

The Asymmetries of Displacement: The Spatial Aspects of the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange

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Abstract

The Greek-Turkish population exchange convention of 1923 had major effects on both countries in terms of politics, economy, society, and space. Some of the negative impacts were minimized over time. However, there are some long-term impacts, for instance on space, that are still observable in the cities we live in, even though a full century has passed since the exchange. This article focuses on both the local and broader spatial consequences of the population exchange from a comparative perspective.

Keywords

Greek-Turkish population exchange – spatial transformation – spatial impacts of the population exchange

This article is a study of the spatial consequences that the population exchange between Turkey and Greece beginning in 1923 had for both countries. Despite a century having passed, it is not easy to make a comprehensive or comparative assessment of the spatial consequences of such an important event as the population exchange and, as can be expected, myriad reasons lie behind this. Based on my research experience, I will attempt to underline a wide range

of obstacles, including researchers' scholarly interests and academic background, and the inherent difficulties of studying space itself. In addition, as a researcher, I consider myself not so much in a position to provide or find answers, but rather to reflect on the subject by raising questions. Despite the hurdles and deficiencies, this article explores both the local and broader spatial consequences of the population exchange from a comparative perspective.

The article first briefly discusses the trials and tribulations of working with space and then describes how architects, urban planners, art historians, and conservation architects have addressed the spatial consequences of the population exchange in the existing literature. I do not claim to have reviewed the entirety of scholarship in both countries that explores the spatial aspects of the population exchange. By examining much of the scholarship, however, I aim to identify the concepts on which scholars focus and the perspectives they use.

In fact, even though the cultural, political, psychological, social, and economic effects of the Turkish-Greek population exchange have attracted attention from academics, particularly those in Turkey and Greece, the same cannot be said of the spatial consequences of this tragic event. There is a whole range of difficulties when working with space. For example, changing settlement, street, and neighborhood names; shifting administrative borders; and changing administrative statuses; and, if working with property/ownership—that is, if one is lucky enough to find a land registry and cadastral archive open to researchers—changing house numbers, just to name a few. Each of these problems must be taken seriously. They are of particular importance if one is working on mapping and visualization, since it is necessary to be able to well determine the degree of abstraction and/or scale, as it is impossible to deal with space otherwise.

Time is yet another factor that must be carefully considered in projects involving mapping. Does a map compiled from archival materials from various dates represent a single moment in time? Or conversely, is it possible to create a map without a time reference or scale? Whereas historians are better equipped when it comes to working with archives than architects and urban planners, historians may not be sufficiently adept at reading drawings or plans concerning space. There is also the possibility that historians could evaluate collections of documents that have a high potential to be related to space more in line with their perspectives or fields of study, thus missing their spatialization potential.¹ On the other hand, architects and urban planners may

1 Some archive documents provide considerable potential for spatial narratives. As examples see Baran, Tülay Alim, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Yapılanması: İzmir (1923–1938)* (Istanbul: Arma

miss out on the potential for spatialization found in written and oral narratives due to the urge to search for drawings and other visual materials. In fact, there is a relation between these differences in methodology and the organization of architectural history programs inside architecture departments rather than history departments. Therefore, I argue that an interdisciplinary approach is more beneficial for research on the spatial effects of the population exchange. Nevertheless, I can comfortably say that interest in the population exchange shown by architects and city planners has increased in recent years when compared to a decade ago.

There are three main approaches generally adopted by studies on the population exchange within the field of architecture.² The first focuses on the problems of and strategies for conservation of monumental structures left by Orthodox Greeks in Turkey and Muslims in Greece. These studies, conducted by experts in conservation and restoration, as well as art historians, examine cultural heritage preservation methods, the principles of building restoration, conservation and restoration problems and possibilities for the reuse of buildings.³ While I am not sure whether the lack of civil architecture in these studies can be explained solely by the difficulties of working with private property, I believe that possibly due to technical perspectives, these valuable studies on the protection of cultural heritage are conceptually weaker than other approaches to the exchange narrative.

The second approach focuses on the impact of the population exchange on the redesigning of the urban landscape.⁴ These studies convey how refugee populations, having left deep traces on Greece's big cities, such as Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki, changed urban development and the direction of urban planning in terms of modernity and identity. Such studies conducted by

Yayınları, 2003); İpek, Nedim, *Mübadele ve Samsun* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000); Morack, Ellinor, *The Dowry of the State?: The Politics of Abandoned Property and the Population Exchange in Turkey, 1921–1945* (Bamberg: Bamberg University Press, 2017).

2 In the context of the present article, the field of architecture includes the body of work done by architects, architectural historians, urban planners, and art historians.

3 Yenişehirlioğlu, Filiz Çalışlar, "Mübadele ve Kültürel Miras," in *Yeniden Kurulan Yaşamlar: 80. Yılında Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*, Müfide Pekin (ed.) (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), pp. 441–46; Kanetaki, Eleni I., *Οθωμανικά λουτρά στον ελληνικό χώρο* [Ottoman baths in Greece] (Athens: Technical Chamber of Greece, 2004).

4 Yerolympos, Alexandra, "Inter-war town planning and the refugee problem in Greece: temporary 'solutions' and long-term dysfunctions," in *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, Renée Hirschon (ed.) (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), pp. 133–44; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, Vilma, "A Mediterranean city in transition: Thessaloniki between the two World Wars," *Facta Universitatis, Series: Architecture and Civil Engineering*, 1 (1997), 493–507.

urban planners are yet to appear in Turkey. Although the reason for this lacuna seems to be the asymmetry of the exchange, which I will explain in detail while discussing the third approach, it is only possible to investigate the effects of the exchange on the transformation of cities in Turkey by taking a closer and deeper look on much smaller scales.

The third approach focuses on the newly established exchangee and refugee settlements,⁵ model villages, and houses, as well as on resettlement policies.⁶ It is not surprising that such studies examining building typologies and settlement patterns are common in Greece, because the populations exchanged between the two countries were not equal in number. While 1.2 million people were displaced from Anatolia to Greece, which at the time had a population of 5 million, the number of Muslims who were obliged to move from Greece to Anatolia was about 400,000. As a result of this asymmetry, the immovable property left by Muslims in Greece was insufficient for the resettlement of Greek refugees, even more so due to the fact that refugees in Greece were resettled according to their respective urban and rural origins; while the majority of the Muslims sent to Anatolia were of rural origin, the majority of the Greek population that arrived in Greece were urbanites.⁷ The different rural or urban backgrounds of the incoming and outgoing migrants

5 Those forced to settle in Anatolia under the dictates of the Treaty of Lausanne defined themselves as *exchangees/exchanged* to distinguish themselves from the *migrants* who settled in the same region during and after the Balkan Wars. Those forced to settle in Greece often described themselves as *refugees*, having migrated before the signing of the treaty during the Catastrophe of Asia Minor. In this text, I use the term *exchangee* when talking about the Muslims sent to Turkey and the term *refugee* when talking about the Greeks sent to Greece.

6 Colonas, Vassilis, "Housing and the architectural expression of Asia Minor Greeks before and after 1923," in *Crossing the Aegean*, Hirschon (ed.), pp. 163–78; Cengizkan, Ali, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri: Savaş Yıkımının, İç Göçün ve Mübadelenin Doğurduğu Konut Sorununun Çözümünde "İktisadi Hane" Programı, "Numûne Köyler" ve "Emval-i Metrûke"nin Değerlendirilmesi için Adımlar* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi and Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004); Tsetine, Eirini Chara, and Nikolaos A. Lianos, "The urban refugee settlements of Xanthi (1922–1930): recording and typological-morphological analysis of the existing refugee dwellings," in *Protection of Historical Constructions: Proceedings of PROHITECH 2021*, Ioannis Vayas and Federico M. Mazzolani (eds.) (Cham: Springer, 2022), pp. 232–57; Seçkin, Selçuk, "Mübadele Sonrasında Kurulan Planlı Köy Yerleşimleri," in *Mübadil Kentler: Mekân ve İnsan*, Müfide Pekin (ed.) (Istanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları, 2014), pp. 134–50; "Προσφυγικές γειτονιές του Πειραιά. Από την ανάδυσση στην ανάδειξη της ιστορικής μνήμης" [Refugee neighborhoods in Piraeus: from emergence to bringing forth historical memory], research project's final issue ([Athens]: National Hellenic Research Foundation and National Technical University of Athens, 2018).

7 Yıldırım, Onur, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 140.

increased the asymmetry of the exchange, necessitating the construction of new settlements and residences in Greek cities in order to settle the refugees. To meet this demand, 1,954 small villages and towns were established in rural areas, of which 1,047 are in Macedonia, 574 in Thrace, and the remaining 331 in various regions across Greece.⁸ Studies on the spatial consequences of the exchange in Greece that focus on these newly built settlements and residences are, therefore, numerous. How common is this approach in studies in Turkey, though? Was there enough abandoned property (*emvâl-i metrûke*) to settle the Muslims from Greece, who were almost one-third of the population of the Greeks who left Anatolia? Based on the incoming and outgoing population asymmetry, one could state that the property and real estate left by Greeks were sufficient for the settlement of the incoming Muslims. At least on paper, this estimation seems to be valid. What made the resettlement of the exchangees in Turkey difficult was the material damage caused by war and problems of internal mobility within the country.

In 1924, model villages began to be established both for the incoming exchangees and those who had lost their homes during the war. These included simple shelters for 10–20 households on empty land, new settlements of 10–20 households on ruined areas of existing villages, model villages of 50 households, new villages for exchangees built over destroyed Greek villages, and rebuilt Muslim villages that had been destroyed and abandoned, thus ensuring that those who had occupied the Greeks' abandoned properties returned to their home villages. Many villages established for the exchangees were built on unused, fertile agricultural land. Zeynep Eres states that she found information through archival research on the construction of 32 villages in 12 provinces, although she does not specify which ones were built for the incoming exchangees.⁹ Onur Yıldırım emphasizes that while 42 villages were planned to be built for the resettlement of exchangees, due to limited financial resources, only 14 were built, with seven in Samsun, two each in Izmir and Bursa, and one each in Izmit, Adana, and Antalya.¹⁰ This being the case, with much less new construction in Turkey than in Greece following the population exchange, why have architects taken up the issue? I think this tendency seen in studies in both countries is a result of architects' inclination to see space as something created either through construction or addition. That being said,

8 Yerolympos, "Inter-war town planning," p. 140. The figures that Yerolympos provides add up to 1,952 rather than 1,954.

9 Eres, Zeynep, "Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşimlerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2008), pp. 114–15.

10 Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, p. 149.

space is also created and transformed by subtraction,¹¹ which may prove more important in cases of forced migration such as the population exchange. How does the lack of anything, free from all its negative connotations, create space? How did the lack of Orthodox Greeks on the one hand and Muslims on the other transform existing settlements? By disregarding the local context, did the exchange of populations not disrupt daily life and the relationship between buildings and their users? Did the spatial consequences only affect the Muslim exchangees and Greek refugees? Did the lack of a market, greengrocer, or doctor in their neighborhoods or elsewhere nearby not affect the living spaces of the remaining Muslims? In terms of space, should not the unexchanged populations be included in this narrative as well? If not, would it not be a treatment of space not as something shared, but as a separator that delineates a boundary? And furthermore, how can we pursue these questions a century after the population exchange?

Considering these issues, this article attempts to make a comparative assessment of the impact of the population exchange in Greece and Turkey that includes both general and local spatial consequences, and thereby departs from the three approaches I have previously outlined.

Spatial Consequences of the Population Exchange in Turkey and Greece

Can the spatial evidence of the population exchange be classified as temporary and permanent, as was the case with the residences built for the displaced? The resettlement of the exchangees and refugees was a long process that spanned many years and was not simultaneous in Turkey and Greece. With which word and in which language can we describe the long journey that began by sailing from the port closest to where one lived before arrival to an unfamiliar port in a different country; from there to quarantine wards; onward to temporary

11 The best example I know of creating space by subtracting was explained by architect Han Tümertekin, who says that his most striking architectural observation is not about a building, but about two people playing backgammon. He tells the story of two shopkeepers playing backgammon on a hot summer day, at noon when the sun was high and the shadows were getting shorter. The two men were sitting on low stools with their knees touching each other's and playing backgammon with the board on their laps while an empty coffee table stood next to them. Tümertekin describes the space these two men created by removing the coffee table so they could sit in the shadow of the eaves of the building: "Real, mundane, simple, easy, and incredibly poignant"; Tümertekin, Han, "Subtraction," in *Han Tümertekin: Recent Work*, Hashim Sarkis, Neyran Turan, and Rengin Toros (eds.) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 14.

residences such as tents, guesthouses, or shanties, and sometimes public buildings; and, finally, settlement in permanent residences? This elusive word in an unknown language is the long settlement process itself. What do we know about the temporary traces left by the displaced before they settled in their new homes, and is it possible to compare the spatial consequences for the two countries?

I would like to begin by highlighting the population exchange's natural consequences. Buildings that had lost their community survived with some modifications in both countries as an inevitable consequence of the population exchange. In Greece, for example, there were mosques, *medreses* (Muslim theological schools), *hamams* (bathhouses), and *tabhânes* (halfway houses for the poor and the sick) left behind by Muslims.¹² Of these buildings, mosques that the Ottomans had built as well as churches and monasteries that they had converted into mosques upon conquest were of numerical significance. Some of these structures, which have increasingly been restored in Greece over recent years, are currently used for cultural events such as concerts and exhibitions.¹³ The situation of Greek Orthodox churches in Turkey is slightly more complex. Even though some have recently been reconverted into churches after spending time as mosques, they have nonetheless undergone changes of use in the process.¹⁴ In addition to this common spatial effect

12 For Muslim buildings in Rethymno, Crete, and their spatial transformations, see Cankara, Melis, "Ex-changing houses in Rethymno after the Treaty of Lausanne," in *Mediterranean Port Cities: Connectivity in Modern Times*, Eyüp Özveren, Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, and Tülin Selvi Ünlü (eds.) (Cham: Springer, 2023), pp. 239–53.

13 For example, following his conquest of Rethymno, Gazi Deli Hüseyin Pasha converted the former Augustinian monastery church of Santa Maria into a mosque by adding three domes and a minaret in 1646. The mosque functioned until the Muslims in Rethymno left permanently in 1923–24. The building now serves as a music school and a venue for cultural events; Cankara, Melis, "The town of Rethymno: in the footsteps of Evliya Çelebi. 5. Gazi Deli Hüseyin Paşa Mosque Imaret," *CuRe project 2018–22*, May 2022, Maria Anastasiadi, Antonis Anastasopoulos, and Elias Kolovos (eds.), Ben Petre (trans.), <https://explore.cure-project.gr/routes/view/5f7f031c7b5e8b001160d54f/point/5f7f1e7b5e8b001160d57d> (accessed April 6, 2023). For privately owned churches, see Onaran, Nevzat, *Türk Nüfus Mühendisliği (1914–1940): Ermeniler, Rumlar ve Kürtler* (Istanbul: Kor Kitap, 2018), pp. 577–80.

14 For example, the Church of St. Voukolos in Izmir became home to the Izmir Archeology Museum in 1924. When the museum moved to its new location in Kültürpark in 1951, the church began to function as an opera studio and a warehouse. In 1975, it was registered as a "cultural property to be protected." It was then damaged in a fire in 1990 and became unusable. It was given to the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2003. After its restoration in 2008–10, the church was arranged as part of the restoration process to support the city's cultural and artistic environment, and the annexes were arranged as the Izmir Press Museum and Memorial House; Serçe, Erkan, "İzmir ve Havalisi Asar-ı Atika Mühibleri

seen in monumental public buildings, the asymmetrical nature of the population exchange caused a flurry of construction in Greece, while it led to the transformation of the existing civil architecture in Turkey due to the much smaller number of incoming exchangees. Although there was spatial transformation of abandoned properties and civil architecture in both countries, the consequences of the population exchange for Turkey have predominantly been shaped by this sensitive and complex issue surrounding abandoned properties.

As a natural result of the population exchange, specific occupations that were exclusively performed by Muslims in Greece and Christians in Anatolia disappeared. For instance, in Rethymno, Crete, occupations such as fez molders, fez makers, and farriers were only performed by Muslims. Before the population exchange, farriers were located side by side on the street just behind the Grand Gate (*Μεγάλη Πόρτα*) in the old town. With the departure of Muslims from Crete, the function of the street named after the farriers, *Petaladika* (*Πεταλάδικα*, today's *Τζάνε Μπουνιαλή*), changed.¹⁵ The functions of the commercial axes also changed, even though the professions did not disappear, mainly because Muslim bazaars were made up of *arastas*, or streets where the tradesmen who practiced the same trade were grouped together. The common bazaar areas of Muslims and Christians were also affected by this population movement in both countries. For instance, even though the Akpınar Stream divided the Muslim and Christian communities in Vourla, Izmir, we are aware of the existence of Christian tradesmen's shops in *Arasta* (today's Malgaca Square), which was in the Muslim neighborhood.¹⁶ On the other hand, Zafer Avenue (formerly *Φαρδύ Σοκάκι*)—located in the Greek quarter of Vourla and built in the second half of the 19th century—was the most important commercial axis of the period where the offices and factory owners

Cemiyeti ve İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'nin Kuruluşu," *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, 5 (2002), 318–28; Akkurt, Hümeýra Birol, "Mimari Koruma Uygulamalarının Fiziksel, Toplumsal ve Kültürel Etkileri: İzmir Aya Voukolos Kilisesi," *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 386 (2015), 56–61. On August 7, 2014, a service for the celebration of the Assumption of Mary was held at the church for the first time since 1922. Various rites were also held in 2015, 2016, and 2018; "Aziz Vukolos Kilisesi," *Wikipedia*, https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aziz_Vukolos_Kilisesi (accessed July 14, 2022).

- 15 Cankara, Melis, "Mübadele Edilemeyenler: Lozan Antlaşması'ndan Sonra Resmo Eski Şehrin Dönüşümü," in *Uluslararası İzmir Göç ve Mübadele Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı* (İzmir: İBB Ahmet Piriştina İzmir Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi and İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2018), pp. 175–92.
- 16 Tunçağ, Sedef, *Urla: Belge ve Anılarla* (İzmir: Yakın Yayınları, 2022), p. 125.

of raisin companies were located.¹⁷ Unfortunately, a significant part of the street burned down in 1922, and the surviving part was spatially transformed after the population exchange. The consequences of the exchange in the context of production and commerce transformed urban space, while also affecting rural areas. Again, Vourla and Rethymno—two settlements that exchanged populations with one another—serve as different examples of this situation. In the late 19th and early 20th century, raisin exports were the foundation of Vourla's economy. With the support of the Greek Consulate in Vourla, some raisin producers traveled to Crete in 1907 to transfer their knowledge on vine growing.¹⁸ After the population exchange, the major raisin manufacturers of Vourla opened raisin factories on Crete. They thus both established a new commercial hub for migrants arriving from Anatolia and introduced a novel agricultural commodity into Crete.¹⁹ Conversely, exchangees who settled in Vourla were unfamiliar with viticulture, so they uprooted the vineyards and planted tobacco instead.²⁰

Since this was an asymmetric exchange, it is not so hard to discover many other similar examples in both countries. I argue, therefore, that because of the population exchange, some occupations vanished and their related public and commercial spaces were forced to transform in function, as were some cultivated areas and agricultural products. Especially in Turkey, the fact that the resettlement of exchangees was not performed according to their urban or rural origins and that their professions were ignored in some settlement areas²¹ resulted in the transformation of these places.

Within a few months after the population exchange agreement, government institutions—the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction, and Settlement (MERR) in Turkey, and the Refugee Settlement Commission (RSC)

17 Miliotis, Nikos E., *Τα Βουρλά της Μικράς Ασίας: Ιστορικά* [Vourla in Asia Minor: history] (Glyfa: Baltas Publications, 2014), p. 32.

18 Miliotis, Nikos E., *Τα Βουρλά της Μικράς Ασίας: Λαογραφικά* [Vourla in Asia Minor: folklore] (Glyfa: Baltas Publications, 2014), p. 332.

19 Cankara, Melis, “Τα χωρικά αποτελέσματα της Μικρασιατικής Καταστροφής και της Συνθήκης της Λωζάνης. Οι ιστορίες που αντάλλαξαν τα εναπομείναντα κτίρια στο Ρέθυμνο (Κρήτη) και στα Βουρλά (Σμύρνη)” [The spatial results of the Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Treaty of Lausanne: the exchanged stories of the remaining properties in Rethymno (Crete) and Vourla (Izmir)], unpublished paper presented at the 1922–2022. 100 χρόνια Μικρασιάτες στην Κρήτη: Αποκατάσταση, ενσωμάτωση, μνήμη [One hundred years of Asia Minor Greeks in Crete: settlement, integration, memory] Conference (Chania, Greece, November 10–11, 2022).

20 Tunçaç, *Urla*, pp. 295–99; Anday, Melih Cevdet, *Anadoluda ve Sosyalist Ülkelerde* (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1977), pp. 61–62.

21 Çelebi, Ercan, *Mübadele İmar ve İskân Vekaleti: Kuruluşu, Teşkilat Yapısı ve Faaliyetleri* (Istanbul: Hiperlink Yayınları, 2019), pp. 206–8.

in Greece—were established in both countries to meet the housing needs of the new arrivals. Although the priorities of these two institutions were the resettlement of the exchanged populations, their legal statuses differed, as the Greek RSC had an international structure, while the Turkish MERR had a national one.²² MERR's national structure led to complications, as it was not only responsible for the resettlement of incoming exchangees, but also for other migrants to the country, as well as for housing for those displaced by war and/or destruction.²³ In addition, the status of abandoned properties to be used for resettlement was not uniform, since only some originally belonged to Greeks subject to the population exchange, while others had once belonged to the former Armenian population of Anatolia. Greek properties were to be allocated to the Muslim arrivals from Greece in accordance with the population exchange agreement, while Armenian properties would be handed over to those who were displaced during Turkey's War of Independence. Furthermore, there was one more group entitled to former Greek and Armenian properties, namely those to whom Greeks and Armenians from Anatolia were in debt. During the exchange resettlement process, the many cases of squatting, or "unnecessary occupation" (*fuzûlî işgal*) of abandoned properties,²⁴ became the subject of debate both due to the government's decision to utilize the abandoned properties and rent them out in the first place, and because Greeks left Turkey before the arrival of Muslims from Greece.²⁵ Moreover, the fact that some abandoned properties had been damaged during the war meant that they could not be used without first undergoing repairs. These two intertwined issues, together with the fact that all housing and construction activities in Turkey were carried out by a single institution, created many difficulties in the process.

22 Yıldıırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, p. 158.

23 Nedim İpek categorizes the people who were to be resettled into three groups: first, migrants who were not subject to the population exchange, e.g., those who migrated due to the Balkan Wars, those in need of aid from the outbreak of World War I until November 4, 1923, and those solely in need of housing following November 4, 1923; second, those subject to the population exchange—both those who came between 1912 and 1923 and those who came after the Treaty of Lausanne; and third, those displaced by war and/or destruction, which included refugees from the Middle East, those whose houses were destroyed in the Greek invasion and war, and refugees fleeing war in Cyprus, Aleppo, Iskenderun, Antakya, Syria, the Caucasus, Russia, Iraq, and other Muslim cities and countries; İpek, *Mübadele ve Samsun*, pp. 91–92.

24 Baran, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Yapılanması*, pp. 160–62; Çelebi, *Mübadele İmar ve İskân Vekaleti*, p. 174.

25 Çelebi, *Mübadele İmar ve İskân Vekaleti*, pp. 164–68.

The needs of refugees arriving in Greece were met with support from the League of Nations. Numerous international organizations were involved in this process, mainly the American Red Cross and Near East Relief (NER). All British Appeal, the British Red Cross Society, Save the Children Fund, American Women's Hospitals, Friends of Greece, and the Fatherless Children of Greece Committee also provided support for the solution to the refugee problem in Greece.²⁶ Nevertheless, the country missed out on the opportunity to implement regular and large-scale planning due to an inability to coordinate the refugee settlement program with overall town design, the autonomous structures of the institutions involved in the program, and their independence from each other.²⁷ As a result, while the existence of a single institution for all resettlement work in Turkey created its own problems, the existence of many independent institutions and aid organizations in Greece led to problematic practices in spatial terms. Besides the asymmetry and lack of synchronization of the displacement, this situation shows the impossibility of implementing this irrational exchange free of problems, whether with local or international management; those subject to the exchange were seen as homogeneous groups in each country, and everything they owned was reduced to a question of numbers.

Instead of classifying exchangees according to their urban or rural origins, as was done in Greece, the Turkish government considered the majority of arrivals to be of rural origin and decided to resettle them where they could engage in agriculture.²⁸ The model villages built for the resettlement of the exchangees sent to Turkey developed in line with the concept of modernizing rural areas in parallel with the country's "To the Villages" (*Köye Dođru*) initiative.²⁹

When the state evaluated the necessity of resettling the exchangees in order to create the modern Turkish village, the ideal of the republican village emerged, which carried with it much more meaning and significance than the resettlement project. Exchangee villages exemplified the ideal of the modern republican village that the simultaneously enacted Village Law attempted to spread throughout the country, via articles that

26 Andriotis, Nikos A., *Πρόσφυγες στην Ελλάδα 1821–1940. Άφιξη, περίθαλψη και αποκατάσταση* [Refugees in Greece, 1821–1940: arrival, care, and settlement] (Athens: The Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2020), p. 89; Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, p. 133.

27 Yerolympos, "Inter-war town planning," pp. 137–38.

28 Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, p. 140.

29 Örmeciođlu, Hilal Tuđba, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Köycülık Tartıřmaları ve Numune Köyler," *Bellekten*, 83/297 (2019), 729–52.

described that ideal when read in succession. The importance of these villages as examples led to them being referred to as model villages.³⁰

The focus of the RSC's work in Greece was on rural areas. By the end of 1928, the RSC had established 2,000 settlements in the countryside, 75 percent of which were incorporated into previously existing villages. Although it did not support the idea much at first, the RSC started to encourage urban settlement as of 1924.³¹ According to Greek censuses, 22.9 percent of the population lived in cities in 1920, which increased to 32.8 percent in 1940.³² This initiative for the urban rehabilitation of refugees was a long and difficult process that lasted until the 1970s. After the abolition of the RSC in 1930, the rehabilitation of refugees came under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Welfare. The activities of building cooperatives established by refugees increased significantly soon afterward. Building cooperatives, which were part of the self-housing mechanism, served to complement the government's housing policy for the rehabilitation of refugees.³³ In addition, with the 1930s came the beginning of construction of predominantly modernist, three-story, multi-family housing for refugees. As urban rehabilitation lasted longer than rural rehabilitation in Greece, the spatial effects of the population exchange in Greece proceeded in parallel with the idea of urban modernization, contrary to the idea of rural modernization in Turkey.

Ali Cengizkan divides the interventions and settlements made for the resettlement of exchangees in Turkey into temporary and permanent ones. One example of the former category that he cites are the temporary, prefabricated shelters and local construction in the Kozan region of Adana. Permanent housing, on the other hand, included affordable newly built houses, model villages, and the reuse of abandoned properties.³⁴ Another type of intervention that can be added to the above is the situation in which construction was

30 Ibid., p. 731. For other studies on planned rural settlements in Turkey's early republican period, see Eres, Zeynep, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Çağdaş Kırsal Kimliğin Örneklenmesi: Planlı Göçmen Köyleri," *Mimarlık*, 375 (2014), 58–63; Seçkin, Selçuk, "Atatürk Döneminde Konut ve Yerleşme: Mübadele Yerleşimleri" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2013).

31 Colonas, "Housing and the architectural expression of Asia Minor Greeks," p. 173.

32 Yerolympos, "Inter-war town planning," p. 135.

33 Greek Ministry of Social Welfare, *Στέγασις αστών προσφύγων 1922. Το έργο της εξαετίας (1952–1957)* [Housing of urban refugees of 1922: the work done in the six years 1952–57] (Athens: Ministry of Social Welfare, 1957).

34 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, pp. 32–51.

done by the exchangees themselves, for which the government only provided technical support in land planning and housing plans.³⁵ The resettlement policy implemented in Turkey developed as an extension of the immigrant settlements in the Second Constitutional Period (1908–20).³⁶ It is difficult to separate the population exchange and the settlement of exchangees from this historical continuity, as the settlements are often intertwined. In addition, the newly built settlements for the exchangees in Turkey show such little typological variation that this situation continued for the immigrants who came after the exchangees. In 1936, architect Zeki Sayar criticized the typological uniformity employed for migrant housing applied in different parts of the country and emphasized the importance of diversity.³⁷ The state, however, did not so easily abandon its steadfastness on the issue. For instance, the province of Aydın received immigrants from Greece between 1911 and 1922, from Iran and western Thrace in 1932, and from Bulgaria between 1922 and 1954. Subsequent immigrants came from Yugoslavia between 1993 and 1994, and from Bulgaria in 1989. It is estimated that a total of 6,820 immigrants arrived in the city of Aydın between 1911 and 1994. Five hundred immigrant houses were built in the city in 1953 alone.³⁸ Even then, houses built for immigrants in Aydın's Kemer neighborhood were still built using a similar typology (Figs 1–4).

The photographs and plans below show the variations of the two-room plan typology built for immigrants and exchangees between 1906 and 1953. These houses built in Anatolia, including cities like Konya and Alaşehir and districts like Akseki, but also in Thrace, were very similar despite having been erected at moments about 50 years apart and in different climate conditions. Cengizkan also draws attention to the similarities between the plan typologies of affordable houses and the “Lodgings for Married Workers” that were built by a French architectural firm in the Istanbul Silahtarağa Power Plant in 1911.³⁹

35 Seçkin, Selçuk, “Kocaeli/Arslanbey'deki Mübadil Konutları,” in *Uluslararası Gazi Akça Koca ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Kocaeli: Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2015), pp. 1721–41.

36 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, pp. 55–64, 83.

37 Sayar, Zeki, “İç Kolonizasyon,” *Arkitekt*, 62 (1936), 46–51.

38 Uğur, Abdullah, “Aydın Şehrinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişme Evreleri,” *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 1/2 (2003), 41–62.

39 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, p. 35.

Obviously, the living spaces of the exchangees were reduced to the number of rooms connected to one another by sofas or corridors, just as the exchangees themselves were reduced to mere numbers.⁴⁰



FIGURE 1 An immigrant village in Başhöyük in Konya Province, 1906–7
SOURCE: ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY RARE WORKS LIBRARY,
ABDÜLHAMİD II PHOTO ALBUMS, NEKYA90648/4, [HTTP://NEK
.ISTANBUL.EDU.TR:4444/EKOS/FOTOGRAF/90648---0004.JPG](http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/EKOS/FOTOGRAF/90648---0004.JPG)

⁴⁰ I also must emphasize that the middle-entry, two-room typology that could accommodate the barest necessities is still in use in both Turkey's post-earthquake container houses and refugee camps.

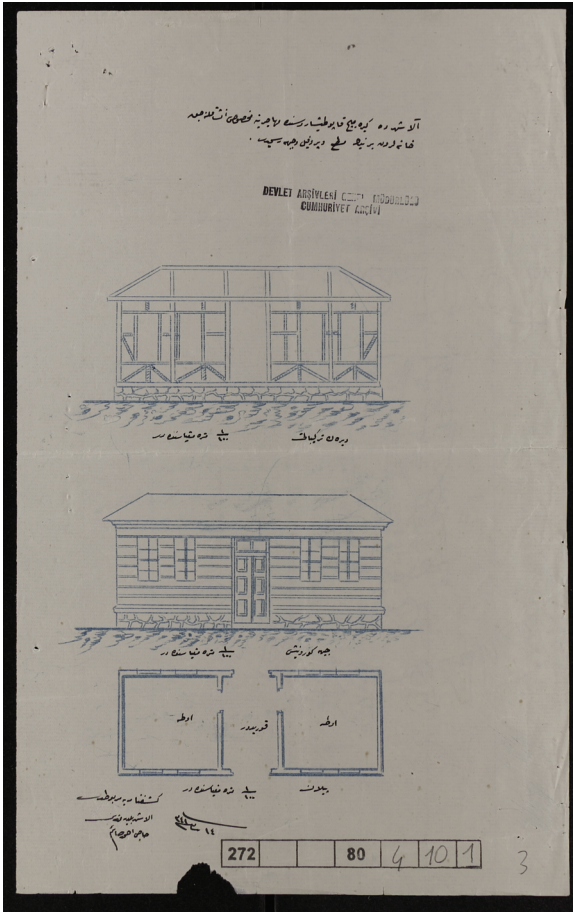


FIGURE 2 Neighborhood construction for the Kavala exchangees to be settled in Alaşehir in 1925
SOURCE: PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY, DIRECTORATE OF STATE ARCHIVES, REPUBLICAN ARCHIVES, 272-0-0-80/4-10-1

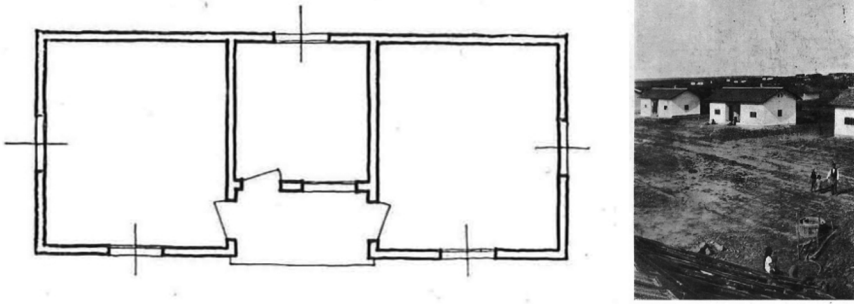


FIGURE 3 Immigrant houses built in Thrace and Akseki in the 1930s
SOURCE: SAYAR, ZEKİ, "İÇ KOLONİZASYON," *ARKİTEKT*, 62 (1936), PP. 47, 51

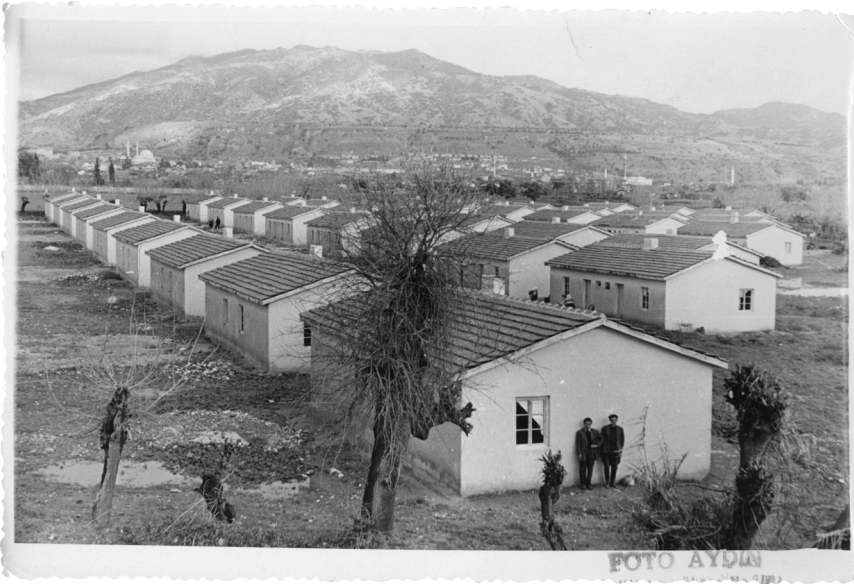


FIGURE 4 Immigrant houses in Aydın-Kemer, 1953
SOURCE: SALT RESEARCH, PHOTOGRAPH AND POSTCARD ARCHIVE,
AHAYD077001, [HTTPS://ARCHIVES.SALTRESEARCH.ORG
/HANDLE/123456789/196908](https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/196908)

The fact that refugee resettlement in Greece was spread over many years and that different actors—especially the refugees themselves—were involved in production created diversity in their housing typology. Whatever the reason for this, I think that the construction practice of the refugees in Greece as future residents increased the possibility of establishing a sense of belonging.

In comparison to the Turkish approach, which limited exchangees to a few typologies and denied people the opportunity of choice, the diversity observed in Greece was a more humanitarian approach and had more potential in terms of space.

While Cengizkan classifies the interventions—other than the reuse of abandoned properties—into two categories (new or model villages built according to the affordable housing concept, and simple and temporary dwellings),⁴¹ Nikolaos A. Lianos groups refugee housing built in Greece into four categories:

1. Prefabricated German DHTG houses of emergency and temporary construction with wood and brick, very few of which have survived in Kaisariani, Athens.
2. Permanent and small housing (usually one- or two-story single structures or duplexes) not much different from those already present in rural areas.
3. Predominantly three-story, permanent refugee housing estates (apartment buildings) located along Alexandras Avenue and in the Stegi Patridos, Drapetsona, and Keratsini areas of Athens.
4. Planned or unplanned settlements built by refugees themselves (self-housing). The settlements in Kaisariani, Kokkinia, Korydallos, Keratsini, and Nea Ionia are examples of planned housing while unplanned settlements were established in empty areas within the city of Athens, such as Ilissos and Panormou, as well as outside the city, such as in Amphithea, Korydallos, Kalogreza, and Perissos.⁴²

Again, unlike the historical continuity and intertwinement in Turkey, the situation in Greece was more initiatory and idiosyncratic in structure. “As regards the characteristics of the first refugee facilities in Greece, i.e., those that arose during the 19th century, it is estimated that these were rather scattered and ‘did not affect the evolution of the country’s settlement network.’”⁴³ Although the diversity in typology is likely to be due to the fact that construction activity in Greece was greater than in Turkey, in all likelihood this is not the only reason.

41 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, p. 23.

42 Lianos, Nikolaos A., “Η στεγαστική αποκατάσταση των προσφύγων” [The housing rehabilitation of refugees], *LIFO*, updated May 19, 2020, <https://www.lifo.gr/now/greece/i-stegastiki-apokatastasi-ton-prosfygon> (accessed July 14, 2022). On the other hand, Colonas’ “Housing and the architectural expression of Asia Minor Greeks” alone offers more than 10 building typologies. The “Προσφυγικές γειτονιές του Πειραιά” research project also provides many typologies built in Piraeus.

43 Gavra, Eleni, “Προσφυγικές οικήσεις στην Ελλάδα των νεότερων χρόνων. Θεσμικά και πολεοδομικά εργαλεία διαχείρισης του χώρου” [Refugee settlements in modern Greece: institutional and urban planning tools of spatial management], *Clio Turbata*, September

Even though the long-term response taken by the two countries to the increasing resettlement crisis (in terms of permanent housing) was different, some of the emergency and temporary shelter solutions seem to be tied to Germany. A document dated March 18, 1924 includes a price quote for ready-made barracks with the “*Döker (Döcker)* system” to be delivered from Hamburg.⁴⁴ Although it is unknown how this offer was concluded,⁴⁵ I would like to elaborate on “*Döker system*” and “Hamburg” as mentioned in the document, which includes clues about barracks in the Ottoman Empire.

A *Döcker* is a transportable wooden barrack system designed by Danish military officer Johann Gerhard Clemens Döcker (1828–1904). It was made from hinged wall panels that were waterproofed on the outside with felt, which set it apart from similar systems. Döcker’s system for a mobile wooden barrack was granted patents in Central Europe, Russia, and the US.⁴⁶ He lacked the capital to carry out construction, thus Christoph & Unmack bought the patent on November 9, 1882.⁴⁷ Having improved the system, they gave it the new name *Doecker*.⁴⁸ The system they developed became well known after winning the Red Cross competition for a 200-person portable hospital in 1885.⁴⁹ Several

24, 2022, <https://clioturbata.com/%CE%B1%CF%80%CF%8C%CF%88%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%82/gavra-prosfigikes-oikiseis/> (accessed April 6, 2023), quoting from Karamouzi, Anthoula, “Καταγραφή και χαρτογράφηση των προσφυγικών οικισμών στον ελληνικό χώρο από το 1821 έως σήμερα” [Recording and mapping of refugee settlements in Greece from 1821 until today], in *Ο ξεριζωμός και η άλλη πατρίδα. Οι προσφυγοπόλεις στην Ελλάδα. Πρακτικά επιστημονικού συμποσίου (11 και 12 Απριλίου 1997)* [Uprooting and the other homeland: the refugee towns in Greece. Proceedings of a scientific symposium (April 11–12, 1997)] (Athens: Etaireia Spoudon Neohellenikou Politismou kai Genikes Paideias, 1999), p. 21.

44 *T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı – Cumhuriyet Arşivi*, Ankara, CCA.272.80/13.5.9.

45 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, p. 32.

46 Osayimwese, Itohan, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), p. 189.

47 Wurm, Heinrich, “Die Industrialisierung des Holzhausbaues: Christoph und Unmack,” *Tradition: Zeitschrift für Firmengeschichte und Unternehmerbiographie*, 14/3–4 (1969), 198–211.

48 Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*, p. 285.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 192–93; Koryciński, Wojciech, and Paweł Kozakiewicz, “Portable wooden buildings at the turn of the 20th century: a historical review of structural solutions,” *Annals of Warsaw University of Life Sciences (SGGW), Forestry and Wood Technology*, 100 (2017), 176–83; Dayioğlu, Orkun, “1892–95 İstanbul Kolera Salgını ve Kent Ölçeğinde Çözüm Arayışları: Kabil-i Nakl Barakalar,” *mimar.ist*, 69 (2020), 68–74. Dayioğlu emphasizes the idea that the ready-made hospital barracks imported to Istanbul were bought from Christoph & Unmack, although he admits that he is not fully certain of that. On the other hand, *Döcker* system portable hospital drawings with the Christoph & Unmack firm letterhead are found in documents with the codes COA.PLK.p.6497, COA.PLK.p.6498, and

companies in Germany subsequently created their systems based on the *Döcker* approach. As a result, the system, which began for military structures, was used in many industrial construction domains as mobile hospitals and houses.⁵⁰ According to Wojciech Koryciński and Paweł Kozakiewicz, *Döcker's* system attracted a significant following in both Europe and America.⁵¹

We know there was a relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Christoph & Unmack, the patent holder and, in a sense, the pioneer of prefabricated structure manufacturing in Germany.⁵² On the other hand, F. H. Schmidt, another German company based in Altona, Hamburg, and operating in the same period in the sector of prefabricated structures being one of Christoph & Unmack's main rivals, was involved in the construction of the Ottoman railroad.⁵³ Records dated 1913 in the Turkish State Archives show that ready-made barracks bought from F. H. Schmidt's company were constructed in Skopje.⁵⁴ I think that F. H. Schmidt may have provided the price quote discussed above for pre-made barracks to be transported from Hamburg. This possibility, I believe, should be considered.

Even if the importation of prefabricated barracks from Germany for the exchangees did not take place, we can still observe that the newly established nation-state preserved its inherited conventions from the Ottoman Empire to find an urgent and temporary solution to its population resettlement needs. I consider that as a reflection of the continuity in resettlement policies that Cengizkan has pointed out.⁵⁵ On the other hand, it is worth remarking that even though migrants construct separate identities—such as exchangees, refugees, or immigrants—for themselves, in the eyes of the state, they are neither different from each other nor from disaster survivors.

COA.PLK.p.5388 in the Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey (*T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı – Osmanlı Arşivi*, Istanbul, hereafter BOA). Besides, according to the document with the code COA.Y.PRK.TKM.31/16, the Christoph & Unmack Company expressed gratitude for the barracks order in a letter dated May 26, 1894 to Ahmed Tevfik Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador in Berlin.

50 Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*, p. 210.

51 Koryciński and Kozakiewicz, "Portable wooden buildings," p. 178.

52 Cengizkan, Ali, "Eski Şehirde Barınmak: 'Takma Evler' ve Aşşap 'Barakalar,'" in *Bir Şehir Kurmak: Ankara, 1923–1933*, idem and N. Müge Cengizkan (eds.) (Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2019), pp. 125–42; Dayıoğlu, "1892–95 İstanbul Kolera Salgını," pp. 72–73; Yıldırım, Nuran, "1897 Türk-Yunan Savaşı'nda Gazilerin İstanbul'a Nakli, Tedavileri ve Kızılhaç Yardımları," *Toplumsal Tarih*, 178 (2008), 22–31.

53 Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*, p. 224. Both Christoph & Unmack and F. H. Schmidt were associated with German modernization and the Werkbund; *ibid.*, p. 166.

54 BOA, COA.HR.H.336/2.

55 Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, p. 62.

In the case of Greece, in 1924 the League of Nations announced an international call for tenders for the construction and delivery of a set of 10,000 rural dwellings to accommodate refugees in Macedonia and Thrace. German-British architect and building entrepreneur Adolf Sommerfeld (1886–1964), the creator of the selected prefabricated houses, undertook implementation of the project. As time to cope with the huge order from the League of Nations was extremely limited, Sommerfeld founded the company “Danziger Hoch- und Tiefbaugesellschaft mbH” (DHTG) in Belgrade. Thus, he managed to deliver the houses to Thessaloniki in the form of ready-made “kits.” To assemble these kits, Hungarian architect Fred Forbat was sent to Greece as a technical director for the project.⁵⁶ Here we can observe how the two countries’ approaches to managing these processes in the face of demands for emergency and temporary housing differed: in Greece, the process was carried out by the League of Nations with the international call for contracts, in contrast to Turkey’s reflex of using the Ottoman Empire’s previous relations to contact the companies that the Ottomans had worked with to provide barracks for temporary and emergency housing. Nikos Belavilas also draws attention to the international process in Greece that started with a call for tenders by the League of Nations: “The selected project was designed in Weimar, industrially produced in Belgrade, erected in Thessaloniki, and implemented throughout Greece within two to three years in thousands of copies.”⁵⁷ The contract covered the construction of timber frames, foundations, and roofs. Plastering was undertaken by the RSC while many small houses were plastered by refugees themselves.⁵⁸ This situation served to diversify the DHTG system and the overall three-dimensionality of refugee dwellings, resulting in a wider typological diversity than in Turkey.

Sommerfeld’s successful experiment was generalized and copied by others. The “Germanika” (*Γερμανικά*, German) neighborhoods consisting of uniform shacks appeared in most large cities that received refugees and, in a few cases,

56 Belavilas, Nikos, “Τα ‘Γερμανικά,’ ένα μοντερνιστικό πείραμα σε συνθήκες έκτακτης ανάγκης” [The “Germanika”: a modernist experiment in emergency conditions], in *Το Μπάουχαους και η Ελλάδα* [Bauhaus and Greece], Andreas Giakoumakatos and Socrates Georgiades (eds.) (Athens: Kapon, 2021), pp. 153–61.

57 Ibid., p. 159.

58 Colonas, “Housing and the architectural expression of Asia Minor Greeks,” p. 170; Belavilas, “Τα ‘Γερμανικά,’” p. 155; Hastaoglou, Vilma, “Refugee settlement and reclamation works in northern Greece: 1922–1940,” *MODSCAPES: Modernist Reinventions of the Rural Landscape*, Politecnico di Milano, Department of Architecture, Built Environment, and Construction Engineering, August 31, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/@modscapesmodernistreinvent7236> (accessed April 5, 2023).

their remains are preserved today in Palaia and Nea Kokkinia (today's Nicaea) in Piraeus and Nea Ionia in Volos. Although the additions and alterations make them unrecognizable from the original image, one of the most typical cases of the Germanika neighborhoods can be seen in Kokkinia.⁵⁹

Sommerfeld had specialized in standard wooden prefabrication materials and was a member of the Bauhaus group and a collaborator of Walter Gropius. Forbat was an associate of Sommerfeld and Gropius. Thus, two leading creators of modernism played a key role in the organization and planning of refugee resettlement in Greece.⁶⁰ When considering the different approaches in Turkey and Greece, can it be a coincidence that we come across German manufacturers especially associated with the Werkbund and Bauhaus for emergency and temporary solutions in both countries? At this point, I would like to draw attention to the relationship of prefabrication with colonial architecture, modernism, and the history of urbanism, as well as the role of German modernists and manufacturers in the spread of prefabrication in the late 19th and early 20th century,⁶¹ which is a huge and important topic also worth considering in terms of population exchange studies.

As the scale and region of study changes, our perspectives of the spatial consequences of the population exchange undoubtedly change as well. What is common to both Turkey and Greece, however, is the difficulty of understanding today how the cities left behind, the preexisting buildings, and civil architecture were changed and transformed.

In Place of a Conclusion: Short Notes on the Population Exchange

To conclude, I would like to summarize the comparative findings I have presented so far and note some concepts that could be addressed in future research. The spatial effects of the population exchange in both Turkey and Greece fall into the two categories of explicit and implicit. The explicit consequences of the exchange involve interventions by the nation-states, such as their resettlement policies. These include temporary and permanent construction activities that cannot be considered separately from the relevant

59 Belavilas, "Τα Γερμανικά," p. 153. To understand the effort of refugees in placemaking and transforming these uniform houses into unique spaces in Kokkinia, see Hirschon, Renée, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piraeus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 56–76.

60 Belavilas, "Τα Γερμανικά," p. 160; Hastaoglu, "Refugee settlement."

61 Osayimwese has covered these issues extensively in *Colonialism and Modern Architecture*.

legal arrangements. The explicit consequences discussed in this article are as follows:

- While the houses built for refugees in Greece were associated with urbanization and modernism and meant to be a kind of initiator, the approach in Turkey was an extension of the Ottoman Empire's immigrant resettlement policy, and Turkey's modernization project developed with a focus on the village.
- While the resettlement policy implemented in Turkey was carried out by a single center, the practice in Greece was more complex; both approaches ended in chaos.
- While the houses built in Greece varied in terms of typology, the practice in Turkey was an extension of the typologies employed by the Ottoman Empire for immigrant settlements, and did not offer much variation.
- While the League of Nations called for an international tender for emergency and temporary housing in Greece, Turkey used the Ottoman Empire's existing connections for temporary housing solutions.

It may be possible to add more consequences to these, but the point I want to make is that these explicit results were directly affected by the differences in approaches and decisions, unlike implicit results.

Implicit consequences resulted from the rupture in daily life and the disconnection between space and its users. These concern the inevitable transformations of space that would have arisen no matter what policy was applied. The results discussed here—the extinction of occupations, the changes in agricultural areas, and the preexisting building stock and public spaces that changed function because they were left without a community—are dissimilar to the explicit results and could be better investigated by micro-studies and local narratives. These are spatial changes that resulted from a change in ownership, regardless of the settlement policies of the two nation-states, yet they are definitely closely related to the population exchange that was asymmetrical and did not occur simultaneously; furthermore, contrary to common belief, the populations exchanged were not two homogeneous groups of people.

Existing studies that investigate the spatial effects of the exchange often relate to the explicit results listed above. On the other hand, studies that discuss the implicit results are related to the preservation of existing monumental structures. Today, we need more local and minor narratives examining the implicit results of the exchange. Some concepts that are frequently used in the mainstream exchange narrative should also be reevaluated in the spatial context.

While the population exchange undermined some concepts, it expanded the meaning of others. The spatial impact of the population exchange is wider than generally believed. First of all, its spatial consequences affected not only those who departed but also those who were left behind, and as such we should include them in the narratives when discussing space. I believe that to examine the results of the exchange in terms of space, we must first realize that everyone living in Turkey and Greece was forced to live in a place different from what they had been accustomed to and familiar with. Can we say that these spaces remained the “same” after the population exchange?

We should also discuss the concepts of property and dispossession that often appear in the population exchange narrative. These concepts are further complicated by the relationship of cultural heritage with possession in the context of the exchange. So much so that the exchangees and refugees left the legacy of their ancestors in the “other’s” land while using and transforming the legacy of the “other” for homemaking in their new homeland. One should not perceive the change in space only in terms of legal property, as those who did not own property were also dispossessed by the population exchange. How can we include them in the narrative? In the context of shared space, I think that ironically enough, “forced appropriation” is the term that covers all those who came and went as well as those who stayed, whether they owned property or not. Possession of a space is something above national laws and international treaties. It is hidden in the daily routine between the place and the user. Georges Perec offers some clues as to this:

What does it mean, to live in a room? Is to live in a place to take possession of it? What does taking possession of a place mean? As from when does somewhere become truly yours? Is it when you’ve put your three pairs of socks to soak in a pink plastic bowl? Is it when you’ve heated up your spaghetti over a camping-gaz? Is it when you’ve used up all the non-matching hangers in the cupboard? Is it when you’ve drawing-pinned to the wall an old postcard showing Carpaccio’s ‘Dream of St Ursula’? Is it when you’ve experienced there the throes of anticipation, or the exaltations of passion, or the torments of a toothache? Is it when you’ve hung suitable curtains up on the windows, and put up the wallpaper, and sanded the parquet flooring?⁶²

62 Perec, Georges, *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, John Sturrock (ed. and trans.) (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 24.

The idealization of homogeneity and the assumption of symmetry were undoubtedly necessary for the population exchange agreement to take place. What is odd is that we still talk about this assumption and idealization a century after the agreement. The process, however, was neither symmetrical enough with regard to the populations exchanged nor could it bring about full homogeneity. Like life itself, it was always asymmetrical and hybrid, and continued to be so afterward.

Another peculiar circumstance is that locality is ignored today, just as it was in the original agreement. Since we need a large number of local and minor narratives, their multiplicity will perhaps enable us to better understand the spatial effects of the population exchange in the future. Thus, the story of the places and structures left behind, and of the exchangees and refugees, will continue to take shape.

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