

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

**THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EMIGRANTS IN
İZMİR BETWEEN 1923-1930 ACCORDING TO
THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE AND
LIQUIDATION REQUISITIONS**

Elif YILDIZER ÖZKAN*

Hayat ZENGİN ÇELİK**

Abstract

After the Greco-Turkish War, the “Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations and Protocol” was signed on January 30, 1923 to solve minority issues between Turkey and Greece. Accordingly, a remarkable alteration process started transforming the social structure and spatial development of the settlements by the exchange of nearly 2 million people.

The population exchange played an essential role in the development of the cities in both countries. Understanding the impact of surviving to the present day is quite critical in terms of the perception of the spatial and social development of İzmir in Turkey. This study helps to realize how İzmir, one of the greatest cities in Anatolia, which was influenced by the exchange. Thus, it aims to contribute to detailed information about the emigrants and shed light on the city’s spatial and demographic history via liquidation requisitions and literature researches. Liquidation requisitions, one of the most significant sources that can be used, include the personal information of the emigrant such as his/her name, his/her family, occupation, and the belongings. In this study, the exact settlement areas of the emigrants settled in İzmir were determined by analyzing 6,414 documents. Furthermore, it also underlines that this compulsory practice is not only a political and economic breaking point for both countries but also that it reveals the distressing experience of the people and cities.

Keywords: *Treaty of Lausanne, Liquidation Requisition, Exchange of Population, Settlement Policy, İzmir, Turkey, Greece.*

* Graduate Student, Dokuz Eylül University, Department of City and Regional Planning, (elf.yildizer@gmail.com), (Orcid: 0000-0002-3172-2220).

** Prof. Dr., Dokuz Eylül University, Department of City and Regional Planning, (hayat.zengin@deu.edu.tr), (Orcid: 0000-0002-4460-2498).

LOZAN ANTLAŞMASI VE TASFİYE TALEPNAMELERİ KAPSAMINDA MÜBADİLLERİN 1923 VE 1930 YILLARI ARASINDA İZMİR KENTİNE İSKANI

Öz

Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın ardından Yunanistan ve Türkiye'deki Müslümanlar ile Gayrimüslim nüfus arasında yaşanan sorunları çözmek amacıyla 30 Ocak 1923 tarihinde Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasında "Türk-Rum Nüfus Mübadelesine İlişkin Sözleşme ve Protokol Anlaşması" imzalanmıştır. Böylece yaklaşık 2 milyon kişiyi kapsayan mübadele uygulaması ile toplumsal ve mekânsal gelişimi etkileyen önemli bir dönüşüm süreci başlamıştır.

Mübadele her iki ülkedeki şehirlerin gelişiminde önemli bir role sahiptir. Günümüze kadar devam eden etkinin anlaşılması, Türkiye'de İzmir kentinin mekansal ve sosyal gelişiminin algılanması açısından oldukça kritiktir. Bu çalışma, Anadolu'nun en büyük şehirlerinden biri olan İzmir'in mübadeleden nasıl etkilendiğinin anlaşılmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Böylelikle tasfiye talepleri ve literatür araştırmalarıyla mübadiller hakkında detaylı bilgilere katkı sağlanması ve şehrin mekansal ve demografik tarihine ışık tutulması hedeflenmektedir. Kullanılabilecek en önemli kaynaklardan biri olan tasfiye talepleri, mübadilin kişisel, ailevi, mesleki ve mülkiyet bilgilerini içermektedir. Bu çalışmada, mübadillerin İzmir kentindeki net yerleşim alanları 6,414 adet talepname analiz edilerek tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca, bu zorunlu uygulamanın her iki ülkede de sadece siyasi ve ekonomik bir kırılma noktası olmadığını, aynı zamanda insanlar ve şehirler için oldukça üzücü bir deneyim izlendiğinin de altı çizilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lozan Antlaşması, Tasfiye Talepnamesi, Mübadele, İskân Politikası, İzmir, Türkiye, Yunanistan.

Introduction

Voluntary or compulsory migration has been a critical factor during the creation of communities and cities for decades. Migration as a method has always held a significant role in the reproduction of urban developments throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Forcing groups to move to the territories conquered had been one of the Ottoman Empire's settlement strategy for centuries.

Land losses increased in the Balkans since the 19th century because of the establishment of nation-states being an outcome of religious and ethnic homogenization. Immigrants from the lands lost came to the cities in Anatolia as free emigrants. One of those capitals was İzmir¹, Paris of the East. Because

1 İzmir, the third most crowded city in Turkey, is an essential port city on the Aegean Seashore. It had been a settlement where various economic activities were observed for centuries, especially in the Ottoman Period. Therefore, this city was one of the most attractive areas for immigrants in the late period of the Ottoman Empire and the early era of the Republic of Turkey.

of its economic capacity, cosmopolitan character, and its increasing commercial activities since the 19th century, it was one of the most significant trades and port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.²

Turkish delegation headed by İsmet İnönü, England, France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Japan, Romania, Bulgaria, Soviet Union, and the United States, the observer, all participated during the Lausanne Peace Conference held at the end of the Greco-Turkish War.³ The minority issue, a critical matter, was debated at the conference where various financial, military, and political concerns were discussed. The opinion of an exchange of population, the examples of which were observed previously, was put forward by Fridtjof Nansen for the first time to stop Turkey and Greece of intervening in each other's domestic matters, taking account of the long-lasting friendship, tolerance, and mutual memory connecting those two communities, Turks and Greeks. Czajk states that, both Turkish and Greek people are desire to transfer their countries according to Dr. Nansen.⁴ The number of population to be exchanged was calculated within the scope of Dr. Nansen's report.⁵ The word "exchange" means "interchange of populations", Turkish equivalent of this word is "mübadele" and the word "emigrant" means "one who replaces someone else", Turkish equivalent of this word is "mübadil" within the protocol signed by Greece and Turkey.⁶ It can be realized that the conception of the exchange was based on a religious belief as a racial identity,⁷ because the people to be exchanged were defined as non-Muslims by the Turkish delegation during the conferences.⁸

Population exchange between Greece and Turkey was evaluated within the scope of the "Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations and Protocol" signed on the first stage of the Lausanne Conference, on January 30, 1923.⁹

2 Marueen Jackson, "'Cosmopolitan' Smyrna: Illuminating or Obscuring Cultural Histories?", *Geographical Review*, Volume.102, Issue.3, Abingdon, 2012, p.338.

3 Çiğdem Kılıçoğlu Cihangir, "Lozan Barış Konferansı'nın İlk Aşamaları ve Konferansın Kesintiye Uğradığı Dönemde Yunanistan", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Issue.53, Ankara, 2013, p.142

4 Agnes Czajka, "Migration in the Age of The Nation-State: Migrants, Refugees, and the National Order of Things", *Alternatives*, Volume.39, Issue.3, New Delhi, 2014, p.156

5 Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Sonuçları", *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Volume.180, Issue.180, Ankara, 2014, p.15

6 Nurten Çetin, "1914 Osmanlı-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi Girişimi", *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Issue.24, Konya, 2010, p.11.

7 Sarah Shields, "Forced Migration as Nation-Building: The League of Nations, Minority Protection, and the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange", *Journal of the History of International Law/Revue d'histoire du droit international*, Volume.18, Issue.1, Leiden, 2016, p.140.

8 Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, p.152.

9 Kemal Arı, "1923 Türk-Rum Mübadele Anlaşması Sonrasında İzmir'de Emval-i Metruke ve Mübadil Göçmenler", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Volume.VI, Issue.18, Ankara, 1990, p.627.

As per article 1¹⁰ “These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.” says that the exchange practice would be for one-off and irrevocable implementation.¹¹ Besides, it is clearly stated in the first article that those to exchange were evaluated on a religious basis. In this regard, it is understood that the agreement was not for only Greek and Turkish people. However, Protestant and Catholic Greeks, Arabs, Albanians, Russians, Serbians, Bulgarias, Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians, and Greek-speaking Muslims, known as *Karamanlı* were required following the exchange obligation.¹² Furthermore, per Article 3 of the protocol, those who voluntarily migrated since October 18, 1912 were evaluated within the scope of the exchange protocol, in addition to the emigrants defined in the Article 2.

Greco-Turkish War and the Treaty of Lausanne, which has diverse meanings such as “Establishing of the Republic” for Turkey and “Asia Minor Disaster” for Greece, radically changed the demographic and political structure of both Turkey and Greece. A certain national homogenization was possible with this protocol, which included the resettlement of Orthodox Greeks and Muslim Turks.¹³ Therefore, it was recognized as a humanitarian way of sending

10 The first three articles of the protocol, which is taken from mfa.gov.tr, from describing the population to exchange can be observed below:

Article 1

As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.

These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.

Article 2

The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1:

a)The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople.

b)The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

All Greeks who were already established before the 30th October, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople.

Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1918 by the Treaty of Bucharest shall be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

Article 3

Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October, 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange provided for in Article 1.

The expression “emigrant” in the present Convention includes all physical and juridical persons who have been obliged to emigrate or have emigrated since the 18th October, 1912.

11 Yıldırım, *ibid*, s.151.

12 Biray Kolluoğlu, “Excesses of nationalism: Greco-Turkish population exchange”, *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume.19, Issue.3, London, 2013, s.538.

13 Yaprak Gürsoy, “The effects of the population exchange on the Greek and Turkish political regimes in the 1930s”, *East European Quarterly*, Volume.42, Issue.2, Norwich, 2008, p.95.

minorities, who might be a threat in the future, out of the country.¹⁴ The transfer of Muslim emigrants from Greece to Anatolia and the Orthodox emigrants from Anatolia to Greece according to the protocol reflected the basic character of the Early Republic era called the national development period.¹⁵

Even though the exchange has taken place in literature as a research subject in Greece since the very beginning of the exchange, this subject has been examined as an academic study in Turkey since the 1990s.¹⁶

This study aims to make an essential contribution to the literature by revealing detailed information about the settlement of the emigrants to İzmir and focusing on the liquidation requisitions to determine the settlement areas in this city.

In what follows, firstly, a theoretical framework is provided to realize how and when the idea of the population exchange came up. Secondly, the primary information about liquidation requisitions, described as the main instrument of this work, is presented to understand the reason why these documents were used. Following, the urban, historical, and demographic evaluation of the city center of İzmir, the case area of this research, is analyzed. It provides brief information for the reader to understand the city's structural development over centuries before and after the exchange. Next, the emigrants' hometowns and new settlement areas in İzmir are investigated through liquidation requisitions. Then, the obstacles experienced during and after the settlement of the emigrants are briefly mentioned. Finally, how İzmir was affected both demographically and spatially by the exchange is explained with the help of a theoretical framework in this study.

Ultimately, our study focuses on the demographic and spatial change of a great city like İzmir, one of the most important eastern Mediterranean ports for centuries. This study is considerably significant for national or regional research and international politics, economy, history, sociology, and urban studies. The exception of this study from similar research on the liquidation requisitions (*tasfiye talepnameleri*) or the emigrants' settlement in İzmir is the comprehensive analysis of the emigrants themselves and the settlements in İzmir from the perceptions of urban planner researchers. Since such a detailed analysis of the emigrants in line with the liquidation requisitions is not studied, it is considered to be unique in this respect.

14 Gregory J. Goalwin, "Population Exchange and The Politics of Ethno-Religious Fear: The EU-Turkey Agreement on Syrian Refugees in Historical Perspective", *Patterns of Prejudice*, Volume.52 Issue.2-3, Abingdon, 2018, p.2.

15 Yusuf Adıgüzel, *Göç Sosyolojisi*, Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2016, p.81.

16 Feryal Tansug, "Memory and Migration: The Turkish Experience of The Compulsory Population Exchange", *Bulletin of the Centre of Asia Minor Studies*, Volume.17, Athens, 2011, p.195.

1. The methodology of The Study and it's Limitations

This study essentially concentrates on the regions of İzmir changed by the exchange as a major factor in the city's historical development. As almost a hundred years have passed since the exchange, it is impossible to communicate with the first generation of the emigrants. In this context, liquidation requisitions, the first-degree resource besides literature sources on migration and resettlement of exchanges, has great value. Therefore, the information about the population exchange is produced via liquidation requisitions, literature sources, and migration-related documents.

Liquidation requisitions are one of the most valuable and unique sources, including information about emigrants. It is quite predictable that these documents, used as first-degree sources in historical studies, were written in Ottoman Turkish, considering when the exchange protocol was signed. Unfortunately, this fact is challenging for researchers who do not know Ottoman Turkish, have not educated history as professional expertise, and do not work with a large team. Considering these matters mentioned above, it becomes quite challenging for researchers like us who have different professions to translate and analyze those numerous documents belonging to emigrants who settled in large cities such as İzmir.

These problems faced during the study have been overcome by the fact that sufficient historical data about liquidation requisitions are published on the internet. Information regarding the liquidation requisitions used in this study was obtained from the Official website of the President of the Republic of Turkey State Archives Presidency. This web site has an archive of liquidation requisitions, which are available to the public and presented in downloadable and editable format. This initial study was obtained by collecting and analyzing the data mentioned above. Thus, it was possible to solve the problems caused by not understanding the language and the inability to access physical documents. Besides, the availability of those data by researchers in various professions remains highly valuable and practical in conducting academic studies on the aforementioned internationally significant subject.

The information document obtained from the website contains the emigrant's personal information on the original liquidation requisition's first page. The source code of the document, the name and surname or nickname (if any) of the emigrant, other family members (if any), the hometown of the emigrant, the region where the emigrant settle, date, and occupation are accessible on the website. The number of those documents is 6,414.¹⁷ The information about hometowns and resettlement areas obtained from the liquidation requisitions were analyzed, and this investigation aims to determine the principal settlement

¹⁷ This was the number of records that can be accessed by searching with the words "İzmir" and "İzmir İli" in the digital search made in November 2019 on this website.

districts of the emigrants in İzmir. After the analysis, the results were plotted and tabulated for discussion. Unfortunately, as occupational information is not defined for all the emigrants, precise data on the distribution of the profession could not be obtained. Since our study focuses on where the emigrants came and settled, the judgments on the city's economic transformation are provided by reviewing the previous studies on this matter.

2. Theoretical Framework: Liquidation Requisitions

Specific information about the emigrants in the exchange process started in 1923 can be discovered through the liquidation requisitions. After the Treaty of Lausanne, the settlement areas where the emigrants were to be settled and the questions about the appraised values of properties were defined by the Exchange Protocol. Movable and immovable properties of the emigrants were put on record by liquidation requisitions to classify possible needs during the exchange practice by the Ministry of Exchange, Construction, and Settlement (*Mübadele İmar ve İskân Vekaleti*).¹⁸

Within the scope of the protocol, the emigrants were free to sell their movable properties without any tax. Speaking of immovable belongings left by emigrants, the values of the properties such as animals, lands, plots, and houses were appraised for inventory to prepare an official report (*zabıt varakası*, in other words, *tutanak yazısı*).¹⁹

Four copies of the liquidation requisitions were arranged to be delivered respectively to the emigrant himself, commissioner (*Memurin-i mahalli*), local authorities in charge where the emigrant settled, and the Mixed Commission (*Muhtelit Komisyonu*). When considered from this point of view, the liquidation requisitions were necessary documents that the emigrants should take with them.²⁰

Classified by General Directorate of Archives Department of the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Archives (*T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Cumhuriyet Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı*) and launched under the name of "Mixed Exchange Commission Liquidation Requisitions Catalog (*Muhtelit Mübadele Komisyonu Tasfiye Talepnameleri Katalogu*)"²¹ liquidation requisitions contain the full name with a nickname (if any) of the emigrant and their father, hometown, settlement area in Turkey and occupation at the first page, nine-column ruler containing information about the immovable properties left by emigrant at the second and third pages, the list of the movable and immovable

18 Gülin Öztürk, "Tasfiye Talepnameleri Işığında Mübadillerin Yerleştirilmesi: 'Adana Örneği'", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, Volume.XXXI, Issue.1, İzmir, 2016, p.249.

19 Ercan Çelebi, "Mübadillerin Yunanistan'daki Mal Kayıtları ve Muhtelit Mübadele Komisyonu Tasfiye Talepnameleri", *Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies*, Volume.V, Issue.12, İzmir, 2006, pp.36-37.

20 *Ibid*, p.37.

21 *Ibid*, p.37.

properties left by emigrant at the fourth page and the power of attorney at the fifth page.²²

The emigrants' professions were included in those documents to enable emigrants to adapt to the economy as immediately as possible by settling them in proper topographies. Thus, it is aimed to help them get used to social structure, economic system, and spatial order in settlements and supply the lack of qualified workers caused by the abandonment of non-Muslims after the protocol.

Figure 1 and Figure 2 show an example; one of the liquidation requisitions, is described above. The document belongs to a woman who was taken from the Mescit Neighborhood, Chios Island, and resettled to the Eşrefpaşa Region in İzmir. The page in Figure 1 is the first page of the liquidation requisition, which contains the emigrant's personal information. The other pages in Figure 2 include the belongings (if any) such as the houses, fields, lands, animals, and food accumulation in detail.

İsmi	Mevkufu	İkamet yeri	Mesleki durumu
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Figure 1. The first page of the "Liquidation Requisition" containing the personal information of the emigrant²³

22 Necat Çetin, "Tasfiye Talepnamelerine Göre Kocaeli İline İskân Edilen Mübadillerin Memleketleri ve İskân Edildikleri İdari Birimler", *Uluslararası Gazi Akça Koca ve Kocaeli Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları, Kocaeli, 2015, p.1377.

23 Created by the authors by using the sample letter of liquidation requisition stated in the article titled "Sakız Adası Sakinler -11-" dated on January 26, 2017 at Serhira.blogspot.com.

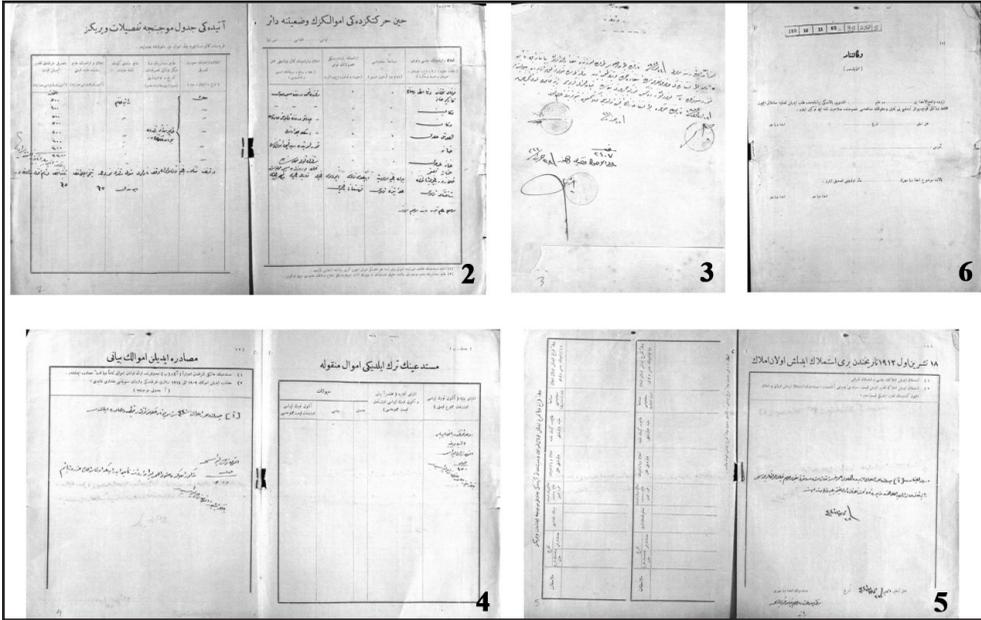


Figure 2. The other pages of the related document²⁴

3. Transfer and Settlement of the Muslim Emigrants

Per Article 1 of the protocol, the exchange was meant to start on May 1, 1923. However, it began in December 1923, as the minorities could not be transferred without interchanging the Greco-Turkish War prisoners.²⁵

Although the number of the emigrants and time intervals for the exchange are quoted with minor changes in various sources, they are more or less alike. For instance, Renee Hirschon defined the process between the first months of 1922 and 1926 and stated the number of Muslims who were transferred to Turkey as 355,635.²⁶ Moreover, Arı (2000) remarked that approximately 1 million 200 thousand Orthodox Christian Greeks and 350 thousand Muslim Turks were obliged to migrate in this process.²⁷ After sheltering, settlement, transplantation, and health problems encountered within the scope of exchange practices that started in November 1923 and continued to 1930.²⁸ Thanks to the liquidation

24 Created by the authors by using the sample letter of liquidation requisition stated in the article titled "Sakız Adası Sakinler -11-" dated on January 26, 2017 at Serhira.blogspot.com.

25 Yıldırım, *ibid*, p.146.

26 Renée Hirschon, "Türkiye ve Yunanistan Arasında 1923 Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi: Sonuçlar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *90. Yılında Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi Yeni Yaklaşımlar, Yeni Bulgular Sempozyum Bildiri Metinleri*, Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, p.XIII.

27 Kemal Arı, *Büyük Miibadele. Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000, p.177.

28 Çelebi, *ibid*, p.36.

requisitions collected concerning İzmir, we can obtain the information that the exchange occupied in the city between 1923-1930.

Preliminary studies were prepared to determine proper settlements where emigrants would both contribute to society in terms of workforce and mentally adapt, taking into account the climatic conditions, socio-economic qualities, and professions of the emigrants in the regions they left. Ministry of Health Affairs and Social Assistance (*Sihhiye ve Muavenet-i İçtimaiye Vekâleti*) was assigned during the meetings with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Economy (*Dâhiliye ve İktisat Vekâleti*) to carry out detection procedures on how to select settlement areas.²⁹ The settlements decided throughout the country were announced by the decree of July 17, 1923.³⁰

SETTLEMENT TABLE

Settlements Left by Emigrants	Tobacco Manufacturer	Farmer	Vigneron-Olive Cultivator	Total	Settlement Areas
Drama Kavala	30,000	-	-	30,000	Samsun and Surrounding
Syros	20,000	15,000	5,000	40,000	Adana and Surrounding
Kozani Neapoli Kastoria Girebin	2,500	15,000	5,000	22,000	Malatya and Surrounding
Ptolemaida Vudine Katerini Alasony Langadas Demirhi	3,500	2,500	15,000	43,000	Amasya Tokat Sivas and Surrounding
Drama Kavala Thessaloniki	4,000	20,000	40,000	64,000	İzmir Manisa Menteşe Denizli
Kesendi Sarışa Avrathi Nevroko	20,000	55,000	15,000	90,000	Çatalca Tekirdağ
Preveza Ioannina	15,000	40,000	Mostly Olive Cultivator	55,000	Antalya Silifke
Lesbos Crete Other	-	30,000	20,000	50,000	Ayvalık Edremit Mersin Islands
TOTAL	95,000	200,000	100,000	395,000	

Table 1. Emigrants' expertise in the agricultural sector and eight settlement areas³¹

29 Tülin Alim Baran, *Bir Kentin Yeniden Yapılanması İzmir 1923-1938*, Arma Yayınları, İzmir, 2003, p.127.

30 Arı (a), *ibid*, p.631.

31 Mehmet Çanlı, "Yunanistan'daki Türklerin Anadolu'ya Nakledilmesi I", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Volume.22, Issue.129, İstanbul, 1994, p.59.

As can be seen from Table 1, Anatolia, divided into eight settlement areas within the instruction on July 17, 1923. After that, it was redivided into ten settlement areas within the Exchange, Construction, and Settlement Law No.363 announced on November 8, 1923 before the arrival of the emigrants started.³²

1. Samsun Region: Sinop, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Amasya, Tokat, Çorum provinces,
2. Trakya Region: Edirne, Kırkkilise, Tekfur dağı, Gelibolu, Çanakkale, Manisa, Aydın, Mentеше, Afyon Karahisar provinces,
3. Karasi Region: Bandırma, Erdek, Marmara, Edremit, Ayvalık, Alibeğ Nahiyesi provinces,
4. İzmir Region: İzmir, Çeşme, Gelendos, Oba, Kuşadası, Dikili, Güllük, Milas, Bodrum, Denizli provinces,³³
5. Bursa Region: Hüdavendigâr provinces,
6. İstanbul Region: İstanbul, Çatalca, Zonguldak provinces,
7. İzmit Region: İzmit, Bolu, Bilecik, Eskişehir, Kütahya provinces,
8. Antalya Region: Antalya, Isparta, Burdur provinces,
9. Konya, Niğde, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kırşehir,
10. Adana Region: Adana, Mersin, Silifke, Kozan, Cebel-i Bereket, Ayntab, Maraş provinces.³⁴

The transfer of Muslims and non-Muslims was mostly completed in a well-organized way in December 1924.³⁵ Çanlı (1994a) stated that the amounts of Muslim exchanges coming from Greece to Turkey were 280,000 from Thessaloniki, 140,000 from Bitola, 6,000 from Ioannina, and 50,000 from Crete and the Aegean Islands according to the Settlement and Aid Society (*İskân ve Tevâin Cemiyeti*).³⁶ On the other hand, Bayındır Goularas (2012) remarked that 456,720 emigrants came from the territory of Greece between 1923-1927 in line with the data of the State Institute of Statistics (*Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü*), and the largest of that amount was settled under the control of the Ministry of Exchange, Construction, and Settlement.³⁷ It is possible to say that almost 500,000 Muslims arrived in Turkey regarding various resources.

32 *Ibid*, p.61

33 Kürşat Kurtulgan, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Bozkır'a İskân Edilen Balkan Muhacirleri", *Uluslararası Sempozyum: Geçmişten Günümüze Bozkır Bildiri Kitabı*, Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yayınları, Konya, 2016, pp.405.

34 Eda Özcan, "Ahali Mübadelesi Ve Yardımların İstanbul Örneği", *Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies*, Volume.IX, Issue.20-21, İzmir, 2010, p.63.

35 Yıldırım, *ibid*, p.146.

36 Çanlı (a), *ibid*, p.59.

37 Gökçe Bayındır Goularas, "1923 Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Günümüzde Mübadil Kimlik ve Kültürlerinin Yaşatılması" *Alternatif Politika*, Volume.4, Issue.2, 2012, p.131.

City/The Number of the Emigrants	City / The Number of the Emigrants	City / The Number of the Emigrants	City / The Number of the Emigrants
Adana	8,440	Çanakkale	11,638
Afyon	1,045	Cebeli bereket	2,944
Aksaray	3,286	Çorum	1,570
Amasya	3,844	Denizli	2,728
Ankara	1,651	Diyarbakır	484
Antalya	4,920	Edirne	49,441
Artvin	46	Elazığ	2,124
Aydın	6,630	Erzincan	116
Balıkesir	37,174	Erzurum	1,095
Bayazıt	2,856	Eskişehir	2,567
Bilecik	4,461	Gaziantep	1,330
Bitlis	3,360	Giresun	623
Bolu	194	Gümüşhane	811
Burdur	448	Hakkari	310
Bursa	34,543	Hatay	1,037
		Isparta	1,175
		İstanbul	36,487
		İzmir	31,502
		Kars	2,512
		Kastamonu	842
		Kayseri	7,280
		Kırklareli	33,119
		Kırşehir	193
		Kocaeli	27,687
		Konya	5,549
		Kütahya	1,881
		Malatya	76
		Manisa	13,829
		Maraş	1,143
		Mardin	200
		Mersin	3,330
		Muğla	4,968
		Niğde	15,702
		Ordu	1,248
		Samsun	22,668
		Şanlıurfa	290
		Şebinkarahisar	5,879
		Sinop	1,189
		Sivas	7,539
		Tekirdağ	33,728
		Tokat	8,218
		Trabzon	404
		Van	275
		Yozgat	1,635
		Zonguldak	1,285

Table 2. According to the data of the State Institute of Statistics, the numbers of exchanges settled in the cities above between 1923-1927³⁸

According to Table 2, the cities such as İzmir, Edirne, Bursa, İstanbul, Tekirdağ were the primary locations where the emigrants mostly settled proving that the majority of the emigrants settled in Thrace and Western Anatolia regions. In other words, 58% with more than 260,000 emigrants to the Marmara Region and 13% with 100,000 emigrants to the Aegean Region, 10% to the Central Anatolia Region, 2.5% to the Eastern Anatolia Region, and 0.5% to the Southeastern Anatolia Region was settled.³⁹ To understand why these settlements were preferred over the eastern parts of Anatolia, one should concentrate on some topographical similarities. The provinces in Greece shares very similar agricultural activities and climate features as Thrace and Western Anatolia. As mentioned before, the climate conditions and occupations were taken into consideration while determining the settlement areas. This regulation reflects the general character of the settlement policy applied to the migrants in the 1920s.

38 Bayındır Goularas, *ibid*, p.132.

39 Bayındır Goularas, *ibid*, p.132.

4. Demographic and Spatial Development of İzmir

İzmir has been the central theme of various studies done by famous poets, writers, travelers, and historians, etc., for centuries. The name of İzmir, described with "Little Paris of the East"⁴⁰, "Crown of Ionia", "Ornament of Asia", transformed to Smira, Smire, Lesmire, Ksimire, Esmira, İsmira, and Symrna through the decades. And then, it became İsmir, adopted by the Turks also, in the Late Byzantine period.⁴¹ The city is known as İzmir today.

The city, established near the Bayraklı district around 3,000 BC, transferred to its current location in the 4th century BC. Alexander the Great decided that it would be better for the city and the citizens to build the city on the foothills of Mount Pagos (*Kadifekale*) according to his dream.⁴² After the demolishing of the Roman Empire, İzmir, an Eastern Mediterranean port city, was conquered by respectively the Knights of Rhodes, the Genoese, the Seljuks, and finally the Ottoman Empire in 1425.⁴³

Travel books, written by travelers coming to İzmir, gravures, and sketches described the city, are mostly belongs to the 17th century and beyond. Although there is no clear source for spesific and objective information about the city, those before-mentioned resources still have great value in the city's social and spatial development.⁴⁴ The first example of the gravures, which provides us a great deal of information about the city structure of İzmir, can be seen in figure 3. This drawing is notable because it shows Mount Pagos, the inner harbor, and Punta, which are the most substantial focal points of the city center. It is noticed that the urban settlement expanded from Punta in the north (today *Alsancak*) to the inner harbor area in the south (today *Kemeraltı*) in the 17th century. The boundaries of the settlement in the city center remained the same for a long time without any dramatic expansion. As can be expected, the urban pattern developed uniquely and continuously with the immigrants and emigrants' influence from the second half of the 19th century to the first quarter of the 20th century.

40 Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, pp.10-12.

41 Nahide Şimşir, *İzmir Şehri Araştırmaları; 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllar*, Post Yayın, İstanbul, 2017, p.20.

42 Rauf Beyru, "Geçmişten Günümüze İzmir'de Planlama ve İmar Uygulamaları", *Ege Mimarlık*, Issue.3, İzmir, 1991, p.41.

43 Smyrnelis, *ibid*, p.9.

44 Beyru, *ibid*, p.41.



Figure 3. The first gravure of İzmir, prepared by Francesco Luppazolo in 1638⁴⁵

The Ottoman Empire's international commerce was updated, so domestic and foreign traders became equal within the scope of the Turkish-British Trade Agreement signed on August 16, 1838.⁴⁶ Thus, İzmir became the most significant port city of the Eastern Mediterranean. Under those conditions, İzmir, in a

45 İlhan Pınar, *Gravürlerde Yaşayan İzmir*, Folkart, İzmir, 2017, p.35.

46 Şerife Yorulmaz, "XIX.Yüzyıl'da Kozmopolit Bir Ticaret Kenti: İzmir", *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Volume.I, Issue.3, İzmir, 1993, p.136.

strategic position in terms of the transportation of raw materials from the east to the west, began to welcome immigrants from Europe and the Aegean Islands.⁴⁷ Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Muslims, and Levantines, foreign traders, created ethnic neighborhoods in the city in a short period and got involved in the city's economy in the process of opening the doors of İzmir to the world.⁴⁸ Considering this diversity, each ethnic group had been notably influential in the city's spatial separation due to its own culture, relationships, economic activities, and vision. The neighborhoods, which had quite different characteristics, resulted in the city having a partly European, partly Eastern profile. Accordingly, Figure 4 illustrates the morphological texture of the city's neighborhoods where cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism are really dominant.

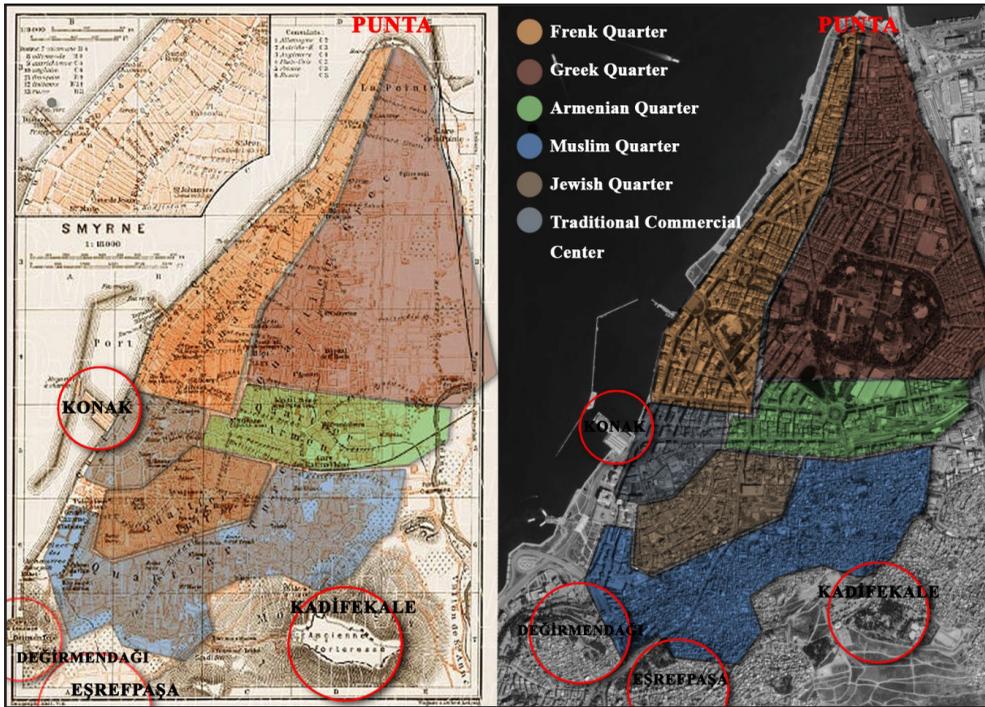


Figure 4. The distribution of the demographic elements to the location in İzmir on the map dated 1914 (Left)⁴⁹ and the comparison of the historical quarters with the aerial photograph of İzmir (Right)⁵⁰

47 Baran, *ibid*, p.24.

48 Ari Çokona, 20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Anadolu ve Trakya'daki Rum Yerleşimleri, Literatür Yayıncılık, İzmir, 2017, p.241

49 Created by the authors on the 1914 İzmir map obtained from Discusmedia.com

50 Created by the authors in line with the statements of Baran (2003).

Examining İzmir in terms of urban texture, the Armenian Quarter was located near the gate of the city opening to Anatolia, Basmane region over the Kervan Bridge on the Meles River; the Frank Quarter was located from the north of the Armenian Quarter to the Punta; the Greek Quarter covered the region extending to the east of Frenk Quarter.⁵¹ Frenk Quarter developed on a morphological basis similar to European cities with first and second Kordon Avenues, hotels, consulates, churches, and cultural buildings such as clubs and theatres. The Muslim Quarter extended from the inns and bazaars in Kemeraltı, the focus of traditional crafts and trade, to the foothills of Mount Pagos, by creating a closed-knit texture with its traditional lifestyle, organic urban texture, and narrow streets. In the middle of the Muslim Quarter, the Jewish Quarter was located around the area known as Havralar Street and Mezarlıkbaşı.⁵² Also, there was a Levantines predominantly British and Dutch, Greeks, and a small amount of Turkish Population in Buca, Bornova, and Karşıyaka in this period.⁵³ Some vacant lands such as Güzelyalı and Göztepe were zoned for construction because of the great migration to the city during the 19th century. Göztepe region was mostly a neighborhood where Greek families reside.⁵⁴ Göztepe became one of the settlements preferred by the Levantines and was sculpted by migration with the construction of Göztepe Boulevard Street between 1880-1881 by Mithat Paşa, the Mayor.⁵⁵ As mentioned in the following sections, the emigrants settled in vacant houses and lands. It is not a coincidence that districts such as Buca, Bornova, Karşıyaka, Göztepe, and Alsancak in the city center were among the regions where the emigrants essentially settled; on the contrary, those regions were the most proper areas for the emigrants. Figure 5 shows the historical city center, where dwellings and businesses remained accompanied for centuries, and the surrounding suburban settlements.

Within the scope of the administrative arrangement in 1841, Aydın Province, which İzmir was the center of, had a surface area of 55,900 km², including the banners of Aydın, Manisa, Denizli and Menteşe (Muğla).⁵⁶ İzmir banner had covered the accidents of İzmir, Bergama, Foça (Foçtin), Menemen, Çeşme, Seferihisar, Kuşadası, Tire, Bayındır, Ödemiş and Urla.⁵⁷ This information is quite necessary to understand how the settlement zones were chosen as it is known that İzmir was determined as the fourth settlement zone including Çeşme, Gelendos, Oba, Kuşadası, Dikili, Güllük, Milas, Bodrum, and Denizli.

51 Baran, *ibid*, pp.26-27.

52 Smyrnelis, *ibid*, pp.11-13.

53 Baran, *ibid*, p.27.

54 Yaşar Ürük, "Dünden Bugüne Göztepe", *Knk Dergisi*, Issue.35, İzmir, 2018, p.69.

55 Umur Sönmezdağ "İzmir'in Eski Tramvayları", *Knk Dergisi*, Issue.33, İzmir, 2017, p.11.

56 Çokona, *ibid*, pp.235.

57 Çokona, *ibid*, pp.238.

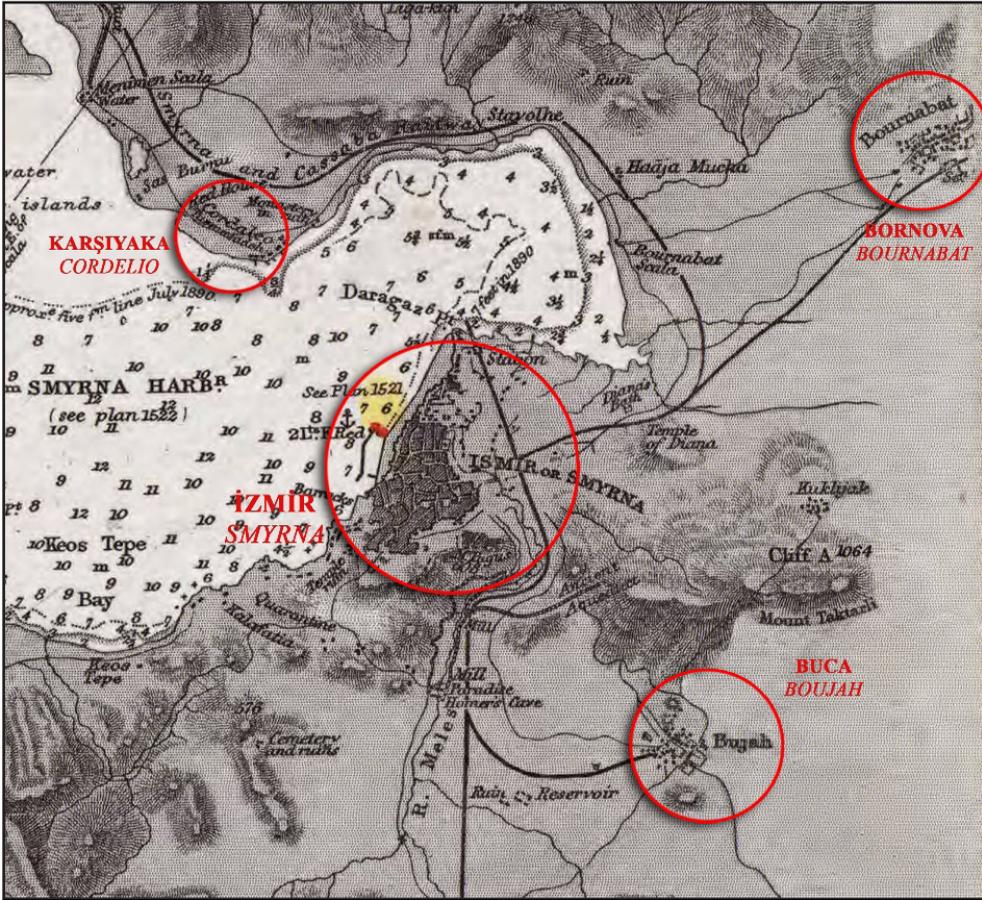


Figure 5. İzmir (city center) and its surrounding settlements on the map dated 1892⁵⁸

Examining the pre-Republic gravures, travel books, and maps, it is noticed that the quarters were located side by side rather than intertwined in the city sculptured by ethnic and religious identities.⁵⁹ This information reveals that various religious and ethnic groups created neighborhoods within the cosmopolitan structure of İzmir. Those neighborhoods with several demographic dynamics affected various components such as the quality and architectural characteristics of houses, location of the constructions in the parcels, forms of parcels, urban texture, and features of the streets, etc.. Therefore, urban space was constructed according to cultural factors. Focusing on the city center in the

58 Created by the authors on the 1892 İzmir map obtained from <https://www.flickr.com>.

59 Hakkı Uyar, "İzmir'in Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Göç Olgusu: Tarihsel Arka Plan", *İzmir Felsefe Günler 2012-2016 Bildiri Kitabı*, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Yayınları, İzmir, 2017, p.328.

pre-republic era, the separation between the borders, characters, and textures of the neighborhoods can be observed clearly.⁶⁰

There was no development planned in both the Muslim and non-Muslim neighborhoods in the 17th century, in fact, the most significant trade axes, Kemeraltı Street and Frenk Street, which were 8 meters wide.⁶¹ They remain to be the widest streets of the city until the expansion of Gaziler Avenue, which caravans coming from Anatolia used to enter the city. Also, Şişeciler Avenue, which was one of the busiest streets in the city and expanded in the following years, was 3 meters wide.⁶² That information reveals that some of the great trade axes were very narrow at that time. While the ground floors of the buildings on the streets having the characteristics of a trade axle were used as shops and warehouses, the use of dwelling was dominant on the upper floors.⁶³

Since the second half of the 19th century, 17 of the 20 countries, having strong commercial relations, opened consulates due to the contribution of foreign capital to the commercial function of the city.⁶⁴ That highlights that the city became a center of attraction foreign traders, which further strengthened the city's cosmopolitan structure.⁶⁵ The increase in foreign merchants supported commercial dynamism in the city; accordingly, the infrastructure services such as electricity, water, air gas, and transportation facilities in the city needed to be updated. It is known that demands written by Levantines in the city had a great influence on the establishment of İzmir Municipality in 1860. The presence of Levantines in İzmir had great value to press the local government to provide the demanded public services and investments. Thus, as Gençer (2017) stated, the projects, having a huge effect on the spatial transformation of İzmir, were about upgrading the transportation and the infrastructure beginning from the 19th century. For instance, the construction of the drinking water network, establishment of an air-gas factory for lighting purposes, railway construction to connect the city center to the suburbs, and the use of trams in the city were considered as significant innovations.⁶⁶

Since the last quarter of the 19th century, a great migration started over the majority of the lands in the Balkans coming out of Ottoman dominion. This increased with the Balkan Wars in the first quarter of the 20th century. Eventually, that migration caused several financial, social, health problems, especially the housing crises.⁶⁷

60 Halil İbrahim Alpaşan, "19. Yüzyılda İzmir'in Demografik ve Mekansal Durumu", *Ege Mimarlık*, Issue.2015/01, İzmir, 2015, p.48.

61 Beyru, *ibid*, p.43.

62 Baran, *ibid*, pp.38-39.

63 Beyru, *ibid*, p.45.

64 Yorulmaz, *ibid*, p.136.

65 Gürsoy, *ibid*, s.98.

66 Ceylan İrem Gençer, "19. Yüzyılda İzmir ve Selanik'te Kentsel Dönüşüm: Rıhtım ve Limanların İnşası", *İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Dergisi*, Issue.1, İzmir, 2017, p.39.

67 *Ibid*, p.39.

Table 3 tabulates the data about the city's demographic structure can be obtained through the notes of travelers until the 20th century, although the data based on subjective interpretations and assumptions. Population information in the Aydın Annual Book Records at the end of the 19th century reflects the city's demographic situation as trustworthy sources. However, the reliability of the population information in official documents in this period is open to debate.⁶⁸

YEAR	POPULATION	SOURCE
1528/29	1,000	Ottoman Records
1576/77	3,000	Ottoman Records
1624	10,000	Gedoyñ
1650s	90,000	Tavernier
1675	55,000	Jakop Spoon
1678	80,000	Le Bruyn
1693	50,000	Careri
1699	24,000	Motraye
1701/02	30,000	Tournefort
1726	104,000	Myller
1731/32	76,000	Tollot
1739	100,000	Pococke
1759/68	100,000	Lüdeke
1776	102,000	Gouffier
1795	100,000	Dallaway
1800/17	120,000	Beaujour
1818	100,000	Turner
1832/33	130,000	Döbel
1845	150,000	Ross
1855	130,000	Storari
1864	125,000	Haller
1873	155,000	Scherzer
1879	173,879	Aydın Annual Book Records
1890s	200,000	Lindau/Cuinet
1898	210,000	Aydın Annual Book Records
1908	185,312	Aydın Annual Book Records
1917	236,614	Population Statistics, İzmir and its Surroundings

Table 3. The Population in İzmir Stated by Travelers⁶⁹

68 Alpaslan, *ibid*, p.46.

69 Pınar, *ibid*, p.31.

Kıray (1998) states that the population increased continuously in the 19th century and appends that there were 180,000 in 1857, 207,547 in 1891, and approximately 250,000 in 1910. Alpaslan (2015) states that the city's population reached around 100,000-150,000 in the first half of the 19th century and around 250,000 in the second half of the 19th century.⁷⁰ As seen from Table 3 above, although the population around the city was not clear, it is crucial to notice that it grew rapidly in the second half of the 19th century, and it is the fact that immigrants coming to the city had a significant impact on that growth.

After the Greco-Turkish war and recapture of İzmir by Turkish forces, İzmir experienced a significant change in the character and the number of the population. Besides the war and the Treaty of Lausanne, there is one incident that became a critical breaking point in the city's demographic and spatial change. A great fire, which started in the Armenian Quarter on September 13, 1922, destroyed almost all of the Armenian, Greek, and Levantine (in other words, all non-Muslim) neighborhoods, three-quarters of the city.⁷¹ The significance of this incident for our study is that the damage or destruction of the houses in the city center due to fire made it unmanageable to provide the need for the shelter of the immigrants in the city. This problem continued in the following years because Muslim migrants and refugees kept coming to principal cities such as İzmir while the non-Muslims, particularly the Greeks, who dominated several areas such as business, culture, and politics in the city, were leaving during the war and after the Exchange Protocol.

The amount of immigrant population from the Balkans and Islands increased even more because of the Protocol. According to the population statistics, there were 87,803 Muslims and 25,385 non-Muslims in the city center in 1923.⁷² The population in the city center was 184,254 in the census dated October 28, 1927. A significant part of the population grew between 1923-1927 because of the migration (Table 4). Baran (2003) stated that the number of migrants⁷³ coming to Turkey between 1923-1927 was declared as 504,964.⁷⁴ It is understood that the most crowded migrant population came to İzmir during 1923 and 1924 from Table 4. That amount decreased in the following years.

70 Alpaslan, *ibid*, p.47.

71 Biray Kolluoğlu Kırılı, "Forgetting the Smyrna fire", *History Workshop Journal*, Volume.60, Issue.1, Oxford, 2005, p.27.

72 Baran *ibid*, s.178.

73 The population expressed by the word "migrant" includes both the "emigrants" and the "immigrants from the Balkans".

74 Baran, *ibid*, p.108.

YEAR	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	POPULATION
1923	50,259	196,420
1924	52,221	208,886
1925	9,818	39,634
1926	8,201	32,852
1927	6,805	27,172
1928	10,143	40,570
1929	4,785	19,133
1930	3,490	13,624
1931	2,945	11,648
1932	2,905	11,603
1933	6,167	25,656
1934	9,282	34,057
1935	13,002	50,719
1936	8,518	33,074
1937	7,008	26,752
1938	8,734	29,678

Table 4. The number of migrants coming to Turkey between the years 1923-1938⁷⁵

5. Hometowns of the Emigrants in İzmir

Evaluations about the emigrants coming to İzmir highlight these questions: "Where did the emigrants, who resettled in İzmir, come from?" and "Where were the emigrants' settlements in İzmir?". Thanks to the liquidation requisitions, it is possible to get information about the population distribution of emigrants in the settlement areas and to be able to partially determine the emigrants' settlement areas located in the city center.

In this study, it is understood that the emigrants from Thessaloniki (*Selanik in Turkish*), Alexandroupolis (*Dedeğaç*), Crete (*Girit*), Komotini (*Gümülcine*), Kosovo (*Kosova*), Limnos (*Limni*), Bitola (*Manastır*), Lesvos (*Midilli*), Chios (*Sakız*), and Ioannina (*Yanya*) moved to İzmir according to the liquidation requisitions (6,414 pieces) between 1923-1930.

75 *Ibid*, p.109.

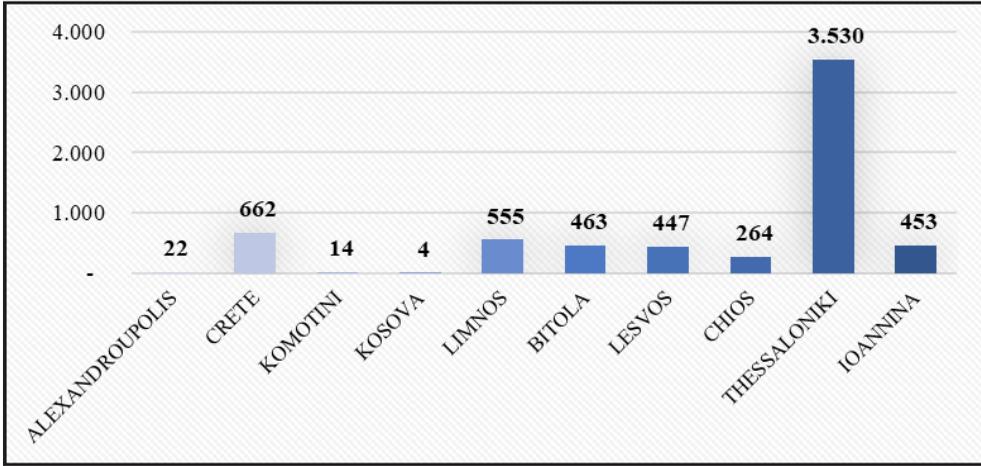


Chart 1. The number of liquidation requisitions of emigrants coming to İzmir regarding their hometowns within the scope of 6,414 documents.

As can be observed in Chart 1, there are 6,414 liquidation requisitions determined by the emigrants settled in İzmir. There are 3,530 of the documents belong to those coming from Thessaloniki, 662 of them belong to those coming from Crete, 555 of them belong to those coming from Limnos, 463 of them belong to those coming from Bitola, 453 of them belong to those coming from Ioannina, 447 of them belong to those coming from Lesvos, 264 of them belong to those coming from Chios, 33 of them belong to those coming from Alexandroupolis, 14 of them belong to those coming from Komotini, and 4 of them belong to those coming from Kosovo (Figure 6).

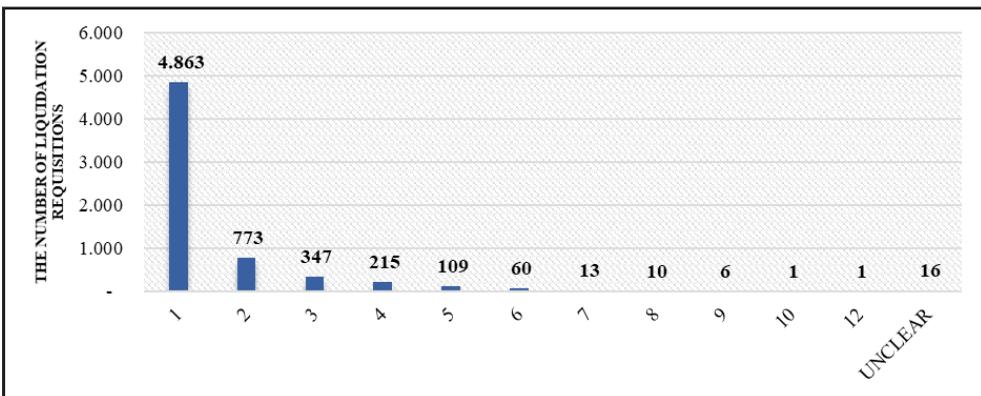


Chart 2. The Number of People Subject to the Requisition

6,414 documents were analyzed according to the hometowns in Chart 1, carrying the information about the numbers of the emigrants. As seen in Chart 2, 4,863 of 6,414 documents were registered in the name of 1 emigrant. Respectively, 773 documents belong to 2 emigrants, 347 documents belong to 3 emigrants, and 415 documents belong to 4 and more emigrants. However, the number of emigrants remained uncertain because of various expressions such as "... and their partners", "... and their heirs", and "... and their children" in 16 of those documents.

A total of 9,462 emigrants remain identified, according to the remaining 6,398 documents out of 6,414 except for 16 documents mentioned before. It is possible to reach the information that approximately 9,500 emigrants were resettled (Table 5). The number of emigrants registered in the liquidation requisitions remains under the number of emigrants supposedly settled in the city within the literature surveys. The reason for the difference may be the fact that the emigrants could not register their property records to the liquidation requisitions since they had to leave the country immediately, and that the emigrants did not register because they did not have any other property.⁷⁶ According to Kaya (2017), it is achievable to estimate the emigrants' real population resettled by multiplying the number of emigrants written in the requisitions by five (which is generally accepted).⁷⁷ Moreover, per Article 3 of the exchange protocol, the immigrants coming to Turkey since October 18, 1912 were treated as an emigrant within the scope of the protocol. However, they were not mentioned in the liquidation requisitions, as they came before this protocol. Therefore, it should be considered that this matter may cause the difference between the population estimated and the population calculated in question.

76 Mehmet Kaya, "Lozan Mübadillerinin Bursa'ya İskanları", *Milli Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Volume.1, Issue.1, İzmir, 2017, p.3.

77 *Ibid.*, p.3.

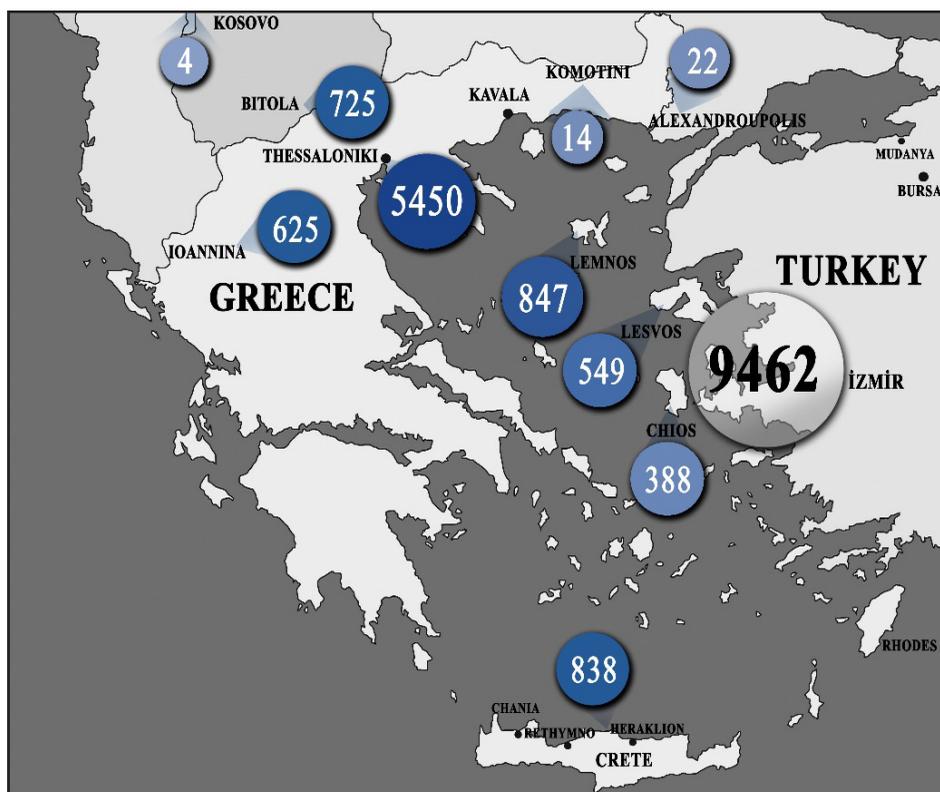


Figure 6. The number of emigrants and the spatial distribution of the places they came from, in line with the liquidation requisitions⁷⁸

HOMETOWNS OF THE EMIGRANTS	THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS SUBJECT TO THE LIQUIDATION REQUISITION
LESVOS (<i>MİDİLLİ</i>)	549
LIMNOS (<i>LİMNİ</i>)	847
THESSALONIKI (<i>SELANİK</i>)	5,450
ALEXANDROUPOLIS (<i>DEDEAĞAÇ</i>)	22
CRETE (<i>GİRİT</i>)	838
KOMOTİNİ (<i>GÜMÜLCİNE</i>)	14
KOSOVO (<i>KOSOVA</i>)	4
BITOLA (<i>MANASTIR</i>)	725
CHIOS (<i>SAKIZ</i>)	388
IOANNINA (<i>YANYA</i>)	625
TOTAL	9,462

Table 5. The Hometowns of the Emigrants Coming to İzmir between 1923-1930⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The map taken from <http://bursagocmuzesi.com> site was edited and recreated by the authors with the data.

⁷⁹ As mentioned earlier, the number of emigrants stated in 16 of the 6,414 liquidation requisitions could not be determined due to the use of expressions such as "... and their partners", "... and their heirs" and "... and their children". These documents were not used as numerical data in the table, charts and calculations above.

According to the records, 5,450 from Thessaloniki, 847 from Limnos, 838 from Crete, 725 from Bitola, 625 from Ioannina, 549 from Lesvos, 388 from Chios, 22 from Alexandroupolis, 14 from Komotini, and 4 from Kosovo among the 9,500 emigrants moved to İzmir (Figure 6).

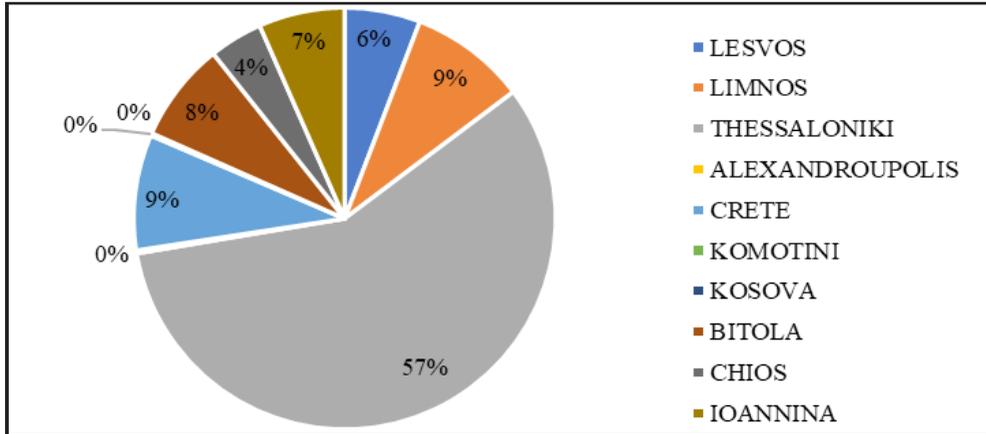


Chart 3. Percentage of hometowns of the emigrants in İzmir (%)

Chart 3 shows that Thessaloniki has the largest proportion among the settlements left by the emigrants in İzmir, with a rate of 57%. With this rate, which is quite high, there is a significant variation between the emigrants from the other Muslim settlements in Greece. For instance, Limnos and Crete share the second position with 9%, Bitola with 8%, Ioannina with 7%, Lesvos with 6%, and finally, Chios followed with 4%. Besides, too few emigrants, as can be observed in Table 5 also, came to İzmir from the Alexandroupolis, Komotini, and Kosovo settlements.

6. Settlement Areas of the Emigrants in İzmir

For the 64,000 emigrants from Thessaloniki arrangements were made to settle them in İzmir, Aydın, Manisa, and Menteşe. It is understood from the charts and tables earlier that İzmir was a settlement where the majority of the emigrants from Thessaloniki resettled. Also, as can be predicted, the emigrants who already moved to those regions before the exchange protocol are not involved in this number.⁸⁰ The population to settle was 64,000, almost twice the difference between the expected and actual numbers. The number of immigrants to be resettled was 104,000, except for the emigrants resettled in İzmir.⁸¹

As of October 16, 1924, real estate and land procurement began to provide the needs of the emigrants. Real estate and property supply were prepared to

80 Arı (a), *ibid*, p.635.

81 Baran, *ibid*, p.113.

provide if they apply for an available property according to the saving bills (*tasarruf senedi*) and their belongings they left.⁸²

Regarding the districts where the emigrants settled in İzmir, it is determined that 5,850 emigrants, subject to 3,792 documents, settled in the city center and 3,612 emigrants, subject to the remaining 2,622 documents, settled in the rural areas. Comparing the number of emigrants transferred to the urban and the rural districts in İzmir to the total quantity, it can be noticed that 62% of those emigrants settled in the city center, and 38% of them settled in the rural areas. The reason why one-third of the emigrants settled in rural areas is that most of the Muslims were of rural origin. Additionally, the transfer of the emigrants to the regions with similar climate features and related economic activities was planned within the settlement policies' framework according to the exchange protocol.

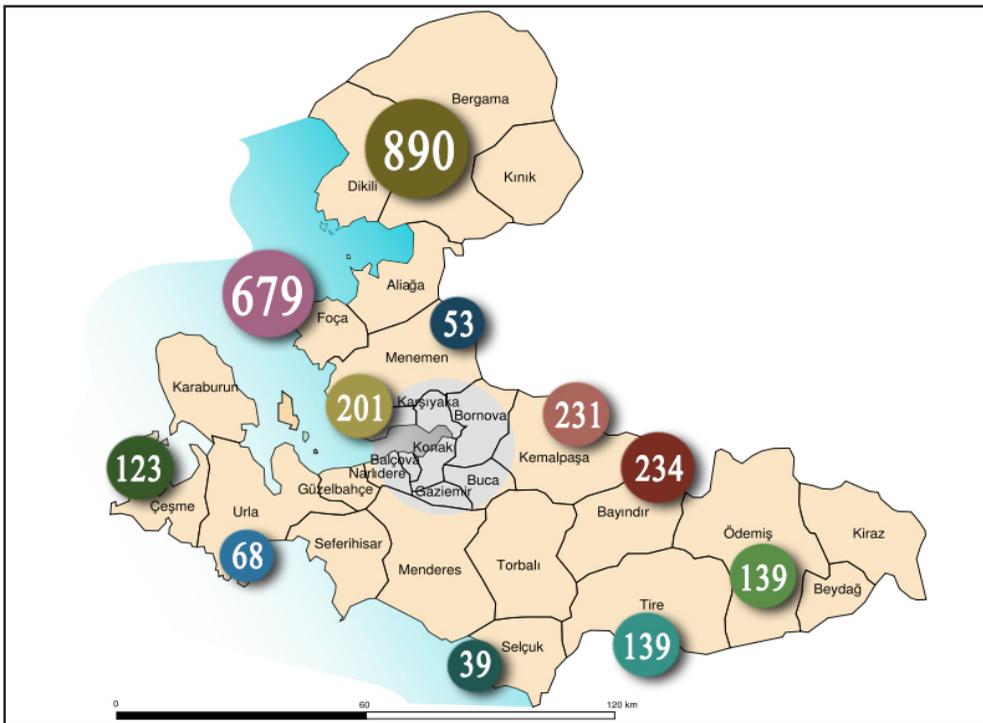


Figure 7. Spatial distribution of the settlements of emigrants settled in rural areas

Figure 7 explains that 890 of the emigrants settled in Bergama, 679 of them settled in Foça, 231 of them settled in Kemalpaşa, and 234 of them settled in Bayındır. Eventually, 816 of the emigrants settled in the other rural regions in İzmir.

82 Arı (a), *ibid*, pp.649-650.

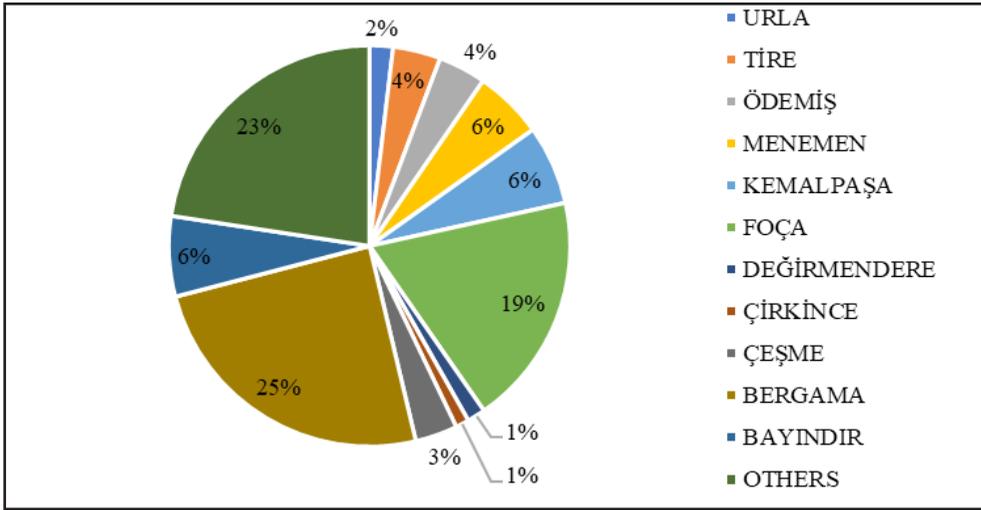


Chart 4. Rural areas where the emigrants settled

The settlements of the emigrants moved to rural areas (subject to 2,622 liquidation requisitions) were 36% in Bergama, 19% in Foça, and 6% in Bayındır, Kemalpaşa, and Menemen (Chart 4).

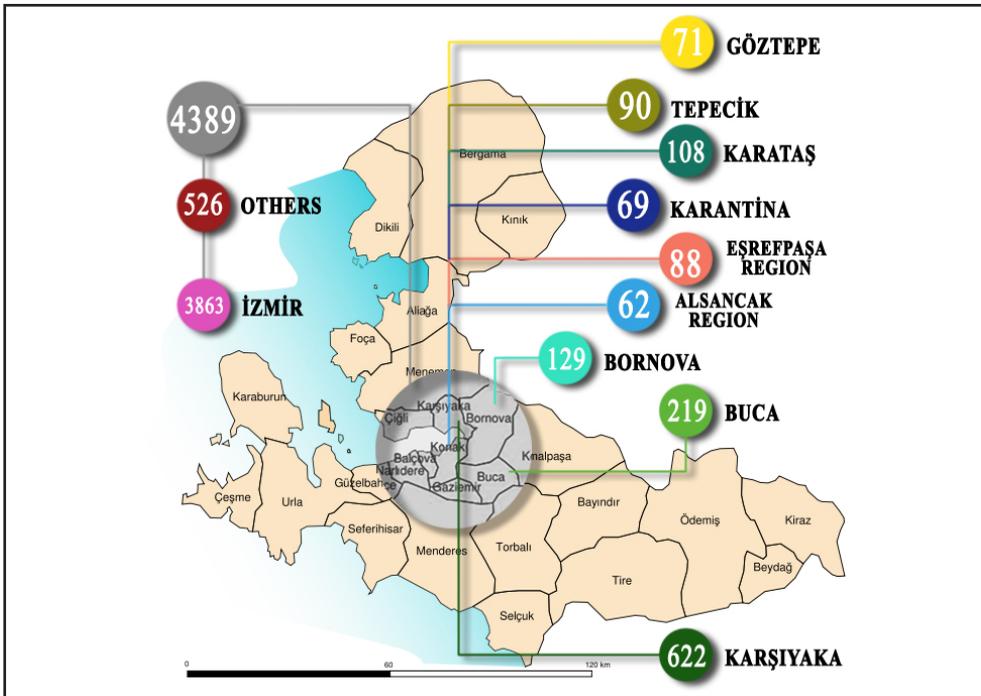


Figure 8. Spatial distribution of the settlements in the city center

The determination of the proper vacant buildings and fields (*emval-i metruke*) was a necessary and critical step for completing the emigrants' settlement, considering their profession. The town-dweller emigrants did settle in the city center. The farmer emigrants settled in the rural areas aiming in economic development in the early Republican era. After completing the transfers as immediately as possible, it is planned to prevent economic activities from being damaged without disrupting the economic continuity. As a result of the Levantines, Armenians, and particularly Greeks leaving the city, who played a significant role in the city's commercial activities, it was necessary to provide the demand in the industrial sectors. Hence, the need for occupations such as merchants, construction, craftsmanship, and jewelry in the city center was managed with the refugees coming to Turkey voluntarily and the emigrants.

As illustrated in Figure 8, 5,850 emigrants subjected to 3,792 of 6,414 liquidation requisitions were examined. It is seen that the most crowded settlement area was stated as "İzmir" in the records. Secondly, 622 of the emigrants settled in Karşıyaka. This amount was followed by Buca with 219 in the third place and Bornova with 129 in the fourth place. The settlement areas in the Konak region, the central district, were made clear in detail. Accordingly, 108 people settled in Karataş, 90 people in Tepecik, 88 people in the Eşrefpaşa region, 71 people in Göztepe, 69 people in Karantina, and 62 people in the Alsancak region. All the things considered, a notable part of the emigrants settled in Karşıyaka, Buca, and Bornova were such regions mostly non-Muslims used to live. That is why there was a larger quantity of abandoned dwellings and fields for the emigrants.

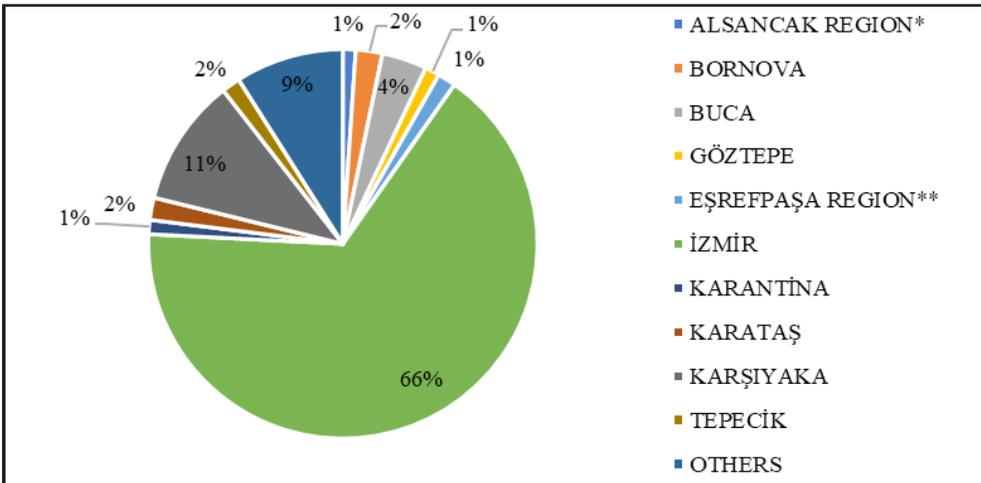


Chart 5. Settlement areas where the emigrants settled in the city center⁸³

83 * : Alsancak, Punta, İkinci Kordon

** : Eşrefpaşa, İkiçeşmelik, Bayramyeri, Değirmendağ, Yapıcıoğlu, Hacı İbrahim (Today Bozkurt), Orhaniye (Today Selçuk), İkinci Süleymaniye (Today Altıntaş), Tuzcu Mescit (Today Tuzcu).

When focused on the settlement areas of 5,850 emigrants, subject to 3,792 of 6,414 documents, it is illustrated as İzmir with 66% without any detail, as shown in Chart 5. Furthermore, Karşıyaka follows by 11%. Others take third place with a rate of 9%. The other neighborhoods were principally located in the Kemeraltı and Kadifekale regions, where the Turkish Neighborhoods were established before the Republic. According to Öztürk (2016), the reason for not giving any detail in those documents maybe unnecessary to write the name of the subprovince by some commissioned officers.⁸⁴

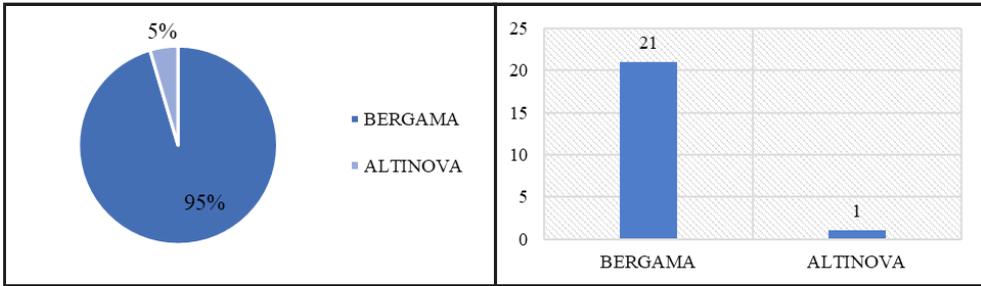


Chart 6. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Alexandroupolis settled in İzmir.

22 people, 21 in Bergama and 1 in Altınova, from the Alexandroupolis Sanjak settled in İzmir.

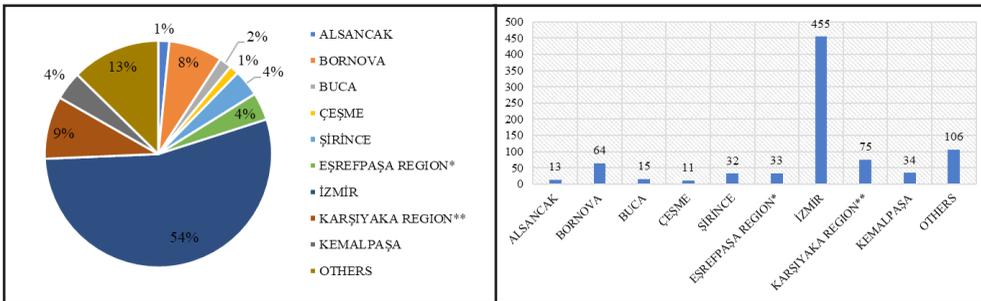


Chart 7. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Crete settled in İzmir⁸⁵

Chart 7 shows that 54% of the emigrants from Crete settled in İzmir, without neighborhood details. 9% of them settled in the Karşıyaka Region, 8% in Bornova, and this proportion followed by 4% for the Eşrefpaşa Region, Şirince, and Kemalpaşa.

84 Öztürk, *ibid*, p.251.

85 * : Eşrefpaşa, İkiçşemelik, Yapıcıoğlu, Uluyol, Orhaniye (Today Selçuk)

** : Karşıyaka and Alaybey

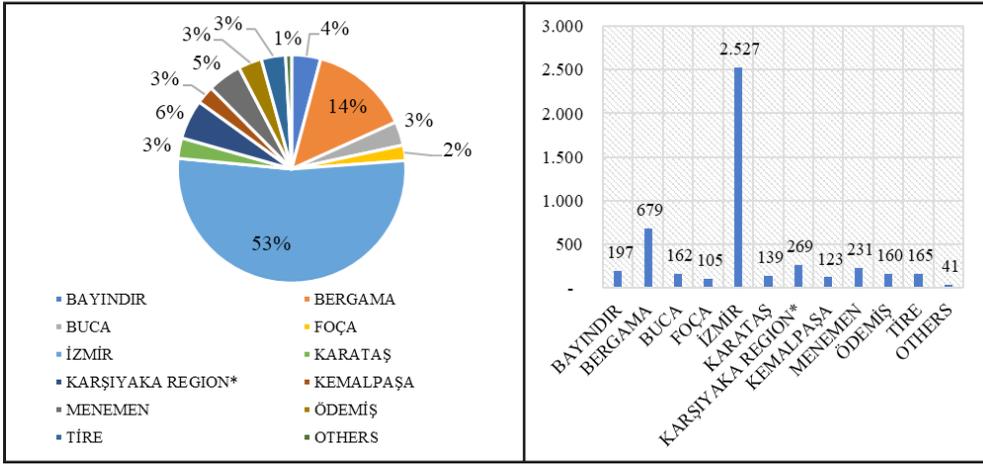


Chart 8. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Thessaloniki settled in İzmir ⁸⁶

One notices that 53% of the emigrants from Thessaloniki province is more than half of the total settled in İzmir. Bergama followed this proportion with 14%. Then the remaining proportion is homogeneously shared among Bayındır, Buca, Foça, Karataş, the Karşıyaka Region, Kemalpaşa, Menemen, Ödemiş, and Tire. Others have a contribution of 1%.

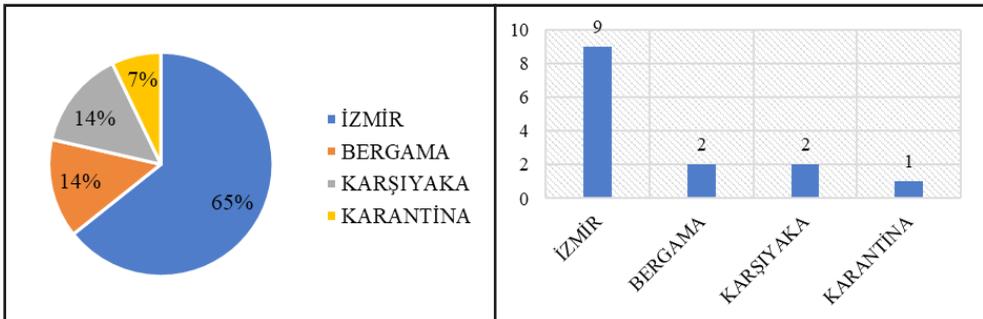


Chart 9. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Komotini settled in İzmir

Chart 9 shows that the population coming from Komotini sanjak holds the highest rate in İzmir with 65%.

⁸⁶ * : Karşıyaka and Alaybey

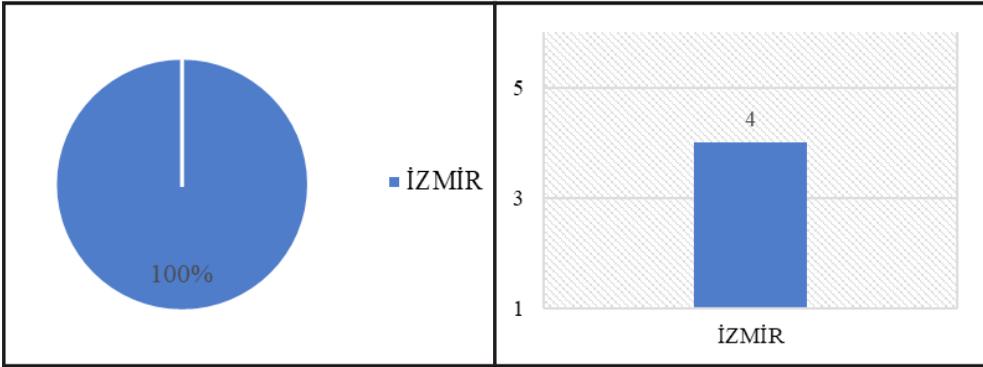


Chart 10. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Kosovo settled in İzmir.

As can be noticed in Chart 10, it is marked that all the emigrants coming from Kosovo settled in İzmir.

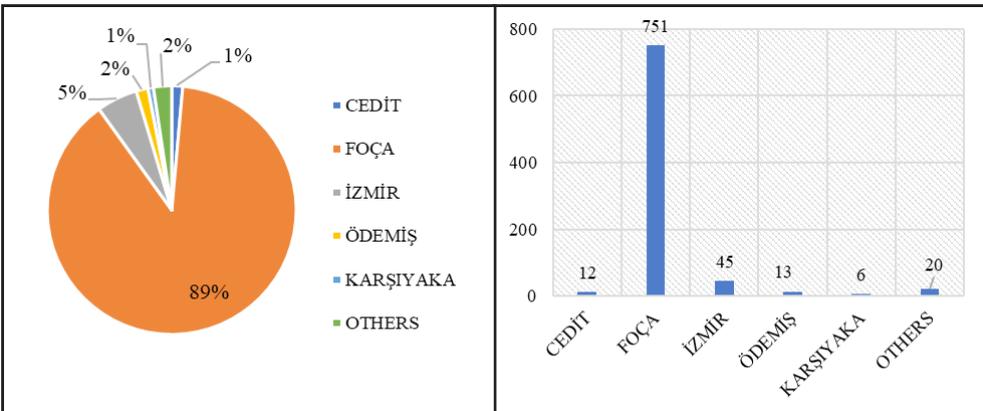


Chart 11. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Lemnos settled in İzmir

Considering Lemnos Island and Foça on the map, it is pretty reasonable that 89% of the emigrants from Lemnos Island settled in Foça. The remaining percentages are shared among the Cedit Neighbourhood, Ödemiş, Karşıyaka, İzmir, and Other settlements.

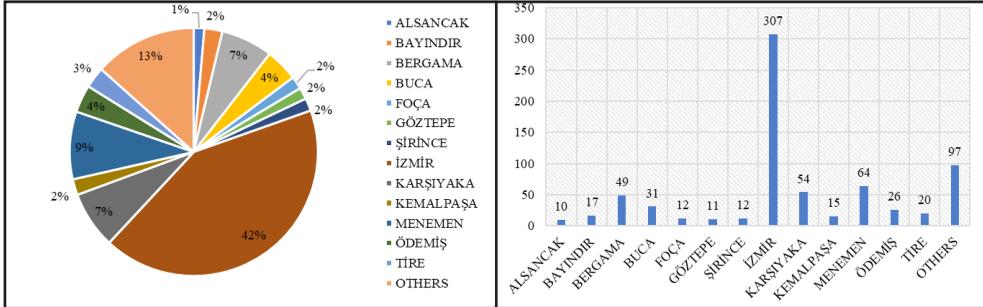


Chart 12. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Bitola settled in İzmir

As can be observed, the emigrants coming from the Bitola province settled in İzmir 42% and the Other settlements with 13%. Menemen followed with 9%, Bergama with 7%, and finally Karşıyaka with 7%.

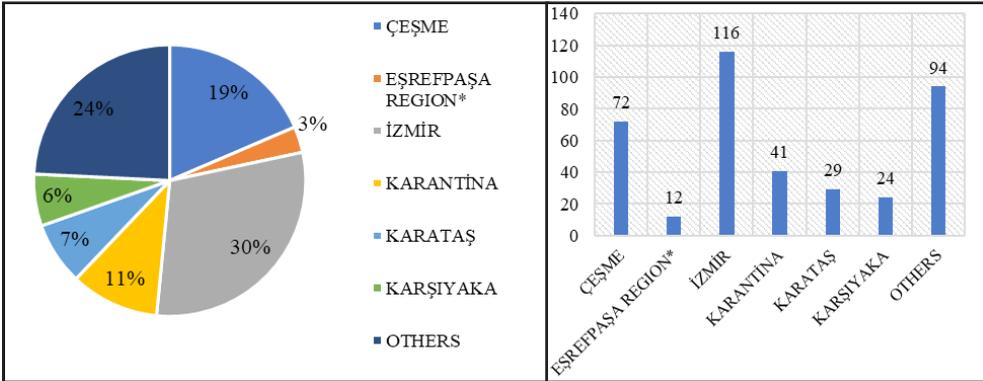


Chart 13. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Chios settled in İzmir⁸⁷

İzmir has the highest rate among the settlement areas, where the emigrants from Chios settled in the chart above. It is discovered that the emigrants from Chios Island settled in İzmir at the rate of 30%. Additionally, 24% in other settlements, and 19% in Çeşme. The reason why Çeşme takes the third place is similar to the ones moved from Limni Island to Foça. As can be understood, Chios is close to Çeşme, located in the west part of İzmir. In this context, it can be assumed that there is a certain geographical relationship between the regions left and the regions settled in.

87 * : Eşrefpaşa, İkiçeşmelik, Değirmendağı, Hacı İbrahim (Today Bozkurt), Orhaniye (Today Selçuk), İkinci Süleymaniye (Today Altıntaş), Tuzcu Mescit (Today Tuzcu)

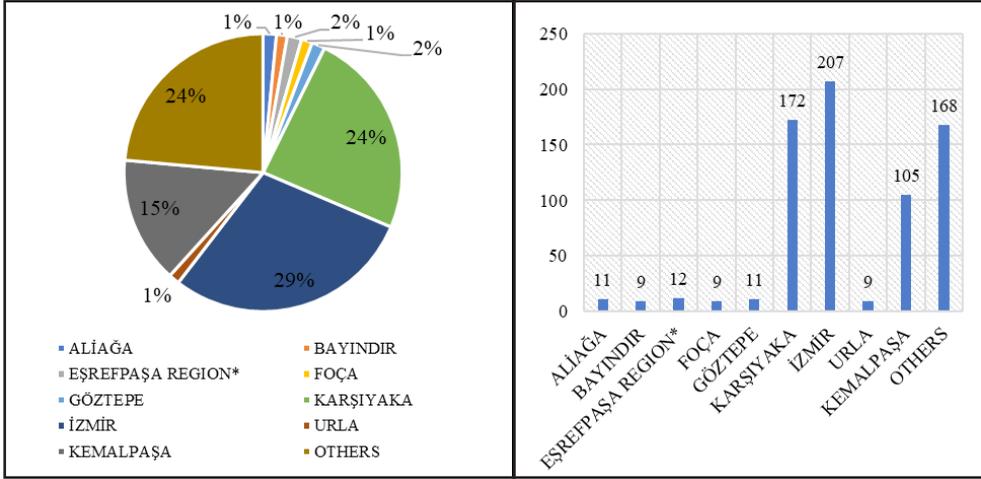


Chart 14. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Ioannina settled in İzmir⁸⁸

29% of the emigrants from the province of Ioannina settled in İzmir, 24% in Karşıyaka, 24% in the Others, 15% in Kemalpaşa. The remaining 8% settled in rural areas such as Aliğa, Bayındır, Foça, Urla, and urban areas such as the Eşrefpaşa Region and Göztepe.

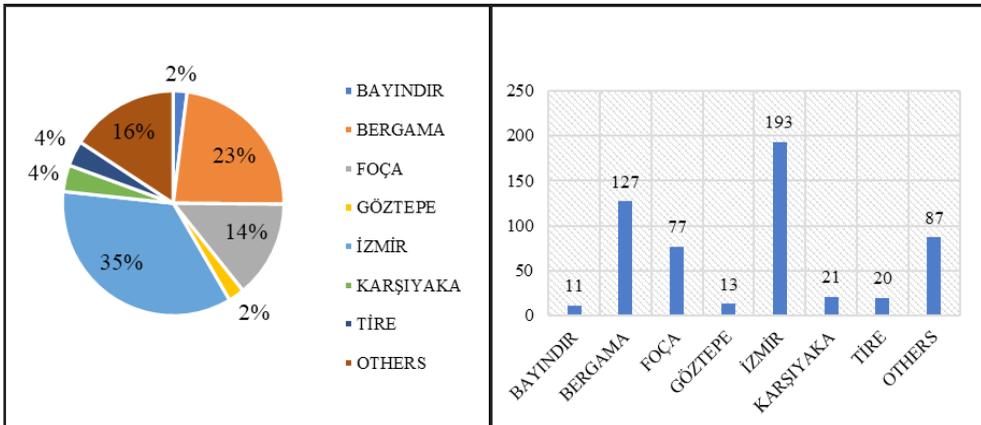


Chart 15. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the districts where emigrants from Lesvos settled in İzmir

88 * : Eşrefpaşa Region: Eşrefpaşa, İkiceşmelik, İkinci Süleymaniye (Today Altıntaş)

Considering the geographical closeness, the emigrants from Lesbos Island settled in Bergama at the rate of 23%. Also, they settled in regions such as İzmir with 35%, Others with 16%, and Foça with 14%.

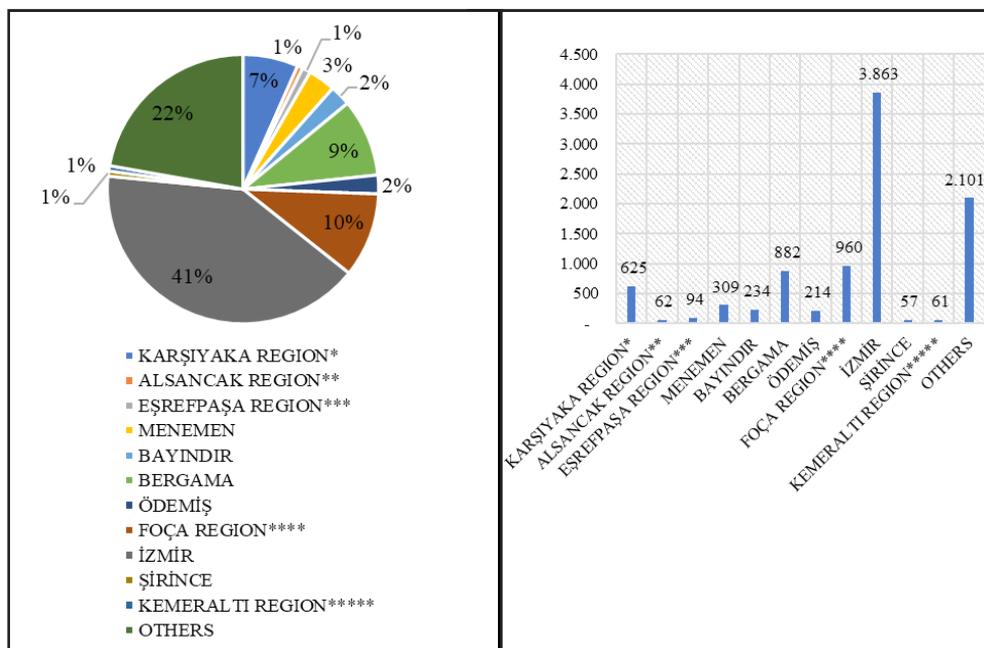


Chart 16. According to the Liquidation Requisitions, the distribution of the emigrants in İzmir⁸⁹

Conclusively, as seen in Chart 16, evaluating the emigrants' settlement areas in İzmir in general, İzmir, as a settlement location, has the highest rate with 41%. Others followed this rate with 22%.

89 * : Karşıyaka, Alaybey
 ** : Alsancak, Punta, İkinci Kordon
 *** : Eşrefpaşa, İkiçeşmelik, Bayramyeri, Değirmendağ, Yapıcıoğlu, Hacı İbrahim (Today Bozkurt), Orhaniye (Today Selçuk), İkinci Süleymaniye (Today Altıntaş), Tuzcu Mescit (Today Tuzcu)
 **** : Foça, Eski Foça
 ***** : Selahattinoğlu (Today Kubilay), Cedit (Today Yeni), Damlacık, Esnafşeyh (Today Uğur), Ali Reis, Asmalı Mescid (Today somewhere around Ülkü Neighborhood), Arapkurunu, Basmane, Ayadokla, Hatuniye (Today Kurtuluş)

7. Difficulties During the Resettlement Process

After the Treaty of Lausanne, the Refugee Settlement Commission (*Mülteci Yerleştirme Komisyonu*) was established independently of the Greek government. Also, it is known that the national government established a ministry in Turkey to build solutions on several issues. So that, the prolongation of bureaucratic processes became inevitable.⁹⁰ Still, maintaining similar approaches to Ottoman settlement policies, such as settling emigrants in abandoned buildings, brought various problems in arrangements for the emigrants' transfer and settlement despite some insufficient resources and a high rate of unemployment.⁹¹

Various problems, similar to the difficulties fought in the Ottoman Empire, were encountered before and after the exchange. The fact that the properties' sales could not complete wholesomely as a result of the Ottoman land system caused the lands of the Turks to become foundation lands (*vakıf arazisi*) and public immovables.⁹² Before leaving Asia Minor, the Greeks, subject to exchange, began to sell their goods, particularly immovable properties. To prevent possible ownership problems in the face of that incident, the Turkish administration repeatedly declared enactments regarding the sales conditions, which also experienced difficulties in applying these decrees.⁹³ In this process, one of the most critical problems was the distribution of the properties written in the liquidation requisitions systematically. Liquidation requisitions were necessary both in the emigrants' registration and the determination of the number of properties to be given to the emigrants.⁹⁴

During the emigrants' settlement, it was determined that some abandoned buildings and fields, named "emval-i metruke" in Turkish, were under the unauthorized occupation (*fuzuli işgal*) and abuse. Investigations on such matters show that some emigrants demanded much higher than they deserve with some misleading statements about their immovable properties left in Greece.⁹⁵ Other incidents that caused socio-economic struggles during that period were the lack of registers of emigrants and unauthorized occupations as the emigrants who refused to live in their dwellings and moved to another settlement to find a new house or field unlawfully.⁹⁶ Besides, there were some cases that some families settled in separate districts in those years, and as can be imagined such incidents led them to move illegally. Eventually, the emigrants were obligated to reside for at least 5 years to prevent any possible obstacle and make a definitive solution to that matter.⁹⁷

90 Yıldırım, *ibid*, p.141.

91 *Ibid*, p.142.

92 Mehmet Çanlı, "Yunanistan'daki Türklerin Anadolu'ya Nakledilmesi II", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Volume.22, Issue.129, İstanbul, 1994, p.58.

93 *Ibid*, p.149.

94 Çelebi, *ibid*, p.36.

95 Arı (a), *ibid*, pp.650-651.

96 *Ibid*, p.653.

97 Baran, *ibid*, p.111.

The emigrant families were also separated because of the lack of capacity in the settlement areas. Therefore, some had to be transferred to other areas. In that case, some of the emigrants gave the state aids up and moved to the areas they believed were proper for themselves as free immigrants (*serbest göçmen*).⁹⁸

One of the unexpected problems was some of the emigrants' adaptation issues as they could not speak Turkish but Greek.⁹⁹ Therefore, they were addressed as "half infidel" and "fake Muslims" by the locals. Furthermore, some of the emigrants arriving with property declaration documents got less than the equivalent of the properties they left. All of these matters show that there was not quite a fair distribution of settlement and real estate.¹⁰⁰

The major problem was that 80% of the Muslim emigrants were engaged in agricultural production in the rurals, although most of the Greek Orthodox emigrants lived in the urban areas before leaving Turkey. That brought about several sociological and financial problems during the exchange because the settlement of the farmer emigrants in the cities, and vice versa let the production decrease.¹⁰¹ The Greeks were mostly educated and specialized in the business sector and profession. On the contrary, Muslims were less professionally skilled and largely in the agriculture. That fact was a factor that decelerated the settlement process.¹⁰² Settlement of farmer Muslim emigrants in the vacant properties in urban areas in İzmir and transfer of the emigrants to a region with no similar climate also brought about several socio-economic problems on the effective use of the existing fields and vineyards.¹⁰³ As can be expected, the cause of these problems in İzmir was ignoring the separate professions of the emigrants. That brought about their settlement process complicated and reduced the economic activities in the city. Still, there were satisfying examples implemented. Settlement of the emigrants, knowing viticulture, in regions such as İzmir, Bursa, and Manisa, where viticulture had great importance and the revival of ruined bonds, were essential for the emigrants to participate in the production and contribute to the economy. Still, it was another major issue for İzmir, where olives, figs, and vineyards were dominant and its surroundings, to be settled mostly by Kavala migrants who deal with only tobacco.¹⁰⁴

98 Bayındır Goularas, *ibid*, p.135.

99 Mustafa Suphi Erden, "The exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in 1920s and its socio-economic impacts on the life in Anatolia", *Crime, law and social change*, Volume.41, Issue.3, 2004, p.274.

100 İsmail Arslan, "1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Göçü 'Mübadale' Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Halk Kültüründe Göç Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Motif Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p.111.

101 Çanlı (a), *ibid*, p.60.

102 Nuray Yıldız ve Emel Yıldız, "Mübadale Meselesi ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarımsal Kalkınma Politikası", *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Volume.14, Issue.1, Edirne, 2012, p.353.

103 Arı (a), *ibid*, pp.641-646.

104 Arı (a), *ibid*, p.652.

Consequently, hundreds of thousands of emigrants and the locals struggled to make their living conditions better without any economical aid. The emigrants remarkably affected the demographic structure and tried to find a place in society, urban space, and the market during that period. The vital needs such as shelter and nutrition could not be fulfilled during and after many years of the exchange.

Conclusion

The last stage of the mass migration process, in which thousands of immigrants came to Anatolia without any compelling since the Balkan Wars period of 1912-1913, was population exchange. The Exchange Protocol, an outcome of the modern nation-states, was an essential step in establishing nation-states and set a model for the other nation-states to export minority populations. As indicated at the start of this paper, little is known about the exchange until the 1990s in Turkey. However, the exchange is a matter that should not be ignored; on the contrary, it should be extensively studied as an essential matter to understand the historical development of the societies and cities. This study contributes to filling this gap by revealing detailed information about the settlement of the emigrants to İzmir and focusing on the liquidation requisitions to determine the settlement areas in this city.

The exchange radically transformed communities and cities' character, recreating the social and spatial appearance in many regions. İzmir is one of the cities affected by the population exchange in various ways. Its cosmopolitan social character and European city silhouette turned into a comparatively homogeneous social character and a dull, ruined town after the Great Fire and the Exchange. Carrying on research conducted in the emigrants' settlements in İzmir, two key findings are highlighted according to the liquidation requisitions. Firstly, it is revealed that after the majority (almost all) of the Greeks, Armenians, Levantines, and foreign businesspeople left İzmir, the emigrants from Thessaloniki, Alexandroupolis, Crete, Komotini, Kosovo, Limnos, Bitola, Lesvos, Chios, and Ioannina moved to İzmir, an immigration zone. Concentrating on the hometowns of the emigrants settled in İzmir between 1923-1930, it is possible to detect that the emigrants' records from Thessaloniki have quite a high rate of 55%. It is followed by Crete at 10%, Limnos at 9%, Ioannina, Lesvos, and Bitola at 7%. The lowest rate belongs to the Chios, Komotini, Kosovo, and Alexandroupolis settlements at 5%. It is believed that the Muslims coming from Greece moved to Anatolia incrementally before the exchange protocol considering the short distance between the administrative borders of Turkey and those settlements stated before. Thus, a significant mass migration occurred. Thousands of immigrants settled as free immigrants in İzmir and the other cities of Turkey from the Aegean Islands and Rumelia from the last quarter of the 19th

century. Since those irregular and unauthorized migrations were not archived by any documents such as the liquidation requisitions, precise information on where migrants came from and where they settled is not available. At this point, we can say that the requisition documents are highly valuable in terms of having detailed information about the immigrants and their settlement areas in İzmir.

Another finding is that 62% of the emigrants settled in the city center, and 38% of them settled in rural areas in İzmir province. According to the liquidation requisitions, it is recorded that forty-one percent of the emigrants in İzmir settled in "İzmir", the densest settlement. This proportion represented 3,863 people. Although the occupational expertise of the emigrants settled in İzmir could not be produced as data in this research, due to the settlement concept of the exchange, the emigrants settled in urban areas or those who came to the city center with their own choices presumably had professions such as craftsmanship, and those settled in rural areas had agricultural expertise such as farmer. Considering that the emigrants of Cretan origin had more expertise in commercial activities such as trade than Rumelian emigrants, it is predictable that mostly Cretans dwelled in the city center such as Eşrefpaşa, Alsancak, and Karşıyaka. Evaluating the emigrants' rural settlements in İzmir, the emigrants had contributions of 10% for Foça and 9% for Bergama. The percentages decreased progressively in Menemen, Bayındır, and Ödemiş. It is estimated that the reason for the transfer of emigrants to those areas was that those settlements were the non-Muslim villages before the exchange.

Regardless of urban or rural areas, it is known that the emigrants were faced with major problems in both regions. A regular settlement policy was to follow principally regarding the settlement and transfer of the emigrants both in Greece and Turkey. The resettlement steps planned in theory were well-organized and reasonable. However, it was experienced with some obstacles and flexibility in practice. The resettlement of the emigrants in İzmir completed in a short time despite various problems such as unnecessary occupation, unfair housing distribution, resettlement of the farmer emigrants in urban areas and vice versa, and separation of family members to different settlements. Nevertheless, it is essential that the process was completed as immediately as possible for a country that already survived a war and was regulating its economic dynamics.

Such information has a great value in comprehending the dynamics that were quite effective in the development of İzmir having an essential cultural background by migration and exchange processes. Precisely at this point in our study, the statistical analysis of the emigrants settled in İzmir concentrates on the liquidation requisitions, one of the primary witnesses of the period. This study examined and evaluated where the emigrants come from, to which neighborhoods the emigrants were transferred in the city center and on the periphery, and according to which procedures. Besides, after those traumatic experiences, it was arranged to prepare the first modern development plan for

the city to provide a healthy urban environment and infrastructure services to the population that greatly increased due to the emigrants and free immigrants after the fire. The most critical steps were taken for İzmir, a Muslim city that lost its cosmopolitan identity in the 20th century, to have a modern and European city silhouette in the Republic era. Finally, it is understood how influential the exchange was as a vital process formed the city spatially and socially.

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