İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Türkiyat Mecmuası
Journal of Turkology

Türkiyat Mecmuası
Journal of Turkology,
IUTURKIYAT 2025, 35 (1): 173–195

https://doi.org/10.26650/iuturkiyat.1607270
Submitted | Başvuru 25.12.2024
Revision Requested | Revizyon Talebi 27.03.2025
Last Revision Received | Son Revizyon 01.04.2025
Accepted | Kabul 25.04.2025

Research Article | Araştırma Makalesi

Open Access | Açık Erişim

Identity and Diplomacy: The Construction of Turkish National Identity During the Population Exchange Process Under the Treaty of Lausanne

Kimlik ve Diplomasi: Lozan Antlaşması ile Nüfus Mübadelesi Sürecinde Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin İnşası

Onur Gürel [1]

[1] Non-affiliated, İzmir, Türkiye

Abstract

On January 30, 1923, the 'Convention and Protocol on the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations' was signed within the framework of the Treaty of Lausanne, resulting in a compulsory population exchange based on religious beliefs. This agreement stipulated the mutual exchange of Muslim and Orthodox Christian populations between Türkiye and Greece. The Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Conference was headed by İsmet Pasha (İsmet İnönü). Approximately 1.200.000 Orthodox Christian Greeks migrated from Turkey to Greece, while approximately 500.000 Muslim Turks migrated from Greece to Turkey. This process significantly altered the demographic structure of both countries and played a critical role in nation-state building. The research aims to contribute to the existing literature by examining the population exchange process in the context of diplomatic negotiations and international relations. Unlike most existing studies that focus on socio-cultural and historical dimensions, the article emphasizes diplomatic perspectives. Highlighting these perspectives has allowed for a broader evaluation of the population exchange's impact on national identity construction. Historical research methods and document analysis were used in the study to examine the axis of diplomatic negotiations and international relations.

Öz

30 Ocak 1923 tarihinde Lozan Barış Antlaşması kapsamında imzalanan "Türk ve Yunan Halklarının Mübadelesine İlişkin Sözleşme ve Protokol" ile dinî inanç temelinde zorunlu bir nüfus değişimi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu anlaşma, Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında Müslüman ve Ortodoks Hristiyan nüfusların karşılıklı olarak yer değiştirmesini öngörmüştür. Lozan Konferansı'na İsmet Paşa (İsmet İnönü) başkanlığındaki Türk delegasyonu katılmıştır. Yaklaşık 1.200.000 Ortodoks Hristiyan Rum Türkiye'den Yunanistan'a, yaklaşık 500.000 Müslüman Türk ise Yunanistan'dan Türkiye'ye göç etmiştir. Bu süreç her iki ülkenin demografik yapısını önemli ölçüde değiştirmiş ve ulus-devlet inşasında kritik bir rol oynamıştır. Araştırma, diplomatik müzakereler ve uluslararası ilişkiler bağlamında nüfus mübadele sürecini inceleyerek mevcut literatüre önemli katkılar sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Makale, mevcut çalışmaların çoğunlukla sosyo-kültürel ve tarihsel boyutlara odaklanmasından farklı olarak diplomatik perspektiflere vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu perspektiflerin vurgulanması, nüfus mübadelesinin ulusal kimlik inşasına olan etkilerini daha geniş bir bağlamda değerlendirmeyi mümkün kılmıştır. Araştırmada diplomatik müzakereler ve uluslararası ilişkiler ekseninin incelenmesi bağlamında tarihsel araştırma yöntemleri ve doküman analizi kullanılmıştır.

Keywords Identity · Diplomacy · Treaty of Lausanne · Population Exchange · Turkish National Identity

Anahtar Kelimeler Kimlik · Diplomasi · Lozan Antlaşması · Nüfus Mübadelesi · Türk Ulusal Kimliği

Citation | Atıf: Gürel, Onur. "Identity and Diplomacy: The Construction of Turkish National Identity During the Population Exchange Process Under the Treaty of Lausanne". *Türkiyat Mecmuası–Journal of Turkology*, 35, 1 (2025): 173-195. https://doi.org/10.26650/iuturkiyat.1607270

This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

© 2025. Gürel, O.

Corresponding author | Sorumlu Yazar: Onur Gürel onurgurel.phd@gmail.com

Introduction

The concept of identity is a complex structure that profoundly influences the processes through which individuals and communities define themselves. The fundamental elements of this structure include factors such as space, time, belief, culture, perception, and norms. Space determines the physical and social contexts that shape individuals' identities, while time influences the historical evolution of these identities. Belief and culture form communities with shared values, while the norms that shape how individuals perceive themselves and others play a decisive role in identity construction. In this context, the impact of diplomacy on identity and national identity is particularly noteworthy. Diplomatic relations play a critical role in determining how states construct their national identities and how they structure their relationships with other countries.

The relationship between national identity and foreign policy provides an important perspective for understanding power dynamics in the international arena. However, it is essential to clearly define the conceptual differences between power, foreign policy, and diplomacy. Power refers to states' capacity and influence in the international sphere, while foreign policy is the tool used to direct and maximize this power. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is one of the key mechanisms through which foreign policy is implemented and should be considered alongside other foreign policy instruments such as war, economic measures, and propaganda. In this context, foreign policy is not an end in itself but a process that states utilize to achieve their strategic objectives. The influence of national identity on foreign policy decisions is directly related to states' strategic goals for building and maintaining power on the international stage. Therefore, diplomacy is not merely a tool for regulating bilateral or multilateral relations; it is also a crucial element that shapes how national identity is reflected in foreign policy.

The study will examine the effects of the Treaty of Lausanne on Turkish diplomacy and the dynamics of the population exchange process, analyzing the reflections of these processes on identity construction. Population exchange emerges as a phenomenon historically accompanied by significant social and cultural impacts. The population exchange process reveals how individuals reshape their identities through religious-based distinctions. Additionally, the role of the population exchange process in the construction of national identity will be deeply analyzed from economic, social, and legal perspectives, examining how these factors influence social cohesion and resettlement. Thus, the multifaceted dynamics of identity construction can be better understood. The aim of the research is to contribute significantly to the existing literature by examining the population exchange process within the context of diplomatic negotiations and international relations.

The study distinguishes itself from existing research that predominantly focuses on socio-cultural and historical dimensions. In this context, the diplomatic dynamics of the population exchange process will be thoroughly analyzed, focusing on the evolution of relations between the two states and the impact of these processes on the construction of national identity. Additionally, understanding how diplomatic negotiations were shaped and their reflections on international relations will contribute to comprehending the new demographic structure that emerged after the population exchange. This study aims to evaluate the population exchange process not only as a movement of people but also as a diplomatic and political transformation. In terms of literature, there are numerous studies consisting of subheadings related to the topic, including the construction of national identity, ethnic homogenization, diplomatic negotiations, and socio-cultural impacts. The difference of this study from others is the specific emphasis on the role of

diplomatic perspectives in the construction of national identity. In this regard, it is aimed that the results obtained from the literature will serve as a source for future studies.

When reviewed in terms of literature, there are many studies related to concepts such as the construction of national identity, ethnic homogenization, diplomatic negotiations, and socio-cultural impacts. These studies analyze various dimensions of the exchange processes by deeply examining the dynamics and interactions of each concept. However, the key point that differentiates this study from similar ones is its emphasis on the specific impacts of diplomatic perspectives on the construction of national identity. In this context, the study emphasizes the role of the population exchange process in diplomatic negotiations and the importance of these negotiations in the construction of national identity. The findings are intended to serve as a resource for future research and to contribute to the existing literature in this field. Thus, the relationship between diplomacy and national identity will be understood more comprehensively, providing a new perspective on the subject. This approach will encourage the consideration of population exchange processes not only in their demographic and socio-cultural dimensions but also in their diplomatic and political dynamics.

1. Identity and Fundamental Elements

The term 'identity' comes from the Latin 'idem' or 'identitas' and was first used in discussions about the self. It later became 'personality' in literature, meaning a social being.[1] The concept of identity, encompassing various affiliations and formed by the completion of different parts into a whole, is a collection of ideas based on concepts such as 'unity,' 'absolute,' and 'specific,' resulting from the interaction of common behaviors and actions of subjective structures.[2] In a collective sense, identity is related to the interpretation of 'I,' 'we,' and 'others' as individuals or groups, based on socialization in the context of 'uncertainty,' 'diversity,' and 'variability.'[3] Within this framework, identity is an expression of 'who' the actors are, 'what' their priorities and interests are, and 'how' these can influence their actions within certain 'processes' in the context of interests, behaviors, and collective affiliations.[4]

While dynamic and variable under the influence of the social environment, the concept of identity emerges as a phenomenon that examines the complexity of different cultures and societies at an ontological level by breaking them down into parts.[5] However, associating the concept with many different expressions can also bring certain inconsistencies.[6] For instance, people's tendency to identify themselves with terms like 'religious communities,' 'ethnic groups,' 'tribes,' and 'nations' is a key factor that affects the political interpretation of identities and the construction of the 'other.'[7] The meanings given to the opposition of 'friend' and 'foe' in social relationships shape the concept of the 'other,' emphasizing 'superiority' over the

[1] Richard A. Cohen and James L. Marsh, eds. *Ricoeur as Another: The Ethics of Subjectivity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 6; Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'", *Theory and Society*, 29/1 (2000): 14, accessed 2 October 2024. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007068714468.

[2] Richard D. Ashmore, Lee Jussim and David Wilder, eds., *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*, 3 of *Rutgers Series on Self and Social Identity* (2001), 5-6.

[3] Richard Mole, ed., *Discursive Constructions of Identity in European Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

[4] Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", *European Journal of International Relations*, 3/3 (1997): 324, accessed 4 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066197003003003.

[5] Zygmunt Bauman, Identity (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 9-10; Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 35-36.

[6] Bill McSweeney, *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 74.

[7] Karin M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 77.

other, which normalizes the perception of the 'other' as a 'threat' in the context of security.[8] In the context of security, the awareness of identity normalizes the perception of the 'other' as a 'threat,' while this situation can vary with the influence of various elements formed by the adaptation of individual preferences to physical conditions, 'spatial difference,' and the 'time' one is in.[9]

Identity studies, with their interdisciplinary structure, adapt to social and cultural contexts through their dynamic nature. Diplomatic relations at the international level play a critical role in defining how countries identify themselves and how they relate to the identities of other nations. In this context, the influence of the elements that constitute the concept of identity is also applicable in conceptualizing the relationship between the individual and society in diplomatic interactions. Because demographic, economic, cultural, and political changes lead to mutual interaction and transformation in these relationships. This versatility allows for a deeper understanding of the study of identity and the practice of diplomacy while also highlighting the reflections of social changes and transformations on the international stage.

1.1. The Impact of Space and Time on Identity

The two crucial concepts of 'space' and 'time' in the modern era, open to change and transformation, hold critical importance for analyzing human movements or activities and ensuring social order as a result of these analyses.[10] This underscores how the intersection of spatial and temporal dimensions significantly shapes identities, reflecting the dynamic interplay between our environment and personal or collective sense of self.[11] The influence and determination of the 'place' where actions occur on the concept of identity is of great importance when positioning space with consideration of the concept of time.[12] The interdependence between identity and space can contribute to the formation of a sense of belonging, particularly with reference to feminine energy, through the connections established between human practices and geographical locations.[13] In this context, the concept of identity can vary depending on the transformations that may occur in cultural and political terms due to the experiences related to 'that place,' and it can also be shaped based on the perception of time.[14]

Space significantly shapes social relationships and identities, sustained by cities through the repetitive rituals that construct a space-time order.[15] The increase in individual mobility based on the concepts of space and time carries a fluidity characterized by a lack of communication, temporary and fragile relationships, and an avoidance of responsibility. This situation can negatively impact social relationships.[16] From an absolutist perspective, the concept of space represents a confined, fixed area, while scientifically, in terms of the 'relativity relation,' it is constituted by the objects that define this area.[17] The determination of the scope of space under the influence of various practices significantly contributes to the construction

[8] Alexander Wendt, "Identity and Structural Change in International Politics", in *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, ed. Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), 50.

[9] Lawrence Grossberg, "Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 2011), 87-89.

[10] David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009; originally published in 1973), 23-24.

[11] Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. İsmail Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2014), 22-23.

[12] Stuart Hall, "Eski ve Yeni Kimlikler, Eski ve Yeni Etniklikler", in, *Kültür, Küreselleşme ve Dünya Sistemi: Kimlik Temsilinin Çağdaş Koşulları*, comp. Anthony D. King (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), 64.

[13] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 177-178.

[14] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 44-45.

[15] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, 8th ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); originally published in 1977, 172-173.

[16] Zygmunt Bauman, *Akışkan Aşk: İnsan İlişkilerinin Kırılganlığına Dair*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Versus Yayınları, 2012), 7-8.

[17] Carlo Rovelli, *The Order of Time* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2018), 157-158.

of space through perceptual adequacy, emotional creation, and the harmony of material factors.[18] These contributions, for example, lay the groundwork for immigrants to reshape their identities around the concept of the 'other' in the context of the place and time they are in.[19]

For immigrants, the concept of identity is constructed around the notion of the 'other,' differing from their place of origin based on the space and time they are in.[20] In this context, the concept of 'ethnic identity,' which includes cultural phenomena such as language and religion, emerges as a prominent feature for immigrants.[21] This situation plays a critical role in the social integration processes of immigrants and the development of their sense of belonging.[22] Policies implemented to unify these distinctive features produce behavior patterns and norms that align with a specific identity, based on shared knowledge and expectations.[23] Moreover, diplomacy plays a critical role in the acceptance of these norms at the international level and in maintaining cultural harmony.[24] The dynamics of space and time, as factors influencing international formations, make the preservation of unity and the maintenance of this situation possible.[25]

Space offers vital value for identity and social existence beyond the physical area. Continuity through social fragmentation enables participation in cultural and political transformations through the static and flexible change of space. The relationship between space and time represents a critical dynamic function in the construction of social order and identities. Diplomacy utilizes these dynamics in international arenas, becoming a tool that supports cultural and social interaction. The variable characteristics of humanity, combined with perceptual elements and cultural beliefs, can accelerate adaptation. Therefore, an effective diplomatic structure gains meaning not only in physical areas but also in faith, culture, and traditional contexts, promoting mutual understanding and cooperation. Considering this situation offers more inclusive and effective solutions while contributing to the development of peaceful solutions. Consequently, the role of space and time emerges as a critical element in the in-depth understanding of diplomatic interactions and the shaping of international relations.

1.2. The Role of Belief and Culture in Identity Construction

The most critical factor shaping human behavior is the transformation of the accumulation of experiences into a concrete form from an abstract mental or symbolic sense.[26] In this process, the most powerful and determining factor emerging through myths and religions is the concept of belief.[27] Beliefs play an important role in shaping individuals' worldviews, values, and behaviors.[28] Therefore, the beliefs conveyed by myths and religions hold a central position in the construction of social and individual identities.[29] In the context of the concept of belief, identity is formed as a part of the historical process of mutual interaction and encompasses the processes of distinguishing right from wrong and understanding life's purposes

[18] Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, 67-69.

[19] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books UK, 2019; originally published in 1978), 24.

[20] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998), 37-39.

[21] Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 36.

[22] Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

[23] Derek Heater, *A Brief History of Citizenship* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 141

[24] Peter J. Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 5.

[25] John Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005), 59.

[26] Avner Ziss, *Estetik*, trans., Yakup Şahan (İstanbul: Hayalbaz Kitap, 2011), 18.

[27] Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 379.

[28] Meredith McGuire, *Religion: The Social Context*, 6th ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2008), 52.

[29] Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 161.

through a sense of personal identity.[30] Human beings, while trying to make sense of events and situations, exist within a set of beliefs stemming from their existential orientations in a mythological universe using thought and imagination.[31] In this context, the concept of culture provides a framework that determines the behaviors, norms, and values of individuals and societies.[32] Culture also determines how an individual positions themselves in social life and how they express their identity.[33]

Culture, apart from being an element that forms identity through values and rules, also determines the political approaches of actors regarding their security perceptions.[34] The perception of human rights as an important issue in terms of individual and social security is also related to culture.[35] For example, migrants who are considered a 'threat' and 'other' by the target country are often perceived as a 'security issue.'[36] This situation necessitates the redefinition of concepts such as 'population growth,' 'national identity,' and 'citizenship,' and leads to to the emergence of issues such as 'discrimination,' 'ethnicity,' and 'othering.'[37] Because the changes that occurred due to internal and external factors throughout the historical process led to the transformation of the material and spiritual cultural structures of societies.[38] These transformations have impacted the dynamics between the lower and upper layers of societies, leading to the reshaping of cultural, social, and economic structures.[39] Thus, throughout history, societies have constantly evolved and adopted new cultural forms under the influence of these changes.[40] This evolutionary process has profoundly affected the identities, values, and social norms of societies, making them more complex and multidimensional structures.[41]

When evaluated historically, one of the most important elements providing cultural interaction is the 'immigrant effect.' The interaction of different customs, beliefs, and lifestyles within society can sometimes lead to cultural conflicts. In this context, society's perceptions and norms may face difficulties in accepting or excluding new elements. This situation can lead to xenophobia. Particularly, the integration processes of immigrants with local cultures can lead to opposing views and prejudices within the society. Additionally, the need for the presence of the 'other' in order to form its own identity increases the importance of perceptions and norms. This situation also causes the emergence of exclusionary dynamics in the identity construction process. This process, along with the richness provided by cultural diversity, also brings about the complexity of social dynamics and the potential for conflict. Consequently, immigration and cultural interaction, in terms of the concept of identity, become not only enriching but also an important field of struggle for social harmony and peace.

[30] Kenneth J. Gergen, *An Invitation to Social Construction*, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2015), 121.

[31] Northrop Frye, *Büyük Şifre Kitabı-Mukaddes ve Batı Edebiyatı*, trans., Selma A. Baş (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2006), 20.

[32] Anthony David Smith, *Milli Kimlik*, trans. Bahadır Sina Şener (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 122.

[33] Geert Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2001), 9-11.

[34] Max Weber, *Sosyal Bilimlerin Metodolojisi*, trans. Vefa Saygın Öğütle (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2012), 103.

[35] Christine Agius, "Sosyal İnşacılık", in *Çağdaş Güvenlik Çalışmaları*, ed. Andrew Collins, trans. Nasuh Uslu, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Uluslararası İlişkiler Kütüphanesi, 2017), 93.

[36] Jef Huysmans, *Security Unbound: Enacting Security in an Uncertain World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 12-13.

[37] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 19-20.

[38] Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47.

[39] Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 91.

[40] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 90.

[41] Geert Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, 11-12.

1.3. The Role of Perception and Norms in Identity Construction

The term 'perception' refers to the process of comprehending what is happening in the universe through the impact of environmental stimuli on the sense organs and consists of components such as cognition and belief.[42] Perception changes under the influence of factors such as emotion, memory, culture, motivation, and experience. This situation, for example, can damage societal perceptions towards immigrants, create issues of belonging, and necessitate a reevaluation of identity.[43] The concept of identity is shaped within the framework of 'perception' created by society, allowing an individual's unique characteristics to become distinct from others through the process of internalization, which occurs outside of the individual's awareness.[44] In this context, the process of internalization and classification defines individuals by their distinguishing characteristics, leading to an artificial structure characterized by a perceptual and social 'clothed human identity' understanding, dependent on the fabric of society.[45] It is necessary to correctly perceive the true human identity, beyond this artificial identity, in order to preserve and sustain the existence of humanity.[46]

Correctly perceiving true identity requires understanding the significant role that norms, as social rules, play in the construction of identity.[47] Norms are mutual subjective beliefs that situate "actors' actions" within their social roles and are reproduced through social practice.[48] From this perspective, norms are behavioral prescriptions that influence the likelihood of actions occurring without being definitive, providing social guidance and meeting shared expectations in terms of institutionalization.[49] In identity construction, norms are formative in regulating behaviors, and differences in foundational thought and perceptions, as well as changes in existing norms, can occur.[50] Actors' accurate perceptions of identity are related to where they position themselves, how they want to be seen, and their perceptions of social reality.[51] Identities are shaped by institutionalization and are defined by formative norms in terms of behaviors and interests, while the direction of identity is determined by regulatory norms.[52] This structural change process, through which actors redefine their identities and desires, is guided by variables such as interdependence, shared destiny, homogenization, and self-limitation, which influence collective identity construction and social change.[53]

Perception deeply influences identity construction and plays a critical role in positioning individuals' societal roles, as it is a complex cognitive process shaping responses to environmental stimuli. Understanding true human identity determines behaviors within the framework of social norms, while perceptions of identity provide significant reflections on how individuals see themselves. Identities are shaped by institutional structures and norms, with dynamics that guide social change and collective identity construction

[42] Michael W. Eysenck and Mark T. Keane, *Cognitive Psychology: A Student's Handbook*, 8th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2020), 407.

[43] Thomas Faist, *Uluslararası Göç ve Ulusaşırı Toplumsal Alanlar*, trans. Azad Z. Gündoğan and Can Nacar (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2003), 43.

[44] Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129-131.

[45] Nur Serter, *Giydirilmiş İnsan Kimliği* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1996), 1; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 56-57.

[46] Nur Serter, *Giydirilmiş İnsan Kimliği,* 344-346.

[47] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 62.

[48] Theo Farrell, "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program", *International Studies Review,* 7/3 (2002): 49, accessed 7 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00224.

[49] Nina Tannenwald, "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use", *International Organization,* 53/3 (1999): 435-436, accessed 7 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1162/002081899550959.

[50] J. Samuel Barkin, *Realist Constructivism: Rethinking International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 55.

[51] John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 1-2.

[52] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 165.

[53] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 336.

playing a significant role. In this context, the role of diplomacy in identity and national identity construction is crucial for determining how states and individuals represent themselves in the international relations arena. Diplomatic processes involve not only the defense of national interests but also the negotiation of different identities and cultural elements. Therefore, correctly understanding identity perception is a decisive factor for success and effectiveness in diplomacy processes, as international interactions provide an environment where these perceptions are shaped and reconstructed. Consequently, identity perceptions emerge as a fundamental tool for understanding the dynamics of diplomatic relations at both individual and national levels.

2. The Impact of Diplomacy on National Identity Construction

Diplomacy plays an important role in shaping identity, especially national identity, by promoting shared values, cultural exchanges, and perceptions among nations.[54] National identity, defined as the sense of belonging to a nation, generally includes historical, cultural, and political elements.[55] Diplomacy reflects a nation's identity and actively participates in its construction and evolution through interactions with other states and international organizations.[56] Diplomatic relations contribute to identity construction by mediating narratives and symbols that shape how nations perceive themselves and others.[57] International relations are inherently social and cultural processes.[58] Diplomacy also serves as a platform for states to negotiate and reflect their identities.[59] States express their core values and aspirations through symbolic actions, treaties, and cultural diplomacy.[60] While developing a coherent national identity internally, it projects a specific image externally.[61] From this perspective, national identity significantly influences foreign policy.[62] This is because foreign policy often serves as a tool to reinforce a nation's self-image and aspirations.[63] In this context, a state's identity can shape its interests and behaviors within the international system, and foreign policy emerges as a reflection of how nations perceive themselves.[64]

State-building is shaped not only by political and economic factors but also by socio-cultural dynamics.[65] State-building is a continuous process that involves establishing political order, gaining legitimacy, and addressing the necessities of facing resistance.[66] States, while attempting to achieve social integration by manipulating and redefining national identities, can also trigger the fragmentation of various identities.[67]

[54] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power", *Foreign Policy*, 80, Twentieth Anniversary (Autumn, 1990): 154.

[55] Anthony David Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 71-72.

[56] Jan Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 14.

[57] Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory", *European Journal of International Relations*, 3/3 (1997): 376, accessed 9 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066199005003005.

[58] Manuela Spindler, *International Relations: A Self-Study Guide to Theory* (Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2013), 205.

[59] Jan Melissen, ed. *The New Public Diplomacy*, 15.

[60] Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power*, 167.

[61] Peter J. Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security*, 6.

[62] Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 103.

[63] David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 51.

[64] Syaravina Lubis, "National Interest and National Identity Affect The Behaviour Of Foreign Policy", *Mahadi: Indonesia Journal of Law*, 2/2 (2023): 144, accessed 10 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.32734/mah.v2i2.13363.

[65] Verena Fritz and Alina Rocha Menocal, *Understanding State-Building from a Political Economy Perspective: An Analytical and Conceptual Paper on Processes, Embedded Tensions and Lessons for International Engagement. Report for DFID's Effective and Fragile States Teams* (Overseas Development Institute, September 2007): 15.

[66] Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 440.

[67] Willfried Spohn and Anna Triandafyllidou, eds., *Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration: Changes in Boundary Constructions between Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 4.

From this perspective, identity as a continuous process is not merely given institutionally or biologically. Identity evolves through the continuity adjustments of how an individual perceives themselves.[68] This process occurs in a historically specific context through the interaction of psychological and socio-cultural variables.[69] State-building is the process of creating a new political identity through symbols, rituals, and practices.[70] Nationalism, although seen as a collective identity representing the integration of heterogeneous individuals, rejects ongoing diversities and competing identities in this process.[71] This indicates that social integration projects based on national identities also actively lead to the fragmentation of other identity focuses.[72]

Identity expresses the beliefs, values, and norms that shape a state's perception of its role in the international system.[73] The influence of identity on the foreign policy decision-making process is vital in international relations.[74] This can influence states interactions with each other and their willingness to cooperate.[75] From this perspective, national identity is an important factor in the foreign policy decision-making process. It shapes the country's views of itself in the international community and highlights its interests, values, and goals.[76] From this perspective, the significance of the Treaty of Lausanne is that it ensured Turkey's recognition as a state founded on international law, thereby securing a stronger position in its international relations.[77] Population exchange is a process carried out with the aim of redistributing the populations of two countries, and millions of people have been affected by this process. This played a significant role in shaping Turkey's national identity and determining the new state's borders. Diplomacy can help overcome differences and challenge assumptions. Accordingly, diplomacy, by promoting cultural understanding and cooperation in international relations, helps states determine their national identities and foreign policies.

Diplomacy, as one of the fundamental instruments of foreign policy, not only ensures that differences are overcome and cooperation is encouraged in international relations but also contributes to the determination of national identities and foreign policy orientations of states. Through diplomacy, states have the opportunity to redefine their national identities and promote cultural understanding and acceptance at the global level. In this context, diplomacy and national identity phenomena play a central role in shaping the dynamics of international relations. From a historical perspective, it is seen that state-building and national identity formation are guided not only by political and economic dynamics but also by socio-cultural processes. In this direction, the historical context of diplomacy and national identity construction provides an important analytical tool in understanding the complexity of international relations. In addition, national identity and character are determining factors in the foreign policy-making process as one of the qualitative power elements of a state. Therefore, the interaction between national identity and diplomacy

[68] John M. Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 178.

[69] V. Spike Peterson, "The Politics of Identity in International Relations", *The Fletcher Forum*, 17/2 (1993): 3-4, accessed 11 October 2024, https:// www.jstor.org / stable/ 45288848.

[70] Eric Hobsbawm and Ranger Terence eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12.

[71] Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 102.

[72] Eleni Andreouli and Xenia Chryssochoou, "Social Representations of National Identity in Culturally Diverse Societies", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations*, ed. G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, and J. Valsiner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-2.

[73] Peter J. Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security*, 13.

[74] Srdjan Vucetic, *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 35.

[75] Mohammed B. E. Saaida, "The Role of Culture and Identity in International Relations", *East African Journal of Education and Social Sciences*, 4/1 (2023): 54, accessed 12 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.46606/eajess2023v04i01.0255.

[76] Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 16.

[77] Sevtap Demirci, *The Lausanne Conference: The Evolution of Turkish and British Diplomatic Strategies 1922-1923* (PhD diss., The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1997), 162.

should be considered a fundamental element in shaping the positions of states in the international system and their foreign policy strategies.

3. Historical Perspectives on Diplomacy and National Identity Construction

The relationship between diplomacy and national identity is reciprocal. National identity informs diplomatic approaches by defining the values and images a nation tries to project. Diplomatic engagements influence how a nation perceives itself, often reshaping its identity through international recognition and interaction. Indeed, the relationship between national identity and diplomacy has been built on mutual interactions throughout history. For example, the Treaty of Kadesh, signed between Egypt and the Hittites around 1259 BCE, is often cited as one of the earliest known diplomatic agreements, demonstrating how ancient states used diplomacy to establish political stability and reinforce their legitimacy.[78] However, the exact dating of the treaty remains a topic of scholarly debate. In the modern era, historical events such as the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Congress of Vienna (1815) have played significant roles in the construction of national identities and the determination of states' positions in the international system.[79] Especially, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne was a critical turning point in shaping the national identity of the Republic of Turkey and ensuring its recognition on the international stage.[80]

One of the important turning points in the shaping of Greece's national processes was the period of the Independence Struggle (1821-1830) and the subsequent events that merged with the Hellenism ideology.[81] By constructing an identity based on Ancient Greek civilization, the Greeks have taken on the mission of preserving and spreading the cultural heritage of the West.[82] In this ideological context, it has transformed into an international strategy beyond national resistance, with the support of the '*Philhellenism*' (love of Greece) movement in Europe.[83] Since the 19th century, with the ideology of '*Megali Idea*' (Great Idea), Greece aimed to reclaim the former territories of the Byzantine Empire, and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) were a significant step towards achieving this goal.[84] However, according to Greek historiography, the losses experienced after the Asia Minor Catastrophe (*Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi*) led Greece to focus on building a homogeneous nation-state, and this process was completed with the Treaty of Lausanne.[85]

Population exchange was a significant phase in strengthening Greece at the national level and in settling the Greek communities from Anatolia.[86] This process, however, was largely a consequence of the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1922), as large-scale migration had already begun even before a formal agreement was reached.[87] The population exchange agreement between Turkey and Greece sought to regulate this demographic shift, encompassing both the Greek Orthodox population departing from Anatolia and the

[78] Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), passim.

[79] Andreas Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth", *International Organization*, 55/2 (2001): 251-287, accessed 14 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1162/00208180151140577; Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 34-36.

[80] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi: Turkey, A Modern History*, trans. Yasemin Saner, 34th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 247-249.

[81] Esra Özsüer, "19. Yüzyıl Avrupa Romantiklerinin 1821 Mora İsyanı Üzerindeki Siyasi ve Kültürel Etkileri", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 26/2 (2016): 337, accessed 14 October 2024, doi:10.18345/iuturkiyat.282694.

[82] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2-3.

[83] Esra Özsüer, "19. Yüzyıl Avrupa Romantiklerinin 1821 Mora İsyanı Üzerindeki Siyasi ve Kültürel Etkileri", 330.

[84] Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 84.

[85] Renée Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 14.

[86] Renée Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*, 23.

[87] Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), passim.

Turkish/Muslim population arriving in Turkey from Greece (355,000), alongside an additional 145,000 individuals who had migrated from Greece since 1912.[88] This exchange was not merely a demographic arrangement but also a key mechanism in shaping the national identities of both states, as it reinforced Greece's efforts to establish a homogeneous nation-state while simultaneously contributing to the restructuring of Turkey's demographic composition.

From Turkey's perspective, this period left deep marks on Turkish-Greek relations. The Greeks who migrated from Anatolia to Greece and the Muslims who migrated from Greece to Turkey played a significant role in reshaping the national identities of both countries.[89] The Treaty of Lausanne ensured Turkey's recognition on the international stage and defined the borders of the newly established Republic of Turkey.[90] This process has been a critical turning point in the reconstruction of Turkey's national identity on the axis of secularism and modernization. The reforms led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk have reinforced Turkey's goals of Westernization and modernization.[91] In this respect, diplomacy has played a vital role in the construction of national identities and in determining the roles of states on the international stage.[92] These examples show how the relationship between diplomacy and national identity has been shaped throughout history, and the critical role it has played in the processes of nations defining themselves. In this context, diplomacy remains an important tool for reinforcing, transforming, and gaining international recognition for national identities.

As seen in the examples, the relationship between diplomacy and national identity has continued to be shaped by mutual interactions throughout history. National identities influence a nation's policies and foreign relations, while also affecting how the nation is perceived internationally. From ancient times to the modern era, this relationship has been reinforced by various treaties and significant events between states. The examples of Greece and Turkey show how these treaties can be effective in the reconstruction of national identities. In these processes, elements such as international recognition, the preservation of cultural heritage, and the determination of state borders have been fundamental in consolidating nations' identities and solidifying their places on the international stage. In this context, the population exchange process carried out after the Treaty of Lausanne has played an important role in strengthening the national identities of Turkey and Greece. This process has contributed to the homogenization of national identities through demographic changes and the integration of new state structures.

4. Turkish Diplomacy and the Dynamics of the Population Exchange Process in the Lausanne Treaty

The proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict and the subsequent reforms brought significant changes to the administrative structure and social order of the Ottoman Empire.[93] This period witnessed intense migration from different regions of the empire to Anatolia, causing the relocation of various ethnic and religious groups.[94] In this context, interactions among different ethnic and religious groups, such as Turks, Armenians,

[88] Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece* (Paris: Mouton and Co. The Hague, 1962), 29-32.

[89] Mustafa Yahya Metintaş and Melike Metintaş, "Analysis of Turkish-Greek Population Exchange in the Context of Greek and Turkish Foreign Policy", *Yakın Tarih Dergisi*, 1/4 (2018): 83-84, accessed 16 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/yakintarih/issue/49714/637495.

[90] Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 247.

[91] Zürcher, 19-20.

[92] Valerie M. Hudson, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 45-47.

[93] Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83-84.

[94] Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 102-104.

and Greeks, intensified in Anatolia.[95] Such interaction was a fundamental dynamic in shaping the evolution of Anatolia's ethnic and religious diversity and its sociocultural fabric. In addition to diplomatic and political developments, migration waves from the Balkans in the 19th and early 20th centuries also significantly shaped Anatolia's demographic and cultural landscape. These migrations, driven by factors such as wars, population exchanges, and shifting political borders, contributed to the region's ethnic plurality and the transformation of its societal structure.[96] The demographic transformation in Anatolia also laid the foundations for the establishment of modern Turkey and the transition to the concept of a nation-state.[97]

The Agreement and Protocol on the Exchange of Turkish and Greek Populations was signed as part of the Lausanne Peace Treaty on January 30, 1923,[98] and it stipulated a compulsory population exchange based on religious beliefs.[99] The agreement signed between the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Kingdom of Greece aimed to carry out the mutual exchange of Muslim and Orthodox Christian populations.[100] The Turkish delegation at the Lausanne Conference, led by İsmet Pasha, consisted of 40 members, including prominent political figures and experts.[101] The members of the delegation included prominent diplomats, legal experts, and politicians of the period, thereby ensuring strong representation for Turkey on the international stage. Among these figures, Dr. Rıza Nur and Hasan Saka played significant roles at the conference.[102]

During the conference, there was intense telegraph traffic between the Turkish delegation and the Turkish Grand National Assembly government in Ankara. Most of the messages were sent in encrypted form, and approximately 1,600 telegrams were exchanged.[103] This communication was provided via two main cable lines reaching Turkey from Europe. One line reached Izmir via the Aegean Sea, and the other reached Istanbul via the Balkans.[104] These correspondences reflected the challenging diplomatic process of the period and were a critical communication tool for the success of the Lausanne Conference. Before the conference, the Turkish Grand National Assembly government proposed that the conference be held in Izmir due to its strategic location in the Western Anatolia region and the cable network extending to Europe, which would facilitate easy communication with participating countries.[105] However, this proposal was not accepted by the Allied Powers, and it was decided that the conference would be held in Lausanne.[106]

[95] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 38-39.

[96] Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 54; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2023).

[97] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), 52-54.

[98] The Turkish delegation participated in the conference with representatives from the USA, France, the UK, Italy, Japan, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Additionally, certain issues were discussed with other states such as Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. After two and a half months without a result, a break was taken. The negotiations resumed in the last week of April 1923 after a break from February to April 1923, and the conference continued for another three months. The agreed text of the negotiations was signed on July 24, 1923. For detailed information on this topic, please refer to Mete Tunçay et al., *Türkiye Tarihi 4: Çağdaş Türkiye, 1908-1980* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1987), 79-80.

[99] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomasi ve Göç: Türk-Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), 6.

[100] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 69.

[101] İsmet İnönü, *İsmet İnönü'nün Hatıraları: Cumhuriyetin İlk Yılları I (1923-1938)* (İstanbul: Yenigün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık A.Ş. 1998), 124-125; Ali Naci Karacan, *Lozan Konferansı ve İsmet Paşa*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1993), 49-50.

[102] Yılmaz Altuğ, "Atatürk ve Lozan Konferansı'nın İlk Devresi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 4/11 (1988): 418, accessed 18 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/aamd/issue/55322/758908.

[103] Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Günlüğü*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2012), 24.

[104] Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları. Türk Diplomatik Belgelerinde Lozan Barış Konferansı, vol. II (February-August 1923)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 489; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları. Türk Diplomatik Belgelerinde Lozan Barış Konferansı, vol. I (November 1922- February 1923)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990), 321.

[105] Salah Ramadan Sonyel, "Lozan'da Türk Diplomasisi", *Belleten*, 38/149 (January 1974): 42, accessed 20 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.37879/ttkbelleten.1169512; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Günlüğü*, 154.

[106] Sevtap Demirci, *The Lausanne Conference*, 146.

One of the challenges İsmet Pasha faced on his way to Lausanne was determining the basis on which the delegation would conduct negotiations and what positions it would defend.[107] The Council of Ministers prepared a 14-point directive to be presented to İsmet Pasha.[108] Article 9 of this directive is related to the population exchange and the phrase 'Essential Exchange' explicitly indicates that an exchange will definitely take place.[109] İsmet Pasha emphasized the importance of separating the Turkish-speaking Christian population living in Central Anatolia from the Orthodox Greeks.[110] In this context, the situation of the population in the Cappadocia region, identified as 'Turkish Orthodox,' held a special place.[111] The existence of the Turkish Orthodox Church and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's favorable remarks regarding the contributions of Papa Eftim (Zeki Erenerol) and his family during the National Struggle indicate the special status of this community during the exchange process.[112] Papa Eftim and his family were exempted from the population exchange by a decision of the Council of Ministers in 1924, and they established the Turkish Orthodox Patriarchate in Galata.[113] However, as much of the community migrated during the exchange process, the congregation of the Patriarchate was significantly diminished.[114] This situation contributed to later developments, including Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver's invitation to the Gagauz Turks of Moldova to settle in Turkey during his tenure as Ambassador to Bucharest.[115]

The population exchange contributed to the strengthening of the nation-state concept while also revealing the complex dynamics of Turkish diplomacy. The situation of the Turkish Orthodox community and the Gagauz people highlighted the challenges brought by the religious and sectarian basis of the exchange process and demonstrated Turkey's efforts to protect its national interests and seek independence in international relations. These processes reflect the critical steps in building Turkey's modern state structure and national identity, as well as the challenges in managing ethnic diversity.

5. Religion-Based Divisions and Identity Construction

The population exchange carried out through an agreement supplementary to the Lausanne Peace Treaty between Turkey and Greece refers to the compulsory migration of their citizens based on religion.[116] Since the population exchange was based on religion, among those identified as Greek were Turkish Orthodox Christian Gagauz and Karamanlı Orthodox Christians, who spoke no language other than Turkish.[117] Among the Muslims who came from Greece, there were, besides the Turks, Pomaks who spoke Bulgarian and Macedonian, Romani communities called Kipti, Vlachs who spoke Romanian, Patriots who spoke Greek (*Romeika*),

[107] Lord Kinross, *Atatürk: Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu*, trans. Necdet Sander (Istanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1999), 417-418.

[108] Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Lozan Günlüğü*, 67.

[109] Sevtap Demirci, *The Lausanne Conference*, 62.

[110] Yonca Anzerlioğlu, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2003), 376.

[111] Erol Cihangir, *Papa Eftim'in Muhtıraları ve Bağımsız Türk Ortodoks Patrikhanesi* (İstanbul: Turan Yayıncılık, 1996), 121-122.

[112] Esat Arslan, "Kurtuluş Savaşında Yunan Fener Patrikhanesi Birlikteliğine Karşı Örgütlü Bir Yaklaşım Türk Ortodoks Kilisesi", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 4/15 (May 1995): 423-424, accessed 20 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1501/Tite_0000000251.

[113] Erol Cihangir, *Papa Eftim'in Muhtıraları*, 243-245.

[114] Yonca Anzerlioğlu, "Tarihi Verilerle Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi*, 51 (January 2013): 184, accessed 21 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tkhcbva/issue/73893/1219909.

[115] Gagauzians, an Orthodox Christian Turkish community, had a population of approximately 90,000 at the time and wanted to migrate to Turkey. However, this request was not accepted by the Turkish administration due to the exchange process being conducted on the basis of religion and sect. For detailed information on this topic, please refer to Yonca Anzerlioğlu, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler*, 1.

[116] Baskın Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama*, 6. baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 156.

[117] Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities*, 64-66; Yonca Anzerlioğlu, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler*, 1.

and Albanians who spoke their own language.[118] Among the diverse communities affected by the population exchange, the Dönme (*Avdeti*) group also experienced significant socio-political changes.[119] Given their unique religious and cultural practices, the status of the Dönme in the exchange process was complex. While many members of the Dönme community had adopted the Turkish language and customs, their migration and subsequent adaptation posed challenges similar to those faced by other groups.[120] Under the terms of the agreement, only the Greeks residing in Istanbul, Gökçeada, and Bozcaada were exempted from the exchange in Turkey, while only the Turks of Western Thrace were exempted in Greece.[121] The migrating population was settled in the vacated areas, and this process was largely completed in 1924-1925. However, the compulsory migration continued until the 1930 meeting between İsmet İnönü and Venizelos.[122]

According to the agreement, it was decided that the Catholic Greeks could stay in Turkey due to their small numbers and because they were not enlisted in the Greek army.[123] In contrast, Orthodox Greeks and the Karaman Turkish Orthodox living in the Cappadocia region were subject to the population exchange.[124] The Karaman Turkish Orthodox community is a group that writes in Turkish using the Greek alphabet.[125] This situation indicates that their identities have a complex structure in terms of religion and ethnicity. Because after the population exchange, individuals living in Karaman and later migrating to Greece were defined as '*Karamanlı.*'[126] Indeed, these developments brought discussions about ethnic and linguistic identities to the forefront.[127] However, the inclusion of these groups was based not on their ability to speak Turkish but rather on their religious identity, as the state-building process prioritized Muslim identity as a unifying factor. This situation is an important example of how the millet system of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent nation-state structures shaped ethnic and religious diversity. However, with the rise of nation-states based on a single ethnic and religious identity, this structure changed. The population exchange was also a result of this process.

The decisions were grounded in the desire to build a nation-state and create a homogeneous social structure. While Turkey aimed to establish a Muslim population structure, Greece aimed to continue the national activities of Orthodox Christians.[128] The Turkish administration preferred that the Greek Orthodox under Turkish citizenship be subject to the population exchange in order to prevent Greek expansionism in Anatolia.[129] The exemption granted to Catholic Greeks and Armenians was influenced by French diplomatic

[118] Samim Akgönül, *Türk Bağlamında Azınlık Kavramına Çapraz Bakışlar* (İstanbul: bgst Yayınları, 2011), 166; Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities*, 134-136; Elmas Köçkün, "Tasfiye Talepnamelerine Göre Mübadeleye Tabi Tutulan Roman Toplulukların Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu", *Uluslararası Beşeri ve Sosyal Bilimler İnceleme Dergisi*, 4/2 (2020): 145, accessed 21 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ihssr/issue/55643/824335.

[119] "Saloniki Deunmeh Excluded from the Exchange of Population," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 11 February 1924.

[120] Cengiz Şişman and Muharrem Varol. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Sabataycılık Tartışmaları: Türk Sesi Gazetesinden 1924 Tarihli Bilinmeyen Bir Tefrika." *Journal of Turkology* 25, no. 1 (June 2015): 189-233. https://doi.org/10.18345/tm.49572.

[121] Herkül Millas, *Geçmişin Bugüne Yunanlılar: Dil, Din ve Kimlikleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 223-225.

[122] Melek Firat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", in, *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, ed. Baskın Oran (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 346-348.

[123] Stefanos Yerasimos, *Azgelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye: 2 - Tanzimat'tan I. Dünya Savaşı'na*, trans. Babür Kuzucu (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1975), 946; Baskın Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama*, 51.

[124] Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities*, 134-135.

[125] Yonca Anzerlioğlu, *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler*, 211.

[126] Zafer Gedikli, "Karamanlılar ve Karamanlı Kültürüne Genel Bir Bakış", *Journal of Economics and Political Sciences*, 3/1 (2023), 53, accessed 22 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jep/issue/80066/1331094.

[127] Gazanfer İbar, *Karamanlılar ve Anadolulu Hemşehrilerimiz: Yunan Harfli Türkçe* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), 145.

[128] Melek Firat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 338-339.

[129] Yücel Bozdağlıoğlu, "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Sonuçları", *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 180/180 (January 2014): 18, accessed 22 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.20296/tsad.48189.

pressure and the distinction in religious denomination.[130] The acceptance of all Muslims by Turkey reflected the new Turkish state's goal of ensuring national unity and homogeneity.[131] In this context, the Muslims subjected to the population exchange from Crete were mostly not proficient in the Turkish language.[132] This situation showed that the population exchange process included not only religion but also other factors such as language and culture. The exchange also included other ethnic groups who did not speak Turkish, such as the Romani and Pomak communities. In this regard, the presence of groups with complex identities and different languages among the migrants deeply affected the social dynamics of the exchange process.[133]

The new Turkish state aimed to ensure national unity by integrating Muslim groups under a shared national identity, where 'Turkishness' was defined as both an ethnic and cultural category, often intertwined with Islam. The limited proficiency in Turkish among incoming Muslim populations highlighted the linguistic and cultural dimensions of the population exchange process. The compulsory migration of Turkish Orthodox Christians based on their religious identity was a result of the Lausanne Treaty's religion-based exchange policy. The relocation of Turkish Orthodox Christians to Greece led to debates in the regions where the migrations took place, due to ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences in the formation of nation-states. This situation brought about various identity crises in adapting to their new homelands after the exchange. The process was a significant turning point in the construction of national identity, as it led to the redefinition of ethno-religious structures.

6. The Role of the Population Exchange Process in National Identity Construction from an Economic and Legal Perspective

The population exchange is considered a significant milestone in Turkish-Greek relations in diplomatic, economic, and legal terms. Important steps were taken to resolve issues related to the subject through bilateral talks that began in 1925.[134] The initiatives that began during İsmet Pasha's prime ministership aimed to resolve the remaining issues from Lausanne and resulted in the signing of the Ankara Agreement on June 21, 1925.[135] However, the agreement could not be implemented due to the fall of the Andreas Michalakopoulos government and the rise of General Pangalos to power.[136] Negotiations resumed in 1926, and the Athens Agreement was signed on December 1, 1926.[137] This agreement provided for the mutual transfer of property but did not yield the expected results due to technical problems.[138] Italy's efforts to expand its influence in the Balkans led to Venizelos's desire to strengthen relations with Turkey, which was welcomed by İsmet Pasha, culminating in the resumption of population exchange negotiations in 1928 and their formalization through agreements signed in 1930.[139]

[130] Bruce Clark, *İki Kere Yabancı: Kitlesel İnsan İhracı Modern Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ı Nasıl Biçimlendirdi?* trans. Müfide Pekin (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), 116-117.

[131] Ayhan Aktar, "Nüfusun Homojenleştirilmesi ve Ekonominin Türkleştirilmesi Sürecinde Bir Aşama: Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, 1923-1927", *Ege'yi Geçerken 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*, comp. Renée Hirschon (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 1; Pınar Şenışık, "1923 Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Devlet Pratikleri ve Dönüşen Kimlikler", *Studies of the Ottoman Domain*, 6/10 (February 2016): 112, accessed 23 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ohsc/issue/27103/285664.

[132] Pınar Şenışık, "1923 Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Devlet Pratikleri ve Dönüşen Kimlikler", 100-101.

[133] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 112-113.

[134] Melek Firat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 342-343.

[135] Esra Sarıkoyuncu Değerli, "Atatürk Dönemi Türk-Yunan Siyasi İlişkileri", *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 15 (Agust 2006): 245-246, accessed 24 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/dpusbe/issue/4757/65352.

[136] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 116-117.

[137] Esra Sarıkoyuncu Değerli, "Atatürk Dönemi Türk-Yunan Siyasi İlişkileri", 246.

[138] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement*, 121.

[139] Melek Firat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 345-346.

This process also led to a severe economic crisis in both countries that lasted for about twenty years.[140] After the population exchange, Greece's financial situation worsened. Greece, in particular, was unable to provide adequate financial support for the settlement of migrants, and the impact of the global economic crisis of 1929 led to its fourth national bankruptcy in 1932.[141] At that time, Greece had a population of three and a half million. Following the population exchange, approximately one million additional people settled in Greece between 1923 and 1925, significantly straining the country's economy. This financial burden was further exacerbated by the global economic crisis of 1929, ultimately leading to Greece's fourth bankruptcy in 1932. Consequently, the economic, political, and social problems that arose led to state and societal pressure on the Turkish Muslim population.[142] As a result of the pressures, diplomatic tensions arose between Turkey and Greece.[143] In this context, international organizations were called to duty, and due to uncontrolled migration, Turkey had to close its border gates.[144] Due to the continued persecution of the Muslim population in Greece, irregular migrations to Turkey became inevitable.[145] This process also brought about various problems in terms of international law. Despite the commitments regarding minority rights in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, Greece's oppression of the Muslim population was considered a violation of the treaty, and this led to legal disputes between the two states.

In this regard, the population exchange was a key factor in shaping the relations between the two countries and influencing regional dynamics. Accordingly, the 1934 Settlement Law is a regulation in Turkey that sets out the basic principles concerning immigration and includes provisions regarding the acceptance of immigrants.[146] One of the unique aspects of the law was its emphasis on 'commitment to Turkish culture' rather than ethnic origin as the primary criterion for immigrant acceptance.[147] This situation indicates that groups who were ethnically Turkish but not loyal to Turkish culture would not be accepted as immigrants.[148] In this context, the sub-commission discussions during the exchange process addressed issues such as whether the implementation of the exchange would be based on voluntariness, which groups it would cover, and whether it would include the boundaries between Rumelia and Istanbul.[149] These discussions show that the population exchange process was not a compulsory population change; it targeted certain ethnic and religious groups, and covered a specific geographical area. These processes reflect Turkey's steps towards modernization and creating a homogeneous national identity.

[140] Bruce Clark, *İki Kere Yabancı*, 229-230.

[141] This bankruptcy is an indicator of the continued economic difficulties in Greece following its bankruptcies in 1843 and 1893. For detailed information on this topic, please refer to Ünsal Başak, "Yunanistan'ın Tarihteki İflasları 1843-1893-1932", *Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 18/1 (June 2023): 101-119, accessed 25 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.48145/gopsbad.1272703.

[142] Nilüfer Erdem, "Yunan Tarihçilerinin Gözüyle 1930 Türk-Yunan Dostluk Antlaşması ve Venizelos'un Bu Sürece Katkıları", *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (İLKE)*, 23 (Fall 2009): 116, accessed 26 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/musbed/issue/23517/250575.

[143] Feyza Kurnaz Şahin, "1929 Dünya Ekonomik Buhranı Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Ekonomik İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi (1929-1939)", *Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi Türk-Yunan İlişkileri Özel Sayısı*, 5 (30 Agust 2021): 63-64, accessed 27 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.30692/sisad.947637.

[144] Melek Firat, "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 349.

[145] Historically, Greece's approaches towards minorities have been controversial. For detailed information on this topic, please refer to Turgay Cin, "Yunanistan'daki Azınlıklar ve Bunların Hukuki Durumları", *Prof. Dr. Hakan Pekcanıtez'e Armağan*, *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 16 (Special issue, 2014, printing date 2015): 4058, accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/deuhfd/issue/46919/588599; Kürşat Kurtulgan, "Bir Türk Subayının Raporuna Göre Mübadelenin Yunanistan'daki Yansımaları", *Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9/2 (Fall 2017): 91, accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ksbd/issue/34220/383342.

[146] Bilge Kağan Şakacı, "Türkiye'nin Göç ve İskân Politikaları: 1934 Tarihli 2510 Sayılı İskân Kanunu İncelemesi", *Kamu Yönetimi ve Politikaları Dergisi (Journal of Public Administration and Policy)*, 1/3 (2020): 44, accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/kaypod/issue/57794/760231.

[147] Sema Erder, "Türkiye'de Değişen Siyasal Konjonktür, Değişen Göç ve İskân Politikaları", in, Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Göç Politikaları, 1923-2023: Ulus-Devlet Oluşumundan Ulus-Ötesi Dönüşümlere, ed. Ahmet İçduygu (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Göç Araştırmaları Merkezi, MiReKoç Proje Raporları, 2014), 123.

[148] Bilge Kağan Şakacı, "Türkiye'nin Göç ve İskân Politikaları: 1934 Tarihli 2510 Sayılı İskân Kanunu İncelemesi", 44-45.

[149] Lozan Barış Konferansı 1: Tutanaklar Belgeler, vol. 1, trans. Seha L. Meray (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2nd ed., 2001), 322.

There are ongoing debates regarding the term 'ethnic cleansing' in the context of population exchange, particularly concerning its definition and the historical data involved.[150] Ethnic cleansing refers to the struggle involving the forced displacement or physical destruction of an ethnic group.[151] This term became widespread in the international literature, particularly during the events that occurred in the 1990s with the breakup of Yugoslavia.[152] However, the population exchange should be considered a compulsory population transfer rather than ethnic cleansing, as it was carried out with mutual consent and within a specific protocol. Nonetheless, the involuntary nature of the relocation has remained a central point of criticism from a human rights perspective. This process caused great difficulties for the displaced in economic, social, and legal aspects. However, the exchange was accepted as a legitimate solution within the framework of international law norms of the period. The dominance of an understanding that prioritized the sovereignty rights of states in the international community of that time provided the legal basis for the exchange.

The legal evaluation of the population exchange agreement in terms of human rights gained a more concrete foundation with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948. While fundamental human rights principles were codified in this declaration, earlier international agreements, such as the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, had already attempted to address issues concerning displaced populations through legal provisions. However, the absence of a universally recognized human rights framework before 1948 led to significant challenges in the implementation and enforcement of such agreements, often resulting in violations of individual rights and hardships for affected populations. From a legal perspective, the population exchange must be understood within the broader context of state sovereignty, national security concerns, and nation-state building. Under international law at the time, states had the authority to regulate their demographic structures through bilateral agreements, as evidenced by the Lausanne Treaty, which legally sanctioned the exchange based on religious identity rather than individual consent. Nevertheless, in contemporary human rights discourse, forced population transfers—especially those carried out without adequate protection mechanisms for fundamental rights—are often viewed as contrary to the principles of self-determination and non-refoulement. Thus, while the population exchange was legally justified under the norms of the early 20th century, it raises significant legal and ethical questions when examined through the post-World War II human rights framework.

Conclusions

Identity studies offer a comprehensive framework for analyzing the interactions and transformations of demographic, economic, cultural, and political change, particularly by illuminating how individuals and social relationships are reflected in international relations. This interdisciplinary approach, while deepening the examination of the dynamics between identity and diplomacy, provides significant contributions to understanding the impacts of social changes at the international level. The concepts of space and time also play a critical role in shaping identity and social existence. Diplomacy has gained importance as an effective tool to support these dynamics in cultural, social, and political interactions. The blending of international and cultural contexts contributes to the development of more inclusive and peaceful solutions, enhancing the prospects for global cooperation and prosperity. Migration and cultural interaction play a unifying role in identity construction while creating significant areas of struggle in terms of social cohesion and peace. The integration process of immigrants can trigger exclusionary dynamics such as prejudices and xenophobia,

[150] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement:*, 14; Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities*, 66.

[151] John Quigley, "State Responsibility for Ethnic Cleansing", *U.C. Davis Law Review*, 32/2 (1999): 344, accessed 30 October 2024, https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/sites/g/files/dgvnsk15026/files/media/documents/DavisVol32No2_Quigley.pdf.

[152] Benjamin Lieberman, *The Holocaust and Genocides in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 212.

leading to cultural conflicts; however, it also facilitates the reshaping of social identities and perceptions. Identity is a foundational lens through which individuals and nations interpret their existence and place in the world. These perceptions shape the representations of situations, enabling diverse identities and cultural elements to be expressed and negotiated within diplomatic contexts. In this way, identity becomes instrumental in regulating international interactions and fostering the formation of shared global narratives. Diplomacy plays an important role in shaping national identities and foreign policies. Regional perspectives provide a critical tool for understanding how these elements interact with socio-cultural, political, and economic dynamics. In this context, the formation and evolution of national identities provide a valuable framework for analyzing the complexity and dynamics of international components.

The relationship between diplomacy and national identity has been strengthened by communications throughout history, and international agreements have formed significant milestones in this process. Especially agreements like the Treaty of Lausanne have played a critical role in the reconstruction of national identities and in determining the positions of states in the international system. The population exchange process between Turkey and Greece contributed to the homogenization of national identities and the formation of new state structures through demographic changes. In this context, the population exchange contributed to the strengthening of the nation-state concept while revealing the complex dynamics of Turkish diplomacy. The situation of Turkish Orthodox Christians and Gagauzians highlighted the religious and sectarian challenges of the exchange process, revealing Turkey's efforts to protect its national interests and its quest for equality. This situation reflects Turkey's critical steps in the process of building a modern state regime and national identity, as well as its management of ethnic diversity. While Turkey accepted all Muslim groups to ensure national unity, the exchange process created significant difficulties in terms of language, culture, and religious identities. The fact that some of the incoming Muslims did not know Turkish led to certain linguistic and cultural adaptation challenges; however, historical evidence suggests that these difficulties were largely mitigated over time through social integration, including intermarriage and communal interactions. On the other hand, the forced migration of Turkish Orthodox due to their religious identities, as a result of the religiously divided exchange policy based on the Treaty of Lausanne, led to debates during the migration due to ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences. This process brought about identity crises in adapting to their new homeland and led to the reshaping of ethnic-religious structures, forming a significant milestone in national identity construction.

The population exchange was a part of the goal to create a unitary national identity during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey and should be evaluated within the framework of the sovereignty rights of states, national security concerns, and nation-state building. The 1934 Settlement Law, based on the principle of 'loyalty to Turkish culture', played a significant role in national identity construction and marked a turning point in immigration acceptance policies. The population exchange affected the demographic and social structures of Turkey and Greece, shaping regional dynamics and allowing the two countries to redefine their national identities and diplomatic strategies. In conclusion, the population exchange process was part of an effort to transcend ethnic identities and equalize individuals on the basis of citizenship. This process emerged as a response to the political and demographic challenges of the time and was used as a tool for national identity construction.

One of the main motivations behind the population exchange was to prevent possible inter-communal conflicts between the Turkish and Greek communities. The case of Cyprus provides an illustrative example in this regard. Unlike the mainland, where the exchange was implemented, there was no population transfer in Cyprus at that time, which led to increasing tensions that resulted in inter-communal conflicts from the 1930s onwards. In particular, the Rauf Denktaş-Archbishop Makarios agreement fifty years later facilitated a population exchange on the island and emphasized the role of such measures in preventing conflict. Beyond

the Turkish and Greek delegations and governments, the Great Powers of the period also actively supported the implementation of the population exchange. The broader international consensus emphasized that a rapid exchange would contribute to regional stability and the resolution of long-standing disputes. This international endorsement underlined that the exchange was seen as a necessary step for peacebuilding in the post-war order.

Peer Review Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest The author has no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Author Details Onur Gürel (PhD)
[1] Non-affiliated, İzmir, Türkiye
0000-0002-0007-8567 onurgurel.phd@gmail.com

References

Adler, Emanuel. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", *European Journal of International Relations*, 3/3 (1997): 319-363. Accessed 4 October 2024. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066197003003003.

Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Agius, Christine, "Sosyal İnşacılık", In, *Çağdaş Güvenlik Çalışmaları*, Editor Andrew Collins, Translator Nasuh Uslu, 3rd edition, İstanbul: Uluslararası İlişkiler Kütüphanesi, 2017.

Agnew, John. *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Akgönül, Samim. *Türk Bağlamında Azınlık Kavramına Çapraz Bakışlar*. İstanbul: bgst Yayınları, 2011.

Aktar, Ayhan. "Nüfusun Homojenleştirilmesi ve Ekonominin Türkleştirilmesi Sürecinde Bir Aşama: Türk Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi, 1923-1927", *Ege'yi Geçerken 1923 Türk-Yunan Zorunlu Nüfus Mübadelesi*. Complier Renée Hirschon, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007.

Altuğ, Yılmaz. "Atatürk ve Lozan Konferansı'nın İlk Devresi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 4/11 (1988): 417-436. Accessed 18 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/aamd/issue/55322/758908.

Andreouli, Eleni and Xenia Chryssochoou. "Social Representations of National Identity in Culturally Diverse Societies", In *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations*, Editors G. Sammut, E. Andreouli, G. Gaskell, and J. Valsiner, 2015.

Anzerlioğlu, Yonca. "Tarihi Verilerle Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi*, 51 (January 2013): 171-187. Accessed 21 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tkhcbva/issue/73893/1219909.

Anzerlioğlu, Yonca. *Karamanlı Ortodoks Türkler*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2003.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Arslan, Esat. "Kurtuluş Savaşında Yunan Fener Patrikhanesi Birlikteliğine Karşı Örgütlü Bir Yaklaşım Türk Ortodoks Kilisesi", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 4/15 (May 1995). Accessed 20 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1501/Tite_0000000251.

Ashmore, Richard D., Lee Jussim and David Wilder, Editors. *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction.* 3 of Rutgers Series on Self and Social Identity. 2001.

Assmann, Jan. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Barkin, J. Samuel. *Realist Constructivism: Rethinking International Relations Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Başak, Ünsal. "Yunanistan'ın Tarihteki İflasları 1843-1893-1932", *Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 18/1 (June 2023): 101-119. Accessed 25 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.48145/gopsbad.1272703.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Identity.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Akışkan Aşk: İnsan İlişkilerinin Kırılganlığına Dair.* Translator Işık Ergüden. İstanbul: Versus Yayınları, 2012.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Bozdağlıoğlu, Yücel. "Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Sonuçları", *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 180/180 (January 2014): 9-32. Accessed 22 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.20296/tsad.48189.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity'", *Theory and Society*, 29/1 (2000): 1-47. Accessed 2 October 2024. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007068714468.

Bryce, Trevor. *The Kingdom of the Hittites.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Campbell, David. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* New York: Guilford Press, 1998.

Cihangir, Erol. *Papa Eftim'in Muhtıraları ve Bağımsız Türk Ortodoks Patrikhanesi*. İstanbul: Turan Yayıncılık, 1996.

Cin, Turgay. "Yunanistan'daki Azınlıklar ve Bunların Hukuki Durumları", *Prof. Dr. Hakan Pekcanıtez'e Armağan*, *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 16 (2014): 4045-4116. (Special issue, printing date 2015). Accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/deuhfd/issue/46919/588599.

Clark, Bruce. *İki Kere Yabancı: Kitlesel İnsan İhracı Modern Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ı Nasıl Biçimlendirdi*? Translator Müfide Pekin. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008.

Clogg, Richard. *A Concise History of Greece.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Cohen, Richard A. and James L. Marsh, eds. *Ricoeur as Another: The Ethics of Subjectivity.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Demirci, Sevtap. *The Lausanne Conference: The Evolution of Turkish and British Diplomatic Strategies 1922-1923*. PhD dissertation, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1997.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory", *European Journal of International Relations*, 3/3 (1997): 365-392. Accessed 9 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066199005003005.

Erdem, Nilüfer. "Yunan Tarihçilerinin Gözüyle 1930 Türk-Yunan Dostluk Antlaşması ve Venizelos'un Bu Sürece Katkıları", *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (İLKE)*, 23 (Fall 2009): 93-128. Accessed 26 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/musbed/issue/23517/250575.

Erder, Sema. "Türkiye'de Değişen Siyasal Konjonktür, Değişen Göç ve İskân Politikaları", In, Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Göç Politikaları, 1923-2023: Ulus-Devlet Oluşumundan Ulus-Ötesi Dönüşümlere, Editor Ahmet İçduygu, 77-137. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Göç Araştırmaları Merkezi, MiReKoç Proje Raporları, 2014.

Eysenck, Michael W. and Mark T. Keane. *Cognitive Psychology: A Student's Handbook.* 8th edition New York: Routledge, 2020.

Faist, Thomas. *Uluslararası Göç ve Ulusaşırı Toplumsal Alanlar*, Translator Azad Z. Gündoğan and Can Nacar (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2003.

Farrell, Theo. "Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program", *International Studies Review*, 7/3 (2002): 49-72. Accessed 7 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00224.

Firat, Melek. "Yunanistan'la İlişkiler". In, *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, Editor Baskın Oran. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001.

Fierke, Karin M. *Critical Approaches to International Security.* Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language.* Translator A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Fritz, Verena and Alina Rocha Menocal. *Understanding State-Building from a Political Economy Perspective: An Analytical and Conceptual Paper on Processes, Embedded Tensions and Lessons for International Engagement. Report for DFID's Effective and Fragile States Teams.* Overseas Development Institute, September 2007.

Frye, Northrop. *Büyük Şifre Kitabı-Mukaddes ve Batı Edebiyatı.* Translator Selma A. Baş, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2006.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The Origins of Political Order.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.

Gedikli, Zafer. "Karamanlılar ve Karamanlı Kültürüne Genel Bir Bakış", *Journal of Economics and Political Sciences*, 3/1 (2023): 52-63. Accessed 22 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jep/issue/80066/1331094.

Gergen, Kenneth J. *An Invitation to Social Construction*. 3rd edition London: SAGE Publications, 2015.

Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Grossberg, Lawrence. "Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?" In, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Editors Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 87-106. London: Sage Publications, 2011.

Hall, Stuart. "Eski ve Yeni Kimlikler, Eski ve Yeni Etniklikler", In, *Kültür, Küreselleşme ve Dünya Sistemi: Kimlik Temsilinin Çağdaş Koşulları*, Complier Anthony D. King, 63-90. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998.

Harvey, David. *Social Justice and the City.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009; originally published in 1973.

Heater, Derek. *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York: NYU Press, 2007.

Hervieu-Léger, Danièle. *Religion as a Chain of Memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.

Hirschon, Renée. *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2003.

Hobson, John M. *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, Editors. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hofstede, Geert. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations.* 2nd edition Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2001.

Hopf, Ted. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Hudson, Valerie M. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

Huysmans, Jef. *Security Unbound: Enacting Security in an Uncertain World.* London: Routledge, 2006.

Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

İbar, Gazanfer. *Karamanlılar ve Anadolulu Hemşehrilerimiz: Yunan Harfli Türkçe*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009.

İnalcık, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy.* Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2023.

İnönü, İsmet. *İsmet İnönü'nün Hatıraları: Cumhuriyetin İlk Yılları I (1923-1938).* İstanbul: Yenigün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık A.Ş. 1998.

Jenkins, Richard. *Social Identity.* 3rd edition New York: Routledge, 2008.

Karacan, Ali Naci. *Lozan Konferansı ve İsmet Paşa.* 3rd edition Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1993.

Karpat, Kemal H. *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914): Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri.* Translator Bahar Tırnakçı. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2003.

Kasaba, Reşat. *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Katzenstein, Peter J. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Kinross, Lord. *Atatürk: Bir Milletin Yeniden Doğuşu.* Translator Necdet Sander. Istanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1999.

Kissinger, Henry. *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994.

Köçkün, Elmas. "Tasfiye Talepnamelerine Göre Mübadeleye Tabi Tutulan Roman Toplulukların Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu", *Uluslararası Beşeri ve Sosyal Bilimler İnceleme Dergisi*, 4/2 (2020): 142-165. Accessed 21 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ihssr/issue/55643/824335.

Kurnaz Şahin, Feyza. "1929 Dünya Ekonomik Buhranı Sonrasında Türk-Yunan Ekonomik İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Gelişimi (1929-1939)", *Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi Türk-Yunan İlişkileri Özel Sayısı*, 5 (30 Agust 2021): 55-90. Accessed 27 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.30692/sisad.947637.

Kurtulgan, Kürşat. "Bir Türk Subayının Raporuna Göre Mübadelenin Yunanistan'daki Yansımaları", *Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9/2 (Fall 2017): 83-102. Accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ksbd/issue/34220/383342.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Ladas, Stephen P., *The Exchange of Minorities Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*. NewYork: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Mekânın Üretimi.* Translator İsmail Ergüden. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2014.

Lieberman, Benjamin. *The Holocaust and Genocides in Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

Lozan Barış Konferansı 1: Tutanaklar Belgeler. Volume 1. Translator Seha L. Meray. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2nd edition, 2001.

Lubis, Syaravina. "National Interest and National Identity Affect The Behaviour Of Foreign Policy", *Mahadi: Indonesia Journal of Law*, 2/2 (2023): 142-148. Accessed 10 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.32734/mah.v2i2.13363.

Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender.* NED-New edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

McGuire, Meredith. *Religion: The Social Context.* 6th edition Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2008.

McSweeney, Bill. *Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Melissen, Jan, Editor *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Metintaş, Mustafa Yahya and Melike Metintaş. "Analysis of Turkish-Greek Population Exchange in the Context of Greek and Turkish Foreign Policy", *Yakın Tarih Dergisi*, 1/4 (2018): 73-88. Accessed 16 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/yakintarih/issue/49714/637495.

Millas, Herkül. *Geçmişin Bugüne Yunanlılar: Dil, Din ve Kimlikleri*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Mole, Richard, Editor *Discursive Constructions of Identity in European Politics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. "Soft Power", *Foreign Policy*, 80, Twentieth Anniversary (Autumn, 1990): 153-171. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1148580.

Oran, Baskın. *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama.* 6. Baskı. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

Osiander, Andreas. "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth", *International Organization*, 55/2 (2001): 251-287. Accessed 14 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1162/00208180151140577.

Özsüer, Esra. "19. Yüzyıl Avrupa Romantiklerinin 1821 Mora İsyanı Üzerindeki Siyasi ve Kültürel Etkileri", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 26/2 (2016): 325-344. Accessed 14 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.18345/iuturkiyat.282694.

Pentzopoulos, Dimitri. *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece*. Paris: Mouton and Co. The Hague, 1962.

Peterson, V. Spike. "The Politics of Identity in International Relations", *The Fletcher Forum*, 17/2 (1993): 1-12. Accessed 11 October 2024, https://www.jstor.org / stable/ 45288848.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Quigley, John. "State Responsibility for Ethnic Cleansing", *U.C. Davis Law Review*, 32/2 (1999): 341-388. Accessed 30 October 2024, https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/sites/g/files/dgvnsk15026/files/media/documents/DavisVol32No2_Quigley.pdf.

Rovelli, Carlo. *The Order of Time.* New York: Riverhead Books, 2018.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Books UK, 2019; originally published in 1978.

Saaida, Mohammed B. E. "The Role of Culture and Identity in International Relations", *East African Journal of Education and Social Sciences*, 4/1 (2023): 49-57. Accessed 12 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.46606/eajess2023v04i01.0255

Saloniki Deunmeh Excluded from the Exchange of Population. *The Christian Science Monitor*, 11 February 1924.

Sarıkoyuncu Değerli, Esra. "Atatürk Dönemi Türk-Yunan Siyasi İlişkileri", *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 15 (Agust 2006): 239-262. Accessed 24 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/dpusbe/issue/4757/65352.

Searle, John R. *The Construction of Social Reality.* New York: Free Press, 1995.

Serter, Nur. *Giydirilmiş İnsan Kimliği.* İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1996.

Shaw, Stanford J. and Ezel Kural Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Smith, Anthony David. *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

Smith, Anthony David. *Milli Kimlik*, Translator Bahadır Sina Şener, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Sonyel, Salah Ramadan. "Lozan'da Türk Diplomasisi", *Belleten*, 38/149 (January 1974): 41-116. Accessed 20 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.37879/ttkbelleten.1169512.

Spindler, Manuela. *International Relations: A Self-Study Guide to Theory*. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2013.

Spohn, Willfried and Anna Triandafyllidou, eds. *Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration: Changes in Boundary Constructions between Western and Eastern Europe.* New York: Routledge, 2003.

Şakacı, Bilge Kağan. "Türkiye'nin Göç ve İskân Politikaları: 1934 Tarihli 2510 Sayılı İskân Kanunu İncelemesi", *Kamu Yönetimi ve Politikaları Dergisi (Journal of Public Administration and Policy)*, 1/3 (2020): 16-45. Accessed 28 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/kaypod/issue/57794/760231.

Şenışık, Pınar. "1923 Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Devlet Pratikleri ve Dönüşen Kimlikler", *Studies of the Ottoman Domain*, 6/10 (February 2016): 83-119. Accessed 23 October 2024, https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ohsc/issue/27103/285664.

Şimşir, Bilâl N. *Lozan Günlüğü.* 2nd edition Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2012.

Şimşir, Bilâl N. *Lozan Telgrafları. Türk Diplomatik Belgelerinde Lozan Barış Konferansı, Volume II (February-August 1923).* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994.

Şimşir, Bilâl N. *Lozan Telgrafları. Türk Diplomatik Belgelerinde Lozan Barış Konferansı, Volume I (November 1922-February 1923).* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990.

Şişman, Cengiz, and Muharrem Varol. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Sabataycılık Tartışmaları: Türk Sesi Gazetesinden 1924 Tarihli Bilinmeyen Bir Tefrika." *Journal of Turkology* 25, no. 1 (June 2015): 189-233. https://doi.org/10.18345/tm.49572.

Tannenwald, Nina. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use", *International Organization*, 53/3 (1999): 433-468. Accessed 7 October 2024, https://doi.org/10.1162/002081899550959.

Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* 8th edition Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001; originally published in 1977.

Tunçay, Mete, Cemil Koçak, Hikmet Özdemir, Korkut Boratav, Selahattin Hilav, Murat Katoğlu, Ayla Ödekan and Akşin Sina. *Türkiye Tarihi 4: Çağdaş Türkiye, 1908-1980*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1987.

Vucetic, Srdjan. *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017.

Weber, Max. *Sosyal Bilimlerin Metodolojisi*. Translator Vefa Saygın Öğütle. İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2012.

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wendt, Alexander. "Identity and Structural Change in International Politics", In, *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, Editors Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil, 47-64. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

Wright, Erik Olin. *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Yerasimos, Stefanos. *Azgelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye: 2 - Tanzimat'tan I. Dünya Savaşı'na*. Türkçesi: Babür Kuzucu. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1975.

Yıldırım, Onur. *Diplomasi ve Göç: Türk-Yunan Mübadelesinin Öteki Yüzü.* İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006.

Yıldırım, Onur. *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922-1934.* New York and London: Routledge, 2006.

Ziss, Avner. *Estetik.* Translator Yakup Şahan. İstanbul: Hayalbaz Kitap, 2011.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi: Turkey, A Modern History*. Translator Yasemin Saner. 34th edition İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017.