Orientalism & Greco-Turkish Borders:
A Genealogy of East/West Boundary Projections and Practices

by
Julianna R.C. Nielsen

Supervised by
Dr. Andrew Wender

A Graduating Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements, in the Honours
Programme
For the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
In the
Department
Of
History

The University of Victoria
April 1, 2020

For all who seek refuge.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

While my thesis addresses structures and experiences of dislocation, exclusion, and violence elsewhere, I would like to ground this conversation in the recognition of the local injustices and displacements enabling my education. This thesis was researched and written on the unceded territories of the Lekwungen (Songhees and Esquimalt) and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples, who have nurtured and upheld living relationships with this land since time immemorial. The University of Victoria, a place that I call my second home and come to as an uninvited guest, occupies the site of a former Lekwungen village and imposes on the lands where Garry Oak meadows had supported the harvesting and trade of *kwetlal* [camas], a vital source of nourishment and medicine.* I also say *klecko* to the Mowachaht/Muchalaht people on whose traditional territories I was raised and whose teachings resonate still.

I am thoroughly grateful to Dr. Andrew Wender for his guidance and encouragement throughout my undergraduate degree and during his supervision of my thesis. In providing the most thoughtful feedback on dozens of drafts and papers, and leading seminars and lectures with such genuine enthusiasm, Dr. Wender has profoundly shaped my understanding and appreciation of history and politics. I also extend great thanks to my second reader, Dr. Oliver Schmidtke, who sparked and supported my interests in many of the topics addressed in this thesis, and who recommended that I save an overly-ambitious research project for another time—*here it is!*

There are also a number of people, and groups of people, whom I would like to acknowledge for having expanded the horizons of my thinking. I would specifically like to thank: Dr. Helga Thorson, for endlessly supporting my academic and personal growth; the wonderful people associated with the BIG and HICR research groups, for provoking new curiosities and research trajectories; and Dr. Rob Walker, for lending not only a number of books on borders and boundaries, but also advice and encouragement.

I would also like to acknowledge the support and patience of my friends—particularly Noah, Braden, and Laura—who, by now, must be tired of listening to me speak endlessly about (the many difficulties of completing) this project. I further express my appreciation for the dedicated and passionate members of WUSC who have enriched my life in profound ways.

My greatest thanks are to my parents, who have lovingly supported all of my ambitions and endeavours, and to Anthony, whose humour, unwavering encouragement, and love continuously uplifts my spirits.

---

* See Anne Franklin et al., *Restoring the Traditional Ecological and Cultural Ways of Coast Salish Land,* Handbook, Produced by ES 341 Restoration Ecology, March 31, 2014. https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/environmental/assets/docs/course341/kwetlal_restoration_uvic_quad_spring_2014.pdf.

Introduction

The physical and ideational construction of various modes of national, ethnic, and religious community and identity in the territories currently claimed by Greece and Turkey has an especially tumultuous and violent history. Over the past two hundred years, conflicts and tragedies in the Greco-Turkish borderlands have captured the attention of global audiences. Artistic and poetic representations of Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire have recalled the brutalities of war from 1821 to 1832, accounts of the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey have brought to light experiences of displacement and intergenerational trauma, and graphic photographs from the 'refugee crisis' (2015 –   ) have captured circumstances of extreme desperation and harm.[1] Though recognizably violent, these projects to govern populations (re-)classified as 'in' or 'out' of place—such that they are subjected to particular inclusions and exclusions, admissions and expulsions—are often 'naturalized' and legitimized by various claims about security, liberty, and the limits of community.

Moving chronologically, this thesis first foregrounds the Greek War of Independence, which established new boundaries and relations between Greece and its former suzerain, the Ottoman Empire, in the 1820s. While deeply implicated in the construction of Greek nationalism, this conflict also has strong ties to the development and emergence of the sense of 'being Western' within European and American cultural and intellectual circles and imperial settings. Thereafter, I discuss the Greco-Turkish population exchange, which re-bordered and re-

---

[1] On the 1923 population exchange, see: Al Jazeera [N.A.], "The Great Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece," *Al Jazeera,* World, February 28, 2018.

arranged new national communities 100 years later in the 1920s, following in the wake of the 1919-1922 Greco-Turkish War. Here, the adoption of the European nation-state model was accompanied with violent campaigns to 'un-mix' Greek and Turkish populations, culminating in the forceful transfer of well over one and half million people between the two states. In these first two case studies, the movement and classification of bodies across borders was contemporaneously understood to be bringing people 'into place,' thereby stabilizing and affirming a comfortable sense of 'Westerners Here' and 'Easterners There.' However, during the so-called 'migrant crisis' of the early twenty-first century, the third and final case study to be examined, cross-border migration came to be understood as 'destabilizing' these civilizational distinctions, provoking the fortification of boundaries to keep out those who 'don't belong.'

Implicated in these processes of community-building, and the formation of political subjects, is the demarcation of boundaries that lend themselves to the production and maintenance of spatially and conceptually differentiated forms of belonging. This process of developing social imaginaries might also be considered in relation to "the conceptual triad identities-borders-orders" (or the IBO model), wherein collective identities are believed to be limited to a contiguous territory governed by a particular "moral economy" and "political order."[2] In this way, the regulation of human mobility across boundary lines, as well as the internal governance of (im)migrants, might be read as a metric for interpreting the extent to

---

[2] Steven Vertovec, "The Cultural Politics of Nation and Migration," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 245.

which communities practice borders to assert and maintain a sense and regime of alterity, that is, of 'sameness' as opposed to 'difference.'[3]

Taking a two hundred year history of borders and migration in the Aegean region as its framework, this thesis attempts to identify and situate the violent dynamics of drawing and enforcing boundaries in relation to cross-border human mobility. However, this dynamic is particularly complex, and yields significant insights into Euro-centric imaginations and (re-)articulations of global geographies and civilizations. Not only do the Greco-Turkish (or previously Ottoman) boundaries represent and enact the territorial limits of states and legal jurisdictions, they overlap with the conceptual frontiers imagined between a 'European West' and its 'Eastern Other.' By demonstrating how global geographies have been constructed within the Western mind, and then projected onto the Eastern Other as well as Western Self, the project integrates a discussion of Edward Said's 1978 book *Orientalism.* To be more specific, I intend to ground Said's literarily-oriented theorizing of Orientalism in something as concrete as bodies crossing boundaries, and, by doing so, I am concerned with critiques of the book which have suggested that Said gave insufficient attention to lived, material conditions.[4]

---

[3] I bracket '(im)migrant' in recognition of a variety of boundary-crossing practices. While 'immigrant' may describe a person who *has moved* from one place to another (typically with the intention to 'stay in place'), the term 'migrant' may describe a person who *moves* between places. Here, language is of critical importance in that how a person is defined in relation to static notions of place (emigrant, immigrant, migrant, etc) is implicated in how individuals and groups are differentiated and governed. On regimes of alterity, see: Jevgenia Viktorova, "Bridging Identity and Alterity: An Apologia for Boundaries," in *Routing Borders Between Territories: Discourses and Practices,* edited by Wiki Berg and Henk Van Houtum (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 157.

[4] It is primarily by analyzing "the interrelations between society, history, and textuality," that *Orientalism* explicated the West's cognitive construction of itself in relation to the Eastern Other. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1994 [1978]), 23-4. Said's analysis was based on works of novelists, poets, artists, philologists, scientists, and historians, texts which, as Said proposed, constitute institutions and styles for knowing and dominating the Orient. *Ibid*., 3. However, beyond being described as "unnecessarily convoluted and impenetrable," some scholars have critiqued the book's "heavy focus on literary texts" and "insufficient interest in carefully situating individuals, texts, and institutions in their historical contexts." For an overview of these critiques, see Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism,* second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 194. This thesis engages with an ongoing scholarly discussion concerning the limitations of Said's approach.

Although contested and problematic, the concept of *civilization*—together with the practice of unifying regions and peoples under a singular and sweeping descriptor (e.g. 'Western,' 'Islamic,' 'Japanese,' etc.)—remains deeply implicated in how historical accounts of the world, and the world as such, are categorized and understood in popular and academic discourses. Christopher Coker explicates three 'myths' upholding contemporary imaginations of civilization—as "essentially unchanging," "self-contained," and defined by a totalizing "cultural code"—and argues that these myths work "to fence off existing civilizations from each other," even as we speak of global history and globalization.[5] However much we might seek to reject these myths, the very move to claim or establish "definite identities" is "to trace a border," to assess and assert what *is* and what *is not*.[6] This partitioning of the world into discrete civilizations, thereby identifying different modes of expressing humanity, has both historical and geographical dimensions. In its historical sense, civilization is conceptualized as having vanquished conditions of 'barbarism' to the past, while in its geographical sense, one civilization is perceived to neatly exist 'here' and another 'there.'

The language of *civilization*, in both temporal and spatial configurations, has been mobilized by political actors and academics to explain, legitimize, and normalize extraordinary acts and patterns of violence, manifested in campaigns to civilize or eliminate 'barbarians,' and in wars set in terms of defending one "distinct and competing" civilization against another.[7]

---

[5] Christopher Coker, *The Rise of the Civilizational State* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019), 30-31.

[6] Étienne Balibar offers a definition of boundaries in relation to identifications in *Politics and the Other Scene,* trans. Christine Jones, James Swenson, and Chris Turner (London & New York: Verso, 2002), 76. Reflecting on the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Ulrich Best writes that "a border is the line where things cease to be and become different." Ulrich Best, "Gnawing at the Edges of the State: Deleuze and Guattari and Border Studies," in *Routing Borders Between Territories, Discourses and Practices,* eds. Eiki Berg and Henk Van Houtum (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 188.

[7] Krishan Kumar, "The Return of Civilization—and of Arnold Toynbee?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no.4 (2014): 823.

While critiques and condemnations of racist, colonial, and Eurocentric claims to a civilizational supremacy are plenty, less attention has been given to assessing claims about the supposed natural divisions and antagonisms between civilizations.[8] Critiques of Samuel Huntington's 1993 thesis—in which he asserted that "the fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future," and that "Islam [in particular] has bloody borders"—tend to take aim at Huntington's essentializing and isolating of civilizational identities, a move that disregards intra-civilizational conflicts and inter-civilizational blendings.[9] Said, for instance, criticized Huntington's use of "unedifying labels like Islam and the West" as "mislead[ing] and confus[ing] the mind, which is trying to make sense of a disorderly reality that won't be pigeonholed or strapped down as easily as all that."[10] These kinds of "labels, generalizations, and cultural assertions," Said argued, "give lie to a fortified boundary not only between 'West' and 'Islam' but also between past and present, us and them."[11]

This thesis is concerned with the 'fortified boundaries,' 'fences,' and borders drawn and enacted between civilizations imagined as 'here' and 'there.' As much as scholars and polemicists might do well to dispel moves that essentialize (and/or demonize) identities and identifications, I would argue that those critiques miss seeing much broader problematics. This blind spot owes to a lack of engagement with the mentalities and practices which design and maintain borders, and which imagine and regulate engagements at and across boundary lines. I propose revisiting

---

[8] For critiques of European claims to civilizational supremacy, see: Mohandas K. Gandhi, "Hind Swaraj," in *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings,* edited by Anthony J. Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2-117; Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* translated by Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004); & Said, *Orientalism.*

[9] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no.3 (Summer 1993): 22 & 35.

[10] Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Ignorance." *The Nation*. Feature. October 22, 2001. n.p.

[11] *Ibid*.

Said's critique of Huntington, so as to emphasize that borders embody discourses and practices that actively produce distinctions and maintain relations between 'this' and 'that,' 'here' and 'there,' 'our' civilization and 'theirs.' Further, and in response to criticisms of Said's work as 'too conceptual,' 'merely literary,' and/or disconnected to materialized events and processes 'on the ground,' this paper identifies concrete sites for engaging with the phenomena and structures of Orientalism.[12]

I recognize that "the fault lines between civilizations" are indeed 'bloody.'[13] This recognition, however, comes not from a belief in essential antagonisms between 'cultural entities,' but from the understanding that the enactment of 'border'—civilizational, national, or otherwise—is most often accompanied by the enactment and/or legitimation of violence to produce, defend, and maintain the claimed distinctions. To demonstrate this point, I present a new interpretation of the violence of 'European' borders and bordering practices as they have emerged and developed in the Aegean region from the 1820s to the 2010s. Étienne Balibar argues that when the perceived boundaries of larger socio-political entities coincide with the borders of nation-states, the enforcement and practice of those borders becomes evermore strict and necessary, for 'outsiders' are then also 'enemy outsiders.'[14] In my view, the borders that have been drawn and administered between Greece and the Ottoman Empire from the early 1830s, between Greek and Turkish 'nations' from the early 1920s, and between the European Union

---

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," 22. Like Huntington, Reece Jones recognizes that borders are "inherently violent;" but, he argues that it is the boundary institution itself which engenders harm: "borders should be seen as inherently violent, engendering systemic violence to people and the environment," in Reece Jones, *Violent Borders: Refugees and the Right to Move* (London: Verso, 2016), 10.

[14] In regard to the 'overdetermination of national borders,' Balibar (2002) writes: "When the border, or the sense of crossing a border, coincided with the super-borders of the blocs, it was generally more difficult to pass through, because the alien in this case was also an enemy alien…*except* where refugees were concerned, because the right of asylum was used as a weapon in the ideological struggle [of the Cold War]" (80).

(EU) and the 'Muslim World' during the twenty-first century, coincide with the conceptual and

geographical boundaries imagined (by Europeans, in this case) between 'Europe' and the

'East.'[15] This study, then, considers how bordering practices local to the Aegean region are

implicated in, and are themselves shaped by, relations and conflicts between a 'self-imagined

Europe' and its 'Eastern other.'

---

[15] For a lengthy discussion of the concept of the 'Muslim World' in the contemporary world, see: Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 2017). By 'Europeans,' I refer more specifically to German, French, and English publics.

Chapter 1: The Greek War of Independence (1820s-30s)

Extending its reach across North Africa, downward through the Hejaz, eastward to the Caspian Sea and northward through the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire of the late seventeenth century came to be imagined "as a Muslim power established on three continents" with "contested," "variable," and "ambiguous" boundaries.[16] Despite tensions and conflicts around the Ottoman Empire's northernmost frontiers—which "were certainly construed as occupying or pressing into the territories of Christendom"— European powers, in many cases, opted to approach the Empire as a "potential trading parter and ally in European wars" with the expectation of diplomacy "on equal terms."[17] Within the Empire, diverse religious (and ethnic) communities "coexisted peacefully" under the *millet* system which provided the legal framework for religious communities to operate under their own laws; though, as Sami Zubaida notes, "individuals were [for the most part] confined within their own social boundaries," which maintained communal distinctions.[18] Much like the social boundaries between subjects of different faiths, the frontiers between European and Ottoman empires were just as much sites of contact as they are sites of division.

Beginning in 1821, when 'revolution' was declared in the Danubian principalities and revolts broke out in the Peloponnese, the Greek War of Independence unfolded as a conflict

---

[16] Palmira Brummett, "The Fortress: Defining and Mapping the Ottoman Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World,* edited by A.C.S Peacock (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 32.

[17] Brummett, "The Fortress," 32. The "racialization of Muslim-ness, a processes that unfolded between the 1820s and 1880s […] challenged the imperial balance" of empires "expected to deal with each other on equal terms." In Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History*, 38.

[18] Sami Zubaida, *Beyond Islam: A New Understanding of the Middle East* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 132-3.

between Greek rebels and the Ottoman Empire.[19] Between 1822 and 1823, the Greek rebel forces

had generally subdued Ottoman forces and appeared to have established a Greek state in the

Peloponnese.[20] However, in 1826 the Greek rebels began to lose territories to the Ottoman

Empire, whose campaigns were abetted by forces from Mehmet Ali Pasha's Egypt (then, an

autonomous administrative district of the Ottoman Empire).[21] In response to this, Great Britain,

Russia, and France launched an allied counter-intervention in 1827, which led to the decisive

defeat of Ottoman and Egyptian forces at the Battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827).[22] The

'Great Powers' of Europe would then engage in peace settlements with the Ottoman Empire,

settling the boundaries of the new Greek state in 1832.[23] European interventions in the 'Greek

Crisis' also reflected the "delicate pattern of diplomacy" that emerged around the 'Eastern

Question,' whereby Britain and Russia, principally, sought to prevent the other from gaining

advantages while also preventing war.[24]

      Scholars reflecting on the construction of the 'Muslim World' have viewed the Greek War

of Independence as a watershed moment in shaping Western geopolitical imaginings and

---

[19] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2016), 71.

[20] C.M. Woodhouse noted that by 1823, the movement for national liberation had effectively asserted sovereignty over territories in the Peloponnese. C. M. Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence: Its Historical Setting* (New York: Sentry Press, 1952), 73. Further, the British Foreign Affairs Minister, George Canning, recognized the belligerent rights of Greek revolutionaries in so far as he provided financial assistance to the Greek provisional government in 1823. C. W. Crawley, *The Question of Greek Independence: A Study of British Foreign Policy in the Near East, 1821-1833* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1930. Reprint, New York: Howard Fetig Inc., 1973), 27.

[21] Cleveland & Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 73.

[22] Woodhouse, *The Greek War of Independence,* 124. The Allied forces made no formal declaration of war.

[23] In 1828, Russia declared war on the weakened Ottoman Empire and initiated conflicts in the Empire's Danubian territories. Russian territorial claims were reduced and settled with the 1829 Treaty of Adrianople. Cleveland & Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 74.

[24] *Ibid*. Realpolitik approaches to international relations attributed the cause of war to perceived imbalances (in resource-based and territorial gains) between states.

racializations of the 'East' as 'exotic' and 'dangerous.'[25] Complicating matters, as Mark Salter

argues, "representations of the 'East' were used to elaborate the identity of Europe," so that

disentangling images of 'Easternness' involves also the process of deconstructing the sense of

'Westernness.'[26] With this in mind, this chapter considers, from the standpoint of Europe in the

early nineteenth century, the processes involved in conceptually and materially 'de-Orientalizing'

Greece, merging notions of 'Greekness' and 'Westernness,' and setting the resulting new

civilizational consciousness and construction against a re-defined 'Eastern' and 'barbarian'

other.[27]

What follows is not merely a discussion of representation, but an attempt to locate the

violences and structures of power used to construct and maintain 'Western' illusions of

superiority and dominance over 'Eastern civilizations' in the early nineteenth century and

beyond. By catalyzing the development of new geopolitical imaginaries, expressed and

communicated through spatial demarcation, the Greek War of Independence serves to

demonstrate the foundations upon which later violences and injustices in the Aegean borderlands

would be rationalized and ostensibly legitimized. Few sources recalling instances of forced

migration during the conflict remain, and even fewer are accessible to English-speaking

audiences distanced from the archives in which the documents are held.[28] For this reason, this

---

[25] Zubaida, *Beyond Islam,* 116-8; and Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World,* 51.

[26] Mark B. Salter, *Barbarians and Civilization in International Relations* (London & Sterling: Pluto Press, 2002), 20.

[27] For a discussion of the concept of 'de-Orientalization,' see Peter Drucker, "Byron and Ottoman love: Orientalism, Europeanization and same-sex sexualities in the early nineteenth-century Levant," *Journal of European Studies* 40 no. 2 (2012): 140–157.

[28] George Gavrilis (In "The Greek–Ottoman Boundary as Institution, Locality, and Process, 1832-1882," *American Behavioural Scientist* 51, no.10 (2008): 1516-1537.) provides an extensive overview of some of the Greek and Turkish documents and correspondences recording Greco-Ottoman boundary disputes and collaborations.

chapter explores the processes of boundary-drawing more than boundary-crossing, specifically recalling the ways in which shifting borders re-categorized and re-defined bodies and belongings.

The cultural and geographical spaces wherein European writers and travellers, encountering 'others,' have produced "differentiated conceptions of [Europe] in relation to something [called] 'the rest of the world'," are what Mary Louise Pratt has termed the 'contact zone.'[29] In the case of the Greek War of Independence, these contact zones existed in both literary and physical realms, and engaged not only cultures 'here' and 'there' but also those of 'past' and 'present.' It was within these contact zones that poets, travellers, diplomats, and volunteers for the Greek cause cultivated new relationships between 'Europeans,' 'Greeks,' and 'others' while re-defining the bounds of a 'European identity.' This chapter draws connections between the development of a new consciousness of a 'Western civilization' (and civilization as a conceptual whole) and the violent practices of drawing new boundaries between, and ascribing new identities to, an independent Greece and the Ottoman Empire.

Bordering Discourses

The contact zone situated within "a series of local communities established by merchants and traders in ports and trading centres across the Christian continent," is regarded by Roderick Beaton as Greece's 'fourth borderland.'[30] In addition to interactions within urban centres, contact between 'Greeks' and 'Europeans' happened within literary cultures as scholars came to 're-discover' ancient Greek texts, the manuscripts of which had been carried into Europe by

---

[29] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturization* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), 5. "Borders and all, the entity called Europe was constructed from the outside in as much as from the inside out." *Ibid*., 6.

[30] Roderick Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 19.

Byzantine emigres in the fifteenth century.[31] With the flourishing of Hellenism (the study and

appreciation of ancient Greek cultures and societies) in Europe, academics and publics took an

idealized interpretation of ancient Greece as "a point of reference against which any aspiring

civilization in the present or future would have to be measured."[32] More than this, literarily-

engaged Europeans of the early modern and Enlightenment periods built a strong sense of

kinship with ancient Greece that, as explored by Hans Lamers, "was not confined to the remote

past but stood in a meaningful relationship to their own languages, literatures and cultures"—as

contested as those perceived relationships (between ancient 'Pagan' and modern 'Christian'

societies, especially) may have been.[33] The works of nineteenth century poets and artists

expressed the tropes and narratives used to bridge European and Hellenic civilizations, setting

this new Western consciousness and genealogy in juxtaposition against emerging conceptions of

the 'East.'

As the 're-discovery' of ancient Greek texts unfolded in scholarly circles across Europe,

late eighteenth century travel narratives and romanticizations of the Peloponnese and Greek

Islands captured the attention of British and French audiences.[34] These narrative and artistic

renderings of Greece tended to disseminate two central ideas: first, a "comparison between the

ancient and modern Greeks;" and second, a "struggle of the Christians against the Muslims."[35]

More than this, writers used the idealized Hellenic past and the contemporary Ottoman "political

---

[31] George Kaloudis, "Greeks of the Diaspora: Modernizers or an Obstacle to Progress?" *International Journal on World Peace* 23, no.1 (June 2006): 49.

[32] Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation,* 30.

[33] Hans Lamers, "Constructing Hellenism: Studies on the History of Greek Learning in Early Modern Europe," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25, no.3 (September 2018): 205.

[34] Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation,* 29.

[35] Tannis A. Stivachtis,"'International society' versus' 'world society': Europe and the Greek War of Independence," *International Politics* 55, no.1(2018): 115.

domination" of the 'Modern Greek nation' as "an important opportunity to allegorize their own situation[s]" in the midst of the post-Napoleonic suppression of revolutionary movements for national self-determination.[36] Indicative of the ways in which many European scholars and publics would imagine their relationships with, and indebtedness to, Greece (in both Ancient and Modern imaginations) is Percy Bysshe Shelly's exclamation, prefacing his lyrical drama, *Hellas*: "We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their roots in Greece."[37]

Shelly, like other poets of the early nineteenth century, grappled with questions pertaining to the connections between the 'Ancients' and the 'Moderns,' coming to the conclusion that "the modern Greek is the descendent of those glorious beings," inheriting "sensibility," "enthusiasm," and "courage" from the 'Ancients.'[38] Despite this supposed lineage, the Modern Greek, according to Shelly, is "degraded by moral and political slavery" under the "Turkish tyrant."[39] In making these two claims about the nature of Modern Greeks, and identifying the origins of a 'Western' civilization in Greece, Shelly moved to represent local Greek aspirations of a national homeland in more 'universal' terms—as a European struggle to toss off tyrannies and restore the 'civilizational self' to former glories. The aspirational future of Modern Greece, as Shelly would envision it, is voiced by a 'Chorus of Greek Captive Women' in *Hellas:* "The world's great age begins anew, / The golden years return, / The earth doth like a snake renew, / Her winter weeds outworn."[40]

---

[36] L.M. Findlay, "'We Are All Greeks: Shelly's Hellas and Romantic Nationalism," *History of European Ideas* 16 no. 1-3 (1993): 281.

[37] Percy Bysshe Shelly, *Hellas A Lyrical Drama,* edited by Thomas J. Wise (London: Reeves and Turner: 1886 [1822]),viii-ix.

[38] *Ibid.*, ix.

[39] *Ibid.*, ix-x.

[40] *Ibid.*, 51.

Further engagement with *Hellas* exposes Shelly's dependence on "distinctions between savage and civilized" to construct a new European identity set upon Greek foundations.[41] In a similar fashion, Enlightenment and Romantic writers used the figure of 'the savage' both to critique (in its 'noble' formulation, as 'uncorrupted' and 'natural') European societies and politics, and to rationalize (in its 'ignoble' conception, as 'unrestrained' and 'animal-like') 'civilizing' campaigns.[42] As the Greek War of Independence intensified, this trope was increasingly reinforced and rearticulated by Philhellenic artists and poets who often represented battles and massacres as taking place "among encroaching ancient ruins and fragments of an ever-present and alive past."[43] In this way, Greek lands were depicted as going to waste, and Greeks themselves becoming 'corrupted' under the administrative rule of the Ottoman ('Turkish') Empire, thereby narrativizing the War of Independence as a struggle against a 'despotic Eastern tyrant,' and as the 're-birth' of an idealized Greek nation.[44]

This narrative is visualized in *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi*, wherein French painter Eugène Delacroix depicts a scene of ruin and violence inspired by the Third Siege of Missolonghi in 1826. Delacroix represents Greece as a wide-eyed, kneeling woman wearing a liberty cap (or Phrygian cap), turning away from the sight of the Ottoman victor planting a flag atop the rubble. More than giving viewers the sense of Greece's strength of spirit amidst oppression, contrasting the darker colours of the conquered landscape against the brighter

---

[41] Findlay, "'We Are All Greeks': Shelly's Hellas and Romantic Nationalism," 283.

[42] Salter, *Barbarians and Civilization in International Relations,* 20.

[43] Anna Efstathiadou, "Representing Greekness: French and Greek Lithographs from the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827) and the Greek-Italian War (1940-1941)," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 29, no.2 (October 2011): 196.

[44] William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2008), 16.

FIGURE 1: Eugène Delacroix, *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi,* Oil on Canvas, 1826, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Bordeaux. Accessed via wikiart.org.

colours of the woman, Delacroix expands the meaning of the conflict by using religious elements to represent 'Greece' and her 'enemy,' where the woman's robes mirror those in which Mary is generally clothed and where the Ottoman man wears a golden *sarık* [turban].[45]

Philhellenic artists, scholars, and local leaders of the revolts often emphasized religious symbols and differences not only to draw starker lines between Greece and the Ottoman Empire, but also to deepen Greek connections to a Christian Europe. While Greece became increasingly more central in geopolitical imaginings of a 'Christian continent,' Catholic and Protestant Christians in the 'West' did not necessarily view 'Eastern Christians' as equals. Rather, in his assessment of early American and British scholarship on Eastern Christianity, Christopher D.L. Johnson found that Christian scholars in the 'West' tended to view Orthodox and Greek Christians as "helpless victim[s] of oppression and inertia," "as a missionary trophy," and as otherwise 'debased' and 'corrupted' people waiting for "the restorative intervention of Western forces."[46]

---

[45] In art and in dramas, the turban, crescent moon, and curved sword served as "signs and symbols" of 'the Turk' "in European iconography." In Esin Akalın, *Staging the Ottoman Turk: British Drama, 1656-1792* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Press, 2016), 87.

[46] Christopher D.L. Johnson, "'He Has Made the Dry Bones Live': Orientalism's Attempted Resuscitation of Eastern Christianity," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 82, no.3 (September 2014): 816 & 812.

European contact with *the idea* of Greece gave rise to new understandings of the 'European self' in relation to its 'Eastern other': first, Europe was indebted to Greece, as the supposed progenitor of 'Western civilization'; and, second, Modern Greece was enslaved by the administration of the Ottoman Empire and corrupted by the influence of an 'Eastern civilization.' Within the European mind, Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire not only meant the birth of a self-determining nation, but also entailed the removal of 'Oriental' elements from Greek society and consciousness through the process of Occidentalization.[47] While looking toward these literary and imaginary 'contact zones,' wherein the 'East' is given "reality and presence in and for the West," one identifies what Said named as the discourse of Orientalism, "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[48] But, more broadly defined as an "institution for dealing with the Orient," Orientalism materialized in the violent and destructive partitioning of 'Westernness' and 'Easternness' during the Greek War of Independence.[49]

Bordering Practices

As literary and artistic movements in the early 1820s would increasingly narrativize the Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire as a struggle "between civilization and barbarism and between Christianity and Islam," European governments, especially those of Britain and France, faced rising public pressures to intervene in the conflict.[50] Watching the revolts intensify into

---

[47] Drucker, "Byron and Ottoman Love," 151. The project of Greek independence, as articulated by European Romantics choosing "Greek liberty over Turkish despotism" (*ibid.*, 143), and as having gained popularity across the continent as a struggle for "Europeanization," meant that "culturally […] Greece had to be 'de-Orientalized'." (*ibid.*, 151).

[48] Said, *Orientalism*, 5 & 3.

[49] *Ibid.*, 3.

[50] Stivachtis, "'International society' versus 'world society'," 111.

war, European Philhellenic societies robustly financed the Greek cause, and some 1000 to 1,200

Philhellenes volunteered in Greek campaigns against the Ottoman Empire.[51] In 1827, a joint

British, French, and Russian intervention at the Battle of Navarino decisively defeated Ottoman

and Egyptian forces, ensuring not only Greece's independence, but its independence in the form

of a 'Westernized nation-state.'[52] A result was the violent material rendering of a 'de-

Orientalized' Greek national identity within the boundaries of a new, 'independent nation-state'

in the southern Balkan provinces.[53] In the lead-up to the negotiation and demarcation of the

political borders of the independent Hellenic Republic, local leaders and publics worked to

'restore' the 'Greek homeland' through violent means, targeting 'othered' bodies and culturally-

significant sites for destruction and elimination.

     Local leaders and peasants participating in the revolts for Greek independence defined

themselves not as 'Hellenic,' or descendants of the Ancient Greeks, but as '*Rum,*' that is,

descendants of the Byzantines ('Romans').[54] While 'Greekness' came to be associated with those

of Orthodox faith, the idea of being 'Turkish' was equated with being Muslim to the extent that

the popular word "*tourkevo,* meaning literally 'to become a Turk'," was used by Greeks to refer

to a conversion to Islam.[55] Although later language reform would prove to be a central and

---

[51] Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation,* 95. The death of the British philhellenic poet and volunteer, Lord Byron, in the city of Missolonghi during the spring of 1824 brought widespread attention to the Greek cause. As others have argued, "his death also helped fuel support for European intervention." Drucker, "Byron and Ottoman Love," 150.

[52] St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free,* 165.

[53] It is contested whether the Greek political entity of the 1830s was 'independent' and a 'nation-state' (as this term is generally assumed to be understood today), as many territories beyond Greece's 1832 borders remained claimed by Greek nationalists and European powers imposed 'foreign' regimes in Greece (e.g. Otto, a Bavarian Prince).

[54] Zubaida, *Beyond Islam*, 118.

[55] Heather J. Sharkey, *A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 75.

contentious project in the construction of a Greek national identity, the Greek language (*Romaic*), which was generally spoken by both Christian and Muslim communities in the Peloponnese, was not used to distinguish 'Greeks' from 'non-Greeks.'[56]

Muslim, Jewish, and other non-Christian civilian minorities across the territories claimed by Greek rebels fled or were swiftly killed within the first few months of the outbreak of the independence movement in 1821, inciting retributory violence against Orthodox communities living in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.[57] While it is estimated that around 20,000 Muslims (or, one ninth of the Peloponnesian population) were killed within a few weeks—until Orthodox peasant rebels found that "there were no more Turks to kill"[58]—this scene of ethnic cleansing went mostly unreported, but occasionally justified, across the European continent.[59]

The 'restoration' of the 'Greek homeland' entailed not only the violent elimination and displacement of religious minorities from their ancestral homes, but also the 'purification' and nationalization of newly-claimed 'Greek spaces.' While the violent destruction of Muslim communities in the Peloponnese was often accompanied by the demolition (or sometimes appropriation) of local mosques and minarets, European architects and archaeologists pressed for a more sustained, long-term campaign to revive ancient Greek place names and restore 'classical' monuments.[60]

---

[56] Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation,* 82.

[57] *Ibid.*, 82 & 7.

[58] St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free,* 1 & 12.

[59] *Ibid.*, 25. However, atrocities against Greeks in Istanbul and Chios (areas frequented by European travellers and merchants) captured European attentions.

[60] Beaton, *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation*, 75; & Yannis Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 62.

Under the direction of Bavarian architect Leo von Klenze, the rehabilitation of Athens, which transformed a relatively-unimportant backwater village into a cultural hub and capital city, stands as a dramatic example of these 'restoration' projects. The structures of the Athenian Acropolis (the Parthenon and the Erechtheion in particular) had multiple uses since their construction in the 400s BCE, and were renovated into churches, mosques, and military forts under the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. Von Klenze's plan to "remove the 'remnants of barbarism'"—remnants of post-classical history and the Ottoman past—from the Acropolis was announced ceremoniously with the presence and approval of King Otto, a Bavarian prince given the throne of Greece in 1832.[61] While Von Klenze and other non-Greek scholars generally perceived and removed both Byzantine and Ottoman ('folk') influences as 'barbarian remnants' and 'pollutants,' Greek archaeologists engaged in this 'liberation' of the monumental landscape tended to protect and archive remnants of the Byzantine past.[62] Though held to be a symbol of Turkish occupation, the Tzistarakis Mosque—which was built in 1759 at the base of the Acropolis—was one of the few visibly-Islamic structures to have been left standing, as a warehouse and later as a Museum of Folk Art.[63]

The violent exclusion of communities, bodies, and monuments as 'other' in relation to a reimagined and 'Occidentialized' Greek belonging was further amplified and expanded by the demarcation of Greece's borders with the Ottoman Empire in 1832. As a legal and political expression of 'who and what belongs where,' Greece's international boundary authorized and reinforced socio-cultural practices and projects defining modern Greeks and asserting a Greek

---

[61] Hamilakis, *The nation and its ruins,* 87

[62] *Ibid.*, 91.

[63] *Ibid.*, 68-9.

claim to territory. Greece's borders were negotiated and confirmed by Britain, France, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire with the Treaty of Constantinople, signed 21 July, 1832.[64] The northernmost boundary line, drawn on maps and physically marked by 95 stones, followed "natural geographical barriers" rather than demographic and religious divides in the multiethnic frontiers of the Ottoman Empire.[65] With signatories interested in "terminating the Greek Affair in a way that shall be durable, and calculated to prevent all further discussions on this question," the seventh article of the Treaty of Constantinople permitted individuals in the newly independent Greece, or the Ottoman Empire, to sell their estates and emigrate across the boundary within a period of 18 months.[66] During the negotiation of the treaty, Ottoman and Greek delegates voiced concerns that this article "would be abused by the other side in order to push out unwanted minorities."[67]

The extent to which Muslim and Christian communities were forcibly displaced in the months following the the demarcation of border is unknown, but it is generally accepted that the creation of an independent Greece was accompanied by a series of cross-border migrations under varying circumstances.[68] While there was considerable movement in and across the Greco-Ottoman frontiers in the 1830s, both parties, having to chase down bandits and thieves taking advantage of the jurisdictional limits of the border, increasingly saw mobility as a problem and sought to relocate and settle borderland communities, especially in the instance of those

---

[64] Treaty of Constantinople. Arrangement between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Turkey, for the Definitive Settlement of the Continental Limits of Greece, July 21, 1832. Accessed in January 2020. https://www.scribd.com/document/391669921/1832-Constantinople-Treaty.

[65] George Gavrilis, *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 39-40.

[66] Treaty of Constantinople. Arrangement between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Turkey, for the Definitive Settlement of the Continental Limits of Greece. July 21, 1832.

[67] Gavrilis, *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries,* 40.

[68] Gavrillis, "The Greek–Ottoman Boundary as Institution, Locality, and Process, 1832-1882," 1517.

suspected of criminal activities.[69] Because the border was maintained as a regionally-administered institution tasked with preventing the escalation of conflicts, the boundary, "as an interdependent security zone," frequently became a site of cooperation between local Greek and Ottoman officials.[70]

From the 1820s to the 1830s, narratives of 'being European' became increasingly entangled with an imagined civilizational kinship with an idealized ancient Greek society, to the extent that European publics felt that they had a stake in Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire. Whereas local Greek participants in the revolt sought self-determination as distinct Orthodox subjects of a prospective Greek state, Western artists and scholars represented and narrativized the campaigns as a struggle to restore the homeland of the Hellenic people and to overthrow 'Eastern despotisms.' In this way, the boundaries of 'Europe' were expanded to include and Occidentalize Greece. This is manifested not only in Western literary cultures, as Said's *Orientalism* might emphasize, but also in the violent social and political projects to 'restore' a Greek homeland through the elimination of 'non-Greek' influences regarded as 'barbarian.'

---

[69] *Ibid*., 1522-3. In many instances, 'bandits' were absorbed into the administration of the border, employed to collect taxes and manage cross-border mobilities. In Gavrilis, *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries,* 43.

[70] Gavrillis, "The Greek–Ottoman Boundary as Institution, Locality, and Process, 1832-1882," 1524.

Chapter Two: The Population Exchange (1920s)

As the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire experienced nineteenth century 'national reawakenings' and sought independence, the boundaries of Greece pushed northward, nearly doubling the population of Greece and substantially increasing the percentage of 'minorities'—"Muslims, Jews, Albanians, and Vlachs"—by the end of the Second Balkan War in 1913.[71] Shifting boundaries in the Balkans and Caucasus, as well as the expulsion of unwelcome 'minority' populations from newly established states, brought "radical political and demographic changes" to the Aegean region, and also "caused the mass displacement" of ethnoreligious communities suddenly perceived and policed as 'out of place.'[72] In the 50 years before the fall of the Ottoman Sultanate in 1922, the eastward and southward migrations of Muslims, and the westward and northward movements of Christians, dramatically restructured and constructed "relatively homogenous populations where great heterogeneity had been the norm."[73] In most instances, these migrations were provoked by military campaigns targeting civilian populations, but some were also diplomatically negotiated, as was the case with the Greco-Turkish population exchange laid out by the Lausanne Convention (1923).[74]

The population exchange was negotiated as part of ongoing peace settlements between the Triple Entente (Britain, France, and Russia [the Soviet Union after December 1922]) and the

---

[71] Biray Kolluoğlu, "Excesses of Nationalism: Greco-Turkish population exchange," *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no.3 (May 2013): 537.

[72] Renée Hirschon, "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region," in *Crossing the Aegean: an appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey,* edited by Renée Hirschon (EBook: Berghahn Books, 2008), 3.

[73] Rogers Brubaker, "Aftermaths of Empire and the unmoving of peoples: Historical and comparative perspectives," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no.2 (1995): 192.

[74] *Ibid*., 193.

Ottoman Empire, which was officially succeeded by the Anatolian-based Republic of Turkey in

1923.[75] The Treaty of Sèvres, which had been imposed on the Ottoman Empire in August 1920,

proposed the partitioning of Anatolia, where the southern territories were to be separately

occupied by Greece, Italy, and France and where Istanbul and the Straits were to be held as an

"international zone."[76] This treaty was rendered void, however, after Mustafa Kemal's Turkish

troops—carrying out the 'National Pact' to assert "full Turkish sovereignty" where Turks resided

in Anatolia—forced the Italian and French governments to withdraw their territorial claims.[77]

Rather than stepping back, Greece attempted to enforce and expand its claim to western Anatolia

during the Greco-Turkish War, which began in 1919 and concluded in 1922 with the Armistice of

Mudanya.[78]

During this period, diplomats, statesmen, and scholars understood the concept of 'the

nation-state' as central to organizing politics and securing the peace of the international system.

For instance, in laying out a set of principles for maintaining post-war peace in 1918, Woodrow

Wilson affirmed a right to national self-determination in the form of the state.[79] The principle and

project of the 'nation-state' were further promoted and institutionalized in 1919 with the

founding of the League of Nations, an international organization mandated to facilitate peaceful

---

[75] Cleveland & Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 169.

[76] *Ibid*., 153-4. The treaty also marked out territories reserved for Armenian and Kurdish communities.

[77] For an assessment of the National Pact, see Cleveland & Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 168. For an overview of the Turkish War of Independence, see Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016), 236-237.

[78] *Ibid*., 169.

[79] See Allen Lynch, "Woodrow Wilson and the principle of 'national self-determination': a reconsideration," *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002): 419–436.

resolutions to interstate conflicts.[80] By way of conceptualizing and theorizing this central

organizing principle, Benedict Anderson, in his seminal 1983 text on the origins of nationalism,

defined 'the nation' as a "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently

limited and sovereign."[81] In other words, 'the nation' is a bounded and finite social construct,

produced through the conceptual division of 'us' from 'them.' Further, 'the nation' is held to be

sovereign, in that "nations dream of being free," wherein "the emblem of this [autonomous]

freedom is the sovereign state."[82]

    This chapter addresses boundary-drawing and -crossing within the context of the

nationalization of ethnically diverse spaces of former empires, specifically considering how

projects of boundary delineation and enforcement intersected with the construction of

nationalized 'majorities' and 'minorities' in the early twentieth century. Central to the history of

the Greco-Turkish population exchange is the intervention of the League of Nations, which

served to legalize and facilitate state-led projects of forced deportation and ethnic cleansing. The

boundaries between Greece and Turkey, and also between ideas of 'Europe' and the 'East,' were

built on the understanding that stability and peace could be maintained through the "unmixing of

peoples"—a principle generally attributed to the former Viceroy of India and then British

Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Lord Curzon.[83]

---

[80] For an in-depth analysis of the founding of the League of Nations, and assessment of how the League facilitated the colonial imposition of 'mandate states' (in the former Ottoman Empire and elsewhere), see Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[81] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* revised edition (London & New York: Verso, 2016), 6.

[82] *Ibid.*, 7.

[83] Brubaker, "Aftermaths of Empire and the unmoving of peoples," 192.

Borders, therefore, came to be understood not only as representative of the territorial limits and claims of political entities, but also as expressions and assertions of a bounded national community. Raoul Blanchard, an observer of the population exchange, wrote that despite the personal suffering of 'exchangees,' Greece and Turkey had "realized or almost realized national unity, and that is a great asset for [a peaceful] future."[84] It was within the context of the nationalization and 'stabilization' of Greek and Turkish spaces that the displacement and forced relocation of over 1.5 million Orthodox Christians and 500,000 Muslims could be rationalized.

This chapter moves to a discussion of the Lausanne Convention (1923) and its implications for the construction of 'majorities' on both sides of the Aegean before proceeding to discuss the exceptions to the exchange—exceptions that protected 'minorities' in both states while also defining a particular 'majority-minority' power relation. Here, the homogenizing force of the expanding international system of nation-states gains clarity, and the violence of enforcing exclusionary claims to a bounded national homeland becomes more visible.

Bordering 'Majorities'

The Lausanne Convention—which stipulated the terms of the "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"—was negotiated over a period of three months and signed on 30 January, 1923.[85] The Convention tasked the Mixed

---

[84] Raoul Blanchard, "The Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey," *Geographical Review* 15, no.3 (July 1925): 546.

[85] Lausanne Peace Treaty VI. Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923. Article 1. Accessed Via Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Database. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa.

Commission, comprising Greek, Turkish, and 'neutral' delegates, to facilitate emigrations and to

liquidate the properties of exchangees, all of which was undertaken with the assistance of the

League of Nations as well as international aid organizations.[86] Although the Convention was

worded so as to suggest the exchange was forthcoming, violent conflicts in the region, made

particularly apparent with the Greco-Turkish War (1919-22) in Anatolia, had already displaced

Orthodox Christians and Muslims from their homes and forced them to take refuge in Greek and

Turkish territories respectively. In many ways, the Convention worked to institutionalize and

fully complete "an already existing de facto population displacement."[87]

To understand the circumstances under which the Lausanne Convention was proposed

and signed, it is necessary to consider the Greco-Turkish War in which Greek and Turkish

campaigns displaced and massacred 'enemy' non-combatants in the interests of establishing and

defending national claims in the Anatolian territories. Under the terms of the 1918 Mudros

Armistice that had ended Ottoman involvement in the First World War, Greek forces began in

1919 the occupation of the cosmopolitan, coastal city of Smyrna (current-day Izmir). From there,

the Greek forces moved eastward, enforcing claims to the territories allotted to Greece under the

1920 Treaty of Sèvres before exerting new claims to the territories left to the Ottoman Empire.[88]

These claims were largely inspired by the *Megali Idea*, an "expansionist dream" to establish

---

[86] Hirschon notes that peace talks were initiated by the League of Nations, "represented by Fridtjof Nansen," and exchangees were aided by the Near East Fund, the Save the Children Fund, the Red Cross, and Red Crescent, in "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region," 6. 'Neutral' delegates were from countries with declared neutrality during the First World War.

[87] *Ibid.*, 8.

[88] For background information concerning the arrival of Greek forces in Smyrna/Izmir, see Sarah Shields, "The Greek-Turkish Population Exchange: Internationally Administered Ethnic Cleansing." *Middle East Report* no. 267 (Summer 2013): 2. Further—and as testament to the extent to which diverse religious communities mingled in Ottoman society—when Greek forces landed in Smyrna the soldiers struggled to differentiate Christians from Muslims and Jews, as reported in Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London: Constable and Company, 1922), 272.

Greek authority over Constantinople/Istanbul as well as the Anatolian "heartland of the

Byzantine Empire."[89] In response to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek offensive,

burgeoning Turkish Nationalist forces in Ankara—principally led by Mustafa Kemal, the

Ottoman military officer who rose to prominence during the Battle of Gallipoli—began

westward campaigns to suppress Greek irredentism and stake new Turkish claims to Anatolia.

The ferocity of these campaigns was witnessed by the British historian Arnold J.

Toynbee, who in 1922 published *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey.* In the midst of the

violence, Toynbee recorded his observations and came to a number of conclusions regarding the

potential for peace and stability in the territories of the former Ottoman Empire. Toynbee vividly

described the Greek desecration of mosques, the burning of Turkish quarters and villages, the

destruction of livestock and crops, and the massacre of civilian populations.[90] Witnessing the

violent Greek—and later, Turkish—mobilization of "the Western idea of political nationality,"

Toynbee vehemently critiqued the application of the nation-state to "mixed populations" wherein

some people would be "left on the wrong side of the definitive frontier lines," alienated,

excluded, and subject to violence.[91] Rather than reconsidering the nation-state model as 'the

problem,' the Lausanne Convention, with support from Greek and Turkish delegates, sought to

resolve 'the problem' of mixed populations.[92]

---

[89] Hirschon, 'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region," 4.

[90] A particularly brutal description of the Greek campaigns is found where Toynbee recalls an instance where pigs were slaughtered and left to rot in a desecrated mosque—a deliberate act to insult and terrorize non-combatant Muslim populations. In Toynbee, *The Western Question,* 298.

[91] Toynbee, *The Western Question,* 320-2.

[92] Population exchanges (between Bulgaria, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire) had been considered and attempted in the past. Therefore, the proposal (often attributed to the Greek statesman Eleftherios Venizelos and the League of Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees Fridtjof Nansen) to transfer populations between Greece and Turkey was not a departure from previous diplomatic attempts to resolve conflicts and stabilize territorial claims.

The 'unmixing' of peoples was implemented so as to create two "ethno-religiously homogenized nation-states on the 'modern' European model" with definitive political borders.[93] Approximately 1.5–2 million individuals became 'exchangees' through the Lausanne Convention, forcibly displaced and transferred from one state to the other on an unprecedented scale. Greece, with a population of 5.5 million, received approximately 1.3-1.5 million Orthodox Christians exchangees from Anatolia, many of whom were Turkish-speaking agrarian peasants "destitute of all resources" and with little resettlement support from the Greek state.[94] Fewer Muslims, approximately 400,000–500,000, were transported from Greece to Turkey, contributing to dramatic demographic shifts in Anatolia where by 1927, 97.5 per cent of the overall population (at 13.6 million) was Muslim, up from 80 per cent of the population (at 15 million) in 1906.[95]

Although under the Lausanne Convention, the exchangees were to acquire Greek or Turkish nationality, it would a mistake to think that these persons—whose families had often been established in particular villages and regions for centuries—felt themselves as nationals 'going home.'[96] The process of creating Greek and Turkish nations involved not only the mass displacement and relocation of people, but also the suppression and 'reprogramming' of trans-

---

[93] Shields, "The Greek-Turkish Population Exchange," 5.

[94] Blanchard, "The Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey," 432. The statistics are derived from Blanchard's reports, *Ibid.*, 455.

[95] These statistics are taken from Kolluoğlu, "Excesses of Nationalism," 435.

[96] Article 7 of the Convention stipulates that emigrants—those displaced both before and after the signing of the convention—will "acquire the nationality of the country of their destination." In other parts of the Convention, however, the term 'Greek' is applied to Orthodox Christians who have yet to leave Anatolia, in Article 4.

Aegean memories and connections.[97] For example, resettled 'Greeks' and 'Turks' were forced

"to suppress certain feelings, the feeling which still connected them to the places where they or

their forebears used to live."[98] This was accomplished by both barring the return of exchangees

to their ancestral homelands (a term of the Convention upheld until the 1990s), and by publicly

regarding the expression of these attachments as "a kind of [national] betrayal."[99] The

application of a "top-down definition of national identity [based on religious affiliations] over the

territorial boundaries of the nation-state" acted to reify imaginations of a 'national self,' to which

particular groups were assimilated and against which some communities were excluded and

'othered.'[100]

Bordering 'Minorities'

As a corollary to the homogenization of nationalized populations and the assertion of

singularities (for instance, *the* state*, the* Greeks, and *the* nation), the nation-state projects of both

Greece and Turkey created and institutionalized the "problem of minorities."[101] Assuming that

the presence of 'others' in the newly nationalized and border spaces would be a cause of conflict,

---

[97] Bruce Clark expressed that the population exchange involved not only transferring people across the Aegean but also the 'reprogramming' and 'remoulding' of exchangees as 'Greek' or 'Turkish' nationals. Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger: the mass expulsions that forged modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 12.

[98] *Ibid.*, 12.

[99] Hirschon comments on the lack of Turkish literature on the subject, in "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region," 9. Article 1 of the Lausanne Convention restricts the return of exchangees; the impact of the lifting of these restrictions on exchangees (and their descendants) was explored by Al Jazeera, in "The Great Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece," *Al Jazeera,* World Section, February 28, 2018.

[100] Kolluoğlu, "Excesses of Nationalism," 545-6. Exchangees had dynamic and complicated relationships with the 'national self,' treated both as 'insiders' and 'outsiders' by receiving communities. Pressured to assimilate yet frequently excluded from social and economic networks by local Greek communities, exchangees to Greece often constructed and reproduced a sense of community as Anatolian Greek refugees with "strong Byzantine traditions," in Alice James, "Memories of Anatolia: generating Greek Refugee identity," *Balkanologie* 5, no.1-2 (2001): 6.

[101] Toynbee identified "the problem of minorities" as arising from the assertion of a homogenous nation(-state) where multiethnic populations live, in *The Western Question,* 323. Further, Biray Kolluoğu argues that the categories of 'majority,' 'minority,' and 'refugee' are embedded (rather than exceptional) within the nation-state system—a system which produces communities "that cannot be absorbed by the national body," in "Excesses of Nationalism," 533-4.

proponents of the Lausanne Convention justified the exchange on humanitarian grounds, as the

protection and liberation of 'minorities' on the "wrong side of national boundaries."[102] However,

Article 2 of the Convention exempted "the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople" and "the

Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace" from the compulsory exchange.[103] These exempted

communities, with populations of approximately 100,000, would be a source of international

contention and anxiety.[104]

Turkish delegates at the talks in Lausanne voiced their concerns about the potential for

foreign interventions on behalf of Orthodox 'minority' populations, a line of contention

stemming from the ongoing nationalist project to rescind the Ottoman "capitulations granted to

foreign powers in the nineteenth century."[105] Likewise, Greek delegates had concerns about the

extent to which the Turkish government might keep "a wary eye on the Muslims in Greek

Thrace," to monitor not only their treatment but also their responses to "revolutionary changes in

the Turkish motherland."[106] Though the guaranteed presence of 'the other' within Greek and

Turkish territories may have worked to keep the states accountable to each other—in that each

was assumed to have had an interest in the welfare of their 'hostage' populations—the presence

of 'the other' kept anxieties about irredentism alive.[107] In both cases, majority-minority relations

---

[102] 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,* 52, no.2-3 (2018): 122.

[103] Lausanne Convention, Article 2.

[104] "Hirschon, 'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region," 8.

[105] *Ibid.*, 7.

[106] Bruce Clark, *Twice a Stranger,* 203.

[107] Toynbee frequently used the language of "hostages" while referring to 'out of place' minority populations and cited the concerns and anxieties around the maintenance of national sovereignty over multiethnic populations, in *The Western Question,* 323.

came to be influenced by and understood in relation to "bilateral political relations between Greece and Turkey," which would stabilize in the 1930s.[108]

However, the category of the 'minority' is neither natural nor neutral but is a "specific subject of governmentality."[109] The processes of 'minoritization'—whereby groups of individuals are set apart from the 'majority' as aberrations—work to define and institutionalize boundaries around national imaginations of 'self,' affirming the sense of a majoritized 'us' juxtaposed against minoritized 'others.'[110] The Lausanne Convention articulated and gave institutional weight to oversimplified communal boundaries. This is especially the case where minoritized Orthodox and Muslim communities, much like the majoritized exchangees, were more heterogeneous than was typically assumed with blanket descriptors emphasizing the group's religious difference from the national community. For instance, defining and representing the "minority in Western Thrace" principally as 'Muslim,' and occasionally as 'Greek Muslim,' worked to obscure Muslim self-identifications with diverse ethnic and linguistic communities, many of which overlapped with those of 'Greeks' and 'Turks.'[111] The minoritized population in Thrace, defined as 'Muslim' under the terms of the Convention, was set in contrast with the majoritized and nationalized Orthodox community.[112] But, as much as this minoritized

---

[108] Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ruby Gropas, "Constructing Difference: The Mosque Debates in Greece," *Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, no.6 (2009): 961. In 1930, the Prime Minister of Greece, Venizelos, visited Ankara to meet with the President of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, and signed a Treaty of Friendship that settled the property claims of exchangees and rescinded competing territorial claims.

[109] Olga Demetriou, *Capricious Borders: Minority, Population, and Counter-Conduct Between Greece and Turkey* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 10.

[110] Demetriou identifies the "process of 'minoritization' whereby knowledge of what is henceforth 'minor' and what 'major' are naturalized and institutionalized, framing modes of oppression and resistance." Demetriou, *Capricious Borders,* 3.

[111] Christina Borou, "The Muslim Minority of Western Thrace in Greece: An Internal Positive or an Internal Negative 'other'?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no.1 (2009) 17.

[112] Anna Triandafyllidou, "National identity and the 'other'," *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 21, no.4 (1998): 609.

population was excluded from imaginations of a Greek nation, the Greek state, wary of Turkish interventions, actively refused to recognize their connections with Turkish cultures and languages by defining the population as 'Greek Muslim.'[113]

By giving force to the imagined boundaries between ethnoreligious communities, the Lausanne Convention—with the support of Greek and Turkish authorities—established a conceptual framework wherein citizens were to live "in ritual opposition" with 'the other,' and whereby exchangees were "to pretend that they had always lived in the places marked out by their current national borders, and nowhere else."[114] In another sense, exchangees—as much as publics—were to understand the compulsory exchange as a program of repatriation whereby 'out of place' and minoritized populations were supposedly returned to their homelands. While it is the case that some exchangees would be welcomed by their new neighbours, others were, in a manner contrary to the narratives of repatriation, "subjected to abuse and even physical violence" as strangers within their new communities.[115]

European geopolitical imaginations and interventions were foregrounded by concerns regarding the 'Eastern Question,' a long-standing pattern of political and diplomatic strategizing to gain influence over Ottoman territories as the Empire receded. Wary of the potential for other states to exert influence over these territories, European diplomats privileged the creation of independent nation-states with definitive borders. In the case of Greece and Turkey, national

---

[113] *Ibid.*

[114] Clark, *Twice a Stranger,* 240.

[115] Kolluoğlu recalls "stories encouraging a warm welcome of the exchangees" to Izmir/Smyrna, and describes the "festive atmosphere" of the city as exchangees began arriving in the fall of 1923. However, as the city began experiencing housing and food shortages, tensions arose between local Turks and the exchangees. Kolluoğlu, "Excesses of Nationalism," 540. Clark writes of instances where "refugee families" in Greece were abused while cultivating the fields they had received as part of the resettlement process. Fearing this violence, families of 'Anatolian Greeks' would often band together "in large, defensible groups" to harvest their crops, developing a new sense of community in the process, in *Twice a Stranger,* 224.

boundaries were drawn along religious lines, institutionalizing the differentiation of interspersed faith communities on both sides of the Aegean.[116] Further, the demographic restructuring of the two states, supported by the narrative of repatriation, worked to codify the distinctions and boundaries between 'Christendom' and 'the Muslim world' with minoritized religious communities representative of "the ways in which religious affiliation serves as a marker of outsider status."[117] The forcible transfer of individuals and families was justified by diplomats and statesmen on humanitarian grounds (as supposedly rescuing minorities), and in the name of international security and stability (as supposedly diminishing the prospect of further irredentist claims and wars); this, despite the fact that the exchange caused traumatic dislocations from ancestral lands and ways of life. The violent separation of 'Orthodox Greeks' from 'Muslim Turks' through the population exchange produced the Greco-Turkish boundary as expression of each nation's cultural boundedness and territorial integrity.

---

[116] For an assessment of the intercommunal relations and cultural intersections between Christian, Muslim, and Jewish populations in the Middle East, specifically the territories formerly held by the Ottoman Empire, see Sharkey, *A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East*.

[117] Goalwin, "Population exchange and the politics of ethno-religious fear," 125.

Chapter Three: The Refugee 'Crisis' (2010s)

The emergence and development of the European Union (EU) served to reify and institutionalize an idea of a European community sharing common interests and values, beginning with the Treaty of Rome, which proposed a customs union between signatories, in 1957. The Schengen Agreement (1985) and Convention (1990) outlined and affirmed a commitment to the gradual abolition of mobility restrictions between signatories, which was implemented in 1995 as "the abolition of checks on persons at internal borders" and as the realization of a common visa policy.[118] Greece, party to the EU since 1981, implemented the Schengen agreement in 2000 and adopted the Euro—the official currency of the eurozone—in the following year. The elimination of internal border controls was understood to require the "strengthening of external border controls and cooperation in the field of asylum and immigration," a policy line which re-concentrated border enforcement practices at the boundaries shared with non-Schengen states.[119] This directly implicated Greece's international borders, shared with Turkey and covering a Mediterranean coastline of over 13,500 kilometres, in the twenty-first century regulation of migration into Europe.

This chapter addresses how the institutionalization of the idea of Europe within the Schengen area reinforced geopolitical imaginations of a 'European self' with definitive territorial and cultural boundaries. Under this arrangement, Greece's international boundaries took on new significance as they became (re-)conceived and enforced as the external borders of Europe as

---

[118] Article 2 calls for the abolition of checks at internal borders, and Article 9 calls for the establishment of a common visa regime. *Convention Implementing the Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985*. Signed June 19, 1990. Implemented March 26, 1995. O.J. (L 239). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:42000A0922(02)&from=EN.

[119] IARLJ. 2016. *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals: A Judicial Analysis*. Produced for the European Asylum Support Office (2016), 22.

sites of intense surveillance and securitization.[120] Consequently, the practices and politics of

boundary-crossing and -enforcement in the Aegean region could not be confined to Greece as a

purely local affair, but were reimagined and policed as a intra-continental European concern.

Before moving to discuss European responses to the influx of 'migrants' to Greece, I briefly

outline the circumstances of mass displacement and migration under which the twenty-first

century EU arrangements to regulate mobilities and process asylum claims faltered, such that

they constituted a "crisis of governance."[121]

Political instability and violent conflict in Syria, exacerbated by the expansion of Daesh

(or, the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in 2013, displaced civilian populations at an

unprecedented scale. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that, since

the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, 5.6 million Syrians have escaped violence by

crossing international boundaries as refugees and another 6.6 million people have been internally

displaced.[122] Turkey, as neighbour to the north of Syria, would host and give 'temporary

protection' to greater than 3.5 million displaced Syrians.[123] In 2015, approximately 1.25 million

---

[120] See Didier Bigo, "Frontier controls in the European Union: who is in control?" In *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe*, edited by Didier Bigo & Elspeth Guild. 49–99. Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2005, for an assessment of the securitization of European borders, particularly those located along the shores of Spain, Italy, and Greece.

[121] Here, I use the term 'migrant' to reflect the language frequently used by European publics and broadcasters to identify a heterogeneous group of border-crossers. This term has the effect of displacing an understanding of the conditions under which persons were forcibly moved. Throughout this section, I prefer to describe this heterogeneous group as 'people,' emphasizing the humanity of border crossers and resisting the tendency to define complex individuals by their often criminalized motions. The term 'refugee' is applied to groups of people who have satisfied the 1951 Refugee Convention's (as expanded by the 1967 Protocol) definition of 'refugee' as someone who, "owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country," in Article 1; & Sandra Lavenex, "Failing Forward' Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, no. 5 (2018): 1196.

[122] Statistics accessed via UNHCR, "Syria Refugee Crisis," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Feb 2, 2020. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/syria/.

[123] *Ibid*.

people filed for asylum in the EU, more than doubling records from the previous year.[124]

Between January 2015 and March 2016, just over one million people arrived in Greece by crossing the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, a dangerous maritime route which claimed the lives of 1,196 people within the same period.[125]

It was under these conditions that the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) began to falter. Contemporary observers and scholars placed the blame on the Dublin System, which stood as an obstacle to 'burden sharing' and which was rendered ineffective by early 2016.[126] The Dublin System (in effect since 1997 and revised in 2013) mandated that asylum seekers apply for protection in the first EU Member State where they arrived, and then committed Member States to 'take back' those who sought protection in another EU country.[127] This system has been extensively criticized by scholars, human rights organizations, and national leaders for effectively casting great administrative and receptive obligations onto Greece and Italy, two EU Member States that receive disproportionately high numbers of asylum claimants.[128] By Fall 2015, it was widely recognized as infeasible to restrict asylum claimants to Greece, and so a

---

[124] Asylum statistics accessed via Eurostat, "Record number of over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers registered in 2015," Eurostat Newsrelease. March 4, 2016. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6. Half of these claims came from individuals of Syrian (362,000), Afghani (178,000), and Iraqi (120,000) origins.

[125] International Organization for Migration, "Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals in 2016: 160,547; Deaths: 488," Press Release, March 22, 2016. https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-2016-160547-deaths-488.

[126] See, for instance, Ranier Brauböck, "Europe's commitments and failure in the refugee crisis," *European Political Science* 17 (2018): 140–150.

[127] Dublin III Regulation, Regulation (EU) No. 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council, recast Dublin II Regulation. 2013. https://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/content/en-dublin-iii-regulation-regulation-ec-no-6042013-26-june-2013-recast-dublin-ii-regulation#toc_165.

[128] For instance, Gerald Knaus ("Why people don't need to drown in the Aegean: A policy proposal," Draft, *European Stability Initiative,* 2015) has criticized the system for disburdening Northern European countries from their obligations to assist humanitarian migrants. Human Rights Organizations like Human Rights Watch ("Greece: A Year of Suffering for Asylum Seekers," *Human Rights Watch,* March 15, 2017) have critiqued the system for 'trapping' asylum seekers in inhumane conditions in underfunded camps. National leaders, like former Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi (Reuters, "Matteo Renzi: Italy cannot take in 155,000 migrants again next year," *The Guardian,* October 25, 2016, Italy), have criticized the arrangement for the financial toll placed on already economically-weak states.

number of Northern European countries, notably Germany, suspended Dublin transfers, allowing

persons to seek protections beyond the countries in which they first arrived.[129]

While refugees were, in many instances, warmly received by European publics moved to

compassion by graphic images of bloodied and drowned Syrian children, populist media

narratives questioning *whose security* should be privileged soon led to the implementation of

policies intended to deter migration into Europe.[130] As this chapter will address, populist figures

and nationalist leaders across the European continent increasingly politicized the cross-border

mobility and visibility of predominantly Muslim populations—populations framed in media

discourses as "alien and threatening" to European civilization.[131] Then, on March 18, 2016, the

European Council released a statement confirming an agreement between the EU and Turkey

intended to reduce the number of irregular arrivals to the Greek Islands and increase Turkey's

capacity to contain and host refugees.[132] Twenty-first century European responses to Aegean

mobilities occurred on two related fronts: first, with the discursive rendering of 'Europe' as a

civilizational community defined against, and supposedly threatened by, a racialized Muslim

'Other;' and, second, with the implementation of extra-European border enforcement

agreements.

---

[129] See Anna Triandafyllidou, "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding: 'Real' Events and Their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2018): 202-3.

[130] *Ibid.*, 199.

[131] Rogers Brubaker, "Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist movement in comparative perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no.8 (2017): 1204.

[132] European Council. "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016." Press Release. March 18, 2016. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/.

Bordering Identities

Populism has been defined as "an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogenous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others'."[133] Centring an essentialized idea of 'the people' as "constituting a monolithic unit that has an authentic will of its own," populist discourses depend on definitive 'us-them' constructions that privilege the values and autonomies of one particular group sharply differentiated from 'others' by, for instance, nationality, class, religion, and language.[134] Populist discourses in twenty-first century Europe have been accompanied with "extreme nationalism" and "nativism," whereby a particular (national or 'native'-born) community asserts a claim to the exclusive right to occupy spaces and benefit from various socio-economic resources.[135] While, as discussed in the second chapter, the concept of the 'nation' has been privileged in the organization of domestic and global politics, the concept of 'civilization' (though not always named as such) has also influenced how publics and states organize themselves in relation to others.[136]

The phenomenon of "construing the opposition between self and other not in narrowly national but in broader civilizational terms" has been termed "civilizationism" by Rogers

---

[133] Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell, "Introduction: The Sceptre and the Spectre," in *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy*, edited by Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 3.

[134] Stefan Auer, "'New Europe': Between Cosmopolitan Dreams and Nationalist Nightmares," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 28, no. 5 (2010): 1165.

[135] For an analysis of links between "extreme nationalism" and populism, see Auer, "'New Europe': Between Cosmopolitan Dreams and Nationalist Nightmares," 1165. For an assessment of the links between Nativism and populism, see Cas Mudde, "Nativism is driving the far-right surge in Europe—and it is here to say," *The Guardian,* Europe, Opinion, November 12, 2019.

[136] References to 'our ways of life' and 'our culture' may work to stand in for the term 'civilization.' Further, Christopher Coker argues that myths of civilization are sustained by the "very human tendency […] to essentialize life, to strip it down to its core, to reveal the eternal behind the common place." Coker, *The Rise of the Civilizational State,* 39.

Brubaker.[137] European populist movements, as Brubaker argues, have imagined 'European

Civilization' as fundamentally Christian, secular, and liberal.[138] Each of these contradictory

facets is "selectively embraced" so as to performatively create difference from, and assert

superiority over, the non-European, Muslim, and illiberal 'Other.'[139] Within the discursive

construction of a 'Christian Europe,' Christianity is imagined as a broader "cultural container

[…] stripped of a genuinely religious meaning and used to signify an indefinite set of concepts

and structures" in a way which presupposes Europe's uniquely 'secularizing' and 'liberalizing'

historical trajectory.[140] By drawing on this civilizational imagination, populist actors constructed

the growing presence of the 'Muslim Other' as a threat to 'European' values and ways of life. For

instance, after the Charlie Hebdo attacks in Paris, Geert Wilders (Dutch leader of the Party for

Freedom) insisted that Europe was "at war" and needed to "stop immigration from Islamic

countries," while Matteo Salvini (the Italian leader of Lega Nord) condemned Italian Muslims

for "trying to impose a way of life that is incompatible with ours."[141]

Increasing the extent to which publics imagined asylum-seeking and cross-border

mobility as a 'threat' (or 'crisis'), was the media's repetition of aquatic metaphors to narrate

migratory events as 'influxes,' 'floods,' and 'surges.'[142] Comparing the movement of people to

natural disasters elicited, as a "reasonable" response, the construction of barriers and fences

---

[137] Brubaker, "Between nationalism and civilizationism," 1193.

[138] *Ibid.*, 1204.

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] Tobias Müller, "Constructing cultural borders: depictions of Muslim refugees in British and German media," *Z Vgl Polit Wiss* 12 (2018): 269.

[141] Wilders and Salvini are quoted in Kate Connolly, Angelique Chrisafis, and Stephanie Kirchgaessner, "Muslims in Europe fear anti-Islamic mood will intensify after Paris attacks," *The Guardian,* Europe, January 9, 2015.

[142] *Ibid.*, 271.

intended to keep the uncontrollable natural forces 'outside' from imposing on the otherwise

orderly and tamed 'inside.'[143] In the latter months of 2015, populist politicians bolstered the idea

that 'Muslim terrorists' had "infiltrate[d] the migratory flux," as argued by Florian Philippot

(advisor to Marine Le Pen, the President of the National Front political party in France), or had

otherwise "exploited mass migration," as expressed by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor

Orbán.[144] In addition to engendering feelings of mistrust toward European leaders who

welcomed refugees en masse in 2015, this framing of migrants worked to reinforce the populist

narrative that Europe's generosity and compassion had been taken advantage of by "bogus

refugees."[145]

Public scepticism toward the arrival and presence of asylum seekers rose dramatically in

the weeks after the Cologne incidents, where hundreds of young women celebrating New Year's

Eve on December 31, 2015, reported being robbed, sexually assaulted, and raped by 'foreign

looking' men.[146] Tabloids picking up the story implied that these men were asylum seekers who

had recently arrived in Germany, despite lacking any official confirmation of this claim's

veracity.[147] The representation of 'Muslim migrants' as predators was further reproduced in the

media, as was the case when the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* suggested that Alan Kurdi

---

[143] *Ibid*.

[144] Florian Philippot and Viktor Orbán quoted in Adam Nossiter, "Marine Le Pen's Anti-Islam Message Gains Influence in France," *The New York Times,* November 17, 2015.

[145] In August, 2015, German Chancellor Angela Merkel expressed "wir schaffen das" ["we can do this"] in the welcoming of nearly one million refugees and asylum seekers to Germany in 2015. This was a contentious move, sparking great criticisms from populist politicians. See Müller, "Constructing cultural borders," 266. For an analysis of the framing of 'bogus refugees' in relation to a generous Europe, see Triandafyllidou, "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding," 212.

[146] Anna Triandafyllidou identified the Cologne incidents as a significant turning point in how Europeans understood the 'refugee crisis," in Triandafyllidou, "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding," 209.

[147] *Ibid*., 209.

(the Syrian toddler who was found dead on a Turkish beach in September 2015) would have grown up to be an "ass groper in Germany."[148] In this context, as argued by Anna Triandafyllidou, "the refugee emergency" would be reframed as a threat to Europe, "represented as a young and innocent woman assaulted by these foreign, evil men."[149] Further, the construction of Muslims as 'incompatible' and 'unassimilable' to European ways of life implied the "natural and beneficial" separation of groups differentiated by slippery conceptions of religion and culture.[150]

Bordering Spaces

In 2015, Gerald Knaus proposed that the EU negotiate with Turkey a plan to address the growing humanitarian crisis in the Greco-Turkish borderlands, and to facilitate greater cooperation and burden-sharing.[151] The deal was intended to provide "Syrian refugees" with "a safe and realistic option for claiming asylum in the EU" from Turkey, thereby reducing the incentive to undertake unauthorized and extremely risky crossings of the Aegean.[152] This was to be carried out firstly, by the EU's immediate resettlement of 500,000 Syrians temporarily residing in Turkey and secondly, by the return of "any refugees reaching Lesbos, Samos, Kor, or other Greek Islands" to Turkey.[153] Although the non-binding EU-Turkey Agreement of 2016

---

[148] This particularly gross cartoon of Kurdi, published in a special edition of *Charlie Hebdo*, is republished and translated in Amanda Meade, "Charlie Hebdo cartoon depicting drowned child Alan Kurdi sparks racism debate," *The Guardian,* Europe, January 14, 2016.

[149] Triandafyllidou, "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding," 209.

[150] Müller, "Constructing cultural borders," 268.

[151] Gerald Knaus, "Why people don't need to drown in the Aegean: A policy proposal," Draft, *European Stability Initiative,* 2015.

[152] *Ibid.*, 2. I highlight the fact that the drafted proposal intended the resettlement of refugees of Syrian origins *only*.

[153] *Ibid.*, 9. The second measure was to be implemented in order to undercut human smuggling operations in the Aegean; the transfers back to Turkey were to be *secondary* to European resettlement initiatives meant to 'regularize' a path for asylum and refuge in Europe.

certainly drew on the language of mitigating the humanitarian crisis—by "offering migrants [seeking refuge in the EU] an alternative to putting their lives at risk"—both parties privileged, and sought to leverage, "political advantage[s]" in their negotiation and implementation of the deal.[154]

The agreement outlined three significant actions intended to regulate and re-channel Aegean mobilities: first, the return of "all new irregular migrants" arriving on the Greek islands from Turkey; second, the European resettlement of one Syrian refugee residing in Turkey per one 'taken back' from Greece, up to a maximum of 72,000 persons; and third, the mobilization of a maximum six billion Euros to fund "health, education, [and] infrastructure" projects supporting refugees under temporary protection in Turkey.[155] Despite the 97 per cent drop in daily arrivals to the Greek islands, this agreement suffered from "inadequate implementation," in that fewer than four percent of 'irregular migrants' were returned to Turkey; further, over the following period of three years, fewer than 21,000 Syrians had been resettled in the EU from Turkey.[156] Nevertheless, the EU-Turkey agreement represents a comprehensive and collaborative attempt to manage (de-)authorized human mobilities in the Aegean region.[157]

Populist media narratives representing border-crossers as "dubious claimants" to asylum in Europe bolstered support for border enforcement practices which treat boundary-crossing as a

---

[154] In the preamble to the agreement outlined by the European Council, the mitigation of harm and the reduction of human smuggling are the stated intents of Turkish and European actions. European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016," Press Release, March 18, 2016. For an assessment of the political concerns at stake in the deal, see Goalwin, "Population exchange and the politics of ethno-religious fear," 121-122.

[155] European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement," Action Points 1, 2, & 6.

[156] Statistics on returns and arrivals from Gerald Knaus, "Keeping the Aegean Agreement Afloat," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, December 20, 2016. Resettlement records accessed in Migration and Home Affairs, "EU-Turkey Statement Three Years On," European Commission, Fact Sheet, March 2019.

[157] I use the term 'de-authorized' to draw attention to the ways in which states and their borders operate to define and police some mobilities as legitimate and others as illegitimate.

whole as criminal behaviour.[158] Within Europe, and particularly along the Balkan corridor, this was manifested in the state-led building of fences to "stop the transit of asylum-seeking flows," as was the case in Hungary in September 2015, and the introduction of border checks to deny the entry of persons "judged more likely to be asylum seekers," as was the case in North Macedonia in January 2016.[159] On the edges of the EU, migration was deterred not only by the threat of return posed by the EU-Turkey agreement, but also by the inhumane conditions of Greek refugee reception centres located on the Greek islands near the Turkish coastline. Since 2016, people camped at the underfunded, unhygienic, and dangerously overcrowded Moria reception centre on Lesbos have been barred from entering mainland Greece, and face lengthy wait times to have their asylum claims filed and heard.[160]

In regard to the more distant boundaries of Europe, the EU and its member states have entered into agreements with non-EU countries to deter and manage human mobilities at the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Though emblematic of the externalization of European border enforcement practices, the EU-Turkey agreement was not the first deal to have committed non-European countries to intercept 'migrants' en route to Europe.[161] In 2008, for

---

[158] Nicholas de Genova, "Introduction: The Borders of 'Europe' and the European Question," in *The Borders of 'Europe': Autonomy of Migration, Tactics of Bordering,* edited by Nicholas de Genova (EBook: Duke University Press, 2017), 7-8.

[159] The Balkan corridor refers to a land route, through multiple Balkan states, traversed by asylum seekers travelling from Greece and Turkey toward central and northern Europe. Before 2019 and the resolution of the naming dispute, North Macedonia was named the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Triandafyllidou, "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding," 205.

[160] In January 2020, the number of people living in Moria, a reception centre build to accommodate 3,500 people, exceeded 19,000. Over 1,000 of these people are unaccompanied children. In an interview with the *Guardian*, Ali, a father of four children from Syria, expressed that "Sometimes we consider that Moria is just a place for waiting for death." In Harriet Grant and Giogos Moutafis, "Moria is a hell': new arrivals describe life in a Greek refugee camp," *The Guardian,* Human Rights in Focus, January 17, 2020.

[161] Didier Bigo writes of the externalization of borders as the "de-linking of [territorial] frontiers and controls," in Didier Bigo, "Frontier controls in the European Union: who is in control?" in *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe*, edited by Didier Bigo & Elspeth Guild (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 3.

instance, Italy agreed to finance the creation of three migrant detention centres in Libya, a

country which also agreed to 'take back' "all undocumented migrants" who passed through

Libya and arrived in Italy.[162] Before that time, in 2006, Spain entered into a similar arrangement

with Mauritania with the goal of restricting the mobilities of 'migrants' en route to Spanish

territories.[163]

While these third-country agreements worked to extend European border enforcement

practices across the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas, beyond the territorial jurisdictions of EU

member states, boundary-drawing dynamics acting to differentiate and demarcate a 'Muslim

Other' also emerged within urban centres. Neighbourhoods with high concentrations of low-

income immigrants have often been classified by some law enforcement officials as 'no-go

zones,' or places associated with high levels of crime and violence.[164] Populist actors frequently

described neighbourhoods with large Muslim populations as 'no-go zones,' reproducing the idea

that Islam is incompatible with, and poses as a threat to the cohesion of, European public life.[165]

Serving as a primary example of these internal bordering practices is the popular representation

of Molenbeek (a multicultural neighbourhood in Brussels) as a "haven for Belgian jihadis,"

thereby subject to increased policing.[166]

---

[162] These commitments to restrict migration to Italian were reaffirmed by the 2017 interim Libyan Government. Tiziana Torresi, "An Emerging Regulatory Framework for Migration," *Griffith Law Review* 22, no. 3 (2013): 652.

[163] Florian Trauner, "The EU's readmission policy in the neighbourhood: A comparative view on the southern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe," in *The EU, Migration and the Politics of Administrative Detention*, edited by Michela Ceccorulli and Nicola Labanca (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), 35.

[164] For a discussion of the ethnic and economic fragmentation of cities, see Wendy Pullan, "The migration of frontiers: ethnonational conflicts and contested cities," in *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries: Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches,* edited by Jennifer Jackson & Lina Molokotos-Liederman (New York: Routledge, 2015), 220.

[165] De Genova, "The Borders of 'Europe'," 14.

[166] Alex Forsyth, "Paris attacks: Is Molenbeek a haven for Belgian jihadis?" *BBC News,* Europe, November 17, 2015.

This has also been the case for Exarcheia, a small neighbourhood in Athens where, since 2015, local anarchist and migrant-rights groups have transformed vacant buildings into safe houses for refugees.[167] The 'no-go zone' discourse, reproduced by right-wing politicians and anti-immigrant groups in Greece, has associated the concentrated presence of the 'Muslim Other' in Exarcheia with crime, social unrest, and violence.[168] The perimeter of Exarcheia is heavily policed. On each block, a set of officers armed and equipped with riot gear observe activities in the streets, visually marking Exarcheia as a space of exceptional instability and lawlessness.[169] In August 2019, Greece's New Democracy government announced plans to "restore law and order" to the neighbourhood, sanctioning the eviction of refugees residing in all twenty-three safe houses.[170] The identification and policing of Exarcheia served to (re)produce spatially-conceived understandings of 'upstanding' Greek citizens and 'deviant' others, those *with* and *without* an entitlement to space and belonging.

---

[167] For a detailed analysis of Exarcheia, see Athina Arampatzi, "Contentious spatialities in an era of austerity: Everyday politics and 'struggle communities' in Athens, Greece," *Political Geography* 60 (2017): 47–56.

[168] Penny (Panagiota) Koutrolikou, "Governmentalities of Urban Crises in Inner-city Athens, Greece," *Antipode* 48, no.1 (2016): 180.

[169] Author's observations, Athens, Greece, June 6–11, 2018.

[170] Alex King and Ioanna Mmanoussaki-Adamopoulou, "Inside Exarcheia: the self-governing community Athens police want rid of," *The Guardian,* Cities, August 26, 2019.

Conclusions

During the Greek War of Independence, the Greco-Turkish population exchange, and the twenty-first century 'refugee crisis,' practices of exclusion and expulsion have rested on the general idea that peace and security could be maintained through the separation of essentialized groups differentiated by religion and culture. In these instances, boundary practices, rather than merely delineating one jurisdiction from another, were centrally implicated in the production and maintenance of homogenous group identities tied to specific places. The concept of 'Europe' is made meaningful, its imagination possible, through the "spatial representation and management" of 'European civilization.'[171] For this reason, bordering practices—asserting and differentiating an 'us/here' from 'them/there'—are also "exercises of social and political power," enabling and restricting particular entitlements to reside on or enter into certain, defined territories.[172]

Edward Said defined Orientalism as "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient," as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient," and as "a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness."[173] This project has attempted to add depth to Said's engagement with the literary construction of bodies, societies, and lands as 'Eastern' and 'Other' (against a simultaneously imagined and privileged 'Western Self'), through a study of borders and boundaries. I argue that an engagement with concrete boundary practices—as

---

[171] Michael Skey, "Boundaries and belonging: dominant ethnicity and the place of the nation in a globalizing world," in *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries: Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches,* edited by Jennifer Jackson and Lina Molokotos-Liederman (New York: Routledge, 2015), 104.

[172] Mabel Berezin, "Territory, Emotion, and Identity: Spatial Recalibration in a New Europe," in *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age, edited by Mabel Berezin & Martin Schain* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 4.

[173] Said, *Orientalism,* 3 & 12.

institutions, styles, and ideologies that produce and partition 'East' and 'West'—identifies and makes visible the material violences of Orientalism.

In the Greco-Turkish borderlands, these violences are principally seen in the exclusion and forced displacement of minoritized populations from territories imagined and designated as the homeland of a majoritized and singularized community. Defining and policing which bodies are 'in' or 'out' of place, boundary institutions and practices in the Aegean region have operated as violent sites of exclusion. Overlapping with imagined delineations between 'Eastern' and 'Western' civilizations, European states and publics have constructed and enforced the Aegean boundaries as a trans-continental and inter-civilizational concern. As much as these interventions have been rationalized through the discursive and physical 'Occidentalization' of Greece as the supposed ancient progenitor of 'European civilization,' they have also been legitimized on the basis of excluding an incompatible, threatening, and Orientalized 'Muslim Other.'

This thesis therefore proposes that the Aegean borders of Greece have been imagined and managed as institutions which actively (re)produce the identities and alterities of 'Western' and 'Eastern' civilizations. This borderland is violent not because it is inherently a place of contact between civilizations, but because it is constructed and addressed as such a place. 'Europe' is a concept maintained by the continued assertion of its boundedness, of its finiteness, and of its difference and separation from simultaneously bounded 'Non-European Others.' In other words, the identification and exclusion of 'Others' is necessary for the (re)production of European identity and community. Within this context, border enforcement comes as a response to the supposed 'mixing' of differentiated peoples. The regulation of mobility, and the careful monitoring and restriction of East-West boundary-crossing, is itself an Orientalist practice of differentiation.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Al Jazeera. "The Great Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece." *Al Jazeera*. World section. February 28, 2018. https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2018/02/great-population-exchange-turkey-greece-180220111122516.html.

Blanchard, Raoul. "The Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey." *Geographical Review* 15, no.3 (July 1925): 449-456.

Byron, George Gordon. "The Isles of Greece." in *The Oxford book of English verse, 1250-1900.* Edited by A.T. Quiller-Couch (Oxford: Clarendon), 1919. Published online, January 1999 by bartleby.com.

Coker, Christopher. *The Rise of the Civilizational State.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019.

Connolly, Kate, Angelique Chrisafis, and Stephanie Kirchgaessner. "Muslims in Europe fear anti-Islamic mood will intensify after Paris attacks." *The Guardian.* Europe. January 9, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/09/muslims-europe-fear-escalation-anti-islamism-paris-attacks.

Convention Implementing the Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985. Signed June 19, 1990. Implemented March 26, 1995. O.J. (L 239). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:42000A0922(02)&from=EN.

Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. 1951. Published in 2010, UNHCR, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," https://www.unhcr.org/protection/basic/3b66c2aa10/convention-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html.

European Commission. 2018. "EU-Turkey Statement: Two Years." https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314_eu-turkey-two-years-on_en.pdf.

European Council. "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016." Press Release. March 18, 2016. https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/.

Eurostat. "Record number of over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers registered in 2015." Eurostat Newsrelease. March 4, 2016. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6.

Forsyth, Alex. "Paris attacks: Is Molenbeek a haven for Belgian jihadis?" *BBC News*. Europe. November 17, 2015. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34839403.

Grant, Harriet and Giogos Moutafis. "Moria is a hell': new arrivals describe life in a Greek refugee camp." *The Guardian.* Human Rights in Focus. January 17, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jan/17/moria-is-a-hell-new-arrivals-describe-life-in-a-greek-refugee-camp.

Human Rights Watch. "Greece: A Year of Suffering for Asylum Seekers." *Human Rights Watch*. March 15, 2017. https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/03/15/greece-year-suffering-asylum-seekers.

Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no.3 (Summer 1993): 22–49.

IARLJ (International Association of Refugee Law Judges, European Chapter). *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals: A Judicial Analysis*. Produced for the European Asylum Support Office. 2016.

International Organization for Migration. "Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals in 2016: 160,547; Deaths: 488." Press Release. March 22, 2016. https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-2016-160547-deaths-488.

International Rescue Committee, Norwegian Refugee Council, Oxfam. "The Reality of the EU-Turkey Statement." Going Agency Briefing Note. March 17, 2017. https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/54850

King, Alex, and Ioanna Mmanoussaki-Adamopoulou. "Inside Exarcheia: the self-governing community Athens police want rid of." *The Guardian*. Cities. August 26, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/aug/26/athens-police-poised-to-evict-refugees-from-squatted-housing-projects.

Knaus, Gerald. "Keeping the Aegean Agreement Afloat." *Turkish Policy Quarterly*. December 20, 2016. http://turkishpolicy.com/article/825/keeping-the-aegean-agreement-afloat

———."Why people don't need to drown in the Aegean: A policy proposal." Draft. *European Stability Initiative*. 2015. https://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI%20-%20Why%20people%20drown%20in%20t he%20Aegean%20-%2017%20September%202015.pdf.

Lausanne Peace Treaty VI. Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923. Accessed Via Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Database. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa.

Meade, Amanda. "Charlie Hebdo cartoon depicting drowned child Alan Kurdi sparks racism debate." *The Guardian*. Europe. January 14, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jan/14/charlie-hebdo-cartoon-depicting-drowned-child-alan-kurdi-sparks-racism-debate.

Migration and Home Affairs, "EU-Turkey Statement Three Years On." European Commission. Fact Sheet. March 2019. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information_en.

Nossiter, Adam. "Marine Le Pen's Anti-Islam Message Gains Influence in France." *The New York Times*. November 17, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/18/world/europe/marine-le-pens-anti-islam-message-gains-influence-in-france.html.

Reuters. "Matteo Renzi: Italy cannot take in 155,000 migrants again next year." *The Guardian,* October 25, 2016. Italy. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/25/italy-matteo-renzi-migrants-refugees-european-union.

Said, Edward W. "The Clash of Ignorance." *The Nation*. Feature. October 22, 2001. https://www.thenation.com/article/clash-ignorance/

———. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1994 [1978].

Shelly, Percy Bysshe. *Hellas A Lyrical Drama.* Edited by Thomas J. Wise. London: Reeves and Turner: 1886 [1822].

Toynbee, Arnold Joseph. *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey.* London: Constable and Company, 1922. https://archive.org/details/westernquestioni00toynrich/page/n18/mode/1up.

Treaty of Constantinople. Arrangement between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Turkey, for the Definitive Settlement of the Continental Limits of Greece. July 21, 1832. Accessed in January 2020. https://www.scribd.com/document/391669921/1832-Constantinople-Treaty.

UNHCR, "Syria Refugee Crisis," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Feb 2, 2020. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/syria/.

Secondary Sources

Akalın, Esin. *Staging the Ottoman Turk: British Drama, 1656-1792.* Stuttgart: Ibidem Press, 2016.

Albertazzi, Daniele and Duncan McDonnell. "Introduction: The Sceptre and the Spectre," in *Twenty-First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy,* edited by Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law.* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Arampatzi, Athina. "Contentious spatialities in an era of austerity: Everyday politics and 'struggle communities' in Athens, Greece." *Political Geography* 60 (2017): 47–56.

Auer, Stefan. "'New Europe': Between Cosmopolitan Dreams and Nationalist Nightmares." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 28, no. 5 (2010): 1163-1184.

Aydin, Cemil. *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History.* Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 2017.

Balibar, Étienne. *Politics and the Other Scene*. Translated by Christine Jones, James Swenson, and Chris Turner. London & New York: Verso, 2002.

Bauböck, Ranier. 2018. "Europe's commitments and failures in the refugee crisis." *European Political Science* 17: 140–150.

Beaton, Roderick. *Greece: A Biography of a Modern Nation*. London: Allen Lane, 2019.

Berezin, Mabel. "Territory, Emotion, and Identity: Spatial Recalibration in a New Europe," in *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age, edited by Mabel Berezin & Martin Schain.* 1-32. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Best, Ulrich. "Gnawing at the Edges of the State: Deleuze and Guattari and Border Studies." In *Routing Borders Between Territories, Discourses and Practices.* Edited by Eiki Berg and Henk Van Houtum. 177–192. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

Bigo, Didier."Frontier controls in the European Union: who is in control?" In *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe*, edited by Didier Bigo & Elspeth Guild. 49–99. Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.

Borou, Christina. "The Muslim Minority of Western Thrace in Greece: An Internal Positive or an Internal Negative 'other'?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no.1 (2009): 5-26.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Aftermaths of Empire and the unmixing of peoples: Historical and comparative perspectives." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no.2 (1995): 189-218.

———. "Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist movement in comparative perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no.8 (2017): 1191-1226.

Brummett, Palmira. "The Fortress: Defining and Mapping the Ottoman Frontier in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World,* edited by A.C.S Peacock. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Clark, Bruce. *Twice a Stranger: the mass expulsions that forged modern Greece and Turkey.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Cleveland, William L., and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East.* Boulder: Westview Press, 2016.

Clogg, Richard. *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821: A Collection of Documents.* London: MacMillan Press, 1976.

Crawley, C. W. *The Question of Greek Independence: A Study of British Foreign Policy in the Near East, 1821-1833.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1930. Reprint, New York: Howard Fetig Inc., 1973.

De Genova, Nicholas. "Introduction: The Borders of 'Europe' and the European Question," in *The Borders of 'Europe': Autonomy of Migration, Tactics of Bordering.* Edited by Nicholas De Genova. 1-35. EBook: Duke University Press, 2017.

Demetriou, Olga. *Capricious Borders: Minority, Population, and Counter-Conduct Between Greece and Turkey.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

Druker, Peter. "Byron and Ottoman love: Orientalism, Europeanization and same-sex sexualities in the early nineteenth-century Levant." *Journal of European Studies* 40 no. 2 (2012): 140–157.

Efstathiadou, Anna. "Representing Greekness: French and Greek Lithographs from the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827) and the Greek-Italian War (1940-1941)." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 29, no.2 (October 2011): 191-218.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth.* Translated by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press, 2004.

Findlay, L.M. "'We Are All Greeks: Shelly's Hellas and Romantic Nationalism." *History of European Ideas* 16 no. 1-3 (1993): 281-286.

Gandhi, Mohandas K. "Hind Swaraj." In *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings,* edited by Anthony J. Parel. 2-117. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Garelli, Glenda, Alessandra Sciurba, and Martina Tazzioli. "Mediterranean Struggles for Movement and the European Government of Bodies: An Interview with Étienne Balibar and Nicholas De Genova." *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* 50 (3): 748-762.

Gavrilis, George. *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

———. "The Greek–Ottoman Boundary as Institution, Locality, and Process, 1832-1882." *American Behavioural Scientist* 51, no.10 (2008): 1516-1537.

Gerwarth, Robert. *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016.

Goalwin, Gregory J. "Population exchange and the politics of ethno-religious fear: the EU-Turkey agreement on Syrian refugees in historical perspective. *Patterns of Prejudice,* 52, no.2-3 (2018): 121–134.

Grammatikos, Alexander. *British Romantic Literature and the Emerging Modern Greek Nation.* eBook: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Hamilakis, Yannis. *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology, and national imagination in Greece.* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hirschon, Renée. "'Unmixing Peoples' in the Aegean Region." In *Crossing the Aegean: an appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey.* Edited by Renée Hirschon. EBook: Berghahn Books, 2008.

James, Alice. "Memories of Anatolia: generating Greek Refugee identity." *Balkanologie* 5, no. 1-2 (2001): 1-9.

Johnson, Christopher D.L. "'He Has Made the Dry Bones Live': Orientalism's Attempted Resuscitation of Eastern Christianity." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 82, no.3 (September, 2014): 881-840.

Jones, Reece. *Violent Borders: Refugees and the Right to Move.* London: Verso, 2016.

Kaloudis, George. "Greeks of the Diaspora: Modernizers or an Obstacle to Progress?" *International Journal on World Peace* 23, no.1 (June 2006): 49-70.

Kolluoğlu, Biray. "Excesses of Nationalism: Greco-Turkish population exchange." *Nations and Nationalism* 19, no.3 (May 2013): 532-550.

Koutrolikou, Penny (Panagiota). "Governmentalities of Urban Crises in Inner-city Athens, Greece." *Antipode* 48, no.1 (2016): 172–192.

Kumar, Krishan. "The Return of Civilization—and of Arnold Toynbee?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no.4 (2014): 815–843.

Lamers, Hans. "Constructing Hellenism: Studies on the History of Greek Learning in Early Modern Europe." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25, no.3 (September 2018): 201-215.

Lavenex, Sandra. "Failing Forward' Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56, no. 5 (2018): 1195-1212.

Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism.* Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Lynch, Allen. "Woodrow Wilson and the principle of 'national self-determination': a reconsideration." *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002): 419–436.

Mudde, Cas. "Nativism is driving the far-right surge in Europe—and it is here to say." *The Guardian.* Europe. Opinion. November 12, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/global/commentisfree/2019/nov/12/nativism-is-driving-the-far-right-surge-in-europe-and-it-is-here-to-stay.

Müller, Tobias. "Constructing cultural borders: depictions of Muslim refugees in British and German media," *Z Vgl Polit Wiss* 12 (2018): 263-277.

Peacock, A.C.S. (ed.). *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World.* Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturization.* London & New York: Routledge, 1992.

Pullan, Wendy. "The migration of frontiers: ethnonational conflicts and contested cities," in *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries: Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches,* edited by Jennifer Jackson & Lina Molokotos-Liederman. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Salter, Mark B. *Barbarians and Civilization in International Relations.* London & Sterling: Pluto Press, 2002.

Sharkey, Heather J. *A History of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Middle East.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Shields, Sarah. "The Greek-Turkish Population Exchange: Internationally Administered Ethnic Cleansing." *Middle East Report* no. 267 (Summer 2013): 2-6.

Skey, Michael. "Boundaries and belonging: dominant ethnicity and the place of the nation in a globalizing world." In *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries: Conceptualising and understanding identity through boundary approaches.* Edited by Jennifer Jackson and Lina Molokotos-Liederman. New York: Routledge, 2015.

St Clair, William. *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence.* Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2008.

Stivachtis, Tannis A."'International society' versus' 'world society': Europe and the Greek War of Independence." *International Politics.* 55, no.1(2018): 108-124.

Topak, Özgün E. "The biopolitical border in pracitce: surveillance and death at the Greece-Turkey borderzones." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32 (2014) 815-833.

Torresi, Tiziana. "An Emerging Regulatory Framework for Migration." *Griffith Law Review* 22, no.3 (2013): 648–665.

Trauner, Florian. "The EU's readmission policy in the neighbourhood: A comparative view on the southern Mediterranean and Eastern Europe," in *The EU, Migration and the Politics of Administrative Detention*, edited by Michela Ceccorulli and Nicola Labanca. 23–41. New York & London: Routledge, 2014.

Triandafyllidou, Anna. "National identity and the 'other'." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 21, no.4 (1998): 593–612.

———. "A 'Refugee Crisis' Unfolding: 'Real' Events and Their Interpretation in Media and Political Debates." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2018): 198-216.

———, and Ruby Gropas. "Constructing Difference: The Mosque Debates in Greece." *Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35, no.6 (2009): 957–975.

Vaughan-Williams, Nick. *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power.* Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2009.

Vertovec, Steven. "The Cultural Politics of Nation and Migration." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 241–56.

Viktorova, Jevgenia. "Bridging Identity and Alterity: An Apologia for Boundaries," in *Routing Borders Between Territories: Discourses and Practices.* Edited by Wiki Berg and Henk Van Houtum. 141–160. Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

Woodhouse, C. M. *The Greek War of Independence: Its Historical Setting.* New York: Sentry Press, 1952.

Zubaida, Sami. *Beyond Islam: A New Understanding of the Middle East*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.