in social and economic life, he asserts that the

²⁹ After the resettlements and close of the refugee association in 1924, there is no historical record on exchangees except some local conflicts or issues. Besides, absence of the associations or institutions such as Asia Minor Research Center caused the lack of the knowledge about the subject. Moreover, today's researchers are having difficulty doing retrospective research because governmental archives are still closed or hard-to-reach. Therefore, there were rarely reliable data for case of the exchangees. Nevertheless, analyzing the territories which have intense exchangee population and personal testimonies can relatively fill this lack. In this sense, the researchers begin to access the knowledge of the exchangee culture and history through oral history as a dominant resource on the subject.

³⁰ Moreover, Ari has taken a central point in the exchangee literature with his many works published and has dominated to the literature.

exchangees became economically self-sufficient in a short time and that they overcame their problems in the society. Thus, Arı (1995) refers to the Population Exchange as an accomplished process, much like Ladas and Pentzopoulos.

Despite the widespread belief that the Turkish side did not encounter serious problems regarding their integration and settlement policies, Yıldırım indicates that the incident caused a considerable amount of trouble for both the Turkish state and the exchangees (2006: 92). According to Yıldırım, although the exchangees had the documents which proved the value of their properties in Greece, they only regained a small amount of their wealth by way of settlement policy (2006: 120).³¹ Similar to Greece, they were settled randomly by the state and it caused problems for agricultural production due to the unusual farm products for exchangees (Yıldırım, 2006: 140-142).³² Besides, Yıldırım denotes the quality of the properties, which were given to the exchangees, after the long-lasting Greco-Turkish War, which made Anatolia indigent (2006: 204-206). Furthermore, Yıldırım mentions the corruption and the occupied or looted properties in the one-year long agreement process given to the exchangees as compensation (2006: 95, 148-49). Ayhan Aktar shares similar concerns and remarks that the homeless people and the refugees from the Balkans and Russia as well as domestic refugees were settled by the state alongside the exchangees (2005: 128).

³¹ Although the exchangees had a document to prove their properties in Greece, they had to content what the government compensated. In various examples the rate of compensation is seen between 17,5 and 60 percent of their properties (Yıldırım, 2006; 120).

³² Although Ankara government constituted a regulation to settle in according to exchangees' classification of occupations, this classification was defective. Firstly, all exchangees' were considered as villagers and farmers and the regulation separated them in three category; tobacconists, agriculturist and grape growers and dealers in olives. While the regulation did not separate exchangees in respect to their urban or rural origins, this generic classification comprised all kind of occupations under the single group. For instance, under the tobacconist category there were landowners, traders, workers who enter to production process and farmers. For this reason when a trader was settled in farm land, transformation of them as a producer took time. Besides generalization of the agriculture category evaluated all different products as a same. A farmer from different geography and climate was settled in different regions (Yıldırım, 2007: 140-142).

Aktar (2005) also shows that the quantity of the available properties was not adequate for all the refugees.

Nonetheless, Baltiotis (2005) notes that the fundamental differences between the situations in Greece and Turkey caused different developments in Turkey. First of all, a smaller amount of the exchangee population was given a chance to settle separately in parallel with the integration and settlement policies of Ankara (2005: 409). Moreover, Baltiotis mentions that Turkey had a victors' narrative, and reference to Macedonia or Thrace did not constitute the significant part of the Turkish historiography as it happened in Greece for Anatolia or Asia Minor (2005: 405-409). Furthermore, the interest in (reference to) the abandoned territories could be easily perceived as admiration for the Ottoman past and it was not a desirable option for the newly-founded nation-state. In parallel with it, the level of institutionalization was not similar in the relative states. For this reason, while the Greek nationalism progressed in a century and had more stable national descriptions, Turkishness was continued to be discussed to discover its national features and boundaries in the longer run. Therefore, the relations with Turkishness needed to be proved in many cases in the 1920s and 1930s (Arı, 1995: 163). Thus, as Kolluoğlu indicates, it was expected that the exchangees should prove their loyalty to Turkishness (2013; 543).

Furthermore, after a short-term welcome in homeland ceremonies, the land-sharing caused anger and discrimination at social level between groups (Yıldırım, 2006: 210-211) and it was reflected in the way that the Turkishness of the exchangees was questioned by the locals due to their cultural differences.³³ Besides, Çağaptay shows

³³ Especially the language of some exchangees who spoke different languages such as Greek, Slav, Vlach, Pomak, Romani and Sephardic Spanish caused suspicions. After many years in war, the locals thought they had rights on the properties of non-Muslims and they behaved hostilely against to exchangees. Therefore, the exchangees had been humiliated on their loyalty and origin for a long time.

that the exchangees also confronted with nationalist campaigns such as the campaign of “Citizen, speak Turkish!”. He mentions that although this movement seemed to target the non-Muslim population, many exchangees who spoke a different language were affected by this campaign (2004: 95).³⁴ It was seen that sensitivity to a language other than Turkish spread to all the society, press and government institutions, and especially Cretan Muslims—who spoke a different dialect of Greek—became a problematic issue (Sepetçioğlu, 2010: 90-91; Tansuğ, 2011: 200; Kolluoğlu, 2013).

As a reaction to the aforementioned discrimination, Feryal Tansuğ argues that the Kemalist-statist ideology became an integral part of the exchangee population (2011: 211). In return, Çağaptay also notes that exchangees became more acceptable in the Kemalist state due to their quick integration into the republic (2006: 84). Nonetheless, there is insufficient literature on the political reactions and social behavior of the exchangees after the 1930s except on some important subjects, some local conflicts or issues (Yıldırım, 2006: 150).³⁵ Although there are some studies intending to fill this gap with the oral history and archival research, it is seen that the absence of the institutions and archives such as the CAMS made it difficult to study the exchangees. Thus, the literature about the exchangees entered into a stagnation period until the 1990s, which led to a gap in history.

However, research about the exchangees increased in the last decades in parallel with the increasing public interest. In particular, many studies focus on the settlements where exchangees constituted the majority and on their daily practices and identity construction process (Karakılıç, 2017; Goularas; 2012, Emgili, 2011). Additionally,

³⁴ Besides, the interviews shows us not just Greek speaking exchangees bur also other languages such as Albanian or Pomak was the target of the discriminative attention.

³⁵ Besides, absence of the associations or institutions such as Asia Minor Research Center caused the lack of the knowledge about the subject. Moreover, today's researchers are having difficulty doing retrospective research because governmental archives are still closed or hard-to-reach.

many historical studies were initiated to challenge the general acceptance of the population exchange and to add the voice of the exchangees to that history (Ipek, 2000; Pekin, 2005; Gökaçtı, 2002; Erdal, 2006; Şenişik 2016).

2.4. The Refugee and Exchangee Associations

The refugee and exchangee associations become more influential as time progresses and they begin to affect the social and political life in both Greece and Turkey. Thus, many studies refer to the associations due to their importance for the history and identity of the refugees and exchangees. However, the evolution of the associations differs in both parties. While the refugee associations existed in Greece from the beginning, the movement of the exchangee associations began after 2000 in Turkey.

In this context, it is seen that the literature about the refugees mention the associations as an important element for the refugee history in Greece. According to Salvanou, the refugee associations were founded by the urban elites in the first decades to create a connection between the Greek national identity and the refugees (2013: 8). Thus, Salvanou states that the priority of the refugee associations was to give solidarity and construct a coherent relation between their culture and Greekness because of the cultural disadvantages mentioned earlier (2013: 7-9). In this respect, in response to the social, economic and political discrimination at least during the first decades, they began to organize the associations according to their place of origin in order to empower their historical discourse and constitute a collective memory as a tool to enter into the Greek-nation state narrative (Salvanou, 2013: 6).³⁶ In addition to the intention

³⁶ Although many refugee settlement and neighborhood founded their organizational centers and images and discourse of the tragic loss of Asia Minor were used by nation-state narrative, existing cultural values and differences of the refugee population was suppressed by Greek nation-state to prevent the visibility of different cultural features of the refugee populations However, continuation of

to accommodate the national narrative, the refugees established various organizations to maintain their culture. However, as it is seen in the study of the Giossos (2008), even regular refugee football clubs became the means for the harmonization of the national discourse. Triadafilopoulos points out another feature of the refugee associations and claims that they became the political tools of the Venizelist political parties in the interwar period (1998; 18-19). However, the foundation of the CAMS led to the institutionalization of the refugee history. According to Kitromilides (2005), the CAMS became the main source for refugee culture and memory with its rich archives. However, Triadafilopoulos notes that because the new separation emerged in the occupation and civil war, after the 1940s, the refugees did not constitute a homogenous interest group as they did before (1998: 25)

Salvanou maintains that in the 1970s, the refugee associations began to be prevalent in the historiography and the academy, which resulted in the publication of many studies on the refugee history (2013: 10). The increased visibility of the refugee narrative led to the politicization of the refugee history and made the refugees a political agent in Greek social life (Salvanou, 2013: 10). In addition, migration from the rural areas to cities caused the expansion of refugee neighborhoods providing relatively low-rent housing. Overpopulation and transformation of the properties from separate houses to apartments also transformed the social relations in the refugee neighborhoods which had been preserved for sixty years. Consequently, the refugee identity that was based on the neighborhoods changed substantially despite all the

failed policies and victimization of refugees strengthened the identity of refugee and this identity constituted a narrative via collective memory, which were selective and accord with national policies and identified itself once again through associations, clubs, research institutions, church, and refugee settlements. Yet it should not be forgotten that although they have similar tendencies such as victimhood and social exclusion, the refugee community displayed different features and so each community composed their narrative based on the territorial separation. That is why, besides the refugee identities, Pontus, Asia Minor, Thracia, Cappadocia, Constantinople, etc. identities became more visible than a collective refugee identity in each settlement

efforts to maintain it. Nevertheless, refugee associations became substitutes for the weakening neighborhood links. As happened in the past, the associations aimed to organize cultural events to provide solidarity and tried to establish both social and economic grounds for refugees.

The inclusion of the refugee narrative into the nation-state narrative and the recognition of the refugees' culture as a part of Greek culture, as Baltsiotis (2005) indicates, created a bursting demand for refugee associations. Salvanou agrees that the political discussions gave ground and motivation for the refugee associations. In particular, the narrative of the Pontus Genocide provided a new chance for mobilization for the Pontus associations and it became an integral part for many of them (2013: 11). Thus, Baltsiotis states that particularly under the influence of the anti-Turkey movements in the late 80s and 90s, they became visible in Greek society and were well received by the public and the state (2016: 70-71).³⁷ Moreover, Dimitris Kamouzis (2016) explains that refugee associations established a coherent and shared refugee identity for decades and this identity increasingly coincided with the Greek national narrative. Therefore, the refugee associations had a central role as a political tool in the agenda of the Greek state up until today and their visibility became an inseparable part of the daily life, national ceremonies, current political discourse, history and Greek culture. Therefore, the associations began to blame Turkey and to demand an apology for and recognition of the forced migrations, massacres and genocide. In this sense, Salvanou claims in her study that they gained a new, future oriented mission in Greek society contrary to their past experiences (2013: 12).

³⁷ It is seen that after PASOK won the election in 1981, the party preferred to use anti-Turkey policies in foreign and domestic agenda. Although the subject is still debatably, the main tendency agrees that PASOK chose this policy to cover pre-election promises which they could not fulfill (Firat, 2002: 104)

In the case of Turkey, it is seen that the exchangee associations became effective in the last two decades. However, Alpan (2010) mentions that, contrary to popular myth that they remained in silence in the society, the exchangees were organized by their associations due to similar reasons with the Greek experience in 1924. However, Alpan shows that the intentions of the exchangee associations were confronted with a quick opposition and the associations and their branches were shut down under the accusation of discrimination by Ankara and the exchangee organizations did not appear in public for decades.³⁸ However, urbanization of Turkey and rural-urban migration created a new phenomenon in the spread of hometown associations, as Alexandre Toumarkine points out (2001: 425). The first result of this development emerged out of the desire to create the migrant associations for the exchangees. Although the first migrant associations were founded by the Balkan and Caucasian migrants in the 1950s,³⁹ the culturalist policies were not well received by the state for undermining of the society, and thus, especially the Caucasian associations were faced with state reaction (Toumarkine, 2001: 427).⁴⁰

Nonetheless, the exchangee population began to be affected by urbanization and rural-urban migration, as their culture was threatened by these developments. Thus, the exchangee-majority settlements began to react to the migration flows to their

³⁸ Perhaps the great misfortune of the movement was that the first opposition political party, Progressive Republican Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) embraced the problems of the exchangees and used them as opposition tool against to the government.

³⁹ Although the Rumelian and Balkan associations met interest of the exchangees, the attendance rate of the exchangees to these associations is still uncertain due to the lack of research.

⁴⁰ But the mile point of the migrant association showed up in the 1930 coup etat which forbidden all associations. However, after the 1990s, Balkan countries and Muslims in Balkans became the foreign policy target and the aforementioned associations were supported or were tolerated by the state. Especially, after 1990 and conflicts in Balkans, the importance of these associations improved. In addition to this, immigrants from Greece was not included the Balkan associations except if they were not from Western Trace. In this sense, the study claims that the associations were founded in Turkey, only when they had a relation with the foreign policies. Besides, as it has been mentioned before, the Compulsory Population Exchange didn't occupy the agenda of Turkish nation-state narrative and main tendency was to consider the incident as unproblematic issue.

settlements in order to protect the already established exchangee cultures, which could now be perceived as the local culture after many years and generations. With these developments, the number of associations increased in the late 1990s.⁴¹

Parallel with this and academic and civil society interest in the population exchange in the 1990s, critical viewpoints began to emerge against the nation-state narrative on the subject for the first time in history. Millas (2003; 2005) notes, for instance, that academic research and literary works about the population exchange began to be published and they were well received by the new generations of exchangees.⁴² At the same time, the first Cretan Association was founded in the 1990s. However, it should be underlined that the Cretan Associations represented not only the exchangees but also all the Cretans who immigrated to Turkey from the nineteenth century.⁴³ Hence, Cretan associations can be regarded as an exception. In addition to this, the diplomatic

⁴¹ As they mention frequently, the exchangee culture began to perceive in the 90s as a local culture and integrated with locality (For instance the exchangees who came from Kozani, represented their dance culture as Silivri Folk Dance and thus they could include their dance tradition in the repertoire of the national folk dance). However, the villages and towns which consisted by exchangees were affected by rural-urban migration and as a consequence of this process, they confronted to lose their cultural features and traditions. Thus, as a reaction of this process, presentation of the identity and culture needed a special attention and the people began to be attentive to protect and preserve their traditions and identity not to lose them. But the protection of the locality became a tool to increase interest to the exchangee past. Therefore, the foundation of the associations occurred and the exchangees' culture began more institutionalized. (In parallel with this process, the exchangees were affected by political discussion in the country but this subject will be explained in the following chapters).

⁴² The exchangees responded to exchangee literature in the same way that the new generations greeted the associations as well. It should be underlined that the improvement of the subject on the population exchange can be also traced on the literature. Thus, the literature in Turkey kept its silence until 80, if and only after 80s the literature discovered the subject of the population exchange.

⁴³ Cretan societies in Turkey are separated in two categories; old and new Cretans. In this classification, the old Cretans symbolizes the people who migrated to the Anatolia in the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century. In other words, they are not a part of the compulsory population exchange. In this sense, the concept of the new Cretans refers to the people who migrated to Turkey in the terms of the agreement after 1923. However, today it is seen that old and new Cretans stand together and involve the events, meetings and decisions of the exchangee association, although they present independent character other than the exchangee associations.

relations, which began in 1999 Istanbul and 2000 Athens earthquakes, and the relief efforts of both countries for each other began a relationship in civil society.⁴⁴

After these developments, the first exchangee association called “The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants” (FLTE) was founded in Istanbul in 2001.⁴⁵ The main objectives of the association were declared as preserving, protecting and promoting the exchangee culture and identity, and creating good communication with other “exchangees” in Greece. Also, the declaration referred to the progress of refugee associations in Greece with admiration and they aimed to establish similar organizations in Turkey. Thus, a potential network between two countries was intended to be established with these initiatives. In this way, the good relations which began with the earthquake diplomacy between Greece and Turkey could find a new stage. Moreover, this initiative led to an expectation in various parts of Turkey and a number of associations were formed in relation with the FLTE. Especially after 2010, the demand for the exchangee associations increased and many regions organized local branches or associations. Aslı Iğsız (2008; 2015) notes that similar to their counterparts in Greece, the exchangee associations in Turkey began to embody the memory and led to the establishment of museums, cultural centers and archives. Thus, they used these institutions to illustrate their identity. Also they organized festivals and commemorations to protect the exchangee culture and history, and the exchangee

⁴⁴ Besides the increased relation between the governments, the quick and intensive respond of the Greek society and gentle language of the press helped to enhance the relations. (Firat, 2002: 478-479). In addition to this, the individual help of the new generations of the refugees in Greece and the campaigns of the associations encouraged to the exchangees to found and improve relations with their counterparts. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/tesekkurler-komsu-39097417>. Besides, it should be underlined that the new telecommunication and transportation technologies gave a chance to reach information about the other side of borders and history.

⁴⁵ Although the association uses the name of the “The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants” in English, the proper translation of this association refers different meanings. While the word of the emigrant evokes a word related with migration, the original Turkish word refers the exchange of the populations. In this sense, this study claims that the translation of the association name does not meet with the same reaction.

associations supported the academic research on this particular subject to promote it. Therefore, the exchangee identity, which had been presented individually or based on local communities, has become more visible and institutionalized within the society.⁴⁶ However, it is seen that there is a lack of a comparative study about the refugee and exchangee associations and their relations with the nations-states in the literature. Although the refugee and exchangee associations have been included in the literature with many academic research studies and they have supported the people who are interested in the subject, there is a lack of comparative studies. In this sense, this study aims to fulfill the need for research studies on the refugee and exchangee associations.

⁴⁶ However, although the relations seem like parallel with the foreign policies, the governmental subventions were not provided for the exchangee associations different than the Balkan associations. Similarly, the exchangee associations do not have a target to protect, preserve or support of the Turkish society as other Balkan and Rumelia Associations have. On the contrary, they aim to create relations with Greek counterparts, associations and refugee society. Accordingly, one of the most important missions of the exchangee associations constitutes on the dialog. In this sense, declaration of town and association twinings between two countries, organizing common cultural and academic events, reciprocal visits are often observed in Turkey.

CHAPTER III

THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESIS

3.1. Theoretical Framework

The researchers, who study on the forced migration of 1922-23 and the compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey, always face with many difficulties because of the scope and various determinants that the case contains (Alpan, 2008: 159). In this regard, it is important that the boundaries of the study be determined by certain hypotheses and a theoretical framework be employed to provide a ground for a comprehensive analysis. In this sense, the way refugee and exchangee identities are constructed, the effects of associations in this construction process and their relation to national identities are the main themes of this work. Particularly, the tools of the organizations and narratives are studied meticulously and their effect on standardization and institutionalism process is shown.

In this context, as identity constructions of the exchangees and refugees and their relations with nation-state narratives are examined in Greece and Turkey, the theories of nationalism illuminate the study. However, the debate in the literature on what the origins of the nations and nationalism are and how they are accepted broadly by societies also emerge as determining elements in this research. Özkırmı (2000) identifies the aforementioned debate on the three main tendencies: the approaches of primordialism, ethno-symbolism and modernism. While primordialist approach explains the existence of nations as a natural continuation since the late prehistoric periods, ethno-symbolism and modernism present nations as a construct that emerged

out of modernity. Yet, the approaches, which agree that the nations are formed in the modern age, are different in terms of the relations between pre-modern formations and the modern nations. In this regard, Anthony Smith (1991), the prominent scholar on the ethno-symbolist approach, underlines the connections of the societies with their pre-modern past and a pre-national identity, which he calls *ethnie*, to comprehend the construction of modern nationality. *Ethnie* is a phenomenon that cannot be independent from the construction of the modern nations and determines their boundaries during the establishment processes to prevent possible reactions coming from the society (Smith, 1991). In this sense, although the nationalist ideology should be considered as a modern phenomenon, the effects of the historical backgrounds, symbols, traditions, and myths emerge as the determinants that lead to the formation of nations, contrary to the modernist approaches that examine the formation of national identity in the void (Smith, 2012: 224-265).

Particularly, Smith (1991; 1999; 2008; 2012) refers to the examples of both Greek and Turkish nationalisms to explain the aforementioned relations. In this regard, handling the subject with an ethno-symbolic approach seems to be more appropriate due to the regional diversity in the refugee groups, such as Pontics, Thracians, Cappadocians and Minor Asians in the Greek case, intense use of existence of the dialects, cultural memory, music, folk dances, myths and symbols. In addition to the religious background, linguistic differences of the exchangee and refugee groups tend to be presented in relation with their *ethnie* and pre-modern national ties. Although ethno-symbolism seems appropriate to explain the current phenomena, in depth-analysis might further present the process and concepts. This research considers such ties between ethnic groups and modern nations as a superficial understanding and pays

attention to the concept of Özkırmılı and Sofos, which is “retrospective ethnicization” (2013: 8).

In this context, when the process is examined in detail, it can be seen that the features of the nations and national identities are constructed on the components and then negotiated after the selection process from a wider variety of myths, symbols and discourses. Because of the aforementioned selection and construction process, the tie which is assumed to exist between ethnic origins and modern nations can be considered artificial and imagined. In other words, it is “a trap to understand the history” (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2013: 8). Even though the research does not focus on the existence of both Greek and Turkish nations, explaining the acknowledged viewpoint on nationalism is crucial to understand the stance of this work. Thus, the modernist approach fits more to explain the refugee and exchangee associations and their narratives.

As Özkırmılı notes, the main difference in the debates is related with the relations between the past and the present. According to modernist approach, modern nations can only emerge as a result of modern inventions (2000: 85). In this sense, the factors and groups presented as ethnicity are only randomly or consciously selected elements in retrospect (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2013; 8). Thus, nations appear as a tool which is constructed, imaged or invented to provide the legitimate point for the nationalist arguments and legitimacy (Özkırmılı and Sofos, 2013; 8). Eric Hobsbawm (1992), who argues that the nation is invented for the purposes of the elites, also indicates that Greek nationalism proves the continuity claim. Yet, he argues that although these pre-modern formations are used to strengthen the nationalist claims, they are selected or invented in the present time to construct the national continuity in the history. In this sense, Hobsbawm (2006) claims that the practices and traditions invented to create a

sense of unity within society are presented as a proof of the nations and traditions thought to have lasted for a long time. Thus, many newly constructed and rootless features join the national features as historical facts. On the other hand, Hobsbawm approaches to the elements that Smith considers them as *ethnie*, with other concept which is called “proto-nationalism” (1992: 46-80). According to Hobsbawm, pre-modern units, which have no connection with contemporary modern states but are fed by the ideology of nationalism to create their own legitimate ground, are frequently referred by the members of the nation. In contrast of Smith, Hobsbawm approaches the past as a concept which is defined with present needs and concerns of the nationalist elites and entitles these units as the proto-nationalist units. The best examples of this conceptualization are observed in the process of national language formations. Nationalists, who consider the national languages as continuity proof of a national past, construct homogenous and standardized languages choosing one of the dialects spoken by the people and transform it as common language of society (1992: 54).

On the other hand, Benedict Anderson refers to the concept of *imagined communities* to explain and understand the existence of modern nations (1995). He defines that nations are imagined, limited and sovereign models that emerged in the post-Overseas Expansion Latin America (1995, 20). In addition, he intends to find answers to the question of how nations are so widely accepted. In this sense, Anderson emphasizes the imagination that has created all communities throughout history. However, unlike the communities in the past, improved communication, institutions, the modern press, the appearance of common languages and the standardization tools of the modern era make it possible for nations to emerge. Similar to Ernest Gellner (2008), Anderson refers to the rise of education, literacy and the print capitalism and

points to their impact on the standardization and institutionalization to form nations (1995: 58-61). Thus, modernist writers, unlike Smith, consider the nations as the by-products of modernism, which are invented or imagined, the ideology of nationalism that leads to the formation of nations.

On the other hand, these theories lack necessary assumptions to explain how the phenomenon of the nation is commonly accepted and how the nation-states and national narrative dominate the daily-life of the people. In the 1990s, instead of the questions on existence of nations and how they emerge, scholars began to ask how powerful is nationalism as a functioning ideology and what the origins of this power are (Özkırıklı: 66). This thesis deals with similar questions on the relations between the narratives of the refugee/exchange associations and the nation-states as well. In this sense, the theory of Michael Billig (1995), “Banal Nationalism”, was chosen for the research in order to understand the effects of nationalism and nation-state narratives on the refugee and exchange identities, and vice versa.

Billig presents a main problematic of his study as the question of how the nation-state reproduces itself in daily life. Accordingly, nationalism, as an ideology, occupies each moment and place of the people’s life in the modern era. Thus, he claims that there is no escape from the influence of nationalism because of its scope (1995: 37). Therefore, the main question appears to be how nationalism becomes powerful in that way and what the source of this power is. Against the literature that relates nationalism with extreme measures or extraordinary situations, Billig argues that nationalism mainly takes its source from everyday routines (1995: 5). In this regard, Billig explains that contrary to popular belief, the times when the nationalist movements are strengthened with the national ceremonies or high tension periods such as national conflicts need a constructed ideological basis. According to the author, the nationalist

tendencies are not formed in extraordinary circumstances; in contrast, the repeated rituals, images or discourses constitute the power of nationalism in every-day life (1995: 5). These elements, called banal elements, which are constantly reminded in many occasions, are a part of the lives of the members of the nation.

Thus, the concept of banal factors is not related with the obvious items and nationalistic reactions in crises. They should be unimportant and negligible elements of the daily life. In this context, Billig explains the theory with a metaphor of unwaved flag. A flag which is waved consciously in a protest or in a national celebration day is not a factor which the banal nationalism is interested in. On the other hand, a flag which is not-waving in front of any public building such as schools, hospitals, municipalities, etc. in banal and mundane occasions become valuable for examination (Billig, 1995: 40). Inconspicuously and silently rippling flag which many people pass by without noticing becomes a regular thing, a banal reminder of the nationhood, which is forgotten and is not hailed by people (Billig, 1995: 40). The forgotten elements do not lose their value or meaning. Instead, they flag in the range of awareness, and the remembering process occurs unconsciously (Billig, 1995: 41). The meanings that objects or concepts overcome their meta-values. Their continuous use in the capacity of belonging to a nation allows them to be evoked in terms of national characteristics of objects and concepts in imagination. For instance, the red double decker bus, two headed eagle or pasta do not need an explanation about which nations they belong to. Existing stereotypes and their repeated presentation to the people make it possible to identify them easily. Furthermore, after the establishment of the nation-state, the national symbols, which had been used unconsciously for a while, began to be forgotten through the continuous use of these symbols in everyday life (Ibid). Thus,

Billig indicates that “this remembering involves a forgetting” and this concept is revealed for the reproduction of the nation-state (1995: 37-38).

In this regard, Billig argues that nationhood is constantly pointed out and reminds the members of a nation of their national identity in various ways. This remembering process is so intense that it no longer functions as a reminder and becomes a part of your life. “Consequently, an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life” (1995: 8). Billig supports that the generation and power of the nation-state’s narrative do not depend on its symbolic elements, but on the recurrence of the nation-state’s narrative. Besides, because of intensity of these banal factors and their surrounding scope, the people lose their imagination when they think the world without nations (Billig, 1995: 60-61). Thus, the nationhood that is constantly reminded of causes the world to be seen through national references.

However, Billig also mentions that these banal elements, forgotten and turned into a part of life, are also recurrent and flagged elements in times of crisis or when they want to be removed from the daily-life (1995: 40-41) In this regard, the nationalist reactions of the members of nation-states are not products of the times of crises; rather, these reactions are the results of the long process, in which nationhood is persistently reminded of to the members. In this context, the aforementioned features of banal nationalism illuminate the relations of refugee and exchangee associations with the nation-state narratives. The used concepts, events, vocabulary, images and discourses are examined and their position in Greece and Turkey is observed. Their perceptions about nationalism, Turkishness and Greekness are analyzed within this theoretical framework.

In addition to this, it is observed that the associations as civil society organizations and their relations among themselves in domestic and international stages are usually ignored as an actor in the literature. However, Richard Langhorne (2005) states that non-governmental organizations have emerged as an effective tool with the loss of the diplomatic primacy of states in the international arena. Intergovernmental organization, private associations and global business reveal as new actors of the international stage and have brought diversity among the actors. Yet, there are rare studies that examine the relations of these new actors between Greece and Turkey. In this regard, the study, which Taciser Ulaş Balge (2004) edits, is a worthwhile work to present aforementioned actors and their relations. Nonetheless, the relations of the refugee and exchangee associations are not an important part of this study, due to the publication year of the study. On the other hand, the works of Ayça Kurtoğlu (2005) and Aynur Köse (2008) have shown the importance of these non-state actors by working on the issue of hometown organizations. Additionally, while there is no a comprehensive study on exchangee associations in general, the studies of Salvanou (2013) and Kamouzis (2016) show how the refugee associations have influence in domestic and international stages of Greece.

3.2. Methodology

Within the scope of this research, the fieldwork was conducted between December 2016 and December 2017 in Greece and Turkey. The five-month period of fieldwork, which included observations in the field and interviews with the refugees, was undertaken in Greece between February 2017 and July 2017 as a part of the Erasmus+ program and the remaining process was carried out in Turkey. Due to the international

nature of the research, the interviews were held in Turkish, English and Greek. Because all exchangee participants speak Turkish fluently, the interviews were mainly conducted in Turkish except the important quotations in Greek, Pomak and their dialects. On the other hand, the interviews with the refugee participants in Greece were held in these three languages: While sixteen of the interviews were carried out in Greek language, English was the applied language for fourteen of them. Thus, only two of the interviews were conducted in Turkish. Although the researcher is capable of understanding Greek, interviews in Greek were supported also by native Greek speakers. The quotations from the official statements, interviews and events were translated by the researcher. During the course of the field research, the observations were recorded as short notes, and the descriptive and reflective data was presented as a result of the examinations.

The research focuses on three different aspects of the organizations. First of all, it focuses on the official descriptions of the refugee and exchangee associations. In this sense, the study contains the data derived from the charters, declared missions, targets, official websites⁴⁷ and the statements of the spokespersons of the associations. Therefore, their formal visions, determined missions and the main tendencies on these targets are examined and the study intends to present the main structures of the associations and the contrast in the processes in the two countries. Secondly, according to the interviews which were conducted with a member or a spokesperson of the associations, the acceptance of the aforementioned targets by the members is investigated. Lastly, on the basis of the associations' events, the study introduces what

⁴⁷ For a more detailed study on the websites of the refugee and exchangee associations; Doruk Işıkçı, "Ulusal Anlatı ve Mübadil İnternet Siteleri," in *Mübadelenin 94. Yılı Anısına Uluslararası Mübadele Sempozyumu*, edited by Kemal Arı, 307-327, Tekirdağ: Bilir Matbaa, 2017.

the role and tools of the associations are on the refugee and exchangee identity and how they are related with the nation-state narratives.

The refugee and exchangee associations are chosen in the light of certain criteria. When the study chooses the targeted groups, it attaches importance to using similar selection criteria for both sides. However, because they have different backgrounds and motivations, the selection also considers these differences to obtain more suitable data. Since regional and cultural differences of the refugee associations are apparent, five regions, which cover almost all refugee associations, are chosen for the analysis: Pontus, Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Constantinople and Thracia. Yet, because the regional and cultural separation are not seen widely except for the Cretan Associations in Turkey, the regional separation is not revealed as a criterion for the Turkish case. Besides, in order to determine the general trend of the refugee and exchangee associations, the study has taken into account the settlements in Turkey and Greece according to the refugee and exchangee population densities. In this regard, thirteen associations in Turkey and twenty associations in Greece were chosen according to scope, historical background, the region of the host country and the abandoned region in order to make a comparison between their formal missions. Additionally, while the exchangee associations in Istanbul and the western coast of Turkey, where the exchangee population live intensively, were included, Thessaloniki and Athens were chosen for the refugee associations. According to the abovementioned regional and cultural separations, the study was conducted with ten Pontian, five Minor Asian, one Thracian, two Cappadocian and two Constantinopolitans associations. This variety in the study stems from the proportion of the activities of the refugee associations. For instance, the Pontian groups constitute the majority because of their high institutional level, activities and strong mobilizations.

Also, to check the common acceptance and reliability of the targets and missions of the associations, seventy-four interviews, forty-two of which were in Turkey and thirty-two of which were in Greece, were carried out. The relations of the refugee organizations with the state policies, societies, and national narratives were examined based on several interviews and questionnaires conducted in Thessaloniki, Athens, Istanbul, the Western Turkey and other places. All the interviews were conducted with the permission of the adult (over 18 years old) participants. In the research, semi-structured interviews were employed to understand the tendencies of the members of the associations and their faith in the associations' targets and vision. While the members became the main target of the interviews, the spokespersons were also particularly interviewed. However, as a precaution for possible unease situations due to the difference of national narratives and their strong positions in the two countries, the names of the participants of the interviews in the study are not given and only the number and country of origin of the interviewee are selected as identifiers. In this sense, the following questions construct the main body of the research.

1. When did you become a member of the organization? Which motivation or need led you to become a member?
2. Is there another member from your family in the organization?
3. What are your expectations from the organizations?
4. Which activities do you join?
5. What is the symbol of your organization? What is the meaning of that symbol?
6. What are the meanings of the concepts of the genocide, catastrophe or population exchange for you?
7. When did you first encounter the concepts of genocide, catastrophe or population exchange?

8. When your ancestors arrived in here, did they have any problems with locals or the state? Do you still have these kinds of problems?

9. Are there any items which remind you of the past of your ancestors in your house?

10. How do you identify an Exchangee/Refugee/Pontian/Minor Asian/...? When you see them in the street, can you recognize them?

11. Have you ever visited Turkey/Greece? What was the purpose? How did you feel? If some problems occur in your country and if you want to move from your country, do you consider returning?

Questions only for administrators

1. Do you have any relations with other organizations or institutions like state, NGOs or EU?

2. Do you have a relation with the organization in Turkey/Greece?

The interviews began with general information such as name, age, and profession. While the questions 1 and 2 aim to understand the members' relations with the associations; questions 3, 4 and 5 try to reveal the structure of the associations and the knowledge of the members about them. Importance of the associations for family, their positions in daily life, main needs and motivations for members are other important points to be projected.

Exchangee Associations in Turkey

1. Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı (**Foundation of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants**)
2. Giritliler Federasyonu (**Federation of Cretans**)
3. İzmir Giritliler Derneği (**Association of İzmir Cretans**)
4. Büyük Mübadele Derneği (**Great Exchange Association**)
5. Tuzla Sosyal Dayanışma Derneği (**Tuzla Social Solidarity Association**)
6. İzmir Giritliler Kültür, Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği (**İzmir Cretans Culture and Solidarity Association**)
7. Pendik Yanyalı Mübadiller Derneği (**Associations of Pendik Exchangees of Ioannina**)
8. İzmir Lozan Mübadilleri derneği (**İzmir Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants**)
9. Ankara Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği (**Ankara Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants**)
10. Bursa Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği (**Bursa Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants**)
11. Mudanya Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği (**Mudanya Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants**)
12. Selanik Türkleri ve Buca Yaylacıklılar Eğitim Kültür Dayanışma Derneği (**Association of Thessalonikian Turkish and Buca Yaylacık Education, Culture and Solidarity Association**)
13. Erdek Girit ve Rumeli Mübadilleri Kültür Dostluk ve Dayanışma Derneği (**Culture, Friendship and Solidarity Association of Erdek Crete and Rumelian Exchangees**)

Table 3.1.: List of the Exchangee Associations in Turkey

Refugee Associations in Greece

1. Παμποντιακη Ομοσπονδια Ελλάδος (Π.Ο.Ε) - **(Pan-Pontian Federation of Greece)**
2. Πανελλήνια Ομοσπονδία Ποντιακών Σωματείων **(Pan-Hellenic Federation of Pontian Societies)**
3. Ομοσπονδία Προσφυγικών Σωματείων Ελλάδος **(Federation of Refugee Associations of Greece)**
4. Σύλλογος Προσφύγων Μικρασιατών Νέας Κρήνης «Η Αγία Παρασκευή» **(Cultural Association Of Asia Minor Refugees in Nea Krini "Agia Paraskevi")**
5. Σύλλογος Ποντίων Φοιτητών και Σπουδαστών Θεσσαλονίκης – **(Association of Pontic Students and Researchers of Thessaloniki)**
6. Ποντιακος Πολιτιστικος Σύλλογος Καλλιθεας Συκεων **(Pontians Cultural Association of Kallithea Sykeon)**
7. Η Ένωση Σμυρναίων **(The Association of Smyrneans)**
8. Σύνδεσμος Κατοίκων Σνοικισμού Κωνσταντινουπολιτών Πυλαίας Θεσσαλονίκης **(Association of Residents of Constantinoplions in Pylaia, Thessaloniki)**
9. Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος Γέφυρας **(Cultural Club of Gefyra)**
10. Σύλλογος Σμυρναίων Μικρασιατών Ελευθερίου Κορδελιού "Η Αγία Φωτεινή« **(Association of Smyrnians of Asia Minor Eleftherios Kordelio "Agia Fotini")**
11. Ο Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών **(Association of Constantinopolitans)**
12. Η Ένωση Ποντιακής Νεολαίας Αττικής **(The Union of Pontian Youth of Attica)**
13. Πολιτιστικός Σύλλογος Νεου Αγιονερειου "Το Μιστι" **(Cultural Association of Neo Agioneri "Misti")**
14. Η Ένωση Ποντίων **(Union of Pontians)**
15. Η Εύξεινος Λέσχη Θεσσαλονίκης **(Black Sea Club of Thessaloniki)**
16. Η Διεθνής Συνομοσπονδία Ποντίων Ελλήνων **(International Confederation of Pontian Greeks)**
17. Η Πανελληνια Ομοσπονδια Θρακικων Σωματειων (Π.Ο.Θ.Σ) **(Pan-Hellenic Federation of Thracian Societies)**
18. Η Πανελλήνια Ένωση Καππαδοκικών Σωματείων **(Pan-Hellenic Union of Cappadocian Societies)**
19. Ένωση Ποντίων Σουρμένων **(Union of Pontian Sourmena)**
20. Ένωση Ποντίων Ματσούκας **(Union of Pontian Macka)**

Table 3.2.: List of the Refugee Associations in Greece

Questions 6 and 7 aim at learning which concepts mean greatly to the participants in their lives and how long they have been aware of them. Thus, relations between the narratives of the associations and nation-states on the aforementioned concepts are targeted to show the differences and similarities more properly. On the other hand, questions 8 and 9 aim at finding out the importance of the forced migration experiences in the families of the interviewees. Also, symbolic reminders, their existence in daily life and significance are investigated. Moreover, these questions intend to discover the current relations between the exchangee and refugee populations, and locals and the state.

Questions 10, 11 and 12 point to ingroup-outgroup relations. In this sense, the possible answers may help reveal the perceptions of the interviewees about their ingroup or national relations. Question 13 is asked as the last question because of the provocative features of the previous ones and the fear that they would affect the other responses. The word “returning” was chosen consciously and the reactions of the interviewees were observed after the questions.

Lastly, the events which are organized by the refugee and exchangee organizations were investigated. The symbols, images, discourses and rituals were observed and analyzed; and some tendencies and similarities or differences between the two countries were shown. For this purpose, some events, which are the commemorations of the genocide, the Asia Minor Catastrophe or the Population Exchange, exhibitions on historical events or cultural presentations, chorus, trips for fatherlands, dance courses, language courses for dialects, theater performances, religious ceremonies, commemorations of holy days and saint days, sport events, academic conferences, book launches, solidarity meetings, etc. were included in the fieldwork.

However, when fieldwork in Greece and Turkey was conducted, some difficulties were faced by the researcher. One of the main problems of the research is the difficulties and challenges of the cross-national comparative research which contains many different components and backgrounds of the relevant societies (Livingstone, 2003: 477). In this sense, naming/terminology was of a great significance. Addressing the names of the incidents, processes and people appeared to be difficult due to the different and widely accepted nation-state narratives in both countries. Therefore, this study prefers to use some general concepts although this leads to further difficulties. While the study uses the concept of “the refugee” to identify the Orthodox population who were forced to migrate to Greece, the concept of “the exchangee” describes the Muslim population who were forced to migrate to Turkey. This kind of categorization is chosen for two reasons: Firstly, the societies mainly call themselves in reference to these concepts, even though they do not know how the other side calls themselves, and secondly, because the study focuses on the general features of these two groups, if there are not special references to specific groups, the study does not separate them as Thessalonikian, Cretan, Pontians or Minor Asians. In parallel, this study refers to the historical incidents in line with those of the nation-state narratives. Therefore, when the study refers to the names of the Asia Minor Catastrophe or the Independence War or Genocide, these concepts are used with the way they exist in the respective national narratives.

Additionally, using the terms of the historical incidents in the fieldwork generated another hardship for the fieldwork. Although the researcher intended to apply an objective performance not to use nationalist discourse, due to the limitations of the language and result of the national education and narrative, which the researcher has been under the influence of, usage of the concepts generated difficulties and created a

distance with the interviewees in some cases. Even in some events which were conducted together with the refugee and exchangee associations, usage of the aforementioned national narratives posed the tension between groups. For instance, the singing of a famous march which indicates the victory against Greece in Izmir – it is also very tragic event from the perspective of the refugees- by the exchangees in an event taking place in Greece and the reactions of the refugee associations showed how the usage of the concepts and symbols are substantial for the dialog between refugee and exchangee associations.⁴⁸ In this sense, it must be noted for future research possibilities that the chances of a successful comparative work between Greece and Turkey, which is conducted by a researcher who is dependent on the concepts of national narratives in the fieldwork, are very low.

In this context, the language barrier was the one of the most important difficulties and generated some limitations in the study. Despite the fact that the researcher has varying levels of fluency in three languages and that the translations are conducted by the researcher, in some cases, translation of some concepts and quotations in English causes the loss of the exact meaning of the statements. Moreover, the common use of the dialects such as Cretan dialect of the exchangees in Turkey or Pontic dialect of

⁴⁸ In the International Folk Dance Festival organized by the municipality of Thessaloniki between 28 and 30 May 2017, the singing of a famous march “Long Live Mustafa Kemal Pasha” (*Yaşa Mustafa Kemal Paşa yaşa*) which indicates the victory of Turkish Army against Greeks and March of the Janissaries (*Mehter Marşı*) by an exchangee association caused a tension between the refugee and exchangee groups. More importantly, this march should be underlined about its potential to explain the relations between refugee and exchangee groups. While it has a nationalistic pattern against Greece, same march also is well-known as a protest march against the Erdogan government for the Kemalist groups in Turkey. On the other hand, the march is symbolized the Asia Minor Catastrophe for Greeks and it is also well-known in Greece because it was sung by the Beşiktaş supporters in the football match between Beşiktaş and Olympiakos on March 16th 2017. Moreover, all exchangee events witnessed the singing of this march in the fieldwork. In this regard, the contradiction of the exchangees’ mindset can be traced on this way. While they express their pain and condemn the bitterness of the war between two countries, they are constantly singing a song that affirms the same war.

refugees in Greece constituted another problem for the research and proper translations of these sentences were requested from the interviewees themselves.

Additionally, as a foreigner and a person who comes from Turkey, performing observations, participating in the events, and conducting interviews with the refugees in Greece posed a challenge for the fieldwork. In some cases, the intention of the researcher was perceived as “spying for the Turkish state.” Especially, the past experiences with the Turkish officials caused by the close relationship between Pontus associations and left-wing political groups, from the Black Sea region of Turkey, and the suspicions constructed by the Greek national education system had led to skepticism towards the researcher. The political stance of the researcher and its approach to the historical events such as Asia Minor Catastrophe or Pontus Genocide had been constantly questioned in the fieldwork in Greece. Therefore, becoming familiar in the refugee groups and earning their trust basically took the first three months of the fieldwork in Greece. On the other hand, having an exchangee origin and being from the same country provided a chance for overcoming the aforementioned difficulties in Turkey. The fact that a study on the exchangees was being carried out became a factor that increased the amount of assistance given by the exchangees and their associations with the research. In this sense, almost all exchangee associations offered their assistance without any hesitation. Thus, while there were many questions in Greece asking the researcher to gain confidence, reliability was earned due to family origin in Turkey.

Another difficulty in the fieldwork was observed due to the levels of the institutionalization of the refugee and exchangee associations and identities. Because the exchangee identity and associations are rather new in Turkey, it is seen that the extensity of the exchangees’ visibility is not as widespread as that of the refugees in

Greece. In this sense, while the refugee associations' events are scheduled activities and their number reaches to hundreds per week in all over Greece, the exchangee events are not widely known outside of that community and do not exceed over 10 activities per week country-wide very often.

3.3. Hypothesis

The hypotheses are formed based on “a plausibility probe,” which was conducted between November 2013 and September 2014, when the researcher had worked in Thessaloniki, Greece as a part of European Voluntary Service program. The fact that the program, which the researcher participated, was closely related to the events of the refugee associations allowed for such a plausibility probe and the hypotheses based on the observations of the researcher have been tested in both Greece and Turkey. In this respect, the study is shaped by three hypotheses and these hypotheses are analyzed over the three aforementioned aspects of the refugee and exchangee associations. It is expected that for the

In the first hypothesis, it is expected that the narratives of the refugee and exchangee associations differ in Turkey and Greece as result of the fact that the different national narratives in Turkey and Greece are reflected in the discourse of the associations. Therefore, it is questioned whether the refugee and exchangee associations play a role as cultural media to institutionalize nation-state narratives.

In the second hypothesis, due to historical factors and the reflections of the refugee and exchangee associations in the societies, the reflections of the associations against the nation-state narrative are expected to differ from each other. In this sense, it is proposed that while in Turkey the rather newly constructed exchangee associations are

more inclined to repeat the official narrative, in Greece the refugee associations are more approved by the society and thus confident to add their own voice into the narrative.

In the third hypothesis, the study questions whether the associations in Greece and Turkey work as identity-justifying agents in both domestic and international levels and the expectation is that while the roles of the refugee and exchangee associations differ in the international level, their domestic roles are similar. These hypotheses are tested in the official statements, interviews and events of the refugee and exchangee associations.

CHAPTER IV

FIELDWORK, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. The Narratives of the Associations

The fact that the identity of refugees and exchangees became increasingly visible in both countries and that this visibility is achieved through associations have made these associations the focus of this study. Thus, the research question is set to be how the relations between refugee and exchangee associations, which have increased for last two decades, developed while the national narratives differ in Turkey and Greece. Additionally, the tendency of the developing literature as well as the perception which suggests that refugee and exchangee associations regard each other as their counterparts, are investigated in order to reveal to what extent reciprocity can be proved. In this context, this thesis aims at examining the reflections of the distinct official narratives in the discourse of the associations in order to reveal their positions against the official nation-states narratives.

4.1.a. Official Statements

Titles, targets and definitions of the refugee associations can be taken as the first signs of the differentiation between the refugee and exchangee associations. Thus, the points shown by titles, targets and definitions demonstrate the main tendencies of the associations. In this context, when the refugee associations are examined, the most prominent issues about the descriptions and the titles of the associations are depicted based on the regional or the cultural boundaries. Although the main identification of

being a *προσφυγες* (*refugee*) unites the all refugees under a single roof, this concept cannot be utilized to explain the organizational structure of the refugees *per se* (Kamouzis, 2017: 53). Therefore, the Greek refugee associations identify themselves over five major regions and their cultural distinctions: Asia Minor, Pontos, Thracia, Cappadocia and Constantinople.⁴⁹ Furthermore, those identifications are carefully included in the newly settled villages, towns and cities in the titles of the associations.⁵⁰ Thus, the choice of wording combinations creates the link between the two domains and revitalizes the “lost homelands” in Greece (Liakos, 1998 Exetoglou, 2011). However, the settlements of Greece are not specifically mentioned commonly in the definition and the targets of the associations.⁵¹ In this context, what should be pointed out is that the associations describe themselves in terms of their cultural and regional features of the abandoned territories:

“The Centre for Asia Minor Studies was created when, following the 1922 disaster, Greece became conscious of the need to preserve the cultural heritage and history of the Asia Minor homelands through the memory of the refugees.”⁵²

⁴⁹ Although there are many regions and groups over these five categories such as Bithinia, Likia, Bafra, Kizikos, etc., it is seen that these associations are also identified themselves as the subcategories of the aforementioned five regions.

⁵⁰ When the names of the local branches are examined, they mention both the settlements before and after the forced migration. For instance, Η Ένωση Ποντιακής Νεολαίας Αττικής - The Union of Pontian Youth of Attica, Σύλλογος Σμυρναίων Μικρασιατών Ελευθερίου Κορδελιού "Η Αγία Φωτεινή« - Association of Smyrnians of Asia Minor Eleftherios Kordelio "Agia Fotini", Σύλλογος Προσφύγων Μικρασιατών Νέας Κρήνης «Η Αγία Παρασκευή» - Cultural Association Of Asia Minor Refugees in Nea Krini "Agia Paraskevi", Σύλλογος Ποντίων Φοιτητών και Σπουδαστών Θεσσαλονίκης – Association of Pontic Students and Researchers of Thessaloniki, Ποντιακος Πολιτιστικος Σύλλογος Καλλιθεας Συκεων – Pontians Cultural Association of Kallithea Sykeon, etc. Also, if the list of the association is examined, it may be seen that the similar tendency.

⁵¹ However, it should be underlined that some names of the newly founded settlements also have the name of the abandoned territories. In this sense, even the names of the newly settled villages, towns and cities become a tool to remind the aforementioned link. For example; the name of the Cultural Association Of Asia Minor Refugees in Nea Krini "Agia Paraskevi", Σύλλογος Προσφύγων Μικρασιατών Νέας Κρήνης «Η Αγία Παρασκευή» contain three different concepts related with the Asia Minor. While the Asia Minor is referred to all region and Agia Paraskevi mentions to the village where they abandoned, the name of the Nea Krini (New Krini) indicates both the neighbourhood of the Thessaloniki with the mention of “new” and Krini which is the peninsula where the town of Agia Paraskevi is located.

⁵² The Centre for Asia Minor Studies, <http://www.kms.org.gr/>, date accessed: 12.10.2017

“An association with members who share the passion for Pontian tradition and the strong desire for creation, innovation and offering through teamwork, solidarity and cooperation.”⁵³

“It was June 1930 when a group of bourgeois refugees from Smyrna decided to establish a Union for the revival of Smyrna's cultural and social life.”⁵⁴

“The Black Sea Club of Thessaloniki is rightly considered to be the metropolitan Pontian Society, the social and cultural center...”⁵⁵

Moreover, the associations do not confine the refugee culture to the period before the 1922 and point out their contemporary culture in Greece. These associations mainly target the continuity of their culture and present their refugee identity in Greece as a living-identity. In this sense, both the past and current issues are stressed out by the associations themselves:

“The aim of the Union of Smyrnians is to promote, preserve and sustain the cultural heritage of the Greek homelands of Asia Minor as well as to research, study and display all the elements that constitute the history and culture of the Asia Minor before and after 1922.”⁵⁶

“The Pontian Youth Association of Attica is a purely youthful club founded in 2005 with the aim not only of preserving and saving the culture of Pontian Hellenism but also of producing a culture based on the emergence of the values of our ancestors through new ideas and actions.”⁵⁷

Although the targets and descriptions illustrate the regional and cultural features, a combination of war, exile and refugee experiences are also depicted as further major concepts for identification. In this sense, the historical tragedies occupy the agenda of the refugee associations and they basically refer to the events of forced migration,

⁵³ Ένωση Ποντιακής Νεολαίας Αττικής - EPONA, <http://www.epona.gr/%CE%B5-%CF%80%CE%BF-%CE%BD-%CE%B1/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C/>, date accessed: 12.10.2017)

⁵⁴ Η Εστία Νέας Σμύρνης, <http://estia-ns.gr/estia-neas-smyrnis/estia>, date accessed: 05.11.2017

⁵⁵ This content is cited from the charter of Η Εύξεινος Λέσχη Θεσσαλονίκης.

⁵⁶ This content is cited from the charter of Η Ένωση Σμυρνης.

⁵⁷ Ένωση Ποντιακής Νεολαίας Αττικής - EPONA, <http://www.epona.gr/%CE%B5-%CF%80%CE%BF-%CE%BD-%CE%B1/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C/>, date accessed: 12.10.2017)

“uprooting”, “Asia Minor Catastrophe”, “Asia Minor Genocide”, “Thracian Genocide” or “Pontos Genocide”.

“The Pontian Union was founded with the aim of disseminating historical knowledge, which is also the main objective of the association, the recognition of the genocide of 353,000 Pontian by the Young Turks of Kemal.”⁵⁸

“The Club is leading the way in supporting the demand for recognition of the Greek Genocide of the Pontus, strongly supporting all the initiatives of the Pan-Pontian Federation of Greece.”⁵⁹

“Today, 94 years after the destruction of the population of the western coasts of Asia Minor and 86 years after its foundation, the Center of Nea Smyrna stands majestic and continues to function as a lighthouse of the Hellenism of the East.”⁶⁰

However, it is observed that the titles and descriptions of the Turkish exchangee associations use different references and focus particularly on the concepts of the Treaty of Lausanne and the Compulsory Population Exchange. Contrary to the cultural and regional distinction in the Greek refugee associations, the identity of the exchangee contains all the members of the exchangee associations. They do not define themselves based on the abandoned regions, but on the new settlements. Thus, the main attraction point of the exchangee associations is shaped by a political event and the places where they live, when the titles and descriptions are examined. In this sense, they identify their members as;

“The exchangees who are within the scope of the between the Turkish Grand National Assembly government and the Greek government on 30 January 1923 in the city of Lausanne signed the "Population Exchange Agreement”⁶¹

⁵⁸ Η Ένωση Ποντίων, <http://www.mavrithalassa.org.gr/index.php/homepage>, date accessed: 16.01.2018.

⁵⁹ This content is cited from the charter of Η Εύξεινος Λέσχη Θεσσαλονίκης.

⁶⁰ Η Εστία Νέας Σμύρνης; <http://estia-ns.gr/estia-neas-smyrnis/estia>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

⁶¹ Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfi, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/kisaca-mubadele/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017. It is observed that many exchangee associations follow to “The Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants” (FLTE) about the principal of the charters and statements. In this sense, although FLTE formally is not a umbrella organization, its impact is clear on the other exchangee associations.

The significant exception could be Cretan associations in this case. Because the historical background of the Cretan society is different from other exchangee associations to some extent, they strongly emphasize their Cretan identity (Şenişik, 2006: 100) and present a different character.⁶² Hence, they mainly identify themselves on the Crete, instead of Lausanne Agreement or population exchange.

“The association was constituted with the purpose of establishing relations, co-operation and solidarity among the Cretan Turks in socio-economic and cultural issues, to explore and to preserve the common cultural values of the people who were born in the island of Crete and emigrated to Turkey and their generations.”⁶³

On the other hand, although the foundations of the Cretan associations are diversified, the situation over the last years has led Cretan associations to act together with the exchangee associations and they have begun to collaborate by sharing their discourses. There is another exception for the region of Thessaloniki. However, mentioning Thessaloniki refers to the region that indicates the frontier of the Ottoman provincial system and almost all exchangees who had migrated from Northern Greece, regard themselves as Thessalonikian. Thus, the shared cultural definition coincides with the concept of the exchangee culture. Besides, Thessaloniki is significantly polished as a homeland of Kemal Atatürk and has become an important reference point for the exchangees.

“Targets of the association; to gather people from Yaylacık who emigrated from Thessaloniki and settled the neighbourhood of Yaylacık and around, to establish communication among families, to resolve alienation among generations, ..., to raise Atatürkist, modern, intellectual people.”⁶⁴

⁶² Because the migration began end of the 19th century from Crete in consequence of the domestic disturbance, many Cretan settlements were founded and two thirds of the Muslim population of Crete before the Compulsory Population Exchange in 1923. Therefore, when the remaining Muslim Cretans arrived to Turkey with the Treaty, they were perceived as “new Cretans” and the “old Cretans” helped them in the settlement and integration process. Thus, from the beginning the network of the Cretans differentiated from the other exchangees (Şenişik, 2006).

⁶³ This content is cited from the charter of İzmir Giritliler Derneği.

⁶⁴ This content is cited from the charter of Selanik Türkleri ve Buca Yaylacıklılar Eğitim Kültür Dayanışma Derneği

Similarly, the formal or declared objectives also present differences between the two countries. In this sense, the refugee associations in Greece mainly aim at protecting, preserving and promoting cultures, art, folklore, values of refugees' and the "lost homelands". It is observed that the associations organize events, lectures, seminars, meetings and festivities based on the elements that are perceived as an integral part of the refugee culture as well as their music, dance, tradition, or language. In addition, they form theater clubs, choirs and traditional dance courses for the members. When the tragic events are considered as a ground element of the refugee or regional identities, the discourse about history becomes the most important issue for the narratives of the refugee associations. Therefore, seminars, academic research, publications, research centers, libraries, museums and archives on history have become the main institutions for the refugee associations.⁶⁵ Moreover, the protection of the Greek legacies, monuments and churches, which are located in Turkey, is considered to be important for the associations. Lastly, the refugee associations also look after the needs of the Greek society and join the blood donation campaigns or the aid campaigns for the Syrian and other refugees.⁶⁶

On the other hand, similar targets of the Turkish exchangee associations serve the similar aims as refugee associations. First of all, it is observed that the cultural events and promotion of the academic studies are also central issues for the exchangee

⁶⁵ The importance of the academic research and support is one of the main visible targets for the refugee associations. Particularly, the objectivity belief for the academic research provides a legitimate ground for the narrative. However, the unilateralism of the historical perspective of the refugee associations makes possible the research only when they pay attention to "Catastrophe", "genocide", other tragedies or the cultures of the regional group. In this sense, the research also serve to create a legitimacy ground in addition to academic characteristics. For instance, when the scholarships results of the Black Sea Club of Thessaloniki are examined, it is almost generally seen that only the research of the Genocide, Hellenism or related subjects are chosen. This content is cited from the charter of Η Εύξεινος Λέσχη Θεσσαλονίκης.

⁶⁶ Nonetheless, when the refugee associations join these events, they do not neglect to use the motto like "I am giving blood for the blood which I shed". This content is taken from the event of Ο Σύλλογος Ποντίων Φοιτητών και Σπουδαστών Θεσσαλονίκης, 18.05.2017.

associations. However, establishing links with the Greek state and the counterpart refugee associations also appears as a concern in the objectives of the exchangee associations. In this context, the exchangee associations aim at the protection of the cultural heritage in Greece as well as in Turkey for “the Greeks exchangees”.⁶⁷ In parallel, many statements of the exchangee associations are made to establish dialog in friendship and solidarity and they aim at making an effort to develop peace between two countries. Especially the charter of the FLTE consists of many clauses related with the aforementioned targets:

“Eliminating the factors which create hospitality in museum and education.”⁶⁸

“Helping fellows in Greece to protect their values in Turkey to create solidarity on legacies.”⁶⁹

“Organizing trips to improve friendship between exchangees and refugee populations”⁷⁰

Thus, it can be said that the exchangee associations tend to consider the population exchange processes as the shared suffering and they also condemn the forced migration experience:

“We commemorate those who lost their lives in the migration routes with respect and God’s grace and wish that those bitter experiences would not be lived again...”⁷¹

In this regard, the titles, targets and descriptions draw a conclusion that while the Greek refugee associations are interested in the refugee identity and its components, the Turkish exchangee associations aim at establishing connections with their

⁶⁷ Due to the historical perception of the exchangees, they tend to recognize the other party (the refugees) as exchangee.

⁶⁸ Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfi, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/kisaca-mubadele/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017

⁶⁹ Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfi, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/kisaca-mubadele/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

⁷⁰ Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfi, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/kisaca-mubadele/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017

⁷¹ This content is cited from the Common Declaration of the Emigrant Organizations in Turkey, 2016.

counterparts in Greece on the basis of rising the awareness for a common exchange culture and history.

Correspondingly, it is observed that the vocabulary used in the official statements differs between the refugee and exchangee associations. The difference in the concepts can be seen clearly in the texts examined on the basis of key words. As Michael Billig states, the narrative has to be used or “flagged” continuously in order to place them in everyday life (1995: 93). In this sense, the widespread use of the familiar language and vocabulary makes them the usual elements of the peoples’ lives, and the tendency to consider the vocabulary as unquestionable/given is widely admitted.

In this context, the concepts of refugee, survivor, sufferer, displaced, persecuted and victims of the catastrophe are frequently used to describe the members and their ancestors of the refugee associations as it was detected in the official statements.⁷² Besides, although the concept of the population exchange and exchangee is rarely preferred and is used mostly by the Cappadokian associations, the narrative of the refugee associations generally refers to the forced migration process as the loss of the homeland, uprooting, destruction, “Asia Minor Catastrophe” and Asia Minor, Pontos and Thracian Genocide. In parallel, the symbolic incidents of the process are projected as massacres, misery migration, collective detentions⁷³ and fires such as “Great Fire of Smyrna”.

Also, the characters and symbols mentioned in the texts depict a variety of features. Firstly, the religious figures and symbols are frequently observed as references in the

⁷² In this regard the words of Πρόσφυγες (refugee), επιζώντες (survivor), ξεριζωμένος (uprooted), διωγμένος (persecuted), σφαγμένος (slaughtered) etc. are used to identify the population who suffered in the forced migration process.

⁷³ Other concepts which define the forced migration process are also used as η Σφαγή (the Massacre), η Μεγάλη Τραγωδία (the Great Tragedy), etc.

refugee associations. In this sense, iconic structures like Sumela monastery, Ayia Fotini Church, etc., particular religious figures such as Saint Chrisostomos, Saint Basileos, etc.⁷⁴ and survived relics and icons (Ballian, 2011) take place in the texts as the symbolic elements of the narrative. In the second place, the attributions to the Ancient Greece in the statements serve as the evidence to the historical continuity in the narrative of the associations.⁷⁵ Thirdly, the iconic buildings or the cultural features of the refugees and the regional symbols such as the high school of Trapezounta, “Pontos eagle” that remained in the abandoned territories are highlighted by the associations as a reminder of the old times. Lastly, the reference to the “others” is revealed as another important element in the vocabulary; Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Russia etc.), Kemal (which is attached a negative meaning), τσέτες (*bandits*), Nurettin Pasha or Topal Osman are shown as responsible for the defeat, massacre and forced migration.

On the other hand, in the case of Turkish exchangee associations, the context is significantly different from the narrative of the refugee associations. The concepts of the exchangee, muhacir (*migrant*) or macir emerge as the most referred terms to identify people who suffered from the forced migration. In this sense, it is seen that the concepts related to the migration are selected to describe the people. Additionally, the process of the forced migration is mentioned along with the incidents of the

⁷⁴ In this way, the religious characters are divided in two contexts. On the one hand, due to Christianity, particularly Orthodoxy developed in the present territories of Turkey, the religious dependence to these territories is observed frequently. Thus, the “lost homelands” constantly revitalize in the imagination of those involved in religious ceremonies, due to the religious texts and liturgy refers continuously to the abandoned lands as a source of the religion history. On the other hand, the martyrs of the “Catastrophe” constitute the second stance for the national narrative. Especially, martyrdom of Saint Chrisostomos in Smyrna composes the centerpiece of this narrative. Additionally, Ambrosios of Moschonisia, Prokopios of Iconium, Euthymios of Zelon, Gregory of Kydonies are seen as other important religious figures in the national narrative.

⁷⁵ Ancient Greek names are used in the naming of the abandoned regions as well as in some cases ancient myths are presented as proof of Greekness. In this sense, the arrival of the Jason to Pontus shores with Argo reveals as a prominent ancient myth in the associations’ events.

Lausanne Treaty, the Compulsory Population Exchange and the declaration of the Republic. Accordingly, the statements of the exchangee associations refer to the other party as a community, which had experienced similar incidents as the exchangees, rather than blaming the other side. The reference is often to the reciprocity of the process which indicates that both parties were affected by the compulsory population exchange after the Lausanne Treaty. The prominent concepts of the official statements are related to the migration process such as liquidating documents (Tasfiye Talepnameleri), the names of the ships which transferred the exchangees to the “homeland”, and the host ports in Turkey and quarantine stations (tahaffuzhane). Besides, other symbols engaged with cultural features of the exchangees are also adopted in the official statements. Finally, the word “Atatürk” completes the vocabulary as the most repeated figure in the official statements of the exchangees. However, in contrast to the refugee associations, the symbolic items and people are not chosen frequently for use except for some important concepts such as the house of Atatürk, minaret of Ioannina, etc.

In this context, analyzing the vocabulary of the associations is regarded as a functional tool to introduce the mindset and tendencies in the narrative of associations. It is seen that while the refugee associations compose their narrative with the terms of war, exile and suffering, the exchangee experiences evoke a voyage that took place in poor conditions (Koufopoulou, 2003: 318). The general use of vocabularies in a similar way also shows how these discourses are institutionalized within the associations.

Similarly, the usage of the symbols and images emphasizes the similar points as it is seen in the vocabulary. Almost all of the exchangee associations use symbols similar to the national narrative and referring to the population exchange, the migration process and the peace symbols like a peace dove or the olive branch. The immigration

is depicted by the two arrows, both of which go in opposite directions by which the reciprocal character of the “forced migration” is emphasized.⁷⁶ The Ankara Lausanne Emigrants Association also prefers the use of colors of red and blue for the arrows to represent the flags of two countries.⁷⁷ As Bilig points out, the presumption that the most of the population banally knows about the meaning of these colors abolishes the need to explain which color represents Turkey or Greece for the members. While the red arrow goes to the right, the blue arrow shows the left with reference to a regular map. On the other hand, the refugee associations prefer using frequently the symbols related with the iconic buildings, double headed eagle, Pontos eagle, figures from the Ancient Greece and the saints.⁷⁸

Another difference between the Greek refugee and Turkish exchangee associations is in their reference to the nation and religion. In this sense, the charters and official statements of the refugee associations often mention the Greek nation, Hellenism and Greekness of the abandoned territories.⁷⁹ Thus, the inseparable integrity of the nation is presented many times:

“The preservation of the identity of Pontian Hellenism, the creation and operation of a research center of its history, culture and language.”⁸⁰

“... the aim of the Center of Nea Smyrna was to collect, study and preserve the national, spiritual, historical, folkloric and linguistic wealth of Hellenism in Asia Minor, Pontus and Thrace.”⁸¹

⁷⁶ See Picture 1, Picture 2 and Picture 3.

⁷⁷ See Picture 4.

⁷⁸ See Picture 5, Picture 6, Picture 7 and Picture 8

⁷⁹ It should be underlined that the Greek version of the Word of “Hellenism” refers to ideology and in the same time Greekness. They are not different words in Greek.

⁸⁰ Παμποντιακή Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας (Π.Ο.Ε.), <http://www.poe.org.gr/default.aspx?catid=117>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

⁸¹ η Εστία Νέας Σμύρνης; “Καταστικό,” <http://estia-ns.gr/estia-neas-smyrnis/estia>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

“In addition to regular activity, the Historical Archive of Hellenic Refugees organizes events and activities aimed at informing and contacting the public with the history and culture of refugee Hellenism.”⁸²

In this context, they refer generally to Ελληνισμός (*Hellenism*), Ελληνισμός της Ανατολής (*Hellenism of the East*), Προσφυγικός Ελληνισμός (*Refugee Hellenism*) and Ποντιακός, Μικρασιατικός, Θρακικός Ελληνισμός (*Pontian, Asia Minorian Hellenism or Thracian Hellenism*) in the charters and statements. Another main phenomenon mentioned by the refugee associations is the references to religion. Many associations identify themselves with religious names or patron saints of the abandoned territories and they organize the religious feasts, rituals, celebrations, and so on. In this context, the refugee associations also act for religious purposes.

“Promoting the ideals and values of Hellenochristian culture.”⁸³

“Calls upon the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Culture of the Country to express their interest in the restoration, promotion of the Hellenic monuments of Hellenism in the historical Pontos and to ensure their visitation as Museums and in particular to frustrate the attempted conversion of the Holy Temple of St. Sophia of Trebizond in a mosque.”⁸⁴

In other respects, despite the fact that the Lausanne Agreement is signed on the basis of religion, the reference to it is not observed in the Turkish exchangee associations. In contrast, they refer to the secularity principle of the Turkish state and they form a narrative without a mention of religion.⁸⁵ However, the attribution to the

⁸² This content is cited from the charter of the Historical Archive of Hellenic Refugees.

⁸³ This content is cited from the charter of Ένωση Καπαδοκικών Σωματείων Ελλάδος.

⁸⁴ Η Διεθνής Συνομοσπονδία Ποντίων Ελλήνων <http://www.icph.gr/default.aspx?catid=2>, date accessed: 05.11.2017

⁸⁵ While the charters and statements mention the religion and the nation, the audience of the refugees mainly follows the discourse and the tendency. However, although the exchangees follow the principal of the secularism, the members of the exchangee associations generally mention more national feature than the charters in the interview. Interviewee #7 (Turkish Exchangee) especially mentions the Bektasi Islam and their town:

"Here a conference is happened about Bektashism on Alevism and Bektashism in general... We finished the conference and an uncle came to us. He said that you are aware that you are selling snails in the place of my Muslim neighbor. I said why. He said how the great courage is. At 38, the Alevis who escaped from Dersim to here did not even make a single panel about this topic. There were Alevis and Bektashi associations and they were amazed. After that it also began to constitute it here. We are already active in ourselves, my uncle for instance... There are currently 58 active Bektashi; grandfathers and followers in *the town*."

nation is observed commonly while it is still different from the other side. Especially the quotes of Atatürk are seen as the most preferred references.

“Those who are despised as Muhacir (refugee), the survivors from the wars written by the history, that is so, 'those who fight to the end with the enemy', those who sacrifice themselves to provide the retreat of the army, and those are the ones who do not know what to withdraw against the enemy.”⁸⁶

Although the exchangee associations have shown goodwill for the dialog and underlined the shared suffering, the narrative of the exchangee associations remains unresponsive at some points. Primarily, the discourse of the shared suffering and reciprocity covers only the Compulsory Population Exchange and the forced migration related with it. Thus, the main objectives of the refugee associations such as war, massacre or forced exile remain invisible at the exchangee associations. Moreover, the huge discrepancy between the narratives becomes a contradiction with the general acceptance of the “shared pain” discourse of the exchangees and history which indicates the very same period and events. Therefore, the differentiation triggers the alienation among the parties regarding their statements. In this sense, it is claimed that the nation-state narratives are adopted by the associations as the boundaries of their narrative.

4.1.b. Interviews

Although the official statements are significant to understand the standpoints of the refugee and exchangee associations, it is also important to observe how these constructed narratives affect the perception of their members. To that end, this study

⁸⁶ It is claimed by many exchangee websides that this quote was declared by M.Kemal Atatürk on the 17.01.1931, date accessed: 05.04.2018, <http://www.bursaselanikgocmenleri.com/>.

employs semi-structured interviews conducted with the members of the associations both in Greece and Turkey.

It is observed that the main differences between the refugee and exchangee associations are largely represented in the interviews. Interviewee #1 (Greek refugee), Interviewee #6 (Greek refugee) and Interviewee #3 (Greek refugee) associate the forced displacement process with concepts of the war, exile, massacre and genocide;

“We are not the part of the exchange. We were forced to migrate from Urla (Βουρλα). I heard many stories from my grandmother. She always told us how many people died there or in the ships. I am not angry about that anymore. I have good relations with many Turkish people. But I need to say that they have to recognize what happened.”⁸⁷

“They escape from the horror without anything. They had just clothes with them. Think about they lived there in the developed cities in Pontos, they were urbanite and they lost everything.”⁸⁸

“I understood all Turkish people. Kemal was the most important person in the Turkish history. It is difficult to say to them bad things about him, but we should understand what he and his Young Turks did there.”⁸⁹

On the other hand, Interviewee #1 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #2 explain the process with the term of the compulsory population exchange and mention both sides of the process.

“The exchange is not a single-side pain; it is a double edged tragedy.”⁹⁰

“Basically the sores are the same, the same loss, the same tears, the same air, the same water, the same soil, always experienced the same things. When I first went to my father's house, I went to the village of Kozani, Naslic. I know Greek but a little. They said that there is a woman who speaks Turkish. She was 90 years old woman who goes from here, from Sivas, Susehri. She came, hugged me and said "ah be patridam ah (my country in Greek), you are welcome." She hugged me and cried and I cried also. What do I have in common with this woman? I do not have anything but she said “you smell like homeland”. She still sees here (Turkey) as her homeland.”⁹¹

⁸⁷ The Interview #1 (Greek refugee) was held on 23.04.2017.

⁸⁸ The Interview #6 (Greek refugee) was held on 21.05.2017.

⁸⁹ The Interview #3 (Greek refugee) was held on 17.04.2017.

⁹⁰ The Interview #1 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 14.12.2016.

⁹¹ The Interview #2 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 15.12.2016.

As it is mentioned in the official statements, the reciprocity discourse of the forced migration is underlined in almost all the interviews of the exchangees. The first reason is that the concept of exchange is bilateral. Therefore, the exchangees consider the incident as the reciprocal migration of two million people after the Lausanne Treaty. On the other hand, the refugees constitute their narrative against Turks who slaughtered them or forced the ancestor of the “Eastern Hellenism” to migrate. Consequently, it could be an expected explanation that the narrative does not depict reciprocity. Nonetheless, because of the character of the exchangee narrative and constitutional features, Interviewee #1 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #5 seem to develop a different discourse than the national narrative.

“The association was founded by a group of friends who believe in the peace, democracy, human rights and make an effort for their implementation and improvement. Our worldview plays a very important role in this, although it brings us together as an exchangee identity.”⁹² (Interviewee Tr 1, 14.12.2016)

“An inter-change (*değiş-tokuş*) agreement. It was the first agreement which was implemented without people's will. I hope it will not happen again in the world.”⁹³

However, as it is mentioned above, the unorthodox declarations are limited with the Turkish national perception about the forced displacement process. Thus, the events which are referred to by the refugee narrative emerged as paradoxical for the exchangees and the content of their discourses causes the exchangees to consider these events as parts of propaganda as Interviewee #1 (Turkish Exchangee) states:

“We cooperate with all, but we collaborate avoiding meddling. Sometimes we fight with each other. For example, there is an archive of Kalamaria municipality in Thessaloniki. We intend to do a shared event with the management of the archive. They began to say “Turks killed Greeks, genocide, etc. We said “You killed us, too. Kolokotronis passed over their bodies with his horse in 1821, so should we talk about it or will we do something for the forward plans”. I mean, there is also the 19th May Pontic Genocide in Greece, 14th September a memorial for Asia Minoe refugees, etc.. They have been approved

⁹² The Interview #1 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 14.12.2016.

⁹³ The Interview #5 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 13.12.2016.

by the parliament. Like our official ceremonies, the movies are shown in schools during those days, conferences are given, newspapers talk about it on that day, and so on.”⁹⁴

In addition, the interviewees often state the importance of the national narrative and its symbols in their lives. In this respect, especially the Republic and Atatürk appeared as crucial elements of identification for the exchangees. In parallel, the reference to Greekness and its related vocabulary is common in the interviews.

“What we, the exchangees praise most; homeland, flag, land and Atatürk; why Atatürk, because we are his fellowmen, so we do not let anyone make insinuation about him. Today when an election is organized in places where the exchangees are majority in Turkey, we vote by making no concessions to the unbending love of Atatürk and homeland.”⁹⁵

“Atatürk and the Republic are the part of our lives. We were raised like this.”⁹⁶

“How can I forget the Genocide when I see all these people in the pictures who suffered? It is difficult to remove the memory from the people here.”⁹⁷

“Eastern Hellenism was destroyed suddenly, 3000 years. All my ancestors were there. That is homeland for me. Who are we here? I, my father and my grandfather, just 3 generations.”⁹⁸

As Billig denotes, the perception of nationalism is also associated with the radical nationalism or the fervent periods and carries a negative connotation (55-58). He also states that this type of nationalism always belongs to “others” (62). Thus, the associations tend to accuse the other party of being “nationalist”. Interviewee #1 (Turkish Exchangee), Interviewee #4 (Turkish Exchangee), Interviewee #4 (Greek refugee) and Interviewee #5 (Greek refugee) tend to accuse the other side as a nationalist.

⁹⁴ The Interview #1 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 14.12.2016.

⁹⁵ The Interview #2 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 15.12.2016.

⁹⁶ The Interview #3 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 17.12.2016.

⁹⁷ The Interview #2 (Greek refugee) was held on 19.05.2017.

⁹⁸ The Interview #4 (Greek refugee) was held on 14.06.2017.

“As I have said, the exchangee (refugee) organizations in Greece are organized geographically, and the official ideology guides them, that is, all nationalists.”⁹⁹

“We cooperate with all NGOs (associations) unless they have some defects. You know that ours are nationalists, and Greeks are more nationalist than us”¹⁰⁰

“The exchangee is the result of the Genocide. The genocide occurred first in the provinces which were controlled by Turkish Nationalist and Young Turks (New Turks).”¹⁰¹

“As long as the Kemalist and nationalist political culture persists in Turkey, the subject of the Genocide is perceived as propaganda for Greece.”¹⁰²

In addition to the differences in the association narratives, the members of the refugee and exchangee associations find their places in the official discourse insufficient. As Baltiotis mentions, although the refugee discourse has integrated into the national imagination since the 1980s, it is seen in the interviews that the level of the involvement in the national education and their visibility are considered unsatisfactory by the members of the refugee associations.¹⁰³ Moreover, the presence rate of the regional groups is a matter of debate. While Interviewee #5 (Greek refugee) mentions the scope of the discourse of “the Asia Minor Catastrophe”, Interviewee #5 (Greek refugee) also refers to the inadequacy of the education life on the “Pontus Genocide”.

“Because the Asia Minor Catastrophe is not meaningful for us, it does not mean anything Pontos... when they talked about the Asia Minor Catastrophe, they mention Smyrna (İzmir), just for the western Asia Minor and Constantinople. Is there no one else there? Where are the other Greeks? That is why, the discourse of the Genocide emerges as a reaction.”¹⁰⁴

“When you say Asia Minor Catastrophe, I remember something from the school, we called it like that. But when I was child, they did not teach us the

⁹⁹ The Interview #1 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 14.12.2016.

¹⁰⁰ The Interview #4 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 28.01.2017.

¹⁰¹ The Interview #4 (Greek refugee) was held on 14.06.2017.

¹⁰² The Interview #5 (Greek refugee) was held on 08.06.2017.

¹⁰³ The associations also target to be included more the cultural and historical descriptions in the primary and secondary education.

“The inclusion of elements from the history and tradition of Pontian Hellenism in the teaching material of primary and secondary education.”

¹⁰⁴ The Interview #5 (Greek refugee) was held on.

Pontos Genocide. Now we see it in the books but just a couple pages in all education life”¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, the exchangee participants of the interviews continuously denote that their histories are not known in the society and they declare their wish to promote the exchangee narrative through the academic studies, events and publications because they are not referred to separately by the national narrative. Interviewee #5 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #6 (Turkish Exchangee) complains about the indifference of the society:

“Ask a person in the street. What is the population exchange? They will look at your face as an alien. I do not want the subject of the population exchange to be forgotten.”¹⁰⁶

“For instance, when the high school prepares a project about the Cretans, they try to find Cretans. But all the students have Cretan origin and they are not aware of themselves.”¹⁰⁷

Yet, it is seen that the aforementioned relations between parties stay in the stance of the cultural issues and do not touch upon the relatively sensitive topics and historical incidents of the nation-state narratives, such as “the Great Fire of Smyrna”, “Pontian Genocide” or labor battalions. On the other hand, the relations of the refugees with Turks created an inconsistency because of the general features of the refugee narrative. While the refugees blame the Turkish side for the past experiences, cultural affinity and increased relations cause a dilemma for the refugees. Particularly, the language issue is turning into a topic that transcends national boundaries and undermines the combination of the national narratives. The approach of Interviewee #2 (Greek refugee) and Interviewee #9 (Greek refugee) to the people who live in Turkey and/or

¹⁰⁵ The Interview #3 (Greek refugee) was held on 17.04.2017.

¹⁰⁶ The Interview #5 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 13.12.2016.

¹⁰⁷ The Interview #6 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 21.07.2017.

who identify themselves as Turkish but speak Romaika (Pontiaka) can be considered as the best example.

“I have been many times in Pontos and when I visit there, I feel like I am at home. They speak like my grandfathers. Even in Greece, there are not many people can speak Pontiaka. I consider them as Pontians even though they are Muslim.”¹⁰⁸

“Many Pontians became Muslim in the past. Although they are Muslim today, they are actually Greeks.”¹⁰⁹

A similar tendency is also observed when the exchangees meet with Cappadocian or Pontian people who speak Turkish but identify themselves as Greek. Especially the discourse on the Orthodox Karaman Turks who were included in the population exchange causes many exchangees to consider them as Turks.

“They were Turkish. It is a shame that they were forced them to migrate to Greece. They supported us in the war. Just because of their religion, we sent them.”¹¹⁰

In this regard, the members of the exchangee and refugee associations tend to state similar discourses with the nation-state narrative. Although the exchangees constitute a narrative which seems more open to dialogue, this narrative is presented within the limits of the Turkish national narrative. The exchangees imagine the events which are described as common suffering through their own perspectives and experience. They approach the narrative of the refugees as propaganda of Greece/ultra-nationalism. On the other hand, although the refugee narrative uses the vocabulary belonging to the nationalist ideology, too, they accuse the Turkish side as nationalist. In this way, many nationalist figures are adopted and constantly used in nationality-construction by the members of refugee associations. Additionally, although the refugee and exchangee associations criticize the official narratives of the states, it is seen that their stance is

¹⁰⁸ The Interview #2 (Greek refugee) was held on 19.05.2017.

¹⁰⁹ The Interview #9 (Greek refugee) was held on 15.06.2017.

¹¹⁰ The Interview #3 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 17.12.2016.

not related with their position against the nationalist discourse. On the contrary, the criticism has stemmed from the fact that national discourse does not include them properly and they intend to extend the borders of the national narratives to cover themselves.

4.1.c. Events

The events of the refugee and exchangee associations turn out to be the most important components of the refugee and exchangee associations to create solidarity and cooperation among the members and to institutionalize their narrative. They are important motivational tools for both targets of the representation of the refugee and exchangee identities and the display of cultures and values that the associations intend to promote, preserve and protect. Thus, the associations attempt to convey their cultural background to the new generations and protect their cultural existence against increased urbanization and the effects of globalization. For this reason, the events of the refugee and exchangee associations take place in various fields and become the meeting point of the association members and increase the interaction between them.

In this context, the cultural events are depicted as one of the most prominent issues of the associations. Concerts, dance shows, religious activities and food presentations are considered as the most significant cultural events which determine the refugee and exchangee identities. Thus, the exhibitions of symbolic elements and cultural features aim to emphasize the common values among the members and promote togetherness. These events, which are held regularly, ensure that the identity of the refugees is kept visible and to be recognized by the members of the associations.

Additionally, the events which are related to the historical concepts are organized as another important basis for the refugee and exchangee identity. However, the contents of these events are different from each other. In Turkey, alongside the historical seminars, conferences and book launches, the most important historical events emerge as the commemoration of the population exchange and forced migration experience in the places where the exchangees arrived in Turkey first. These commemorations, usually held in the quarantine stations and harbors in February, take place in a way that the exchangees leave their carnets to the sea for the remembrance of the people who suffered in the migration period and include all the exchangees in Greece and Turkey.¹¹¹ The commemorations also witness the revitalization of the population exchange process with dramas. In this sense, the people who migrated from Greece come aboard with a boat and enter into the quarantine stations. When the lines of the dramas are examined, it is seen that the texts represent both the excitement of returning to the motherland (*anavatan*) and the pain of leaving their country (*memleket*). Furthermore, in the remembrance ceremony, the attributions of reciprocity and the suffering of both sides are frequently repeated and invited counterpart associations from Greece are symbolizing the friendship and solidarity between two communities against inhumane forced migration.¹¹²

On the other hand, in Greece, the historical events with respect to the forced migration experienced occur in various places and forms. As Kamouzis states, the forced migration experience did not occur in the similar conditions for all refugees and based upon this difference, the refugee associations focus on the historical event that they experienced (2017: 53). In this context, May 19th as the memorial day of the

¹¹¹ See Picture 9.

¹¹² See Picture 10.

Pontos Genocide when social visibility of the refugees reaches the highest level can be ranked as the most influential event in Greece among the other refugee-based historical events.¹¹³ The memorial day of the Pontos Genocide, which is increasingly visible with informative booths established in the central squares of the cities, is held with religious, military and political ceremonies held at the city's central points.¹¹⁴ Thus, the participant members of the Pontian associations and federations wearing various clothes belonging to the Pontus region or a shirt with the slogans and symbols related to Pontus gather with the Pontos map or Pontos eagle drawn Greek Flags, banner of the Pontos associations, national flags and placards saying "353.000 Pontian Souls", "We do not Forget" and "I remember the Genocide".¹¹⁵ Besides, it is seen that the participation of the military cortege with the armed "Akritas," who are symbolic warrior groups of the Pontos, demonstrates the validity and acceptability of the commemorations by the state. Additionally, one of most notable features of these events is that the groups with the broad participation conclude the commemoration as a protest in front of the Turkish Consulate of Thessaloniki and request recognition of the Pontos Genocide. Additionally, the name of "Kemal" is one of the central concepts of these events and he is accused of being the main reason for the Pontos Genocide.¹¹⁶ In this regard, as Mixalidis states, choosing May 19th as the Memorial Day of the Pontos Genocide is not a coincidence.¹¹⁷

The Asia Minor Catastrophe constitutes the central historical incident for the Asia Minor based refugee associations. However, because the Greek official narrative uses the incident as an important part of the Greek historiography from the beginning, the

¹¹³ See Picture 11 and Picture 12.

¹¹⁴ See Picture 13.

¹¹⁵ See Picture 14 and Picture 15.

¹¹⁶ See Picture 16.

¹¹⁷ Interview with Nikos Mixalidis, 07.06.2017.

narrative of Asia Minor Catastrophe embraces all refugees and is evoked by all the citizens. In this regard, September 14th referring to the “Great Fire of Smyrna” is determined as the remembrance day of “the Genocide of the Greeks of Asia Minor”. However, the concept of the genocide is not a preferred concept for all the associations and also terms of the Catastrophe or Destruction of the Eastern Hellenism are seen in the commemorative events. Thus, the pivotal context is constituted on the image of the “Great Fire of Smyrna” and the history-based events about it take place. Remembrance ceremonies are held in the central places of the cities and they are performed in the neighborhoods with cultural organizations, seminars, academic conferences or liturgy in the churches. Thus, the image of the “Great Fire of Smyrna” plays a central role even in the churches and in some cases, the incident is revived with a theatre play or it is revitalized by using torches from the ships.¹¹⁸

Similarly, the Constantinople and Thracian associations organize events with the Asia Minor associations although they also have some integral subjects associated with their experience. Although the “Genocide of the Thracian Greeks” is not recognized by the state, this concept began to be used increasingly in recent years and is also supported by some Pontos and Asia Minor associations. On the other hand, events of the Constantinople associations are not limited by the forced migration experiences of the 1922-23, but also they refer to other incidents like Constantinople Pogrom in 1955, the deportation of the Greeks in 1964, etc. Besides, although the majority of the Cappadokians is not a part of the violent forced migration and migrated under the

¹¹⁸ Σύλλογος Προσφύγων Μικρασιατών Νέας Κρήνης «Η Αγία Παρασκευή» - Cultural Association Of Asia Minor Refugees in Nea Krini "Agia Paraskevi" organizes every year a revitalization of the “Great Fire of Smyrna”. While the members of the associations gather in the seaside, the boats demonstrate the Great Fire by lighting torches from a distance. See Picture 16.

Compulsory Population Exchange Treaty, it is seen that the Asia Minor Catastrophe is also mentioned by them in their events.

Moreover, the refugee based associations also organize events on the subject of the “Fall of the Constantinople”, the years under Τουρκοκρατία (the Ottoman rule), Cyprus, Patriarchy of the Constantinople in Turkey and the Imia islands (Kardak) conflicts between two countries. Thus, the history is represented as an inseparable whole and Turkey is perceived as a dangerous threat and the side who victimizes the Greeks in all history. On the other hand, the Greeks are portrayed in a more passive position, defending themselves against dangerous Turks. Although, the identification of being nationalist has a positive meaning in both societies, nationalism has two opposite meanings as Billig denotes (68-72). While “our” nationalism was a natural and harmless and signifies an emotional patriotism, “their” nationalism points to an aggressive ethnic nationalism. Besides, it is observed in the fieldwork, articles, and interviews with participants who join the events that they insistently state their position is different and far from the ultra-nationalism in Greece.

Another organizational area for the associations takes place in the process of the construction of the monuments and the museums to vitalize the refugee and exchangee narrative. The main difference between the refugee and exchange associations in this case is seen in the quantity of monuments and museums. While in Greece, almost all refugee neighborhoods and villages construct their cultural center, monuments or museums with the favor of the associations, there are limited number of museums and monuments in Turkey. However, both refugee and exchange associations display similar tendencies about the historical subjects as it is mentioned above. These museums and monuments exhibit the cultural and ethnographic elements of the refugee and exchangee culture and they present the historical concepts of the parties.

Yet, it is worth stressing out that the exchangee associations construct the monuments and museums with a narrative which does not create hospitality in parallel with their official targets. In this sense, all the monuments and museums also mention the Greek side of the history or the life of the Greeks in the Turkey before 1923. Especially, in the example of the Görükle Exchangee Remembrance House, the special attention of the discourse is remarkable. In the entrance, the board which describes the forced migration process and the past can be considered as an important example to comprehend the position of the exchange associations' narrative:

"Yes, the nation-states triumphed. These triumphs are remembered with the heroes and traitors of both nations, their successes or defeats, their martyrs, their veterans, with the incidents which they regretted, they were proud or they were embarrassed. For someone, these things may be sufficient. But this process also revealed victimized civilians, tragic human stories, burned cities, looted peasants for both sides at the same time. All these battles meant migration for the peoples of both sides in Rumelia and Anatolia. Though the size of the population was discussed by the historians in this last great migration between 1922 and 1924, about 1.200.000 Greek Orthodox living in Anatolia and about 450.000 Turkish-Muslim living in Greece had to leave the lands. Muslims and Christians, Turkish and Greek speaking, Turkish and Greek people were also urban, peasant, merchant, civil servant, soldier, farmer, fisherman, shepherd, farm owner or poultry. These people frantically and without the right of the rejection of the national states' decisions left their lands where they were born and established new lives in the territories which were supposed to be the "motherland".

Although the exchangee narrative is sensitive to the destructive discourse which affects the relations between the refugee and exchange associations, they seem to have an understanding of nationalism that is similar to refugee associations. While the exchangee associations acknowledge that their narrative is constructive for the relation of parties, they consider the Genocide or rhetoric accusing of Turkey as the result of ultra-nationalism or propaganda of Greece to weaken the Turkish state. On the contrary, the exchangee narrative ignores some issues and becomes selective on the historical context rather than being inclusionary. In this sense, they do not acknowledge any symbolic factor of the refugee narrative. Civilian casualties of war,

the “Great Fire of Smyrna”, labor battalions or plunders are not the part of the exchangee events which claim to commemorate the suffering of both refugees and exchangees. The references to these issues are only made in a general framework without special remark of the specific cases as it happened in the board of the Görükle Exchangee Remembrance House. Therefore, approaching the forced migration process in terms of the compulsory population exchange is the most important evidence that they are influenced by the nation-state narrative. The fact that the exchangee narrative does not reflect the rhetoric explicitly in a nationalist framework, such as in the refugee movement, does not makes it less nationalistic.

4.2. The Reflections of the Associations in Greece and Turkey

In addition to the differences in historical narratives, another distinction between the refugee and exchangee associations is constituted on the reflection of the narratives in both societies. In this regard, being a refugee and being an exchangee do not meet with same responses. Different historical factors and developments lead to different meanings. The visibility of the refugee and exchangee identities, too, plays an important role to explain the response of the societies to the mentioned associations.

In this sense, the refugee identity has appeared as a visible element since the forced migration period due to its scope and meaning for the ideological background of Greece. Although the cultural features of the refugees were ignored by the state for decades, the Asia Minor Catastrophe occupied the national agenda as a tragic history of Greeks (Salvanou, 2013: 7). Additionally, the political history of Greece is departmentalized by distinct periods, which crucially changed the political ground, such as Occupation era, Civil War and Junta period. Particularly, the polarization of

the Greek society because of the political conflicts and the authoritarian nature of the post-war era made political discussions restricted to the past experience, which had already divided the society. Thus, Salvanou points out that after the 1960s, the topic of the refugees and the Asia Minor Catastrophe were used particularly by the Left and the refugees became visible again in the Greek society as a less dangerous topic than other political incidents (2013: 9-10). Triadafilopoulos also states that the topic of the Asia Minor Catastrophe was perceived as a catalyzer to reunite the divided Greek nation (1998; 25). Regardless of the political background of the people, being a refugee, Pontian, Minor Asian, etc., could be a concept that might unite the citizens of politically shattered nation. The promotion of the refugee-based cultures in the Greek national imagination began to be presented not only with the Ancient Greece and Christianity, but also with cultural values more relevant to the the nineteenth and the twentieth century Ottoman Orthodox population after the Junta and the victory of the PASOK (Baltsiotis, 2005: 431).¹¹⁹ The visibility of the refugees and their culture also served for the Hellenization process of the Northern Greece and the refugees became the main evidence of the “Greekness” for the Macedonia conflicts in the 1990s (Baltsiotis, 2017).

On the other hand, the Turkish political life had not been disrupted deeply since the foundation of the Republic. Although there were several constitutional changes, the intolerant character for cultural and linguistic differences kept its importance and caused many conflicts in Turkey. The reactions of the state to the similar groups in the political history until the present time created the biggest obstacle to the emergence of

¹¹⁹ In this sense, the cultural presentations such as folkloric dances, clothes, foods, symbols of the Asia and Pontos were included in Greek identity and they are officially registered as a part of the national symbols. For instance, Pontian dance, kemancha (*kemençe-Αηρω*) became indisputable examples of the Greek culture. Thus, they began to be represented at the nation level.

the exchangee identity.¹²⁰ However, after the 1990s, the exchangee identities and associations began to appear in the civil society as a result of the combination of many factors such as the developed transformation and communication opportunities, improved relations between the two countries, increased Islamic tendencies in the Turkish political life¹²¹ (Tansuğ, 2011: 207-209), the Turkey-EU relations, etc.

In parallel with political stances of the refugee and exchangee associations, the levels of visibility in the relative societies differ from each other. In Greece, as a consequence of the integration and resettlement policies in the 1920s, the state did not intervene in the naming of the neighborhoods, streets, churches and other elements, which were a part of the (banal) refugee living spaces.¹²² In this sense, the revitalization of the “lost homelands” in Greece corresponded with the aims of the nation-state narrative (Martin, 2001, Liakos, 2011: 11-23). Yet, although the factors related with the Ancient Greece, Orthodoxy and the narrative of the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” were parts of the revitalization, the cultural differences of the refugees

¹²⁰ The confinement of the established Balkan and Circassian associations due to culturalist policies and the blocking of some activities of them by the state has set an example for refugee associations (Toumarkine 2001; 427).

¹²¹ The risen Islamic political parties can be considered as one of the existential reasons of the exchangee associations. Particularly, intense the Kemalist, modernist and secularist tendencies of the exchangees and their political positions are stated on several occasions in the interviews. Interviewee #11 (Turkish Exchangee) declared clearly “95 percent of their associations vote for the Republican People's Party” (13.12.2016). Besides Interviewee #12 (Turkish Exchangee) depicts the character of the exchangees as Atatürkist and modern in an interesting example: “All exchangee village in our region said ‘No’ in the referendum (which means that they vote against the Islamic political party) because we are the people who love and follow Atatürk and his principals. Just one village vote for ‘Yes’ but I do not know which kind of Thessalonikian they are.”(21.04.2017). Lastly, many of the exchangee participants of the interviews answer the question of “How do you recognize an exchangee in the street?” with the emphasis their modern characteristic. Although a certain argument goes beyond the scope of this study, it can be claimed that increased Islamic political culture is an effective factor in the exchangee associations.

¹²² It is important to underline that the visibility of “lost homelands” in Greece is a common phenomenon. In the refugee neighborhoods and villages, almost every element which constitutes the settlements tends to refer the “lost homelands”. In this sense, the name of the streets, schools, churches, the association buildings not only with their names but also architecturally revitalize the “lost homelands”. In this sense, the reconstructions of the important churches such as St. Gregorios Theologos Church, Saint Ioanna Church (Stelakou, 2006: 271-290), Panaya Soumela monastery, Ioanni Vazelonos monastery provide the revitalization in Greece as well as they become the pilgrimage route for many refugees.

did not encounter similar tolerance from the Greek state. However, the politization of the refugee narrative in the 1980s caused a new momentum, and the elements belonging to the refugee cultures entered into the Greek nation-state narrative. Thus, increased cultural events of the refugees, newly constructed statues such as the kemanche (*kemençe / Αηρα*) or refugee artists, the presence in the national ceremonies with folkloric dresses became a part of the daily life in Greece. Additionally, the recognition of “Pontos and Asia Minor Genocides” in the 1990s triggered the construction of many monuments in the public sphere, as well.¹²³ On the other hand, the visibility of the exchangees in Turkey had not been a part of the public space. They could not use the names of the abandoned territories, towns and villages in the new settlements.¹²⁴ Instead, they tend to use old names of the settlements or Turkish names which were given by the states. Besides, due to their cultural features were perceived as a threat to national unity, cultural items could only be seen in daily life if incorporated into national boundaries. Nonetheless, with the favor of the exchangee associations, some monuments referred to the Compulsory Population Exchange, and museums were built after 2000.

In this regard, the visibility and presence of the refugees and exchangees in everyday life in Greece and Turkey has been a factor affecting their recognition and societal acceptance. Therefore, while the narrative of the refugees is acknowledged as a part of the daily life in Greece, the exchangees form a new narrative, which is

¹²³ In the 90s, genocide monuments were made in many towns and villages, especially by the efforts of associations. These monuments, which are located in the city center or in the refugee neighborhoods and villages, are also used as the meeting points of the memorial days. The monuments of Asia Minor Catastrophe and Saint Chrisostomos that already exist in Greece have multiplied with the genocide monuments. Besides, the widespread use of monuments has given a motivation the other refugee associations to construct the monuments which their own experiences.

¹²⁴ Although, the villages were known as “refugee villages” (*muhacir köyü*) by the society in Turkey, exchangee-based villages has never used the name of the abandoned territories. Instead of this, they follow the national policies in the renaming process of the settlements in Turkey.

stranger to the Turkish society and which demands recognition from the nation-state and the public opinion. Due to this difference, the fairly unknown exchangee narrative does not conflict with the national narrative. Thus, the different stances of the refugee and exchangee identities in Greece and Turkey have led the associations to constitute their narrative considering their positions in the countries. Thus, due to historical factors; in Turkey, the organizations are more inclined to repeat the discourse of the population exchange while in Greece, they are more confident to add their own voice into the narrative.

4.2.a. Official Statements

In this context, the positions of the refugee and exchangee identities on the related societies might also be observed in the official statements of the associations. Particularly, the statements about the standing points of the associations and the refugee and exchangee identities against the national identity are of importance. It might be noted in advance that while the refugees are more confident about their position in the Greek national imagination, the exchangees have hesitations about the reactions of the Turkish society.

It is observed that the statements of the exchangee associations in Turkey point out their political-social position insistently in the national framework. Due to the intolerance policy for the different cultural features and the past experiences, the exchangees primarily aim at explaining why the associations and the exchangee identity exist in the society. Therefore, being perceived as segregationist or separatist institutions by the society and the state is not a desirable result for the exchangees. Similarly, they tend to express the exchangee identity as a result of the diversity, rather

than a conflict with the national unity. Thus, it is seen that the statements of the exchangee associations in their events assume a mission to clarify their positions and “safe identities” to both the society and their own members.

“Of course we are a member of the Turkish nation and we have no problem with it at all. So it is our identity. Our perception is not a perception beyond the unity and solidarity of the Republic of Turkey in any sense. So, why did some Crete associations and Balkan Culture Associations, etc. begin to be established? It is very clear. We started to recognize one of our new identities... We have many identities in our wallets. We have identification card, traffic license, occupational identity, etc. We have many identities related to Turkish Republic. These identities do not have to conflict with each other. So, our Crete identity does not conflict with the population of the Republic of Turkey.”¹²⁵

“Immigrants know the pain of losing their homeland very well. Therefore, the country where they lived ... they strongly embrace it. Exchangees and immigrants strongly embrace the principles that constitute the foundations of this Republic, the principles of Atatürk, the Treaty of Lausanne and the Republic of Turkey which they are up to the country with their citizenship. Because they have lost their homeland once and they are people who cannot tolerate losing their homeland again.”¹²⁶

On the other hand, the refugees also express their loyalty to the country in Greece, while it is still different from the main motivation of the Turkish side. Most importantly, the refugee identity is itself presented as a source of the Greekness. The politization of the refugee narrative in the 1980s and its continuous promotion gave a central position to the refugees in the core of the national identity-construction process. Thus, it is observed that the concept of Hellenism is always used with reference to the refugee and regional identities. Additionally, the existence of the Ancient Greek heritage and the Orthodox literature provide the legitimate point for the “Greek roots.” In this sense, the reference to the “lost homelands” is made directly to their Greekness

¹²⁵ This part is taken from the opening speech of the Association of Izmir Cretans in the Urla quarantine station (11.12.2016)

¹²⁶ This part is taken from the opening speech of the Association of Izmir Cretans in the Urla quarantine station (11.12.2016)

without hesitation and they do not need to explain their relation with the Greek national identity in particular.

At the same time, the regional separation and their own historical characteristics narrate different legitimate points for regional identities. The belief that the refugees, particularly the Constantinopolitans and Minor Asians, were a part of the higher culture brought them an important place in the Greek national identity. The nostalgic references to the Greek institutions, urbanized life of the cities and its impact on the people appear to be typical concepts repeated by the associations.¹²⁷ In a specific instance, Baltiotis proposes that the discovery of the Pontian dialect, which is declared as the closest dialect to the Ancient Greek, gave a moral superiority to the Pontians in the society about their pure Greekness (Baltiotis, 2005: 426).

However, the most arguable issue turns out to be on the linguistic differences among the refugees. Since some Turkish speaking communities, particularly the Cappadokians and Bafra communities, had been discriminated for years, the narratives became the applied legitimate point to prove their Greekness as it happened for the exchangees. Then, it is observed that once they lose the language card, so to speak, they tend to explain their Greekness over religious consistency.

“It is widely known that the Cappadocians were called upon to choose between their language and faith and chose to keep Orthodoxy and not to change. Certainly, there have been periods in Ottoman history characterized by violent Islamism, but also by volunteers from Christians who altered and "roamed" because they could not stand to be treated as second-class citizens.”¹²⁸

¹²⁷ In this way, the life in the Asia Minor, particularly in Smyrna and Constantinople and the Greek institutions such as Ionian University of Smyrna, *Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον* (Central School for Girls) and *Ευαγγελική Σχολή Σμύρνης* (Evangelical School of Smyrna) serve as the Greek consciousness of the region.

¹²⁸ Τα Καραμανλίδικα του Φάνη, “Η εκπαίδευση στις ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες της Καππαδοκίας,” date accessed: September 22, 2017, <http://karamanlidika.gr/h-ekpaideush-stis-ellhorthodoxes-koinothtes-ths-kappadokias/>. Although the website is belonged to the Cappadocian market, it is an important institution in representing Cappadocian identity.

“The Turks had forced them to choose between language and religion and they chose to preserve the Christian religion.”¹²⁹

While it is important how the exchangee and refugee associations explain themselves to the societies, the reactions against these associations are also explanatory to comprehend their positions. As it is mentioned above, the exchange associations are inclined to express their position to the Turkish nation and they advocate that they are harmless to the solidarity and integrity of the nation of the Turkish Republic. The statements of Hasan Baki, Anamur youth section president of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) and the reactions against him are worth mentioning in particular. He claims in his social media account that:

“If someone or his father is born in Thessaloniki, it means he is Thessalonikian. Nobody talks about Turk, Atatürk. The original is Greek, it is clear. He does not look like Turkish.”¹³⁰

As mentioned before, the increased Islamic political discourse and the anti-Atatürk narrative has led to a reaction within the exchangee associations due to the intense symbolic importance for the exchangees, who perceive Atatürk as a fellowman. Furthermore, the statement targets Atatürk as well as the exchangees because of their origins. In this sense, the exchangee associations need to explain themselves and clarify their positions.

“Family roots in Turkey fall within the former boundaries of the Ottoman Empire; especially Thessaloniki, Greece, Aegean Islands, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and other Balkan countries have a share of over 25 per cent in our population. These racist expressions target the entire Turkish nation, especially those of Balkan origin. We condemn this hatred of racist rhetoric with hatred.

¹²⁹ It is taken from a city overview section of the website. <http://dim-bafra.sch.gr/autosch/joomla15/index.php/2014-12-09-21-14-21>, date accessed: 22.09.2017.

¹³⁰ Cumhuriyet gazetesi, “AKP’li Hasan Baki, Atatürk’e saldırdı: Keşke olmasaydı... Tarih yazılıyor; İslam devrimidir bu”, 18 Şubat 2017, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/678532/AKP_li_Hasan_Baki__Ataturk_e_saldirdi__Keske_olmasaydi..._Tarih_yaziliyor__islam_devrimidir_bu.html

We are from Thessaloniki, Crete, Balkan. We are proud to be Ataturk's fellowmen.”¹³¹

Additionally, the joint declarations of associations which are written annually with the participation of the majority of the exchange associations condemn the discrimination against them.

“The use of a racist language for exchangees and *muhacirs* such as “... those who came from the other side of the river... ”, “those who later made this country their homeland”, “you are not the owners of this country, know your place”, even though it has passed 91 years since the Compulsory Population Exchange, shows that "othering" and "exclusion" are still in racist and chauvinistic minds. And these words can be said under the roof of the parliament (T.B.M.M.). We strongly condemn these words and behaviors that we consider to be in the scope of hate crimes.”¹³²

On the other hand, the refugees and their narrative have a central position in the Greek political life and society. The refugee narrative is constantly emphasized in political discussions, and the promotion of the refugee identities, particularly Pontos identity, has enabled the subject to be kept alive in the Greek society. Thus, in contrast to Turkey, the issues of the refugees frequently occupy the discussions in the political sphere. But more importantly, the continuous reference to the refugees and the concepts, such as genocide and Catastrophe, has led to a society familiar with the topics. In this way, the inclusion of the refugees and the Genocide discourse created by the rhetoric in opposition to Turkey in the 1980s (Baltsiotis, 2015) seem to spread throughout the Greek society today. Therefore, any counterview against the embraced refugee narrative confronts with a negative reaction from the society. Therefore, while the debates in Turkey turn out to reconcile the exchange identity with the national

¹³¹ Hürriyet, The joint statements of 42 exchange associations, 21.02.2017, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/42-mubadil-kurulustan-ortak-aciklama-selanikli-40372753>.

¹³² The joint statements of the 25 exchange associations for the 91th Commemoration day of the Compulsory Population Exchange, Lozan Mübadilleri Derneği, “Tuzla'da Ahde Vefa” February 01, 2014, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/calismalarimiz/etkinlikler/tuzlada-ahde-vefa-h471.html>

identity as a non-conflicting element, the discussions in Greece originate from the discourse, which is constituted against the approved refugee narratives.

In this sense, the discussions among the political parties are enlightening. In 2005, the Greek Minister of Education, Nikos Filis, for example described the historical incidents in the beginning of the twentieth century in Pontos as bloodshed and denied the concept of the genocide. These in turn caused a significant reaction by the refugee associations and the opponent political parties. The demand for resignation and protest campaigns about the minister reached judicial level after 2016.¹³³ Particularly, the objections of the opposition parties have seriously affected the short-lived ministerial experience of Filis. Similarly, due to the Speaker of the Greek Parliament's reference to "the day of memory for the destruction of the Asia Minor Hellenism" instead of "Remembrance Day for the genocide of the Greeks of Asia Minor" on September 19, 2017, provoked the opposition parties and the Bureau of the Speaker became the target of the refugee associations. Additionally, it is observed that the refugee associations express their opinions on not just the topics related to the refugees only but also other important subjects such as the problem of Macedonia, Imia Islands, etc. In this way, it is safe to conclude that unlike the exchange associations' marginal role in Turkey, the refugee associations play an important role in the Greek political life and society. As consequences of this visibility, the refugee narrative acts more confidently and appears to be an inseparable part of the Greek nation and daily life.

¹³³ According to Greek law, by law enacted in 2014, the denials of the genocides, which are recognized by the parliament of Greece, are considered as crime.

4.2.b. Interviews

It is observed from the interviews conducted in Greece that the refugee identity (being a refugee) in the Greek society is a part of the daily life of the interviewees. In this regard, as Interviewee #3 (Greek refugee) and Interviewee #7 (Greek refugee) mentioned, the majority of the interviewees state that both themselves and their families have been members of the refugee associations for many years.

“My father is the member of an organization, a union for the people who came from Matska (Maçka)... I am a member of another. I knew about this association before from my sister. She was a member of the association and it is a good way to find company with other people... I have many friends from there, I know many people due to the association. While I learned many things, at the same time I did something for our culture”¹³⁴

“All my family is the member of our neighborhood’s association. Because we are in the same place (a neighborhood is consisted of Constantinopolitans), we are also together in the association. All my friends, my relatives. Even I met with my wife in the dance course of the association.”¹³⁵

On the other hand, the exchangee identity (being an exchangee) happens to be a relatively new phenomenon in Turkey. The interviewees generally denote that their elder relatives did not identify themselves as exchangees. Instead Interviewee #7 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #8 (Turkish Exchangee) indicate that the concept of the *muhacir*¹³⁶ is more frequently used by their elders.¹³⁷ Besides, in general, membership to exchangee associations too is a rather new practice among the exchangees. Interviewee #7 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #9 explains that they are members because of their curiosity about their ancestors.

¹³⁴ The Interviewee #3 (Greek refugee) was held on 17.04.2017

¹³⁵ The Interviewee #7 (Greek refugee) was held on 23.05.2017

¹³⁶ The Word of *muhacir* is considered as synonym of refugee, it came from the Word of *hicret* (hejira). In this sense, it has a positive meaning at same time.

¹³⁷ Similarly, Interviewee #3 (Greek refugee) indicate that, also their parents did not use the concept of the Pontian in the past, instead of this; they preferred to use Romaio to describe themselves (17.04.2017).

“Until the 2000s, nobody identified themselves as exchangee and of course could not do it. They only say “we are from Thessaloniki”, why? Because the founder of our Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk from there.”¹³⁸

“I have heard recently the word of exchangee. Even in our village, among the villages, they are called “*muhacir village*”, the name of our village is this. In our case, the refugee is a word that is used more often. Then, as we became conscious, we read books and were acquainted with words of the exchange and exchangee.”¹³⁹

“I had curiosity from my childhood. I began to follow this when I start to learn something about my family tree in the 90s... I have always been interested in this subject because of my family roots... I am the only one in the family; still they are not member, even my son.”¹⁴⁰

“I found the liquation document of my family from national archive and when I touched them, I began shaking, after this moment I found myself in the subject of population exchange... Then I visited my village in Greece and I felt belongingness again and I could not break it. I was the first member in my family but later on others, my brother, my mother and my aunt got involved to the association.”¹⁴¹

It was expected, given the historical background, that being a member of refugee associations should emerge as a common practice in Greece. Due to the family members affiliated with these associations and the social sphere that support such memberships, the associations and the refugee identity have become a part of the Greek daily routine. Besides, the use of the refugee concept since 1922 led to public recognition for the association members. On the other hand, it is seen that being an exchangee is a newly-emerging concept for the Turkish society. Additionally, due to the absence of membership among the family members and the unsupportive social sphere, it is understood that these associations consist of limited number of people, who have special interest in their own past or this topic per se.

Comparing the official statements with the answers from the interviews, it might be argued that our expectations have been met. While the refugees declare themselves as

¹³⁸ The Interview #7 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 18.01.2017.

¹³⁹ The Interview #8 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 12.12.2016.

¹⁴⁰ The Interview #7 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 18.01.2017.

¹⁴¹ The Interview #9 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 24.01.2017.

important sources of the Greekness, the exchangees have developed more discreet descriptions in the interviews. Thus, on the grounds provided by the Ancient Greece and Orthodox Christianity discourse, the refugees mainly identified themselves as genuine Greeks. While Interviewee #8 (Greek refugee) refers to the past on the language and Interviewee #9 (Greek refugee) considers both Greek speaking Muslims and Turkish speaking Orthodox as Greek.¹⁴² Besides, Interviewee #10 (Greek refugee) represents their position in a comparative framework.

“In the past, they called us as Turks. But now, when our language is proved to be the language closest to Ancient Greece, they cannot ignore us anymore. Scientific research proves our past.”¹⁴³

“Why did the Turks need to change their religion? The Greeks were the secondary citizens and many of them changed their religion voluntarily or forcibly. That is why, it is understandable why there are Greek-speaking Muslims today. But saying the Turkish speaking Orthodox people have Turkish origin is meaningless. We spoke Turkish because we were minority in our region and to do trade we need to speak it.”¹⁴⁴

“They brought us from Cappadocia because we were pure Greek. But the locals of the town do not have Greek origin, they are Albanians, Albanowlahs.”¹⁴⁵

In other respects, although the exchangees underline their Turkishness, the hesitations from the social reactions are observed through many interviews. While some exchangees reject the proposal of the interview based on the fact that either they themselves or their relatives are state officials, Interviewee #6 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #10 (Turkish Exchangee) express their hesitation about the exchangee narrative.

“What do you think? Are we segregationist? We just want to keep our culture alive. When we talked about Crete, why should it be bad for the country?”

¹⁴² The reference of the Interviewee #9 (Greek refugee) is the Greek speaking Muslims in the Pontian regions today.

¹⁴³ The Interview #8 (Greek refugee) was held on 06.06.2017.

¹⁴⁴ The Interview #9 (Greek refugee) was held on 15.06.2017.

¹⁴⁵ The Interview #10 (Greek refugee) was held on 02.03.2017.

We are also the members of this nation, but I would like to see my parents' culture in my life."¹⁴⁶

"The people ask me why I am a member of the associations. What is my intention? Should I have an intention to do this? I am Atatürkist than everyone, I love this country and I am proud of my past"¹⁴⁷

While in other interviews it is also seen that the exchangees refer to the unfavorable experiences such as social discrimination, they tend to refer them as necessary for the unity and solidarity of the nation. It is seen that while the Compulsory Population Exchange is represented as an inhuman act and the exchangees mention instances of social discrimination, they care not to conflict with the national narrative, which takes the period as an accomplished process. In this regard, the answers of Interviewee #11 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #3 (Turkish Exchangee) are illustrative. Interviewee #12 (Turkish Exchangee) also mentions the intolerance in the society by drawing an interesting analogy.

"When we moved to Izmir, we were affected by the camping of "Citizens, speak Turkish". They suffered oppression. The municipal police (*bekçi*) fined us a couple of times because we spoke Kritik. But it was a necessity. The young republic was founded newly and we should unite. I can understand why they did this."¹⁴⁸

"God forbid this kind of compulsory migration. The thing that happened is just pain. Now I think my family struggled against poverty in all their lives. Maybe because of them, now I am sensitive about the subject. But if you ask me, was the exchange necessary, I would say "surely yes"¹⁴⁹

"I never said in my youth and childhood that I was a Thessalonian. I grew up in the neighborhood of Altındağ, Aktaş in Ankara. That's why when they ask where I am from, I said that I am from Ankara... Because in those years, when I would like to say that I am a Thessalonians, I apologize very much but I was perceived as converted Jewish or something else... But today I would like to thank the Kurds in Turkey. When the Kurds began to call themselves as Kurdish, I began to say that I am Thessalonian. I thank them. I am proudly saying it."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ The Interview #6 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 21.07.2017.

¹⁴⁷ The Interview #10 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 01.08.2017.

¹⁴⁸ The Interview #11 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 13.12.2016.

¹⁴⁹ The Interview #3 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 17.12.2016.

¹⁵⁰ The Interview #12 (Turkish Exchangee) was held on 24.01.2017.

To conclude, it is observed that the social factors are one of the determinants of the refugee and exchangee narratives. The current conditions of the associations and the reactions against them result in differences between them. In this regard, the confidence of the refugees is derived from their political acceptance in the national identity. However, the absence of the exchangees in the national narrative makes the exchangee associations more cautious. Thus, while the refugees feel confident to include their perception into national narrative and keep the debates within their perspective, the exchangees have a defensive position against the reactions and they tend to constitute a narrative parallel with the compulsory population discourse of the Turkish state.

4.2.c. Events

Examining the events, the inclusion of the refugee narrative into the Greek national core leads to the emergence of serious differences between countries. In consequence, the refugee culture and discourse in Greece have become the inseparable part of the national imagination. Thus, the refugee associations represent themselves in the national ceremonies as well as on the important days of the refugee narrative, nationalized and transformed to the national commemorations. In this way, the commemorations of the refugees have become a phenomenon that is embedded in the memory of all citizens in Greece, not only the concern of the refugees.

In this context, the presence of the refugee associations with the folk costume and the banners, which indicate the associations and abandoned regions in the March 25, Greek Independence Day, symbolizes the abandoned territories as a part of Greek imagination. In addition to the current regions of Greece, the “lost homelands” are also

flagged and declared to be an integral part of the country. Furthermore, the participation of the high state officials, army officers and national church in the commemorations of the refugee associations shows how the inclusion of the refugee narrative in the national core is acknowledged by the state. Additionally, the fact that commemoration days are subject to parliamentary debates, the great liturgies organized by the national church, the symbolic attendance of the Akritas–Pontian troops- alongside the national guards in the Syntagma square on May 19th, prove the place of the refugees in the narrative and the daily routine of the country.¹⁵¹ Thus, the refugee narrative that enters the national imagination mainly takes its power from everyday routines as Billig mentions (1995: 5).

On the other hand, although the exchangee associations in Turkey participate voluntarily in the national ceremonies as a group, they are not considered to be a crucial or permanent part of these ceremonies. Even on the signature day of the Treaty of Lausanne, which is the only important day that can be perceived for the exchangee in the national ceremonies, the Compulsory Population Exchange is not embraced by the state. Similarly, the attendance of the state officials is generally seen only at level of the local authorities such as the country municipality presidents or officials in the events of the exchangee associations.

It is observed that both exchangee and refugee associations use the national flags, anthems and symbols as fundamental symbols of the events. Yet, the main difference of these events is the way flags are used. While the Turkish flag is the only representative flag in the events in Turkey, the regional flags and the flag of the church, which is also Byzantine Empire flag, are waved alongside the Greek flag in Greece.

¹⁵¹ See Picture 18.

Besides, in the organized international meeting by the exchangee associations, Greek flag and national anthem also appear to be the tools for mutuality; whereas the use of the Turkish flag in the refugee events, symbolizes the enemy or accused one.

The widespread existence of the refugee monuments and the cultural events all over Greece further made the refugee narrative familiar in the Greek society. Especially, the frequency of refugee cultural events and their constant presence in daily life as a popular culture enable them to gain place in the society. Besides, existing dance courses and cultural lectures under the refugee associations are the most important means of spreading refugee culture. At this point, it is important to underline that the vision of the cultural activities target the cultures of the abandoned territories before 1922. Dance courses and choirs which are fed by the resources provided by the CAMS and other research centers constitute one of the primary socialization areas for the refugees. Additionally, because the research centers introduce restrictions, the cultural elements of the refugees are institutionalized and have begun to become a whole that displays similarities. Thus, they are influenced by pedagogic knowledge rather than a living culture. But unlike past experiences, the represented cultural elements are not limited to the cultures of the abandoned villages and regions. On the contrary, the cultural elements that once addressed to a limited entity in a particular area have become institutionalized and transformed into elements that are presented to the whole nation.

On the other hand, the cultural activities of the exchangee associations in Turkey differ from those in Greece in two dimensions. First of all, as it happens in Greece, the associations target the cultures prior to 1923. Especially, the Cretan associations pioneer the cultural events and they promote the Crete culture among their members. However, it is observed as a common phenomenon that the cultural events of the

exchangees are also influenced by the Greek popular culture. In this regard, the dance courses or the choirs of the exchangee associations prefer to teach the Modern Greek dances like Sirtaki rather than the dances of their grandparents. A similar tendency is also observed in language courses of the associations. While the refugees in Greece open courses in the Greek dialect such as Pontian, the exchangee associations organize Modern Greek language courses instead of the dialects (such as Grevenika, Cretan, etc.) of their ancestors. Additionally, Modern Greece-centric viewpoints of the exchangee events tend to ignore other exchanges, who speak Macedonian, Pomak or Wlah. In this respect, the events of the refugee associations are perceived as the replica of the Greek culture. However, the cultural presentations of the exchangee associations call into doubt due to their reference to the Modern Greece. For instance, serving snails in the Cretan associations meet with the reaction of even the exchangees in some cases.¹⁵² Thus, the exchangee events are perceived as the result of the alienation with the nation instead of the being part of it.

4.3. Domestic and International Roles of the Associations

Although the narratives of refugee and exchangee associations and their place in society differ in Greece and Turkey, the question of what purpose the associations are founded on emerges in the following chapter. As the official statements mentioned, associations aim at protecting, preserving and promoting the refugee and exchangee cultures and raising awareness about the historical events related to the forced migration process in 1922-1923. In this regard, all associations declare their statuses

¹⁵² The Interviewee #13(Turkish Exchangee) and The Interviewee #14 (Turkish Exchangee) mention this differences with a negative approaches.

as ‘cultural associations.’ Despite the emphasis on culture, it is observed that actions taken by the associations are occurred in accordance with national narratives. As seen in the other chapters, the fact that national boundaries are important determinants in narratives of the refugee and exchangee associations demonstrates that associations do not act only on a cultural ground. In this sense, these associations are identity-justifying agents in both domestic and international levels.

On the other hand, international tendencies of these associations are different from each other. Due to the aim of the refugee associations to forge public opinion at the international level for the recognition of the genocide, the influence sphere of the refugee associations exceeds the national boundaries. Additionally, since many refugees migrated to the USA, Canada, Australia and a number of European countries after 1922, these refugee associations were also established there. On the other hand, although the exchangee associations declare their international missions, they have mainly focused on Greece, where they left in the forced migration process, as a field of interest. While the refugee associations in Greece play a more international role, the exchangee associations in Turkey are rather limited in scope.

4.3.a. Official Statements

Although refugee and exchangee associations are formed by individuals who come from different regions and have different experiences on the forced migration period, they tend to be collective as a natural result of organizations. Their targets, such as creating archives, museums, research centers, transferring the cultures to new generations, organizing seminars have led to institutionalization of the refugee and exchangee cultures. Yet, while the cultural institutionalization gives a confined and substantial space for these associations, at the same time it causes the transformation

of individual experiences to collective memories. The spread use of certain concepts and slogans, and the published research with support of associations and continuous repetition of these data by organized events appear to be the most important means of producing a certain and confined narrative.

Besides, notwithstanding that the refugee associations are founded by the fear of losing their culture, when the reasons of this fear such as changing life conditions, urbanization and globalization are considered, the assimilative characteristic of national culture does not seem to be a part within these treats. In this sense, in addition to institutionalization, another role of these associations emerges as creating legitimate grounds in national imagination for the refugees and exchangees. The constructed identities and narrative seem to harmonize with the national narrative rather than challenge it. While this bilateral relationship aims at incorporating values of refugees and exchangees into national narrative, it provides legitimate space for them in national imagination as well.

In this sense, the statements of the associations, their journals and websites provide narratives of associations by using a basis for the nationalization of the past (Salvanou, 2013: 9). Besides, the foundation of the research and archives centers by the associations becomes the crucial elements of institutionalization and nationalization processes to enrich the academic resources as well as helping to create a shared memory (Salvanou, 2013: 9). Academic conferences, seminars and invitations to book launches on the forced migration process have become one of the most frequent events of the associations. In parallel, it is observed that the associations and their statements are mostly constituted on the outputs of these research and events. Thereby, the emergence of supported academics by these associations or refugee or exchangee origin scholars has led to the strengthening of the associations' narratives (Salvanou,

2013: 10). Particularly, the statements of the associations, which confine the research topic and field for the financial support, clarify the possible borders of the research. In this context, it is certain which scholars will be invited to the conferences organized by associations or which research will be supported by them. For instance, when the academic supports of one of the oldest and largest association, Η Εύξεινος Λέσχη Θεσσαλονίκης (The Black Sea Club of Thessaloniki) are examined, it is realized that the related financial supports and scholarships target the research that corresponds to the concept of the Pontus Genocide.¹⁵³ Similarly, academic conferences of the exchangee associations are always limited with the concept of the Population Exchange. Therefore, the academics provide the legitimacy of the statements for refugee and exchangee associations.

One of the most important indications of associations about the desire of entering into the national imagination is seen on efforts to be involved in the national education. Particularly, the target of the refugee associations to be included more in the cultural and historical syllabi of the primary and secondary education is seen as one of their main objectives.

“The inclusion of elements from the history and tradition of Pontian Hellenism in the teaching material of primary and secondary education.”¹⁵⁴

In addition to this, it is observed that the studies of the refugees increasingly involve in the university education with the establishment of the specific research centers on the subject of the 1922-23 forced migration. Besides, politicians that intend to remove

¹⁵³<http://www.efxinos.gr/%CE%95%CE%A5%CE%9E%CE%95%CE%99%CE%9D%CE%9F%CE%A3-%CE%9B%CE%95%CE%A3%CE%A7%CE%97.aspx>, date accessed: 06.11.2017

¹⁵⁴ The charter of the Pan-Pontus Federation of Greece, Παμποντιακή Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας, POE <http://www.poe.org.gr/default.aspx?catid=117>, date accessed: 06.11.2017

the history of refugees from the curriculum are put under pressure by these associations.¹⁵⁵

The exchange associations with similar demands act in a limited way. Particularly, they intend to involve through cultural items such as folk dances and meals. In this sense, while an exchange association works for the inclusion of the exchange folk dance into the repertory of the national folk dancing¹⁵⁶, another one intends to insert the Cretan cuisine in the syllabus of the vocational school of tourism and hotel management.¹⁵⁷

As a consequence, it is outlined that the refugee and exchange associations do not only constitute their narrative but also reproduce and institutionalize through organizing their activities and events. Subsequently, the continuous use of the confined knowledge and vocabulary by the associations finds a response from the association members.

Notwithstanding that the refugee and exchange associations are used as identity-justifying agents in domestic and international concepts, their intentions differ again due to their characteristics of the narratives and targets in the international platform. In this regard, the official statements of associations concentrated on two phases: the statements for the international community and the statements for other side. When these statements of the refugee associations are examined, it is found that their main target is constituted about the recognition and promotion of the “Pontos and Asia

¹⁵⁵ Anastassios Adamopoulos; Nov 4, 2015 <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/11/04/pontic-community-calls-for-protest-in-athens-as-pontic-genocide-is-removed-from-high-school-curriculum/>

¹⁵⁶ Samsun Çağdaş Haber, “Mübadil Halk Oyunları Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Müfredatındaki yerini aldı,” 09 Mart 2018, <http://samsuncagdashaber.com/mubadil-halk-oyunlari-milli-egitim-bakanligi-mufredatindaki-yerini-aldi/>

¹⁵⁷ The president of Giritya Mudanya Cretans and Ioanninians Culture and Solidarity Association states their target and their performed effort about the subject.

Minor Genocide” by the international community.¹⁵⁸ For this purpose, the refugee associations explain their mission as:

“Internationalization, International Recognition and Condemnation of the Genocide of Greek Pontians.”¹⁵⁹

“Raising the issue of the genocide of Pontian Hellenism and acting in the direction of international recognition.”¹⁶⁰

“The preservation of the memory of the beyond the Aegean and other unforgettable and unrelenting Greek Homes of Our East and the promotion and claiming at the international level of the historical and inalienable rights of all the victims of the persecution of the Hellenism of the East in 1914, 1922, 1924 and their descendants as regards their ancestral heritage.”¹⁶¹

Furthermore, the refugee associations also act with other groups such as Armenians and Assyrians to strengthen the Genocide discourse. Accordingly, while a common discourse develops against the Turks at this point, the visibility of other movements is utilized at the same time.

“In "EPONA", our slogan and reference point is the right to memory. This phrase is before anything else a reminder of the tragic historical experience of the Greek Genocide of the Pontus that was carried out in parallel with the Armenians and Assyrians Genocide by the Turks.”¹⁶²

“... to recognize the Genocide it has committed at the beginning of the previous century against the Greeks of the Black Sea and the other Christian minorities (Armenians, Assyrians), all native born people who lived for centuries in their ancestral homes.”¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ In addition to this target, the other refugees who spread to other part of the world add international dimension for the refugee associations.

¹⁵⁹ Παμποντιακή Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας (Π.Ο.Ε.), <http://www.poe.org.gr/default.aspx?catid=117>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

¹⁶⁰ Ο Σύλλογος Ποντίων Φοιτητών και Σπουδαστών Θεσσαλονίκης, <https://spfth.wordpress.com/o-%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C-%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%BB%CF%8C%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%85/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

¹⁶¹ Ομοσπονδίας Προσφυγικών Σωματείων Ελλάδος (Ο.Π.Σ.Ε.), <http://opsehellas.gr/sample-page/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

¹⁶² Ένωση Ποντιακής Νεολαίας Αττικής - EPONA, <http://www.epona.gr/%CE%B5-%CF%80%CE%BF-%CE%BD-%CE%B1/%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C/>, date accessed: 12.10.2017

¹⁶³ Παμποντιακή Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας (Π.Ο.Ε.), <http://www.poe.org.gr/default.aspx?catid=117>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

On the other hand, the exchangee associations address to the international community just on the topic of the condemnation to the forced migration which has happened in any part of the world.

“We vigorously condemn and shout out loudly for those who, for the sake of imperialist interests, have caused those wars and have cause hundreds of thousands of people to die, millions of people to leave their countries, their supporters and silent ones: Stop the war! Stop the deaths! End the refugee drama.”¹⁶⁴

However, the exchangee associations also have international purposes. Nonetheless, they prefer addressing to Greece instead of the international community. Thereby, it is observed that the exchangee associations mainly aim at a better relationship between the countries and offer solidarity between the exchangees of them.¹⁶⁵

“Nowadays, it is known that the convergence of the peoples is very important for world peace. We, among the people of Turkey and Greece, think that to make permanent the improved friendship after the Izmit Earthquake that occurred on 17 August 1999 and Athens Earthquake, occurred on 7 September 1999, can be formed by strengthening the communication between the two countries exchangees.”¹⁶⁶

“We would like Turkish and Greek Governments to restore mutually the cultural heritage left behind by the emigrants such as the mosques, churches, dervish lodges, monasteries, mausoleums, war graves and graves, fountains, baths, khans, bazaars and other cultural architecture. We appreciate the efforts of local administrations and civil society organizations in Turkey and Greece to protect the architectural heritage.”¹⁶⁷

“To develop friendship, love and cooperation between the peoples of Turkey and the Greece and to strive for the construction of the peace culture, to establish

¹⁶⁴ The joint statements of the 42 exchangee associations for the 91th Commemoration day of the Compulsory Population Exchange, 27.02.2017, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/mubadil-kuruluslarinin-cagrisi/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

¹⁶⁵ But it should be underlined that the exchangee narrative considers the parties as exchangee and they never mention the refugee experince.

¹⁶⁶ Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfi, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org.tr/kisaca-mubadele/>, date accessed: 05.11.2017.

¹⁶⁷ The joint statements of the 25 exchangee associations for the 91th Commemoration day of the Compulsory Population Exchange, 01.02.2014, <http://www.lozanmubadilleri.com/calismalarimiz/etkinlikler/tuzlada-ahde-vefa-h471.html>

social and cultural solidarity and assistance between the Emigrants (exchangees) and the next generations.”¹⁶⁸

From another perspective, despite the fact that the refugee associations target toward Turkey in their statements, they are characteristically different than the exchangee vision. Thus, the refugee associations mainly demand recognition of the Genocide and other victimizations from Turkey. Additionally, it is understood that related with regional concepts of the refugee identities, associations state various demands from Turkey to protect their heritage or to defend the status of the Patriarchy or important people for the refugee community in Turkey.

“to free our compatriot and fighter Gianni Vasili Yaylali, who stands up for human rights and the freedom of speech in Turkey and has been imprisoned repeatedly for false accusations.”¹⁶⁹

“The problems faced by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople were exposed. In particular, it stressed the continued refusal to recognize the legal personality of the Ecumenical Patriarchate... The issue of the reopening of the Halki Sacred Theological School was highlighted”¹⁷⁰

“Finally, the Turkish government's obligation to return the three churches directly to Galata with their immovable property which illegally occupied by the so-called and non-existent "Turkish-Orthodox Patriarchate" was highlighted.”¹⁷¹

“Calls upon the Ministries of Foreign Affairs ... to express their interest in the restoration, promotion of the Hellenic monuments of Hellenism in the historical Pontus and to ensure the visitation to them as museums and in particular to frustrate the attempted conversion of the Holy Temple of St. Sophia of Trebizond in a mosque.”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Büyük Mübadele Derneği, <http://www.buyukmubadelederneği.org/Tuzuk.aspx>, date accessed: 10.04.2018.

¹⁶⁹ It is cited from the promotion booklet of the Pontos Genocide, POE.

¹⁷⁰ Ο Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών. “Ο Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών στη Συνδιάσκεψη του ΟΑΣΕ.” Warsaw, September, 11 – 22. 2017. <https://www.cpolitan.gr/news/%CE%BF-%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BA%CF%89%CE%BD%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%80%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%84%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7-%CF%83/>

¹⁷¹ Ο Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών. “Ο Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπολιτών στη Συνδιάσκεψη του ΟΑΣΕ.” Warsaw, September, 11 – 22. 2017. <https://www.cpolitan.gr/news/%CE%BF-%CF%83%CF%8D%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%BF%CF%82-%CE%BA%CF%89%CE%BD%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%80%CE%BF%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%84%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7-%CF%83/>

¹⁷² The charter of the Pan-Pontus Federation of Greece, Παμποντιακή Ομοσπονδία Ελλάδας, POE <http://www.poe.org.gr/default.aspx?catid=117>, date accessed: 06.11.2017

In this context, the international stage is also potential zones of conflict for the historical narratives of the associations that are different from each other. Thus, while refugee associations remove Turkey from among the victims of the forced migration process and present as fully responsible for the victimization, the exchangee associations condemns forced migration in a broader context and ignores the history of the refugees.

4.3.b. Interviews

The aforementioned roles of the refugee and exchangee associations in domestic and international sphere are observed in interviews outputs, as well. As far as it is frequently seen in the interviews, the members of the associations mainly incline to explain the historical process in similar ways to the narrative of the associations. Despite the fact that the forced migration was experienced differently by each family and individuals, shared points of interviews are observed broadly. However, the institutionalization of refugee and exchangee cultures can be traced through the interviews that present the exceptional ideas and show how the culture has changed. In this sense, Interviewee #11 (Greek refugee) and Interviewee #12 (Greek refugee) mention change in musical culture among generations. Besides, as Interviewee #13 (Greek refugee) states, the scope of the events have changed in time, as well.

“Actually, in my town in the Western Pontos, the main instruments are clarion (zurna), violin and tambour. We did not play kamancha. For example, my father hates the voice of the kamancha, but for me it is part of my life.”¹⁷³

“In the past these songs were sung extemporarily like call-and-response duet. Now there are certain words and songs are sung through those words. Also they knew the dialect. Today unfortunately there is few people can do this.”¹⁷⁴

“We did not have this kind of organization in the past. Now, the festivals (γλεντι) are huge. Still we continue our small festivals in our village. Almost all

¹⁷³ The Interview #11 (Greek refugee) was held on 05.05.2017.

¹⁷⁴ The Interview #12 (Greek refugee) was held on 16.04.2017.

people in my village came from the same place in Pontus. Therefore it is more traditional one for me... In the big festivals, we dance with the songs of each region in Pontus.”¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, Interviewee #13 (Turkish Exchangee) refers to the change from a disparate point of view. Instead of the cultural change, Interviewee #13 (Turkish Exchangee) criticizes the discourse of ‘good relations’ with Greece.

“I do not understand why people talk with nostalgia. Now they say ‘we were neighbor with Greeks, we had good relations’. My parents had never said something like that. Contrarily, they had always talked about the raid of Greeks to our village... Yes, I would like to keep alive my culture and for this reason I joined to the association. But I do not understand why we need to create good relation with Greece.”¹⁷⁶

Another aspect of institutionalization and nationalization is observed in the interviews where participants use certain discourses and vocabulary. Particularly, the concepts and slogans presented in the events and statements of the associations received broad acceptance by the members. It is also realized that the presented history and narrative in academic studies were often used by the interviewees. In this context and by considering the interviews, all Pontian interviewees elucidated the forced migration process within the concept of Genocide, although their family experienced the forced migration in other ways.¹⁷⁷ As Interviewee #9 (Greek refugee) indicates, the academic studies are offered in legitimate grounds for the refugee narrative. The scientific research written and performed by the scholars involved with the associations are being presented as definitive facts by the interviews. Likewise, Interviewee #11 (Greek refugee) points out to the famous book of the Konstantinos Fotiadis as a reference benchmark.

¹⁷⁵ The Interview #13 (Greek refugee) was held on 16.04.2017.

¹⁷⁶ The Interview #13 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 24.01.2017.

¹⁷⁷ Besides, the references the specific incidents or the historical information are shown similarities. The number of 353.000 has been emphasized doubtlessly as the number of deaths in genocide by all the Pontian participants.

“They reached this number (353.000) as a result of a lot of research. The Genocide of the Pontians is fact. Even Turkey wants to deny it, you cannot resist against the fact and it will reveal one day.”¹⁷⁸

“Have you ever read the book of Fotiadis? You should read it. He explains inclusively everything.”¹⁷⁹

Furthermore, the Greekness of the refugees is repeatedly mentioned by the interviewees with similar legitimate points depending on the region, as explained in the previous chapter. Especially, the constantly organized seminars by the associations attempt to explain various topics on the Eastern Hellenism to increase consciousness about their origin while being mainly influential for the collective discourse.

On the other hand, the usage of limited vocabulary and discourses are also noted in parallel with the narrative of the exchangee associations in Turkey. In this context, these bounded names, concepts and events are generally employed in the interviews, whereas Atatürk and his quotes appear to be one of the most referred legitimate points and the participants constantly utilize them. Moreover, the Turkishness of the exchangees is outlined by the interviewees with identical legitimate remarks. Interviewee #14 (Turkish Exchangee), Interviewee #15 (Turkish Exchangee) Interviewee #16 (Turkish Exchangee) and Interviewee #17 (Turkish Exchangee) mention their identities with the various legitimate points.

“Atatürk brought us, brought all Muslim Turks... When we came here, we did not have anything but he embraced us. Different than other refugees, thanks to him we had right to compensate our losses.”¹⁸⁰

“We are actually from here. As raiders, our ancestors joined to the Ottoman army, conquered the Balkans and they settled there. We fought for this country, instead of staying here, we went to war. Now, they are questioning our Turkishness. We are better Turkish than them.”¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ The Interview #9 (Greek refugee) was held on 15.06.2017.

¹⁷⁹ The Interview #11 (Greek refugee) was held on 05.05.2017.

¹⁸⁰ The Interview #14 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 26.01.2017.

¹⁸¹ The Interview #15 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 25.01.2017.

“Our origin is Kamanlıs. They send us to enliven (şenlendirme) the Balkans and they began to live there. It is normal that in centuries they forgot their language due to their relations with the locals.”¹⁸²

“I always tell the young people, they have to read ... Our young people definitely need to read and research. Our root, our background is unshaken. Whatever it is, if we do not know our core, we cannot take a step forward ... We must be proud with our origin.”¹⁸³

By considering the interviews with the exchangees, almost all participants explain the forced migration process in terms of the “Compulsory Population Exchange” in accordance with the national narrative. Besides, the reference to the forced migration before the Treaty of Lausanne is not a common phenomenon in the interviews of exchangees. However, even if these events are mentioned, a valid reason is presented for the period as Interviewee #16 (Turkish Exchangee) emphasizes that:

“The Greeks (*Rumlar*) in Anatolia, who helped the Greek armies during the Independence War, escaped to Greece by boats and whatever they found out because they were afraid that the Turks would be slaughtered and the bad days were coming for them in return for their treason against their Ottoman”¹⁸⁴

Along with this, the arranged events, historical seminars and published books appear to be the prominent tools for the institutionalized narrative, which is repeated in the interviews, constantly. For instance, the fieldwork of the Cretan commemoration in the Urla quarantine station witnessed spreading rate of the used terms among the members, i.e. the concept employed by Prof. Dr. Nükhet Adıyeke in her speech was exploited as well by all four participants of the interview after the speech.¹⁸⁵

“As Mrs. Adıyeke said, when we came from the *adavatan* (island homeland) to homeland, other Cretans helped us.”¹⁸⁶

“Our *adavatan* is still important for us.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² The Interview #16 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 16.12.2016.

¹⁸³ The Interview #17 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 25.01.2017.

¹⁸⁴ The Interview #16 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 16.12.2016.

¹⁸⁵ In her speech, she played on words and stated that “We came to homeland from the island homeland” (“Bizler adavatandan anavatana geldik”).

¹⁸⁶ The Interview #18 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 11.12.2016

¹⁸⁷ The Interview #19 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 11.12.2016

“We visited to the *adavatan* couple times, we have many friends there.”¹⁸⁸

Similarly, some specialists in the field of the Population Exchange have become prominent figures in the exchangee associations and they can steer the narratives. In this regard, many exchangees mention to Kemal Yalçın, İlber Ortaylı or Kemal Arı as a reference point in the interviews.

In this respect, the constant promotion of the associations’ narrative in the events and statements reveal a shared discourse and provides a unity for the members. This shared discourse, which also means the reproduction and politization of the past, aims at harmonizing with the national narrative as well as strengthening solidarity in the associations. Besides, the interviewees tend not only to develop a narrative and culture within their own groups, but also they demand to promote it for the recognition by the whole nation.

In addition to identity-justifying feature of the associations, their stands in domestic and international area show alterations. While Greece is the main target of the exchangees in the international stage, the refugees mainly address to the international community.¹⁸⁹ Although the members of the refugee associations depend on their narrative, the tendency to improve relations with Turkey is depicted in the interviews. Increased relation with Turkish people and the exchangee associations provide better relations between countries. Particularly, the reciprocal visits of the counterparts, common commemorations, increased trips to the homelands of the refugees and exchangees naturally cause the improvement and dialogue between parties. In this

¹⁸⁸ The Interview #20 (Turkish exchangee) was held on 11.12.2016

¹⁸⁹ However, in the interviews is seen that the relations of the refugees with Turkish people vary in two dimensions. In parallel with the refugee narrative, the refugee participants of the interview process demand the recognition and apology from Turkey for the Asia Minor and Pontus Genocide. Nevertheless, it is observed that the refugees also have the relations with the Turkish people in the limited scale. On the one hand, while providing an atmosphere of peace through cultural events with Turkey on the other hand there has been a rapprochement with the Greek Pontus native speakers.

context, the study does not ignore these intentions but it rather claims that although the relations seem to improve and the refugee and exchangee associations acknowledge each other as counterparts, their narratives on the subject still indicate deep contradictions.

4.3.c. Events

As it is seen in the previous sections, the events are the fundamental tools of the institutionalization and nationalization of the refugee and exchangee associations. In addition to the construction of the narrative, the events which enable the continual reproduction of the discourses, symbols and images also provide the harmony between the narratives of the associations and the nation-states. Thus, the refugee and exchangee associations create a harmonious narrative without bringing a radical critique of the state or undermining the national unity and solidarity. So that associations, by putting the refugee and exchangee identity within certain boundaries, enable to provide them a legitimate ground both domestically and internationally.

In this context, when examining the events of the refugee associations, it is observed that the most important element in these activities is the use of the Hellenism and its symbols as the ideological ground while representing the refugee identities of the associations. In this sense, it is constantly stated that the relations of the foods, clothes, songs and other cultural elements are in line with Hellenism. Additionally, the regions where the refugees came from are represented with the names of the Ancient Greece instead of the names of regions used by their ancestors. Thereby, regional identities belonging to the “lost homelands” are presented without being conflicted with national identity. At this point, the associations aim at incorporating their cultural items and their presentations into the Greek identity. Thus, in the past, cultural items which were

belonging to a specific region are selected and introduced into the categories such as the Greek dances or the Greek cuisine.

Another area where institutionalization is intensified is when separate regions are perceived as a whole. Refugee associations are defined through five regions, as this study has also agreed; Pontus, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Cappadocia and Thracia. However, the boundaries of these regions are constituted in parallel with the Greek national narrative even though they have many elements that vary culturally. Thus, these regional identities that construct on the cultural features of certain centers such as Trabzon or İzmir is utilized as an instrument to ignore the possible contradictory cultural features, which belong to many small local groups. In this way, while Pontus songs are being sung in the festivals, many songs of the same region are not taken in this repertoire since they belong to the Turkish-speaking Pontians. Instead, the repertoire is consisted of several songs chosen as representing each region of Pontus. Thereby, all regions of the Pontus are shown as if they were a whole. The collective cultural events take place in such a way that all regions are presented separately but all members know the culture of each region. Contrary to the past, all participating groups are aware of the other dances of the region apart from the dances of their own regions. In addition to the territorial integrity, all regions also represent the Greek nation separately. In this respect, an event of the association of the Constantinople, their dance group displays the Cappadokian and Pontian dances alongside the Constantinople dances.

On the other hand, due to the differences mentioned in the previous chapter, the exchangee associations continuously state that the exchangee narrative does not contradict with the solidarity and integrity of the country in the events. Although the exchangee associations constantly refer to Turkishness, unlike the refugees, they are

in an effort to prove that they are not a foreign formation, instead of proving their Turkishness. Additionally, the relation of the presented cultural elements with Turkishness is not a prominent issue in the events. References to Greece are seen as a common phenomenon. In this sense, folklore groups or counterpart associations from Greece are invited to the events organized by the exchangee associations.

Because regional differentiation in refugee associations is not a general phenomenon for the exchangee associations and the absence of the common cultural features among the exchangees, Thessaloniki, the birth place of Atatürk is highlighted. At this point, the way in which the exchangees consider themselves in the national narrative is based on the fact that their ancestors are ‘educated’ and ‘modern.’ In this perspective, the exchangees offer more secular and modern features as a prominent element in parallel with the founding principles of the Republic.

Alongside the cultural dimension, the refugee and exchangee associations also control the narrative by providing financial support for the research, publishing of the books, organizing academic meetings and opening research centers. Particularly, the FLTE, which also publishes the academic research and organizes the domestic and international conferences, plays pivotal role in determining the boundaries of the narrative. Besides, doing research on the various subjects related to the ancestral lands appears to be a common phenomenon. As the Interviewee #3 (Greek refugee) mentions, the refugee associations encourage the students to study on their ancestral lands.

“If you study in the pedagogy, you can search the kids’ games in Pontus. If you study architecture, you work on the Pontus architecture. I am studying cartography and now I will present the map of Matsouka as a final thesis.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ The Interview #3 (Greek refugee) was held on 17.04.2017.

In the international stage, it is observed that the refugee associations get into the act in the various subjects. As it is mentioned above, the main motivation of the refugee associations in the international area focuses on the recognition of the “Asia Minor and Pontos Genocide” and for this purpose, they establish relations with the relevant organization and institutions. Conferences, seminars and support meetings held in international organizations and decision-making bodies are the events organized by the refugee associations for the recognition of these genocides. Besides, the diaspora branches of the refugee associations become a center for this target and play an essential role in the establishment of relations. The commemorations of the refugee narrative are also visualized in these countries and they intend to gain public support from the other countries.

In addition, the cultural and folklore groups of the refugee associations participate in international organizations as groups representing Greece in the international arena. What is important at this point is that the participation of these groups considered to be regional cultural groups, represents all Greece in these organizations. In this sense, the folklore groups of Pontus, Asia Minor, and Cappadocia represent Greece alongside the Cretans, Macedonians or Epirians.

The refugee associations also target Turkey. Visiting the ancestral land, conducting research in the “lost homelands” are seen one of the most important activities of the refugee associations. For this purpose, some refugee associations provide scholarships for the students for research and travel in the “lost homelands”. Additionally, in the last decades some special groups in Turkey have attracted attention of the refugee associations as their counterparts. The Greek-speaking Pontians and the crypto-Christians of Turkey appear to be the main attraction points of these refugee

associations. In contrast with the exchangee associations, except some refugee associations affiliated with them, the refugee associations do not regard the exchangee associations as their counterparts.

In other respects, in parallel with their targets, the exchangee associations develop international relations based on Greece. It is observed that the exchangee associations have strived to develop relationships with the refugee associations. In this regard, the first target group of the exchangee associations consists of the towns and villages, where the exchangees left Greece and their refugee associations. Secondly, the exchangee associations intend to establish a relationship with the refugee associations of their newly-settled towns and villages. Thus, for instance, the Mudanya Association of the Exchangees of Lausanne establishes the relationship both with Νέα Μουδανιά (New Mudanya) town where the new settlement of the Orthodox population of Mudanya in Greece and Crete where Mudanya Muslims came from. Town-twinning agreements, relations established through municipalities and reciprocal visits constitute the basis of these relations. Also, participations of the folklore groups and choirs of the associations in common festivals are the main tools of exchangee associations to improve relations between Greece and Turkey.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The increasing interest in the refugee/exchangee identity and associations has led them to become important phenomena in Greece and Turkey due to the demand from the society and academia. The newly opened associations, the rising number of events organized by the refugees and exchangees and their increased visibility within the society inspire us to examine this issue. Particularly, the growing relations between refugee and exchangee associations have made this phenomenon beyond just being a domestic incident. Thus, the relations among the civil society organizations, which are usually ignored as an actor in the IR literature in both countries, have been examined through discussions on the narratives of the nation states and the associations.

What this thesis aims is to analyze to what extent these relations are developed by the refugee and exchangee associations in Greece and Turkey and if their presence have a considerable impact on the (re-)production of the respective nation-state narratives. In this respect, the question whether the refugee and exchangee associations differ from their national narratives also arises. The thesis compares these narratives and events of the refugee and exchangee associations in order to provide some answers within the framework of banal nationalism and modernist nationalist theories. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to provide the necessary data for this comparison.

This study is structured upon three hypotheses. In the first hypothesis, the discourse which acknowledges the refugee and exchangee associations as counterparts is tested from a critical viewpoint. It is questioned how the associations establish a dialogue while two contradictive national narratives at play give different explanations for the

1922-23 forced migration process. It is seen that, the process, which is regarded as the same period and incident, differs significantly in the narratives of the exchangee and refugee associations. While the refugee associations in Greece develop a narrative based on the full responsibility of the Turkish side for the destruction of the Eastern Hellenism, the exchangee associations in Turkey represent the forced migration as an experience that affected both sides. In this respect, the used discourses, images and symbols by the associations also differ from each other. On the one hand, there is a narrative depicted by martyrs, fires, massacres, etc., and on the other hand, the story tells about two million people forced reciprocally to migrate with the agreement between the nation-states. Therefore, the exchangee associations make an impression that they are more likely to establish a dialogue since they condemn the forced migration process regardless of the countries. Yet, at a closer look, it is observed that the attitude of the exchange associations tend to ignore some historical incidents, which are important for the Greek side and acknowledge the process within the limits of the Turkish national narrative. Thus, the discourse of the “Compulsory Population Exchange” is also used as a cover for some historical incidents by the exchangee associations in Turkey, and the other terminology, including the “Asia Minor Catastrophe”, “Pontus Genocide” or “Great Fire of Smyrna,” are perceived to be made up by the extreme nationalists of the other side. For the refugee associations in Greece, however, a more stable narrative exists since the 1920s and it mainly accuses the Turkish nationalism for the victimization of Eastern Hellenism. Thus, the narrative, which does not refer to the pre-1922 period and the Muslims who had been forced to migrate, evaluates the process only from its own perspective. In a nutshell, this thesis reveals that both narratives of the refugee and exchangee associations are developed in parallel with their respective national narratives.

In the second hypothesis, the reflections of the refugee and exchangee associations on their relevant societies are compared. Due to the different historical backgrounds, the visibility of the refugees and exchangees in the daily life differs significantly. The fact that the refugee narrative has existed since the 1920s and its politicization after 1980 have brought the refugees into the front of social attention in Greece. In particular, the reminders of the “lost homelands” in many areas, such as churches, neighborhoods, streets, squares, etc. with the reference to the Ancient Greece and Orthodoxy, as well as the presence of associations in national ceremonies and their effectiveness in the social and political stage have made the refugees a part of the daily routine in Greece. On the other hand, the exchangee associations in Turkey are a relatively newer phenomenon. The exchangees who had been in silence for years due to the intolerant policies for having different cultural identities have only recently begun founding their associations after the 2000s. In this regard, the relative impact of the refugee and exchangee narratives varies within Greek and Turkish societies. To be more specific, especially after the 1980s, The Greekness of the refugees have become an unquestionable fact, when the identity of the refugees started to be accepted as a part of the national identity in Greece and the various cultural elements of the refugees gain a national status in the society. However, it is observed that the narrative of the exchangees in Turkey mainly refer to their non-conflicting identity with the national unity and solidarity and this tendency is shown clearly in their repeated statements, interviews and events. In other words, for instance, being a Pontian or a Minorasian is accepted without a question to be included in the Greek identity; however, the Turkishness of an exchangee can still be met with suspicion. As a result, the exchangee associations construct their narrative considering the limitations of the Turkish

national narrative, whereas the refugee associations reproduce their identities more freely in Greece.

The third hypothesis of this thesis questions the fundamental functions of the refugee and exchangee associations in their respective societies. As a natural consequence of the association-building process, the institutionalization of cultures and discourses are seen in both examples. Yet, how such institutionalization has taken place in the associations is worth a detailed analysis. At that point, this thesis points to the effective intervention of the respective nation-states and the national narratives in the institutionalization of the associations. Although their reference to the cultural dimension of the refugee and exchangee associations is frequently repeated, organized events, conferences, seminars etc. are realized responsively with the national frameworks. Moreover, the cultural characteristics unique to the refugees and exchangees are re-nationalized through associations, as well. In this sense, these associations appear to be the identity-justifying agents at both domestic and international levels. While the refugee associations in Greece take an active role in the international community to provide the recognition and promotion of the “Pontus and Asia Minor Genocide”, the international role of the exchangee associations in Turkey is limited within the domestic area and the relations between Greece and Turkey mostly.

To sum up, this thesis hopes to fill a void in the IR and Political Science literature about the refugee and exchangee associations and to draw attention to the way in which the discourses of ‘improved relations’ and ‘shared suffering’ emerged among these actors. Although the initiatives that attempt to make these two countries that are historically enemies closer to each other should not be ignored, it is important to note how they construct their narratives differently. As it can be seen from the content of

the thesis, the discrepancy between the two narratives shows how superficial the existing relations are. Particularly, the narrative of the other side as a part of propaganda or an extreme discourse is the biggest obstacle to the development of closer relations between the two sides. It is also seen from the events and statements of the associations that these narratives, reproduced in close connection with the respective national narratives, are becoming more institutionalized and therefore resistant to change. In this regard, the dialogue between the refugees and exchangees resembles a deaf communication in which both sides cannot hear each other. Thus, it can be argued that any relationship that may be established in-between does not last long, and the institutionalization of the narratives into the daily routines may lead to a rapid collapse of the relations that had the chance to rejuvenate during a crisis between the two countries.

APPENDIX



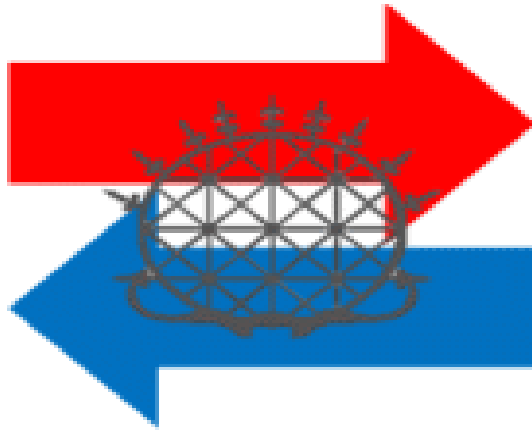
Picture 1: The symbol of the Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants which indicates the reciprocity of the migration by the arrows.



Picture 2: The symbol of the Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants which indicates the reciprocity of the migration by the letters of I.



Picture 3: The symbol of the Platform of the Turkish Cretans which indicates the reciprocity of the migration.



Picture 4: The symbol of the Ankara Association of the Lausanne Treaty Emigrants which indicates the reciprocity of the migration by the arrows. Also the colors and the directions of the arrows refer to the countries. In this sense, while the blue arrow which goes to left (west) symbolizes Greece, red arrow which goes to right (east) symbolizes Turkey.



Picture 5: The symbol of the Association of Pontic Students and Researchers of Thessaloniki refers to the Phrontisterion of Trapezous. The building, now known as a Kanuni Sultan Suleyman High School in Turkey, was once home to the dissemination of the Greek nationalist idea into the Pontus region.



Picture 6: The symbol of the Union of Pontian Sourmena refers to the Pontus Eagle and refugee camps.



Picture 7: The symbol of the Pan-Pontian Federation of Greece refers to the Phrontisterion of Trapezous and Pontus eagle.



Picture 8: The symbol of the Elefsis Association of Minorasians refers to the martyr Saint Chrisostomos of Smyrna.



Picture 9: In the commemoration of “Population Exchange”, the members of the Association of Izmir Cretans leave carnations to the sea in the memory of the people who were suffered from the “Population Exchangee” in Greece and Turkey in Izmir.

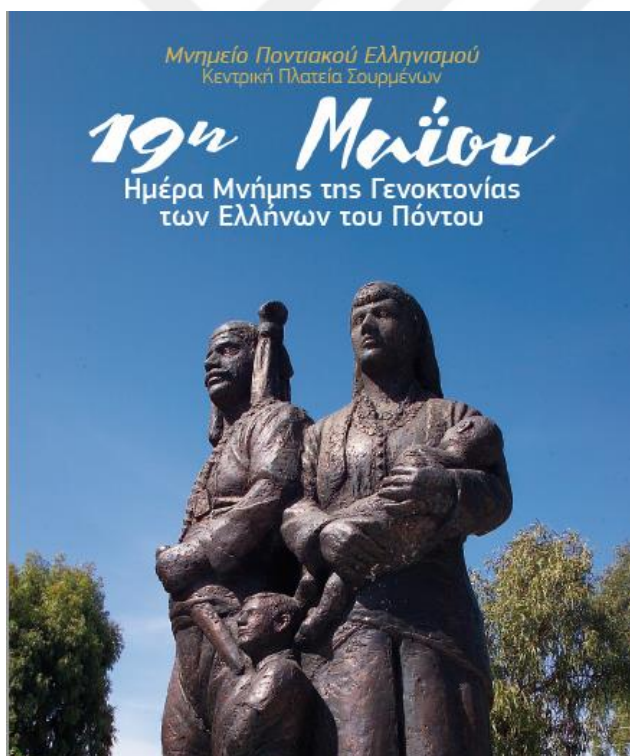


Picture 10: The poster indicates to the commemoration of the “Population Exchange”. The slogan of the poster is “Countries change, brotherhood never ends”¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ <http://www.buyukmubadeledernegi.org/HaberAyrinti.aspx?ID=2058>, date accessed: 10.05.2018.



Picture 11: The poster which is used by POE and member Pontus associations indicates to the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide”.¹⁹²



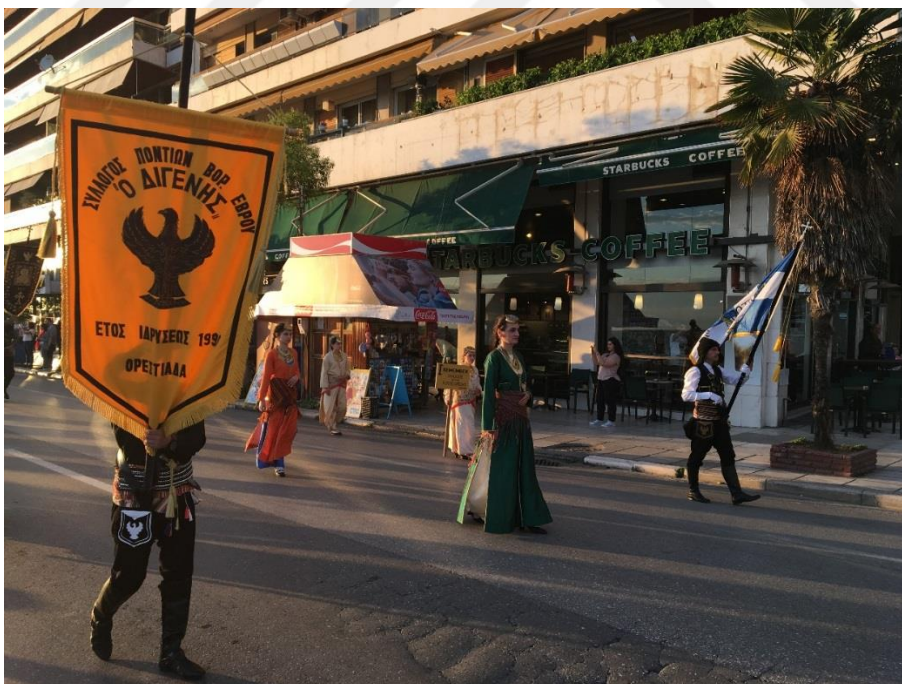
Picture 12: The poster which is used by the Union of Pontian Sourmena indicates to the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide”.¹⁹³

¹⁹² <http://www.epona.gr/>, date accessed: 16.05.2017

¹⁹³ <http://www.sourmena.gr/>, date accessed: 16.05.2017.



Picture 13: In the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide”, POE and member Pontus associations gathered in front of the statue of “Pontus Genocide” on May 19th 2017 in Thessaloniki.



Picture 14: In the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide”, POPS and member Pontus associations marched to the White Tower with the posters and traditional Pontian costumes on May 19th 2017 in Thessaloniki



Picture 15: In the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide”, POPS and member Pontus associations marched to the White Tower with the posters and traditional Pontian costumes on May 19th 2017 in Thessaloniki. The slogan of the march is “I remember Genocide of the Pontic Greeks”.



Picture 16: A picture from the commemoration of “Pontus Genocide” of POE and member Pontus associations which blamed to Kemal Ataturk as a responsible person for the murder of his family on May 19th 2017 in Thessaloniki.



Picture 17: The commemoration of “Great Fire of Smyrna” organized by Cultural Association of Asia Minor Refugees in Nea Krini "Agia Paraskevi".¹⁹⁴



Picture 18: The symbolic attendance of the Akritas–Pontian troops- alongside the national guards in the Syntagma square on May 19th.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.thestival.gr/culture/item/332770-mikres-anamniseis-apo-mia-megali-patrida-anaparastasi-tis-afixsis-ton-prosfygon-stin-paralia-tis-n-krinis>, date accessed: 10.05.2018.

¹⁹⁵ <http://www.pontos-news.gr/article/134566/ti-ora-tha-pragmatopoiithe-i-episimi-allagi-froyras-sto-syntagma>, date accessed: 10.05.2018.

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