

CHANGES IN THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF GOKCEADA

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In this study, the differentiation in the demographic structure of Gokceada -one of the two Turkish islands on the Aegean Sea where a large Greek population had been living in the last century- analysed using both qualitative and quantitative data: Data from 15 Population Censuses held since 1927 and a key informant survey on the island. The primary results of the study as follows: Although there is no significant change in the total population of the island in the last 80 years, various demographic components altered strikingly. First, the Greeks who consisted the majority of the island's population, became a minority group with around 400 people among the total population of 8894, due to in and out migration flows. Along with this, the sex ratio and the age structure became abnormal. Further, due to heavy out-migration rural areas lost their population, while urban population increased with governmentally supported migration flows. The new comers can be grouped into two categories: The residents of the newly established villages and non-resident population of some institutions.

I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to analyse the demographic components of Gokceada and to analyse the mechanisms of differentiation of its demographic structure after 1923. Although Gökçeada has a historical and geopolitical significance as one of two Turkish islands in the Aegean Sea, literature about the island is very weak and their emphasis is limited with tourism information (Saygı, 1985). Population of the island has not been analysed before and the writings are limited with the crude values from general population censuses. Migration history of the island is also remarkable as an example of the population policies of Turkey.

In this work the population of Gokceada from the data of General Population Censuses since 1927 is analysed, planned migration on Gokceada with relation to the overall population policies of Turkey is searched, the effects of the migration into the demographic components of the island is examined, the demographic advantages and the disadvantages of Gokceada are determined, and the economically active and reproductive groups on the island are discussed.

I.1 Background

Gokceada is located in the Aegean Sea and it is administratively belonged to Canakkale. The island is 32 mile away from Canakkale and 14 miles from Kabatepe Harbour on Gelibolu. Ferryboats leave from two harbours in Canakkale and Kabatepe to reach the

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island. There is also a small airport and airway transportation is also possible to the island three days a week. On the other hand, public transportation on the island, especially in wintertime, is not frequent. Transportation to the villages is directed from the town centre. The five old villages are located on the hills of the island and the four new villages are located on plain area. The total area of the Gokceada is 289 km². Its population is 8894 and 7278 inhabitants live in the town centre while 1616 of them live in the nine villages of the island according to the 2000 Population Census³. The island is formed of steep and broken volcanic aggregates and 77% of the total area of the island is mountains, 12% is steep and broken ground, and 11% is plain (Saygi, 1992). Gokceada is the 4th island in the world in terms of its water sources. Drinking and usage water is supplied by dams in the island.

Gokceada was Greek land before the conquest of Istanbul in 1453. After that time the island was ruled under the Ottoman Rule. The main inhabitants of the island were Greeks in the Ottoman period. Gokceada was used as a place of exile. During the Ottoman period the majority of the Turks on the island were those exiles and the others were some administrators. During the Balkan Wars between 1911-1913 Gokceada was conquered by the Greeks. The island was rented by England for five years and used as a military installation during the First World War. After the Turkish Independency War⁴, Gokceada became a Turkish land with another Aegean Island, Bozcaada. The Treaty of Lausanne gives autonomous status to both islands (Aktar, 2000). The Greek population of the island have exceptional rights similar with Greeks in Istanbul, and they were exempt from the "population exchange" law⁵ between the Turks and the Greeks in the early republican period (Ari, 1995), even though Greek population of the island has decreased after population exchange. The old name of the island, İmroz, was used for long years, and it has changed to Gokceada in 1970.

Gokceada is consisting of a town centre and nine villages. Five of the villages are the old ones, the two of them were established in the early 80s and the other two were established in 2000. Main inhabitants of the old villages were Greeks and 1989 people were living in the biggest one, Derekoy (Iskinik), in 1927 (Istatistik Umum Mudurlugu, 1929) while its population is 196 according to the 2000 General Population Census. Now, Greeks live in four of the five old villages, Bademli (Giliki), Derekoy (Iskinik), Tepekoy (Agritya), and

³ Unpublished data of 2000 General Population Census is taken from www.gokceada.com/nufus.html.

⁴ Turkish Independency War finished and the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923.

Zeytinlikoy (Ayatodori). Turkish migrants are the inhabitants of the one of the old villages, Kalekoy (Kastaro) and the four new villages, Yenibademli, Ugurlu, Eselek, and Sirinkoy. Yenibademli is the biggest⁶ and the most economically active village of the island. Table I shows us the village population according to the population census between the period 1927-2000.

Gokceada is not a self-sufficient territory. Its economy largely depends on the mainland. This fact is a natural consequence of being an island with limited natural and human resources. Many island in different parts of the world, even if they are particular states, have similar problems of limitation and isolation (Grant,1994). Gokceada has some advantages in terms of natural resources. 44 km² of its land is available for agriculture. Olive was the main industrial product of the island but, in the 60s, area of the olive trees was nationalised for the different purposes. The other important economic activity was viticulture. But due to the both nationalisation of the land and the lack of population at working age, viticulture has also lost its importance. Animal husbandry, especially goat and sheep, is significant in Gokceada. Animal product of the island is sufficient but selling of the animals and animal products outside of the island was prohibited in the 60s in order to supply islanders' need with a moderate price. The two of the new villages' residents dominate the agriculture and the fishery on the island. Since there is no industry on the island, many products come from the mainland. Non-resident population of the island is mainly soldiers, governmental officers, and students. Thus, significant proportion of the population are not producers but consumers.

The open prison, which was established in 1965, primarily aims to supply man power for the agriculture in Gokceada. The capacity of the prison is 1000 prisoners and in 1973 there were 28 staff and 659 prisoners (Aziz, 1973). Although the justification of the establishment of the open prison is cheap labour force and economic revival for the island, this may be viewed as the continuation of the perception of the island as an exile place since the Ottoman Rule. Although governmental officers declare that there is no significant effect of the prison on the crime on the island, islanders do not feel comfortable with being together with the prisoner in such an isolated place. Since the area and the population of the island are very

5 Population exchange between the Turks in Greece and the Greeks in Turkey performed by Laussane Agreement in 30 January 1923. Population exchange between the Turks in Greece and the Greeks in Turkey performed by Laussane Agreement in 30 January 1923.

limited, social, cultural, demographic, and economical effects of this non-resident population are important.

The other important institution, Anatolian Teacher High School was established in 1964 as Boarding Teacher School for males. After a short period of time, school has begun to teach the female student as well. The capacity of the school is 1000 students, and there are 830 students, 750 of whom were boarding students in 1972-73 academic year (Aziz, 1973). The purpose of the foundation of the Boarding Teacher School was mentioned as to widen the Turkish culture and to maintain cultural integration for the benefit of the Turkish society. There are also three primary schools, one general high school, and one occupational high school on the island. Two departments of 18 Mart University have started education in the 1998-99 academic year in Gokceada. Since the majority of the islanders was Greek, education has held Greek language for the Greeks and Turkish for the Turks until 1964 (Aziz, 1973). From that date onwards, education in the minorities' language was prohibited in Turkey. Education is one of the significant causes of the out migration in Gokceada. Many Greeks moved from the island for education in their mother tongue.

Changes in the general literacy level of the island is compared with Canakkale for the period between 1927-1990 in the Figure I. At the beginning of the period, proportion of literate was more in Canakkale than in Gokceada. But from that period onwards, proportion literate in Gokceada is higher than proportion literate in Canakkale. Students of boarding school, and the soldiers are important in such a high level of literacy.

Health service is very essential on the island since it is far from the mainland and transportation is available only at particular times. There is a government hospital, a governmental health centre, and two pharmacies on the island. However, there are no health facilities in the villages.

II. METHODOLOGY

Both quantitative and the qualitative methods are used in the field survey of this study. As Bryman (1992) argued, the advantages and the difficulties of the combined use of the qualitative and the quantitative techniques are being discussed by the social scientist. The

⁶ The population of Yenibademli was 581 in 2000.

purpose of combining two types of methods in this work is the necessity to access both the numerical changes in the demographic components of the island, and to analyse the motivations of the new comers and the native inhabitants to live in Gokceada.

Key informant survey, questionnaire, and focus group study are applied in the fieldwork of this study. Sampling unit of the survey is household. Questionnaires will be applied in the urban and the rural parts of the island and the distribution of the rural households to the each village will be directed according to the population of the villages. Household sampling process is realised by simple random selection from the list of quarters in the town centre and from the household lists in the villages.

Different types of data is employed in the study. First group of data is 15 General Population Censuses, which were conducted by State Institute of Statistics (SIS), since 1927. Data of General Population Census 2000 is also used for the available figures. TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly) documents, registration documents of the town and the villages, documents provided by the Greek Embassy, and a multi-stage field survey are the other basic data sources.

Although coverage of each census have exhibited some different with respect to questions included, all provide us with the basic information on the total population of the island (population by sex, urban and rural population, population of the villages by sex), and some censuses give information on permanent population of the city centre, age structure of the island, marriage prevalence, and the literacy level.

The question related to the “mother tongue” is one of the most important questions in this study. The necessity of the question of mother tongue in censuses was discussed in the I. International Statistics Conference in 1853 and in the Second Conference in 1860, then it was decided to recommend asking question concerning mother tongue depending on countries’ preference (Dundar,2000). In the general population censuses in Turkey, there have been questions about the religion, mother tongue and the nationality of the habitant, but results of those questions have not been published after 1965. (Other problem is that population by mother tongue figured out at the town level only in 1927 General Population Census.) Due to this inconvenience, different sources are employed to determine the total Greek and Turkish

population.

Census data before 1985 are not electronically coded so they are not available for the researchers. Another difficulty arises with the definition of some proportions. Until 1965, marital status of population and the level of literacy of population are defined within the whole population, that children who are not in the risk group for each literacy or marriage are included in the denominator. After 1965, the proportion married is calculated for those who are above 12 and the proportion literate for age 6 and above. The proportion of literate in 1927 in the Figure I adjusted for this purpose and the others are excluded. Published data from the censuses is available for the analyses of the urban/rural population since 1935, but urban and rural population of 1927 population census is no available.

Other materials are national and regional level official documents. These documents inform us about the mechanism of the formation of the four new villages, the current resident population, the number of households in the villages and the centre, and ethnic composition of the island. The main data of the study is being collected by a survey on the island. The first step of the survey included semi-structured interviews with the key informants of the island such as local administrators, teachers, doctors, and religious leaders. Cluster Questionnaire of 1993 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey⁷ (TDHS-93) has guided us in preparing of the interview frames. Key informant survey involved questions to describe the historical and demographic background of the island. The very beginning part of the fieldwork proves to be beneficial for the preparation of the questionnaire and for obtaining the documents in order to design the sampling of the survey.

The aim of the first part of the questionnaire is to collect demographic data for households. In the second part, migration history of the households is examined, and the last part of the questionnaire is designed obtain information about the islanders' motivations to live on or to leave Gokceada. To have an insight on the young generation's future prospect on the island, at the end of the fieldwork a focus group study will be applied to a group of high school students. Group will consist of 8-10 gender-mixed participants and a moderator (Morgan, 1997). Discussion of the focus group will be recorded

⁷ TDHS-93 was conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and two types of cluster questionnaire, one for village head and other for district head in the town centre, were used.

III. DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE ISLAND

The first data on the population of Gokceada is based on the first population census of the Ottoman Empire in 1831. This census aimed to investigate the number of males in the ages of military service and the number of the Muslims and minorities in the Empire. In 1831 male population numbered 2505 and non of them were Muslim (Karal, 1997). So, we have no direct information about the female population. The total population of the island was 6992 in 1920 3845 being females, and 3147 being males. According to the Greek representative in the Lausanne Treaty at 25 November 1922, population was 9207 excluding the Turkish population (Aziz, 1973). The demographic background of Gokceada, after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, is examined by the use of data of 15 population censuses, which were conducted by The State Institute of Statistics (SIS) since 1927. Changes in the total population of the island between 1927-2000 is shown in Figure II. The total population⁸ of Gokceada has not increased substantially during the last 70 years, but the distribution of the population into the urban and the rural parts of the island, sex composition, age structure, resident population, and ethnic composition have significantly changed.

III.1. Population Growth

Annual rate of increase of the island has been fluctuating. The rate based on the total population in 1927 and 2000 is quite low, 3,4 per thousand, while it is 11.7 in Canakkale and 21.8 in Turkey. As in the Figure III, annual growth rates in the each census period of Gokceada are not parallel with the ones of Canakkale. Population density on the Gokceada was 22 per km² in 1927, while it is 31 in 2000. But these figures are misleading since Gokceada has a large military force due to its geopolitical importance (Potalcıoğlu, 1987). So, its resident population and de facto population are very different than each other. Just after the foundation of the Republic, the island was the military free area. The military battalion was founded in 1964 in the town centre. Total populations of the island before and after 1964 are not comparable because of the effect of this non-resident soldier population. In 1997, Total urban population was 7008 while the urban resident population was 3630 (SIS, 1999). This fact, is the cause of an overestimation of both the population growth rate and the population density of the island.

⁸ The total population of the island is 6719 in 1927 (Istatistik Umum Mudurlugu, 1929).

III. 2. Urbanisation

One of the big differentiations in the demographic components of the island is in its urban/rural population. Proportion of the urban residents was 30% in 1935 while it is 80% in 2000. The Figure IV shows the proportion of urban and rural population on the island. In the same period urban population has increased while the rural population has decreased in the mainland Turkey as well. But the mechanisms of these changes are different than each other. Urban population of Gokceada has remained about 30% of total population until 1965 and then, it has suddenly increased to 54% in that year. In the same census year, rural population of the island has decreased from 3930 to 2721. Change in the urban/rural proportion of the island between 1927 and 1960 is not only because of the remarkable decrease in the rural population, but also because of the significant increase in the urban population⁹. This increase can be explained by the foundation of a military battalion and an open prison in the town centre of Gokceada in 1964. In the urbanisation process of the mainland Turkey, rural migrants moved mainly to the urban centres of the country. But in the Gokceada case, rural inhabitants did not move to the urban centre of the island but to urban areas outside Gokceada. At the same time, population of the town centre of the island has increased due to the in-migrants from the mainland.

III. 3. Migration History of Gokceada

Early 60s are very important in the migration history of the island, since many significant events occurred in that period. In 1964, education in the Greek language was prohibited by law, a military battalion and a boarding teacher school were founded, in 1965 an open prison was established on the island. The first event resulted in out migration from the island, while the second, the third and the fourth ones brought about in-migration. Actually, the first immigration to the island was realised in 1945. The migrants were the 45 households from the Black Sea Region. They settled in the town centre of Gokceada. But these migrants were not able to integrate to the island and most of them has left the island. The second migration flow was in July 1973. This group consisted of 312 people from 61 households and

⁹ Urban population of the island has raised from 1846 to 3220 between the years 1960 and 1965.

they were from Sahinkaya village belonging to Trabzon¹⁰. They settle near Derekoy and established a village with the same name, Sahinkaya. And then Sahinkaya village was administratively belonged to Derekoy. These migrants did not have sufficient land in their hometown due to flood and landslide. This population movement was designed by the partnership of the related Ministries. The area of the village planned in order to supply the necessities of the new comers. Before they have arrived, suitable houses for the family size, a mosque, dairy farm and planted land for agriculture were arranged. Government donated 46 sheep and five beehives for each household and also paid salary for their first year. This movement is a good example of the planned migration policy in Turkey. Push factors of the sending region was clear and governmental support was reasonable to move people to such a far and isolated area. This movement it was not only increased the population of the island but also balanced the ethnic composition.

In the early 80s, other two new villages were established with similar mechanism and causes. Migrants of Yenibademli replaced in Gokceada were villagers from Isparta whose land was floated during the building damp. New villages were established just down the Bademli. Houses are uniform and are not appropriate to the architecture of the island. In the first census after the formation of Yenibademli, it was the second highest populated village of the island¹¹. Recently, Yenibademli is the most economically active village of Gokceada due to its highest and relatively young population. It is the only village, which has its own primary school on the island.

Other new village, Ugurlu was established in the same period with Yenibademli. It is the furthest village of the island¹². Inhabitants of Ugurlu are the migrants whose land was destroyed due to the foundation of a hydro-electric central in Milas. It is the second biggest village in terms of population.¹³ In that period, approximately 2000 migrants were settled in the two new villages and in the town centre of Gokceada.

The recent migrants of the island are the villagers of the two new established villages, Eselek and Sirinkoy. Both villages settled in 2000. Residents of Sirinkoy are Bulgarian Turks who were displaced to Turkey. After their arrival to Turkey, they were distributed to different

¹⁰ Trabzon is the highest populated city of Black Sea Region.

¹¹ Derekoy was numbered 705 and Yenibademli was numbered 460 in the 1985 Population Census. (SIS, 1987)

¹² Ugurlu is 16 km far from the centre.

¹³ Total population of Ugurlu was 401, while total population of Yenibademli was 581 in the 2000 Population Census.

places of the country and one of them is Gokceada. They were numbered 189 in the 2000 General Population Census. The other village, Eselek, was established by those who migrated from Biga, a district of Canakkale. The population of Eselek is 152.

III.4. Age and Sex Structure

Age and sex structure of the island is very much influenced by the military population. In general view, Gokceada seems to have a young population however, the 20-24 age group consists largely of soldiers. There were 2397 men, but only 198 women in this age group (SIS, 1993). 4.3 of every 10 males and 0.8 of every 10 females are in the age group 20-24. Sex composition in the rural area of the island has been more or less normal till 1965 and it has been fluctuating for 25 years since 1965. Proportion of male/female has been around 50% for last ten years. The Figure V shows the proportion of the male population in the urban and the rural part of Gokceada since 1930.

Figure out the dependency ratio is significant to analyse economically active population in a society. In Gokceada case, particular ages do not totally correspond the economic activity. Most of the people, mainly males in 20s are out of production activities. Due to this fact, analyses on the early-age, late-age, and general dependency ratios based on the observed population does not reflect reality. Since it is not available to find out the resident population by age in all census years, male population was fitted by taking the female population almost whom consist of residents as standard in this work. Sex ratio in the first year of life has applied to the following ages. The Figure VI shows the differences in the child-woman ratio, early-age, late-age, and general dependency ratios by observed and the fitted male population in the town centre of the island. Child-woman ratios are same in the both cases since the early ages' sex ratio is used for the fitting process, but all the dependency ratios are more than twice in the fitted case. Another problem in such an analyses is that non-resident population is kept outside of the calculation. Although most of the necessities of the military battalion is supplied by the government, this population is also depending on the resources of the island. If we assume the non-resident population as consumers, 34% of the population is economically active in the town centre of Gokceada in 1990. Since the published data on the age composition in 1927 General Population Census was not grouped in the same manner with the recent standard age groups, it is not possible to calculate child-woman ratio, early-age, late-age, and general dependency ratios for this year. But it would be

practical for an estimation to know that 60% of the total population was between the ages 13 and 60 in 1927.

III. 5. Ethnic Composition

The major differentiation in the demographic components of the island is in its ethnic composition. Gokceada was the residential area of the Greeks both in the Ottoman period and the early period of the Republic of Turkey. According to the Department of Cultural Affairs of Greek Embassy in Turkey, there were 9456 Greeks, 200 Turks, and 6 Armenian in the island in 1893. Mother tongue was asked in the census questionnaires till 1985 in Turkey, but the results are available only until 1965. Unfortunately these result were not published in the town level but only in the city level, except 1927 Population Census. According to this census figures, Greek population was numbered as 6555 while Turkish population was numbered 157. In the same census year there were 19 soldiers, 9 lawyers, and 36 officers on the island. Turkish population should be those people who were working for the government and their dependents. In 1970, Mayor of the town¹⁴ declared that, within the resident population of the island, 90% of the rural population, 34% of the urban population, and 61 of the total population were Greeks (Aziz, 1973). The last data on the ethnic composition of the island in 1993 mentioned that there were only 320 Greek residents on the island.

In the early 60s, foundation of new institutions influenced the ethnic composition in Gokceada. Majority of the student of the Boarding Teacher School, which was founded in 1964, and the soldiers of military battalion which was established in 1964, and prisoners of the open prison which was founded in 1965 were Turkish. Further, the law, which prohibited the education in the minorities' languages, promoted the Greeks to move outside of the island. After the arrival of the Turkish migrants from the Black Sea Region in 1973, Turks have become the majority on the island. In this year, including the population of the open prison, boarding school and the military battalion, 61% of the total population were Turkish (Aziz, 1973).

It is well known that the migration process is a sex and age selective issue in many cases (Alvarado, 1998). Age structure and the sex composition of the migrants differ in terms of the push and the pull factors of the movement. Both the in-migrants and the out-migrants

¹⁴ In 1970, Mayor Istavro Istavropulo was also Greek.

were primarily young people, non-resident in-migrants are mostly male on the island. In the case of Gokceada, migration process has also ethnic selectivity. In-migrants are Turks while the out-migrants are Greeks. New institutions and incentives serve pull factors for Turkish in-migrants, minority policy of Turkey, on the other hand, is the push factor of the Greek out-migrants. Out migration from the island is usually directed to Greece and Istanbul while some others moved to USA, Australia, and Africa. Except than the planned migration, population movement from mainland to the island is not common. However, as Williamson (1981) declared, due to limited population and area of small islands, even little movements have accelerated consequence in their demographic structure such as population density, age, sex, and ethnic distribution. The total population of Gokceada had not significantly changed for 60 years before 1985, while the composition of its population changed entirely.

Different ethnic composition is the major distinction of Gokceada. This structure causes cultural diversity especially in the case of religion. The Turks of the island are Muslims and the Greeks are Orthodox. There are nine churches and 242 monasteries most of which are in the nationalised area of the island. Religious activities are important in the social life and liveliness on the island. Especially, in religious ceremony in August, relatives of the Greek natives, from mainland and the outside of the country, visit the island. The oldest mosque was built in 1800s, and there are mosques in the centre, Yenibademli, Ugurlu, and Sahinkaya where the migrants settled. Although the two culture has been living together for many years, integration of two cultures is not under consideration. Marriage among Turks and Greeks is not common.

IV. DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

The outcomes of a series of population censuses held since 1927 reveal that the total population of Gokceada has not changed significantly in the last 80 years. Although the total population of the island has moved from 6792 in 1927 to 8894 in 2000, this increase does not seem to be a remarkable one when the growth rates of population for the same period for Canakkale –the province that Gokceada administratively belongs- or Turkey is taken into consideration. Unlike Turkey, whose population increased steadily with varying rates from year to year, the population of Gokceada exhibited a fluctuating pattern with positive and negative population growth rates throughout the period (see Figure II). The population of Gokceada declined slightly until the year 1960, and then entered into a period of increase with

accelerating migration flows. Today, the population is still on a trend of increase. Changes in the total population of the island are much more likely to be explained by migratory flows rather than the outcome of natural increase (Davis, 1995). As the island experienced both in-and-out migrations throughout the period, the annual growth rate of population varied significantly from -19 to 48.

In the period of 80 years, along with a slight change in the size of population, the distribution of urban/rural population, age and sex structure, and ethnic composition on the island altered remarkably. From the 1920s to the early 1960s, the 70 percent of the islands' inhabitants live in rural areas, whereas the 30 percent resided in the town centre. With the rapid depopulation of the villages especially after the year 1965, and the rapid increase of the urban population due to the establishment of a military battalion, a boarding school and an open prison, the balanced urban/rural distribution of population till the 1960s underwent a crucial change. This process of rapid urbanisation may seem to be parallel with the urbanisation process on the mainland, it is interesting to note that those who left villages were not those who migrated to the town centre. As the changes in population structure relied most heavily on migration flows, in-and-out migrants with different age and sex groups resulted in a change in age and sex structure on the island. On the other hand, however, even those in-and-out migrants are from the same age group, such as the case for young inhabitants who leave the island (for education in mother tongue, better employment opportunities...etc.) those who replace these people (soldiers, prisoners...etc.) are not economically productive. It is possible make two categories out of in-migrants: Those who come to island for a prescribed period for official reasons and return back whenever the period is over, and those who leave their place of residence entirely due to negative circumstances and become permanent residents. The first group has a mixed age structure (with more young people than old) whereas the second group consist mostly of young people (soldiers and students). The abandonment of population at working age and the arrival of a group of consumers rather than producers worsened the real dependency rates on the island. A similar imbalance is observed with respect to the sex ratios. Those who left the island were both men and women whereas those who came to the island were generally men. This resulted in abnormal sex ratios especially for young age groups.

The most striking change on the island's demographic structure, however, is related with its ethnic composition. According to 1927 Population Census, the Turkish population

was only 157, and it reached to a figure around 8000 by 2000 Population Census. In contrast, the Greek population declined from 6555 in 1927 to around 400 in the same period. With this trend, the Greek population will be disappeared.

When the migration history of Gokceada is further analysed, it is observed that the population movements on the island –both in-and-out migration- are parts of planned migration organised governmentally. As the primary cause of rapid urbanisation on the mainland since the 1950s, the migration has generally directed from rural areas towards towns and city centres, especially to Istanbul. Being an island with lack of integration with the mainland since the Ottoman rule and lacking economic success, the island is far from being attractive for migrants (McCarthy, 1983). But, with its low population density, geopolitical importance and large Greek population, the migration to Gokceada was governmentally encouraged in different periods. The establishment of the military battalion, the open prison and the boarding school seems to be designed to achieve Turkish majority not only through increased Turkish population but also through the placement of military and political power on the island. The encouragement for migration of landless peasants from different parts of Turkey was first realised in 1945. In spite of the fact that those 45 households who migrated in this period from Northern Anatolian Region to the island could not permanently settle there, the island is generally considered by governments as a place for people who lost their land due to natural disasters. In 1973, people from the same region who had to leave their land after a flood and a landslide formed another village. In the 1980s, some people whose residence and agricultural land was flooded during the construction of power plants were placed in Gokceada. This serves as an example in asylum seeking and internal displacement literature for Turkey, who appears in the agenda of, forced migration recently. The founders of these two villages were granted land for agriculture from government. With these two migration flows, a residential unit was formed where Turkish people constitute the majority not only in terms of institutional but also of resident population.

The last in-migrants of the islands who have established their own villages on the island are Bulgar Turks who entered Turkey in the year 2000 and a group of people from a district of Canakkale, Biga. This seems that with its low population density and low proportion of population at productive ages, the island will be considered as a place in case of displacements in the future.

With limited social and economic opportunities and with changing minority policies and changing structure of the island, the Greek people, unable to preserve their past social and cultural life, increasingly chose to leave their land. The Greeks of Gokceada who did not participate in the large-scale Greek-Turkish migration just after the Turkish Independence War, owing to their special rights started to leave the island after 1965. With the enactment of the law that prohibits education in Greek, the establishment of the military battalion and the prison, accelerated the migration of Greek people was no longer an ordinary residential area.

When the institutional young male population of the island who did not fully integrate with the island is excluded, the economically productive and reproductively active population is small. This is a disadvantage in terms of economic development and natural increase of population. The island's population exhibits a tendency to decline. Furthermore, as mentioned before, the existing population of the island are more than consumers than producers. However, non-institutional migration flows to the island, if continues in line with the expectations, new employment opportunities may be generated and fertility problem may be overcome. But, in order for island to be a self-sufficient territory, economic relations with the mainland should be strengthened and more egalitarian trade relations should take place. A young and productive population is necessary but not sufficient to overcome the problems of the island. New employment opportunities should be generated and surplus production should be transferred outside of the island.

In order to make projections for the future population of the island; the island's population structure should be analysed carefully. SIS (State Institute of Statistics)'s projections based on 1997 Population Census, do not pay special attention to the institutional population of the island and assumes net migration of "0". These assumptions, however, result in projections, which are far away from reflecting Gokceada's future. Although the projection for the year 2000, 8809, is very close to the total population of the island for the same year, 8894, the distribution of the urban/rural population in the projection includes errors. The rural population, which SIS projected to decline over time, increased with the establishment of two more villages, while the urban population did not increase as much as expected. In the projection of urban population, the non-reproductivity of the institutional population was not taken into consideration and this results in a problem of over-estimation. In order to make assumptions on the future migration flows from the island, it is necessary to analyse the degree of integration of the residents with the island and to determine especially

young people's tendency to keep living on the island or to leave the island. The field survey, now being conducted on the island, will be providing us with materials to make such estimations more reliably.

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Table I Total Population, Village Populations and Population by Urban and Rural, 1927-2000

| Census Years | Bademli (Giliki) | Derekoy (Iskinik) | Kalekoy (Kastaro) | Tepekoy (Agritya) | Zeytinlikoy (Ayatodori) | Ugurlu | Yenibademli | Eselek Koyu | Sirinkoy | City | Village | Total |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1927* | | | | | | - | - | - | - | 2099 | 4663 | 6762 |
| 1935 | 463 | 1989 | 153 | 1062 | 825 | - | - | - | - | 1856 | 4492 | 6348 |
| 1940 | 438 | 1987 | 136 | 1064 | 830 | - | - | - | - | 1991 | 4455 | 6446 |
| 1945 | 443 | 1899 | 121 | 1075 | 817 | - | - | - | - | 2004 | 4355 | 6359 |
| 1950 | 420 | 1878 | 150 | 1076 | 802 | - | - | - | - | 2000 | 4326 | 6326 |
| 1955 | 419 | 1824 | 176 | 1078 | 801 | - | - | - | - | 1936 | 4298 | 6234 |
| 1960 | 401 | 1727 | 132 | 979 | 691 | - | - | - | - | 1846 | 3930 | 5776 |
| 1965 | 293 | 1496 | 110 | 681 | 640 | - | - | - | - | 2721 | 3220 | 5941 |
| 1970 | 199 | 742 | 75 | 507 | 533 | - | - | - | - | 4549 | 2056 | 6605 |
| 1975 | 61 | 781 | 24 | 277 | 388 | - | - | - | - | 4470 | 1531 | 6001 |
| 1980 | 43 | 539 | 128 | 195 | 271 | - | - | - | - | 4802 | 1176 | 5978 |
| 1985 | 47 | 705 | 94 | 216 | 238 | 460 | 416 | - | - | 5434 | 2176 | 7610 |
| 1990 | 51 | 336 | 105 | 77 | 155 | 490 | 660 | - | - | 6074 | 1874 | 7948 |
| 1997 | 27 | 231 | 90 | 41 | 91 | 467 | 616 | - | - | 7008 | 1563 | 8571 |
| 2000 | 28 | 196 | 89 | 44 | 88 | 401 | 581 | 152 | 189 | 7278 | 1616 | 8894 |

* Village populations in 1927 were not published.

Figure I Proportion Literate in Gokceada and Canakkale, 1927-1990

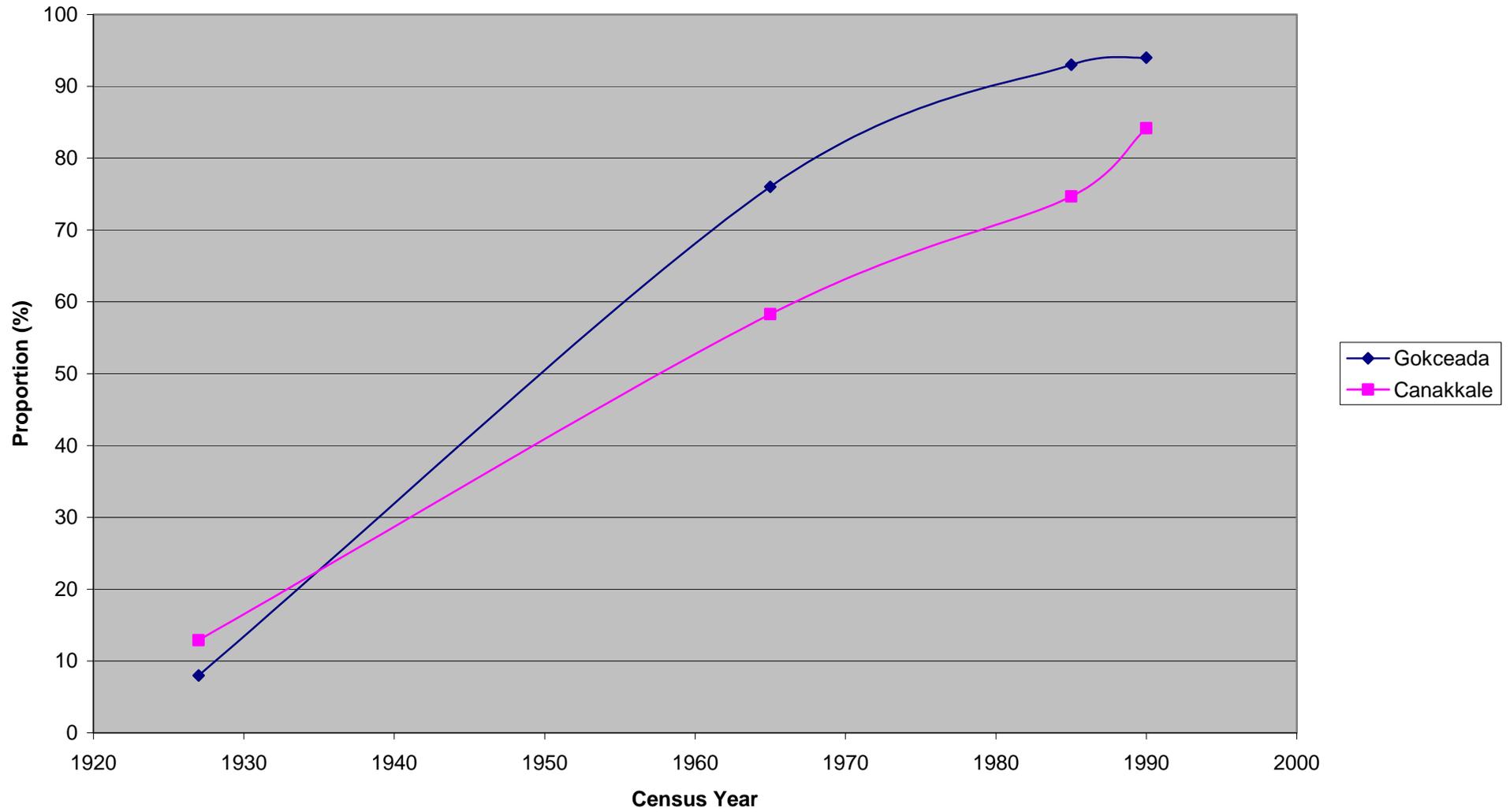


Figure II Total Population of Gokceada, 1927-2000

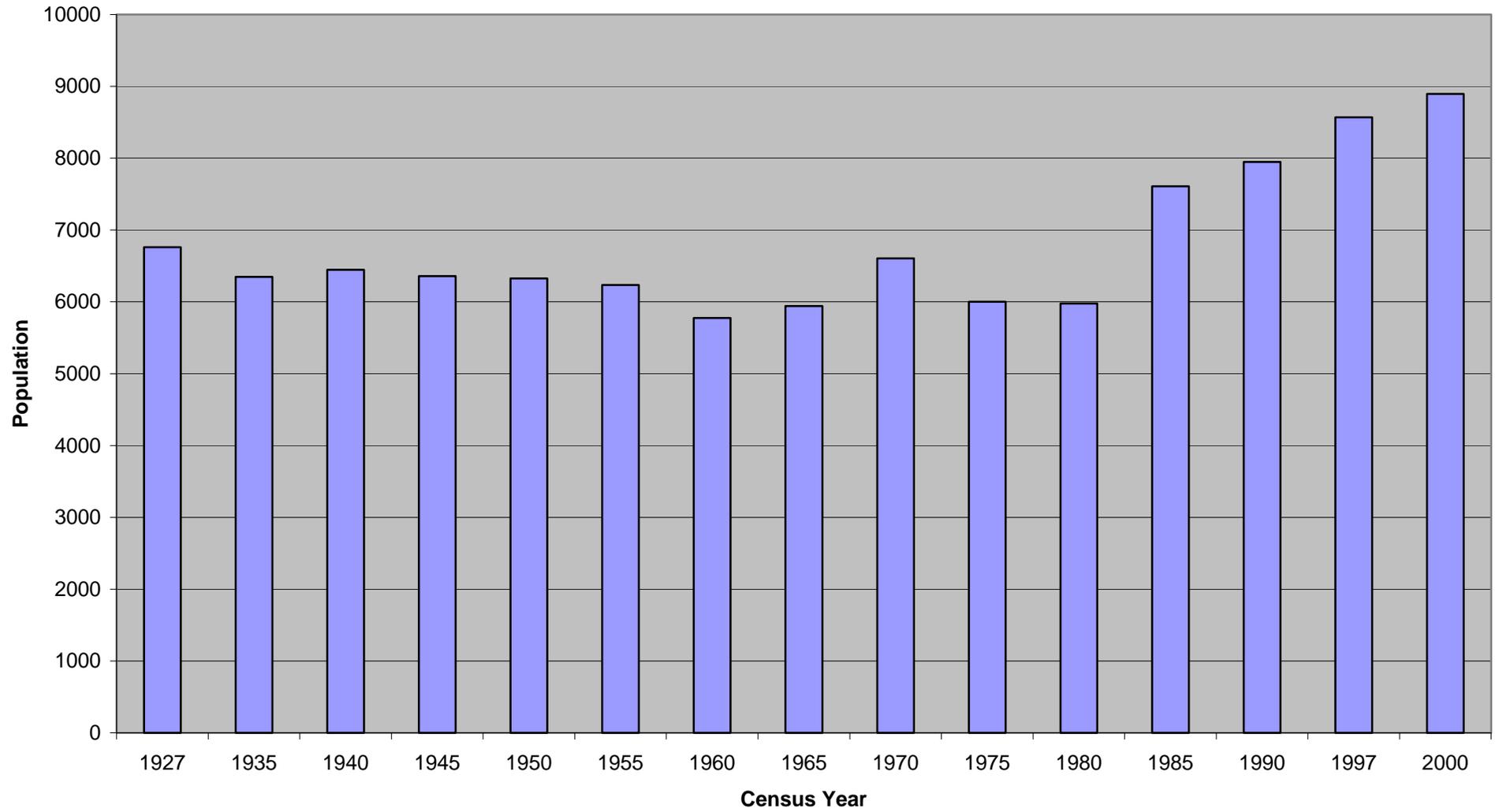


Figure III Annual Rate of Increase in Gokceada and Turkey, 1927-1997

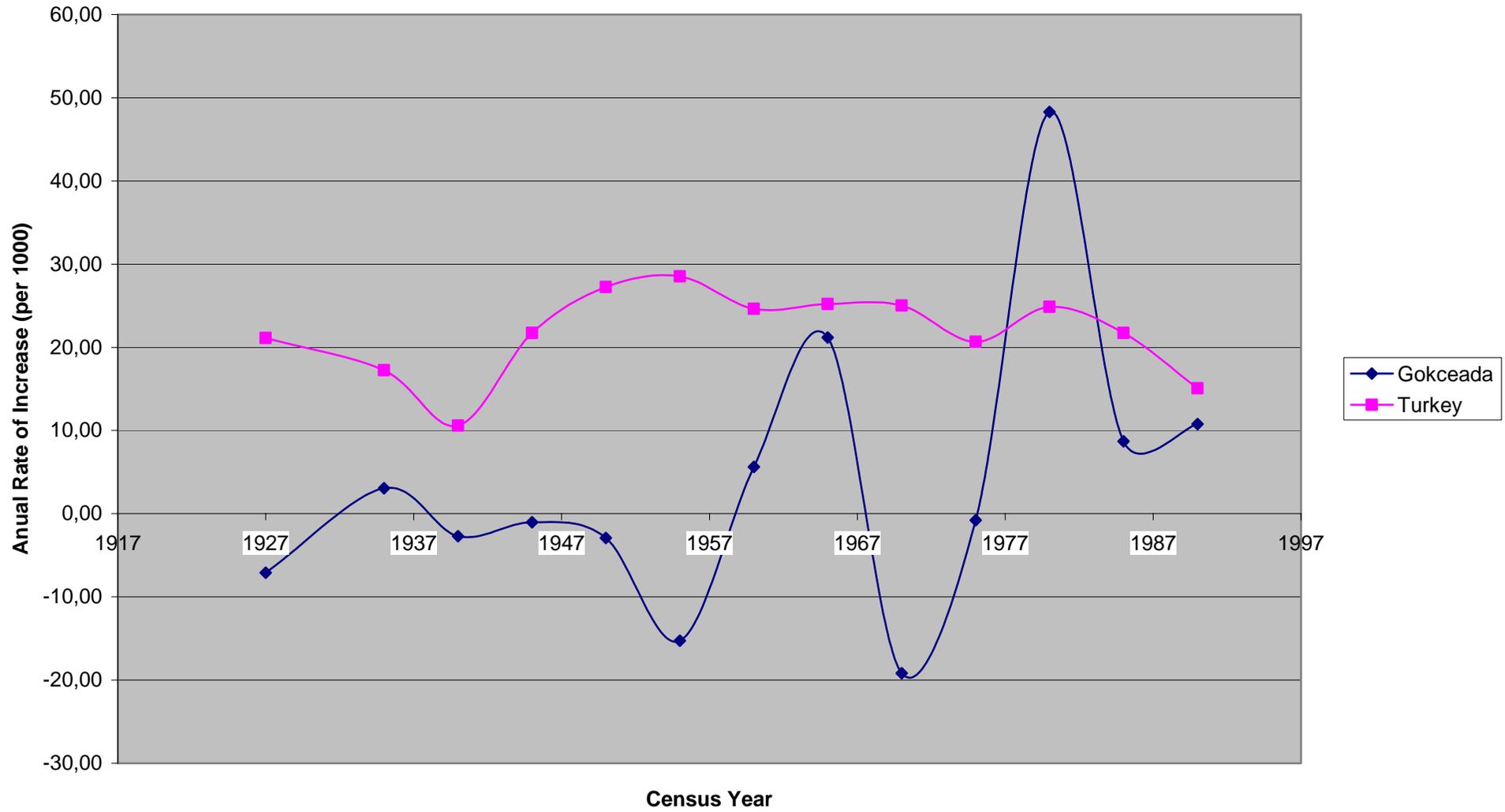


Figure III Proportion of Urban and Rural Population in Gökçeada, 1935-2000

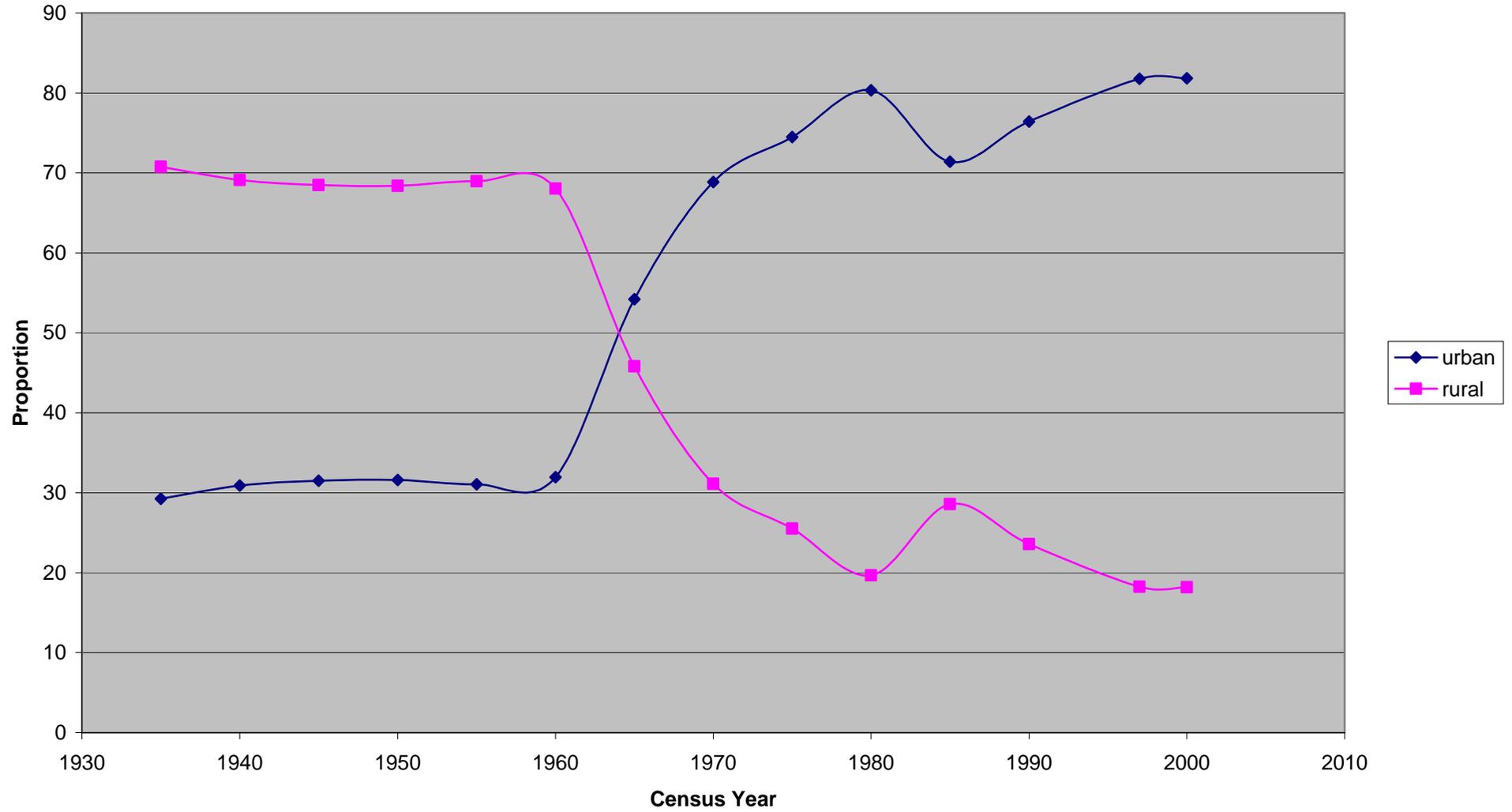


Figure IV Proportion Male in Urban and Rural Gokceada, 1927-2000

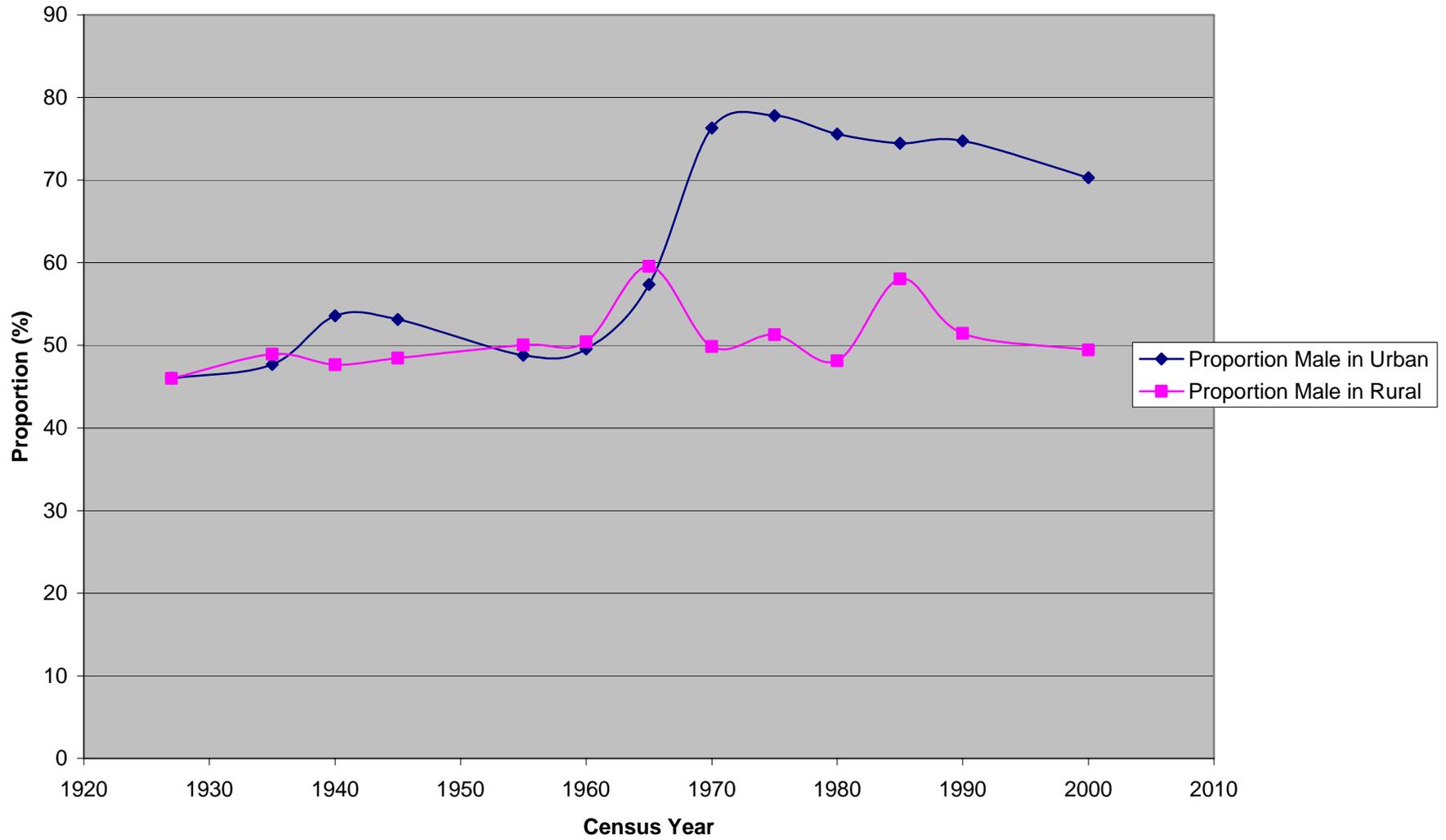


Figure VI Child-woman Ratio, Early-age Dependency Ratio, Late-age Dependency Ratio, and Total Dependency Ratio by Observed and Fitted Population, 1990 Population Census in Gökçeada Urban

