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Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

**THE IDENTITY OF LAUSANNE EXCHANGEES
ACROSS THE GENERATIONS: THE CASE OF
MUSTAFAPAŞA VILLAGE**

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Abstract: Thanks to the Convention and Protocol Concerning the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Populations, signed between Türkiye and Greece on January 30, 1923, approximately 500 thousand Muslims migrated from Greece to Turkey. Accordingly, this study subjects the exchangees who migrated to Mustafapaşa Village of Nevşehir and their following generations that lived in this village for a hundred years. It aims to scrutinize the exchangees' knowledge about compulsory migration across generations. It also aims to uncover whether they have protected the values and cultures inherited from their ancestors. Therefore, a fieldwork study was conducted in Mustafapaşa including observations and interviews with 50 exchangees. The data obtained from the field were subjected to content analysis and presented around the thematic framework of the study. The findings revealed that although the knowledge of customs and traditions decreased from generation to generation, the exchangee identity continued to be preserved.

Key Words: Compulsory Migration, Lausanne Convention, Exchangees, Türkiye, Mustafapaşa, Jerveni, Greece.

**NESİLLER BOYU LOZAN MÜBADİL KİMLİĞİ:
MUSTAFAPAŞA KÖYÜ ÖRNEĞİ**

Öz: Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında 30 Ocak 1923 tarihinde imzalanan Türk ve Yunan Halklarının Mübadelesine İlişkin Sözleşme ve Protokol kapsamında, Yunanistan'dan Türkiye'ye yaklaşık 500 bin Müslüman göç etmiştir. Bununla ilişkili olarak mevcut çalışma, Nevşehir'in Mustafapaşa Köyü'ne göç eden ve yüz yıldır bu köyde yaşamını sürdüren mübadilleri ve onların takip eden kuşaklarını konu etmektedir. Çalışma mübadillerin zorunlu göç hakkındaki bilgilerini kuşaklar üzerinden irdelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda atalarından miras kalan değer ve

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kültürleri koruyup korumadıklarını ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu nedenle Mustafapaşa'da yapılan gözlemler ve 50 mübadil ile gerçekleştirilen görüşmeleri içeren bir saha çalışması yürütülmüştür. Saha çalışmasından elde edilen veriler içerik analizine tabi tutularak tematik çerçeve etrafında çalışmada sunulmuştur. Bulgular, gelenek ve göreneklere ilişkin bilginin kuşaktan kuşağa azalmasına rağmen mübadil kimliğinin korunmaya devam ettiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zorunlu Göç, Lozan Nüfus Mübadelesi, Mübadiller, Türkiye, Mustafapaşa, Jerveni, Yunanistan.

Introduction

During the establishment of a national state, the Republic of Türkiye targeted to solve the minority problem inherited from the Ottoman State to eliminate the possibility of interference in its internal affairs and territorial claims. The Greeks, who struggled for independence against the Ottoman State intending to establish a nation-state, also aimed to solve the minority problem in their lands after independence.¹ Therefore, Türkiye and Greece, whose goals overlapped, signed the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, on January 30, 1923². After it was ratified and entered into force on August 25, the compulsory migration was carried out, which involved the Turkish nationals belonging to the Greek Orthodox religion residing in Turkish territory and the Greek nationals belonging to the Islamic religion residing in Greek territory.

Only two communities on either side were exempted from the Exchange: the Greek population that lived in Istanbul, and the Muslim population that lived in Western Thrace³. With this compulsory population exchange, more than one million Orthodox Christians and a half million Muslims left their homeland. In other words, the Lausanne Convention affected almost two million people who were chosen solely for their religious identity, regardless of their linguistic or cultural characteristics.⁴ They were transported by ships to Türkiye and mostly settled in the regions and houses

1 Cahide Aghatabay Zengin, Mübadelenin Mazlum Misafirleri: Mübadele ve Kamuoyu (1923-1930), Dorlion, Ankara 2021.

2 Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "The Turkish-Greek Population Exchange and Its Results", Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, vol. 180/ no. 180 (2014), pp. 9-32.

3 Ahu Paköz Türkeli, "Influences of 1923 Population Exchange on Second and Third Generation Migrants", Doctoral Thesis, ODTÜ, Ankara 2016.

4 Gökçe Bayındır-Goularas, "1923 Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece: The Survival of the Exchanged Population's Identities and Cultures", Alternatif Politika, vol. 4/ no. 2 (2012), pp. 129-146.

that used to belong to the Orthodox Christians. Not only were they challenged during the migration processes, but they also faced numerous difficulties during the settlement processes⁵. However, apart from some pieces of art and literature, population exchange was largely ignored in Turkish literature⁶. When the literature on the subject is examined, it is seen that studies mostly deal with the historical background of the population exchange,⁷ and there is a relatively inadequate number of studies focusing on the migration and settlement processes⁸ of the

⁵ Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*, Türk Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2014.

⁶ Elçin Macar, "Yunanistan'dan Anadolu'ya Göç: Nüfus Mübadelesi", *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi*, no. 14 (2015), pp. 171-190.

⁷ See the following publications: Ömer Dürrü Tesal, "Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinin Geçmişinden Bir Örnek: Azınlıkların Mübadelesi", *Tarih ve Toplum Dergisi*, vol. 9/ no. 53 (1988), pp. 46-52; Ramazan Tosun, *Türk-Yunan İlişkileri ve Türk-Rum Nüfus Mübadelesi*. Palet, Ankara 2002; Murat Karataş, "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi (1923-1925)", Master's Thesis, Gazi University, Ankara 2004; Serab Sezer, *Lozan ve Mübadele*, İstanbul Kültür Üniverstiesi, İstanbul 2012; Kemal Arı, *ibid.*; Pınar Şenışık, "1923 Turkish-Greek Population Change: Modern State Practices and Changing Identities in Early Republican Era", *Studies of the Ottoman Domain*, vol.6/ no. 10 (2016), pp. 83-119.

⁸ See the following publications: Mustafa Suphi Erden, "The Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations in the 1920s and Its Socio-Economic Impacts on Life in Anatolia", *Crime, Law & Social Change*, no. 44 (2004), pp. 261-282; Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, *Nüfus Mübadelesi: Kayıp Bir Kuşağın Hikayesi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2005; Mustafa İşlek, "Migration Adaptation of Emigrants Who have Settled Down to Cappadocia Region after the Population Exchange: The Case of Güzelyurt", Master's Thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara 2009; Feryal Tansuğ, "Memory and Migration: The Turkish Experience of the Compulsory Population Exchange", *Deltio*, no. 17 (2012), pp. 195-215; Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "The Turkish-Greek Population Exchange and Its Results", *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol. 180/ no. 180 (2014), pp. 9-32; Tuncay Ercan Sepetçioğlu, "Two Historical Old Concepts, A Socio-Cultural New Identity: What is the Population Exchange, Who are the Exchangees?", *TSA*, vol. 18/ no. 3 (2014), pp. 49-83; Bahadır Nuro, "Recalling the Population Exchange of 1923: Lausanne Exchangees in Niğde", *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 31 (2019), pp. 57-79.

exchangees⁹ by concentrating on specific cities such as Bursa, İzmir, Konya, Mersin, and Samsun¹⁰.

Nevşehir is another city which few studies addressed¹¹. When the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Populations took place, it was not a province, on the contrary, it was a settlement that belonged to Niğde. It gained the status of a province in 1954. Between 1923 and 1927, approximately sixteen thousand exchanges, who came from the Kesriye Region (currently called Kastoria), Krifçe, and Kozana Regions of Greece¹² were settled there. On the other hand, one of the villages of Nevşehir, which is Mustafapaşa (formerly known as Sinasos), experienced compulsory migration of the exchangees who came only from Jerveni Village (currently called Agios) of Kesriye. Since the 2000s, they have celebrated their cultural heritage including ceremonies and traditions at the Culture and Art Festival. This situation has contributed to Mustafapaşa being a special place with a multicultural heritage where Anatolian and Balkan cultures are intertwined. Thanks to its cultural heritage, art, poetry,

⁹ Associated with the legal definition, rather than immigrants or *muhacir*, people subjected to population exchange through Lausanne Convention, and their subsequent generations are named “exchangees (*mübadil*)” in this study.

¹⁰ See the following publications: Ümmügülüm Candeğer, "Lozan Ahali Mübadelesi Çerçevesinde Yunanistan ve Adalardan Muğla'ya Gelen Türk Göçmenlerin İskanı", Master's Thesis, Muğla University, Muğla 2003; Hasan Çetin, "Mübadale Öncesi ve Sonrası Bursa'nın Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", Atatürkçü Bakış, vol. 2/ no. 4 (2003), pp. 93-116; Fahriye Engili, "Mersin Mübadilleri", Master's Thesis, Mersin University, Mersin, 2004; Yunus Emre Tekinsoy, "Türk Rum Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Konya", Master's Thesis, Selçuk University, Konya 2007; Nedim İpek, Selanik'ten Samsun'a Mübadiller, Kültür, Samsun 2012.

¹¹ See the website of Nevşehir Governship:

[http://www.nevsehir.gov.tr/tarihce#:~:text=%C4%B0lin%20ad%C4%B1%201725%20tarihinde%20Nev%20Fehir,1954%20tarihinde%20%C4%B0%20stat%C3%BCs%C3%BCne%20kavu%C5%9Fmu%C5%9Ftur\).](http://www.nevsehir.gov.tr/tarihce#:~:text=%C4%B0lin%20ad%C4%B1%201725%20tarihinde%20Nev%20Fehir,1954%20tarihinde%20%C4%B0%20stat%C3%BCs%C3%BCne%20kavu%C5%9Fmu%C5%9Ftur).)

¹² See the following publications: İpek Saklav, "The Differences and Similarities in Perceiving Their Social Gender Roles Between Local and Immigrant Women, The Example of Mustafapaşa Town", Master's Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri 2010; Selma Aliye Kavaf, "The Consequences of Lausanne Exchange Regarding the Social and Cultural Changes: The Example of Nevşehir", Master's Thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara 2014; Gökçe Bayındır-Goularas, *ibid.*; Süreyya Aytaş, Mübadelenin Hüzünlü Mirası, Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, İstanbul 2018.

gastronomy, and tourism, it was named one of the "Best Tourism Villages of 2021" by the United Nations World Tourism Organization¹³.

It is upon this background that this study concentrates on Mustafapaşa. It aims to examine the knowledge about the population exchange across generations and uncover how the exchangees define themselves after a hundred years of the Convention is implemented. Since there is no member of the first generation living in the village, four successive generations of exchangees were taken as the subject of the study. The study also scrutinizes their interest in the migration and settlement process of the first generation and dwells on whether they have protected the values and cultures of their ancestors. In other words, the present study concentrates on the perspectives of the exchangees. It is constructed by the following research question: "Has the exchangee identity that emerged with the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations been protected by the generations of exchangees who migrated from Jerveni to Mustafapaşa?"

In the study, identity is the central concept with its relation to culture. Although culture is a complex and multidimensional concept, this study refers to culture as a sort of living style and sharing a collective identity that includes common values, norms, habits, beliefs, and memory. Accordingly, it employs "exchangee identity" as a concept that refers to special culture belonging to the exchangees and their collective memory about their ancestors' experiences. Particularly, it refers to awareness of the next generations as to the family past, customs, and traditions inherited from the ancestors. In this context, it argues that "the identity of exchangees has been protected in Mustafapaşa and it will be preserved in the near future".

The study consists of four parts. Following this introductory part, the first part below explains the methodology of the study. In this part, the instruments of data collection, and the method of data analysis will be explained. The second part analyzes the findings of the data gathered from the field. The next part presents a discussion of the collected data. The final part offers some concluding remarks.

1. Methodology

Migration is a human experience that includes memories and experiences. Therefore, this study employs a qualitative research methodology to compare the memories and experiences of the exchangee generations

¹³ UNWTO. Best Tourism Villages by UNWTO. 2021. <https://www.unwto.org/tourism-villages/en/villages/mustafapasa/>

living in Mustafapaşa realistically and holistically in the natural environment¹⁴. Although the phenomenon of exchangee is not foreign to us, we still cannot fully comprehend it. Thus, the phenomenological research design is preferred. This design enables the researcher to gain insight into and describe the experiences of the exchangees including their perspectives, feelings, and memories¹⁵. As the data collection tools, in-depth interviews and observations were applied.

The fieldwork study started with observations that were carried out between 20 September 2019 and 20 November 2021. The main rationale behind applying observations was to form the basis for the questions of the interviews and support the analysis of data obtained from the interviews. Among the observation techniques, the participant observation technique¹⁶ was preferred. This approach ensured the researcher an understanding of the exchangees in the study and the environment in which they live. Subsequently, the in-depth interviews with open-ended questions were conducted between 10 October 2020 and 20 November 2021. As the data source of the phenomenological research design are the individuals or groups who experienced the phenomenon that the research focuses on, the exchangees were determined as the study group of the research. According to the Headman of the Village, more than 700 exchangees live in Mustafapaşa, which has a population of 1300 people. As it was not easy to reach all the exchangees living in the village, it was decided to identify the interviewees through the observations. After preliminary interviews made by the researcher in the field, interviewees were determined by a non-random snowball sampling technique that enables the researcher to ask every person participating in the study to propose other respondents who met the necessary criteria for participation in the research. The people they recommended were then contacted and asked whether they would be willing to participate. This process continued until the desired number of interviewees was reached. Finally, 50 exchangees from different generations, who agreed to participate in the study, were identified. At this point, the generation criteria need to be explained. The 2nd generation refers to the individuals whose parents were born in and migrated from Jerveni. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th generations refer to individuals whose parents were born in Türkiye and had grandparents who migrated from Jerveni. Due to

¹⁴ Sharan B. Merriam, *Nitel Araştırma Desen ve Uygulama İçin Bir Rehber*, translated by Collective, third ed., Nobel, Ankara 2018.

¹⁵ Ali Yıldırım, and Hasan Şimşek, *Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri*, Seçkin, Ankara 2016.

¹⁶ Yıldırım and Şimşek, *ibid.*

sharing common roots, individuals from subsequent generations one of whose parents is an exchangee and the other is native, were also included in the sample of the study to understand how they define themselves and whether the intercultural marriages affected the preservation of the exchangee identity. The semi-structured form, including demographic features and 15 questions, was applied to interviewees face-to-face in their workplaces, houses, village coffee house, or via ZOOM connection. Each interview lasted approximately an hour. Prior to the interviews, all interviewees were informed about the targets of the study and asked for their verbal approval to participate. Subsequently, interviews were conducted with those who gave verbal consent to participate in the study.

The data gathered by the interviews were analyzed by content analysis as it ensures a detailed explanation. This analysis enabled the data to be interpreted according to predetermined themes involving categories and codes¹⁷. The data analysis was initiated by a thematic framework formed based on the research questions and the results of the field study. After encoding the data, nine categories were determined. Subsequently, the data obtained from each interview were coded under the established categories (see Table 1).

Table 1. Thematic Framework for Comparisons of Exchangees

Categories	Codes			
	2 nd Generation	3 rd Generation	4 th Generation	5 th Generation
Means of population exchange	. Gülcemal the ship	. Migration . Exile . Grief . Salvation . Segregation	. Migration . Exile . Grief . Salvation . Ancestors . Foreignness	. Migration
Family past	. Torture	. Occupations and experiences of ancestors . The features of Jerveni	. Occupations and Experiences of ancestors . The features of Jerveni	. Cuisine
Migration process	. Difficult	. Difficult	. Difficult	. Difficult . Death

¹⁷ Yıldırım and Şimşek, ibid.

Categories	Codes			
	2 nd Generation	3 rd Generation	4 th Generation	5 th Generation
	. Family fragmentation	. Family fragmentation	. Family fragmentation	
Settlement process	. Challenges . Segregation	. Challenges . Segregation	. Challenges . Integration	. Challenges . Integration
After the settlement	. Folklore . Cuisine . Hıdırellez . Martinka . Wedding ceremonies . Feasts . The bride kicks the bush away	. Folklore . Cuisine . Hıdırellez . Martinka . Wedding ceremonies . Feasts . Mitro Dien . Not knead or sew . Duduleşka . Throw sticks	. Folklore . Cuisine . Hıdırellez . Martinka . Wedding ceremonies . Feasts	. Folklore . Cuisine . Hıdırellez . Martinka . Wedding ceremonies . Feasts
Relations among the Exchangees	Extended family	Extended family	Extended family	Extended family
Spoken Languages	Macırca & Turkish	Macırca & Turkish	Macırca & Turkish	Macırca & Turkish
Hometown	Mustafapaşa	. Mustafapaşa . Cappadocia . Ürgüp . Europe	Mustafapaşa/Ürgüp but from Jerveni	Mustafapaşa
Sense of belonging	Mustafapaşa	. Mustafapaşa is hometown . Jerveni is ancestors' village	. Mustafapaşa is an indispensable part, childhood, hometown . Jerveni is family past	. Mustafapaşa is childhood . Jerveni is curiosity

While presenting the data, quotations from the exchangees' statements were referred to, enabling readers to hear the voice of the exchangees in their own words. As regards confidentiality and ethical purposes, the

interviewees were anonymized and identified as I1, I2, I3, and so on while presenting the data in the study.

Here, it needs to be noted that the phenomenological research design may not produce generalizable results, given the nature of qualitative research. However, it is considered that as the present study reveals experiences, explanations, and results thanks to observing the village for two years, communicating with a large part of the village people, and making in-depth interviews with 50 people, it will help to better recognize and understand the phenomenon of exchangee across generations.

2. Findings: The Exchangees across the Generations

In the present study, gender equality was given priority in sample selection. Therefore, the interviews were conducted with 50 people including 25 female and 25 male interviewees. Although all living generations were tried to be included in the fieldwork in equal numbers, the sample of the study mostly consists of the 3rd and 4th generations, as 2nd and 5th generation exchangees were not available in sufficient numbers given their age and health conditions (see Table 2).

Table 2: Generations of the Interviewees

<i>G</i>	<i>2nd generation</i>	<i>3rd generation</i>	<i>4th generation</i>	<i>5th generation</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>N</i>	3	21	24	2	50

Of the 50 interviewees, 19 are single, and 31 are married, a majority of whom have children. All were born in Nevşehir, were literate, and had different kinds of occupations including aeronauts, archaeologists, businessmen, civil engineers, employees, farmers, officers, and tradesmen, as well as retired, student, and unemployed people.

2.1. Means of Population Exchangee

Under this theme, the interviewees were asked to describe what the population exchange meant for them. This question is critical to remind the interviewees of the beginning of their ancestors' migration experience and reveal their thoughts about the emergence of exchangee identity. There are mixed responses collected from the field. All the interviewees from the 2nd generation said that they are too old to remember what their parents told them about their migration processes. *Gülcemal*, the name of the ship on which their family boarded, is at the top of the keywords that remained in their minds from those times.

The interviewees from the 3rd generation described population exchange from two aspects. The first one reminds them of the experiences of their ancestors' before and during the migration process. Accordingly,

“migration”, “exile”, “grief”, and “salvation” appeared as the most frequently mentioned words. In this context, some of the interviewees specified that the population exchange meant grief that their ancestors experienced in Jerveni because of the war and conflicts. It also meant the salvation of their ancestors because they had come to a safe land from this persecution. Some of them, on the other hand, pointed out the grief of leaving their lands and the grief that their ancestors were stricken with during their migration process because of family fragmentation.

“For me, the population exchange is what a mother feels when she separates from her child. It is full of grief to tear a people off their land (I12, Personal interview, 26 June 2021)”.

Another one recalls the experiences of their ancestors during the settlement process of Mustafapaşa. Accordingly, “segregation” appeared as the most mentioned word.

“When I hear the phenomena of the population exchange, I remember the segregation that I was exposed to during my primary school period. As our language was different from the *yerliçka*¹⁸, we could not understand our courses (I2, Personal interview, 6 July 2021)”.

The interviewees from the 4th generation also described the population exchange by focusing on their ancestors’ experiences before, during, and after the migration processes. Accordingly, “migration”, “exile”, “grief”, “ancestors”, “foreignness”, and “salvation” appeared as the most mentioned words.

“It always refers to us as grief regarding house, job, and feeling. For example, our grandfathers and fathers know 4 or 5 jobs because they needed money to afford their requirements. Also, my grandfather always said: ‘We came here, and the children started school, but how would they get used to it when they come back?’ He thought that he had come to Mustafapaşa not permanently, and someday would return to Jerveni. He always missed that village. Unfortunately, he died without ever seeing Jerveni again (I24, Personal interview, 2 July 2021).”

“Exchange means salvation for me. My grandparents lived under war conditions in Jerveni. The gangsters burned their houses. There was nothing to eat or drink. They managed to live for days with the water they took from the well in their garden. They felt liberated when they came here (I3, Personal interview, 7 June 2021).”

The interviewees from the 5th generation describe population exchange as “migration from Jerveni”.

¹⁸Exchangees named the natives as *yerliçka*. This word means “indigenous” in Turkish and is derived from a Slavic suffix meaning “pertaining to”.

The responses demonstrate that the exchange mostly refers to the 3rd and 4th generations with negative connotations like exile, grief, segregation and positive connotations like salvation. However, the common answer is migration. Regardless of the generations, the interviewees pointed out migration to express changes in their ancestors' life.

2.2. Family Past

To reveal the general knowledge of exchangees about their family past, the interviewees were asked about their ancestors' family life, occupations, the features of Jerveni, and stories about their ancestors' experiences there. These questions are important to understand the memory transfer from the first generation to the following generations. The data collected from the field demonstrate that all the interviewees think that they are familiar with their family history. However, they pointed out that their information is limited to what they remember from their ancestors.

Considering the answers given by the interviewees, it is understood that the 2nd generation barely remembered their family past due to their age, yet they mention the torture by the Greek gangsters:

“Before the Population Exchange, they lived on agriculture and animal husbandry. They were farmers and shepherds. Greek gangsters tortured my family and relatives. My father was 18 when he emigrated here (I30, Personal interview: 4 July 2021)”.

The majority of the 3rd generation considered that they were aware of their family past in terms of their ancestors' occupation, the features of their village Jerveni, and stories about their experiences. Accordingly, Jerveni is a village surrounded by mountains, forests, clear water, and fertile lands in which beans, corn, and potatoes were plentiful. The folk engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, and tailoring. Besides, they were exposed to torture by the Greek gangster:

“According to what I learned from my grandfather, who was the Head of the Village, our folks were generally either lumberjacks or shepherds in Jerveni. Until the war broke out and population exchange was carried out, lumberjacks could either sell their wood to the cities or they could sell to the French. I heard a story from my grandfather that while our folks were going to the bazaar, Bulgarian and Greek gangs in Jerveni set up an ambush. They were all tied up. One by one, they began to slit their throats. My uncle's son had a knife. He cut off as much of the rope as he could and ran away. Other people were able to escape thanks to the cut rope (I11, Personal interview: 6 June 2021)”.

Considering the answers of the 4th generation, it is understood that the information about family history has decreased. Although many of the interviewees believed that they were aware of their ancestors' past, some of them had no idea:

“We know that they were lumberjacks. There is such a thing as named “*Muhacir nacaği*”, i.e. “migrant’s hatchet”. Let me tell you the story of Liko, who was a Muslim Macedonian gangster. When the leader of the Bulgarian gangs disturbed our folk, Liko and his two men cut off his leg with a hatchet, and killed him. Apart from that, they were engaged in agriculture, fishing, and a little animal husbandry. Those interested in trade sold wool and beaver fur (124, Personal Interview, 2 July 2021)”.

“I check my family tree by e-government. My relations go back to the village called Jerveni in Kastoria. We came here from there. That's all I know. My grandparents were born here. They didn't know much either. I had a grandfather who came here when he was a baby, but he passed away when I was a baby (119, Personal Interview, 8 July 2021)”.

The decrease in awareness regarding family history is seen in the 5th generation as well. Accordingly, their knowledge is mainly about the cuisine:

“Our ancestors were dealing with vineyards there. They ate food they made themselves like *pita*¹⁹, *koripopareni (kokoška)*²⁰, *macir mantısı (ravioli)*²¹, *macir böreği (pastry)*²², *ekşi fırın ekmeği (sour furnace bread)*²³, and *biryan*²⁴ (144, Personal Interview, 10 October 2021).”

The findings demonstrate that all the generations have a memory of their ancestors’ stories, living places, and cuisine, albeit with a decrease.

2.3. Migration Process

Regarding the migration process, all generations shared information about how their ancestors migrated. Also, the majority of them pointed out the family fragmentation during the process. All of the interviewees from 2nd

¹⁹ It is a traditional meal of the exchangees that consists of flour, yeast, sauerkraut, butter, yoghurt and lentil, tomato or walnut. If it contains lentils, it is called “pita with lentils”. If it contains tomatoes, it is called “pita with tomatoes”. If it contains walnuts, it is called “pita with walnuts”.

²⁰ It is a traditional meal of the exchangees that consists of phyllo dough, chicken, walnuts, butter and red hot chili pepper.

²¹ It is a traditional meal of the exchangees that consists of flour, yeast, meat, onion, garlic, pepper, and butter. It is served with yogurt.

²² It is a traditional meal of the exchangees that consists of flour, yeast, cheese, butter, and yogurt. It is similar to pita.

²³ It is a traditional bread of the exchangees that consists of flour, potatoes, yeast and salt.

²⁴ It is a traditional meal of the exchangees that consists of rice, bulgur, onion, meat or chicken, chili powder, pepper and mint. Meat is simmered first, and then cooked in a pan with lettuce.

generation pointed out the challenges faced by the exchangees during the sea voyages and family fragmentation. Accordingly, the reasons for family fragmentation were either death due to the voyage conditions or the settlement of larger family members to different cities.

“People from the seven villages were boarded on the ship *Gülcehal*. Many people got sick and passed away on the ship during the journey. The deceased were thrown into the sea. When they arrived on the coast, they preferred to live in different cities: some of them preferred to stay on the coast where the ship arrived such as İzmir, Mersin, and Adana while the others continued their journey by road. My father and his uncle continued by road. As the coastal cities were close to Greece, they were afraid of being tortured by the Greek gangs again. They arrived in Niğde. During those times, Nevşehir was a part of Niğde (2nd generation: I35, Personal interview, 4 July 2021).”

Similarly, the 3rd generation emphasized not only the harsh conditions of a sea voyage and tragedies that the exchangees faced but also drew attention to the family fragmentation as a consequence of the migration process:

“I know what my mother learned from my grandmother. Due to the migration journey, our family was fragmented. My grandmother’s mother got sick and died during the sea voyage. My grandmother's sister was a baby, and she died on the way, too. They threw them into the sea. There was another sister of my grandmother, they gave her up for adoption when they landed in Mersin. We don't know to whom. Since my grandmother was 15 years old, she didn't remember. We had relatives in Manisa. But my family members were afraid of the sea, through which they thought Greeks would come and find us (I16, Personal interview, 27 June 2021)”.

The harsh conditions and family fragmentation were also highlighted by the 4th generation. They mentioned what they learned from their grandparents.

“Everyone from Jerveni village came here on the same ship. They had a hard time during the journey. Greek soldiers took their boys, so my ancestor dressed them in girls' clothes and brought them. My grandmother's sister died on the ship. They experienced harsh days during the sea voyage. Afterward, it was more comfortable. Our relatives crossed from Urla to Manisa either on foot or by donkey. Some stayed in Urla and Manisa. Some of them passed from Manisa to Aydın. Some remained. They went to Aydın, some stayed there. They came to Bor district of Niğde, some stayed there. Then they came to Ürgüp. Some of our relatives also came to Mustafapaşa. They stayed away from the cities close to the sea; for fear of Greeks coming through sea. They did not want to stay in Antalya. The last convoy went to Yozgat. My grandfather was 9-10 years old, and my grandmother was 9 when they came here. When we asked, they would tell their stories (I3, Personal interview, 7 June 2021)”.

Finally, the 5th generation dealt with the sea voyage and its harsh conditions. Unlike the other generations, they addressed deaths rather than family disintegration.

“They came by ship. As the sea voyage was so harsh, many people died (146, Personal interview, 10 November 2021)”.

From the analysis of the interviews, it is understood that the migration processes of the exchangees was a common topic talked among the exchangees. Regardless of the generations, similar stories are shared about their ancestors. It is obvious that the memory of the 1st generation and the effects of migration processes are seen too vividly across the generations.

2.4. Settlement Process

To understand if the approaches and attitudes of the natives towards the exchangees had an impact on the preservation of identity, the interviewees were asked what they knew about the first generations’ settlement processes. As a response, almost all the interviewees emphasized the challenges faced by the first generation during the settlement process. In this context, it is understood that the challenges stemmed from the differences between two regions: Jerveni and Mustafapaşa, and between two populations: Exchangees and Natives.

In terms of regions, the interviewees stated that Mustafapaşa is a place surrounded by rocks and stone, unlike Jerveni. Therefore, the different environmental conditions of Mustafapaşa challenged them to find a job and earn money to purchase furniture, heat the home, and feed themselves although they were granted as much property as they had in Jerveni. However, they promptly adapted to the new conditions, and the majority of them engaged with the construction sector. Following the 3rd generation, they took an interest in the tourism sector. Therefore, occupation transformation is observed in the village. This situation affected the building of the exchangee identity and created a discourse among the natives in the village: “Exchangees do construction for their living and they are good at that”. Apart from occupations, the exchangees pointed out that their ancestors were challenged by housing problems. One interviewee from the 3rd generation gave details about the settlement process of their grandparents:

“When they first arrived, they had no money, no furniture, no wood, and no food. The region was not suitable for farming - they were familiar with forestry. They suffered as they had neither a house nor a job. Firstly, big Greek houses were given to them by the officer, but my ancestors had to live in small houses which enabled them to heat more easily. Besides, they were frightened of the big houses because of the pictures on the walls, and the echoing sound. They had no land to cultivate or jobs to earn money. Since they were not working, they even removed the stones

from their houses and sold them in the neighborhoods. Besides, to heat the house, they burned the windows made of wood. Their socio-economic status has changed and got worse here. They switched from lumberjack to construction. In Nevşehir, they say: "Macirs are constructors (I8, Personal interview, 19 June 2021)."

In terms of population, almost all the interviewees stated that although they believed in the same religion, natives initially did not welcome the first generation due to the differences in appearance and language. These differences caused disagreements between each population. Regarding the language, one of the interviewees from the 4th generation expressed that:

"My father told me that they could not get along with people who lived in Mustafapaşa. Prior to their arrival to Mustafapaşa, the natives prepared a meal for my ancestor. But when they thanked the natives in Macırca, the natives called them "non-Muslim/gavur", not one of us. This perception guided their attitudes toward my ancestors. In fact, they called me gavur even when I was in high school. Once in class, they called me gavur, and our history teacher warned them by pointing out that we were Turks and Muslims (I43, Personal interview, 4 December 2020)".

Regarding physical appearance, another interviewee mentioned:

"There is an expression here: 'hatchet of exchangees'. The natives called us 'child of exchangees is blond, he has a hatchet in his hand'. In addition to the hatchet, our physical appearance evoked dissimilarity. That is because, we have blue eyes and blond hair, and we are beetle-browed. When they arrived in Mustafapaşa, they were discriminated against (I28, Personal interview, 2 July 2021)".

The 5th generation also specified that they were aware of the challenges their ancestors faced:

"They were excluded because they came to a different place and did not know the language. The people here saw ours differently and did not accept them. The local people did not allow our men to marry their daughters. Nor did they employ us in their businesses. Their coffeehouses, markets, even the neighborhoods were separated as the native neighborhood, and the exchangee neighborhood (I46, Personal interview, 10 November 2021)".

Subsequently, the interviewees were asked if the first and the next generations were integrated into or segregated from the natives. Prior to the analysis of the data collected from the interviewees it needs to be explained that in the study, integration is defined as the process of becoming an accepted part of society in the political, sociocultural, and economic fields that involve social interaction with natives after the settlement of immigrants to new places, and it causes social change.²⁵

²⁵ Rinus Penninx and Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, "The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and As A Policy Concept", in Integration Processes and

Segregation, on the other hand, is defined as two blocks in the village living apart from one another in different parts of the village²⁶. Regardless of the generations, all the interviewees asserted that there used to be segregation in Mustafapaşa between the natives and the exchangees. In other words, the neighborhoods of the exchangees and natives were separated. Natives inhabited in Kalışa Neighborhood, while exchangees inhabited in Davutlu Neighborhood, which is named by the villagers as Manastır Neighborhood. Each group built their own social places such as coffee houses and grocery stores in their neighborhoods. Yet segregation has gradually disappeared thanks to increasing interaction between the two populations. They have become integrated with the merging of separate neighborhoods and village coffeehouses, the beginning of shopping at the same grocery stores, initiating intercultural marriages, studying at the same schools, and becoming colleagues, friends, and neighbors. Communicating in Turkish also facilitated the two groups to understand and accept each other. Accordingly, all the interviewees from the 2nd generation specified that:

“Although we are Muslim, they labeled us *gavur*, and excluded us due to our different language. There was neither intermarriage nor friendship between the exchangees and the natives. Over time, the prejudice was broken and problems were resolved thanks to marriage, school, friendship, and neighborliness”.

One of the interviewees from the 3rd generation also expressed that:

“There used to be trouble: the neighborhood, culture, and traditions of two populations were separate. Our integration process was actualized as follows: the municipality gave land to the homeless natives and exchangees. As we constructed our homes on the same land, we became neighbors. In addition to this contact, we studied with natives in the same schools and went to the same coffeehouse. Furthermore, we married natives. As time passed, the population increased and we intertwined. For example, I would not marry a native. But that barrier has been removed; my son got married to a native (I38, Personal interview, 15 October 2020)”.

However, some of the interviewees from the 3rd generation expressed that although segregation between the exchangees and natives seem to have been diminished, it is still felt in the village:

Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors, by Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, pp. 11-29. IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Cham 2016.

²⁶ Juliet Saltman, "Theoretical Orientation: Residential Segregation", in *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States*, by Elizabeth Huttman, Juliet Saltman and Wim Blauw, pp. 1-17, Duke University Press Books, Durham and London 1991.

“We still feel the distinction. Some natives still segregate us. We segregate them too. For example, the locals from certain neighborhoods still do not come to our weddings. We don't go to their ceremonies either. We don't even know where their houses are. Sometimes when my wife gets angry with me, she says "Why did I marry this exchangee. On the other hand, some natives do not discriminate at all (II, Personal interview, 7 June 2021)”.

However, in contrast to the 3rd generation, neither the 4th nor the 5th generations claimed that they were exposed to discrimination or segregation. Two reasons emerge behind this transformation from segregation to integration. The first is the efforts of the elder generations to integrate. The second is that with the development of technology, the 4th and 5th generations could socialize with natives more quickly since they have similar interests and understandings. As a result, especially the 5th generation believed that there is no segregation in the village.

Considering the interviewees, it is grasped that the settlement process is more noticeable and important for the 1st generation, and all the generations had a collective memory about it. Although segregation has gradually disappeared, based on the observations, it is still felt in the village. For instance, while electing the Head of the Village, each group supports its nominee. Besides, it is understood that the disagreements and segregation have impact on the preservation of the exchangee identity.

2.5. After Settlement

Under this title, it is questioned whether the customs and traditions of the first generations were transferred to the following generations. It is also questioned how much of them are remembered and protected across generations. Moreover, this section intends to explore whether the customs and traditions inherited from the first generation have shaped the exchangee identity. Therefore, the interviewees were asked if there were customs and traditions transferred from Jerveni to Mustafapaşa. Subsequently, they were asked if they intended to pass these on to their children. Similar answers were collected from the interviewees regardless of their generation. Accordingly, “ceremonies”, “feasts”, “cuisine”, and “beliefs” appeared as the ongoing customs and traditions that constitute a collective memory and make the exchangee identity different than that of the natives.

Concerning ceremonies, “weddings” are mentioned by all the interviewees. It is understood that all interviewees agreed that folkloric dance is a unique part of their wedding ceremonies, and it will always remain so. In addition, customs related to wedding ceremonies have continued to the present day, such as starting weddings on Thursday, going to the groom’s house with the Turkish flag and with drums on Friday,

putting the flag at the groom's house, putting costumes on, and giving both pickles and baklava to the guests during the weddings. Furthermore, it is seen that they intend to continue and transfer their wedding ceremonies to their children. To illustrate:

“We put a scarf on someone's neck and ask for money. If he does not give money, we wet him. This is exactly how I did my daughter's henna ceremony. That's what she will do to her daughter. Our traditions should be continued (3rd generation: I37, Personal Interview, 7 July 2021)”.

“At my sister's wedding, our uncle, the eldest of the family after my father, told us how the ceremony would be arranged according to the traditions. Since my sister married a Turkish guy from Elazığ, there was no male house. To apply all the traditions, my sister begged all the elders of our family. My uncle hardly permitted the flag to be put on the groom's house. They almost would not let it, but our house had 3 floors and we gave the middle floor to the groom's family. Therefore, our eldest considered our 2nd floor as a male house and that's how the flag was put up (4th generation: I24, Personal Interview, 2 July 2021)”.

In addition, newborn baby celebrations were specified by just one of the interviewees from the 4th generation:

“There are customs that we follow upon the birth of a baby. For example, we make *vidiye*²⁷ and invite our relatives to celebrate the birth of the baby on the 3rd day, the 5th day, or the 7th day after the birth of the baby. During those days, meals are made, people have fun, and the baby's name is uttered, upon reciting azan, into her/his ear (I29, Personal interview, 3 July 2021)”.

“Feasts” appeared as one of the ongoing customs and traditions of the exchangees. All of the interviewees regardless of generation believed that they were aware of their traditions. However, the 2nd and 3rd generations thought that the following generations tend to ignore their traditions. For instance:

“The culture we keep alive is only to celebrate the feasts. On the morning of the feast morning, we have a special breakfast table that contains traditional Muhacir foods such as koripopareni, a dessert made of milk, and dry baklava. As soon as we pray in the Mosque, we come and have breakfast. Then, we celebrate the feast with our nuclear family. Later, we visit our close family members and the oldest person in the village. However, my son does not come with us. The new generation does not know the customs and culture. We did not achieve to pass our culture to our children due to the reasons as follows: my wife has been working for 20 years. Technology has also improved a lot. Previously, there was no phone in every house, but now everyone has a cellphone. Technology has become the focus of the attention of children (3rd generation: I42, Personal interview, 30 October 2020)”.

²⁷ It is the name of the meal given in honor of the birth of the baby.

In addition, “*Martinka*” and “*Hidirellez*” appeared as ongoing and well-known traditions by all generations:

“March 14 here corresponds to March 1 according to our calendar. We celebrate this day as *Martinka*- the beginning of spring. We boil red eggs with onion and eat them with sauerkraut, and garlic. We tie a red and white rope around our wrist (4th generation: I21, Personal interview, 11 October 2021)”.

“We celebrate *Hidirellez* -one of the famous seasonal feasting of Turks- together. We usually go to a picnic and eat our special food. Before the picnic, we bathe our children with special water which includes flowers. My mother used to bathe me with flowers every *Hidirellez*. I washed my children as well (4th generation: I47, Personal interview, 11 October 2021)”.

“*Mitro Dien*” was also mentioned by some interviewees from the 3rd generation. Accordingly:

“To celebrate the ending of winter, we used to make *meçkini pituli*²⁸ and threw it to the bears so that the bears would not come and raid the village. In addition, we used to invite our relatives to welcome the winter with a gathering under the name of *Mitro Dien* (I38, Personal interview, 15 October 2020)”.

Regarding “cuisine”, it is seen that the exchangees have their traditional bread, desserts, meal, and techniques for cooking. It is possible to taste the traditional cuisines of the exchangees in most restaurants and cafes in Mustafapaşa. Moreover, all the generations still prepare and consume their traditional meals such as *koripopareni*, *fasulnik* (patty)²⁹, *pita*, *macır mantısı*, *dry baklava*³⁰, bread with chickpea³¹, *macır böreği*, *biryani*, and *Hidirellez* cookies³²:

“We have bread like sourdough bread and bread with chickpeas. We make *baklava* without *sherbet* called as *dry baklava*, and use molasses to make cake. We also make traditional *pita* with cabbage, pickle, onion, tomato, or leek. My favorite one is *koripopareni* which is made with chicken, hazelnuts, and phyllo dough. I tried to pass on what I know to my children, but they preferred to waste their time on the phone instead of listening to me. My second wife is native. I tried to teach her

²⁸ It is a traditional pancake made of cheese, grape molasses, or walnuts for bears.

²⁹ It is a traditional meal that consists of phyllo, oil and haricot bean dish.

³⁰ It is a traditional desert of the exchangees that consists of warm milk, yogurt, lemon, flour, farina and salt.

³¹ It is a traditional bread of the exchangees that consists of chickpea, corn, flour, and potatoes.

³² It is a traditional desert of the exchangees that consists of flour, yogurt, oil, eggs, baking soda, salt and sugar.

our food, but she couldn't learn it (2nd generation: I35, Personal interview, 4 July 2021)”.

Last but not least, all the interviewees regardless of generation have some “beliefs”. For instance, in the morning of Hidirellez, they bath their kids with water with flowers so that they could smell like flowers; to make spring fruitful, kids collect red eggs from 12 different houses on the day of Martinka, and to eradicate the house from the evil the bride kicks the bush away (*keven atma*) before entering her house. Keven atma also means that I love you (2nd generation: I30, Personal interview, 4 July 2021). However, some beliefs are abandoned. To illustrate, between May 1st and 14th, they used to not knead or sew because they believe that it will bring bad luck (3rd generation: I2, Personal interview, 7 June 2021). To pray for rain, they used to make a puppet named *Duduleşka* (3rd generation: I39, Personal interview, 15 October 2020). When they had a needle in their hands, they used to be cured by the elders by praying. Also, children used to throw sticks so that the chickens would be fertile (4th generation: I40, Personal interview, 15 October 2020).

Based on the interviews and observations, it appeared that although the exchangees were not a foreign society for the natives, they have their special culture inherited from their ancestors, and some elements in their culture differ from the natives. After the settlement, the exchangees gradually adapted to the village life while trying to ensure the continuity of their culture. This situation played a significant role in preserving their identities. Almost all interviewees stated that they stick to their customs and traditions and intend to teach them to the next generations. However, few interviewees of the 3rd generation considered that their culture would be forgotten in the future because of technological developments. To them, young generations mostly spend their time with technological devices and are not interested in their customs and traditions. Based on the observations, Mitro Dien, superstitions, making *Duduleşka*, throwing ~~the~~ sticks are nowadays given up by the exchangees. However, among the most protected traditions that the exchangees have are cuisine, folklore, Martinka, Hidirellez, wedding ceremonies, and feasts.

2.6. Relations among the Exchangees

To comprehend the relations among the exchangees, the interviewees were asked whether the exchangees believed that they ~~have~~ constituted a family and, if so, whether they considered themselves a member of this family. This question is one of the most important questions of the study to reveal the link among the exchangees and whether the exchangee identity has been preserved until today. Regardless of the generations, almost every

interviewee considers that “the exchangees constitute an extended family, and they feel part of it”. One of the main reasons behind this thought is that they lived in a separate group after they settled in Mustafapaşa due to disagreements between the natives and the exchangees, and did not get married to natives for years. This situation paved the way for the construction of an extended exchangee family in the village.

“We have a kinship and a neighborhood. We all meet and see each other. Everyone favors each other when there is a wedding or other ceremony. We will unite immediately and help each other (2nd generation: I36, Personal interview, 4 July 2021).”

“We have our traditions and food. We are family, and I am also a member of that family (5th generation: I46, Personal interview, 10 November 2021).”

Based on the interviews, the family dynamics and social life of the exchangees were based on helping each other in Jerveni. During the migration and resettlement processes of exchangees, this bond and routine continued. Based on the interviews and observations, the solidarity among the exchangees seems to have continued across the generations. Thanks to marriages, friendship, and neighborhood, they have become members of an extended family.

When they started to engage with the natives, they did not quit their ties with the exchangees. Thanks to this bond, even intercultural marriages did not wipe out this understanding. To illustrate, all the interviewees whose parents made intercultural marriages defined themselves as exchangees, not natives. In other words, the feeling of having an extended family does not differ among generations. On the contrary, all generations claimed to have an extended family. Although sometimes there are some disagreements and arguments in this extended family, the resentments do not last long and the family members continue to stay together.

2.7. Spoken Languages

To comprehend whether the first generations' languages are forgotten, the interviewees were asked which languages are spoken in their families. Regardless of the generations, all generations replied to this question as “in big families, both Turkish and *Macırca* are spoken while in nuclear families, only Turkish is spoken”.

Here it needs to be explained what *Macırca* is. *Macırca* is a derivative from *Macır* which is an abbreviated variant of the word “*Muhacir*”, originally meaning “emigrant”. Exchangees are called that by the natives the natives in Mustafapaşa village. *Macırca* is a language of *Macırs* that resembles the oldest version of the Macedonian language inherited from the ancestors. However, they could not improve their language because of two reasons.

First, almost all of the first generation were illiterate, thus, they could not compose a dictionary or register the grammar to transfer their language to the next generations in writing. Second, they could not keep up with the innovations in the language. The oldest version of the Macedonian language remained as little as it is remembered today. Therefore, clear, fluent, and comprehensible speaking of Macırca differs from generation to generation. Also, their ability to speak Turkish and Macırca varies across the generations. For instance, the 2nd generation's ability to speak Macırca is stronger than their ability to speak Turkish. Therefore, all the interviewees from the 2nd generation specified that they speak Macırca among their peers while speaking Turkish with their children and grandchildren who could not speak Macırca:

“I speak Macırca with my husband and friends. As my children and grandchildren cannot speak it, I have to speak Turkish with them (2nd generation: I30, Personal interview, 4 July 2021).”

However, the following generations' ability to speak Macırca is not as fluent, clear, or understandable as the 2nd generation. Regarding the 3rd generation, it is understood that they tried to speak Macırca with their parents. However, as the 4th generation cannot speak Macırca, they speak in Turkish with them:

“Macırca and Turkish are spoken in my family. When I talk to my mother, I speak our Macırca language, but I speak Turkish with my children. My grandmother spoke very little Turkish. I know the language very well and I speak to my parents. But my children only know few words. My spouse doesn't know either. That's why we speak Turkish at home (3rd generation: I1, Personal interview, 7 June 2021).”

“Macırca and Turkish are spoken in the family. The elders can get a complete sentence if they mix the two. They can neither speak full Macırca nor full Turkish. That's how we understand it. But we can't understand if they only speak Macırca. Turkish speaking is also interesting. They make inverted sentences as they get used to the structure of the Macırca language (4th generation: I27, Personal Interview, 2 July 2021).”

The 5th generation also pointed out the spoken two languages in the families:

“Mostly Turkish is spoken. But the elders are talking Macırca among themselves. Although I don't understand much, I can understand some words I hear often (5th generation: I44, Personal Interview, 10 October 2021).”

These responses are so crucial to demonstrate the decline of spoken Macırca across generations. It seems that it will be forgotten soon.

2.8. Hometown

To reveal their hometown, the interviewees were asked how they answer when they are asked where they were from. The responses of the

generations appeared similar. All the interviewees from the 2nd generation explained that they answer this question as Mustafapaşa. To them, their hometown is Mustafapaşa. However, while accepting Mustafapaşa as their hometown, they pointed out their parents' past. In other words, they asserted that they were from Mustafapaşa with an exchangee identity.

The answers of 3rd generation are various. Some of them identified their hometown as Mustafapaşa, Cappadocia, or Ürgüp, while some of them identified their hometown as Europe. However, all of them highlighted their exchangee identities. In other words, they asserted that they were from Mustafapaşa, Cappadocia, Ürgüp, or Europe with an exchangee identity. The answers of the 4th generation appeared as Mustafapaşa with exchangee identity. In other words, when they are asked where they are from, they reply "I am from Mustafapaşa/Ürgüp with an exchangee identity". The answer of the 5th generation appeared as Mustafapaşa.

The following question is significant, too, so as to reveal how the exchangees define their hometown: Jerveni or Mustafapaşa? None of the interviewees answered this question as Jerveni. However, it is concluded that this place is special for almost all interviewees because their ancestors used to live there. Although either some of them or their relatives had a chance to visit Jerveni, many of them could not visit. Yet, the majority desire to go to visit this special village in which their ancestors lived:

"I would like to go to Jerveni. It would be nice to see where my ancestors came from (5th generation: I46, Personal interview, 10 November 2021)".

As a result, it is understood that for the majority of the interviewees, Mustafapaşa is their hometown and Jerveni is their ancestors' hometown that is worth visiting. Also, considering the observations, it is crystal clear that regardless of the generations, all the interviewees are strictly bonded with Mustafapaşa, and they respected their ancestor's village and exchangee identity.

2.9. Sense of Belonging

To grasp their feeling of attachment, the interviewees were asked where they felt to belong. All the interviewees from the 2nd generation replied to this question as they felt belonging to Mustafapaşa:

"Jerveni doesn't make any sense to me as I have not been there. Mustafapaşa is the place where I was born. I love this village, I belong to Mustafapaşa."

Almost all interviewees from 3rd generation replied to this question as they felt belonging to Mustafapaşa, but Jerveni was also part of their identity:

"Jerveni is a valuable village of my ancestors that reminds me of poverty and misery due to the narratives I heard from my grandparents. Mustafapaşa is a

beautiful and precious place where I was born and grew up. These lands are my homeland. I belong here”.

Few say that “Jerveni is my origin, but Mustafapaşa is the place where I was born and grown. I belong to the two”.

All the interviewees from the 4th generation replied to this question similarly to the third generation. Accordingly, Jerveni represents longing for and curiosity about their family past while Mustafapaşa is their indispensable part, childhood, and hometown:

“Jerveni means memory for me. A memory that is kept alive by my ancestors and passed on to me. I am navigating Google Maps to look at the houses which used to belong to our ancestors. Mustafapasa is so stunningly beautiful that I'm lucky to have been born here (I4, Personal interview, 7 June 2021).”

For the interviewees from the 5th generation, Mustafapaşa is a nice place where they were born and grew up. It represents their childhood. Yet, Jerveni is a place they have never seen. Although they felt they belong to Mustafapaşa, they are still curious about it as their ancestors used to live there.

This question is crucial to evaluate which village is part of the interviewees’ identities. Based on the data, it is grasped that for the majority of the interviewees, both Jerveni and Mustafapaşa are parts of their identity. Not only their ancestors’ past but also Mustafapaşa have constructed their identities.

3. Discussion

This study has investigated whether the exchangees had a collective memory about the population exchange and the experiences of their ancestors before, during, and after the migration. It has also scrutinized if they had protected the values and cultures inherited by their ancestors. It has tried to uncover how the exchangee generations define themselves after hundred years following the implementation of the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations. Finally, it has been questioned if the exchangee identity that emerged with the Convention had been protected by the generations.

Initially, the fieldwork study revealed that although it has been a century since the 1st generation migrated to Mustafapaşa, the following generations have a common memory about the exchange and experiences and feelings of their ancestors. Moreover, they have a curiosity about their ancestors’ past in Jerveni. Therefore, some of the exchangees from the 3rd generations have researched the migration and settlement processes of their ancestors and scrutinized the relations between the natives and exchangees in Mustafapaşa, and carried out a few studies to preserve and transfer the

exchangee identity to the following generations. To illustrate, the book *The Sad Legacy of The Population Exchange*³³ is an output of this effort. It is in order at this point to state that this curiosity is also shared by the Orthodox exchanged population, because their grandchildren come every year from Greece to Mustafapaşa to visit their ancestors' houses and perform their rituals in the Constantine and Helena (Eleni) Church located at the center of the village. Moreover, one of the Orthodox exchangees bought the mansion (in the village, this mansion is known as Bingo's Mansion) where his ancestors used to live. He visits this place once a year and keeps the memories of his ancestors alive. As a result of visiting ancestral homes and performing rituals in the village, the next generations of Orthodox and Muslim exchangees have interacted. Overall, all these factors have contributed to sustaining the memory and identity of exchangee in Mustafapaşa.

Secondly, the fieldwork study has revealed that the exchangee identity has been constructed by the living conditions of Mustafapaşa and the past experiences of the ancestors. While adapting to Mustafapaşa, the exchangees have tried to preserve their customs, traditions, and collective memory, namely identity. To preserve their identity and keep alive their language heritage, they tried to prepare a Macir dictionary. However, as the majority of the 1st generation who spoke the language best either passed away or were illiterate, this attempt failed. Apart from this incomplete mission, several exchangees named their businesses to reflect and preserve their identity, like *Jerveni Hotel*. Also, the exchangee cuisine continues to be served in the majority of the businesses directed by the exchangees. Moreover, to preserve the exchangee identity, they established the exchangee association in the village. However, it could not be permanent. Furthermore, they attempted to establish an exchangee museum. As a result, there is a sort of an Exchangee Museum, in which some clothes, documents and household items of the exchangees, are presented in the Jerveni Hotel. Last but not least, several mansions which were built before the population exchange, still bear Greek names like *Marika Mansion* and *Seraphim Mansion*, which also contribute to the exchangee identity and memory alive. In other words, the generations have protected values of their ancestors and they endeavor to preserve them.

Thirdly, the fieldwork study has revealed that all the interviewees define themselves as exchangees. Besides, children born from intercultural

³³ Süreyya Aytaş, *ibid.*

marriages define themselves as exchangees, as well. In addition, it is understood that intercultural marriages have not had negative effects in preserving the exchangee identity. Native spouses have learned how to cook exchangee food and celebrate the exchangee traditions. Based on the observations, it is seen that the exchangee identity is more dominant than the native identity in intercultural families. There is constant efforts to preserve the exchangee identity and traditions. For instance, there is a discourse of Macırca in the village. When the natives and the exchangees are together, the exchangees sometimes speak Macırca, either because they express themselves more easily or when they want to talk about something secretly. Natives say, “You have switched to your own channel again”. Although Mitro Dien, superstitions, making Duduleşka, and throwing sticks are nowadays given up by the exchangees, the cuisine, folklore, Martinka, Hidirellez, wedding ceremonies, and feasts are the most protected customs and traditions. Based on the observations, it seems that these protected traditions will continue to be preserved in the village. Here, Davutlu Neighborhood appeared as the place where the exchangees display stronger protection over their identities than the other neighbors in the village. That is because, in this neighborhood, the number of the exchangees is higher than the others, and the elder exchangees continue to speak their inherited language, perform their traditions and interact less often with the natives.

Finally, regarding the generations, it is understood that all the generations have a collective memory about their family past including before, during, and after the migration. Jerveni and Mustafapaşa are special places for them that have an impact on their identity. In their families, Turkish and Macırca are spoken. They felt they had an extended family including all the exchangees living in Mustafapaşa. However, there are a few distinctions. For instance, the 5th generation knows fewer stories about their ancestors, can understand or speak fewer Macırca words, and practice fewer traditions than the previous generations. In comparison to the 3rd generation, a similar situation is observed in the 4th generation. While it was predicted that more information would be obtained from the 2nd generation and that they would yearn for Jevreni more, it was understood that they did not respond adequately because of their age and did not bring up the negative events lest they repeat. Overall, it is understood that the exchangee identity has been preserved, albeit with a decrease, and it is anticipated that it will continue to be preserved.

This study is important to ensure a comparison across generations and reveal that the exchangee identity is preserved by the following generations. In general, individuals with exchangee background have

conducted studies to show and explain the case of exchangees. However, this study was conducted by a researcher who has no exchangee background. Therefore, it is thought that the impartial and unbiased perspective of the researcher is also important to shed light on a case of exchangees from a detached position.

As in the case of other studies, this study also has limitations. First, the number of exchangees from the 2nd and 5th generations who were available to interview is fewer than the 3rd and 4th generations. Their ages are the main reason for this limitation. Second, during the interviews, some of the exchangees abstained from participating in the fieldwork study, which was unexpected. Drawing from this observation, the main reason behind their attitudes was that they did not want to remember the harsh conditions of migration and settlement processes, the pain of family fragmentation, and the conflicts experienced with the natives. They also hesitate to mention conflicts to avoid reviving the tensions in the village.

Conclusion

This study presents an analysis of the exchangees who live in the Mustafapaşa, comprising more than half of the population of the village, with a particular focus on a comparison of generations addressing the exchangee identity. The fieldwork study, conducted through observations and face-to-face in-depth interviews ensures a perspective on whether the Lausanne exchangees have preserved their identities after 100 years. In this context, fieldwork has reached a conclusion that the exchangee identity will continue, albeit with a decrease.

The target audience of the findings of this research is academics, researchers, students, and other interested persons. As the number of the interviewees that belonged to the 5th generation is low, and their age is currently not appropriate enough to be interviewed, further studies need to be conducted on this topic. Also, studies comparing the perceptions of the natives and the exchangees can also be carried out.

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