

Reproduction of Armenianness in Diasporic Spaces:
A Comparative Analysis of Armenianness in Turkish, Lebanese and British
Cases

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Abstract

Ethnicity is one of the powerful concepts in social sciences. It encourages social scientists coming from different academic disciplines to think over its roles, influences and power within communities which are shaped at various level. Particularly in the globalised world, traditional approaches such as primordialism, essentialism or instrumentalism have difficulty to provide a powerful framework to understand complexity and power of ethnicity in diasporic spaces which host different identity formations, experiences and cultural hybridisation. Accordingly, these traditional approaches miss differences among human beings who associated themselves with certain ethnicities. For this reason, social scientists tend to understand the concept of ethnicity with alternative approaches. Unlike traditional approaches, social constructionism does not see ethnicity as fixed, stable homogenous things. Rather, ethnicities refer to a cognitive process which is shaped by people's attitudes, perceptions or interactions. Approaching to ethnicity as a cognitive process allows us to go beyond universality and sharp definitions of ethnicity. Also, it emerges out various interpretations in diasporic spaces where ethnicity can be reproduced in various ways.

By relying on this theoretical framework, this research seeks to understand the reproduction of Armenianness in diasporic spaces. Through focusing on Turkish, Lebanese and British Armenians, it searches answers for following questions a) What are the components of Armenianness in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain? b) How are the components of Armenianness interpreted in diasporic communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain? c) How is Armenianness reproduced among Armenian youngsters in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain? It is hypothesised that Armenianness is not a holistic form, it can be observed as "a patchwork" consisting of various patterns and colours.

In order to materialise research aims and goals, the research was supported by field works in Istanbul, Beirut and London between 2011 and 2013. Throughout the data collection period, in-depth interviews, ethnography and participant observation were preferred to not only identify components of Armenianness, but also to create datasets for comparing and analysing the cases. The datasets have been analysed by ANCO-HITS to demonstrate similarities and differences among

various reproduction forms of Armenianness in numerical ways. As a result of the ANCO-HITS analysis, Armenianness was ranked in each case according to participants' scores. Later on, two participants (having the most negative and positive) were introduced through referring findings and fieldwork notes which derived from ethnography.

This research shows that Armenianness is observed in various forms. It is highly heterogeneous in diasporic spaces and experienced in different ways. Interpretations of youngsters are varied. It sometimes seems to be ethnic, nationalist, political, moderate or congregational. It also demonstrates that attitudes, perceptions as well as interactions of youngsters with Armenians and non-Armenians can be effective parameters differentiate Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

Key words: Armenian Diaspora, Social Constructivism, Ethnicity, ANCO-HITS, Identity

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Abbreviations

ACCC: Armenian Community Council of the UK

ANCO-HITS: Alternatingly Normalized CO-HITS

ARF: The Armenian Revolutionary Federation

ASALA: Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia

AUB: American University of Beirut

BD: British Dataset

CAIC: The Centre for Armenian Information and Advice

CUP: The Committee of Union and Progress

HU: Haigazian University

LAD: Literature Analysis Dataset

LAU: Lebanese American University

LD: Lebanese Dataset

SDHP: The Social Democrat Hunchakian Party

TD: Turkish Dataset

TSI: Turkish Statistical Institute

USJ: University of Saint Joseph

1. Chapter One: Introduction

My Journey

On the research training day that I attended as a part of my orientation at the University of Exeter, one of the speakers mentioned the importance of keeping a research journal. At first, I did not understand how a diary would help me accomplish my PhD goals. However, and since then, my research diary not only shows the interesting sources I found, but also helped me to evaluate my progress and relations with the research topic and participants I met during my fieldwork. Some might prefer to write their experiences and notes on proper notebooks or diaries. However, my research diary consisted of scrap papers and sticky notes that were written in libraries, cafes, trains or during interviews. Even though this method entails additional effort to organise the notes, I have continued to do so. Personally I think it is the best method to show “reflexivity” of researchers on certain issues and topic. Throughout the following chapters and sections, the reflexivity element can be observed and it maintains the readers’ interest.

“... Can I ask something if you do not misunderstand me? Why do you want to research on Armenian identity? We almost have disappeared...” said Ozgur who I met in Kinali, summer 2011. I never imagined that his innocent question would play a significant role in my research and its design later on. When I left him in Kinaliada, I took a boat to Istanbul and began to think about his questions, realising that I did not have proper answers. Of course, I already presented my proposal in doctorate workshops and a few informal meetings, but it started to look worse the closer I got in Istanbul. For this reason, I decided to establish a few steps to get myself into the research topic. Now, as a PhD student at the end of this exhausting road, I argue that working with established steps is crucial not only to show how the research project has evolved, but also to put forward my relations with the participants and others in this field who try to understand how Armenianness is reproduced in diasporic spaces.

The first step of my journey was by “awakening” through the same types of questions as Ozgur asked. While I was looking for new participants, I was questioned about why I was looking for Armenians, how I decided to study the Armenian diaspora or if I was Armenian. These were the most popular questions

deriving from either simple curiosity or academic purposes and needed to have proper explanations to justify the research project not only to me but to the readers. In this process, my experiences encountering questions and finding proper explanations led me to think about why Armenian communities in various geographies should be studied, and their academic value. On the other hand, this process forced me to confront my previous experiences and relations. As an ordinary middle class Turkish student, my relations with the Armenian community were highly limited until the end of my undergraduate studies. I spent all my educational life in public schools in Ankara and did not have any “different” friend or neighbours. In other words, I did not have the chance to meet members of the Armenian community which is frequently described as “Loyal Nation”, “Skilful” or “Traitorous” depending on narratives in history books in Turkish secondary and high schools.¹ For me, the Armenians were only in exam questions. However, Ozgur’s innocent questions compelled me to awaken to this community.

I should mention that deciding a research topic about Armenians is not an easy decision. I never thought that working on the Armenian diaspora and identity without having ethnic connections would be an exhausting effort. If it is taken into consideration, research students in ethnicity studies tend to focus on ethnic groups that they know the best. Generally, they examine ethnic groups they share similarities with. On the other hand, I, as an “outsider” researcher, had to spend much more time in the field to ensure that I did not fall into the trap of a “top down” Orientalist analysis. As will be seen in the chapter on research design, the fieldwork conducted took me into the participants’ world. This technique allowed me to complete my own “awareness” process without repeating previous stereotypes.

After this awakening and awareness stage, my journey carried on with identification progress. On the one hand, I focused on previous academic works consisting of the keyword “Armenian” for the literature review showing the academic gap in the field. On the other hand, I tried to follow main debates among

¹ This is very interesting point about perceptions and stereotypes towards Armenians in the Turkish society. Especially among the elders who had a chance to live with Armenians, they are remembered in nostalgia while speaking about preoccupations and mundane practices in everyday life. There is a tendency to emphasise how Armenians businessmen were honest, hardworking and skilful. However, the topic is shifted to political issues such as the deportation of 1915, Armenian rebels or occupation in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenians begin to be seen as “Traitor” or “infidel”.

Armenian communities/diaspora about identity, social and political issues. This helped me to find an “unstudied” research topic and more importantly to enrich the academic value and originality of the research project through applying different methodologies. In this identification progress, I realized that any topic about Armenian communities, whether Armenians or non-Armenians researched them, could be politicised effortlessly. Even simple topics (about dishes or place names) can be heatedly discussed. Therefore, this atmosphere is a good example of Foucault’s famous quotation “... everything is political”. This “being political” affects research agendas and strategies of researchers who focus on certain topics. As will be seen in the section of the literature review, previous works approached the Armenian identity from specific points of view, such as history or politics. Additionally, some disciplines such as anthropology and sociology almost cease to produce academic works about Armenians and Armenian culture due to a lack of interest or financial problems. According to the National Dissertation Database in Turkey (Ulusal Tez Merkezi, 2013) and Thesis Indexes in the UK and Ireland (Thesis Index, 2013) , there are 330 and 69 dissertations respectively that possess the keyword “Armenian”. These works are mainly categorised in the libraries of history, politics and law departments. As the literature review will show, it can be argued that these works cannot help us to understand Armenianness within the context of identity even though their titles consist of the word of “identity”.

Spending time in the identification process not only gave a chance to evaluate previous processes, but it also forced me to read post-modern texts about identity, ethnicity and nationality. This allowed me to see areas that were unstudied, and to re-examine Armenianness that was taught without considering the “complexity phenomenon”. As Morin conceptualises, reality does not comprise of a single phenomenon. It relates to meanings/interpretations, so there is more than one reality and all can be true at the same time. In this vein, identity does not originate from causes, rather it is a representation of cognitive, emotional, historical and denominational processes (Ozdogan et. al, 2009:29).

This complexity feature of ethnicity triggered me to pass another stage that I call maturation. In this phase, the motivations of the research project and answers for Ozgur’s original question “why am I studying Armenian identity?” became much clearer. In other words, in this phase I decided the research topic. I began to think

on the concept of complexity with various aspects such as youth, diaspora, comparison and case studies by referring to the example of Armenian communities. These aspects, on the one hand, contribute to the originality of the research project. On the other hand, they help us to understand different interpretations and experiences of Armenianness at various levels and spaces. After analysing the current literature about Armenians, ethnicity and diaspora studies, and experiences gained in the field, it was decided that a reproduction of Armenianness among youngsters in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain would be the research topic.

The term of diasporic space is a remarkable concept. It provides us an unusual space where we can observe different types of identity constructions. Contrary to the nation state, national borders and national identity, which came into use with modernisation and industrialisation, ethnicity and ethnic culture in diasporic space can be maintained in different ways. As Anthias (1998) states, ethnicity (ethnic identity) becomes a matter and is promoted in diasporic space, but it does not always mean conflict with host states. In other words, diasporic identity is a symbol of reactions against assimilation (that is sustained consciously and unconsciously) and efforts of maintaining ethnic culture and ethnicity while consolidating with an identity that is imposed by host lands. This makes members of diasporas multi-cultural and hybrid. It is believed that diasporic spaces are the best at reflecting how ethnicity matters for “ordinary Armenians”, those who have various interactions, variances and different life dynamics.

Apart from a few works in the current literature about Armenian communities, the term “diaspora” is considered exceedingly static and institutional. Most of the academic work about the Armenian diaspora tends to interpret diasporic identity with groupism and does not focus on its constructions. Putting it differently, the Armenian diaspora has not been studied through introducing formal and informal construction methods. As Erikson (1993) argues, informal construction is a key to understand the bottom up dynamics [nationalism] because we can observe how people construct and interpret ethnic/national/religious identity.

In addition to this, working with Armenian diasporic communities frequently involves entering into political issues and does not deal with ethnicity as it exists in normal life. As Ozdogan and Kilicdagi state (2011: 132-135) the term of

“diaspora” has a notorious reputation among Turkish statesmen and in public and perceived as monolith structures even if there are serious fragmentations and different political orientations. For this reason, most works about Armenian diasporic communities do not reflect the differences, internal dynamics and tendencies among Armenian people.

It should be pointed out that the term “Armenian Diaspora” is related to the tragedy of 1915 and political problems between Turkey and Armenia. Most of the time, it is brought to the agendas of foreign parliaments (particularly in France and the USA due to significant Armenian populations) and parliamentarians’ political manoeuvres to captivate voters having Armenian origins. This causes prejudices within the Turkish public and academia. The term of diaspora is interpreted differently in the Turkish context to describe groups of people/institutions that have enmity towards Turkey. It is generally alienated and refers to a lobbyist or interest group seeking to recognise the events of 1915 as genocide and to pass some sanctions in foreign parliaments (Simsir, 2005). Similarly, it is perceived as a group of people fighting against the “denial campaign of Turkey” and preserving ethnic/national/religious identities in strange places among Lebanese Armenians. It could be assumed that the polarised usage of diaspora does not help us to put forward a social sphere of diasporic space.

As will be seen in the following chapter, the diaspora is a highly dynamic notion that has been evaluated throughout time (Cohen, 2008; Anthias, 1998; Hall, 1990; Gilroy, 1993, Bhabha 1990). Although the original usage of diaspora was to describe the journeys of the Jewish people, nowadays the term has been enriched and includes various dynamics. It is sometimes used to describe social networks within transnationalism, globalism and sometimes it is seen as a subject of social mobilisation (Miles, 1989; Brah 1990; Gilroy, 1993). It should be noted that diasporas are also clusters of human populations and seem to be social groups which have countless motivations and goals. In this vein, it is useful to revisit Sokefeld’s analogy about diasporas and ethnic/religious groups.

According to Sokefeld (2006) diasporic communities exist at the same time in which ethnic components such as language, religion and sense of “we-ness” are shared. Diasporas can have similarities with other social groups. However,

Brubaker (2005) warns that liberation in the usage of the term of diaspora may lead the term to be meaningless and to become ordinary. He tries to say that diasporas have unique characteristics and should be treated differently. He could be right; however, it should be highlighted that not every ethnic is considered as a diaspora. They sometimes overlap each other and share similar features. Here, it could be useful to mention typologies about diaspora to minimise critiques. In the literature of diaspora, Safran's definition (1991:83-84) and Cohen's typology (2008:18) can contribute to understanding of diaspora. According to Cohen (2008), diasporas can be observed in different forms such as victim, labour, imperial, trade or de-territorialised. By standing on their definitions, it could be argued that dispersion, if willingly or forced, is the most unique character of diasporas. It allows maintaining ethnic awareness amongst subsequent generations in "host lands" - non-historic geographies (Cohen 2008; Safran, 2004). Some scholars such as Tololyan, Cohen and Safran tend to add "consciousness of diaspora" to definitions of diaspora (Ben-Rafael, 2010)

Common Features of Diaspora (Cohen, 2008:17)

- Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
- alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
- a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements;
- an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
- the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland;
- a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate;
- a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
- a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial
- the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism

Armenian Diaspora (Martirostan, 2014; Laciner, 2008)

- 6-7 million outside of Armenia
- dispersed all over the world. The largest is Russia (2.5 million), the USA (1.5 million) and France (450.000)
- atypical diaspora having rich ethnic history and ethnic consciousness
- collective memory, unique language, national Church and
- historical homeland and ethno-national state since 1992
- strong solidarity
- mostly well integrated in host countries

Figure 1: Features of Diaspora

In the following chapters, it is possible to observe how Lebanese and British cases show similarities with Cohen's typology. They can be perfect examples for victim and labour diasporas.² However, Turkish case does not fit into classic definition of diaspora as Armenians remain to live in Turkey.³ However, it can be a good example for 'internal diaspora'. According to Barna, internal diaspora is "...formed as a consequence of historical processes. In the case of the members of internal diasporas events that caused their minority status just happen(ed)... [internal diaspora] is the phenomena of living in the same place despite of a changed political and ethnical medium" (2010:60). In the example of Armenians of Turkey, political changing can be observed clearly. Despite their political and economic privileges in the Ottoman Empire, their populations declined dramatically to 147.000 from 1.500.000 in 1927 (McCarthy, 1983; Demirel, 2005). Additionally, the Armenian community lost political aspects and means accordingly. For this reason, the Armenian community in Turkey can be considered as an internal diaspora. Turkish case can be added into the scope of the research along with Lebanese and British cases too.

Throughout this research project, instead of defining what kind of group should be accepted as diaspora or not, I view the concept of diaspora as ways of thinking, being and feeling which reflect ethnic and religious components that are brought by individuals. This way of consideration not only prevents "groupism", but also provides much more interdisciplinary and flexible research (Brubaker, 2006). I assume that diasporic identity can be independent from groups. It should be pointed out that this does not ignore and refute the concept of group. More, rather, it considers that group membership is not the only source of identity. Indeed, it is constructed individuals' interactions and practices. These attitudes

² For Zekiyan, origins of Armenian diaspora related to trade and courage of businessmen in the Ottoman Empire. Armenian businessmen began to establish diaspora communities in Britain, Europe and India. For more information; Zekiyan, (1997) *The Armenian Way To Modernity*

³ It should be noted that being diaspora or not is very controversial issue among Turkish Armenians. They pay attention to highlight that they are not diaspora and are indigenous of Anatolia whenever possible. This derives from two main reasons. Firstly, the concept of diaspora refers to notoriety meaning due to political dispute between Turkey and political actors in Armenian diaspora. Secondly, it is believed that accepting Turkish Armenians as diaspora may break their connections with Turkey and increase hegemony of Armenia over Armenian communities outside borders. In the Turkish case, Armenia is not considered as 'homeland'. For further debate Berksanlar, 2011 (<http://hyetert.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/turkiye-ermenileri-diaspora-m.html>); Zilfioglu, 2011 (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8216we-are-no-diaspora8217-prominent-turkish-armenians-say-2011-05-08>); Abrahamyan, 2011 (<http://hyetert.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/are-turkish-armenians-diaspora.html>);

provide point of views (like ideologies) for people that make them a part of a certain identity. For instance, eating Armenian food, speaking Armenian, going to Sunday schools or dating with “Armenians” helps youngsters to become “Armenian” in diasporic spaces because being Armenian without considering interactions, understandings, prejudices, social memories, practices, beliefs, attitudes and so on does not make sense.

These components constitute the texture of Armenianness conceptualised as “a patchwork” having various colours and patterns in diasporic spaces that are flavoured with symbolism and hybridity (Bakalian, 1993; Pettie, 1997; Georgiou, 2006; Kassabian, 2006). Even simple rituals and cultural components are adopted passionately by members of diasporic communities to maintain their ethnic awareness. The example of the Armenian diaspora provides ample data to understand reproduction(s) of ethnicities in diasporic spaces. There are numerous interpretations of Armenianness, and it is reproduced and experienced in different ways depending on time and space. The following chapters not only demonstrate the reproduction of Armenianness, but also can be seen as extensive answers to Ozgur’s question that was mentioned above.

1.1. Aims

After the phases of awakening, identification and maturation, I classified the aims of the research project in three categories. The first aim is about ethnicity and diaspora studies. By analysing the Armenian case, this research seeks to make contributions to the literature on ethnicity and diasporic studies. As Shain (2002) argues, the Armenians are one of the most organised diasporas and have a long experience of living outside of their homelands. However, they have not been extensively studied apart from a few scholars focusing on the tragedy of 1915. Furthermore, both Turkish and Armenian scholars who are interested in the topic tend to produce academic works in their native languages. For this reason, topics about the Armenian diaspora have not found a place in the field of ethnicity and diaspora in the West.

Secondly, this project seeks to bring new perspectives for Turkish-Armenian relations that has been politicised for over a century. Following my experiences and observations in the field, it is clear that both Turkish and Armenian communities do not know each other sufficiently, preventing any mutual empathy

forming. Once they start to discuss the tragedy of 1915, they stick around their own terminologies and arguments obsessively and this prevents them from finding common ground to understand each other. Armenian youngsters, especially in Lebanon, assume that the Turkish side does not know anything about the tragedy of 1915 and continue to deny what happened in the First World War. Moreover, the youth who have political associations sustain unrealistic and impractical goals to fight Turkey and use it to justify previous brutal attacks (such as Armenian terrorism during 1970s). On the other hand, Turkish youngsters react easily once they hear the term “genocide” being used and consider that it insults the whole nation. They also see it as a part of a political plan consisting of genocide recognition, territory and compensation. It could be argued that debate among political actors spreads easily between the Turkish and Armenian peoples. This leads to enmity and negative stereotypes that transmit to next generations. This research project hopes to go beyond the political debate through pure ethnography. Although the tragedy of 1915 is not included within the primary scope of the research, I will introduce the events of 1915 in the appendix section by comparing two points of views.

Finally, this research project seeks to make a contribution to ethnicity and diaspora studies methodologically. With its analysis method (ANCO-HITS) and the concept of “family resemblance” that is brought by Wittgenstein, the research project can help us to analyse “identities” that are experienced variously. In other words, it allows us to observe the differences, similarities and various colours of Armenianness in different space and ways. This absolutely can be seen as a noteworthy effort and provide insights for further projects.

1.2. The Outline of the Thesis

This research consists of two parts. In the first part, the conceptual framework, methodology and historical background of the Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain will be introduced. Chapter Two begins with the conceptual framework. A clear conceptual framework may prevent any misunderstanding and shape scope of the research. After the 1980s, with the relaxation of the boundaries between disciplines (Wallerstein, 1996), scholars coming from various backgrounds started to produce various academic works about ethnicity, nationalism and diaspora. Differently from a previous era, these works have been

produced under the influence of interdisciplinary research and postmodernity in Western universities. This leads to a domination of the English language at the theoretical level. Additionally, the most important feature of these studies is their interdisciplinary points of view and the research methods they employed. This feature gives researchers flexibility to use certain concepts. However, it is not always useful because, as Brubaker argued, this might produce over-used and ill-defined concepts (Brubaker, 2005). For this reason, I would like to discuss key concepts such as ethnicity, diaspora and everyday life and their evaluations to prevent possible misunderstandings at a theoretical level, particularly as in the English language there are several theories and approaches about ethnicity and diaspora such as an instrumentalist and constructivist (Smith and Hutchison, 1996: 35-106). As is argued, these approaches and “schools” shape researchers deeply. For instance, some believe in the reality of ethnicities and groups passionately whereas others consider them to be artificial. Having a specific theoretical approach is highly important as it affects data analysis, historiography and even research instruments. Throughout the literature review, I consolidate these approaches and find out a suitable framework demonstrating the academic gap and differences of my own conceptualisation of Armenianness. As will be seen in the following chapters, I treated Armenianness as a combination of ways of feeling, thinking and practicing that has been constructed by people’s mundane interactions and behaviours.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology. It consists of two parts namely, research design and field work methodology. In the first part, I will explain epistemological and ontological principles behind the research project. As Mahoney (2007) argues, qualitative and quantitative research designs are two distinct traditions having various aims, principles and agendas. Therefore, I will start with the question of how does the qualitative tradition and its methods benefit us to understand the complexity of Armenianness? Answering these questions is crucial to understanding the intellectual background of the research and researchers’ attitudes toward the “identity” and “ethnicity”. In the second part, fieldwork methodology and operationalization will be introduced. I will firstly explain how the fieldwork conducted in Turkey (Summer 2011), Lebanon (Winter 2012) and Britain (Spring 2013) were been designed. Before moving on to the reproduction of Armenianness among youngsters, it is important to answer the

following questions; why is the research focusing on the Armenian youth? Why were Turkish, Lebanese and British Armenians used as case studies? Finally, why were in-depth interviews and participant observation selected as a preferred method? These questions should be answered explicitly. The motivations behind the research instruments, characteristics of the research sample (case studies) and the analysis unit will be discussed. This effort provides further clarification regarding the research itself, and it also shows the academic value of the research project within the literature and differences from previous works.

In the following section, readers will be familiarized with the operationalization of the data analysis. The operationalization section starts with a smaller literature review examining components of Armenianness broadly. This literature tends to shape boundaries of the Armenianness through focusing on various cases. They sometimes define what the “ideal” Armenian is either consciously or unconsciously, and provide normative forms of Armenianness. As will be demonstrated in the operationalization section, the literature does not always agree with the findings of my fieldwork. Participants tend to interpret components in different ways even though they are aware of the existence of other components. This leads the research to be seen as a “theory challenger”. Differently from the usual format, I will present the literature review in a different style. First of all, I focus on previous works seeking to analyse Armenian identity from various aspects and I then highlight components and put them into a chart showing present/absent conditions in order to make a comparison. Furthermore, I will create different charts and add parameters that were stated by participants to define ways of understanding Armenianness. Afterwards, I will explain how I worked with ANCO-HITS method to analyse my findings. In addition to the mathematical background of the ANCO-HITS, I will explain how it benefits the understanding of ethnicity. The final section of the methodology chapter indicates methodological caveats as well as limitations that were encountered during the fieldwork.

Chapter Four will discuss the historical construction of Armenianness. As Armstrong (in Hutchison and Smith, 1996) states, Armenians are one of the oldest community that possess written histories. They have used a unique alphabet since the 5th Century and have been aware of their own indigenous languages. This not only helps them to record events in the past, but also it

transmits their past consisting of social memories, legends, stories, myths and symbols to the next generations. It could be argued that “written history” allows us to track the Armenian point of view about the past. These points of view can be true or artificial, but this is unimportant as long as they reproduce Armenianness. As Foucault said, “History is not about the past, it is about the present...” For this reason, I will introduce Armenianness in a historical timeline which is told in Armenian sources to show how it is related to the present. This chapter should not be seen as a tedious history lesson. Rather, it puts forward the origins of cultural components that were derived from earlier ‘Armenian establishments’. This section can be considered to show how the ‘history of Armenianness as a fiction’ is told in the literature. Secondly, historical legacies of Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain will be summarised. After the deportation of Armenians in 1915, each community evolved differently and produced unique features, and began to distinguish from each other. This allows us to see key features, institutions and patterns within the communities in terms of similarities and differences.

The second part of the research will focus on primary data and reproduction models of Armenianness in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. Chapter Five is about the reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey. It will demonstrate how members of the Armenian community in Turkey construct and interpret parameters by relying on primary sources that were collected between June 2011 and August 2011. Firstly, an overview of the data set will be summarised. Secondly, two participants will be selected by determining who achieved the lowest and highest scores from the ANCO-HITS analysis, and they will be introduced and thoroughly described. Not only will the stories of participants be stated, but also the contexts shaping their interpretations of parameters will be analysed critically. Finally, the last section seeks to analyse and compare prominent parameters and relations with participants’ scores. This not only helps readers to be able to see the reproduction process of Armenianness in Turkey, but also key points deducted from the overview can be useful indicators in comparing cases in the next chapters.

Chapter Six is dedicated to the introduction of the reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon. It will demonstrate how members of the Armenian community in Lebanon construct and interpret parameters by again relying on primary data

collected between January 2012 and June 2012.⁴ Similar to the previous chapter, an overview of the data set will firstly be summarised. Secondly, two participants, again the highest and lowest scoring from the ANCO-HITS analysis, will be discussed at length. This will all follow the exact procedure as stated in Chapter Five, and conclude by analysing the reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon.

Similar to Chapters Five and Six, Chapter Seven focuses on the reproduction of Armenianness in Britain. It will demonstrate how members of the Armenian community in Britain construct and interpret parameters of Armenianness by relying on primary data collected between August 2012 and December 2012.⁵ This chapter consists of three sections. Firstly, the key points of the data set will be explained to prepare readers to consider the reproduction process of Armenianness in the British case. Afterwards, two participants out of 15 will be introduced and discussed as the lowest and highest scores on the ANCO-HITS analysis. Finally, analysis of the British case of Armenianness will be accomplished through focusing on findings and key points from the two participants.

In the Chapter Nine, main findings about Armenianness will be discussed and summarised. This chapter dedicates to answer the question of what the Armenianness is. Key features of the Armenianness in diasporic places will be pointed out through referring the hypothesis.

⁴ The fieldwork was supported through informal email/phone conversations between 26/06/2013 and 22/05/2015. Political atmosphere and instability in Lebanon prevented me to visit Lebanon one more time. Since 2012, it is possible to observe negative effects of Syrian War in Lebanon in terms of sectarianism.

⁵ The fieldwork was supported through informal meetings in “Armenian Winter and Summer Festival” and “Armenian Language Course at Armenian House” between 2012 and 2014. Additionally, email conversations on 04/06/2015 and also 20/12/2012 helped me to fill in the gaps of primary data.

2. Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework

This chapter seeks to discuss evolution of ethnicity through focusing on the literature of ethnicity and nationalism. Mainstream approaches to ethnicity will be discussed critically. This can be considered as sort of literature review showing academic gap and different theoretical point of views. Later on, social constructivism will be introduced as a promising approach and theoretical framework will be established to understand Armenianness.

2.1. Evolution of Ethnicity

Although the term of ethnicity is recent, it is able to affect the people of the modern world deeply. As Smith and Hutchison (1996:4-5) state, “ethnicity” appeared in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1953. Since then, scholars have tried to understand and define it analytically. According to Fenton (2003:8) ethnicity is usually associated with culture, descent group, memories and language. It closely resembles characteristics found in racial, national and ethnic groups. The term of ethnicity derives from much older term ‘ethnos’, which dates back to ancient Greek. It used to refer to pagan, non-Greeks and foreign barbarians (Chapman et al., 1989:11-17).

Despite ethnicity’s deep-rooted historical background, it should be noted that the term itself was not used in anthropology or sociology until the 1970s (Sokolovski and Tishove, 1996: 190-193). Before that, according to Jenkins (2001), the common tendency was to use the term “race”. The concept of race was used to describe modern communities, while “tribe” was used for ‘pre-modern communities’. This tendency began to change after the Second World War because the term was associated with attitudes held by Nazis and Social Darwinism, which sought to create pure races and to classify human beings by their skin colours and physical features. Therefore, it gained notoriety. Anglo-Saxon literature began to replace the concept of race with alternative concepts such as ethnicity, ethnic group or ethnic community.

Since then, this has become the new tendency displayed in the literature of anthropology and sociology. Even in simple textbooks, it is possible to come across these synonyms terms such as ethnic group, ethnic community and ethnic identity which refer to different aspects of ethnicity. In the mundane language, these terms are used interchangeably. Currently, it should be noted that these

terms have gained independent meaning and, in other words, they are defined and differences are underlined in parallel to the expansion of the literature. It could be argued that the literature of ethnicity is enriched through various disciplines such as history, sociology, psychology and anthropology.

There is no doubt that definitions always seem to be problematic since they do not cover the whole aspects of a thing or being. According to Isajiw (1992), there are over 150 definitions about ethnicity and related terms. For instance, ethnicity sometimes is defined as 'the essence of the ethnic group' or 'the quality of belonging to ethnic community or group' (Chapman et al., 1989: 15). This all the while it refers to a field of study that seeks to focus on the classification of people and relations between groups in a context of 'self-other' distinctions (Erikson, 1993: 4, in Smith and Hutchinson, 1996:4). Alternatively, it is considered that ethnic group refers to a social group that is based on ancestry, culture and national origins while ethnicity is seen as an affiliation to ethnic group (Yang, 2000; Van den Berghe, 1981).

This definitional chaos in the literature triggers ethnicity to be analysed and theorised systemically. Alongside the definitions, scholars focus on the nature of ethnicity and seek answers for the questions of "is ethnicity inherited or constructed?" and "what is the basis of the ethnicity?". Although there is not any fully established theory that puts forward satisfactory answers that addresses the complexity of ethnicity completely, scholars tend to discuss ethnicity by taking a few main approaches.

In this sense, primordialism is the first approach that should be included in the literature review. Pierre van den Berghe, Basil Davidson, Clifford Geertz, Edward Shils and Steven Van Evera are all well-known representatives of primordialism (Green, 2006). It should be pointed out that there are notable differences among the primordialists even though modernists tend to see them all as holistic and unified. For instance, Tilly categories the primordial approach into three sub-domains, namely biological, cultural and psychological, whereas Smith introduces primordialists as essentialists, focusing on the biological and cultural (Smith, 1995a; Smith, 1995b). Even though the primordialist arguments have lost their popularity, they can be summarised as follows; ethnic groups (as well as ethnicities) are a part of the human body. Kinship determines primarily human

beings' ethnicity and ethnic affiliations to certain groups. It is static and unchangeable. According to Shile (1957), ethnic groups are like families and they consist of kinship. In addition, Geertz mentions primordial ties that shape ethnicity and ethnic groups. According to Geertz (1973), these ties are language, assumed blood ties, race, religion, regional affiliation and customs. Also Geertz argues that:

“[ethnic groups] are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves ... as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtues of some unaccountable absolute importance attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural some would say spiritual affinity than from social interaction...” (Geertz 1973: 259-60)

At this point, it should be noted that these ties are accepted as 'given'. To put it differently, they are not changeable and they are stable. A person is born into a certain group; she/he does not change ethnicity because of kinship.

Although the primordialist approach is supported from a genetic perspective, even recently with such works by Wilson, Triver and Badcok (Ozkirimli, 2007:89; Bayar, 2009), it does not help to understand the complexity of ethnicity as it fails to explain transformations and developments within the ethnic group. Assimilation and other ethnic loyalties are ignored (Eller and Coughlan 1993; Brubaker 2001; Lustick 2001). One of the critics comes from the well-known modernist, Brass. According to him, not everyone is interested in learning and maintaining their ethnic language in multicultural societies. Ethnic languages sometimes take on a level of secondary importance (Brass, 1991). Moreover, Smith reminds that external factors such as intermarriage, epidemic and migration make ethnicity more complex and provide different aspects to ethnicity (Guibernau, 2004). These factors prevent ethnicity from being static. Throughout time, some ethnic groups were assimilated by others and disappeared. As mentioned above, the primordialist approach has cultural aspects; however, it underscores common culture. For instance, primordialist scholars ignore that key

element of Hispanic culture that is not based on common ancestry. Rather, the language (Spanish) plays a significant role in creating a common culture (Yang, 2000). Furthermore, Horowitz (2002) criticises primordialists since they do not highlight the differences between 'in-group solidarity' and the 'cultivation of outgroup hostility'; between affirming identity and pursuing conflict. The primordialist approach is criticised harshly by Eller and Coughlan. They argue that the primordialist assumption of the attributed significance of assumed kinship makes ethnicity unsociological and unanalysable (Eller and Coughlan, 1993).

As a result of weakness and unsatisfied approaches within primordialism, scholars have brought in new perspectives. The instrumentalist point of view is the second approach in the literature of ethnicity. Even though they do not provide a grand theory and consist of dispersed arguments, instrumentalist scholars argue that ethnicity and ethnic groups derive from social, economic, political and cultural dynamics (Smith, 1996:8). Accordingly, ethnicity is considered as 'passive' which is affected by external dynamics. For instance, while explaining the relation between ethnicity and politics, Brass (1991) argues that symbols can be manipulated by elites and are used to mobilise people. In this sense, ethnicity/nationalism seems to be very artificial and lead to 'false consciousness' (Hobsbawn, 1990).

On the other hand, there is a tendency within the instrumentalist school to explain ethnicity through rational choice theory. According to Portese and Bach (1985), ethnicity provides moral and material support to reach and sustain certain interests, so it is conceptualised as a tool (in cited Yang, 2000:46). Similarly, Glazer and Moynihan (1972) state that ethnic groups can be used for mobilisation to maximise their interests. In the core of the rational choice theory, human beings are considered as rational actors before acting in any situation. While human beings are promoting their socio-economic interests, they aim to increase their benefits and to reduce their costs. For this reasons, ethnicity is an outcome of the rational calculation. Accordingly, people are affiliated with ethnicity as long as their interests are maintained. Either it is remembered or forgotten depending on the situation (Banton, 1983; Hetcher, 1986). For instance, ethnicity can be more observable in 'pluralist societies' to receive public funds or to get passports from their home countries. Arguably, ethnic backgrounds and the visibility of ethnicity can be suppressed, denied or hidden by oppressive regimes.

However, viewed from the instrumentalist approach, ethnicity is considered as being an excessively materialistic point of view and cannot explain why human beings become attached to ethnicities passionately in the modern and globalised world. The main critique of the instrumentalist explanations is ethnicity is imagined as being the same for all people and that it does not pay attention to emotional and psychological factors. Indeed, ethnicity is not optional in many cases and limited. Most of the time, it transmits from generation to generation and therefore it is not just about free choice. According to Nagel:

“[people] who do not always choose to be who we are; we simply are who we are as a result of a set of social definitions, categorisation schemes, and external ascriptions that reside in the taken-for-granted realm of social life...” (1996:26 in cited Yang, 2000)

Moreover, instrumentalists pay little attention to psychological and symbolic aspects. In some cases, especially after the collapse of Yugoslavia, ethnicity is used as a symbol to differentiate from neighbours (for psychological point of view Volkan, 1988). Similarly, Gans (1979) shows how ethnicity works among third and fourth generations symbolically. According to him, symbolic ethnicity “...can be expressed in a myriad of ways, but above all, I suspect, it is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behavior” (1979: 9). People can experience ethnicity from time to time because the emergence of the symbolic ethnicity depends on external factors such as oppression.

As is understood from these approaches, “ethnicity” is not a term that has been considered with all aspects in mind. In the modern and globalised world, new trends such as intermarriage, migration and diasporas, forces us to discuss ethnicity at different levels. In this sense, there are two more approaches which are ready to contribute to the complexity of ethnicity in the literature. Ethno-symbolists and social-constructivists seem to be promising approaches providing alternative points of view on the topic of ethnicity.

The approach of ethno-symbolists was developed by the pioneering works of Smith and Hutchison in the last two decades. Even though some scholars argue that ethno-symbolism does not say anything new and is a replica of the modernist

approach (Ozkirimli, 2003), ethno-symbolism opens up a new perspective and gains new terminologies in the literature of ethnicity and nationalism. Actually, the primary concern of ethno-symbolism is in the origins of nations. According to Smith, "...the main concern of ethno-symbolism is with the persistence, change and resurgence of *ethnies* and with the role of the ethnic past and the past in shaping present cultural communities" (1996:10). Therefore, some scholars like Conversi (1995) claim that ethno-symbolists are stuck between essentialists and instrumentalists since they argue that nations are established pre-modern *ethnie* through social memory, myths and symbols. These are important elements, unifying people from generation to generation. For this reason, ethnicities (as well as nations) should be examined *longue durée*. For instance, Githens-Mazer's work (2006) about Irish identity could be a good example about how social memories about the past can be effective to mobilise people and the next generations. It should be noted that the ethno-symbolist approach introduced the concept of *ethnie* into the literature. Smith (1986:32) describes *ethnie* as:

"...a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland', a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population..."

It should be noted that these are not considered in a primordial way. Rather, it is argued that these features of *ethnie* are constructed. Additionally, *ethnie* could take on different forms, namely, vertical (democratic) and horizontal (aristocratic). Cultural contents like myths, memories and symbols bring about a resurgence of ethnicity in the modern world. Intelligentsia discover these contents as modern nations are constructed. Specifically, these cultural contents were used by intelligentsia in different parts of the world in 18th and 19th century. In the scope of this research, Armenian nationalists discovered origin myths in the 18th century. According to Abrahamian and Sweezy (2001), Aradad where Armenian nationalists believe that the Armenians' first homeland was after the Great Flood at the time of Noah, mentioned in the Bible and the Quran, was not paid any attention earlier than the 18th century. However, it becomes one of the cornerstones of the modern Armenian identity. The myth is now transmitted from generation to generation.

Although it receives some criticism from anti-nationalists, its benefits as a shared myth cannot be ignored, especially as it allows researchers to analyse how cultural contents affect the ordinary man's world and affiliate them to a certain ethnicity and nationality. However, it is hard to argue that the ethno-symbolist approach focuses on diaspora communities directly. It is irrelevant to expect that ethno-symbolists pay attention to cognitive processes because deconstruction, reconstruction or interpretation of ethnicities is not within the scope of the ethno-symbolist approach. Therefore, ethno-symbolism is insufficient to understand how ethnicity works in diasporic space even though it makes significant contributions to cultural contents of ethnic groups and nations. This forces us to find different epistemological and ontological standpoints while analysing ethnicity in diasporic space.

There is no doubt that social constructivism/constructionism seems to be promising approach which may provide alternative point of view about complexity of ethnicity.⁶ Different from other approaches, ethnicity can be conceptualised more flexibly using social constructivism.⁷ Before moving on to details of social constructivism and its arguments about ethnicity, it should be noted that structuralism/post-structuralism was an effective philosophy behind the development of social constructivism in social sciences. Even though Brubaker, Fox, Krener and Brah are prominent representatives of social constructivism in the literature of ethnicity and nationalism, it is possible to observe reflections of Foucault and Bourdieu's theories about history, sociology, culture and politics.

In terms of epistemology and ontology, social constructivism sees the world as socially constructed by human beings' interactions and interpretations (Berger and Luckman, 1966). According to Crotty:

⁶ According to Oxford dictionary of Sociology, the difference is "...social constructionism is a general term sometimes applied to theories that emphasize the socially created nature of social life... psychology, a linked term—constructivism—is often associated with the work of Jean Piaget, and refers to the process by which the cognitive structures that shape our knowledge of the world evolve through the interaction of environment and subject..."
<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-2118> , 06/05/2015

⁷ Social constructivism/constructionism has been affected from the structuralist/post-structuralist philosophy deeply. It is possible to observe reflections of Foucault and Bourdieu in the social science. In terms of epistemology and ontology, social constructivism have different principles which are opposite of primordialist and instrumentalist approach

“all knowledge therefore, all meaningful reality as such contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (1998:42)

Within the constructivist approach, meaning is a key point. It is believed that meanings are constructed by humans while they are engaging with the world through language and other social process and thus the theory acquires its ‘social’ characteristic. By relying on the interactions of human beings in the construction process, it brings relativism by default. It is a natural deduction that if human beings are mean makers, their constructions could be various since their interactions are different. This is the punch line of social constructivism.

In the literature of ethnicity and nationalism, Barth’s work “ethnic groups and boundaries” can be accepted as the first example of social constructivism. In his work, he questioned the belief of essences of ethnic groups. He did not accept that the social world was made up of distinct named groups, rather he believed that ethnic groups can emerge when a given group interacts with other groups. Additionally, the group maintains its identity through interacting with other groups because interactions lead people to be aware of differences in terms of ‘us and them’ (Barth, 1969).

However, it should be noted that Barth’s arguments have been critiqued by other social constructivists. The latter scholars tend to emphasise cognitive process. Undoubtedly, Brubaker and his theoretical approach bring a new motivation in ethnicity studies by basing it on a social constructionist point of view and by seeking to understand how ethnicity is constructed. Focusing on Brubaker’s works, it is possible to highlight premises of social constructivism. Firstly, Brubaker starts his theoretical approach by criticising relations between the concepts of ethnicity and group. As summarised above, all approaches tend to analyse and define ethnicity by relying on certain groups. Most of the time, it is assumed that ‘a group of people or human beings’ is considered as an essential component of the ethnicity. More importantly, this group is imagined as being bound and homogenous. Contrary to these approaches, Brubaker (2006) argues that this prevents extensive analysis about ethnicity and its reproductions in everyday life as thinking groups from emerging, as homogeneity creates

reductionism. Therefore, he argues that ethnicity should be considered without recourse to groups.

This leads ethnicity to be seen as a category that is relational, procedural, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated. From this point of view, reality does not derive from groups, rather it is derived from cognitive schemes, stereotypes and practices that can be effective in constructing reality. According to Brubaker et al “...category is not a group. It is at best a potential basis for group formation or groupness” (2004:12).

Another important point in Brubaker’s approach is that groupness is variable and contingent. As Brubaker argues “[ethnicity] as something that suddenly crystallizes rather than gradually develops, as a contingent, conjecturally fluctuating, and precarious frame of vision and basis for individual and collective action” (2006:20-21). This is clearly the opposite argument to the instrumentalist one where ethnicity is considered as an outcome of structural conditions and inevitable. This variability can be observed in diasporic spaces because in some cases ethnicity is remembered actively whereas in other places it is remembered only from time to time.

By relying on this point, ethnicity is not considered a homogenous process. Depending on time and space, its meanings can alter because human beings as means makers have different interactions. Putting it differently, they can perceive the world through different eyes. At this point, it could be argued that rethinking ethnicity as a category or process allows us to conceptualise ethnicity in different ways. As Karnel (2007) states, ethnicity is usually considered as ‘a way of seeing’, ‘a way of feeling’ and ‘the structures of action’.

A final point is that of the reproduction of ethnicity within the social constructivist approach. Since it is considered as a process, flexible and relative, it is expected that human beings construct their ethnicities. In other words, while they are interpreting, the reproduction of ethnicity can differ. As Ozkirimli (2005) states, reproduction can take two forms, formal and informal. Reproduction can be defined as a relation between agency and institutions (also Kaiser 2001). Generally, formal reproduction of ethnicity refers to top down (school, church or family) fixed definitions and structures while informal reproduction is about

mundane practices of human beings (Billing, 2005). It should be pointed out that diasporic spaces welcome both types of reproductions.

In this vein, Brubaker's approach (a cognitive approach to ethnicity, groupness and practices) can allow us to discover the complexity of ethnicity in diasporic spaces where multiple identities and hybridity are observed. This method may provide a chance to reconceptualise diasporic identity, which is usually imagined as homogenous and relating to a certain group.

Even though social constructivism provides significant contributions to understanding ethnicity, it is criticised on a few points such as it being considered tantamount to being instrumentalist, its uncertainty and the perception that it is anti-nationalist. However, these are spurious oppositions because as social constructionist scholars do not argue that ethnicity or national identity is created by elites consciously. Rather, according to Erikson (1999), people adopt national, ethnic or other imagined identities. Not only are they born into the culture, but also these adopted identities offer something meaningful, valuable or useful. More importantly, these meanings are defined from within, and therefore it is related to cognitive process. Additionally, Brubaker (2006) argues that this cognitive process is enough to distinguish social constructivism from instrumentalism. The second criticism of social constructivism is that they do not have any basis while explaining reality, so it is seen as false or artificial. As Ozkirimli (2005) mentions, this is an absurd statement that the nation or nationalism are not real for people who believe in them. For Brubaker (2002:168), social constructivism does not aim to disagree with the reality of ethnicity (nationhood) or to minimise its power or discount its importance; actually, it construes reality, power and importance in different ways. Another criticism is that social constructivists are anti-nationalist and believe in a different world to our own. This criticism clearly derives from the tendency seeing social constructivists under one domain and their perception of reality. As discussed, the reality is relative and socially constructed. By relying on this idea, some scholars such as Ozkirimli, Butler or Hobsbawm emphasised that ethnicity/national identities are artificial or a product of false consciousness (later on ethnicity and nationalist identity, of course, nationalism are introduced as 'evil'). Accordingly, their approaches (somehow social constructivism) are referred 'anti-nationalist' while nationalism and ethnicity are criticised.

However, as Hacking argues, social constructivism does not observe itself as a single theory. Depending on their grades of commitment, approaches within social constructivism can be categorised as “historical, ironic, reformist, unmasking, rebellious and revolutionary” (2001:6, 19-21). It is possible to rank them from modest to radical viewpoints that argue that ethnicity/nationalism is a bad thing and should be replaced with ‘other’ ideologies. It should be noted that arguing whether alternative points of view are better (or not) is another debate and does not fit within the scope of the present research. In this research, the social constructivist approach is not going to debunk Armenianness. Indeed, it will be used to understand how Armenianness (ethnicity) is reproduced among youngsters in diasporic spaces. This can be defined through the words of Foucault, “...the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space.....we live inside a set of relations...” (Foucault, 1986:22-27). Otherwise, the reality of Armenianness is not discussed throughout the research.

The conceptual framework which will be used in the research is summarised as ethnicity is a cognitive process which is flexible, contingent, dynamic and relativist. This conceptualisation helps us to understand how Armenianness is reproduced and interpreted in diasporic spaces. It gives a chance to observe various reproduction models as well as similarities and differences among them. As a result of approaching ethnicity in cognitive way, it is expected that the literature on ethnicity and nationalism will be expanded in two ways. The number of works analysing Armenianness in diasporic spaces are limited and most of them tend to approach Armenian ethnicity on a group basis. Different from previous works about Armenian identity, this research hypothesises that the meanings of Armenianness and its parameters can be interpreted in different ways among Armenian youngsters in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. Therefore, this can be the first contribution. Secondly, citing findings and observations which are derived from this research’s fieldwork about Armenianness in diasporic space may make general contributions to the literature of ethnicity and nationalism. As will be explained in the methodology chapter, this cognitive approach to Armenianness is supported through ethnography and the ANCO-HITS analysis

method, so it provides different examples in the literature of ethnicity and nationalism.

To conclude, ethnicity is able to keep its complexity since the term is in the literature. Throughout time, social scientists coming from various disciplines seek to theorise and explain what ethnicity is and how it is adopted by ordinary people. They developed different paradigms which see *ethnicity as an outcome of kinship (primordialists)*, *ethnicity as an outcome of social, economic and political factors (instrumentalists)*, or *as a cognitive process which is socially constructed through interactions of human beings (social constructivists)*. Since the last approach provides flexibility and is based on different ontological statuses, it tends to analyse ethnicity from an interdisciplinary perspective and allows us to observe informal reproductions which can be considered interpretations of human beings who construct the ethnicity (reality) and experience it first-hand.

3. Chapter Three: Methodology and Research Design

This chapter will detail the methodology and research design, and consists of two parts. In the first part, epistemological and ontological principles behind the research project which can help us to understand the complexity of Armenianness will be explained. The differences between the qualitative and quantitative traditions will be touched upon and provide a perspective in the conceptualisation of Armenianness. Afterwards, in the second part, the fieldwork methodology and operationalization will be introduced. Firstly, readers will learn the reasons why Turkey, Lebanon and Britain were chosen as well as how the fieldwork methodology was designed. Secondly, an explanation will be provided as to how research instruments, namely in-depth interviews and participant observations, helped in data collection and in the understanding of the reproduction of Armenianness. Moreover, the features of the research sample, sample techniques and unit of analysis will be described. I will also subsequently explain how fieldwork notes and fieldwork data were operationalized. I will introduce a short literature analysis and operationalizing method, which in this case is ANCO-HITS. Finally, methodological caveats as well as limitations that are encountered throughout the fieldwork will be indicated.

3.1. Qualitative or Quantitative Research

Epistemological and ontological principals behind the research project play a crucial role in the understanding of arguments, defining of concepts and expectations from the research. In accordance with the theoretical framework and preferences, research design, questions, research strategy, techniques and even writing style can differ. There is a line between qualitative and quantitative approaches, and these two approaches lead us to various results. Methodologically speaking, these approaches derive from two different traditions/cultures. According to Mahoney and Goertz, the differences between the two traditions can be summarised in ten titles such as “approaches to explanation, conceptions of causation, multivariate explanations, equifinality, scope and causal generalization, case selection, weighting observations, substantively important cases, lack of fit, and concepts and measurement (2006:230-245). As methodologists, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) and also Ragin

(1987) emphasize that differences derive from epistemological and ontological principals.

Generally speaking, nationality, religiosity, ethnicity and identity, and specifically, Armenianness, diasporic identity and spaces require in-depth and inclusive analysis. For this reason, qualitative studies provide more successful and beneficial results. Qualitative research, according to Denzin and Lincoln, is:

“...A situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people brings to them” (2005: 3).

This comprehensive definition demonstrates that qualitative researches tend to address social issues comprehensibly. Unlike quantitative studies, they do not adopt a positivist point of view. Positivism as an epistemological position/worldview assumes that the methods of the natural sciences can be used to understand social reality and beyond. As Bryman (2008) summarises, positivism bases on some principles such as free-values knowledge and external reality and generates a hypothesis from the theory. In other words, research can find objective reality by following the methods of natural sciences. Since positivism looks for objective reality, it seeks to reach decisive results and generalisations. However, it is hard to reach certain results in social science due to the features of the research topics as they are complex issues. Instead of positivism, qualitative studies adopt interpretivism that argues soft and hard sciences have different logic. Even though there are various paradigms such as hermeneutic-phenomenologist and symbolic interactionism under interpretivism, they highlight subjective meanings of social actions (Bryman,2008: 16-18). Therefore, epistemologically, interpretivism is the first pillar of the theoretical framework, which helps us to understand Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

Ontological position is another pillar of the theoretical framework. It refers to the nature of social entities. Depending on the ontological positions (either objectivism or social constructivism), social phenomena and meanings can be considered independent from social actors or alternatively, they can be accepted as products of social action. The latter point of view is adopted by qualitative studies, which is called social constructivism. According to social constructivism, reality is constructed through the actions of actors, so it is unavoidable to observe various meanings. For this reason, it is expected that complex issues such as “identity” and, in relation to this research project, Armenianness, ethnicity or nationality, have various meanings in this theoretical framework. These concepts, with minor differences, refer to a way of thinking which is constructed by actors within a certain time and space. In other words, these concepts are constructed-meanings.

This point of view and conceptualisation, on the one hand, eliminates essentialist components of the “identity”; on the other hand, it allows us to see similarities, differences and the construction process. Contrary to positivism, researchers can deal with the concept of “identity” thoroughly. As observed, the concept of identity is one of those words that is over used in public. Unfortunately, this misuse of “identity” creates generalisation, marginalisation and disturbing stereotypes while people are encountering unusual forms and practicing in multi-layered spaces. The theoretical framework established in accordance with the principle of interpretivism and social constructivism can help go beyond fixed and stable points of view about identity. It could be argued that this is a crucial attempt to understand identity at a ground level from the eyes of the social actors who are constructing and practicing.

At this point, a few points about social constructionism must be noted. According to Hacking (1999), social construction does not have a single form, but is likely to observe various forms from historical constructivism to revolutionary constructivism. Some versions of social constructions refute reality. In other words, nationality, ethnicity or religiosity can be considered completely artificial and become worthless. It should be noted that this project does not seek to refute the existence of Armenianness and does not discuss whether Armenianness (in the broader sense of ethnic-national-religious identities) is necessary or not.

Rather, it aims to understand how Armenianness is socially constructed (reproduced) and differs among youngsters in diasporic spaces.

This brings us to the idea of relativism, which is a core part of social constructivism and interpretivism. Relativism assumes that the nature of reality is subjective and multiple. There is no absolute truth or validity. Relativism refutes that knowledge is objective, universal and timeless and gathered independently of values. Reality can be understood within a particular language, time, place and culture. Since there is no external reality, science cannot be isolated from individuals and the researchers' belief, values and concepts which have been socially constructed by people to understand the world (Swayer, 2010; Creswell, 2003). In the scope of the research project, the idea of relativism may fill in the gaps in the theoretical framework. It convinces us to see various interpretation of Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

This kind of theoretical framework adopting interpretivism, social constructivism and relativism forces researchers to develop different explanation manners. The main premise of the qualitative researcher is to explain causes, reasons and dynamics behind on the social issues. Its approach is formalized as the "causes of an effect". According to this formulation, researchers are interested in the causes/reasons rather than outcomes/effects. The important thing is to understand and analytically explain causes. For this reason, research questions are usually formed as "why and how" types in qualitative researches (Mahoney and Goertz, 2006).

Furthermore, the manner of explanation and question types affects research strategies and techniques. Qualitative studies are inductive and have no need to have a fixed hypothesis. Qualitative researchers begin the research without a fixed hypothesis as it is likely to revise its hypotheses several times in accordance with findings and observations in the process of data collection. This, on the one hand, provides flexibility for researchers during field research. On the other hand, it allows data itself to take on greater prominence and thus for researchers to see more comprehensive, explicit and deep findings. Qualitative research does not limit the research with categories or definitions. In other words, it is more important to understand how the interaction is occurring and shape categories than make a definition. Qualitative researchers seek to illustrate the complexity

of social issues. This complexity consists of different voices, experiences and nuances, which all can be understood as a result of deep analysis. For quantitative researches different voices and nuances can prevent generalisation and standardisation, but complexity is the key importance of qualitative research as it reflects all aspects of the social issues and requires deep analysis (Bryman, 2008).

In order to understand the complexity and reach a deep level of analysis, qualitative researches follow different research strategies. It is hard to demonstrate complexity and nuances without interacting with participants from targeted groups, so the qualitative researchers establish social networks during the data collection process. The network is maintained through talking directly with people, going to their homes or workplaces and allowing them to tell their stories, perceptions and thoughts on specific themes or issues. Qualitative research and methods according to Creswell (2003) should be preferred if researchers empower individuals to share their stories and hear their voices. The data collection process may seem to be flexible and causal, but indeed it is highly intensive, emotional and mentally exhausting because it is expected that researchers reach every information as much as they can. Research methods and techniques applied in qualitative researches are different due to the features of the research process. As will be particularly discussed in the next sections, researchers generally tend to use in-depth, semi-structured, life story interviews either with focused groups or individual interviewees and also their interpretations mostly base on outcomes that are collected through participant observations in order to reach detailed information and to see all aspects of the social issues.

In this respect, the theoretical framework which is flavoured with interpretivism, social constructionism and relativism can create a suitable research environment to understand and analyse Armenianness. It also impacts on the generation of research questions. By relying on the theoretical framework which was discussed in Chapter Two, the following questions have been developed in order to understand the reproduction of ethnicity in diasporic spaces.

Q1: What are the components of Armenianness in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain?

Q2: How is Armenianness reproduced among Armenian youngsters in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain?

Q3: How are the components of Armenianness interpreted in diasporic communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain?

Q4: To what extent do reproductions/interpretations of Armenianness differ in the Turkish, Lebanese and British diasporic community?

There is no doubt that these questions can help to understand the complexity of ethnicity in diasporic spaces generally, but more specifically, they contribute to our understanding about Armenian diaspora and identity.

3.2. Field Work Methodology

3.2.1. Research Instruments

As argued above, qualitative studies have unique features since they adopt different principles and approaches ontologically and epistemologically. This affects research instruments too. In this project, the techniques of in-depth interviews and participant observation are used as main research methods to understand the reproduction of Armenianness and its components in diasporic spaces.

Interviews as a research instrument are the most common method in qualitative studies. Different from a simple conversation, an interview is “a form of conversation in which one person- interviewer- restricts oneself to posing questions concerning behaviours, ideas, attitudes, and experiences with regard to social phenomena, to one or more others - the participants or interviewee - who mainly limit themselves to providing answers to these questions” (Maso, 1987:63 in Boeije, 2010). The reason behind the preference for interviews as a research tool is that this technique allows researchers to reach explicit and in-depth information which is seen as relevant and important by participants (Bryman, 2008). As Gubrium and Holstein (2001) argue, the term of “depth” stands for not only profound knowledge and understanding, but also irremediably common sense (or intersubjective) enterprise. Researchers, by focusing on in-depth interviews, can demonstrate “how our common sense assumptions, practices, and ways of talking partly constitute our interests and how we

understand them” (Johnson, 2001:106). Furthermore, “deep understandings allow us to grasp and articulate the multiple views of, perspectives on, and meanings of some activity, event, place, or cultural object.”(Johnson, 2001:106).

It should be noted that complicated issues such as ethnicity in diasporic spaces cannot be understood and measured through surveys or questionnaires if a researcher seeks to reach deeper meanings and to focus on social actions of mean-makers. The technique of the in-depth interview allows us to hear social actors’ stories, experiences and feelings, which are the things that determine the boundaries of the social reality through open-structured conversations (Burgess, 1984). These conversations can be seen as data worthy of consideration as they give clues as to how social actors construct Armenianness. They demonstrate the participants’ experiences rather than reflecting the researchers’ concerns.

The technique of in-depth interviewing forces researchers to work with a small number of a sample group. It should be emphasised that there is no consensus about the size of the sample in the qualitative research literature. According to Douglas (1985), twenty five interviewees should be considered as an ideal number for in-depth technique. This can be reasonable for research projects focusing on a single case; however, it is not suitable for researchers comparing two or more cases. In terms of time pressure and scope of this project, analysing twenty five interviews for each case would no doubt be an unmanageable workload. Different from Douglas, fifteen in-depth interviews in each case (45 in total) were considered as an ideal number to create data sets that help us to understand the reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. In addition to these fifteen formal interviews, I supported the data sets with informal interviews and discussions while I was spending time with youngsters in the field. As Johnson (2001) states, interviewing is a learning process and each time researchers should revise their tactics and approaches if they experience any difficulties. Undoubtedly, these additional interviews and conversations contribute to the learning process.

Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and 90 minutes. The lengths of the interviews were determined by factors such as the participants’ attitudes as well as their own interest in ethnic and historical issues. Some of the participants like speaking and wanted to mention every single detail about the Armenian

community, while a few of the participants gave short answers and repeated thoughts based within a political discourse. This is because some of them were affected by the politics of nationalism and they did not want to sustain the interview with me who holds not only an outsider identity (Odar-[օւնաւր]) but also an 'enemy' identity (Turkish). In order to overcome these difficulties in further interviews, I revised interview questions and my asking style constantly.

It might be hard to understand interviewees exactly because consciousness and experiences cannot be replaced even though interviewing is the most promising method to observe people's consciousness, feeling and experiences (Schutz-in Seidman, 2006). Therefore, interviewing can be seen as a weak method to complete data by some researchers who work with surveys and large samples. In order to overcome possible critiques, I supported in-depth interviews with other research instruments. Participant observation is one of these research instruments that I employed to understand Armenianness and its components that are constructed by the youth in diasporic spaces.

Participant observation has become a research instrument used in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology since the beginning of the 20th Century. By conducting participant observations, and interacting with targeted groups, researchers try to understand how the target group gives meaning to the social world (Corbetta, 2003). However, there is no standard format for participant observation. It is based on the researchers' own effort and ability rather than following a particular school of thought, although the method of participant observation has chief principles (in Seale et al, 2004). Actually, this encourages researchers to develop various tactics and approaches. As Jorgensen (1989) states, participant observation should be preferred if:

“The research problem is concerned with human meanings and interactions viewed from the insiders' perspective; the phenomenon of investigation is observable within an everyday life situation or setting; the researcher is able to gain access to an appropriate setting; the phenomenon is sufficiently limited in size and location to be studied as a case; study questions are appropriate for case study; and the research problem can be addressed by qualitative data gathered.” (1989: 2)

Unlike structured interviews, surveys and in-depth interviews, the technique of participant observation encourages researchers to take active roles and involvement. For this reason, meetings, discussions, dinners, commemorations or celebrations become observation spaces where researchers and participants meet. However, researchers do not have to attend every single event, or spend all their time with the participants or practice whatever they do. The key point is that researchers have to interact with people and are aware of what is going on while they are observing (Seale et al, 2004). This, on the one hand, helps researchers to build empathy and trust; on the other hand, it removes borders and makes relations between researchers and participants into a more informal format.

The field, unlike textbooks, is infinitely vast and variable. It is expected that researchers should interact with people and collect data as much as they can during a specific period. However, collecting “good data” is more important. It allows researchers to have consistent results. As Seale (et al, 2004) argues, the participant observation never finishes and it is hard to give a certain time that determines how long it might take. A common consideration is if researchers begin to feel familiar with the field and have good or related data, then they can move on. However, the connection with the field and interviewees should not be lost. The progress of research, in this sense, is not linear. It might be revised and researchers can revisit earlier field sites if they have different aspects. Depending on the nature and extent of the participants’ involvement, newspapers, letters, photographs, diaries, artefacts as well as other communication tools such as radio, televisions, and videotapes are essential sources which should be paid attention to in the field (Jorgensen, 1989).

As is understood, researchers have the flexibility to shape their own participant observations in terms of its duration and ways. Accordingly, I shaped my participant observation experiences as follows; I focused on several sites, such as university campuses, social clubs, churches, youth clubs, exhibitions, cultural festivals, seminars, museums, celebrations as well as commemorations in order to observe Armenianness and its construction process among the youth. In each site, I tried to collect clues about components of Armenianness in everyday life through informal interviews and participating in social events. This, of course, led

me to access a great variety of data not only about Armenianness, but also various topics about the Armenian communities.

As a part of the research strategy, I have followed some undergraduate courses with Armenian students, took language classes with ethnically Armenian people, attended some discussions in seminar groups and also social events which are considered important points in the Armenian history by diasporic Armenians. These are such events as “Independence of Artsakh”⁸, “Commemoration of Armenian Genocide”, “Independence day” and the “Commemoration of Hrant Dink”. Depending on the size of the community and also time, I did not always have the chance to follow every single event affecting that community. For example, national celebrations such as “Independence of Artsakh” or “Independence of Armenia” are not celebrated by the Armenian community in Turkey. Therefore, I had to observe these kinds of events in Lebanon in which the Armenian community is more powerful and visible.

Attending language classes and specific events helped me not only to collect relevant data, but also help to break the ice socially, as it were. Even if the method of participant observation provides important opportunities to understand complex and deeper social issues, researchers can encounter several difficulties and disadvantages of the participant observation. As Seale (et al, 2004) asserts, participant observation is a highly difficult research technique. It is an exhausting practice physically, emotionally and mentally. It requires a large investment in terms of time and financial sources. Establishing trust among the targeted groups takes a lot time, and participants are generally not predisposed to provide detailed information. They can hide certain aspects of their truth until they trust researchers. Researchers, especially in research such as the present study, are usually perceived as spies, strangers or dangerous people that are jeopardising the "unity of the society" (Seale et al, 2004). Moreover, for a good participant observation as Desai and Potter (2006) argue, researchers should know the native language or show their interest. This leads to a sense of equality and informal relations developing between participants and researchers.

The entirety of the second year of fieldwork was used to establish trust and empathy. I spent four months in each case and sought to complete in-depth

⁸ It is also known as Nagorno-Karabakh

interviews and observations. Throughout the fieldwork, I spent a lot of time in maintaining communication with my subjects. Some even became my friends by the end of the fieldwork, so I revisited them to discuss recent developments or different aspects of Armenianness that were missed in the first meeting. Unlike fieldwork in Turkey and Britain, I was unable to revisit Lebanon after May 2012 due to security reasons and political tensions between Turkey and Lebanon. However, I kept in touch with them via Skype and Facebook. Accordingly, I added a couple of email conversations and phone calls into the data collection process.

3.2.2. Research Sample

3.2.2.1. Features of the Samples

Research samples have a few structural nuances deriving from historical, economical, sociological and cultural features of the communities. Each case consists of fifteen participants who wanted to share their opinions about Armenianness. In order to increase diversity among the participants, I tried to achieve a good balance. From the outset, I realised that women's constructions of Armenianness are much more colourful than their male counterparts. They develop various practices and interpret components of Armenianness differently within the communities reflecting characteristics of male dominated (patriarchal) communities. Similar to other ethnic groups in the Middle East, Armenian men is considered as a head of the family and responsible for managing social actions in the public whereas it is expected that Armenian women have traditional gender roles such as taking care of children or domestic interests.⁹ For instance, female Armenians were more likely to demonstrate Armenianness and its symbols. As observed, female participants were able to use religious symbols in everyday life as accessories. The differences between male and female participants enriched the data and allowed me to reach more concrete results.

The first step of the fieldwork was completed between June 2011 and September 2011 in Istanbul, Turkey.¹⁰ I had a chance to meet a group of Armenians those who had various worldview and were affected by different ideologies. Some

⁹ It should be noted that there are serious claims and different point of views about Armenian family and Armenian women in the modern life. Even though traditional point of view and patriarchal features are still available, gender roles began to change. For further information; Merguerian and Jafferian (1994); Merguerian and Renjilian-Burgy (2005)

¹⁰ In addition to this period, I also visited Istanbul a couple of times to attend conferences, graduation dinners and meet up with participants.

accepted to join my research and shared their experiences about Armenianness as in formal way. In addition to these participants, I conducted informal interviews and discussions with a few Armenians who I met in Istanbul because they did not want to participate in the formal interviews, or other factors, such as not matching the age requirements, prevented their participation.

The reasons for choosing Istanbul as a research site derive from financial, time, historical and demographic concerns. To begin with financial concerns, my financial support and other academic commitments played a key role on the selection of only Armenian youths living in Istanbul and its districts. This project is financially supported for a limited period only, and should be completed within three years. In order to manage my financial sources rationally, I limited the first step of the fieldwork to Istanbul.

Demographically speaking, Istanbul has an intensive Armenian population. It could be argued that Istanbul is the best research site to understand the reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey. The Armenian population in Istanbul is much higher than in other cities, which allowed me to access participants easily. As estimated by the Turkish government, the total population of Armenians those who are minority of Turkey and holding citizenship is around 40,000 in Turkey and there are approximately 60,000 Armenian workers and refugees who hold Armenian citizenship (CNN, 2009). It is hard to put certain statics since the census questions about ethnicity and native language have not been asked since 1960 (Dundar, 1999). Unless a researcher has family or social connections, this small proportion of Armenian people makes it difficult to observe them in Istanbul which is shared by 15 million others. However, Kara (2009) cites that some neighbourhoods such as Bakırköy-Yeşilköy, Samatya, Kumkapı, Kadıköy, Ortakoy and Besiktas are preferred by Armenians.¹¹ This might also give clues regarding the Armenian community and Armenianness in everyday life. At the beginning of the 20th Century, these neighbourhoods used to be less cosmopolitan and consisted of intensive non-Muslim population, but that homogeneity has since disappeared.

As will be discussed in the short history of Turkish-Armenians in Chapter Four, migration trends towards Istanbul, political and social pressure in rural areas,

¹¹ The map can be found in the section of appendix.

“Welfare Taxes”, “The events of 6-7 September”, the “Earthquake of 1965” and “Asala and Armenian Terrorism” can be considered reasons as to why homogeneity and the Armenian population was reduced in Turkey. These dynamics, on the one hand, led the population of the Armenian community to decrease dramatically both in Istanbul and other regions; on the other hand, it also created differentiated backgrounds of Armenians in Istanbul. Recent works in oral history such as “Sessizliğin Sesi III - Ankaralı Ermeniler Konuşuyor” (2014), “Kilic Artıkları” (2013), “Sessizliğin Sesi II - Diyarbakırlı Ermeniler Konuşuyor” (2012) or “Türkiyeli Ermeniler” (2009),¹² help us to witness how the Armenian population in rural areas of Anatolia have decreased throughout the years. They also allow us to hear the stories of Armenians that are examples of “remaining in silence” and “struggling to live” in new host lands.

For the Armenians of Turkey, Istanbul is considered as a religious and cultural centre. As a result of the demographic trends, most of the Armenian churches and schools have been located in Istanbul (Buyukkarci, 2003; Deri, 2009). As Dink (2006) highlights, the population of the Armenian community is roughly 80,000, and it is supported by 40 churches and 19 schools. Furthermore, Istanbul accommodates a relatively dynamic Armenian population. In contrast to rural areas, it is likely and possible for someone to come across young members of the Armenian community if one uses connections properly and spend time in certain neighbourhoods. It should be underlined that the population of Armenians in rural areas is extremely low and is not suitable for establishing target groups for this research project. For example, the number of Armenians in Kayseri, which used to have 50,174 Armenians, 42 Armenian schools and 3 churches, is today only a few families (<http://www.kayserikilisesi.org/kayseri-ve-ermeniler.asp>, 2015). In this respect, considering Istanbul and its districts as a research site is a highly rational choice as it allows the researcher to meet several participants who have different family histories and backgrounds, as well as different experiences of Armenianness. In Turkey, it is hard to observe reproductions of Armenianness outside of Istanbul.

Last but not least, the historical importance of Istanbul not only for the Armenian community but also for the Turkish community is another factor affecting

¹² Sound of Silence III- Armenians of Ankara, Sound of Silence II- Armenians of Diyarbakir, Armenians of Turkey,

preferences of the research site. Armenian and Turkish populations have coexisted for a very long time. As is known, Istanbul is not only a Muslim Turkish city, but also a city for Armenians as well as other non-Muslims, as it was, and still is, a religious, cultural and political centre in the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, this affects current relations and the structure of the community. As Artinian states (2004: 20), "Istanbul Armenians as a small minority group determined the politics of the Armenian community and established a constitutional system for all Armenians". The Armenian patriarchy was relocated to Istanbul in the 15th century and they were represented by the Patriarch within the *millet* system, the Ottoman system that allowed minorities a degree of legal autonomy. Istanbul Armenians played important political roles in determining the Armenians' destiny between the 18th and 20th century. For instance, the Armenian population increased to 60,000 during the reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim (Tuglaci, 2004).

Moreover, Istanbul has played a significant role in Armenian cultural life and production. Armenians increased their political and cultural influence under the leadership of Amiras (Armenian families). They enriched Istanbul culturally and left an outstanding heritage such as Sveti Sevan, Dolmabahce Palace and Selimiye Barracks, even if some of this heritage has since been destroyed (Ozdogan et al, 2009; Tayran, 2001). In addition to religious and political institutions, Istanbul is considered as a cultural centre. The first novel, theatre and countless other compositions were introduced by Istanbul Armenians. Even though Armenians are difficult to discern in a city of 15 million, the cultural heritage of Armenians pierced every corner of Istanbul, even if Armenian cultural heritage came in various forms. Tayran (2001) likens Armenian heritage in Istanbul to the concept of "pentimento". It refers to "... changings made by the artist during the process of painting. These changes are usually hidden beneath a subsequent paint layer. In some instances they become visible because the paint layer above has become transparent with time... They are interesting because they show the development of the artist's design, and sometimes are helpful in attributing paintings to particular artists" (Glossary- the National Gallery,

2013).¹³ He states that the Armenians' past can be discovered by scratching out cracks in Istanbul's rich cultural paintwork.

In addition to this rich historical heritage, Istanbul protects its importance for the Armenian community in modern times. Contemporarily, three Armenian newspapers, a radio station, a few social clubs and civil society organisations are in Istanbul (Ozdogan, et al, 2009; Ozdogan and Kilicdagi, 2011). Armenians had 601 publications, which were issued either in Turkish (with Armenian letters) or in Armenian between 1794 and 1984. The majority of these publications (414) were Istanbul based. Additionally, Armenians have had 17 publications in modern Turkey. In contrast to other cities and regions of Turkey, Armenianness is experienced at a community level in Istanbul. It can be said that it is thus relatively free. Focusing on Istanbul and its districts has helped me to access Armenians from various groups, so different voices and experiences were observed easily.

Additionally, Istanbul as a research site is a significant space to observe power-class relations. The identity of "native/being Istanbul" is a key to understanding the debate. As is understood from the participant lists, I have tried to keep the list as heterogeneous and avoid selections that might present with repeated thoughts and ideas. Most of the participants from Turkey tend to define themselves as 'Istanbullu' (Istanbulites - native of Istanbul) even if they mentioned their family histories and were aware of the fact that they are not originally Istanbul Armenians (Bolsahay). A few participants stated their ancestral hometowns in the beginning of the conversations. As will be discussed in the following chapters, there is a barely visible tension among the Armenian youth on using the term 'Istanbullu/ Istanbulite'. For some participants, being Istanbulite signifies somehow economic and social class, and participants coming from different regions highlight the importance of being Istanbulite. As they state, Istanbul Armenians do not want to share their "powers", so they usually have influence in foundations and alumni societies. The attitudes of Istanbul Armenians and their perception within the Armenian community leads to different meanings of Armenianness as each group tends to define the meaning of Armenianness by using various cultural components. Conducting research in Istanbul helped me to understand these dynamics and fault lines within the Armenian community.

¹³ <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/glossary/pentimento>

In terms of economic status and occupation, the participants met in Istanbul are highly diverse. Among the participants, the economic differences were clearly observed. Some were staying in relatively affluent neighbourhoods such as Kinaliada, Yesilkoy, Kurtulus and Nisantasi, whereas other participants lived in working class districts such as Bagcilar and Kumkapi. Even though most of the participants are university students or graduates, a few of them enrolled at private universities. It should be highlighted that private universities can be an important indicator in understanding the economic situation of Armenian families. There is a huge economic gap between public and private universities in the Turkish context. The number of public universities is 108 while there are 70 private universities across Turkey (yok.gov.tr, 2014). State universities, with a few exceptions, are free in Turkey. However, one who wants to enrol at a private university (depending on the department) has to pay a minimum of 8000 American Dollars per year (osym.gov.tr, 2013). Among students, a couple of the participants were working part-time while others were full-time students. Additionally, a few of the participants were either working in family businesses or in the private sector. None of them were civil servants or had any affiliation with the Turkish state and governmental jobs. As will be discussed, this is also an important dynamic affecting the reproduction of Armenianness.

Before moving on to the features of the Lebanese case, the participants' levels of Armenian language should be discussed, because language can give clues as to how they see and construct Armenianness. As is well known, language is one of the significant components of uniqueness, and emphasises the similarities inside the group whilst differing members of one ethnic group from other groups. Although the majority of participants completed the Armenian secondary school, they are not able to maintain interviews in Armenian as they have not practiced in public and are not supported by visual or print media.¹⁴ Therefore, all interviews in Turkey were conducted in Turkish.

The second stage of the fieldwork took place in Beirut, Lebanon between February 2012 and June 2012. Even though Armenian history in Lebanon is not old as in Turkey, it became a significant cultural, political and religious centre for the Armenians in a short time. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, the history of

¹⁴ One of the participants stated that he cannot answer the questions in Armenian when he realises complexity of the interview questions.

the Armenian people in Lebanon started after the tragedy of 1915. Armenians came to Lebanon from Syria with help from France and integrated themselves into the Lebanese community (Migiriono, 2008). Even though the Armenians' only have a short history in Lebanon, they have been able to establish a strong and active community. This makes the Armenian community in Lebanon interesting to this study. While I was revising fieldwork notes, I realised that in the fieldwork conducted in Lebanon was more fruitful and diverse than the other case studies. This could derive from the fact that I had learnt lessons from the previous fieldwork in Turkey. Nonetheless, arguably the Armenian community in Lebanon has powerful political, cultural, social, trans-national and religious networks. The Armenian identity was preserved in Lebanon until Armenia became an independent republic.

The Armenian community has been able to develop the multi ethnic-religious system of Lebanon. The population of Armenians is estimated at being between 70,000 and 80,000 (Sanjian, 2008). It is difficult to ascertain certain statistics and demographic trends about the Armenian community and Lebanese society. There is ambiguity in the census, which derives from the political and social structures of sectarianism. In other words, ethnic and religious groups do not tend to update their records and statistics in order to protect their privileges that were gained before the Lebanese Civil War. The Lebanese political system was shaped proportionally in accordance with of the various ethnic and religious groups. Each group is represented in the parliament depending on their populations. As such, Armenians are sometimes considered a part of the other Christian populations of Lebanon,¹⁵ even though Armenians tend to distinguish themselves from other Christians.

Politically speaking, Armenians began to be active in Lebanese society and created their agendas after they got over the initial impact of the events of 1915. Lebanon became a cradle for diasporic Armenian nationalism at an ideological and practical level. At the ideological level, political movements continued during the Cold War, while the younger generation were contributing to the culture of resistance on a practical level. "My Brother's Road: An American's Fateful Journey to Armenia", "General Andranik and the Armenian Revolutionary

¹⁵ According to the Lebanese information centre, the proportion of the Christian is 38.22 percent (<http://www.lstatic.org/PDF/demographenglish.pdf>)

Movement”, “Revolutionary Figures: Mihran Damadian, Hambardzum Boyadjian, Sarkis Aghbiur, Hrair-Dzhoghk, Gevorg Chavush, Sebastatsi Murad, Nikol Duman” and “The Armenians: From Genocide to Resistance” are a few examples.

Furthermore, the Armenian community became deeply polarised and politicised. For example, the Armenians gather around three political parties, namely the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party and the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party. Also, some Armenians support the Free Lebanese Armenian Movement. Each political party has a different agenda and political allies. As a result of this polarisation and politicisation, newspapers, radios, social clubs and even churches are different from other non-Armenian groups and even from each other. Political fault lines are clear and obvious. In order to reflect this political division, I changed my list of participants to reflect the various trends within the community. I included participants coming from various political backgrounds and having different level of interest in politics. Social clubs, campuses, churches and cafes in the Armenian neighbourhood were used as important research sites.

Like the Turkish case, a single city was chosen as the main research site. Beirut is one of the places where there is an intensive Armenian population. Differently from other cases, Armenians live more homogeneously in Lebanon. It is likely to find large Armenian neighbourhoods, such as Bourj Hammoud, Fanar and Mzher. The presence of Armenians in the city can be felt through names, songs, flags and even the kinds of meals available in these districts. Additionally, some districts of Beirut, such as Ashrafieh, Doha and Dbayeh, are preferred by Armenians and other Christian populations.¹⁶

In addition to the demographic dynamics of the Armenian community in Lebanon, the community itself is culturally active. The Armenian language is alive and practiced by the majority of the Lebanese Armenians for not only communication but also academic purposes. Differently from other diasporic Armenian communities such as those in Turkey, France and Britain, the Western Armenian language is used in everyday life efficiently. Although Western Armenian is accepted as an endangered language, it is still prevalent among Lebanese

¹⁶ The map can be found in the section of appendix.

Armenians. Undoubtedly, this creates significant differences and makes the Lebanese case worthy of study.

Unlike the Turkish and British cases, I had a chance to visit some homogenous Armenian places such as Anjar. The village has a homogenous Armenian population and is located near the Syrian border. As I observed, this Armenian village has different characteristics from other Armenian populations, and the people of Anjar (Anjaris) speak different dialects. The first generation came from Hatay in Turkey after 1939 and bought the land from the French colonial administration. They have direct familial connections with the village of Vakifli in Turkey¹⁷. The population of Anjar is 2,400 and it consists entirely of Armenians. The Anjari case helps us to understand how Armenianness is experienced homogeneously and to observe the differences between them and Beirut Armenians (Armenian inhabitants of Beirut).

In terms of socio-economic backgrounds and occupations, the research sample is more diverse than the other two cases since there are more variables. I tried to include those who work at and attend the youth clubs of the political parties, have non-Armenian parents (for example, a mother or father from a different Christian community), and I tried to include participants who are both graduates and non-graduates. Similar to the other cases, I paid particular attention to selecting participants from different socio-economic backgrounds, in order to observe and measure class division and differences within the community. This including observing many indicators that can be analysed easily, such as job preferences, their level of income compared to their costs, national GDP, public funds and so on. However, these indicators are primarily useful for an economic analysis. Like the Turkish case, I focused on tuition fees to measure the economic backgrounds of participants.

The participants were generally chosen from four universities; Haigazian University (HU), American University of Beirut (AUB), Lebanese American University (LAU) and University of Saint Joseph (USJ). In Lebanon, all universities are private and their tuition fees vary. For instance, tuition fees at HU is cheaper than other universities (by approximately 50 per cent), and also

¹⁷ The Vakifli Village is the only village consisting of homogenous Armenian population even though majority of people migrated to Istanbul and bigger cities. It used to be one of seven Armenian villages in Hatay [in Armenian Sanjack-Musa Dagh].

Armenian students are given financial support because it is an Armenian institution.¹⁸ By looking at the findings of the participant observations and in-depth interviews, students generally come from lower and lower middle class. Therefore, this varies the number of participants and their interpretations of Armenianness. The AUB, LAU and USJ are more international universities, and provide a different social and academic environment for students. These universities have 8000, 1,500 and 11,000 students respectively and are clearly bigger than HU. Due to administrative regulations, it is not possible to learn the exact number of Armenian students.¹⁹ Therefore, there is no certain figure on the number of Armenian students that each university has.

By examining the participant observations and their statements, it could be argued that LAU is the most high-class university in Lebanon and is preferred by upper class students. The AUB and USJ are generally preferred by the middle class.²⁰ The AUB and LAU are American universities, while the USJ follows the French system. Although each university has Armenian societies and heritage clubs, they do not have an academic program in Armenian studies. It should be noted that HU is exceptional because it is more into Armenian culture academically, and this is reflected in its degree program in Armenian studies and also a research centre focusing on the Armenian Diaspora. Since each university has large numbers of Armenian youngsters coming from different socio-economic backgrounds and having various interests, campuses are outstanding research sites to observe different types of Armenianness. With a few exceptions, participants in each university had a good standard of English, so interviews were completed in English. A few participants needed to use an informal translator to express their perceptions about Armenianness.

The final stage of the fieldwork was conducted in Britain. Differently from the other two cases, it was much more concise. One of the reasons for choosing Britain as

¹⁸ According to the admission office at Haigazian, the tuition fee for 2014-2015 is 265\$ per credit (approximately 400,000 Lebanese pounds).

<http://www.haigazian.edu.lb/Admissions/TuitionFees/Pages/UndergraduateTuitionFees.aspx> [Access Date: 23-05-2015]. They also provide funding for students who needs. As is mentioned, 800.000 \$ was given as scholarship last year. [Access Date: 23-05-2015]

¹⁹ Universities only keep ethnic diversity forms in accordance with Lebanese or International student.

²⁰ Tuition fees of AUB and LAU start from 8.000\$ per year.

<https://www.aub.edu.lb/comptroller/Documents/docs/Tuition%20and%20Fees%20A%20Y%202014-2015.pdf> [Access Date: 23-05-2015]

<http://www.lau.edu.lb/fees/2014-2015/>[Access Date: 23-05-2015]

a research site is that Armenians in Britain provide a unique example for diaspora studies. Pattie (1997) describes British Armenians as the “diaspora of diaspora”. Evaluating the Armenian community in Britain requires awareness of different dynamics. Throughout recent history, Britain has received many immigrants from Turkey, Lebanon, Cyprus, Iran and Armenia. Armenians who came from these other host countries established communities in Britain and tried to integrate them into previously extant Armenian networks that were developed around the 1920s. Internal differences within the Armenian communities lead to the emergence of various interpretations of Armenianness. The British case allows us to observe a kind of competition among sub-diasporic Armenian identities, hybridity and British identity. Therefore, the case of British Armenians provides an interesting data set about the reproduction of Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

Another reason to choose Britain as a research site is the pluralistic nature of British society. This feature of British society, different from the other two cases, provides different frameworks from which to assess Armenianness. For instance, the concept of minority in the British case is different than Turkish context. Armenians are identified as an ethnic minority group which was established through migration. Thus, the concept directly refers to ethnic group instead of ‘Gemeinschaft’ (Tonnis, 2001). They are a part of the civil society. As will be seen in the following chapters, British multiculturalism leads Armenian youngsters to develop different interpretations about Armenianness and its components. However, Armenians are a very small community in Britain, and most of them successfully integrated into British society. In other words, they do not tend to stay with Armenians in segregated neighbourhoods or they are able to survive and thrive without seeking the support of the wider Armenian community. This is because, different from other communities such as Kurdish, Turkish or Pakistani, they came to Britain much earlier and the younger generations also integrated themselves into society by adopting British and European identities. Although Armenians have dispersed within the British population, they are still sometimes gathered in some places. London and Manchester are important places, and both cities contain Armenian churches and Sunday schools. These institutions have remained operating almost silently in the background. It is hard to realise Armenian institutions and people at first glance in London and Manchester. These

places (mainly London) became research sites from which to observe Armenianness.

As a result of the low population, schools, institutions and organisations among the British Armenians are much narrower in scope and prevalence. Armenians who want to meet other members of the community or learn the language have to exert far greater effort than in countries like Lebanon. Differently from the Turkish and Lebanese cases, it is nearly impossible to find an Armenian school pupil who has a few Armenian classmates in primary or secondary schools unless they do go to the Sunday schools or attend community events. This leads Armenians to learn, construct and practice their ethnic cultures in different ways.

It could be argued that the “non-political” Armenian identity is another reason why this study chose British Armenians as a case study. Different from Lebanon, Armenians cannot find any room to represent Armenian identity in political sphere as the British political system is effectively closed to minority parties. The British system does not have any political parties or organisations that were established on ethnic lines, specifically seeking to further propagate “Armenian interests”. Just like other British citizens, they can join other major parties in the House of Commons,²¹ and for this reason, I expected to observe different aspects of Armenianness among the youth rather than political aspects. This not only affects practices of Armenianness in everyday life and attitudes, but also it leads to the appearance of diverse patterns on the “patchwork”. Due to the points above, the British Armenian community is an interesting research site that provides a different perspective on the reproduction of Armenianness.

In the British case, I initially focused on cultural centres such as the Armenian Institute, the Armenian House (Haydon), the Centre for Armenian, The Centre for Armenian Information and Advice (CAIA), Friends of Armenia and student societies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and University College London (UCL) in order to complete the fieldwork. Contrary to the other two cases, I had to filter my participants list several times since the scope of the research project does not include youngsters coming from Armenia. I only interviewed British Armenians who were 18-29 years old living mainly in London.

²¹ It should be noted that we do not have any academic work demonstrating Armenians’ political attitudes and preferences.

My research strategy contains Armenian language courses, workshops, seminars and social events about Armenian culture. Whilst attending these courses, I not only met new participants, but I also collected significant information about how Armenianness is experienced and interpreted among the Armenian youngsters. These sites and events include as the “Summer Festival”, “Winter Festival”, picnics and Christmas dinners and parties. These events served as outstanding opportunities to conduct participant observation. With their different concepts and formats, each event helped me to observe the reproduction of Armenianness in different ways among British Armenians.

3.2.2.2. Sample Technique

In order to observe and reflect different characters and features of the sample, I used a non-probability approach, which is preferred in qualitative studies and necessitates working with small size samples to conduct fieldwork efficiently. As Ritchie (et al, 2003) states, if one is doing ethnographic research, there is no way to focus on every aspect, record everything and talk to everyone, so the sample (unit) should be kept to a small size as big numbers cannot be managed. Therefore, the selection of the participants should be purposeful.

It is expected that researchers play active roles in the sample selection. They seek to create productive, relevant and diverse samples to answer research questions. In this vein, I considered each case separately and developed different strategies in order to create a sample for in-depth interviews. Firstly, I began to establish a list of Armenian schools, churches, media, political parties and social institutions in the Armenian community. I conducted a pilot study with a few participants from these lists. The pilot study allowed me to determine the main divisions and fault lines within the Armenian youth. Additionally, it also yields further possible research sites. Secondly, previous academic and other personal contacts were used to reach Armenian youngsters. By using the “Snowballing method”, I found new participants by using current participants’ social networks and contacts (Bryman, 2001; Marshall, 1996). This enabled me to enlarge my pool of contacts. However, in order to overcome the disadvantages of Snowballing, such as it perhaps being time consuming and not providing a certain level of diversity (Rithchie et al, 2003), I asked participants to suggest a friend who has different points of view to their own. Thus, I shielded the study from

repeated perceptions, similar perspectives and repetitive answers. Consequently, I managed to meet fifteen participants in each case who had various world views and interpretations of Armenianness. In terms of gender distribution, the participant list for the Turkish case consisted of eleven males and four females, whereas the Lebanese case had nine males and six females. Unlike the Turkish and Lebanese cases, the participant list for British Armenians yielded a much more even distribution. It consisted of seven male and eight female participants.

3.2.2.3. Unit of Analysis

This research project seeks to understand reproduction of Armenianness through focusing on youngsters in diasporic spaces. Therefore, the youth are considered as the unit of analysis. The following reasons encouraged me to work with young members of Armenian community:

Firstly, the youth, as a section of the society, is a vibrant segment providing a range of socialisation stages (Aytac et al, 2008:2). Throughout “youth-hood”, it is possible to observe socialisation processes at different places such as in secondary school, in professional life or at university. Each socialisation phase affects young people’s experiences and worldviews deeply. Throughout the socialisation process, it is likely to see several possible fluctuations. Attitudes occur as a result of regression or accumulation. For instance, political attitudes and awareness, as Ergil (1980) cites, starts being constructed at around the age of 15. However, it might also be (re)shaped in latter stages of development and even adulthood. Therefore, the youth-hood period appears to be highly fluid, and this fluidity allows us to observe differences in the construction of meanings, ideas, stereotypes, perceptions, thoughts and worldviews on ethnicity and nationality. Additionally, one can observe how cultural components affect this construction process through focusing on the meanings and functions that are ascribed by young members of diasporic communities.

Secondly, the youth is given special importance by not only sociology and anthropology, but also other disciplines of the social sciences such as psychology, international relations, cultural and ethnicity studies or conflict studies. The youth as a target unit can be active or manipulated actors. On the one hand, young people directly suffer the burdens of conflicts and political

disputes (McEvoy-Levy, 2006). They might experience wars, conflicts, deportations or famine first hand. As seen in the example of the Cold War and young people's attitudes, the youth in Middle Eastern communities, such as those in Turkey and Lebanon, played key roles in the conflicts. Throughout the Cold War, the youth were polarised ideologically and killed each other.²² Therefore, the youth can be considered as efficient actors for reconciliation and the overall decision-making process (Ibid). The current tendency seeks to include the youth in decision-making as much as possible since it is believed that young people are the peace keepers of the future. Roosevelt emphasized the importance of the youth by these words; "we cannot always build the future of our youth, but we can build our youth for the future" (in Aytac et al, 2008:1). As seen from reconciliation projects, for example the "Youth Exchange Programs between Germany and France" (Goethe-Institute, April 2007), "Local Governance through Youth Municipalities in Lebanon", "Forgiveness and Reconciliation on the sport Field in Kenya" and "Economic Engagement and Youth in Kenya" (Mercy Corps, 2011) in different parts of the world, the youth play a key role.; Therefore, scholars pay special attention to the structure of youth movements (Lore, 2005: 4).

Thirdly, the youth are the best target unit that represents hybridity of the identities in diasporic communities. Unlike the experiences of their first generation ancestors, young people have different interactions in society and might have a few ethnic identities and ethnic histories simultaneously. For instance, they may share more than one ethnic background and can speak different languages in addition to their ethnic-native language because of assimilation or mix-marriages, so hyphenated identities and definitions can be seen. Therefore, it helps us to observe different interpretations of Armenianness and its components.

Additionally, they might lose their ancestors' political and economic privileges or have to leave from their historical territories and cultural heritages. As studied in the example of ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia), they might try to take revenge because of the past and create new missions, so they can legitimate violence and radicalism. As discussed in the work of Cairns and Roe (2003:94-105), "The Role of Social Memory in Ethnic Conflicts", young

²² This was a general tendency within the Middle Eastern society. It is likely to observe serious polarizations among Turkish, Arab or Armenian youths during the Cold War. As cited in Migliorino (2008), Armenians in Lebanon killed each other due to political reasons.

generations in some cases are more obstinate when forgiving “historical enemies”. Putting it differently, the younger generations are fed from “history”, which is socially constructed. Historical disputes are likely to be transmitted to the next generations. Because of this, the youth can highlight some specific events or components to maintain their ethno-religious identities that are practiced and interpreted differently from their ancestors. As Bakalian (1993) argues, young members of the Armenian community ascribe new meanings to their ethnic identities and are affected by symbolism. As seen in the example of American-Armenians, Armenianness is sustained by institutions or political elites in social events such as dance parties, fundraising or reading days (Bakalian, 1993; Dink, 2003). For this reason, working with youngsters who shared a social reality that is constructed on myths, symbols and memories can be deemed to have been useful when observing interpretations of Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

Fourthly, working with the youth can demonstrate the effects of globalisation and also evaluate the prospects of the future of ethnic and national identities in diasporic communities which experience the dilemma of globalisation. Undoubtedly, young people benefit from the fruits and opportunities of globalisation more than any section of society, even if significant parts of the world have lived in absolute poverty and inequality. Young people are affected deeply by technological developments and then they become important and effective actors in the visual worlds. The expansion of the internet and social networks such as Facebook, twitter or blogs, causes for physical borders between youth communities in different countries and different continents to be removed. Because of social networks and media, young members of diasporic communities are influenced by any political debate rapidly and show their reactions. Thus, not only do they continue trans-nationalism in the virtual world, but also they become important actors that are controlling and shaping trans-nationalism. Events and campaigns such as the “Arab Spring” in 2011, “We are the 99%” and examples of support for Palestinian hunger strikers, are well known examples that help us to understand the mobility of the youth. Moreover, the youth in the visual world can reproduce their own nationalism from a bottom up perspective and somehow replace the roles of formal institutions. They can protest, send e-petitions or fundraise, as seen in the example of the Armenian youth in Britain, Lebanon and Turkey. Sharing “genocide videos and pictures”, or

changing profile pictures on Facebook to retain social memories, identities and to keep cultural components alive.

Based on the experiences of my fieldwork with Armenian youngsters, I came across some difficulties while working with diasporic youth. These difficulties can be categorised as practical and methodological problems. Beginning with practical difficulties, demographic trends in the community seem to be a main issue. As seen from the statistics and estimations, the density and numbers of young Armenians is fairly low when compared with the rest of the population (Turks, Kurds, Arabs and English) in the case countries. Armenians do not tend to have more than two children because of economic and social concerns.²³ For instance, the population of Armenians in Britain (0.01%) and Turkey (0.08%) is lower than 1 percent of the whole population. As discussed previous section, this uneven distribution and downward demographic trend affects the numbers of the participants in each case. It should be pointed out that in contrast to the Turkish and British cases, working with youngsters was easier in Lebanon because young members of the community are more accessible.

Secondly, the lack of participant sensitivity and curiosity about ethnicity and nationality should be considered as another difficulty. As was learnt from the pilot study, young people do not tend to talk about ethnicity and nationality at first. These topics are perceived as sensitive issues. There is no doubt that the lack of information and interest are essential factors behind of the attitudes of the youth. Many youngsters, who I met in the field, stated that they do not have any interest about nationalism and ethnicity in terms of political ideology. However, it is possible to observe influences of nationalist discourse (sometimes ethno-cultural nationalism) which are constructed in everyday life. This forced me to use indirect methods and questions such as asking about family stories, relations and so on to act as ice breakers.

²³ According to participant M (Istanbul), having only two children is not valid for Armenians from an eastern background who tend to have more children. It could be argued that this is another example of different family types in Turkey. As Celik (2009) states the type of "village family" is generally shaped by features of the rural area. In this family, decision of marriage is given by parents. There is endogamy and couples are generally young. Women do not have equal rights and responsibilities. Religious marriage (imam nikahi) is primary performed and the birth rate is very high. However, urban families show opposite features and the birth rate is low.

In addition to practical difficulties, using the youth as a target unit creates some methodological issues. For instance, how should “youth” be defined? Which age group can be accepted in the definition of “youth”? I should emphasise that there is no consensus on definitions of youth. In the related literature, youth is either defined by age or social-psychological points of view. The concept of “youth-hood” refers to a specific “passage from a dependant childhood to independent adulthood” (EU, 2009:6). Distinguishing a child from an adult is relatively easy for a lawyer. In many countries, and also in *The Convention on the Rights of the Child*, define children as “[...] every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” (UNCRC, 1989: article 1).

However, for sociologists and psychologists the boundaries of youth-hood (where it starts and finishes) is ambiguous. According to Sommers (2006), an age-based definition has not provided a good classification since the concept of youth changes across cultures and is socially constructed. Menstruating, fertility, marriage or, in the case of Sierra Leone, the death of one’s father are considered as milestones to pass the adulthood (Sommers, 2006: 4-5). In addition to cultural practices and assumptions, several factors such as the age limit of child benefits, the end of full-time compulsory schooling, the voting age and the minimum age for standing for elections, can be effective indicators that help us to determine the boundaries of “youth”. As De Waal reminds us, “[...] youths are not dependent children, but neither are they independent, socially responsible adults” (2002:15). For this reason, contemporary reports published by the EU or the UN pay attention these factors. According to the EU, “youth” refers to persons between the ages of 15 and 29, while the UN states that they are between 15 and 24. The conceptions of these two institutions are mostly advocated by scholars, even though we can see from the literature that the definition of youth is socially constructed and its scope and meaning are changeable.

In this vein, the project accepts a more focused definition of youth and focuses on youngsters between 18 and 29 years old. This narrower definition yields a few advantages. Firstly, accepting 18 years old as a starting point of youth-hood helps to overcome legal requirements at the research sites. Because of ethical issues, each country may request official permission from the families of the young people to conduct interviews. Undoubtedly, this would have negatively affected

the timeline of the project since the researcher would have to contact families, explain the scope of the project several times (perhaps to different guardians) and then await their permission.

Secondly, working with Armenians who are younger than 18 years old may not cover all aspects of the research problem. Due to their relatively little life experience, they may not be able to comprehend some concepts such as ethnicity, ethnic heritage or nationality as these concepts are mostly learnt and formed through the socialisation process. Although there will obviously be exceptions, it is likely that their knowledge on dynamics/components of Armenianness might be limited as they have not had much opportunity to experience the socialisation process apart from with their family and at school. It also should be emphasised that some questions such as political preferences or mix-marriages would be inappropriate if participants were younger than 18 years old.

In order to reach a reasonable number of participants, Armenians who are up to 29 years old are accepted within this study's definition of the youth due to demographic trends in diasporic spaces. As discussed above, demographic trends can be dissimilar in diasporic communities and make it difficult to find appropriate participants. For this reason, I have included Armenians who are 29 years old, which differs from the UN.

3.3. Method for Analysis

To make the data more meaningful, and in order to allow accurately assess which aspects of Armenianness were mostly being marked by participants in their in-depth interviews, aspects which were highlighted were used as a first value in the ANCO-HITS analysis. As this study believes, the method of ANCO-HITS allows us to see various models of 'identities' which are socially constructed in everyday life. To put it differently, ANCO-HITS provides a better understanding for the interpretation of Armenianness in everyday life. By relying on complex algorithm principles, it generates different scores to see relations/distances systematically between the attitudes of participants and the parameters that are considered as identity markers.

Before moving on to explain how ANCO-HITS works, I would like to introduce the steps taken in the process of data treatment. These steps provide key information

about not only coding the fieldwork data, but also makes readers familiar with ANCO-HITS and its capabilities without losing any technical details.

The first step is “deconstructing data and transcribing”. After I received the interview tapes, they were transcribed through using the “partly transcribing approach” in order to highlight the main points (Arksey & Knight, 1999). I then began to write a list of parameters as a draft that gradually grew as new interviews was completed. Sometimes, parameters were noted during the interviews because participants tended to speak about similar topics. Therefore, the participants’ attitudes were placed directly onto the ANCO-HITS matrix. Additionally, I received more information from some participants via email. Their textual answers, including of use of exclamation marks, pausing, strong language or indicators of laughter were used in the coding process. Later on, I focused on key phrases and highlighted them. These key phrases play significant roles in coding because they help to reveal intimal forms of identity markers as well as themes. For example, the importance of family and mix-marriage were highlighted as one of the identity markers constructing Armenianness in diasporic spaces, while participants’ statements generally consisted of key words such as “Absolutely no”, “my family would disown me if I got married with a non-Armenian” or “hmmm...doesn’t matter”. I did the same highlighting process in all transcripts. These key words became a guide for coding before running the ANCO-HITS analysis.

The second step is the re-conceptualisation of Armenianness, which involves us into another debate. As Abdelal et al (2009) argues, identity is one of the most over-used concepts in the social sciences. In order to measure identity systematically, there are two approaches that assume identity as a dependent or independent variable. The concept of identity (Armenianness) is considered as an outcome that is affected by numerous dynamics such as economic, social and cultural factors. Alternatively, identity as independent variables affects outcomes. In accordance with the principle of qualitative research and social constructivism, I re-considered the positions of participants and Armenianness.

Within the social constructivist mind, Armenianness is considered as a dependent variable that can be reproduced from “bottom up dynamics” derived from in-depth interviews with participants. On the other hand, participants are accepted as

“mean makers” who construct and also interpret the boundaries of Armenianness in diasporic spaces for themselves. This point of view makes participants become subjects who not only share/experience Armenianness, but they also construct it thorough everyday interactions. Accordingly, participants’ attitudes, mundane habits, experiences, interpretations of cultural components, perceptions and interactions of Armenian youngsters in diasporic spaces with other members of the community and non-Armenians are also considered independent variables throughout the data treatment. In parallel to principles of social constructionism, such as relativism and subjectivity that were discussed in the former section, there is a high chance of observing various experiences of Armenianness since interpretations of independent variables are changeable according to participants’ interactions in certain time and space.²⁴

Before discussing how the patchwork(s) of Armenianness is constructed and shared by young members of Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain, a final step was added to the data treatment process, namely literature analysis. In this step, a few academic works that discuss “Armenian Culture”, “Diaspora”, “Armenianness” and “Armenian History and Identity” were analysed in terms of identity markers. Previous works that I chose for literature analysis (in total 18 works) highlight sociological, anthropological and historical aspects of Armenian identity and communities. Even though none of them claim to define what Armenianness is, they mention some markers which are considered as shaping Armenian identity in the background. The literature analysis in the final step helps us to see overlapping patterns, similarities and differences about boundaries of Armenianness. This will now be discussed below.

²⁴ The re-conceptualisation of Armenianness and the participants remind me of connections established between my grandmother, who used to be a seamstress, and her priceless works. As far as I recall from my childhood memory, my grandmother liked sewing. Patchwork was one of her favourite craftworks and she was always designing numerous patchworks for our family and neighbours. Due to her generosity, her patchworks can be found at every single house in the neighbourhood, which has become one of the suburbs in Ankara. She designed patchworks from scrap fabrics having different colours, size and shapes. Also, functions of patchworks were changing each time. She was sometimes combining scraps of material for blankets and sometimes for prayer rugs. I did not have a chance to ask how she had chosen proper colours, size and patterns. Of course, each piece of work reflected her interpretation and experiences. I believe that these patchwork designs are the most suitable metaphor to explain how Armenianness is reproduced in diasporic spaces. Participants, just like my grandmother, can construct their Armenianness by using numerous markers that have different meanings for them. Re-conceptualisation of Armenianness as a patchwork invites researchers and readers to discover components and boundaries of Armenianness which are constructed in different time and spaces.

3.3.1. Literature Analysis for ANCO-HITS

I will introduce a few pioneering works about Armenian identity, diaspora and culture. As previously stated above, even though these works do not claim to directly analyse Armenian identity, they trace components of identity by focusing on general frameworks. For instance, each work tends to give brief information and background on the Armenian people, origin myths, religion, language and cultural traditions are generally mentioned in these works. Contrary to postmodern history theory, they cited narratives as essentialist points of view. With a few expectations, this leads Armenianness to be understood as being a single form and ignores differences. Having said that, the literature analysis can help us to see overlapping patterns, themes, similarities and differences about boundaries of Armenianness. Therefore, the following works should be approached as guides broadly summarising the components and markers of being Armenian. In this section, I will firstly highlight components that are reputed to be associated with Armenianness. Secondly, I will explain briefly these components and rephrase them for analysis. Henceforth, these components will be identified as parameters in the data analysis process. Thirdly, I will code these parameters as “1” and “0”. These numbers help to create a simple chart demonstrating if they are present or absent in the literature. Additionally, this chart gives us a chance to see similarities, differences and also overlapping patterns even though the scope of each work varies. These parameters will establish the first data set by providing an overview of Armenian identity.

The literature analysis starts with searching for related books and articles. By using the keyword “Armenian” in online databases, I tried to access academic works on “Armenianness”, “Armenian Diaspora” and “Armenian Culture”. Although I have come a cross wide range of sources, they needed to be filtered in terms of their originality and relevance. Accordingly, fifteen prominent works which mainly focus on the Armenian nation/identity/ethnicity have been included in the literature analysis. Parameters for analysis were chosen manually in accordance with cultural, religious, ethnic, political and institutional themes. It may be said that eighteen works are not enough to understand identity markers of Armenianness. However, this research avoids any kind of generalisation and possible reductionism with regard to Armenian identity. Therefore, the numbers of works which are included in the literature analysis do not matter.

Having mentioned the above, the main reason for doing the literature analysis is to demonstrate identity markers that are stated whilst discussing Armenian identity. Personally, I believe that including more works would not create a big difference in terms of the coding process even though there is a chance of increasing the number of identity markers. For instance, through deconstructing these 18 works, we reached 95 parameters and a few parameters were also repeated several times. Once we involve more works, it may also increase the number of parameters, as well as repetitions. As expected, the ratio of iteration would not be changed.

The literature analysis starts with the book “**Armenian Folk Arts, Culture and Identity**” edited by Abrahamian and Sweezy (2001), which is one of the reference books about Armenian culture. On the one hand, it focuses on Armenians’ lives in historical Armenia, and on the other it demonstrates how the Armenian culture is represented through works of artisans (with cultural practices and symbols). According to Abrahamian and Sweezy (2001), in this construction process artisans have dual functions. They are not only creators of the national/ethnic culture, but they are also objects of this culture. To put it differently, they are born within the culture, so they are affected by certain points of view, but at the same time they can redraw the boundaries of the culture. This text provides highly interesting views about the origins of cultural symbols that are shared collectively. The authors’ work explains these mutual relations behind the cultural symbols and customs. It describes what Armenian culture is and how it was constructed through time. It provides highly interesting points of view about symbols within the Armenian culture that is shared collectively. Due to its research scope, it does not discuss how these components and parameters are practiced among Armenians of different backgrounds. This ignores differences within the Armenian community and compels readers to perhaps believe that the Armenian population is a homogenous entity. Unavoidably, it assumes a holistic idea of Armenian culture and identity. Armenianness is discussed around certain themes such as ethnic background, historical homeland, religion, past glories, the alphabet, norms and values in the Armenian family, cultural symbols and cultural festivals. In order to code this work, I accommodate these themes into following scales:

“origin myths”, “sacred places”, “converting Christianity and wars”, “consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture”, “idealisation homeland”, “uniqueness of the language”, “cultural ornaments at home”, “family norms” and “feasts, festivals and social gathering”.

Secondly, I included a few ethnographic researches that have narrower scopes that seek to understand Armenianness in various geographies. Undoubtedly, ethnographic works provide significant examples and outstanding information about Armenian diasporic identity. Ethnographic researches and oral history studies were so popular in the mid-20th century. Between the 1950s and 1990s, Armenian scholars documented Armenian culture which began to be forgotten in the diaspora and in Armenia itself which was greatly affected by Sovietisation. Armenian scholars tried to document disappearing customs, traditions and folkloric features of Armenian communities. It could be argued that these works drew the boundaries of Armenianness for younger generations.

Bakalian’s research focusing on **“Armenian-Americans”** (1993) is a pioneering work among ethnographic studies. Even though it is primarily about Armenians living in the United States, it must be included in the literature analysis because it demonstrates how diasporic identity is practiced and reconstructed among the Armenian people at a theoretical level. Bakalian is the first scholar that mentions that Armenianness is practiced symbolically in diasporic space. Her work could be accepted as the first example of the post-structuralist approach emphasising that Armenianness is a way of feeling rather than being in diaspora. In other words, her research shows that Armenianness and its parameters are not experienced among members of the diasporic community in the natural flow of everyday life. They have to make extra effort to maintain their identities. Through examining the American case, she describes symbolic Armenianness and its components. The following scales were thus coded:

“Descendants of Noah”, “Sacred places”, “National Church”, “Armenian religious community”, “Armenian Genocide”, “Being Diaspora”, “Being Minority”, “Assimilation”, “Othering”, “Armenian Schools”, “Family”, “Language usage in everyday life”, “fear of assimilation”, “mix marriage” and “political parties and organisations”.

Susan Pettie's work (1997) **"Faith in the History: Armenians rebuilding community"** is one of the significant ethnographic researches investigating the Armenian community in Cyprus and London. Through in-depth interviews and participant observation, she sought to compare two diasporic communities in terms of experiences of ethnicity and cultural components. Differently from other works, Armenianness is examined from the ground level by making reference to the everyday practices of members of the Armenian communities in Cyprus and London. Throughout her work, she has underlined not only ethnic aspects of Armenian culture, but also the interactions of Armenians with non-Armenians in diasporic spaces. I used the following scales to code her book:

"origin myths", "sacred places", "converting Christianity and wars", "consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture", "national church", "Armenian Genocide", "being diaspora", "being minority", "similarities and hybridity", "idealisation homeland", "institutions-parties, church and schools", "language usage in everyday life", "fear of assimilation", "mix marriage", "Armenian cuisine", "festivals", "cultural products" and "family norms".

Further, I added another of Pettie, Sarkissian and Kerovpyan's works on Armenian identity that is titled, **"Who are the Armenians?"** (2011). Contrary to her previous work, it is a concise study indeed. Also, Armenian children (fourth and fifth generation) who are learning Armenianness from their parents who were raised in "the West" were chosen as a target group. This book consists of introductory information about Armenian history, culture and practices. It is likely also to observe top-down approach defining objective elements of Armenian identity even though this is not clearly stated in their study. Finally, this book as also appears to expose the fact of disappearing cultural practices. For instance, it evaluates Armenians in a historical framework, so it maintains long-distance nationalism and ethnicity in diasporic spaces, and how these change over time. Differently from her previous work, I used the following scales;

"origin myths", "sacred places", "Armenian Genocide", "Armenian alphabet", "Armenian national church" and "Armenian music, art and instruments"

It should be noted that all parameters were marked with the word “Armenian” to increase awareness.

Aghanian’s research, **“The Armenian diaspora: cohesion and fracture” (2007)**, is another work which is included in this short literature analysis. It focuses on the Armenian diaspora in Manchester and seeks to understand the complex social and political process that are maintaining and affecting the Armenian identity. The text discusses how the Armenian community was established and sustained in Great Britain. It also puts forward ideas as to how members of the Armenian community balance lives rooted in certain geographies while sharing very different cultural and social spaces. As she states, ethnic consciousness is experienced in different ways, but it does not stop people feeling “Armenian”. While reading her explanations of the boundaries of feeling Armenian, the following themes and parameters were extracted and underlined:

“descendants of Noah”, “being apostolic”, “Armenian National Church”, “Turkish nationalism”, “Denial of genocide”, “being diaspora”, “long distance nationalism”, “idealisation homeland”, “importance of Armenian language”, “transnationalism/diasporic institutions”

In addition to Aghanian’s work, I included another work focusing on the Armenian diaspora in London. Differently from previous works, Amit Talai **“Armenians in London: the management of social boundaries”** (1989) tends to see the concept of diaspora as a group of people sharing the same ethnic identity. Moreover, it seeks to put forward the institutional features and networks of the Armenians in London. It tries to understand the Armenian diaspora from an institutional point of view. Therefore, I mainly coded institutions as scales;

“political parties”, “diasporic institutions”, “Armenian schools” and “Armenian Church”

Undoubtedly, the importance of these institutions cannot be ignored. They helped Armenian communities to survive in new spaces and to resist assimilation. Throughout time, these institutions have become a part of Armenianness. For this reason, these institutions have been included as parameters. In addition, Amit-Talia mentions the power of local identities while she explains the Armenian

identity and community in Britain. According to her, the British Armenian identity is like an umbrella consisting of the Armenian population coming from different countries such as Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Cyprus and Armenia. There is no doubt that Armenians bring their local identities and customs into British society. This creates some problems in terms of integration and also the organisation of Armenians. For this reason, I have coded **“Differences within the community”**, **“Local Identities”**, to show components and parameters of Armenianness. Moreover, Talai’s book highlights similar components with previous works that have been coded as the following parameters:

“Mix-marriage”, “Armenian Language”, “idealisation of homeland”, “Soviet Influence”, “Being Diaspora”, “Being Minority”, “Turkish nationalism”, “Armenian genocide”, “Denial of Armenian Genocide”, “Apostolic”, “Family” and “Descendants of Noah”

After the previous texts, I changed the scope of the literature analysis and focused on different examples specifically for the Lebanese and Turkish cases. A couple of works about the Armenian community in Lebanon have different backgrounds and motivations and are worthy to include in the literature analysis. Jebejian’s work, **“Changing Ideologies and Extralinguistic Determinants...” (2007)** and Kasabian’s research **“Rooted and Routed: the Contemporary Armenian Diaspora in Cyprus and Lebanon” (2006)** are prominent works examining Armenianness at a sociological level. Jebejian focuses on language shifting and dynamics of Lebanese Armenians whereas Kasabian compares Cypriot and Lebanese Armenian identities. The importance of these works comes from their diasporic points of view. In other words, both authors represent diasporic experiences and interpretations themselves. By focusing on Jebejian’s research, the following scales were coded:

“Origin myths”, “sacred places”, “converting Christianity and wars”, “national church”, “Armenian Genocide”, “institutions-parties, church and schools”, “denial of the Genocide” and “Turkish nationalism”

Alternatively, Kasabian puts forward a study on the relation between diasporic identity and political mobilisation. I have highlighted the following scales in her research:

“being diaspora”, “long distance nationalism”, idealisation homeland “transnationalism/diasporic institutions”, “Armenian Genocide” and “othering”, “Political structures of the community” and “Schools”

Due to the lack of proficiency in the Armenian and Arabic , a number of studies focusing on the Armenian identity at the sociological and anthropological levels were not accessible. It is hard to find a work written in English seeking to understand Armenian identity in Lebanese context. Among limited sources, I preferred to add another work about the Armenian community In the Lebanese context. Differently from previous works, Migliorimo’s research **“Reconstructing Armenia in Lebanon and Syria”** (2008) sought to understand the Armenian community from a political history point of view. It could be argued that his work is the essential English language reference book about the Armenian community in Lebanon. In his work, he tries to explain the development and evaluation of the Armenian community since the events of 1915 by focusing on examples from the Syrian and Lebanese cases. From an institutional point of view, he describes how institutions helped Armenian communities to maintain their Armenian identity in diasporic spaces. Even though it seems to be descriptive, it is possible to understand from this text how certain institutions affected Armenians in Lebanon and their everyday practices. These institutions also somewhat drew the boundaries of Armenianness in sectarian Lebanon. In other words, members of the Armenian community tend to identify themselves with certain institutions, so they become victims of categorisation. I have highlighted the following scales:

“Armenian Church”, “Media”, “Clubs” and “Political Parties”

These scales clearly impact upon Armenianness and allow us to see several aspects of Armenianness.

Furthermore, I added a few works focusing on Armenians in Turkey. These works can be accepted as significant texts describing the Armenians’ experiences in Turkey. The first work is Ozdogan’s book **“Armenian People of Turkey”** (et al, 2009). It discusses the Armenian community and their identity explicitly. Not only does it provide historical information, but it also has some sociological evaluations about the Armenian ethnicity and the community. Similar to other works, it tends

to discuss Armenianness within a broad historical timeline, and for this reason, it frequently cites the following:

“Origin myths”, “sacred places”, “converting Christianity and wars”, “national church” and “religious sects”.

Therefore, the initial scales do not change. In addition to these scales, Ozdogan’s book tries to put forward unique dynamics and recent debates and claims within the Armenian community. This includes scales such as:

“Armenian Genocide”, “Being Minority”, “Armenian religious community”, “Remain in Anatolia”, “Assimilation”, “Turkish Nationalism”, “Minority Press and Organisations”, “Different Religious Attachment”, “Armenian Heritage” and “Otherness”

These scales are highlighted differently from previous works. Since the political aspects of Armenianness has disappeared and has become invisible in public in Turkey, components of Armenianness and the emphasis of the participants are based predominantly on culture. Particularly, Armenian heritage and contributions in the Ottoman Empire and earlier period of the republic are the most shared narratives among Armenian youngsters. Although it seems to be unrelated or simple references towards the past, these kinds of narratives help Armenian youngsters to establish a sense of belonging and a perception of a homeland. In addition to these parameters, I highlighted **“festivals and feasts”** that are considered parts of cultural and religious aspects of Armenianness. Moreover, the work in question gives clues about categorisations, perceptions and disputes within the Turkish Armenian community. The following was added to the chart:

“Crypto Armenians”, “Muslim Armenians”, “Istanbul Armenians” and “Anatolian Armenians”

In addition to Ozdogan’s extensive book, it is possible to find earlier work examining the Armenian community in Turkey. Yumul’s PhD thesis “Religion, community and culture : the Turkish Armenians” (1992) is the most known work providing significant information about the Armenian community in Turkey and their cultural practices. Actually, it can be argued that her findings and approach feed into any research about the Turkish Armenian community academically, as

it has become an essential reference for those who want to understand Armenian community in Turkey. Similar to previous works, the following components were mentioned while explaining Armenianness;

“descendants of Noah”, “being apostolic”, “Armenian National Church”, “consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture”, “Turkish nationalism”, “Denial of genocide”, “Being Minority”, “Armenian Heritage”, “Remain in Anatolia”, “Assimilation”, “Istanbul Armenians”, “Anatolian Armenians”, “differences within the community”.

Differently from other works, she wrote her dissertation from a sociological point of view. This allows us to see numerous dynamics. I highlighted the following parameters:

“lack of Knowledge on Religion”, “Mix-marriage”, “Armenian Language”, “Family”, “Armenian music, art and instruments” , “feasts, festivals and social gathering”, “Armenian cuisine”, “festivals”, “cultural products” and “family norms”

In the Turkish context, I also included a couple of brief works reflecting Armenianness from a bottom up point of view. For instance, Kentel’s survey **“Being a minority in Turkey”** (2007) seeks to demonstrate how Armenian youngsters define themselves and their everyday practices where it is likely to observe similarities and differences in everyday life. By relying on the results of this survey, the following scales were the most repeated answers:

“Christian Armenian”, “Christian people of Turkey”, “Armenian people of Turkey” and “Armenian”.

Additionally, I focused on Kopsa’s **“The Assassination of Hrant Dink From The Perspective of Armenian Youth in Turkey: A Time Of Trauma or Solidarity?”** (2008) research about the assassination of Hrant Dink and its effect on Armenian youngsters. In some parts of her research, she evaluates the dynamics of Armenianness and the perception of the youth. The reason for choosing her research is that it brings recent dynamics and mentions current issues within the Armenian community. Unlike other works, it does not focus on historical dynamics of Armenianness, but it emphasises new dynamics such as psychological

aspects and collective memory. Therefore, I highlighted the following scales affecting the perception and experiences of Armenian youngsters:

“Assassination of Dink”, “Being Minority”, “Remain in Anatolia”, “Assimilation” and “Othering”.

Later on, I included Hrant Dink’s newspaper articles (2006), which make outstanding contributions to the debate on Armenian identity and culture. Newspaper articles might be seen as improper sources for a literature analysis, but the importance of a minority community’s press cannot be ignored. Dink had a series of articles that were published in *Agos*, seeking to promulgate the Armenians’ problems and voices. I tend to consider Dink’s articles because his main concern was to introduce Armenian culture which beginning to be forgotten by the younger generations. I highlighted the following themes and scales while he was discussing boundaries and dynamics of Armenianness:

“Descendants of Noah”, “Sacred places”, “National Church”, “Armenian religious community”, “consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture”, “Denial of genocide”, “transnationalism/diasporic institutions”, “idealisation homeland”, “relations with Armenia”, “Armenian Heritage”, “language usage in everyday life”, “fear of assimilation”, “mix marriage” and “festivals”.

Finally, I included a few booklets in the literature analysis. These booklets are *The Armenian Church of St Sarkis* and *...*, that present relatively narrow points of view about Armenianness and its contents. These works may not ordinarily be considered in a literature review, but I added them into the literature analysis as they somehow shape boundaries of Armenianness and are circulated among Armenians. Generally speaking, these works tend to interpret Armenianness in a conservative way and highlight ethno-religious components and themes. These works tend to attach Armenianness to certain definitions, conditions and forms, and for this reason, their representations of Armenianness are narrow and sometimes exclude “different” interpretations. It should be pointed out that a religious identity is also somehow a “selfish attachment”. One may speak many languages or share different ethnic cultures, but it is impossible to truly believe in more than one religion. These booklets are important works since they

demonstrate how Armenianness is defined and described around religion and religious heritage.

Tchilingirian's with Pattie and Gagik, "Introduction to Armenian Church" (2007) work is also one of these booklets and emphasises religious heritage and components in Armenianness. For this reason, the following scales were highlighted in this short booklet:

"Converting Christianity and wars", "religious sects" and "national Church"

Additionally, I added Corley's work "**Religion in the Soviet Union: An Archival Reader**" (1996) that, differently from historical works, gives some information on how the Armenian Church and religious attitudes of Armenians were affected during the Soviet period. It could be argued that Armenians in diasporic spaces and in Armenia were influenced deeply by the Soviets. They developed various practices and began to interpret religion in various ways, which can be observed in the everyday life of Armenians. I labelled the following scales:

"Genocide", "Christianity", "Communism" and "Sovietisation"

In the literature about Armenian identity, I came across short articles discussing the "essence of Armenianness". Oshagan's article "**The Armenian Essence: An Overview**" (1979) in *Armenian Review*, briefly discusses the essence of Armenianness, and his explanations do not distinguish themselves from previous works in the literature analysis. He tends to explain the essence of Armenianness by using following parameters:

"Armenian Language", "Pagan Culture", "National Church" and "Christianity"

Moreover, in the literature seeking to explain features of Armenians and Armenian identities, it is possible to find some works which do not hesitate to make generalisations and adopt a language of marginalisation. The division between "us" and "them" can be seen clearly throughout Baliozian's work, "**The Armenians: Their History and Culture**" (1980). Differently from other works, he defines the national characteristics of the Armenian people. Undoubtedly, his

effort can be seen as a construction and imposition of identity. In addition to the scale of **“national characteristic”**, I also highlighted:

**“Descendants of Noah”, “Sacred places”, “National Church”,
“being apostolic”, “Turkish nationalism”, “Denial of genocide”,
“converting Christianity and wars”, “idealisation homeland”, “long
distance nationalism”, “Armenian Language”, “Soviet Influence” ,
“Armenian schools” and “Armenian music, art and instruments”**

At this point, it is possible to discuss a few limitations and possible criticisms about the literature analysis and coding methods. As can be seen from the short explanations, this process was done manually. I, as the researcher, played an active role not only in the selection of works, but also the coding of parameters. In the current literature about Armenians, there are not any academic work that seeks to demonstrate the components of Armenianness. However, various works touch upon different cultural, political and religious aspects of Armenianness. Even though some works mention national characteristics of Armenians and make generalisations on Armenian identity, other works do not claim to put forward components of Armenianness. Therefore, I highlighted these parameters as components/markers and then put them into a table to show overlapping components and themes. For instance, certain events and themes such as “Descendants of Noah”, “National Church”, and “First Nation Converted to Christianity”, “Armenian Alphabet” or “Armenian Genocide” are emphasised, while boundaries of Armenian ethnicity are discussed in the current literature. These parameters (like the other 95 parameters) can be thought of as short answers and phrases for questions like “Who are the Armenians?” and “What is the essence of Armenian identity?”. It is likely that these questions would have to be rephrased in accordance with studies on nationalism and ethnicity. Although there is no consensus on the definition of ethnic groups, ethnicity or nations, scholars tend to underline a few points. For instance, Smith introduces six points such as a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland' and a sense of solidarity felt by significant sectors of the population when discussing the ethnic origins of their nation.

However, it should be noted that the literature analysis that demonstrates the aforementioned parameters is not simple. It consists of not only obvious parameters/markers, but also some complex parameters that might cause difficulties in understanding the complexities of the reproduction process of Armenianness. “Remain to Anatolia”, “Assimilation”, “Considering Karabagh as a Genocide or not”, or other cultural and political interactions can be an example of complex parameters forcing readers to think about components of “modern” Armenianness in diasporic spaces. As seen from the literature analysis, “Assimilation” is an undeniable component of Armenianness. It is repeated 9 times in the literature analysis. To put it differently, 9 out of 18 works mention the threat of assimilation, and concern and fear associated with that while discussing the Armenian identity in diasporic spaces.

As can be understood from the related literature, assimilation has become a part of Armenian identity in host countries. Not only is there a decreasing population in Armenian communities, but there is also a powerful cultural domination of the host countries, and members of Armenian communities must expend greater effort to maintain their ethnic culture and identities. It could be argued that this isolated Armenianness from the natural flow of the life and turned Armenianness into a special object that must be preserved and kept alive. Tchilingirian states (1996) that Armenianness is not any different than a “pickle”. This metaphor derives from the idea of preserving of food without spoiling. Vegetables such as carrot, cucumber or tomato can be put in the salted water and left for fermentation for a while. Traditionally, pickle can be consumed during the winter period. As known, it is difficult to find fresh and organic vegetables in the Middle East during the winter. In other words, preparing pickle allows consuming summer vegetables in different forms throughout the winter. This analogy reminds that Armenianness can be experienced in different ways at diasporic spaces. While some youngsters want to experience Armenianness in symbolic forms, others may prefer alternative a way of living.

As such, the various alternative interpretations and preferences in these communities force Armenians and diasporic institutions to think about what Armenianness is. The interactions and practices of youngsters are sometimes considered as evidence of assimilation by other members of Armenian communities. This affects the Armenians’ perceptions and interpretations of

Armenianness. For this reason, the threat of assimilation, which is mentioned in a few works, becomes a component of Armenianness. At this point, other parameters and markers which might be irrelevant to Armenian identity should be considered in a similar way. They are also components of Armenianness. Therefore, I have put these parameters and markers into the table and grouped them thematically. The following section will explain these themes.

Before moving onto the details of the literature analysis and coding, I would like to explain an overview about the scales that were included in the literature analysis. Even though we reached 127 scales in total, they are not all put into the chart because some scales are repeated. For this reason, I filtered these scales and, if needed, divided them into sub-parameters that may affect the boundaries of Armenianness. The reason for working with scales initially is to help readers to follow the chart and coding as it is hard to demonstrate all the parameters while explaining the literature above. At this point, the information that the scales provide us should be explained.

To start with, the scale of “origin myths” and “sacred places” are related to the ethnic background of Armenianness. As will be seen in the chart, it consists of sub-parameters such as “Descendants of Noah, Mount of Ararat, Ancient people of the Armenian Highlands” and so on. According to Smith (1987), these are significant parts of the ethnics, and these components are considered as a part of ethnic and national identity almost exclusively. These scales are important not only in increasing collective awareness among Armenian youngsters, but also they are used to show a sense of belonging to a certain territory. These kinds of parameters matter when members of the ethnic group interact with “others” and develop political projections because they need to emphasize their “long duree” and “purity”.

Secondly, the chart consists of a few parameters that are related to religion(s) and Christianity. It is likely to find narratives on how religion matters to Armenians, and has done throughout the centuries. I deconstructed the scale of “converting Christianity and wars”, “national church” and “religious sects” as the following sub-parameters; “The First Nation accepting Christianity”, “Apostolic”, “Protestant”, “Christian”, “Catholic”, “Armenian Christian”, “451 Vartavar War”, and “National church”. According to Barth (1969), nuances can help ethnic groups

to distinguish them from their neighbours and reach the idea of “unique and pure ethnic identity”. For this reason, nuances and differences within the religious scales have been included into the chart separately. In addition, I added “consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture” to show a consolidation of previous beliefs (pagan culture) and Christianity. As will be seen in the works of Ozdogan (and et al, 2009), Abrahamian and Sweezy (2001) and Dink (2003; 2004), converting to a certain religion is not a simple practice. Even though people began to believe and follow the rules of the new religion, it is observed that they cannot abandon their previous belief completely. They might even be able to accommodate previous practices unless they totally clash with the new religion. These sorts of practices that I came across in the literature have been located on the chart separately. These parameters show us the complex features of the religious heritage/components of Armenianness.

Moreover, there are some parameters that have been coded to show perceptions within Armenian communities. “Being minority”, “Being diaspora”, “Crypto Armenians”, “Muslim Armenians” and “Anatolian Armenians” not only show how Armenians perceive themselves, but also give clues as to how boundaries of Armenianness are shaped from these points of view. Arguably, these perceptions have been coded into the collective consciousness. Indeed, the boundaries of Armenianness and also the practices of the youngsters have been affected by these definitions and perceptions. Even though the history of the Armenian people dates back to ancient periods, they were not able to establish their own states for a long time. Continuously, Armenian communities had to live under the hegemony of Turkish, Russian, Persian and Arab populations as a minority or diaspora community. “Being minority” and “being diaspora” lead Armenians to develop different practices and dynamics. For instance, Armenians have to think about how to maintain their ethnic-religious identities in certain spaces. In addition to these parameters, I added a new parameter affecting Armenianness. “Remain in Anatolia” is one of the most important parameters that emerged following the deportation of 1915. It can affect the boundaries of Armenianness and also the practices of Armenians. It should be noted that the deportation broke connections between Armenian communities across geographical space. Afterwards, each community developed specific features and practices. Furthermore, I included some sub-parameters in the chart such as “fear of assimilation” and “idealisation

of homeland”. These are also relevant parameters for their impact on the perceptions of Armenianness.

As seen in the literature analysis, some sources tend to highlight institutional aspects of Armenianness. In order to highlight these components, I used the scale of “institutions-parties church and schools”. Since it is a very broad scale, I created some sub-parameters before putting them into the chart. As shown in the literature through in-depth reading, these institutions have a great impact on the shaping of Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

In the chart, some of the parameters are related to cultural elements such as “Armenian music, art and instruments”. As argued in the literature, these have an influence on the Armenians’ everyday life and it can reproduce Armenianness culturally. In other words, cultural heritage and customs can maintain Armenianness in diasporic spaces. For instance, the sound of the *duduk* (a kind of clarion) or a folk dance reminds youngsters of who they are. Furthermore, I expanded the scale of “festival, feasts and social gathering” which are considered as carriers of the cultural and ethnic identity. Also, they can be seen as examples of “consolidation of Christianity and pagan culture”. Accordingly, I included all festivals, feasts and social gatherings such as Amanor (Armenian New Year), Surp Zadik (Easter) and Vartanants (Anniversary of the battle against Persian 451 AD).

Finally, I included a few events and tragedies in the literature analysis. These tragedies are sometimes considered as parts of the phenomenon of Armenianness in several works. “Armenian Genocide”, “Assimilation”, “Death of Hrant Dink”, “Turkish Nationalism (Turkification) and the “Lebanese Civil War” are located in the chart as parameters.

In order for it to be more easily followed, I rephrased some parameters and located all of them onto the chart vertically. Afterwards, I introduced another row to group parameters in accordance with the themes. I labelled parameters as Historical/Ethnic symbols, Definitions/Categorisations, X, Armenian Heritage, Diasporic Institutions and Cultural/Religious festival. Additionally, I sorted the authors and their works horizontally. Moreover, I categorised each author and his/her work in publishing format and academic discipline. The table showing the literature analysis is as follows:

Furthermore, I coded all the parameters and authors by using the indicator “1” and “0” to demonstrate present/absent relations, as well as two different colours were used to show present/absent relations. All authors and parameters are highlighted “1” and “green”, while “0” and “red” are used to indicate absence. It should be underlined that this table demonstrates two important things. Firstly, it shows the scope of the literature analysis. As already stated, 18 works were used to determine parameters of Armenianness. This prevents us from making gross generalisations about Armenianness. The literature analysis table also serves as a reminder that the present research project benefits the current literature about Armenian identity and culture in understanding the parameters of Armenianness. It further helps us to observe overlapping patterns and themes in the literature.

Even though this table provides extensive information about overlapping patterns, themes and parameters of Armenian identity, it does not say anything about how these components are interpreted among youngsters in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. Rather, it provides a static definition of what Armenianness is in the literature. This is also called a top-down point of view and does not help in discerning the various forms of Armenianness.

Differently from the literature analysis dataset (LAD), new data sets and charts not only consist of original parameters that were derived from the fieldwork and in-depth interviews, but also combined the parameters that were repeated in the literature analysis. These new data sets from Turkey, Lebanon and Britain are established as TD, LD and BD respectively. As a result of the dynamics of each case, the numbers of parameters are not standardised. For instance, political affiliations and membership can be assumed as markers of Armenianness, although it is only emphasised among Lebanese Armenians. This tells us a simple message, which is that the practices of Armenian youngsters are different due to “time and space” relations. As a result of this, it could be assumed that components and meanings of Armenianness vary.

3.3.2. The Concept of “Family Resemblance” and The Method of ANCO-HITS

The concept of family resemblance is one of the Wittgenstein’s key concepts (Fox, 2014). It helps researchers to solve conceptualisation problems in social sciences. As Githens-Mazer (2012) states, this family resemblance approach can

provide accreditation and confirmation for qualitative researchers who collect data through ethnography and observation. According to him, “[family resemblance]...it made possible by the ANCO-HITS algorithm allows for the retroductive interaction between hypothesis, observation and systematic engagement with qualitative data.” (2012:20). Moreover, Wittgenstein’s approach to reality and the world affects social constructionism as well as post-structuralism. It is possible to find his influence on these approaches. Philosophically speaking, Wittgenstein sought to solve the problem of how words get their meanings. He mainly wrote about the use of language and its aspects. In his well known book “Philosophical Investigations”, he attacked the traditional view of knowing the meaning of words as they are formed in one’s mind, and also his own previous thoughts that were claimed in *Tractatus Logico* (<http://www.philosophy-index.com/wittgenstein/family-resemblance/>, 2015).

Traditionally, it is believed that there is an essence of the language. The essence is common to all languages and philosophers should account for it. He was clearly against the idea of “essence of language”. Instead, he argued that words do not have a single essence that encompasses their definitions. In order to prove his proposition and show a lack of essence, he gave the example of “games”. As is known, all types of games (card games, ball games, backgammon, and chess) are called games even though each one has similar as well as different rules, aims and forms. These similarities and differences are crucial. According to Wittgenstein, common elements, which might be observed or assumed, are not reasons for calling them games. Rather, similarities, differences and relations give meanings to words. Instead of producing meanings common to all, someone should focus on a network of similarities and differences. This network is very complicated, and his suggestion is that any search for the essence of language is bound to run into difficulties and that it would be unnecessary. In addition, family resemblance shows a lack of boundaries and distance from exactness that characterizes different uses of the same meanings/concepts.

The above lead me to think about some controversial concepts such as ethnicity, nationality or religiosity in the family resemblance approach. As discussed in the first chapter, these concepts are generally are considered holistic identities. Different practices and experiences that are introduced by members are mostly ignored. Although people have different interpretations, backgrounds, practices

and experiences, it is assumed that they share the same identity. However, the family resemblance approach allows us to see different forms of identities since it does not seek to emphasize commonalities and make definitions.

In the scope of the research project, each participant sees themselves as Armenian in different degrees. Even though their practices, attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and interactions are different, they are assumed to be members of the same ethnic group. This creates a methodological necessity to observe Armenianness in only positive values. If Armenianness is considered as a value, it must be observed on the X axis. As can be seen from the graph, Armenianness, which is constructed by the participants' statements, can be visible in either area A_1 or A_2 . Other areas of the graph, namely A_3 and A_4 , demonstrate states of "not being Armenian", so it cannot be considered within the scope of the research project. Participants who are placed into these two areas do not define themselves as Armenian, so they are out of the scope of the research. Putting it differently, A_1 and A_2 are the main fields that provide different types of Armenianness in accordance with the notion of family resemblance.

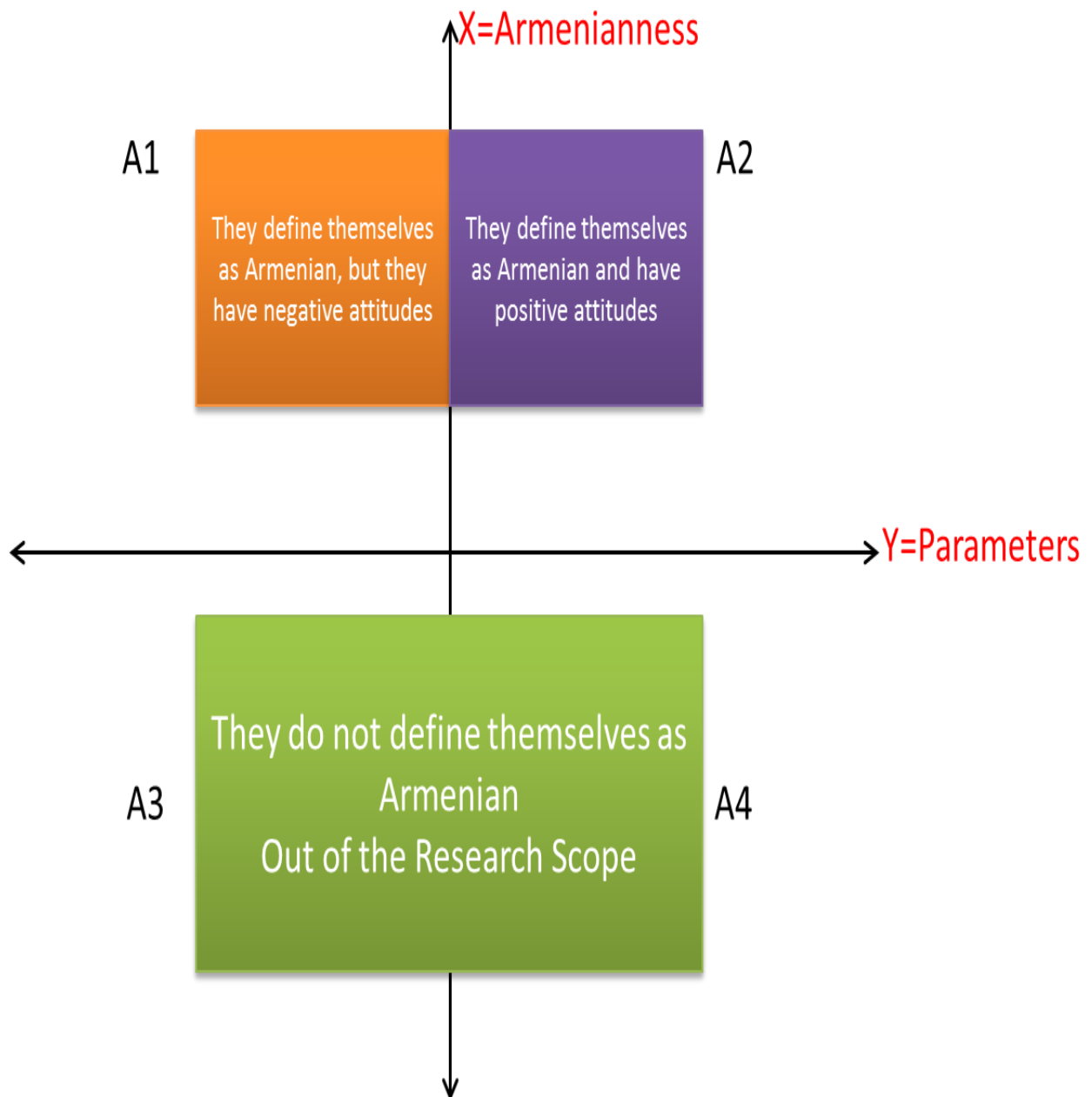


Figure 3: Armenianness on the matrix

The following statements; **“I am Armenian”, “I define myself as Armenian”, “I am religious and also Armenian nationalist”, “I am ethnically Armenian”, “Armenian identity is pure”, “My ancestors were Armenian, I am quarter Armenian” or “Being Armenian for me only cultural heritage”**, helped me to place participants on the X axis. The negative side of the graph demonstrates the participant not feeling Armenianness, so those participants do not define themselves as Armenian. They do not share any of the values of Armenianness.

The Y axis contains other variables and parameters. Depending on the participants' attitudes and key phrases which were emphasized in the in-depth interviews, the variables on the Y axis fluctuated between “-2” and “+2”. In order to identify Armenianness by using keywords, one option can be a non-linguistic technique that was preferred by Tikves (et al, 2012) in scaling radicalisation. However, I prefer to use a keyword extraction method. Firstly, I listened to and transcribed each tape, and I avoided translating the transcripts to English straightaway (those that needed translation) in order to prevent any semantic shift as I was doing the keyword selection manually. Therefore, I read and examined each transcript, particularly those in English and Turkish, and throughout the reading process attitudes, beliefs and practices keywords that are considered to belong to cues of Armenianness were manually identified. These are utilised as variables seen in the horizontal line. In addition, I paid attention to a few key words such as **“totally”, “absolutely”, “no chance”, “might be”, “but”, “no problem” ,”I don’t care”, “hate”, “like”, “proud of”, “us”, “them”, “we” and so on**. These were used to score the participants' attitudes towards certain situations. There is no doubt that my fieldwork notes (research diary, photos and informal chats) and also participant observations helped me not only to score the participants' attitudes, but also to identify keywords. All parameters were scored in the range of “-2” and “+2” to demonstrate the strength of their presence, their absence or strength of the relative objection to this variable as being associated with Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

Afterwards, I created three different tables through the data sets called TD, LD and BD which will be used while describing how Armenianness is reproduced in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain respectively. Depending on the features of the Armenian community in those countries, the numbers of parameters are flexible. For instance, the dataset of the Turkish case consists of 94 parameters, whereas

the Lebanese and British datasets have 108 and 95 respectively. Moreover, each dataset consists of fifteen participants.

Later on, the matrix of ANCO-HITS was run for each dataset and acquired two groups of scores that fluctuated between -1 and +1. The first group demonstrated the positions of participants within the sample vertically. They will be interpreted as poles within the sample. On the other hand, the second group refers to what extent parameters are shared within the sample. Putting it differently, they will be fault lines among participants, and later in the project they will be seen as patterns and outlines of the Armenianness as a patchworks. It should be pointed out that these scores are “normalised results” and distinguish ANCO-HITS from CO-HITS (Gokalp et al, 2013).

After the calculation, the data set evaluations are as follows:

Even though the method of ANCO-HITS has a simple premise, it should be noted that all these numbers, mathematical formulae or equations seem to be confusing and so technical for most social scientists who are accustomed to working with much more traditional methods. Therefore, some explanation is required.

Originally, the method of ANCO-HITS as a part of the Minerva project in Arizona, which was used to measure polarisation and radicalisation among Muslim communities. It can classify subjects on a spectrum and therefore, by using it, we can reach systematic classifications about individuals and organisations in terms of radical-counter radical and liberal-conservative views, and so on. Working with only two variables makes working out extremes a simple process. However, Githens-Mazer (2012) argues that ANCO-HITS is a highly promising method that has not been fully discovered or appreciated yet in the social sciences. There is no doubt that it provides a significant contribution in increasing our understanding of complex issues such as identity in diasporic spaces. According to Githens-Mazer (2012), this method provides visual indicators of family resemblance. As discussed above, observation is more important than defining something in the context of family resemblance.

In this vein, it could be argued that ANCO-HITS presents an opportunity to observe a network of similarities and differences in the reproduction process of Armenianness. The method of ANCO-HITS not only helps polarised political debates to be understood, but it also contributes to our understanding of networks and relations among different models. It should be pointed out that ANCO-HITS is one of the purely statistical methods. According to Gokalp (2013) it adopts principles of CO-HITS, providing one score for each vertex. In addition to this, ANCO-HITS has extended normalisation steps to overcome the deficiencies of CO-HITS. Thus, it can be useful to find appropriate answers for the research questions named above. In terms of family resemblance, the ANCO-HITS analysis allows us to see networks of similarities and differences systematically while participants are practicing their Armenianness. As a result of this, one may observe common tendencies and dominant interpretations within each of the communities.

Before concluding this section, an example should be explained that demonstrates the benefits of the process of coding and analysing. Parameters

relating to mixed marriages and relationships provide obvious examples. A parameters of mix marriage with non-Christians can be seen a simple example which demonstrates exactly how the analysis method works and acquires scores. According to the ANCO-HITS matrix in the Lebanese case, the columns of CA, CB and CC shows the attitudes of participants towards mixed marriages with non-Christians.²⁵ To start with, the values of “-2” and “+2” are the most obvious scores. These values are straightforward and show two polar differences. Simply, the value of “-2” refers to negative point of views towards mixed marriages with non-Christians while “+2” is used to code positive attitudes. The following phrases and statements, which were derived from the in-depth interviews, helped the coding process to determine if they were negative or positive;

“I am against mixed marriages”, “I absolutely won’t get married to a non-Armenian”, “I can’t imagine a non-Armenian bride” or “I do not talk to my sister/friends if they get married to a non-Armenian”.

Similarly on the opposite end of the polarisation on this topic;

“Yeah, I can get married to a non-Armenian”, “I don’t mind”, “it is a destiny” or “no problem at all, I may prefer to get married to a non-Armenian”

These explanations are highly strong sentiments and provide two distinct ways of interpreting Armenianness. It is possible to produce some arguments just by examining these statements. For instance, Armenianness is experienced in more conservative forms by those who are coded as “-2”. For them, Armenianness is considered as something that must be preserved from any kind of social and cultural changing. For this reason, mixed marriages are seen as a way of assimilation and jeopardising the “pure Armenian identity”. Conversely, the opposite may be said to be true for those statements and arguments that were coded as “+2”. There is no doubt that these points of view are found in different locations of the Armenian patchwork.

Moreover, there are alternative thoughts and interpretations between these two poles. The values of “-1”, “0” and “+1” are used to describe alternative forms.

²⁵ CA: Having non-Armenian boy/girl friends
CB: Considering mixed marriage with Christians
CC: Considering mix marriage with non-Christians

However, they are far away from the extremes of the poles. Putting it differently, participants who are coded as “-1” or “+1” offer more tolerant and softer statements. For instance, “-1” still refers to someone being against mixed marriages, but they are different from those who code “-2”, as they tend to justify their attitudes through rationalisations so as not to construct fanatic/extreme forms of Armenianness. Those participants generally used following phrases:

“Personally, I wouldn’t get married to non-Armenians”, “due to family reasons, I wouldn’t get married to non-Armenians”, “if I get married to a non-Armenian man, my family would disown me”, “it may cause problems if I married a non-Armenian” or “I don’t mind if someone love and gets married to a non-Armenian, but I wouldn’t as we are a minority. If everyone gets married, we would be assimilated”.

As demonstrated, mixed marriages are not preferred at an individual level, but they do not tend to extend their ideas or expectations over the entire community. It could be argued that such generalisations and also the phenomenon of talking on behalf of the members of the community are limited. There is room for advocates of mixed marriages.

Furthermore, participants who were ranked as “+1” provided different points of view. The following statements were used for coding:

“I may get married to a non-Armenian woman”, “my first preference is to be with an Armenian of course, but I don’t know, maybe a non-Armenian will also be an option”, “my family may not be happy; however, it is life. In the end they will accept it”, or “I could be a part of a mixed marriage. I am not against it, but he must share my Christian culture”.

As can be seen, these statements are completely different than the values of “-2” and “-1”, whereas they differ slightly from the value of “+2”. Participants have some hesitations before being opponents or supporters entirely.

In addition to these two values, “0” is used to scale participants who seem to be neutral. In order to be scaled as “0”, participants generally answer evasively or do not mention anything specifically. As Gokalp (2013) states, a value of “0” does

not impact on the overall scores. The method of ANCO-HITS does not count any cells consisting of “0” into the calculation. The following statements help to decide if participants are neutral or not:

“I don’t know”, “it depends”, “might be” or “who knows”

As previously stated, ANCO-HITS provides scores after the coding. The actual score of the parameter (mixed marriages with non-Christians) is calculated as -0.96. This actually tells us that attitudes of participants towards mixed marriages with non-Christians are highly negative and it is not a usual practice in the Lebanese sample. As a promising method, ANCO-HITS allows us to see relationship between participants, between parameters and between parameters and participants.

3.4. Methodological Caveats and Limitations

In terms of methodological caveats and limitations, this research project has a few. The first limitation might be the sample size. Some, quantitative researchers in the main, may assert that data should be collected from a significantly larger group of participants in order to overcome the issues of validity and reliability. However, this approach is not efficient or useful considering the scope of the research project and its aims. It is difficult to talk to every single Armenian in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain since I mainly focus on meanings of Armenianness and interpretations of its components in everyday life. For this reason, I believe that working with a small sample is a rational choice to achieve the goals and aims that were put forward in the previous section.

Secondly, the duration of the fieldworks themselves can be considered as a limitation. As explained in the previous section, I spent four months in each case conducting in-depth interviews and participant observations. For pure ethnographers and anthropologists, four months of fieldwork might be seen as a short and limited time. However, spending four months at each site is highly reasonable for comparative studies. As can be understood from the scope of the research project, it does not seek to focus on a single case. Instead, it tries to understand the reproduction of Armenianness in three diasporic spaces. Therefore, it is considered that four months is a reasonable time allotted for each of the fieldworks, in addition to financial constraints.

Finally, prejudices and negative attitudes are another limitation affecting relations and interactions between me (as a researcher) and the participants. For as long as I was in the field, I realised that communication would not be easy. By first impressions, Armenians (as *Gemeinschaft*) live in very closed communities even though they are able to integrate themselves into host countries. They do not tend to absorb non-Armenians easily. This tendency and conservative character of the Armenian communities affects their everyday life routine. Ethnic and religious differences still determine borders and boundaries between Armenians and others. These differences somehow force Armenians to be timid and deliberate when talking about their ethnicity. Throughout the pilot study, one of the participants in Istanbul stated that talking with Armenians on political issues was highly difficult even if you were Armenian. She suggested that I had to establish mutual trust with the participants before starting the interviews. Especially in Lebanon, I had to explain why I wanted to conduct research about Armenians or why I came to Lebanon. Political and historical issues between Armenians and Turks affected the interactions and, according to some participants, I was not only foreigner, but I was also perceived as an “enemy” or a “spy”. Unfortunately, some participants who have strong political associations did not hesitate to show their feelings of hostility. Tensions and problems among the political actors affect perceptions amongst Armenian youngsters too and it makes establishing rapport difficult, especially with some participants. Most of the students in Lebanon had not met any Turks before, and their knowledge and perceptions of Turks and Turkey came from social clubs supported by political parties, social memories transmitted from previous generations or highly ideological information sustained by diasporic institutions. Therefore, during the first days of fieldwork, especially in Lebanon, they did not want to interact with me and did not allow me to access their social groups. However, later on I was able to rely on references and my contacts to be able to convince them to join my interviews.

In addition to the limitations above, there are a few technical concerns about ANCO-HITS. As I have already mentioned, this method has only recently been applied in the social sciences. To the best of my knowledge, there are not any works addressing criticisms of ANCO-HITS in the literature. Even though it is used by several academics in different projects, it is hard to argue that the method of ANCO-HITS proves itself as entirely accurate. Indeed, it is open to any kind of

challenge and its weakness can only be remedied through new research projects in different disciplines. Therefore, I would like to share two criticisms of ANCO-HITS that I experienced while analysing my own data. The first is related to the working principles of ANCO-HITS. As stated earlier, a value of “0” does not have any impact. If columns are formulated as a list of “0” score - from the first to the last participant - its value would be automatically “0”. This may not reflect the score of neither the parameters nor the scores of participants. However, if one of the cells is coded as “-2” while the rest of them remain as “0”, this creates some problems and misunderstandings, skewing the data which should be neutral into displaying a negative trend. I think that this is one of the aspects of ANCO-HITS that need to be addressed in further research.

Secondly, the success of ANCO-HITS and receiving concrete results depends on the researchers’ performance and relation with the data sets. Unfortunately, coding and establishing parameters are done manually. This gives enormous, unquantifiable flexibility for researchers and for this reason, researchers can establish numerous parameters and use different rankings with the same data sets. This will then create different scores. At this point, it is not known how the scores of the parameters as well as the participants might change if data sets consisted of even more parameters and participants. This experimental feature of ANCO-HITS forces researchers to work with smaller samples. It is hard to work with large samples, especially in PhD projects that are sponsored for a limited time, since it works manually. In this vein, the method of ANCO-HITS seems to be time-consuming even though it makes significant contributions to the social sciences.

The final concern about the method of ANCO-HITS could be its interface. It is impossible to find a user-friendly interface and guideline since it has not been publicised properly. As cited above, there are complex statistical and mathematical formulae behind ANCO-HITS. Since I have been educated as a pure qualitative researcher coming from an international relations background, I had some difficulties in understanding its statistical formulae. Even if users wanted to modify these formulae, they are unable to change it because Microsoft Excel does not allow for modifications. ANCO-HITS comes as a template which is embodied in Microsoft Excel and thus it might benefit in the future of having a more user-friendly interface.

4. Chapter Four: Armenians in the History

This chapter will discuss the historical construction of Armenianness and the development of Armenian communities in diaspora. The discussion starts with earlier Armenian establishments which sometimes touches upon mythology. Throughout this summary of the historical background, cultural components which have been derived from earlier “Armenian establishments” will be mentioned. This will help us to understand the history of Armenianness in the form of fiction. Secondly, the historical legacies of the Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain will be summarised. After the deportation of Armenians in 1915, each community gained unique features and began to distinguish from each other. This section allows us to see key features, institutions and patterns within the communities in terms of similarities and differences.

4.1. Introduction

Tayfun: “...Let’s talk about Armenian history? How can you summarise it?”

Participant M: “hmm, how can I? To be honest, I like history, but I can’t explain well. If you want, I can bring you a few books for you.”

Tayfun: “...no thanks, I am not asking that. Who are Armenians? What do you know?”

Participant M: Oh, I see. Armenians are children of this land too. They have been living in this territory, I mean in Anatolia, for maybe 2000 years. Even before Turks and Kurds. Well, it is a long history. Noah, flooding, etc. For instance, Armenians were the first Christians. We are an ancient nation...”²⁶²⁷

Participant M’s short explanation is a good starting point for how Armenianness has been shaped and retold among the youngsters. Within the postmodern theory of history,²⁸ his short explanation can be considered lines from the fiction about

²⁶ Beyazit, Istanbul (2011).

²⁷ It should be pointed out that participant M was not the only interviewee who tends to start Armenian past from origins theories. Participants in Lebanon mentioned similar aspects. They basically repeated each other. Indeed, some participants told me what they wanted (how Armenians have a deep history, how they established powerful kingdoms etc.) instead of waiting for me to finish my question.

²⁸ The postmodern theory of history could be defined as history of what human beings as ‘a mean maker’ make of it. It is believed that historical facts are inaccessible. The traditional approach to history holds that by sifting through the evidence at hand (texts, artifacts, etc.), we are able to understand past events and their significance. In this view, not all descriptions of history are equally valid. In contrast to the postmodern approach, there is doubt that telling of the past is possible as they assume that there is a blur between fact and fiction, even as some claim that all historical accounts are fiction (Butler, 2002:32-36). As Foucault (1980: 193) argues “... one ‘fictions’ history on the basis of a political reality that makes it true, one ‘fictions’ a politics not yet in existence on the basis of a historical truth”.

the Armenians' past. On the one hand, his explanation consists of an ambiguous past that is flavoured with genesis myths and ethnic stories referring to a uniqueness of history. On the other hand, it signifies that Armenians are subjects of history like other people. Therefore, his short answer invites us to examine the history of Armenians that should be considered as constructed texts deriving from biases, interpretations and thoughts on certain events that have already passed.

Before moving on to analyse the reproduction of Armenianness in diasporic spaces, it is important to focus on perceptions and interpretations of 'history' that are shared and told among members of the Armenian community. Reading history from an Armenian point of view allows us to see the historical reservoir that helps the construction of Armenianness in diasporic spaces.

This chapter consists of two sections. In the first section, I will summarise how the past is retold by referring to the 'Armenian ethnies' since the pre-historic era. As argued by the ethno-symbolists, starting from the pre-historic era is a necessity because modern nations are based on pre-modern ethnic components, so the pre-modern era provides significant data such as genesis myths, symbols, traditions and heroes to understand cultural aspects of nationalism and national identity. Thus, I will first start with genesis myths and the definition of the Armenian homeland, and then I will summarise the written histories of the Armenians until their deportation in 1915. It is likely for readers to come across different narratives and versions of specific events, but I will not be discussing these different versions and their accuracy. Instead, these differences are considered narratives showing perceptions and interpretations of the history of the Armenians.

In the second section, I will introduce the Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. After the tragedy of 1915, Armenian communities in diasporic spaces have developed in different ways. Historical developments and transformations of Armenian communities will be discussed, and the differences and similarities will be highlighted in each case. Furthermore, I will document the current situation of each community in the sense of social, political and economic parameters. This section not only allows us to understand the background of Armenianness that is reproduced by youngsters, but also makes a contribution to the literature on the Armenian diaspora.

4.1.1. From the Beginning

As Armstrong (1996) cites, the Armenians are one of the few ethno-religious groups that have a perception about ancient history. This perception provides them with a uniqueness and also keeps alive a collective awareness and solidarity. Having discussed this in the first chapter, each ethnic group and nation needs to emphasize origin myths and stories in order to legitimise their existence in a specific homeland and bring about a kind of sacredness to ethno-religious identities. Putting it differently, these myths and stories not only explain who the Armenians are, but also show how they differ from their neighbours.

In this respect, Armenians are considered as belonging to the Eastern civilisations, and have lived for a long time in the territory that is described as that which “forms the highest western rampart of the tectonically active mountain system stretching from the Balkans to the Himalayas, is divided into mountain ranges that run mostly on an east-west line, with the Taurus and anti-Taurus rising over Syria and Cilicia to the south, towards the Mediterranean, and the Pontic range Armenia and the Black Sea to the north” (Russell, 2005: 23). By looking at the current literature, it is assumed that this geography is not ordinary territory, and is also called the Armenian Highlands.

In the current literature, it is possible to come across several theories about the origins of Armenians. At first glance, one may realise that the narrative of the clergy is dominant. This is an important indicator showing how origin theories are flavoured by religious themes, and introduce sacredness. ***The History of the Armenians, A History of the Armenian People, Armenia: Cradle of Civilization and the Prehistory of the Armenian People***, are accepted as prominent works trying to explain the origins of Armenians. Afterward, the literature was later enriched by linguistic and archaeological findings.

An extensive literature about the origins of Armenians can be likely categorised under four theories, namely, “Armenians as descendants of Noah”, “Armenians as a people from the Balkans”, “Armenians as remnants of Khayashan” and “Armenians as indigenous habitants of the Armenian Highland”. Though each theory has different assumptions, all emphasise that the modern Armenian identity is constructed across “la longue durée”. These myths and stories strengthen bonds between territory and Armenians even if similar stories are

shared other ethnic groups with minor differences. No matter which theory is true, it could be argued that these myths and stories are frequently remembered whenever contemporary Armenians define themselves and drawing the boundaries of Armenianness. Therefore, they are considered as components of Armenianness and are located in the data chart.

One of the traditional views assumes that the Armenians are descended from Noah, who survived the Great Flood. This legend is one of the most well-known stories among religious texts in the Middle East. In the short version of this story, God commands Noah to build an ark for the believers and a male and female pair of each animal. Afterwards, God destroyed the tribes of Sodom and Gomorrah with the Great Flood, and the believers were saved on Noah's Ark. Their journey lasted for forty days and forty nights and then the Ark was grounded on land that is believed to be Mount Ararat, also known as Mount Agri or Cudi. As many believe, humanity is derived from Noah's descendants. In order to explain the origins of those Armenians living in the highlands, earlier clergymen and historians used this legend. From this point of view, Armenians did not settle down immediately in the Armenian Highland as, when the boat was grounded, the Armenians migrated to the south after a few generations, but they went back to Armenian plateau under the leadership of Hayk due to the pressure of tyrants (Bournoutian, 1994:20; Soutanian, 2003). According to this myth, Armenians came from the descendants of Japhets, who was the youngest son of Noah. In order to strengthen this story, traditional scholars emphasise the relation between the words of "hai" and "Hayk". Hai in Armenian language refers to the Armenian people and they believe that it derives from Hayk (Russell, 2005: 30), a name of Noah even though Soutanian (2003:15) says that there are contradictions in names. It should be noted that these kinds of contradictions do not concern the Armenian masses, as most of the time members of Armenian communities have strong faith about their origins.

In addition to this traditional view, latter scholars developed alternative or complementary theories by following Khorenatsi's book. Briefly, this view assumes that Armenians are migrants from the Balkans. Armenians came to Anatolia from Thrace and had relations with the Phrygians according to Herodotus's writings in the 5th century (Bournoutian, 1994). For Herodotus, Armenians were a part of the Phrygian colonies, yet Soutanian (2003:16) argues

that Armenians were called as Paeonians when they entered to Anatolia. According to Soultanian (2003), the reason for this migration was the Trojan War. Armenians were one of the people who joined Agamemnon's army and came to besiege Troy. Initially, they settled down in the western part of modern Turkey but afterwards they gradually moved east to the Armenian plateau. Additionally, another Greek writer, Strabo, noted that Armenians came to the Armenian plateau in two ways. The first branch crossed Phrygian territories while another branch came from the Zagros Mountains and Mesopotamia (Bournoutian, 1994:19-20). As Soultanian (2003) cites, this point of view was repeated in almost all history books until the Second World War. The migration thesis mostly derives from observations and findings of Greek scholars. Hence, as Bournoutian (1994) states, this migration thesis is sometimes known as the Greek version.

It is possible to find an alternative theory emphasizing relations between Armenians and ancient ethnic groups such as Khayashan, Hurrian and Urumean (Soultanian, 2003:18-21). This view became popular after studies of the Hittites had increased in the 1950s. From then on, Armenians were considered as one of the neighbours of the Hittites called Azzi Khayashan. According to Soultanian;

“People of the disintegrated kingdom of Khayasha migrated south in the guise of the Urumean people to Shubria, where intermingling with the indigenous population and the Mushki, one of the Sea People's conglomerates, they evolved to nationhood speaking a Thraco-Phrygian dialect” (2003: 18).

Scholars have tried to collect everything about the Kingdom of Khayasha related to the Armenians. As Soultanian (2003) states, the word 'Khay' meant those inhabitants of the Khayashan territory. Linguists believe that the word “Hay” (referring to Armenians) and Khay are similar. This holds particular weight, as people using dialects around Van in the eastern Turkish hinterlands pronounce the sound of 'h' as 'kh'. For this reason, it is assumed that the Khay people might be the ancestors of the Armenians even though the theory does not have other evidence supporting the connection and continuity.

The last theory sees Armenians as indigenous people of the highlands, and this theory has been popular for four decades. It is based on the assumption that there is a continuity between the modern Armenian nation and previous

indigenous people. Scholars who are advocates of this theory argue that the history of the Armenians dates back to the 5th Century BC (Russell, 2005: 26). Nevertheless, some nationalists disagree with Russell and they tend to begin Armenian history from the 6th millennium, and they believe that the Armenian language was spoken since then (Penossian, 2006:33-34).

4.1.2. Early History

In addition to the pre-historic past, there are a few narratives about how the Armenians were hegemon political actors in the Armenian Homeland until the 15th Century. Differently from the pre-historic past, this literature is relatively more concrete. It is supported by written sources (stories and early history books) and archaeological findings. More importantly, narratives about kingdoms are consumed in different ways among members of the diaspora. It is likely for observers to be able to note flags, maps, paintings and souvenirs that remind Armenians of their ethnic histories and homelands. Therefore, narratives about kingdoms are perceived within the context of a 'golden age'.

Before Christianity, it is hard to note any long-lasting Armenian kingdoms or political entities. The dynasties of Yervanduni and Artaxiad were believed to be Armenian kingdoms, but they could not resist the attacks of the Persians and did not last. Thus, the Armenians were not able to establish their political power until the collapse of the Persian Empire (in 330 BC). Afterwards, Armenians began to live in the various Hellenic empires as autonomous cantons (Zekiyan, 2005). The Kingdom of Artaxiad was one of those political entities, which enlarged its borders from Yerevan to Diyarbekir in modern Turkey. However, this small kingdom was not able to resist the attacks of the Roman Empire and disappeared in the first century. The reason for mentioning these kingdoms in the history books is to strengthen the perception of homeland and to remind youngsters where they came from. For this reason, political projects that have been put forward by nationalists can find an audience among Armenians.

Among these small kingdoms, the Arsacid Kingdom was relatively long-lasting. More importantly, it made various contributions to Armenian ethnicity. For instance, Christianity was declared as its official religion by Dtrud III in 301 after he followed Surp Krikor Lusavoric's thoughts. This affected the Armenian ethnicity deeply. Firstly, it allowed the Armenians to have their own national

church that differed from their neighbours. Secondly, it provided an additional identity. Since then, people defined themselves not only as Armenians, but also descendants of the parish fighters who fought to protect their Christian religion against infidels. Arguably, the Arsacid era was sort of a watershed period. Over time, they melted their pagan culture and previous folk rituals, traditions and beliefs (Zekiyan, 2005). For instance, Petrosyan (2001) and Ozdogan (et. al, 2009:49-52) provide several examples such as the story of cross-stone, or feasts and festivals showing how this transformation was accomplished. There is no doubt that both Christianity and pagan traditions helped Armenians to preserve their identities, and they also provided them with a different motivation to resist assimilation and pressures. In addition to Christianity, Armenians began to use a unique alphabet for their language in the 5th Century.

After the collapse of the Arsacid dynasty due to Sassanid Persian attacks, Armenians suffered from political turbulence until the 9th Century AD, when the Bandarit and Artzruni dynasties gained semi-autonomous power. While the Bandarit controlled the modern region of Armenia, the Artzruni had power over Lake Van. Some outstanding art pieces, literature and architecture were produced during the Bandarit era, and the Akhtamar in the district of Van and Ani city can be given as examples (Ozdogan et al., 2009:43-44; Zekiyan, 2005:43). The Armenian Highlands were controlled by different empires, such as Sassanid, Seljuk and Ottomans, because of its strategic and geopolitical importance.

As is known, the Armenian Highland was located at the junction of trade roads such as the silk trade and spice trade. These roads start from in deeper of the Central Asia and India to the Europe. For this reason, the region became a cradle of conflict. The geostrategic importance of the Armenian Highland forced the Armenian people to live under various other powers and to interact with different cultures. This was assured once they lost their political power in the 15th Century (Walker, 1991:19). Early Armenian history can be read as a resistance to assimilation. For instance, Armenians have not established any political entity in the Armenian Highland (in the eastern part of Turkey) since the Turks won the battles of Dandanakan (1040) and Malazgirt (1071). These wars not only opened the gates of Anatolia to the Turks, but also consolidated the domination of the Turks. Prior to this, a few Armenian colonies came together and established another kingdom in Cilicia.

The Cilician Armenians were able to sustain their political existence by allying with the Crusaders and Mongols until the 13th century. On the one hand, Armenians supported the Crusades, and on the other they were able to manage complex local politics and enhanced their territory towards Aleppo and Jerusalem (Zekiyan: 6). As a result of Mongols converting to Islam after the 13th Century, and reducing support for the Crusades, the Cilician Kingdom could not keep its power and was destroyed by Memluks in 1375 (Hovanessian, 1967: 4). From then onwards, Armenians started living under the hegemony of Turkic Empires until the 20th Century.

According to Dodolyan (2012), the Armenian people had significant contributions and interacted at different levels with the medieval age Islamic world. The Ottoman Empire can be the best example of showing the contributions of Armenians. Their economic, political and cultural contributions can be observed clearly since the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. This included diplomatic posts in the Ottoman Empire (Sander, 1993; Soykan, 1999), and by producing significant works in music, art and theatre (Ozdogan et al., 2009).

4.1.3. The Ottoman Empire and Its legacy

Undoubtedly, the influence of the Ottoman Empire on the perception of Armenians about their history is stronger than the effects of the Armenians' long and ambiguous past in the pre-historic and medieval era. The Ottoman Empire and the Armenians' experiences can be considered as a legacy emerging out of contemporary Armenian communities. It could be argued that social memories, perceptions and beliefs continue to affect not only young members of Armenian communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain, but also Turkish people too. Therefore, the Armenians' history of the Ottoman Empire should be explained.

Due to the multi ethnic and religious society of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans adopted the "millet system" to manage relations within the society. It is a "sue generic model" seeking to manage subjects by referring social and religious problems of a community to their own principles and worldviews, rather than compelling everyone to follow the Islamic tradition. According to Lewis (1996:32), the millet system was a consolidation of Islamic law and traditions because traditions have often been more effective than Sharia rules to manage the system unless traditions clashed with the Quran and Sunnet, or the traditions of the

Prophet Muhammed. As Ortayli (1995) argues, the millet system was built by referring to religious compartments. Each compartment, be it Muslim, Jew or Christian, had its own set of rules, rights and responsibilities, so the conflicts among compartments were nearly absent unless they were politicised and were perceived as threats to power.

The Armenian community were largely the same as other non-Muslim populations (as some Armenians had embraced Islam). Armenians were represented by their own ethno-national church (Apostolic), and the head of the Apostolic Church was also accepted as the official representative of the Armenian “nation” until the 19th Century. Later on, the Catholic and Protestant churches were accepted by the Ottoman administration. All subjects in the millet system were divided into two overarching categories, namely Muslim and non-Muslim. While the Muslim population was assumed as being united, the non-Muslim subjects were recognised as Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Jewish (Turkone, 1995). These were seen as ethno-religious communities, having different cultural components (such as language, religion, cultural ceremonies and ethnic history). The visibility of ethno-religious communities affected the mundane habits of everyday life. For instance, members of each community went to their ‘national’ religious centres, wore different clothes in public and occupied different quarters of the Ottoman Empire. However, they did not hesitate to interact with each other in everyday life. As a result of living together, language, sayings, expressions and cultural ceremonies were exchanged and each subject started to resemble each other.

However, a religious distinction maintained its importance and shaped not only people’s worldviews but also their social systems. Their religious preferences affected social status, rights and responsibilities deeply. The distinction between Dar ul-Islam, where the territory is controlled by Muslim rulers, and Dar ul-Harb, where wars were expected to occur, was a core of the millet system. According to the principles of Dar ul-Islam, non-Muslim populations were recognised as being either ‘people of the book’ (Ehl-I Kitab) and ‘non-people of the book’ (non-Ehl-I Kitab). Each population had different social rights, responsibilities and opportunities. While non-ehl-I kitab in Dar ul-Islam had to choose between converting to Islam or death, members of ehl-I kitab could either choose Islam, accept the authority of the state or death (Lewis, 1996: 20). At this point, it should

be pointed out that these rules were not applied strictly and always found alternative implications. For instance, Omar bin al-Khattab and other Caliphs would have slaughtered Zoroastrian Persians and other fire worshippers. Once non-Muslims accept the authority of the state, they have to give a poll tax (jizya) and harac. The harac tax was calculated based on the amount of the production of a farm or the base price of the field, whereas jizya was collected for each individual (Ortayli, 1996:70). These taxes allowed non-Muslim people to get the status of 'dhimmi' and became members of the millet system, so they could benefit from the rights and shared responsibilities. For instance, they were not forced to choose any profession and they were not limited economically. They also had the right to settle down wherever they wanted (apart from Hicaz region in modern Saudi Arabia) in the territory of the empire. They were subject to some restrictions such as not wearing the same clothes with Muslims, not riding on horses or of being able to build higher houses than Muslims' houses. However, they were free to do religious and cultural events around their religious community (Cohen, 1997: 87-114).

The millet system is not perfect if it is considered by modern concepts of human rights and citizenship. As is seen, Muslim subjects are in a more advantageous position than other members of communities since they are power holders. However, if the millet system is considered within the sprint of the time, it was a well-organised system that regulated social relations and minority rights under medieval circumstances in spite of its inequality (Adanir, 2000). As Davison (1982) points out, civil authorities besides patriarchs and the "chief rabbi" who were appointed by the Ottoman rulers had a duty to manage internal affairs of the community. The existence of the civil authority played an important role in establishing a well-organised taxation system and maintained the millet system and the political unity of the Ottoman Empire for a long time, as taxes were collected by civil representatives of the community even if in a little village (Adanir, 2000).

Throughout the existence of the Ottoman Empire, the millet system was reformed several times until the 20th Century due to internal and external factors. Each reform movement sought to increase equality among the subjects and to embed

'modern' values such as "liberty, equality and justice"²⁹ which started appearing in the mid-18th Century. In terms of external factors, the social movements in Europe, such as the French Revolution, the wave of nationalism, and labour rebellions, changed the concept of citizenship and sovereignty and affected Ottoman society deeply. The representatives of the non-Muslim communities followed these developments and tried to reform the structures of their communities and Ottoman society by taking support from the Great Powers (Ozdogan et al., 2009: 133). Also, non-Muslim groups were used by foreign powers to materialise their own national interests against the Ottomans. They even sometimes declared themselves as a protector of ethnic and religious groups, for example, the Russian Empire declared itself as the protector of the Orthodox population in Ottoman territories after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774 (Quataert, 2000).

However, the Armenian community, especially Catholic and Protestant Armenians respectively protected by France and Britain, then the U.S used Armenians of Ottomans to increase their influences in the Ottoman Empire (Ozdogan et al., 2009); (Ter Minassian, 2006). According to Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, the attitudes of the Great Powers were the main reasons behind the breaking down of relations between the Armenians and the Ottoman Turks (Bolsohays, 2006). He stated that the Armenian elites and their people rose to the bait of European powers, and their attitudes at the end of the 19th Century led to Armenians to be perceived as a fifth column. On the other hand, the development of the Amira class, resistance against despotic administrations, and unequal aspects of the millet system (high taxes and different responsibilities) forced the Ottoman administration to make reforms (Ozdogan et al., 2009)

The reforms, throughout the era of Mahmut II, aimed to make Muslim and non-Muslim subjects equally dominant regardless of their ethnic and religious identity. Despite the fact that it was not a distinctive success with the early reforms in practice, the millet system was evaluated positively during the Tanzimat era and Mesrutiyet II. It could be argued that Ottoman society transformed extremely and both non-Muslim and Muslim subjects improved their social and constitutional rights. On the one hand, the authority of the Sultan was reduced and the

²⁹ The slogan was so popular among the Ottoman elites. After the revolution (Mesrutiyet II) it was published on the money and coins.

parliament reopened. On the other hand, non-Muslim subjects succeeded in getting special laws which are called as "Nizanname". Focusing on the example of the Armenian community, Ermeni Nizanmesi can be seen as the most important constitutional development as secularism began to take hold among Armenians after the Nizanname was accepted. The effects of Amiras and the Church diminished and Armenians started electing their representatives in the assembly. 20 out of 140 members in the parliament came from the Church, whereas the rest were civilians. Berkes (1998:158) tends to see the Nizanname and the assembly as movements towards secularism and constitutionalism although Yumul (2000: 132) opposes this since the Nizanname did not cover modern citizenship rights or form of administration (in Ozdogan, 2009: 129).

In the last quarter of the 19th Century, relations between Armenian and Muslim populations got worse. Armenians, as well as other subjects, began to develop their nationalist ideologies and sought to win their independence from the Ottoman Empire. In addition to rebellions in Zeytun (1862), Erzurum and Van (1863), Armenians established political parties. Even though each party (Dashnuk, Hunchak and Armenakan) had a different agenda and methods to reach their political aims, they were affected by nationalism to different degrees. Also, other nationalist movements, such as Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian movements, affected these parties in terms of methods and also organisational form. For instance, Armenakan Party adopted the principles of ethnic nationalism and sought to "liberate" Armenian villagers in the territory of the Ottoman Empire by using armed force.

The political programs of the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (SDHP) and Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF-Dashnaksutyun) parties were also similar. They were based in the Caucasus and were mostly affected by socialism and worked to liberate the Ottoman Armenians (Ter Minassian, 1984). While Huncak argued that also the Kurds and Assyrian should be saved from the despotic Ottomans, as well as aiming to unite Armenians in Ottoman lands, Iran and Russia together, Dashnak mostly focused on the Ottoman Armenians (Ibid). Armenian parties, either in rural parts or in Istanbul, organised several protests and violent actions such as raiding the patriarchate, encouraging an uprising in Samsun and bombing the Ottoman Bank (Nalbandian, 1963). As Palabiyik (2007:15) states, there were forty Armenian revolts between 1889 and 1909.

The reaction of the Ottoman government was very strong. They quashed the riots violently and also shut down Armenian schools since they were politicised and affected by missionaries. According to Deringil (2002), missionaries helped revolutionary organisations and their attitudes were not welcomed by the Ottoman administration (in Ozdogan et al, 2009: 141). Moreover, Verheji (1998) states that the intervention of European states and their support of the revolutionaries' demands were the culprits for increasing violence between Armenians and Turks (in Ozdogan et al, 2009: 142).

Even though there were conflicts between Armenians and Muslim populations, the cooperation between ARF and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) continued until 1914. The main motivation behind this cooperation was that they did not want to lose the advantage of constitutionalism and expectations of reform in the regions where Armenians lived (Ozdogan et al, 2009). However, the outbreak of the Balkan War caused the Ottomans to lose territories, and the outbreak of the First World War made any reform claim impossible. These developments, on the one hand, radicalised Armenian and Turkish nationalism; on the other hand, they eliminated the empathy among Turkish and Armenian people. This atmosphere forced CUP to take serious and bitter measures to save the Empire. Accordingly, it could be argued that the Armenian deportation in 1915 was one of these harsh measures that inflicted a deep wound between the Armenian and Turkish nations.

4.1.4. The Tragedy of 1915 from Armenian Point of View

It is a fact that the deportation of Armenians during the First World War was a crucial event that shaped Armenianness in the 20th century. As Semerdjian states, not only did it make the Armenians a “serious nation” which lost the “capabilities to relax and look at the funny side of life” (in Jebejian, 2007: 16), but it also united all Armenians from different religious, political and regional identities as well as socioeconomic backgrounds (Bakalian, 1993). For young Armenians, whether their ancestors experienced the deportation or not, it became a cornerstone of the collective identity. Consequently, it was closed for discussion or alternative arguments about what happened in 1915. In other words, it is remembered as a social memory. For this reason, it is hard to talk about “truth and facts”. By examining observations and impressions in the field,

debates about the deportation of 1915 lost their academic aspects. As Hovanissian argues, the “discourse of genocide” became an ideology for most of the Armenians. The Armenian version of 1915 is constructed in a few points even though it consists of some contradictions and exaggerated arguments.

There is a strong belief that the deportation of Armenians from their hometowns to Syria is the first genocide of the 20th Century (Nazer, 1968). According to the Armenian point of view, massacres and arrests against Armenian elites and political leaders were the final and most destructive violent wave against Armenians and Christians with genocidal intent to destroy the Armenian population (Dadrian, 2003; Migliorino, 2008). Jones (2006) assumes that the deportation of 1915 was one of the three classic genocides of the 20th Century and a prototype for further genocides due to its genocidal intent.

Parallel to this point, advocates of the Armenian Genocide thesis tend to emphasize similarities between the deportation of 1915 and the Jewish Holocaust. It is assumed that the Armenian genocide inspired Hitler and Nazis before the occupation of Western Poland in terms of ideology and methods (Bardakjian, 1985). This effort introduces Turkish nationalism as the culprit behind the massacres, and it allows Armenians to increase their awareness about the massacres through the international infamy of the Holocaust. For instance, Akcam (2004: 59-127) argues that Turkish nationalism and its destructive characteristics, such as having enmity against Christians, the “true nature” of Turks, a fear of extinction, avenging massacres and territorial losses, and the decline of the Ottoman Empire caused 1.5 million Armenian deaths. Additionally, the reasons for the “Armenian genocide” are discussed around a few dynamics in the current literature, which are mainly constructed by Armeno-ophile scholars. Pan-Turkism, Islamic fanaticism and economic differences between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects are prominent dynamics explaining why Armenians were deported and killed.

According to Pan-Turkism, Turks, whether they live in the Ottoman Empire or in the steppes of Central Asia, are considered as members of the same nation, so the boundaries of the new empire should be extended from the Balkans to Central Asia (McCarty, 2001; Hovanissian, 2005). This was suggested as one of the prescriptions to save the Empire. As the Armenian thesis states, non-Turkish

subjects such as Kurds, Greeks, Armenians and Assyrians either had to be assimilated or eradicated by using two different assimilation methods in order to establish an ethnically pure Empire. Firstly, the Turkish language and culture would be used to assimilate Kurds and Arabs who are ethnically different, but religiously the same as Turks. Secondly, non-Muslim subjects were annihilated. These thoughts were shared by most elites ahead of the First World War and then were imposed upon Muslim people. Many associations, such as the Turkish Heart Societies, Turkish Knowledge Society, and Turkish Homeland, worked to impose these thoughts on ordinary people (Akcem, 2004: 66). Proponents of the Armenian view argue that the genocide was conducted purposely and deliberately. This was an essential and unavoidable strategy to materialise the Pan-Turkish Empire. As Migliorino (2008) cites, the Armenian population was a barrier for a strong Turkish state, so they were deported to different geographies. Moreover, a few scholars such as Dadrian (1995:121-127) and Akcam (2004:78-87) tend to explain the roots of the genocide through Islamic fanaticism and characteristics of the Turkish people. This point of view argues that Turks throughout history have been aggressive and savage warriors.

More differently from the former two dynamics, scholars such as Keyder (1987), Mann (2005) and Ahmad (1982) tend to explain the origins of the Armenian genocide by highlighting economic differences between Armenians and Muslim subjects. It could be argued that the economic and political powers of Armenian families were the main trigger. Economic privileges led to an increased gap between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects.³⁰ According to Adanir (2001), although Muslims represented the majority, only 25% of retail trade, 15% of the whole business and 3% of transporting, were controlled by them. Therefore, the privileged positions of the Armenians were not welcomed by elites in the CUP who aimed to remove the economic privileges and capitulations of the foreign powers (Ahmad, 1982: 404-405), so not only was the Armenian bourgeoisie targeted, but also ordinary Armenians in rural areas. As Keyder (1987) argues, the conflicts took place between Turkish peasants/bureaucrats and foreign/comprador non-Muslims instead of between peasants and bourgeoisies.

³⁰ As Ter Minassian (2006: 48) states Amiras had socio-economic privileges in the millet system. They were exempt from paying taxes, could wear the same clothes as Muslim subjects, and also had the right to build their own churches and chapels. More importantly, they had the right to possess a group of (suvari) guards.

These conflicts were caused by the diminishing capital of Armenians and their economic privileges. On the other hand, it created a national bourgeoisie with the state's support. According to Toprak (1982), significant parts of the Armenian population were destroyed to establish a Pan-Turkish Empire, while their properties were used to create national bourgeoisie between 1915 and 1922.

On 24th of April 1915, Armenian intellectuals and political leaders began to be arrested and sent to prisons in Ayas and Cankiri. According to Hovenessian (2005), this prevented Armenians from being organised and creating a collective resistance. Subsequently, Armenians in the Ottoman Army were disarmed and appointed to passive duties. In Anatolia, male members of Armenian communities who were between 16 and 60 years old were killed in prisons, while women, children and elderly people were forced to walk towards Deir el-Zor in Syria. Their convoys were attacked by Kurdish gangs and Armenian women were raped or kidnapped. Furthermore, some women and children were forced to convert to Islam in order to survive. The Armenian thesis argues that all killings and attacks were planned by the Teskilat-I Mahsusa (Ottoman intelligence) in accordance with the commands of the political leaders, even though Mann (2005: 140-145) argues that the genocide was not planned before the war, rather it took place in the face of an unexpected crisis even if it was ordered by high-ranking members of the party. According to the Armenian point of view, the casualties fluctuated between 800,000 and 2 million Armenians as a result of the deportation and attacks.

4.2. The History of the Armenian Community in Turkey: From “millet” to “minority”

The following statement made by Z (male-19 years old-Istanbul), a participant in Turkey, perhaps best summarises how the Armenians’ practices have been shaped since the tragedy of 1915:

“Talking about Turkey and Turks is easy for the Armenians who live in the diaspora. For me, they do not know anything about Turkey. We remained here to live with the Turks, Kurds and other ethnic groups. This country not only belongs to the Turks, but also us... Therefore, Armenians who were born in France or the States should not intervene in our problems; we can handle them ourselves.”³¹

The phrase of “remained here to live” is the essence of the Armenian community in Turkey. It makes distinguishing the Armenian people of Turkey from other communities that were established in different geographies.

In contrast to the glory days, the Armenian community has lost its socioeconomic power and has been shrinking dramatically since the early days of the Republic of Turkey. The 20th Century was not pleasant for the Armenians. Discriminative policies, which were passed by the Turkish government, has made the Armenians become closed communities since the establishment of modern Turkey. It is possible to summarise the evaluation of the Armenian community through referring to painful and unjust events such as **Turkification, The Law of Settlement 1934, The Twenty Classes (military service), The Wealthy Tax, The Events of 6-7 September, The Terrorist Attacks of Asala, and the Assassination of Hrant Dink**. These are the main historical reservoirs reminding Armenians of who they are. Due to the scope of the research project, I am not going to discuss details and every aspect of these events. Also, it is possible to find extensive literature explaining the experiences of Turkey’s minorities. What will be highlighted are the common effects of these implementations in the Armenian community. Before discussing these events, the legal situation of the Armenians in Turkey should be mentioned, because these events jeopardised their minority rights. After the First World War, Armenians, Jews and Greeks were accepted as an official minority of Turkey in accordance with the principles of the

³¹ Interviewing with Z, Taksim-Istanbul 20/07/2011

Lausanne Peace Treaty. The articles of Lausanne between 38 and 45 regulate the minorities' rights and responsibilities. For instance, article 41 states;

“As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes. The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.” (MFA, 2015)

The campaign of “Citizen Speak Turkish!” can be seen as the first attempt to restrict minorities' rights. According to Aslan (2007), this campaign aimed to put pressure on non-Turkish speakers to speak Turkish in public and shows how the mobilization of Kemalist missionaries created a movement forcing non-Muslim minorities to assimilate to the majority language community or exit. It was expected that minorities having different backgrounds (Greek, Armenian and Jews) should abandon the use of their ethnic languages in the public sphere to prove where their loyalties lay. According to Oran (2007; 1994), this was clearly a violation of minority rights which had been protected by the Lausanne Peace Treaty. The resentment against non-Muslims was openly expressed in newspaper articles and reports during the campaign. For instance, one of local newspapers in Edirne wrote;

“...Gentlemen, the Turkish youth died for the future of the country while you were enjoying yourselves and also following the people who were afforded advantages. Today, even though you did not fight, you benefit from the same rights like us therefore you have to speak Turkish, otherwise you are not one of us and also you cannot stay in this land anymore...” (cited in Bali, 1999:145)

As a result of the campaign and subsequent conflicts, Armenians began to change their surnames and dropped off the suffix of “-Yan/Ian”. Instead, as well as other non-Muslim citizens of Turkey, they used more Turkish names in public. This campaign went beyond the individual level, and certain geographies and territories were targeted and Turkified through made-up names (Nisanyan, 2012; Ozdogan, 2009).

Secondly, The Law of Settlement 1934 sought to categorise the population in *rural areas* by determining if they were affiliated with “Turkish Culture” or not. According to Oran, in addition to the concept of Turkish Culture, the law stated alternative concepts such as Turkish Origin or Turkish race (in Erguney, 2007:46). As one may be able to guess, these concepts emphasize Turkishness and homogeneity. Accordingly, this bill was implemented broadly by certain authorities to change the distribution of non-Muslim populations in Anatolia. According to Parla (1991:176-211), this policy shows the transformation in the philosophy of Turkish nationalism. It began to transform from the idea of ethnically pluralist, independence and cultural nationalism to ethnic hegemonic, monopolist and exclusivist nationalism.

Within this transformation, the event of Twenty Classes can be considered as an example. During the Second World War, male members of the non-Muslim communities were recruited discreetly. Armenians, just like other non-Muslim citizens whose ages were between 25 and 45 years of age were sent to various military camps to build construction works. These men were not trusted to bear arms and they did not even wear military uniforms. This was a part of the government’s suppression policies that continued since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (Bali, 2008).

The outbreak of the Second World War not only impacted Turkey’s foreign policy, but also shaped domestic politics and relations with non-Muslim minorities even though Turkey did not actively go to war. The Turkish army was on high alert throughout the war, and it required funding to finance itself. Similar to other countries in a state of war, the government found a solution to this problem by introducing a new tax policy called the “Wealthy Tax”. Prime Minister Surku Saracoglu defended the Wealthy Tax by saying that it could help to reduce

currency levels in circulation and also cover up the country's needs (Akar, 1999:52).

Once the bill was passed in 1942, it was supposed to be applied throughout the country. However, Aktar (2000) argues that it was limited only to Istanbul and destroyed the business life there. 54 per cent of the taxpayers were residents of Istanbul and more interestingly, 68 percent of the accrued tax was collected from Istanbul. Taxpayers were divided into four groups; namely, Muslims, non-Muslims, Converts and Foreigners. In the end, it was decided that 7 percent of taxpayers were Muslim citizens, whereas 87 percent of them was non-Muslims. This uneven distribution was perceived as one of the suppression policies seeking to reduce the influence of non-Muslims in business. This tax policy also required compulsory unpaid work for taxpayers who were not able to pay their debts within one month. As Akar (1999) states, 1400 taxpayers were sent to Askale in order to work on the railways and construction works. Their assets were sold through auctions under real values and were mostly bought by Muslim entrepreneurs (67%) and national institutions such as Istanbul Municipality and the General Directorate for Foundations (%30) (Aktar, 2000:204). Taxpayers who were forced to work in Askale could not come back until 1943. Even though the economic hegemony of the non-Muslims decreased dramatically to 17% in 1950, according to Karpat (1967:106) the government was not able to reach its economic goals because most of the small companies were bought by people who saved their capital and did not invest. They also did not have any business experience, leading to an increase in the cost of living and panic in the market.

After the Second World War, the events of 6-7 September were another experience affecting the Armenian community. Even though they were not targeted directly, their neighbourhoods and properties were pillaged by the crowd who were provoked when news stated that Ataturk's house was bombed in Selanik. According to official reports, 4214 houses, 1004 working places (shops), 73 churches, 1 synagogue, 2 monastery, 26 schools and 5317 buildings were vandalised. 150 of them belonged to the Armenians (Fahri Coker Arsivi in Gurcan, 2006; Guven, 2005).

Throughout the 1970s, terrorist attacks against Turkish diplomats by ASALA, Lebanese Armenian terrorists, made the lives of Armenians in Turkey too difficult.

As a result of their attacks, 38 Turkish Diplomats and officers were killed in different cities in Europe. They also bombed Esenboga Airport in Ankara and killed 10 civilians, as well as injured 72 people. Additionally, in 1982, they bombed the office of Turkish Airlines at Orly Airport in France. Their reckless attacks drew a reaction by the Turks and negative world opinion. Also, it made a negative contribution to the image Armenian in Turkey. As Dink states, there was no official pressure about these attacks against the Armenians in Turkey, but they felt guilty in those days (in Erguney, 2007:64). The Turkish Armenians tried to show their condemnation against these organisations and their methods. Artin's story was perhaps the most painful of these condemnations, as he burned himself in front of the French Embassy to protest ASALA and its supporters (Ustun, 2010).

As can be seen from a short history of the Armenian community in Turkey, their experiences have not been positive. All of these unfortunate events and implications shrunk the Armenian community. With a few exceptions in Anatolia, Armenians were forced to live in Istanbul and disappeared from public life. Currently, the population of the Armenian community is estimated between 55,000 and 70,000. It should be noted that all numbers about the Armenian community cannot go beyond estimations because questions about ethnic background in the census were abandoned after 1965. Therefore, all estimations are extrapolated from the data of the 1965 census. According to Kara (2009), Armenians concentrated in certain districts such as Sisli, Kurtulus, Ferikoy, Pangaalti, Bakirkoy, Yesilkoy, Kadikoy, Moda and Kumkapi in Istanbul.

The small demographic of the Armenian community is not enough to nominate a candidate for the parliament. In contrast to the parliament between 1923 and 1950, there were only two candidates who achieved gaining seats. After 1950, there were three Armenians in the parliament. As Bali states, their ethnic identities did not make them representatives of any minority group (in Ozdogan et al, 2009:291-292). According to Yumul, Armenian voters generally supported right-wing parties due to previous discriminative policies of CHP (Ibid). It is likely to come across some Armenian candidates in local elections. They generally find seats in municipal councils or as deputy mayors. By examining the results of the survey, which were done before the general election of 2007, it could be assumed that the Armenians' votes were distributed within AKP (10.9%), CHP (13.1%) and independent candidates (17.4%) (Kentel, 2007).

Before finishing the history of Turkish Armenians, the assassination of Hrant Dink should be mentioned because his assassination had a tremendous impact among the Armenian community. Hrant Dink was an Armenian journalist and director of AGOS newspaper before he was killed by ‘ultra-nationalist’ who was provoked from Dink’s articles which were published between 2003 and 2004. It should be noted that Dink was targeted through a few times mass media and was sued because of “insulting Turkishness”³². Not only did members of the Armenian community protest his assassination, but even non-Armenians joined them and carefully followed the judicial inquiry process. The masses in Istanbul and different cities carried a motto, “We are Hrant, We are all Armenian”. Although they were harshly criticised by various political actors, these protests helped increase the visibility of the Armenian community. Since then, especially younger members of the Armenian community have raised their voices in the public sphere. In contrast to their grandparents who had to experience oppressive policies, his assassination increased solidarity among the youth (Kopsa, 2008). It could be argued that Dink’s unfortunate assassination become important indicator while youngsters defining their Armenianness.

³² Article 301 is a controversial article of the Turkish Penal Code seeking to sentence people who insult Turkey, the Turkish nation, or Turkish government institutions. In its original form (before April 30, 2008), the article stated the following; “A person who publicly denigrates Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and three years.

A person who publicly denigrates the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the judicial institutions of the State, the military or security organizations shall be punishable by imprisonment of between six months and two years. In cases where denigration of Turkishness is committed by a Turkish citizen in another country the punishment shall be increased by one third. Expressions of thought intended to criticize shall not constitute a crime.” (<https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5237.html>) [Access Date: 06/07/2015]. The concept of Turkishness was amended to “Turkish nation” since it was vague.

4.3. The History of the Armenian Community in Lebanon: from “refugee camps” to “neighbourhoods”

As Kasabian (2006:86) states, the Armenians are among 17 other sects and peoples in Lebanon, and they are the 7th most important community having long historical roots. The presence of Armenians in Lebanon derives from a few migration waves. Before the 20th Century, it is likely to come across Armenians in different parts of Lebanon, although their population was almost insignificant. The first migration dates back to the 14th century and the collapse of the Kingdom of Cilicia. According to Mutafian (2011) some of the Armenian population migrated to Mount Lebanon with the Crusaders. Once the crusaders came to Anatolia, Armenians had interactions with them. They cemented each other through intermarriages and helped crusaders to pass the near east (Kurkjian, 1958) Instead of establishing their own communities, they were absorbed among the Maronite population.

Following that, it is hard to see any significant migration until the last quarter of the 17th Century. At this time, Catholic Armenians who had been persecuted by the authorities of the Apostolic community in the Ottoman Empire began to migrate to Lebanon. As Sanjian and others argue, “... the Armenians' Christian faith as the crucial factor in their being welcomed by the Maronites and quickly embedded into the system, thereby strengthening (numerical) Christian dominance in Lebanon” (in Kasabian, 2006:84). In addition to these two waves, Armenians as large groups started coming to Lebanon through Syria during the First World War, mainly because of the evacuation of 1915. As discussed above, thousands of Armenians were exiled from their hometowns in Anatolia and became refugees in the province of Aleppo. Migliorino (2008) describes Armenians as aliens in that time, as they found themselves in different Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire without knowing a single Arabic word. Undoubtedly, this was a tough experience for first generation Armenians. They, on the one hand, tried to survive from famine, poverty and disasters psychically. On the other hand, they knew that they had to reconstruct an Armenian community to shoulder the responsibility in reconstructing the wider Armenian community but this time in a diasporic space. As cited in Jebajian's work, the numbers of Armenian speakers in the first generation were limited and they did not have any education in Armenian. For this reason, they got used to speaking

Turkish in their everyday life. In addition, further groups of Armenians, with the assistance of the French Mandate authorities, were relocated to different parts of Lebanon. Moreover, Aprahamian states that Lebanon received some migrations as a result of conflicts during the Arab-Israeli conflicts and Arab nationalism in the 1960s (Jebejian, 2007). These events are the main legacy behind of the Armenian community in Lebanon.

Differently from the Turkish and British cases, a short history of Armenians in Lebanon is highly undulate. They started their journey in refugee camps with great difficulties. Gradually, they reconstructed their Armenian community and integrated themselves successfully into Lebanese society socially, economically and politically. According to Payaslian, Armenians tried to balance between integration and preservation of ethnic culture and identity (in Kasabian, 2006:88). Armenians are deemed the least assimilated group in Lebanon due to their linguistic differences and fresh social memories remaining from the tragedy of 1915 (Hourani, 1947). The Armenians' short history in Lebanon can be a good example of solidarity and division in the post-traumatic community as it is possible to observe how the first generation of settlers reconstructed Armenianness and how the community was divided by following generations.

The Armenians' experiences in Lebanon can be divided into four periods; the French Mandate, Lebanese independence, the civil war period, and the post-civil war period. Firstly, the Armenians re-established their community under the French mandatory regime. This period, not only for Armenians but also other ethnic groups, provided a suitable environment to develop their communities and the boundaries of modern Lebanese society. For Sanjian (2001:161), the unity of the Lebanese society between Armenians and 'others' was based on common past experiences. Both communities saw themselves as having "... endured the tyranny of the Ottoman government in the late 19th and early 20th centuries." As Migliorino (2008) points out, the political and constitutional formula provided some advantages in the sense of maintaining their cultures and identities. This created a protective environment for Armenians who suffered from the deportation and conflicts. In this environment, they established their churches, schools, political parties and other cultural associations gradually.

Armenians did not participate in political life intensively at the beginning of the mandate regime since they were dealing with the trauma and were getting used to living as refugees in an odd place. However, they always paid attention to being affiliated with the mandatory regime. In 1924, Armenians were granted citizenship, and so they transferred their status from “alien to citizen” (Migliorino, 2008). This decision of the mandatory regime was criticised by the Muslim population in Lebanon because it changed the balance of the population (Der-Karabetian, A and Proudian-Der-Karabetian, A, 1984:5). The Armenians started to take active roles in politics after the 1920s and became more pragmatic. They decided that Lebanon would be a new home for the Armenians, and so they became more concerned with political life. As Payaslian argues, the Armenian elites and political leaders tried to involve themselves in the decision making process as much as they could and maintained the principle of being loyal citizens because they were repeatedly let down by the Western powers (Kasabian, 2006:86). However, the reasons for cooperation with the French are based on two crucial dynamics. Firstly, the French were perceived as being their protectors against the Turks and the new rulers of the region (Migliorino, 2008). Throughout the mandatory regime, Armenians followed a policy of checks and balances in order to maximise their interests. The population of the Armenian community increased to around 75,000 and they were able to establish their chief institutions, organisations and schools. More importantly, these places became socialisation centres where Armenians could meet and practice their ethnic culture.

Although the Armenian political elites supported the mandatory regime since they arrived in Lebanon, their support decreased and they began to approach the nationalists in Lebanon because the French’s policy toward Turkey changed. For instance, the mandatory regime recognised the province of Alexandria (which had an intensive Armenian population) as an autonomous/independent republic in 1938. Afterwards, the assembly of Hatay (Alexandra) made a decision to join Turkey. For this reason, relations between the Armenian community and France started breaking down. This is also a good example of how Armenians conducted their checks and balances policy. According to Schangaldian, Armenians actively participated in Lebanese nationalist movements (in Kasabian, 2006:86). Once the nationalists took power, they won four seats in parliament. By the time of the 1930s, Armenian political elites and parties began to legitimise their presence in

Lebanon and maximised the interests of the Armenians in the new Lebanese system. Furthermore, their social influence and visibility in everyday life became clearer. Armenians started to transform refugee camps and shelters into neighbourhoods and modern houses.

In addition to this reconstruction, the Armenian community also became divided into several fragments across political ideological lines. The crisis of 1958³³, which produced the election of the Catholicos of Cilicia, was an important event that polarized the Armenians. When the head of the Catholicos of Cilicia passed away in 1952, Armenian parties were not able to agree on a candidate. All attempted elections failed. As Milgiorino (2008) summarises, the root of the problem was Soviet interference, according to the ARF perspective. They argued that the Soviet authorities intended to use diasporic institutions to control Armenian communities in diasporic spaces. Therefore, the ARF insisted that the new spiritual leader of the Catholicos of Cilicia must be capable and courageous, independent-minded, and completely free of Soviet influence. The tension within the Armenian community was enhanced through Etchmiadzin Vazken I visiting the Catholicos. In addition, the Dashnak collaborated with President Camille Chamoun in order to receive the support of the central government. Despite claims that he suspended the elections, Chamoun sent gendarmeries to Catholicos in order to ensure that voting would take place. In February 1956, it was declared that the ARF candidate, Bishop Zareh of Aleppo, had won the election. This broke up the religious unity of the Apostolic community and triggered further divisions among the Armenians. In the following days, anti-ARF groups, including SDHP, Ramkavars, independents and other community representatives did not recognise the authority of the new Catholicos. They elected their candidate as *locum tenens*. However, it was not successful and recognised by the Lebanese government. The Lebanese government helped the new Catholicos to maintain its authority on the monastery of Bikfaya which was controlled by opposition groups.

³³ It is also known The 1958 Lebanon crisis which increased religious and political tensions. After the general election, President Camille Chamoun misused the Eisenhower Doctrine in order to extend his presidency. He requested the assistance, completed his term as president of Lebanon. The port and international airport were occupied by Lebanese government and Armenian forces. The crisis was a preview of Lebanese Civil War between 1975 and 1990. Further information: Alin (1994).

Following years, tension and violence within the Armenian community were flavoured by Arab political groups that had already had disagreements about national institutions of Lebanon. Armenian political groups had deep disagreements in May 1958 and began to attack each other (Milgiorino, 2008). The Armenian quarters of Beirut were divided along political lines. While the SDHP were based on Nor Hadjin, Khalil Badawi and Charchabouk, advocates of the ARF took the opposite side of the Nahr Beirut in Bourj Hammoud. Due to subsequent violence and radicalisation, some Hunchaks had to move out from Bourj Hammoud and diasporic institutions such as schools, churches, and social clubs were clearly marked in accordance with political affiliations.

In addition to intra-Armenian division and sectarianism in Lebanon, the Lebanese Civil War between 1975 and 1990 is another important event in the history of the Armenians. As a result of Palestinian refugee problems, aggressive enlargement of Israel and claim for reformation in the Lebanese National Pact, conflicts between the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) and the Lebanese Front (LF) spread across Lebanon and became a civil war. This war had multiple players who did not hesitate to use violence against civilians. Despite the multi ethnic and religious mosaic of Lebanon, Beirut (and also other provinces) was divided into two fronts. While Christian forces controlled the east side of Beirut, Muslim powers controlled the west. The civil war continued until 1990 through the support of regional and superpowers. The Armenian community was also affected by the civil war, even though Armenian parties decided not to get involved in conflicts between either side since the early days of the civil war. Rather, they even tried to be arbitrators to end the civil war. Meanwhile, both ARF and SDHP continued to train their paramilitary forces to protect Armenians and their neighbourhoods from possible attacks of Christian and Muslim militants. It should be pointed out that the fact that the Armenians' took this decision was perceived as a betrayal of other Christians. They were threatened by Christian militants and became targets of some bombings in Borj Hammoud (Der-Karbetian, A and Proudian-Der-Karabetian, A, 1984; Milgiorino, 2008:152-154). As Milgiorino (2008:153) states, a large number of civilians were killed due to attacks of Chammounists and Lebanese Forces against residential and commercial areas. As a result of the civil war and insecurity, many Armenian families decided to migrate to Western countries.

This insecurity and “failed state” practices in Lebanon led to terrorist methods to be popular among Armenian youngsters. As mentioned in the history of Armenians in Turkey, ASALA was one of these terrorist organisations that developed in Lebanon. In addition to its terrorist attacks against Turkish diplomats and officers, ASALA initially aimed to kill members of the ARF in order to forcefully protest their methods and position regarding the “genocide of 1915”. When Lebanon was occupied by Israel, ASALA had to move its headquarters to Damascus and turned into contract killers that were used by different secret services. Also, there were other groups, namely JCAG (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide), that adopted violence and radical methods by using the discourse of “genocide” as a justification (Milgiorino, 2008:154-155; Wilkinson, 1983; Hyland, 1991; Gunter, 2007).

As is seen in the short history of Armenians in Lebanon, they had highly fluctuating experiences. The seeds of the Armenian community took root and sprouted in the refugee camps and they were then able to establish neighbourhoods. In a short time, Lebanon became one of the most important centres for Armenians in terms of political, economic and cultural strength. As Milgiorino (2008) mentions, the Armenian community in Lebanon was the third largest diasporic Armenian community (175,000) in the world after the Soviet Union and the USA in the 1970s. Differently from the Turkish and British cases, the presence of Armenians is still felt intensely even if the population of the Armenian community decreased radically due to the civil war. It is easy to understand which neighbourhoods of Beirut belong to the Armenians through symbols, shops, streets or architecture of the churches. For instance, while walking on the streets of Borj Hammoud, one may come across the flag of Armenia and the ARF or find different street names helping Armenians to remember where they come from. Currently, it is estimated that the population of Armenians in Lebanon is around 150,000 (Minority Right Group, 2008). There are 28 schools, over 20 churches (including Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant), radio stations, newspapers, cultural clubs and a university (Migloriona, 2008; <http://www.armenianorthodoxchurch.org/>; <http://www.armeniancatholic.org/>; Amma Directory, 2015). In contrast to their ancestors, fourth generation Armenian youngsters overcame difficulties in using Arabic and integrated into Lebanese society.

4.4. History of the Armenians in Britain: Diaspora of Diaspora

In contrast to the Turkish and Lebanese cases, the history of Armenians in Britain is relatively concise. It could be argued that this derives from two dynamics. Firstly, there were different motivations affecting the Armenians' decision to settle down in Britain. As Pettie (1997:125) describes them, the Armenian community in Britain is a "diaspora of diaspora" since it consists of Armenians who came from different parts of the world with various ambitions. For instance, the first wave was Armenian businessmen who had connections with the Amiras who had serious economic and political networks in the Ottoman Empire (Ter Minassian, 2006). They had come to Britain to invest in the textile industry, education and finance in the 19th Century. Between 1875 and 1912, the numbers of the Armenian-Ottoman companies were around eighty (Pettie, 1997:257). These Armenians mainly settled down in Manchester and spread the seeds of the Armenian community there, including establishing a church in 1870.

Secondly, the internal dynamics of British society and its political system meant that the history of the Armenians in Britain was relatively mundane. Put another way, one cannot find unjust bills passed against them (like the Turkish case), nor can they find serious polarisation (as in the Lebanese case) affecting the Armenians' experiences in Britain. After the Second World War, the idea of multiculturalism began to shape British society and turned the British identity into a constitutional identity containing ethnic identities such as English, Scottish, Irish, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Caribbean and of course Armenian. Therefore, Armenian identity never contradicted or conflicted with the British identity neither historically nor politically. Additionally, the political system in the UK does not allow for ethnic identities to be polarised or marginalised.³⁴ Ethnic minorities are the same as other members of the communities and are represented in parliament through major political parties. For this reason, the history of the Armenians in Britain is best discussed through families and notable persons

³⁴ At this point, it should be pointed out that polarisation and radicalisation can be observed in terms of religious identities. In contrast to Christian minority groups in the UK, Muslim minorities have been discriminated harshly. As Khattab states (2014), "Muslims were the most disadvantaged in terms of employment prospects out of 14 ethno-religious groupings in the UK". 76 percent of Muslim men less likely to get a job of any kind compared to white, male and British Christians of same qualifications (Kattab and Johnston, 2014).

(George, 2009). It could be argued that the experiences of British Armenians are more peaceful and stable than the Turkish and Lebanese cases.

The population of Armenians in Britain increased in the 20th Century due to the deportation of 1915 and another large influx occurred during the Second World War and during more recent years. Although their population was approximately only 500 (Pettie, 1997) in the 1950s, it had established some cultural organisations that were associated with political parties. The population increased dramatically and reached 10,000 by 1989 (Talai, 1989) due to migration from Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Cyprus, Istanbul, Ethiopia, India, Egypt, Palestine, as well as from other countries (Pettie, 1997; accc.org, 2013). It should be noted that these immigrants not only increased the number of Armenians in Britain, but they also brought their already hyphenated cultures. For instance, Armenians who emigrated from Lebanon already had different cultural practices and worldviews before coming to the UK. For this reasons, different sub-groups emerged, such as Lebanese-Armenians, Cypriot-Armenians, Iranian-Armenian and Istanbul-Armenians that had minimum relations with each other. Even though this variety cannot be called a separation of the Armenians, it somehow creates divisions and disorganisation within the Armenian community in Britain. Talai (1989) argues that these differences between sub-groups affect diasporic institutions and its management, so it raises minor problems among members of the Armenian community. For instance, apart from personal announcements and advertisements, the board of the church tries to keep the church an apolitical place. Therefore, any offensive and radical posters, newspaper and flyers are not tolerated. It should be noted that this habit was formed during the Cold War between 1960 and 1990.

Adaptation and integration are important when assessing the Armenians' experiences in Britain, particularly urban settings such as London, which affected Armenian cultural patterns. As Pettie (1997:258) states, the numbers of children being born began to decrease and the idea of the independence of family members and secularisation began to be spread among newcomers. There is no doubt that these new ideas and practices were interpreted as assimilation by some Armenians who had experienced difficulties in integrating themselves into the British society due to a lack of English. However, young members of the community overcame these issues quickly.

In contrast to the Turkish and Lebanese cases, Armenians in the UK are difficult to find, let alone discern. According to the 2001 UK Census, 589 Armenia-born people were living in the UK, while 18,000 ethnic Armenians, including those who are British-born and of part Armenian descent, were also living the UK (ACCC, 2013). Though most Armenians live in London, the population density is low. For this reason, it is not possible to find any particular neighbourhood or area that is flavoured with an Armenian theme as can be found in Beirut. Currently, the Armenian community has three churches; one of them is located in Manchester while the other two are Sunday schools in London, doubling as cultural organisations, professional associations and youth clubs. These are major socialisation places where Armenians come together and practice Armenianness.

Part II

The second part of the research project is about the reproduction of Armenianness. It consists of three chapters that reflect the primary data that was collected during the fieldwork in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain. By relying on the scores which were acquired from the ANCO-HITS analysis, it will be demonstrated how Armenianness is reproduced and experienced in diasporic spaces (Chapter 5: Turkey, Chapter 6: Lebanon and Chapter 7: Britain) thematically. Armenianness will be examined in each case as it is experienced and enacted in everyday life. As Brubaker et al. (2006) argue, this close examination of everyday social experience can overcome any deficiencies in top-down analysis that then allow us to understand any kind of “ethnicity and nationness” in the eyes of ordinary people. In this part, the aim is to show how Armenianness is relevant for participants in each case.

Different from common tendency in diasporic studies focusing on institutions and organisations, the following chapters do not concentration on this aspect. Rather, it describes how ordinary Armenians reproduce and experience their Armenianness, and this will be achieved in an oblique fashion. The reason behind this is to facilitate the reflection of the meaning(s) of Armenianness from a bottom-up approach. These meanings, as different ways of experiencing of Armenianness, are constructed by youngsters socially in everyday life. It allows us to explain the reproduction process with ethnographic and primary findings directly. Therefore, signifiers which are focused in oblique way are slightly different. Practices and attitudes of youngsters are primary components in the construction of Armenianness even if they are not seen as relevant at first glance.

As discussed previously, it is assumed that the data sets (TD, LD, BD) contain certain parameters as components which are used by youngsters to reproduce their Armenianness. In order to demonstrate how they reproduce this, a few themes will be used in each case. These themes are religious, ethnic, political and everyday interactions that can be considered as areas/categories where Armenianness is produced and observed. As can be seen in each chapter, the scores of parameters under these themes change and provide data sets showing how Armenianness is reproduced in different ways.

The following chapters will consist of two sub-sections. Each chapter begins with an overview of the data set. This brief section helps to not only see the main patterns, but to also consolidate parameters and themes. This allows readers to follow reproductions of Armenianness coherently and thematically. In the second section, two participants from each data set will be introduced as portrait examples. These will be accompanied by descriptions of family histories, personal stories, and the socio-economic features of each portrait. It should be pointed out that these two portraits (in total six portraits) were not chosen at random. The ANCO-HITS scores, from lowest to highest, helped in the selection process, by allowing me to focus only on participants with the lowest or highest scores.

The reason for choosing only two participants in each case is mainly related to the explanation method utilised and space constraints. Since “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) and ethnography requires in-depth analysis, it would be overwhelming and infeasible to introduce each of the participants. As mentioned above, although there are over ninety parameters in each data set, participants will be described thematically instead of introducing single parameters. While participants’ interpretations are shared, some parameters may be combined or skipped entirely if they do not provide any distinct insight.

5. Chapter Five: The Reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey

This chapter is about the reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey, and will demonstrate how Turkish Armenian participants construct and interpret Armenianness and its parameters through citing primary data, collected between June and August 2011, and edited versions in 2013. In this chapter, an overview of the data set and the matrix of ANCO-HITS will first be summarised. Secondly, in order to understand the reproduction process of Armenianness in the Turkish case, two participants who got the lowest and highest scores from the ANCO-HITS matrix will be introduced and described. In the example of these two participants, Armenianness will be shown by referring to religious, ethnic, political and daily aspects. Even though this sounds to be too descriptive, it helps us to understand the reasons behind different reproductions of Armenianness. Accordingly, the boundaries of the context shaping participants' interpretations will be analysed critically. Finally, the last section is dedicated to analysing and comparing the two participants and the scores of the parameters. Therefore, it is possible to go beyond the sample and its snapshot. This perhaps reaches universal arguments about the reproduction of Armenianness, and helps us to understand Armenianness universally.

5.1. The Overview of ANCO-HITS Scores in Turkish Case

The ANCO-HITS matrix consists of three parts. On the left side, the first part shows participants and their scores. As can be seen, there are 15 participants who are sorted out from T1 to T15 and their scores are shown in the next row. In the second part, it will be demonstrated parameters and their scores which are assumed as cues of Armenianness. Additionally, participants' attitudes in a range of between -2 and +2 are located in the third part.

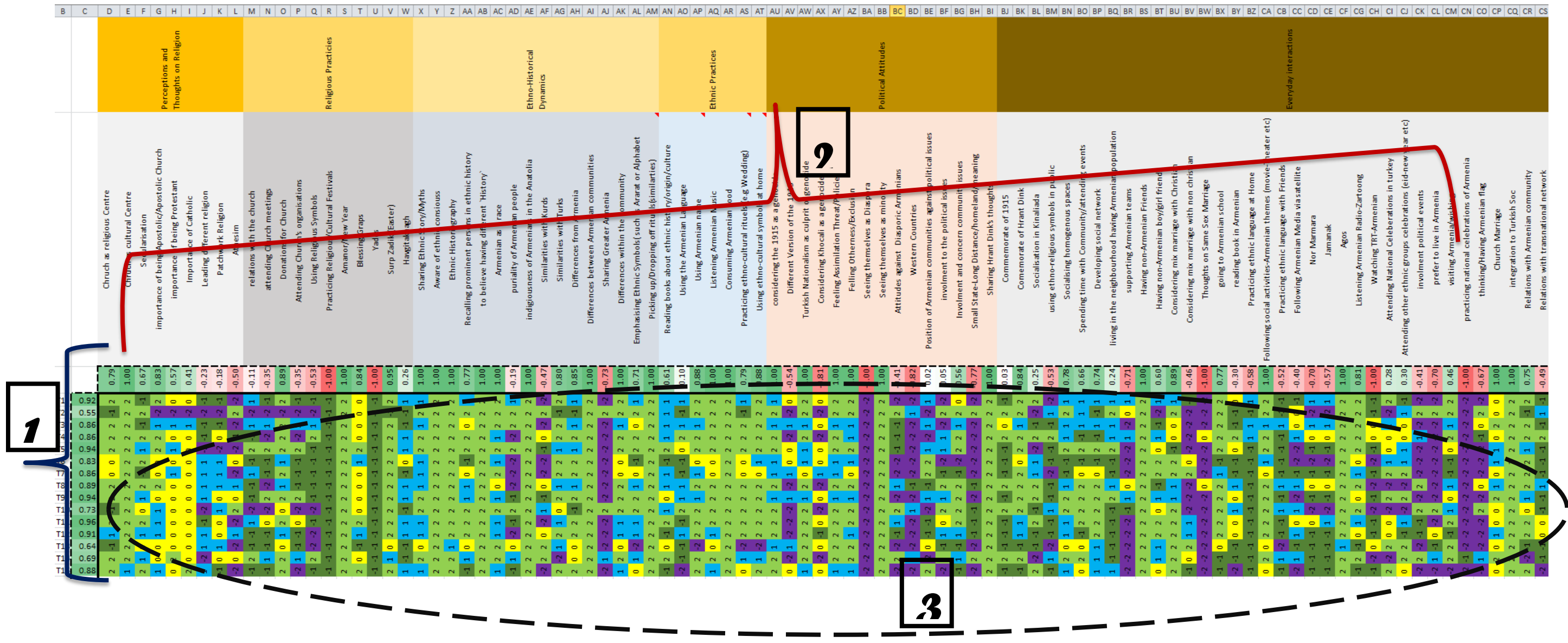


Figure 7: The overview of Turkish dataset

In addition to this visual introduction, it is observed that Armenianness in the Turkish case provides a highly different snapshot. As a result of the ANCO-HITS analysis, scores of participants (n=15) fluctuate between 0.55 and 0.96. These can be considered as poles through which Armenianness is reproduced in different ways. As conceptualised above, Armenianness is a patchwork consisting of various patterns, shapes and colours which derive from each participant's attitudes, perceptions and interactions. Putting it differently, the most polar of the scores are the most different reproduction models. This can be seen in the following graph:

Pole A	T2*	0.55	
	T13	0.67	
	T14	0.67	
	T10	0.72	
	T6	0.84	
	T4	0.85	
	T3	0.86	
	T8	0.87	
	T7	0.88	
	T15	0.88	
	T1	0.92	
	T12	0.92	
	T5	0.93	
	T9	0.94	
Pole B	T11*	0.96	Difference=0.41

Figure 8: Ranking of participants in the Turkish case

In the Turkish case, T2 (0.55) and T11 (0.96) occupy poles A and B that refer to two distinct forms of Armenianness. In addition to these poles, other participants are sorted out in accordance with their scores and distances from the poles. The participants; namely, T13, T14 and T10 are closer to pole A, whereas the participants that are coded as T12, T1, T5 and T9 approach pole B. They can overlap with the poles in some parameters and emerge with similar patterns. For ease of readability, T2 and T11 will be called Sero and Boghos, which are Armenian pseudonyms.

Before moving on the details of the participants, the second section of the ANCO-HITS matrix should be explained. As can be seen, 94 parameters (from the column D to CS), which mainly derived from the primary data and the prominent literature, are assumed as cues of Armenianness in the Turkish case. In order to improve readability, these parameters are categorised into four themes such as “religious perceptions and practices”, “ethnicity and ethnic practices”, “political attitudes and practices” and “interactions in everyday life”.

As can be observed in the details of the matrix, the scores fluctuate between -1.00 and +1.00. In accordance with the numbers of the participants, these scores can be considered as a consensus. It is not important if negative or positive values are indicated, but the key point is in how the parameters are perceived within the sample. Putting it differently, the scores of the parameters give a clue about patterns and fault lines within the sample. For instance, the scores of the parameters, “Armenian church as a cultural centre (E)” and “Armenian church as a religious centre (D)”, are +1.00 and 0.79 respectively. It is possible to consider that the majority of participants in the Turkish case tend to see the Armenian Church in non-religious ways. In other words, the Armenian Church can go beyond its religious meaning in the example of Turkish case. This may provide insights about the Armenian Church and Christianity within the larger sample like the Armenian community in Turkey. Even though this effort seems to be generalisation and reductionism, it should be considered as focusing on “the patchwork” in Turkey. A final point about the overview of the data set is the general patterns present on the ANCO-HITS matrix. According to the initial results, scores of religious and political parameters are generally negative, whereas ethnic and daily interactions are more positive patterns. As claimed in the methodology chapter, the main reason behind this differentiation derives from

the participants' personal experiences and the context that in which they reproduce Armenianness.

5.2. Participant Sero (T2-score=0.55)

“[...] I am pretty sure that Armenians in Turkey aren't the same. You know that right?”³⁵

They were the first words that Sero uttered once we met at a crowded café seen as a haunt by politically active youngsters in Istanbul. His short introduction allowed me to think over the conceptualisation of “the Armenianness as a patchwork” deeply because his introduction showed that he was ready to share his positive and negative categorisations and perceptions which were already constructed about Armenians in Turkey. Accordingly, his categorisations and perceptions can be observed in the ANCO-HITS matrix and lead him to construct Armenianness in different ways.

However, this construction process does not materialise in a void. Rather, it requests a background which is formed from personal experiences and interactions in everyday life. His construction of Armenianness is seen as “a model” which may come across in numerous ways in “the patchwork” while the background acts as a context that impacts upon the construction process. Therefore, before moving on how he constructs Armenianness thematically, the context should be explained in order to understand the dynamics behind his construction and why he differs from other participants. As Gerthz (1973) argues, “thick description” does not make sense without context. Meanings and interpretations of the parameters are influenced by the context. In the example of Sero, the context makes him have strong inclinations (such as -2/+2) and to get the lowest scores (overall 0.55) on the matrix.

At first glance, his personal background and experiences are chief inspirations behind strong inclinations about the parameters and boundaries of the context. By observing the primary fieldwork data and my personal meetings with Sero, I realised that his relations with the Armenian community and its institutions began fairly late and he maintained these relations without official affiliations. Unlike the

³⁵ All quotations taken from [Nickname=Sero], Interview with participant S on 22/07/2011, Istanbul-Turkey and also revisiting on 14/11/2013 Istanbul-Turkey

majority of members of the Armenian community, Sero was not born in Istanbul. His family immigrated from Tunceli in the early 1990s. His journey and subsequent experiences have become reference points for his Armenianness, and it is possible to observe the effects of his journey and experiences during the adaptation process while he is describing what being Armenian means. Sero told me about his journeys and first experiences as follows:

“...My uncles and father came to Istanbul for work [tasi topragi altin demisler]³⁶. Later on, they brought their wives and children to Istanbul. As my mother and grandmother told me, life was too hard in Dersim. Of course, I don't remember. My childhood memories are sometimes recalled, but not exactly. Maybe they come out from stories. I listened to many stories. Before going to bed, my grandmother used to tell stories every night. I didn't know that I had an Armenian background. I discovered this later on, once I met my father's friends and second cousins, because my family didn't mention it. If you asked my father, he could say that our home in Dersim was also known as the infidel's house. Even though they didn't show their ethnic identity, older people knew that our great grandfather converted to Islam in order to protect his family...”

“...However, if you asked me before, probably I would say I am Kurdish. My discovery process was a bit interesting. Firstly, I learnt what Turkish is and what Kurdish is (I supposed that I was Kurdish), and finally I learnt that I am Armenian. Our primary language at home was Kurdish. Also we have Kurdish neighbours. It is like a typical Kurdish family. As soon as my family came to Istanbul, they settled down in Bagcilar. You know there is a reasonable Kurdish population living there. This is because we [his family and other Armenians from Tunceli] have more common features with Kurdish people. It is a very reasonable choice. If you are a new in the city, you should settle down nearby where fellow countrymen live. We didn't have any idea how Istanbul Armenians live. In the street and also at home, I spoke Kurdish instead of Armenian throughout my teenage years.

³⁶ This is the most famous motto which has been shared by immigrants to Istanbul. In parallel to urbanisation and industrialisation between 1950 and 1990, population of Istanbul increased tremendously. Many families came to Istanbul due to economic, financial and educational reasons (Tufekci, 2002: 98-105 <http://eprints.sdu.edu.tr/126/1/TS00292.pdf>; Gurel & Balta, 2011:4-9 <http://www.marmarasosyaldergi.org/makale/3.pdf>).

Later on, I began to realise that I have a different history and identity from not only Turkish people, but also Kurdish people. Contrary to my previous assumptions, they aren't like us or we aren't similar with them. To be honest, I don't know how to phrase it..."

Moving to Istanbul was an extraordinary experience for Sero and his family. As seen in this brief statement, they not only changed their home and neighbourhood, but also they began a new phase in their lives because, contrary to life in Tunceli, Istanbul gave an opportunity to discover and experience some aspects of Armenian identity. As explained in the historical evolution of the Armenian community in Turkey, there are not any significant Armenian populations in rural areas in order to establish a community. Therefore, he did not have any chance to learn his ethnicity and experience it at a community level publicly before moving to Istanbul. It can be argued that living in Istanbul filled this gap and allowed him to return his roots.

However, his "discovering process" was not a simple action. I realised that his process consisted of positive and negative points of view about not only Turkish people, but also members of the Armenian community. As can be seen thematically, norms, values and practices which were brought with his rural identity are constantly clashing with the Armenian community's expectations. Thus, it could be argued that the discovery process is complex. His strong attitudes on the matrix can be considered as a reflection of this complexity.

Since Sero and his family settled down in Istanbul, they have adopted new practices especially in gender roles, as the new generation's expectations and perceptions have changed. As Mazian (1983) states, the family structure in the Armenian community is highly patriarchal. Traditionally, a man is considered as the head of the household and a representative in public. Women are generally in charge of the house and the children's education. In addition to traditional gender roles, families who have rural backgrounds might have strong expectations. In contrast to urban families, gender roles are clearly distinguished. It should be noted that the patriarchal structure of the family is not only a unique feature of Armenian families, but also Turkish or Kurdish families in rural parts are also patriarchal. Traditional Armenian families show similarities with other ethnic groups in Turkey in terms of gender roles. As can be seen in Ritter's work

(2013) documenting Crypto Armenians and Muslim Armenians in rural Turkey, it is hard to distinguish Armenian women from their Muslim neighbours. However, traditional roles such as being head of the household, expecting domestic priorities or having more children are beginning to change for not only Armenian families, but also in Turkish society generally due to socio-economic concerns. As a cosmopolitan city, Istanbul is one of the best places that shows how socio-economic factors impact traditional families. Even though men are still powerful figures in Armenian families, women from rural backgrounds have become more visible in public life. Sero stated that members of his family had experienced this transformation first hand:

“...If we lived in Dersim, probably my sisters would not work. But they have to work in Istanbul. One salary is not enough. Two of them graduated from secondary school, but they did not continue at university level...”

In addition to the diversity in the roles of women, it is observed that Sero and his family somehow adopted new practices and lifestyles due to interaction with the ‘other’ in an urban space. Differently from his other family members (mainly elders), Sero is the only one who continued his education after secondary school. Once we met in Istanbul, he was a senior undergraduate student in business at Istanbul University. He joined a few societies, including political ones, and he also works part-time in a music shop for his pocket money. Unlike the female members of his family, his education and semi-professional life allow him to spend more time outside of home. He is able to encounter various people from different backgrounds and social, ethnic and religious identities. In other words, his Armenianness is challenged in public by Armenians as well as non-Armenians. A combination of rural and urban practices, as the first boundary of the context, leads him to develop and interpret Armenianness in different ways.

After the establishment of modern Turkey, a reasonable size of the Armenian population lost their connection with the Armenian community in Istanbul. This was due to the repercussions of the 1915 tragedy, which has already been discussed. Facing a serious threat, Armenians developed various “tactics” to sustain their identities (Ozdogan et al., 2009).³⁷ Their tactics sometimes lead

³⁷ By focusing on Turkish community, Ozdogan et al. introduces De Certeau’s “tactic and strategy” which can be important concepts to show power relations in everyday life. Human beings cannot to struggle with strategies which can be observed in different forms such as top down rules, patriarchal system,

them to be called “crypto Armenians”.³⁸ Sero and his family are a good example of this categorisation. According to official papers such as his ID card, birth certificate and family records, Sero is recorded as a part of the “Muslim” population, so he is unable to benefit from minority rights and join the Armenian community even though he defines himself as “purely Armenian”. As explained earlier regarding the legal status of Armenians in Turkey, Sero and his family not accepted as organic members of the Armenian community in Turkey due to their official documents.

Since they are considered within the Muslim population, they have developed their Armenianness within a different context. It is possible to figure out the boundaries of this context that allows him to construct Armenianness by focusing on his statements about the legal situation of the Armenians. As Sero states:

“...according to the State, we are Muslim, but it is a bit complicated. Let me explain. There was a large Armenian population in Dersim before the First World War. During the genocide years, people had to convert to Islam. As far as I know, the name of the bishop was Der-Simon³⁹. So Dersim was derived from his name. Basically, Der-simon turned to Dersim. They converted to Islam, but they call themselves Alawi-Kizilbas...”

“...to be honest, practices of Alawi-Kizilbas are different. Even though they call themselves Muslim, I have never seen any Alawi who prays in the mosque. They go to a “Cem Evi” and pray in different ways. We [referring Armenians in Dersim] are in-between. Right, they converted to Alawi-Kizilbas ages ago, but now they don’t live as Alawi-Kizilbas. Of course, I

norms (in short, it is power). Therefore, people develop various indirect practices which do not question existence of the power, but they create grey areas where they can practice. For example, using Turkified names (in addition to their Armenian names), printing double side business card or combining religious traditions can be seen tactics. They seem to be accepted hegemony of the society; however, they are able to create living quarters where they experience their local culture. For more information, Certeau, Michel de 1984: *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press, Berkeley

³⁸ Basyurt (2006) describes the group of crypto Armenians as "families (and in some cases, entire villages or neighbourhoods) [...] who converted to Islam to escape the deportations and death marches [of 1915], but continued their hidden lives as Armenians, marrying among themselves and, in some cases, clandestinely reverting to Christianity." In the literature, Islamised Armenians and Crypto Armenians are used interchangeable even though each term can be conceptualised in different ways. For example, Melkonyan, Ruben (2008). "The Problem of Islamized Armenians in Turkey", http://www.noravank.am/upload/pdf/338_en.pdf, [Access date 06/05/2015]

³⁹ The prefix of Der/Ter (տէր) refers to a title for person. It means that master, owner or father (as a priest).

have religious relatives. They are exceptions. Also they don't call themselves Armenian. They are Muslim, some might say Kurdish..."

According to Sero, this situation is very well-known among the residents of Tunceli.

"...as my father told me, everyone knows everybody's ethnic background in Dersim [emphasised by participant]. We are known as Armenian. The state also knows this. However, they don't do anything to resolve this problem. According to the church we are not Armenian because we were registered as Muslim. You know being religious is complicated. I cannot be religious if someone calls me Muslim or Christian. I cannot return to the Armenian Church and live as a Christian. I am atheist and don't care if the church accept me or not. However, my ethnic identity should be recognised..."

For these bureaucratic problems, he is unable to benefit from certain ethnic institutions such as schools and to integrate himself into the Armenian community. As is understood, religious identity is seen as a key feature to be a member of the Armenian community and shapes the boundaries of it. According to the Law,⁴⁰ Armenian schools do not accept non-Armenian students. This, of course, causes serious problems for the Armenian community and produces a division such as "official Armenian" (according to records of the State, they are Christian and members of the Armenian community) and "unofficial Armenian" (those who lost their connection with the Armenian community in rural areas and have different religious tendencies). However, at the same time, the law increases the homogeneity of Armenian schools. They are highly homogenous places where Armenianness is experienced intensively because the law requires that one of the parents must be Armenian and officially belong to the Armenian community. Even though homogeneity of Armenian schools seems to be advantageous, it actually negatively influences integration and interactions within

⁴⁰ Even though the Armenian schools as a minority status are considered as a part of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, a few domestic laws and bylaws regulate Armenian schools. "1739 sayılı Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu, 2007 tarihli 5580 sayılı Özel Öğretim Kurumları Yasası and MEB Özel Öğretim Kurumları Yönetmeliği" can be given as example.

the Armenian population. Thus, living at a distance from the Armenian community constructs the second boundary of the context.

In parallel with experiencing Armenianness outside of the community and being perceived as an unofficial Armenian, Sero has activist attitudes towards stereotypes and preconceptions not only within the Armenian community, but also in Turkish society. As discussed above, there are strong stereotypes that exist about Armenians who are not members of the Armenian community. As Sero expressed;

“...you know being Armenian is highly difficult. If you say I am Armenian, it is not accepted directly. It is a problem for the Armenian community and the state. You are not fully Armenian also you are not fully Turkish/Muslim...”

“...some Armenians never accept me as an Armenian because I am perceived as a peasant. I am an eastern first. I have an accent and don't speak Armenian like them. They have some standards and templates. If you don't fit in their templates, you automatically become weird and other...”

These kinds of stereotypes lead him to fight in order to improve the situation of Armenians. It should be noted that his motivation not only derives from political impetus, but also his personal experiences and interactions that positioned him against certain points of view expounded by representatives of Armenian communities. Sero considered that his hometown and local identity force him to be an activist and more sensitive about identity issues. As he stated;

“...when I say “I am from Istanbul”, no one believes me. They ask about my hometown too. When they learn I am from Dersim, they hesitate to approach. You know if the police ask me where I am from, they begin to think that I am potential a terrorist due to conflicts between PKK and Turkey. Interestingly, Armenians [referring some members of the Armenian community] think in similar ways because they are the same as Turkish people. They watch similar T.V. channels. If you are coming from Dersim, you don't have too many options. You have to fight against their prejudices...”

“...I could say that I am more thoughtful than Armenians, for example, regarding the Kurdish question or minority problems. I can consider problems from different points of view...”

“Of course, I am against their definitions. I am Armenian too. Mostly different, but it does not change anything. They have to accept me as I am...”

All the features of the context, namely a) a combination of urban and rural practices, b) living at a distance from the community and its institutions and finally c) protests and activist attitudes towards deep-rooted perceptions and thoughts about Armenianness, allow him to have strong inclinations and attitudes while he is reproducing his Armenianness. It is clearly observed that his lower ANCO-HITS score bears the traces of these dynamics.

5.2.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

As a first theme, perceptions, thoughts and practices about religion is the most fruitful area that allowed Sero to have a unique interpretation of Armenianness. As seen from the matrix, the parameters within the religious theme are mainly negative values. In particular, parameters such as “being apostolic (G), protestant (H), catholic (I) or following a different religion (J), relations with the Church (M), attending church meetings (N), donations to the Church (O) or using religious symbols (Q)” are coded as -2. As mentioned above, the value of “-2” refers to strong negative attitudes. In the example of Sero, these negative parameters lead to his Armenianness being reproduced at one of the poles of the patchwork. At this pole, religion and religious aspects have no positive contributions. Additionally, the religious aspects of Armenianness lost their literal meanings. Contrary to the importance of Christianity and religious elements in the literature review, neither religion nor the Armenian Church has any religious importance. Rather, by analysing the data from the fieldwork, I observed that the religious theme was seen as an extension and reflection of “cultural/symbolic heritage”, “class conflicts” and “being old fashioned”. There is no doubt that these interpretations have been influenced by the context described above.

Firstly, religion and its institutions are perceived as a cultural/symbolic heritage in Sero's interpretation of Armenianness. He tends to assign new meanings and aspects instead of emphasizing religious meanings. As Sero states:

"...even though I am atheist, I go to the Armenian Church from time to time to see my friends. I walk around its garden and observe other people. There are many types of people coming to the Church. There are old couples, religious and non-religious like me, or people who like showing off because they came in luxurious cars..."

"...the Church is one of the important places where you can meet Armenians. It is history and heritage. For instance, I would fight if someone tried to destroy it. I am atheist so I have no religion at all. But I respect the believers. The Church made many contributions such as music, paintings etc, so it is an important cultural place..."

"...if you want to hear a few Armenian words, learn about Armenian heritage or find a business network, you need to go to the Armenian Church. Unfortunately, it remains the only place that represents Armenian people in public. Think like if you see Topkapi Palace, it reminds you of the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire. None of them exist anymore, but you can remember. So the Armenian Church is the same for me, because it reminds me of our culture and history..."

As can be understood from his statements, he tends to keep Christianity and the Armenian Church in a historical framework. He does not define himself by referring to religious parameters. Additionally, his experiences of religious practices are also considered within the cultural heritage rather than a religious context. According to Sero;

"...attending feasts and festivals is a good thing in order to learn your culture and background. I am not interested in religious doctrine, it is important because culture has been carried through festivals. Some people want to practice, of course, religious aspects, but I do not mind..."

Secondly, in the example of Sero's interpretation, perceptions, thoughts and practices about religion are seen as extensions of class-conflict within the Armenian community. Historically, the Armenian community is not classless.

After the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the Armenian Patriarchy was relocated to Istanbul with the support of Sultan Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople. Since then, the Armenian Church always has been seen as a core of congregational life. Therefore, the church and patriarch were not considered as independent actors, as they recognised the authority of the emperors. This, by default, led the Church to be perceived as pro-state. Additionally, this peaceful relationship with the state allowed members of the Armenian community to develop well. As explained in the previous chapter, some families were enriched and found significant positions in the state mechanism. Until the emergence of Armenian nationalism, the most important feature of these families were strong relations with the state. Over time, this created a famous phrase about Armenians, describing them as the “Loyal Nation”. At the end of the 19th Century, the Armenian Church and large families (the Amira) made efforts to not come into conflict with the state.

However, their attitudes were not welcomed by revolutionary Armenian groups and were accused of being collaborators with the state. These relationships can be considered as one of the seeds of class conflict within the Armenian community. As Komsuoglu (2007) states, the attitudes of the representatives of the Armenian community continued until the present day and they have made efforts not to clash with the authorities. Indeed, representatives of the Armenian community need to publish a condemnation letter whenever Turkey has to encounter political problems with the Armenian diaspora and Armenia itself. Consequently, this leads the church and representatives to be perceived as protectors of a certain socio-economic class which does not tend to challenge the state in order to protect their privileges.

In the example of Sero’s interpretation, the Church and churchgoers are coded as “peaceful Armenians” who tend to accept the authority of the state and do not fight issues relating to the Armenian community. It is possible to argue that features of the context, such as living at a distance from the community and protest and activist attitudes, lead Sero to think of the church and representatives as a different class. As Sero mentioned:

“...I don’t believe the Church represents me well enough because they hesitate to take a side especially regarding the Armenian genocide and

relations with the State. They do not fight. I think they are afraid of losing their possessions, like economic power or social status. They always try to be good citizens...”

“...the church receives donations from rich Armenians. Mostly they are old. They don't understand new developments. For instance, they don't know anything about Dersim Armenians. When they realise we are not the same as them, we are suddenly excluded. The Church is also not ready to absorb the reality of Dersim. Therefore, my relation with the Church and those people is limited...”

By observing his statements, it could be argued that the Church as the representative of a certain class signifies a “reconciliatory institution” sustaining the power of the government instead of demanding and fighting for the rights of Armenians in Turkey.

Finally, the religion and its practices are considered as old-fashioned traditions in Sero' interpretation. They do not find a place in his everyday life. As Sero states:

“...I don't need to believe in any religion. For me, it is an illusion. I have been to mosque and church a few times but it does not fit modern life. We can explain the world through our knowledge and scientific ways...”

“...my personal opinion, of course, is that religious texts were valid in the dark ages. I don't know, if I was Istanbul Armenian, I might think differently because I didn't see any churches in Dersim and of course I didn't go to the mosque because I'm not Turk and Muslim...”

It is possible to argue that the context which is described above shapes his thoughts about religion and practices. Since he learnt his Armenianness outside of the Armenian community, he was unable to absorb Christianity and religious practices in his everyday life. Additionally, he has not approached Islam as he considers himself different from the majority in terms of ethnic and religious aspects. Consequently, he tends to fill in spiritual gaps with “scientific explanations” and exclude any religious thoughts. It could be understood that his interpretation of Armenianness does not reflect any religious point of view and, with his lower scores, he is clearly set apart from other participants.

5.2.2. Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices

The parameters that are related to ethnicity and ethnic background, as a second theme, are important parts of Sero's Armenianness. As seen from the matrix, parameters such as "sharing ethnic story and myths (X), ethnic historiography (Z), Armenians as a race (AD), sharing the idea of Greater Armenia (AJ) and using the Armenian language (AO)" are generally coded with positive values. In contrast to the religious theme, it was observed that Sero's interpretation shows more similarities with other participants. Accordingly, parameters under the ethnic theme allow him to meet other members of the Armenian community at common points. As will be discussed, they are mainly related to collective elements of the ethnic identity such as myths, memories, a common ancestor and language. Thus, he can see himself as Armenian even though he is not a member of the community officially and tends to practice Armenianness differently.

By looking at the patterns in the matrix, some cases show highly strong inclinations and distinguish him from other participants. Ethnic elements, narratives, symbols and features are generally paid too much attention by him and seen as crucial reference points in his interpretation of Armenianness. This is especially related to the context in which he lives, and is generally influenced by the evolution of the Armenian community in Turkey. As discussed, the Armenian community not only shrunk demographically, but also lost their visibility in public spheres. In the example of Sero, the disappearance of ethnicity triggers him to have ethno-nationalist interpretations. For instance, imagination of the homeland consists of ethno-nationalist elements. According to the current literature of nationalism and ethnicity studies, the definitions of ethnic group or nation require a historical homeland where it is assumed that members of the nation and ethnic group originates from there (Smith, 1996:189-197;1999). The idea of a homeland goes beyond cultural and historical aspects. Due to political practices and the goals of elites, the boundaries of the homeland are changeable. In the example of Sero, it is observed that he tends to assign different meanings to these parameters. According to Sero, the boundaries of the Armenian homeland are:

“...Armenians have been living in the same territory. Before Turks and Kurds, this territory belonged to us. Now, Armenia only has small parts of it. Turkey has created a block between two Armenian communities...”

“...I should state that I would be very happy if Turkey opened the borders or returned Armenian cities [referring Kars, Erzurum and Igdir] to Armenia...”

As can be seen from his statement, it is possible to catch nationalist points of view. As a result of nation-building during the 18th Century, the idea of a historical homeland and country were created respectively. Armenian political elites and actors drew the boundaries of Armenia by locating Mount Ararat at its centre. However, the image of Ararat, as Abrahamian and Sweezy (2001) states, became popular and used to mobilise Armenians throughout the 18th and 19th Centuries. Therefore, Sero believes that the Armenian homeland is occupied by Turkey and the unity of Armenians has been prevented. This point clearly caused him to have a distinct interpretation and lower scores among the other participants.

Another point is related to the ethnic theme that Armenianness is represented as a pure, sacred and ancient nation. In the case of Sero, it is possible to observe primordial thoughts. For instance, Sero considers being Armenian as a socio-biological identity. According to this point of view, Armenian identity has existed via kinship with a clear continuation between previous generations that lived during the Neolithic and the modern Armenian community. He believes that all Armenians came from the same ancestors, and it should be noted that this point of view allows for origin myths, ethnic symbols and memories to be effective in the reproduction process. As Sero states:

“...Armenians like Turks or Englishmen are a race [referring to a nation]. They are more pure than other nations because they did not leave the territory for a long time and did not go anywhere. Also, we do not have too much mixed marriages...”

“...Armenians are called the Sons of Noah. Since then we have been living in the same territory...”

In reference to this statement, it could be argued that the Armenian nation (and its diasporic community in Turkey) is imagined as ethnically homogenous and pure. Considering the Armenian nation as homogenous may forge socio-economic differences such as class, urban-rural and religious schisms, which were discussed previously. It allows Sero to see himself as being the same as other members of the Armenian nation, namely those who share a similar ethnic heritage. For this reason, ethnic parameters play key roles in maintaining a connection between Sero and other Armenians, so these parameters are emphasised overwhelmingly. More importantly, distance and lower scores deriving from absence of religious parameters are replaced by ethnic parameters.

5.2.3. Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

As a third theme, political practices and attitudes shape Sero's interpretations of Armenianness deeply. As can be understood from the matrix, his approaches and attitudes about political aspects of Armenianness are strong. This is especially with regard to some parameters such as having a "Different version of the 1915 (AV), assimilation threat (AY), involvement political issues (BF) or attitudes of Armenians against political issues (BE)". These are considered in simplistic black and white terms that then leads him to choose a side. In contrast to the ethnic parameters, Sero has developed a distinct form of Armenianness. These parameters provide interesting data as to how Sero reconstructs Armenianness in different ways and reflects features of the context discussed above.

Particularly, the activist and protest features of the context allow him to have strong attitudes against political aspects of Armenianness. As previously discussed, most Armenians in Turkey have tended to stay away from the political sphere and expended effort to not get involved with political groups. As Komsuoglu (2007) and Yumul (1999-2000) show, the contemporary Armenian does not have any political movement that is similar to what is seen among the Kurdish population. Armenian families aim to maintain the image of "good citizens" and to not challenge the state. Sero's position is the complete opposite of this, as he orients himself to political movements consciously. In the interpretation of Sero's Armenianness, Armenians are divided into two categories, namely, a group who seeks to maintain the status quo and another

group that does not hesitate to challenge the state. This categorisation reflects how Sero perceives the Armenian community in terms of political aspects. As Sero states:

“[...] I am pretty sure that Armenians in Turkey aren't the same. You know that right?”

“...I am slightly different from other Armenian youngsters that you would meet in your research. I am an activist and revolutionary. I cannot remain in silence like others. I try to do everything I can if I really believe that I am right. I am not scared...”

“...We [referring Armenians from Tunceli] have already been tagged by the state as being revolutionary, Armenian and from Dersim. I don't have any reason to be afraid...”

“...Armenian youngsters are also another problem. Of course, some are like me, I am not talking about them. The majority of youngsters are not interested in politics. They have clichés about the Kurdish question or Anatolian Armenians in their mind. They don't read and research...”

As can be understood from his statements, being an activist is employed as an important indicator of his Armenianness and distinguishes him from other participants. Additionally, it may increase the visibility of the Armenian community in Turkey. It should be noted that activism and social mobilisation are an upward trend among Armenian youngsters. As explained in the history of the Armenian community in Turkey, some events forced Armenian families to be more careful while raising their children. However, and in contrast to previous generations, the assassination of Hrant Dink influenced Armenian youngsters positively. For instance, at Dink's funeral and other commemorations, one can find significant examples of how Armenians appear in public carrying slogans, publishing newspapers and conducting protests. His assassination triggered in Armenians, who had been taught to be apolitical, the need to raise their voices (Kopsa, 2008). Additionally, problems that the Armenian community experienced have since been loudly denounced by many Armenians themselves. Sero also stated that he went to Dink's funeral and followed the legal proceedings at court a few times. He was affected by Hrant Dink and his thought politically.

Another significant political parameter in his interpretation of Armenianness are his perceptions about political practices and the attitudes of Western countries such as France, Sweden and the USA towards the Armenian tragedy. Political actors in those countries do not hesitate to involve themselves in relations between Turkey and Armenia, specifically the Armenian Question, which is a political debate arguing about whether the deportation of Armenians in 1915 was a genocide or not. As can be seen from the ANCO-HITS, unlikely other participants, Sero is able to fit external political actors' practices in his interpretations because he desires Western countries to intervene and stand for the Armenian community in order to improve relations between Turkey and Armenia. As Sero states:

“...For me, they should interfere in Turkey and place Turkey under strong sanctions. Otherwise, Turkey would probably never recognise the genocide. It is very interesting that the Armenian community, who as I said are cowards, show some reactions and consider that Western countries are causing problems for them...”

“...we should fight together...”

His thoughts about external political actors lead him to emphasise political aspects more and stand out amongst other participants.

In parallel to his political orientation, the Armenian deportation is also interpreted within the political framework. Sero believes that the events of 1915 are definitely an example of genocide. There is no room for any alternative points of view in his interpretation of Armenianness.

It should be noted that approaching the events of 1915 with this intense feeling enables him to find common ground with other members of the Armenian community. As discussed, the tragedy of 1915 is seen as the most important memory, transmitted from generation to generation, and maintains Armenianness as a collective identity. They can create a common identity for all Armenians who are dispersed all over the world within the victimhood context. Different from other participants, however, Sero goes beyond this victimhood and show some political expectations. As Sero states:

“...Undoubtedly, 1915 is genocide. Armenians were killed. Just compare our population before genocide and post-genocide. What happened? They did not fly away. They were killed purposely. The state still denies this. I don't believe in any argument such as “there was a war”, or “mutual conflicts” or “Armenians died because of an epidemic”. They are bullshit. The state has to return our territories and properties fully. Maybe, other Armenians do not express this freely, but this is reality...”

“...Turkish nationalism is the main culprit. They aimed to destroy all Armenians. Also Kurdish people are guilty. They helped and occupied our places. Now, some Kurdish people understand their faults in the genocide years, but religious Kurds still support their actions...”

As is understood from his statements, the tragedy of 1915 is employed in several ways. Social memories are important elements not only to create a collective identity, but also to transmit consciousness from generation to generation. Social memories about the tragedy of 1915 can bring all Armenians who are dispersed all over the world together within the victimhood context. On the other hand, it is considered as a legacy for Sero's political expectations. Differently from other participants, Sero tends to consider Turkish nationalism as a perpetrator that sought to destroy the Armenian population. Any alternative explanation or thought is not paid any attention by Sero, and is not included in the reproduction process of Armenianness.

All in all, Sero's attitudes towards political aspects of Armenianness seem to be more extreme than other participants and reproduces Armenianness at one of the polar extremes.

5.2.4. Theme of Interactions in Everyday Life

As the final theme, interactions in everyday life are important indicators showing how Sero's interpretation is affected. As can be seen from the matrix, his interactions are highly diverse and in some cases he has strong attitudes compared to other participants. This is particularly the case with interactions relating to non-Armenians (BS, BT or BV), practices within the Armenian community (BL, BN or BO) and to transnational networks (CL, CM, CN or CS). These interactions and practices differ from those of other participants. These

interactions lead him to construct and experience Armenianness in intensive ways.

For Sero, interactions with non-Armenians are clearly defined, especially relationships between men and women (and even same sex), and are highly important parameters and flavoured with ethnicity. Sero generally avoids having relationships with non-Armenians and is strongly against mixed marriages, while he sees Turkish and Kurdish women just as “friends”. As Sero states:

“...principally, I am against mixed marriage. I won't get married to a non-Armenian. If I decide to get married, she must be an Armenian who is familiar with our customs and traditions. Girls [referring to Istanbul Armenians] in Istanbul, to be honest, are sniffy and snoop, so they would not be proper candidates...”

“...Most people from Dersim have big families. For instance, we are 8 people in my family. I have 5 brothers and sisters. Also I have a few uncles and aunties, and of course, cousins and nephews....”

“...Our family life is more traditional and different from Istanbul. For instance, eating is very different. We are still eating our dinner on the floor. We have huge family meetings etc. Therefore, my bride must be familiar with our culture. Who knows, If I have a mixed marriage, she must be Christian because she can establish empathy easier than a Muslim. I would never get married to a Muslim Turk because we look at the world from different points. It causes many problems between families. For example, names and religion of children will always remain a problem. Kurdish or Alewi can be tolerable because they are somehow similar. I am talking about women living in Dersim or have connection with there.”

“...If you have a non-Armenian girlfriend, it can be tolerated because she is not serious. My family also does not support mixed marriages...”

By referring to his statements, it is possible to highlight features of the context highlighted above. His statement reflects a combination of urban and rural backgrounds. Expectations from the marriage, size of the family and gender roles are crucial clues as to how he constructs Armenianness in everyday life.

Moreover, they prevent him from seriously approaching women who are perceived as members of other groups.

In his Armenianness, women are basically divided into two categories. On the one hand, women are either labelled as Istanbul Armenians or Turkish who symbolise the dominant culture that is not shared by Sero and his family. On the other hand, women who are coming from a similar socio-economic background to him are considered potential partners. At first glance, even if the boundaries of his relationships are ethnically constructed, in some cases being Armenian is not an obligatory requirement. In the second categorisation, Assyrian, Alewi or Kurdish women, those who are at the same time people of his hometown can be located. Even though there are significant and ethnic differences, he is able to meet up common point with them as they are not a part of the dominant community. None of them define themselves as Sunni-Muslim Turks. Accordingly, Sero's preferences about interactions with non-Armenians make him construct Armenianness in a more concise format.

Moreover, in the example of Sero, interactions with Armenians are materialised in different ways. Since he is not officially a member of the Armenian community and lives at a distance from them, it is observed that he develops alternative practices in everyday life. For instance, the usage of language and social spaces are the most prominent examples demonstrating how Sero has alternative points of view. As a result of the context in which he grew up, unlike other participants who define themselves as Istanbul Armenian, he did not have any chance to speak Armenian during his childhood as he did not grow up in an Armenian neighbourhood or go to the Armenian schools. Rather, he spoke Kurdish and spent time with Kurdish and Turkish children. The primary language used in his home is still Kurdish and the usage of Armenian language is limited in everyday life. He learnt his ethnic language as "a foreign language".⁴¹ As Sero states:

"...probably, I cannot do this interview in Armenian. I cannot express my thoughts. My Armenian is not good enough to explain complex thoughts. I

⁴¹ Richards and Schmidt (2002: 206) defines a foreign language as not medium of instruction in public schools and is not widely used as a medium of communication in government, media etc. They are taught as school subjects. According to their conceptualisation, Kurdish is considered as a native language while Armenian is a foreign language because it was learnt after three years old. It should be noted that Turkish, which is practiced in public as an official language, should be called "second language" in the example of Sarkis.

didn't go to Armenian schools and learn well. However, I will try to teach Armenian to my children. So some Armenians don't accept me as Armenian because I don't speak Armenian..."

This is an important feature of his Armenianness. Lack of language causes an invisible barrier between him and the Armenian community that leads to the development of mutual stereotypes. Dink (2003; 2004) argued that these stereotypes and integration problems jeopardise unity and the civilisation of the Armenian community. As is understood, speaking Armenian or not matters in his interpretation of Armenianness as language is included indirectly in the process of reproduction.

Furthermore, his limited interaction with the Armenian language in everyday life also impacts his interest in the Armenian media. Sero uses mainly Turkish and Kurdish while he is interacting with members of the Armenian community.⁴² Consequently, he uses Turkish as a written language whereas Kurdish is a primary spoken language. In order to increase his knowledge about the Armenian people and culture, he tends to read books which are mainly published in Turkish by Aras Publishing, who have an ethno-historical book series, or he subscribes to the AGOS newspaper, a bilingual Armenian newspaper. Other newspapers; namely, Jamanak and Nor Marmara which are fully published Armenian language as minority newspapers having mainly news about Turkey and the Armenian community are not bought.⁴³ Therefore, these newspapers and books are sometimes considered as indicators that show belonging to the Armenian community. In the example of Sero, other Armenian language newspapers are related to "other Armenians" who do not tend to absorb or implement his interpretation of Armenianness.

In addition to the usage of language in everyday life, social spaces which are used in can also distinguish his reproduction of Armenianness. As can be seen in the matrix, Sero tends to reproduce his Armenianness in more heterogonous places that are also used by non-Armenians. The background of his preference

⁴² Once we met in the café, he talked to the waiter in Kurdish.

⁴³ Since they are minority newspapers, their circulation rates are very low such as Nor Marmara 1500 and Agos 2000 per week. They are sometimes bought by Armenian families for aid or they are also considered as markers for the Armenain community. Another participant stated that buying newspapers (Jamanak) is a practice remaining from his grandfather. It is not important the newspaper is intensively read or not. Rather, it reminds him of his ethnic identity.

is derived from the context. As a result of his personal background and features of the context, homogenous places such as church, foundations and Kinali⁴⁴ are not involved in the process of the reproduction of Armenianness. As Sero states:

“...Kinaliada might be a special place for other Armenians, but not for me because I am not welcomed in Kinaliada. Rich Armenians generally go to Kinaliada in the summer. They have summer houses or rent seasonally. As I said, they have different lifestyles as you may observe...”

“...I prefer different places. I like spending time with my friends in town [Bagcilar] or hanging out in Istiklal. There are a few cafes and pubs where we always go. Instead of Kinaliada and summer holiday, we go to the Munzur Festival in Dersim...”

In the example of Sero’s interpretation, Kinali is considered within the context of his socio-economic background. Although, at first glance, Armenians might not be easily discerned whilst walking around in Kinaliada because of the tourists, residents of the island are mostly Armenians who belong to a certain economic class.⁴⁵

Interactions about transnational networks are another area that shapes his Armenianness. Differently from other participants, his attitudes towards transnational networks have generally positive values. As can be seen from the

⁴⁴ Kinali is very interesting place consisting of Armenian population. It sometimes is called Kinali, Prince Island or Kinaliada. This labelling is important point to understand socio-economic background of Armenians. As is observed, Istanbul Armenians and Istanbuliate those who have not lost nuances of the language call Kinali. They do not say Kinaliada. These nuances are used to understand if someone is originally from Istanbul or not.

⁴⁵ In order to understand features of the economic class, comparison of house prices could be useful indicators. For instance, rents for three bedrooms flats in outskirts of Istanbul such as Basaksehir fluctuate between 650 TL and 850 TL. In the same neighbourhood, house market starts from 200.000 TL. However, these prices jump up dramatically in central neighbourhoods such as Moda, Besiktas and Bostanci. Old flats can be rented between 1.200 TL and 2.000 TL whereas they are sold around 450.000 TL in Moda.

Kinali as a summer resort remains above the average (200.000 TL and above). One of the residents in Kinali stated that rents depending on the season start from 7.000 TL. According to the primary field work notes, majority of Armenian residents in Kinali are old residents and live in family inheritance. Numbers of houses are limited in Kinali and house sometimes are sold in high values. It should not be forgotten that the minimum wage (per month –asgari ucret-) is 891 Turkish Liras (approximately 370 American Dollars). As can be seen, houses in Kinali for ordinary workers are over budget (http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLP%20Repository/cgm/asgariucet/2014_ikinci_ay, Access Date 11/10/2014).

Also living in Kinali relates to social and cultural capital (For further information about cultural capital among Armenian community in Turkey; Yumul, 1994).

matrix, he has relations with Armenians who live in other parts of the world. As Sero states:

“...There were many Armenians in Dersim. They not only migrated to Istanbul, but also they went to Europe. It is possible to come across Armenians whose ancestors are from Dersim on Facebook or forums. Also, I am following events of the Dersim Association. They seek to introduce Dersim and the Armenian identity. It grows gradually, so you know more people every day...”

Additionally, interactions with Armenia as a country find a place in his Armenianness. Unlike other participants, Armenia is sometimes considered as a real homeland. He shows some examples of long distance nationalism, such as having an Armenian flag. He shares what he thinks about Armenia:

“...I want to not only visit Armenia, but also to live in Armenia. I think it is completely different than Turkey. First of all, it belongs to Armenians. Everybody speaks Armenian and you don't need to maintain your identity because it maintains itself. You can live like an Armenian...”

It could be argued that Armenia is imagined as an ideal homeland and, accordingly, national Armenian celebrations are generally not observed in Turkey. He does not see himself as a part of the Turkish nation. In the example of Sero, his action is very logical as he thinks that the establishment of Turkey (the Lausanne Peace Treaty) prevented the realisation of Greater Armenia. Therefore, national celebrations in Turkey remind him of Armenian defeats, since he is very political oriented, and he cannot unify himself with a Turkish identity.

To sum up, it could be argued that Sero reproduces Armenianness in intensive ways. The context which he grew up consists of significant features. These features of the context mainly derive from historical and sociological developments after the establishment of modern Turkey. In his interpretation of Armenianness, the effects of this context are observed in each theme, especially in themes related to religious and political practices where he has strong inclinations and views. In contrast to other participants, he tends to construct new meanings in accordance with the features of the context. Accordingly, his attitudes and interactions lead him to get lower scores on the matrix since he

tends to give different, unusual and unexpected answers. In other words, components which are mentioned in the literature about boundaries of Armenianness, such as religion, language and community, are interpreted differently in the reproduction process. In contrast to 'common tendency', these components might sometimes be less highlighted than with others. Therefore, his interpretation is reproduced at a polar extreme and signifies a different model of Armenianness.

5.3. Participant Boghos (T11=0.96)

“I am Armenian, Istanbulite and a Christian citizen of the Republic of Turkey...”⁴⁶

This is a summary of the meeting with Boghos, another pseudonym, and consisted of important clues about boundaries of the context in which Armenianness is shaped. By referring to the historical evaluation of the Armenian community, this quotation is valid not only for Boghos, but also for many other Armenians in Turkey. In Boghos’s example, it featured prominently within his context where Armenianness is constructed.

Unlike other participants, Boghos is the most positive participant having generally strong positive inclinations. Accordingly, his reproduction of Armenianness seems to be very distinguished on the ANCO-HITS matrix. Before moving on to understand details of his score and accordingly his reproduction of Armenianness, the boundaries of the context that are a part of his personal background and experiences should be described.

Boghos’s personal background seems to be a very familiar story among members of the Armenian community in Turkey. Boghos was born in Istanbul and gained his Armenian community membership rights through birth, so he is an organic member of the community. As Boghos explained;

“...my mom is from Istanbul, and is 7th generation. All my grandfathers from my mother’s side were born in Istanbul. However, my father’s side were originally from Italy. My father was also born in Istanbul...”

“...I define myself as an Istanbul Armenian. When I say that I am an Istanbul Armenian, it is not a simple statement. It means many things for Armenians. It is about family history and culture. It means that I share the heritage of the Armenian culture that continued since the Ottoman Empire. If you ask anyone, they say that they are from Istanbul. If you ask a few more questions, you would realise that their families had come from different places in Anatolia. So for me, they are not from Istanbul. To be

⁴⁶ [Nickname=Boghos], Interview with participant S on 24/07/2011, Istanbul-Turkey and also revisiting 26/07/2011

born in Istanbul is not enough to be accepted as an “Istanbulite”, you have to share the urban culture too...”

As can be understood from his brief statement, “being Istanbulite” is an important boundary of the context shaping his interpretation of Armenianness. In contrast to the previous participant, Sero (T2=0.55), Boghos and his family’s connections with Istanbul and the Armenian community institutionally have not been terminated. Therefore, there is no process of re-discovery, re-settling down or integration processes for Boghos and his family. In other words, Boghos as an organic member of the Armenian community has continued to experience Armenianness.

At this point, the term of being Istanbulite is a deep-rooted concept that must be explained. Even by referring to his statement above, it could be argued that being an Istanbulite is faceted in two ways, namely indicators for “origins of family” and a “way of living”. According to the first usage, it refers to longevity and connection with a certain territory. Contrary to popular sayings, being an Istanbulite does not indicate a place of birth. Rather, it refers to a generational connection with Istanbul. In this usage, it is not important whether someone was born in Istanbul or not. Being an Istanbulite can be a transferable feature.

It is crucial to point out that hometown (*memleket/kutuk*) is a highly important nuance in both the Turkish and Armenian languages. Asking someone’s hometown is sometimes seen as an introductory question when starting a conversation with strangers in public. At the same time, it is an indirect way to understand one’s ethnicity and religious identity. Even though Turkey has an intensive Turkmen and Muslim population, it is not a purely homogenous country. The population of Turkey is not equally distributed due to internal migration, urbanisation and geographical factors. For instance, Turkish citizens who are ethnically Kurd have settled down mainly in eastern cities such as Hakkari, Diyarbakir and Van, while ethnically Arab citizens of Turkey are located in the southern cities of Hatay, Urfa and Antep (Konda, 2011; Buran and Cak, 2012; Andrews, 1989). Throughout time, they have developed various practices and constructed local cultures. In a broader context, they tend to take along their local identities and culture once they settle down in bigger cities. Then, fellow countrymen ‘*Hemsehrilik*’ as an urban phenomenon matters in Turkish society

(Asunakutlu and Safran, 2005) because it provides commonality and a sense of 'us' to people in urban spaces that consist of various groups, people and communities having different backgrounds.

It is possible to see similar trends within the Armenian community. The family origin and coming from certain regions becomes an important matter for Armenians too. Even this importance is etched into the Armenian language, as different terms were generated. For instance, *Bolistchi* is an Armenian word referring to members of the Armenian community in Istanbul. The division between Armenian communities can be followed linguistically. In terms of family origins, some members of the Armenian community are defined as Istanbulite, so they can define their Armenianness by referring to a long period of history. Undoubtedly, this precious feature emphasises the belonging of Armenianness in Istanbul and Turkey. Apart from a majority of Armenians, Greek and Jewish communities, it is really hard to come across families who have been living in Istanbul for seven generations.

Additionally, being an Istanbulite is considered a way of life. Historically, there were certain behavioural patterns such as clothes, language or cuisine that are described as being Istanbulite (Konuk, 2015). Not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in the modern Turkey, Istanbul always represents modern and elegant life styles. Due to non-proportional immigration trends to Istanbul, the elegant character of Istanbul has been lost over the years.⁴⁷ Having said that, immigrants who came from rural towns and have intensive local traditions established new neighbourhoods and brought their practices instead of absorbing the Istanbulite's behavioural patterns.

In the example of the Armenian community, being an Istanbulite as a way of living can be observed among Armenians who tend to live in congregational ways because they are affected less by the transformation of Istanbul. It is possible to observe behaviour/cultural codes demonstrating how an Istanbulite lives within

⁴⁷ It is possible to talk about differences of Istanbulites and their everyday life. For instance, Istanbulites have their own fast-food practices. Wet-Burger (islak burger) has become a famous food and identified with Istanbul throughout the years. It is likely to come across that this burger is also known as "Istanbul Burger" or "Taksim Islak Burger" in different cities. In addition, vocabulary especially in slang language can change. Istanbulites have adopted different rhetoric, for example, "Kanka", "Panpa", "Kuzum", "Birader" are used to highlight sincerity among friends. Furthermore, some residents of the city tend to use "cooperate language" consisting of English and Turkish words (which is also known "plaza turkcesi") in fancy ways.

the family context. As discussed above, some neighbourhoods that were historically occupied by Armenians began to change. Accordingly, being an Istanbulite disappeared in public and instead became private within families. Boghos's perception about being an Istanbulite is as follows:

“...Being an Istanbul Armenian is very different. Their attitudes, education, practices, food etc are different. I don't look down at others, please don't misunderstand me. I just say that there are some differences. For instance, families who came to Istanbul lately and those who are local to Istanbul are different. Once they interact with Istanbul Armenians, they realise that their Armenianness does not fit because the expectations are different. They may have problems while adapting themselves in the Armenian community...”

In the literature, it is possible to find various examples emphasising differences between Istanbul and Anatolian Armenians. However, these differences do not make sense and not visible because of globalisation trend and low population of Armenians. Yumul (1992) tends to discuss these differences in terms of cultural capital and highlight key features of being an Istanbul Armenian. Undoubtedly, this way of living brings along certain socio-economic aspects too. In short, being an Istanbulite indicates either an origin of family or a way of living, and is an important boundary of the context where Armenianness is reproduced.

Similar to the first boundary, remaining in Istanbul is another boundary of the context shaping Boghos's interpretation of Armenianness. After spending a reasonable time in the field, I realised that Boghos and his family's story was very familiar and took place in the same places. These places are where parts of his Armenian heritage reflect that intensive continuity in the neighbourhood. Differently from some participants, his family did not experience the deportation of 1915 first hand. Consequently, they were not forced to leave their hometown because, as will be explained in a further section, the deportation of Armenians was applied only in certain areas that were strategically important, such as nearby fronts between the Russian and Ottoman armies. Even though his family and he had not experienced the deportation, they witnessed the transformation of Istanbul and specifically their neighbourhood in the post-Ottoman period. As Boghos describes;

“...This [Yesilkoy] neighbourhood used to be an Armenian neighbourhood. Later on, it received lots of immigrants. Consequently, it began to change. Houses were rebuilt or people moved away to different parts of Istanbul or different countries or died one by one. Firstly, new, rich Turkish people came to the neighbourhood, like a middle class. Armenians began to take a step back. For example, I remember that our grocer was Armenian. He sometimes used to talk Armenian with me like very basic things in everyday conversation. He disappeared as well as our Armenian neighbours. Only names remained. For example, a few buildings in the neighbourhood have Armenian names like ‘Ani Apartment’...”⁴⁸

In other words, it could be considered that Boghos and his family had the chance to observe and compare the changes in Istanbul and the Armenian community. This feature of the context undoubtedly allowed him to develop some protectionist attitudes and in the end impacted his reproduction of Armenianness and interpretations of the parameters.

In addition to these two boundaries, His organic affiliation of the Armenian community can be accepted as an important feature of the context. As discussed above, the rights and responsibilities of minorities are defined by the Lausanne Peace Treaty. According to this treaty, religion is the key indicator shaping concept of the minorities in Turkey. In this vein, Boghos and his family are accepted within the minority group officially because they did not have to convert to Islam. Their connections with the Armenian Church and Christianity were not broken after the establishment of modern Turkey. At first glance, it could be argued that this is one of the major differences from the previous participants and enables him to develop different attitudes towards the Armenian Church and the religion. There is no doubt that organic affiliation provides important benefits. For instance, it is hard to argue that he has experienced any integration problem or negative stereotypes questioning his Armenian identity. Rather, organic affiliation allows him to benefit from institutions of the Armenian community such as schools, foundations or social networks. Thus, this leads him to develop more peaceful relations with the community. In contrast to the former participant, he

⁴⁸ Ani refers to a common girl name and one of the old gods in Armenian mythology

tends to maintain 'status quo' instead of practicing protest and activist points of view.

“...Maybe there are a few problems within the community. For example, he [referring patriarch Mesrop Mutafyan] is sick, but still the Armenian Church is the most essential place and he is head of the Armenian community...”

Putting it differently, representatives of the Armenian community and its institutions are not considered as a mechanism which should be challenged due to an organic affliction of the Armenian community.

In addition to these three boundaries, the context shaping his Armenianness also has a final boundary. As a result of remaining in Turkey, he is able to develop “cohabiting practices” with non-Armenians. This feature can be very important because it not only affects his context, but also increases his similarities between non-Armenians and Armenians in Turkey. As Boghos stated several times during our meeting, he sometimes feels like a Turk. There is no doubt that this feeling derives from cohabiting practices.

His socio-economic background can be an important dynamic behind his cohabiting practices. Differently from the previous participant, Boghos comes from a wealthy family in the Armenian community. He took over his family business with two other brothers after he graduated from a private university. Boghos explains his relations with the Turkish people as follows;

“...private sector is good. We earn well, thanks to God. We are not superbly rich, but if you compare with the rest of the people, yes our situation is much better. Our company is not only preferred by Armenians, but also Turkish businessmen want to work with us. There is a common thought that Armenians are very trustworthy in accounting and business life. They are very careful in relations with the state. They pay attention to not clash with the state or government. Of course, there are historical experiences such as the ‘Wealthy Tax’.

As can be seen, his professional career allows him to meet with Turkish customers and brings along various interactions such as trade, meetings or even family visits. Instead of adopting a ghetto life style, he is able to involve non-

Armenian people into his daily life. As an important feature of the Armenian community in Turkey, interactions with Turkish people are unavoidable. Broadly, it could be argued that cohabiting with non-Armenians is a final boundary that helped him to get such positive scores on the matrix while reproducing Armenianness.

By observing the boundaries of the context, it can be assumed that Boghos's interpretation is highly different to Sero. The context is formed of four boundaries namely, a) being an Istanbulite b) remaining in Istanbul c) having organic affiliation to the Armenian community and finally d) cohabiting practices and experiences with non-Armenians. As will be explained below, these boundaries of the context allow him to not only get positive scores on the matrix, but also to develop peaceful relations with both Armenian non-Armenian communities.

5.3.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

In the example of Boghos, as mentioned above, parameters relating to religious perceptions and practices are important parts of the reproduction process. Differently from the previous participant, it is possible to observe alternative meanings and interpretations in the reproduction process. At first glance, religious parameters have generally positive values in Boghos's reproduction. Most parameters such as Church as a religious centre (D), relations with the Armenian Church (M) and Donations to the Church (O)" are coded as +2. In other words, it could be argued that Boghos is able to integrate religious aspects and motifs into his Armenianness. Consequently, these parameters help him to reproduce an alternative form of Armenianness.

For Boghos, religion and religious aspects are important components of his identity. As Boghos states;

"I am Armenian, Christian and a citizen of Turkey. The only difference which I have is that I am Christian. We [referring to me and him] have many common things because we have lived together for a long time. Food, traditions and families are very similar. Only our religion is different which makes me a minority, also an Armenian. If I start to see myself as Muslim, no one will realise my ethnic identity. I would become 'ordinary'. Of course I lost my heritage [referring historical heritage and ethnic conscious]. Religious differences are a significant feature that someone makes whether they are a minority or not..."

"...lighting a candle or praying are important things for me. Actually, they play two roles. Firstly, they are parts of my religion. Secondly, it reminds me of Armenian culture and heritage. I could argue that the Armenian culture would be weakened if Christianity was removed..."

"...once I go to the church, I meet with my friends and see acquaintances. The church is not a place like hundreds of people visit. Every time you can see similar faces. I know most of them, either I know their parents or relatives. Actually, the Armenian community might be 70,000 and spread out in Istanbul. However, everyone has his own world [referring

socialisation places], which is very small. It is possible to turn out to be somebody one knows from before...”

By observing his statements above, it could be argued that Christianity and the Armenian Church have not lost their literal meanings. Differently from the former participant, religion is used in the reproduction process of Armenianness. On the one hand, religion satisfies his spiritual needs; on the other hand, it helps him to highlight differences in terms of ethno-religious identity. Therefore, religion is considered as a significant marker within the Turkish society where Sunni Islam is embodied deeply.

Another important point in Boghos's interpretation of Armenianness are the differences between Muslim and Christian people, but it is not considered a problem or a matter that triggers social conflict among people. Unlike some Middle Eastern societies such as Lebanon religious differences (broadly speaking) are no longer valid dynamics as Turkish society is mostly Muslim (including Kurds and other ethnic groups). It is hard to observe intra-religious conflicts.⁴⁹ Sectarian differences among the Armenian community as well as other Christians (including Assyrians or Greeks) lost their importance, and allow Boghos to establish peaceful relations under the Christian domain. As Boghos states;

“In the old days [referring the Ottoman History], we had some problems within the Armenian community. For instance, there were conflicts between Catholics and Apostolic. Now, the sectarian differences are not important. Actually, how many are we? A few thousand? If we fight each other like Shia and Sunnis, we would become assimilated easily. Armenians in Turkey should be rational and keep strong. If someone is Christian, he can understand me better and help Armenians to teach their religion. For example, Armenians who live in the eastern side of Turkey, they can go to an Assyrian church.”

As a result of demographic reasons, the Christian identity has evolved as a top-identity which consists of an Armenian community identity. As seen in the matrix,

⁴⁹ In the Turkish context, conflicts and disagreement between Sunni and Alewi derive from mainly political issues. Because of Turkish nationalism, sectarianism (as in the Iraqi, Syrian or Lebanese form) is not tolerable. Alewis are not considered as a different religious group.

it is possible to assume religious collaboration. However, this tolerance is not for non-Christian Armenians. In other words, Armenians who follow various sects of Christianity from Catholics, Protestants or who have to use Assyrian churches are considered a group of Armenians having similarities with Boghos. Non-Christian Armenians, especially Armenians who tend to not experience religious aspects of Armenianness (mainly atheists), are not considered Armenians. According to Boghos's interpretation;

“...However, someone is atheist, it jeopardises our community. I am not talking about his personal right; I am talking about the community. It is my personal thought that atheism cannot fit with the values of the Armenian community. Just imagine how he or she would join us. Most of the Armenian history is related to the Armenian Church and Christianity...”

“...So for example our stories. Heroes are not only Armenian, but also they are good Christians [referring to ancient stories such as David from Sasun and Vartavar War]”

In short, it could be argued that being Christian (preferably orthodox Armenian) is thought of as being Armenian in Boghos's interpretation of Armenianness.

Despite his religious inclinations, his actual belief as a churchgoer is not intense. As Boghos states;

“When I was a kid, I used to go to the Church more often. Of course my family dragged me. I couldn't say that I did not want to come. These days are different. Now I understand that my parents were really religious and experienced the church and religion passionately. My life is slightly different now. To be honest, I don't have time to go to the church every week. Maybe I am lazy, I don't know. I only go on special days like Christmas, Easter or funerals and baptisms...”

By assessing his statement, this can show how he has a lack of time in daily life. It could be argued that the Armenian Church is seen as both a cultural and religious centre.

Although there is not any refutation and negative connotation about the religion, his attitudes towards religious practices can be with ups and downs. Boghos's

lack of religious knowledge can be observed clearly in some cases. For instance, some religious and cultural festivals that were introduced in the literature as Armenian festivals are not known by Boghos. These festivals are either forgotten or replaced by different practices that were borrowed from Islam or folk beliefs. As Boghos states;

“...if you show this list [I was showing him a list stating old Armenian festivals] to my parents, they probably know them better than me. If you don't follow the Church every week, you would never know all the festivals. I know the main ones [referring to Christmas and Easter]. Even if I knew all of them, how can I celebrate? I was taught in Armenian schools, but now I don't remember ...”

“...I celebrate Eid or other festivals. Ok I don't believe in Islam, but my friends do. Therefore, I can accompany them. For example, you know the children those who collect candy in Eid, they also come to our house. Actually, when I was a kid, I used to hang out with my Muslim friends to collect candy. What should I do? Of course I celebrate their Eid and give candy or money...”

By observing these short statements about religion and the Armenian Church, it is possible to observe effects of the context discussed above. His organic affiliation with the Armenian community allowed him to adopt Christianity unconsciously. In other words, he was born into a Christian family and learnt many things about religion through his family. Differently from the former participant, he did not meet Christianity in later stages of his life. Therefore, he seems to hold more positive attitudes towards religion and the Armenian Church as his connection has not been lost in his daily life.

5.3.2. *Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices*

As a second theme, ethnicity and ethnic practices come into prominence in Boghos's interpretation of Armenianness. By observing the matrix, parameters such as “having ethnic conscious (Y), indigenous people of Anatolia (AE), differences among Armenian communities (AK) or using ethnic language (AO)” are generally following a positive inclination. In this vein, there are similarities with other participants.

However, it is likely to observe a few strong negative attitudes in some points that allow him to get different interpretations. At first glance, these negative attitudes derive from overlaps with his political expectations. Differently from the former participant, the idea of “Greater Armenia” does not matter in his interpretation of Armenianness. According to Boghos;

“...Turkey is my homeland. That’s all. I am not a fanatic or Armenian nationalist who seeks to create a “Greater Armenia...”

“...This is our country. We have lived for a long time in Istanbul. For example, how could you fit Istanbul into the idea of Greater Armenia? This is my city and homeland. I don’t care what they say. It is history now...”

For this reason, his attitudes towards ethnicity and ethnic practices are more moderate and “non-political”.⁵⁰ It could be assumed that perceptions about ethnic parameters are re-defined in accordance with the post-Ottoman period. For Boghos, the idea of Greater Armenia is too vague and does not go beyond the history books. Rather, ethnic heritage tries to fit into the context which is shared by Turkish people together irrespective of ethnicity. Similar to other participants, he also adopts similar attitudes about Armenian antiquity. As is observed, he believes in the origin myths of Armenians too:

“...Armenian people as a nation are the oldest people in Anatolia. Before Kurds and Turks, they lived in the eastern parts of Turkey. In the past, the Armenian population was higher than the Kurdish people. There were many churches and schools in the eastern cities. Now, the majority of people speak Kurdish. You know Armenians believe that they are descendants of Noah. They settled down near Ararad [referring to Mount Agri] and established many kingdoms...”

“... the Armenian nation has been divided into two parts. Western Armenians, like us, accepted autonomy under the Ottomans, while others accepted the Russian Empire’s authority.”

⁵⁰ At this point, it should be reminded that non-political can also show a kind of political orientation in “foucauldian” point of view which briefly assumes that everything in the world is filtered through political perceptions.

The impacts of the context shaping Armenianness can be observed clearly. Remaining in Istanbul and being an Istanbulite play key roles behind his interpretation of ethnic parameters without being political, as Boghos does not experience ethnic parameters the same as in classic diaspora communities.

Another point in his interpretation of ethnic parameters is that Boghos needs to highlight differences between Armenian communities. He states that there are significant differences between the Armenian community in Armenia and Turkey (particularly Istanbul Armenians), even if he sees himself as a member of the Armenian nation worldwide.

“...Even though we are all called Armenian, we have already been separated. This caused various differences. Foods, language or literature has changed slightly. Their customs and celebrations can be different. We might forget some festivals or assign special meanings...”

There is no doubt that being an Istanbulite lays behind his perceptions about Armenian communities.

By looking at the matrix, differences between Armenians and non-Armenians are emphasised as “marked categories”. As he states;

“... Although we all lived in Anatolia for a long time, we are ethnically different because our origins are different. For example, Kurds believe different stories. They thought ‘nevruz’ [referring spring celebration] is Kurdish New Year. No, we have similar thing and it is totally Armenian.”

“...most of things are either called Kurdish or Turkish. This makes me upset because it ignores Armenian heritage and ethnicity. They also ignore prominent figures. If you say Turkish architecture, what is it? There were Armenian architects and works, you know what I mean. Armenians as a nation made huge contributions.”

As discussed in the previous section, historical and sociological dynamics, such as the disappearance of Armenians from public life economically and demographically, forced Turkey’s Armenians to mark their ethnic features. Especially in Anatolia where ethnic groups coexist, ethnic differences and features have melded. Foods such as “Dolma, Tarama or Pastirma” and some

festivals (nevruz) can be given as an example. They are not seen as “Armenian” anymore by the majority. However, this mechanism works quite different among members of the Armenian community. According to Boghos, minor differences are paid too much attention frequently and every single thing began to be marked as “Armenian” in order to reverse assimilation or at least slow down the disappearance of the Armenian culture. On the other hand, non-Armenian features and differences are excluded from the Armenian community. By assuming his statement, it could be claimed that Boghos is more sensitive about ethnicity than the majority of people in Turkish society.

Therefore, his interpretation of Armenianness seems to be a more conservative form in terms of adopting ethno-religious parameters. Ethnically speaking, the Armenian community and Armenianness are considered as closed-homogenous entities. Differently from the previous participant there is an obvious nuance in his definition of homogeneity. It does not refer to any primordial ties or purity of a nation because he also mentions that the Armenian nation consists of significant variances. As Boghos expresses;

“...I don’t know exactly. Of course we are not the same. We assume that we are a part of a big family [referring to the nation]. Deep down, we are so different. We have different dialects, life styles etc. Now, we are Armenian, but our ethnicity could have been different. This is about reality. No ethnic group or nation is pure. If you think that you are the special one, it is what Hitler said.”

In the example of Boghos, ethnic symbols sometimes become prominent. As long as he shares particular symbols, he can maintain a collective awareness and a connection with other members of the Armenian community in Turkey as well as with the Armenian nation. Paintings and religious symbols are the most used in households reflecting ethnic heritage and culture. As Boghos mentions;

“...once you come in my house, you would see some paintings on the wall. One is about Istanbul in old times. The other is about a landscape with an Armenian church. Also I have a couple of fridge magnets from Armenia and other countries...”

“...I think the most important thing is the portrait of Jesus and ‘khachkar’ [Armenian forms of cross, it is slightly different shape]. For me, these symbols make our home an Armenian house. These are common things that you can see in almost every Armenian house...”

It should not be forgotten that ethnic symbols that are used to construct his Armenianness do not originate from political goals or ideas. For instance, Boghos tends to see Aradad in a much more religious and nostalgic form while it is perceived as a symbol of political movements by other participants. Similar to other participants, Boghos does not experience these symbols and ethnic heritage in the natural flow of the everyday life. They become meaningful in his constructed world, which is flavoured with “Armenian ethnicity”. In Boghos’s interpretation, they are considered as “objects in the museum” which are protected in a window case. This forces him to re-visit these symbols and ethnic heritage from time to time through his special effort because they are not recalled in everyday life.

5.3.3. The Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

In terms of political practices and attitudes, as a third theme, Boghos tends to construct his Armenianness in a moderate form. In contrast to the former participant, the boundaries of the context, namely organic affiliation with the Armenian community and cohabiting practices prevent him from getting involved in the political sphere too much. Once he is compared to the previous participant, he seems to even be “apolitical”.

By focusing on the matrix, it could be assumed that he has moderate attitudes towards parameters related to political practices and attitudes. Especially in certain parameters such as “involvement political issues (BF)”, “perceptions about Western countries (BD)”, “attitudes towards the Armenian diaspora (BC)” and “Turkish nationalism and its role in the Armenian tragedy (AW)” his moderate attitudes can be observed.

In terms of similarities and differences, Boghos’s position can be changeable. He sometimes shows similar point of views with the former participant. However, most of time he has moderate attitudes. For instance, Boghos’s point of view

about the intervention of the Western countries in the tragedy of 1915 is clear and harsh. As Boghos states;

“...You know whenever they [referring foreign parliaments] do, Turkish society gets angry. To be honest, they are right because Turks don't like France and the USA. They increase tension. This is our land; we have to solve our problems together...”

This comment could be considered as him not taking any position challenging the state. This point of view not only allows Boghos to construct his Armenianness on national grounds, but also shows how relations between Turks and Armenians was politicised and open to intervention. All kinds of statements from Western states are perceived as intervention and provocation which jeopardise relations between the Armenian and Turkish communities.

However, his moderate approach cannot be seen in the Armenian question. He calls the deportation of Armenians between 1915 and 1916 as a genocide and adopts a clear standpoint. He tends to see the Armenian tragedy as follows;

“...personally I believe that Armenians were killed as a result of genocide. This is actually fact. You may find many evidences. Of course, you [referring to Turks] can believe different narratives, but it doesn't change how Armenians were killed...”

“...we have to agree on something. We are not even and equal. Armenians were destroyed and disappeared in Turkey, so it was not a conflict...”

As is understood from his statement, alternative thoughts or views about the tragedy of 1915 are not tolerated. Thus, it could argued that there is similarity with the former participant. Yet, it should be noted that Boghos has also some grey areas about the tragedy of 1915. Putting it differently, “Turkish nationalism” is not seen as a primary culprit of the events of 1915 in Boghos's interpretation. Therefore, he considers additional factors while explaining reasons behind the events of 1915. The Western powers (including their interventions) can be given as examples of additional external factors that played a role. According to Boghos, the western powers should be accused primarily because they broke down relations between Turks and Armenians. He also believes that they still provoke each side and increase tension between the two nations.

“...you know what, Armenian nationalists believed in the Western countries’ promises. They thought that they would win the War, although of course this was not all Armenians. They sought to establish their nation state. I don’t care which parliament accepts what bills. They are not important. Actually, they prevent possible solutions and break down relations between Armenians and the Turkish people.”

In terms of political practices and attitudes, his relations with the state is another point that leads him to reproduce Armenianness in different ways. Opposite to the former participant, Boghos does not have a strong activist identity. Rather, he mainly remains at a distance while explaining his political thoughts. The reason behind his attitude could be related to lessons learnt from historical events and features of the context shaping his Armenianness. As has been discussed, minority groups had to experience some unfortunate events in the first half of the 20th Century, which undoubtedly affected Armenian families and following generations from getting involved in political issues. Therefore, most members of the Armenian community have been depoliticised. As Boghos states;

“...I don’t support any political party in Turkey because all are the same to me. Their names and symbols can be different, that’s all. To be honest, they are not Armenian friendly. For example they don’t nominate any Armenian candidate. How can I support them?

If I decided to enter into politics, my family would be uncomfortable because you don’t only represent yourself, but also you represent your family, community, and even your religion. If you are against others and hold anomalous attitudes, it can be assumed that all Armenians are same. Just imagine PKK and the Kurds. This is same for the Armenian community too because Armenians were assumed to be a threat to the unity of Turkey throughout the years, so I don’t want to involve myself in dirty politics.

Whenever you increase your voice, you may have a problem. You may lose customers or your company could be investigated intentionally etc. I don’t mind which party rules the country as long as I am safe. You know, there is a good proverb; when elephants fight, grass always gets hurt [Filler

tepisirken cimeler ezilir]. I, as a member of the Armenians, don't want to stay among elephants...”

It should be pointed out that this de-politicisation in Turkey is not only limited to the Armenian community. It can be observed in different segments of Turkish society, which derives from historical and sociological dynamics. As a result of the Sunni-Hanefi state tradition, resistance towards the state or the head of state, Ulu el-Emr, is not welcomed. Especially after the military coup in 1980, the youth began to be depoliticised harshly. Workers, students, political actors and intellectuals who had been active during the 1970s and 1980s were punished and dismissed from the political sphere. For this reason, families having experienced the negative impacts of the military coup have become more cautious to raise their children to become apolitical. In the Armenian community, Armenian parents also have considered the prestige of the community if their children were involved in political movements that can be branded as a threat to the unity of Turkey.

All in all, Boghos's interpretation of Armenianness in terms of political practices and attitudes is less politicised. While he is reproducing Armenianness, he tends to pay attention to maintaining peaceful relations with the state and the rest of society. This is the unique feature of his Armenianness and distinguishes him from other models of Armenianness.

5.3.4. The Theme of Interactions in Everyday Life

As seen from the matrix, parameters related to interactions, as a final theme, in everyday life are very positive values. Interactions related to non-Armenians (BS, BT or BV) and practices within the community (BL, BN, or BO) have positive values whereas transnational networks (CL, CM, CN or CS) are scored negatively. These positive and negative values mainly derive from features of the context that was shared by Boghos. It is possible to observe its impact on his behaviour, namely organic affiliation with the Armenian community, remaining in Istanbul and cohabiting practices, while he interacts with Armenians and non-Armenians in everyday life.

To start with, interactions with Armenians are very peaceful and clearly distinguish him from the former participant. His organic affiliation with the Armenian community enables him to use social networks efficiently. Differently

from the former participant, Boghos is able to socialise and practice his Armenianness in both homogenous and heterogeneous places. In this vein, the usage of language and social spaces where he spends his time can be changed,

In terms of the usage of the Armenian language, Boghos had a chance to learn Western Armenian as a native language during his childhood. Due to demographic reasons, he did not practice the ethnic language publicly. Rather, he mainly spoke with family members and elderly neighbours.

“...it is difficult to find someone who speaks Armenian in daily life. I used to speak Armenian once I was in the school with teachers. Now, I speak mainly Turkish. Indeed, we [referring to his friend from high school] start a conversation in Armenian, but then continue in Turkish. I can explain myself in Turkish much better and easier. If I force myself, I can speak.

I can read Armenian. Especially Armenian pages of AGOS, I really like to read. I also read some novels in Armenian. Well I don't like reading actually. I am picky and don't read everything. If I want, I can read Armenian, French or Turkish. It doesn't matter.

I have some Armenian albums. I prefer to listen to Armenian music more than Turkish music. It is so melancholic and has old roots. You may find many differences in voices and sounds. The Armenian youth in Turkey are aware of what their cultural backgrounds are. There are many singers who not only sing in Armenian, but also they contribute to Turkish music. For example, Onno Tunc, Tunc Boyacian and Ara Dinkjian are very famous. I am pretty sure that you know these guys. Sezen Aksu worked with them.

I usually use internet radio. Norzartong [youth association] has a radio station. They play Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish music. Therefore, Armenian music can be played in public. It is a very different sound. Note that if you don't know this radio, how can you know about Armenian music? For me, it depends on people. If you are interested in it, you can find sources. I have a few friends who don't care about Armenian culture, literature and music. They prefer to listen to foreign pop or rock. Long story short, it depends on people for how you enrich your Armenianness...”

In this vein, it could be argued that practicing the Armenian language becomes a key to open up an Armenian world that clearly differs from Turkish society. The language helps him to maintain homogeneity and leads him to consider that Western Armenian is a principle foundation of being Armenian. In contrast to the former participant, Boghos is able to use networks in the Armenian community of Istanbul more efficiently. As can be seen from his statement, language practices such as reading and music are not mundane practices. They are not perceived in the natural flow of the everyday life. In other words, Boghos needs to make special effort to read Armenian books and listen to Armenian music. In terms of Brubaker's terminology, they are marked as categories and require conscious effort in order to be experienced. Moreover, these practices need special attention and interest. In the example of Boghos, people can be very particular about what they read or listen to. For this reason, these marked categories (practices) can be interpreted while Armenianness is reproduced under a dominant culture.

In addition to the usage of language, the places where Boghos socialises are also different. Apart from heterogeneous places where he interacts with non-Armenians, homogenous places such as schools, alumni, Kinali or the Armenian Church allow him to reproduce his Armenianness in constant form. In contrast to the former participant, Kinali has a special importance in his daily interactions:

“...Every summer, I try to go to Kinaliada. When I was a kid, I used to go a lot. Now, professional life does not allow me to spend too much time there. Kinaliada is known as an Armenian island. The Greeks used to live in Heybeliada and Burgaz. Armenians settled down on this island. Even in my childhood, you would have realised that the majority of the residences were Armenian. Armenians had shops on the island.”

“...You could still hear the Armenian language on the island. This is very limited because only elderly people speak Armenian, our generation, unfortunately, does not speak it, or very young kids speak Armenian with their parents. Their mothers speak to them in order for their ears to become familiar with the sound.”

“...In Kinaliada, we have a summerhouse. We have old neighbours. For example, they know my grandfather, so this is a very strong and old

relationship. We also have Turkish neighbours and of course have tourists. While I am spending time in Kinaliada, I feel who I am because it is like a pool which includes all memories about the Armenian community and my family. It is hard to feel that you are Armenian in Istanbul. It is very crowded. Kinaliada is different. There is a small church. You can feel it emotionally. You have an opportunity to visit the Church. Also, there is a summer camp. Kids chill out and learn something from Armenian culture. They make Armenian friends and speak Armenian...”

“...Kinali is a part of our Armenian identity. It is adopted in our language. There is saying; ‘Kinali’ya gidiyoruz [We are going to Kinali]”

As can be understood from his thoughts, Kinali is considered as a reservoir for Armenian culture. On the one hand, Kinali reminds him of existing Armenian heritage; on the other hand, it gives an opportunity to somehow interact with other members of the Armenian community. In this vein, Kinali seems to be a segregated place that allows the Armenian citizens of Turkey (Istanbulite Armenians) to recall their memories in nostalgia. In accordance with the principle of the context (being an Istanbulite), “going to Kinali” becomes a meaningful practice.

In addition to Kinali and its segregated atmosphere, Boghos also has a connection with the Armenian schools. Because of having Armenian parents, he was eligible to enrol in Armenian schools in Turkey. There is no doubt that going to Armenian schools allowed him to interact with Armenian culture and heritage in the early years of his life. In addition, schools also enabled him to strengthen his networks and relations with the Armenian community. Particularly alumni groups and foundations of the schools that allow Armenians to meet up in the centre of Armenian identity in Turkey. By relying on my fieldwork notes and observations in a couple of alumni meetings, not only Boghos, but also other Armenian graduates, used Turkish as a primary language. Apart from their ethnic identities, it is hard to observe any homogeneity. After the greetings in Western Armenian, they switched to Turkish and continued the conversation in Turkish.

Another point in his Armenianness in terms of everyday life are his interactions with non-Armenians. As can be seen from the ANCO-HITS matrix, parameters related to interactions with non-Armenians are generally positive. The elements

of the context, namely living in Istanbul and coexisting with non-Armenians are important dynamics that gave him positive scores. Differently from the former participant, Boghos approaches mixed marriages and relations with non-Armenians positively.

“...maybe older generations were very against mixed marriages. The world changes so fast. Firstly, I don't know if I prefer mixed marriages. Among my contacts and neighbourhoods, there are a few people who got married to non-Armenians. Similarly, there are some failed marriages even if they married with Armenians. So, it is not a good approach to see if she is Armenian or not. You should not insist on ethnic identity. The important thing is for her to be a good wife.

Similar to Turkish people, marriage does not take place between two adults. It is more like a marriage of families. Families should be thoughtful. If her family hates Armenians, how could you have happy marriage?

...There are also some advantages. For example, the children can learn two cultures deeply. They could speak two languages. Okay I admit, religion would be problem. If we leave the children alone, they can choose what they want to believe. This is not easy I know. As I said, families are always an important factor that shapes the future of a marriage...”

Similarly, Boghos expresses that relationship with non-Armenians is not a problem:

“...I have a Turkish girlfriend at the university. Actually, the number of non-Armenian girlfriends, including just friends, are higher than my Armenian friends. This is very normal because it is related to demography. Our population is low. For example, I have not any Armenian classmates at university. How can I find an Armenian girlfriend? For my classmates, I was probably the only Armenian they ever saw. They were wondering who this Armenian was. I made many friends. Of course they did not hate Armenians. They are moderate guys.”

By observing his short statements, it could be argued that mixed marriages and relations with non-Armenians are not perceived as vital threats. In contrast to the previous participant and his hesitation toward mixed marriages, one of the

reasons behind his positive approach is due to Boghos's alternative affiliations and connections to the Armenian community. Putting it differently, it does not matter if he gets married to a non-Armenian or even a Muslim, as he and his children would continue to be organic members of the Armenian community. It could be assumed that having an organic membership of the community enabled him to reproduce Armenianness in a more liberal way.

Although he interacts non-Armenians and Armenians alike with his relationships, it should be underlined that relationships affect the patriarchal family context. Extramarital relationships are not too liberal in the way that they are approached, and this impacts traditional norms and values. For instance, virginity is an important value not only for Armenian families, but also other families having different ethnic background. For this reason, neither Armenian nor non-Armenian women are considered as sexual partners before marriage due to the patriarchal system. As Boghos states:

“...I don't want to deal with Turkish and Armenian women. You know some of them are Kezban [haughty/alooof] I don't have any sexual experiences with them. They might be problem. If I want to have sex, I would have a buddy call...you know what I mean. But I don't prefer this way.

Dating with Armenian and Turkish girls is very complicated. Don't expect too much. Dating with Armenian girls is the same because we live in Turkey so there is also a social burden. You know, the community is very small. They like to gossip.”

However, his liberal point of view is not boundless. The matrix tells us that there is some hesitation and red lines that he cannot easily accept. For example, same sex relations and marriages are generally not tolerated. The scores of these parameters are negative. As Boghos states;

“I am not homophobic, but I don't like the idea of the Armenian Church allowing same sex marriage. Okay, everyone is free, but once you bring your idea into the community, this might create a problem. The Armenian community is indeed a religious community, just as Turkish society. If something jeopardises your identity, I mean your religion, it cannot be tolerated by default. You know, Turkey is not an easy country. Everything

could be problem. This is the same for the Armenian community. We are not different...”

These parameters not only bring him closer to the other pole already discussed, but also gives an overview about expectations within the small sample. Boghos is unable to fit this idea into his construction of Armenianness. Therefore, traditional gender division and roles exist in his Armenianness.

A final point in his reproduction of Armenianness is transnational networks and perceptions of the Armenian homeland. Parameters related to transnationalism and Armenian communities across the world are mainly low scores. At first glance, it could be assumed that Boghos has weak connections with Armenians living in different parts of the world. This does not mean that he ignores Armenian communities outside of Turkey. Rather, he does not have any practical experience in terms of social mobilisation with them. For instance, he does not attend any commemoration of the 24th of April ('Armenian Genocide').

In addition to weak transnational connections, Armenia is not perceived as a homeland to Boghos:

“Turkey is my country and Istanbul is my homeland. All my family and relatives have been living here for a long time. I didn't come from anywhere and I didn't go. I am happy to live in Istanbul. It would be much better if we could increase our standards in our country, you know, the economic, political problems etc...”

“...Of course I wouldn't live anywhere apart from Istanbul. I have never visited Armenia, maybe I can visit as a tourist. For living, it is impossible. Okay, I admit that it is a highly homogenous country and it is easy to practice your religion in Armenia, but I cannot make it there because Istanbul is the only one. They seek to settle down in Turkey whenever they have the opportunity. You know some people always talk about Armenia like it is very beautiful, very romantic and peaceful. However, once they see the reality in Armenia, they love Turkey more and more...”

“Armenians from Armenia are also different. Food, culture, even religious practices. For example, I really like Cem Yilmaz [he is a famous comedian in Turkey]. No matter whether you are Armenian, Kurd, Turk or Arab, if you

live in Turkey, you must laugh at his stories and jokes. Okay, I am an Armenian; they are Armenian too [referring to Armenians from Armenia and other countries], but we don't have things in common even in simple things. We share a similar religion and language, somehow, but that's all..."

The impact of the context; namely, being an Istanbulite and cohabiting with non-Armenians, can be observed behind his perception about Armenia. It is hard to observe the power of the transnational ties and relations. There is a strong belief that there is a significant difference between the Armenians of Armenia and the Armenians of Turkey. This point of view positions him in a different section of the patchwork. This point of view allows him to construct Armenianness at the border of modern Turkey (mainly in Istanbul). For this reason, he adopts various practices that fill the lack of a transnational network. While his interest in Armenia and its culture is reducing, he gets closer the culture that is constructed within the boundaries of Turkey through all ethnic groups commonly. As Boghos states:

"...if you ask me when Armenians became independent, it is hard for me to give you an exact date. It is a different country for me. Okay, there is a homogenous Armenian population, but noting more. I don't know their histories etc. It is a bit complicated..."

"...As every child, I also attended national days in Turkey. At that time, I did not want to because it seemed to be so much drudgery. However, later on we got used to it. I don't have any problem with the flag or national symbols because I am a part of this nation too. I have a flag in my office for example. You should hold your nations in high esteem. Look at the Middle East, every place is crying for help. They are like failed states..."

As a result of cohabiting, joint celebrations and joining in the traditions of other ethnic groups are all welcomed in his interpretation of Armenianness. He tends to practice non-Armenian events without their literal meanings. As Boghos mentions:

"...I usually celebrated with my neighbours Eid or other special days. This is a common practice in Turkey, well not only in Turkey. For example, if I lived in Lebanon, I would probably be the same. The only difference is

Turkish people don't know our days. I like the Ramadan Eid, as Istanbul turns into a ghost city. Everyone goes on holiday or visits their relatives in different cities.”

“...I used to collect candy as well when I was kid. It was fine, and I also painted eggs in Easter. Both are fun for kids.”

By observing the matrix, it is obviously seen that interactions in everyday life reflects features of the context emerging from his background. This context allows him to get more positive values and interpretations while Armenianness is experienced in everyday life. Therefore, he is able to reproduce Armenianness in different forms that can adopt non-Armenians and their practices with no trouble.

5.4. ANCO-HITS scores and Analysis of the Turkish Case

By comparing the backgrounds of Sero and Boghos, Armenianness and its interpretations of the parameters are not reproduced within the same context. The contexts which are experienced by Sero and Boghos have different boundaries. In the example of Sero, the context consists of three boundaries; namely, a) a combination of urban and rural practices, b) living at a distance from the community and its institutions and finally c) protest and activist attitudes towards deep-rooted perceptions and thoughts about Armenianness. These boundaries give unique features in his reproduction of Armenianness. For Sero, the reproduction of Armenianness becomes a 'discovering process', its parameters were only learnt after his family emigrated to Istanbul. This is particularly visible when considering “living at a distance from the Armenian community and its institutions” and also “combining rural and urban practices” that lead him to experience the discovery process and Armenianness in different ways. On the one hand, Sero learned “to be Armenian”; on the other hand, he challenges expectations of the Armenian community in terms of practices, such as “being Christian”, “speaking the Armenian language” or “having peaceful relations with the State”. As seen in the example of Sero, there is a categorisation problem which challenges existing perceptions about the definition of being Armenian within the Armenian community in Turkey. For Sero, the Armenian community and its institutions are considered as bodies related to power that

does not accept Sero's reproduction of Armenianness, and forces him to experience Armenianness only within certain boundaries.

On the other side, Boghos provides a different form of Armenianness and the reproduction process. His context and its boundaries stem from a) being an Istanbulite b) remaining in Istanbul c) having an organic affiliation to the Armenian community and, finally d) cohabiting practices and experiences with non-Armenians. All of these are important boundaries of the context shaping his Armenianness. In contrast to the previous participant, Boghos's relations with the Armenian community and its institutions are more moderate since he was born into the community. He learnt the religion and ethnic aspects of Armenianness through family and institutions such as schools. As a result, his reproduction and interpretation of Armenianness seem to be very familiar in the Turkish case. It is explained in the historical evolution of the Armenian community and the concept of minority in Turkey, and religious differences play primary role in defining who belongs to minority or not. For Boghos, being a Christian not only helps him to maintain positive relations with the Armenian community, but also helps him to benefit from minority rights such as learning his ethnic language or establishing and joining minority foundations. By citing the concept of "claiming citizen" (Yumul, 1999-2000), the line between Sero and Boghos is knotted around the definition and boundaries of the Armenianness. Boghos defines himself as an Armenian of Turkey with keeping his minority rights and responsibilities, whereas Sero draws an Armenian profile trying to make his multiple identities and perceptions accepted not only within the Armenian community, but also in the regulation of the state.

Another point that could be effective for this analysis is their socio-economic backgrounds. As I explained, each participant comes from a different background. There is no doubt that their interpretations and interactions throughout the reproduction process differ, and the ethnic and political aspects of Armenianness and problems to do with Armenians who are more vulnerable can be visible parameters in the example of Sero. He tends to accuse the Turkish government, Armenian elites and the Armenian Church of the dispersion of the Armenian community and the tragedy of 1915. At this point, Brhaa's consideration about nationalism and national identities (1990) can shed light on the reproduction of Armenianness among the young generation. Briefly, Brhaa

argues that interactions and socio-economic backgrounds lead people to have different interpretations about national identities and nationalism. Interpretations which are put forward by black people who are working in a factory might be different than the interpretation of white people who have economical advantages. Even though it seems like a very Marxist point of view and comes with its fair share of criticisms, it is interesting to compare Sero and Boghos's socio-economic backgrounds. Since their socio-economic backgrounds are different, they therefore have different boundaries. For instance, their neighbourhoods or spaces where they socialise differ from each other in accordance with their socio-economic backgrounds. Boghos has an Istanbulite experience of Armenianness and socialises with other members of the Armenian community, whereas Sero interacts with non-Armenians as an immigrant to Istanbul and looks at the Armenian community from the outside. At this point, it should be emphasised that the concept of family resemblance shows the complexity involved in the examples of Sero and Boghos. Both consider themselves as coming from an Armenian family, however, they demonstrate differences as well as similarities.

This graph illustrates similarities and differences between the two participants and their cues of Armenianness. Similar points and attitudes overlap while differences diverge.

Another point that should be underlined in the analysis section are the overall scores of the parameters. As seen in the matrix, some parameters, such as “the Armenian Church as a cultural centre (E)”, “sharing ethnic history and myths (X)”, “having ethnic historiography (Z)” or “considering the tragedy of 1915 as genocide (UV)” get +1.00.⁵¹ Additionally, other parameters, for instance, “practicing religious festivals (R)”, “Yades (U)”, “seeing themselves as Diaspora (BA)” or “practicing national celebrations of Armenia (CN)”, get -1.00. In the scope of the sample, they can be considered as demonstrating a consensus in negative and positive ways. The rest of the parameters fluctuate between -1.00 and +1.00. Once these scores are considered with the participants together, they begin to make sense. For example, the score of the parameter “atheism” is calculated as -0.57 in the sample of Turkish case. It could be assumed that atheism, in terms of cues of Armenianness, does not fit into the reproduction process. There is somehow a consensus about religious aspects of Armenianness. In the example of Sero and Boghos, they approach the atheism parameter differently. There is room in Sero’s reproduction because his score is closer than other participant’s scores. In this vein, Boghos’s score (+1.00) shows clearly his opposition to atheism as a cue of Armenianness. These different attitudes in the example of Sero and Boghos can be seen in the other 94 parameters.

As seen in the analysis section, the two participants’ reproductions of Armenianness are obviously different to each other and they refer to opposite poles. Not only do their socio-economic backgrounds differ, but also the contexts affecting the reproduction process. Even though both forms of Armenianness are located at different poles, they show similarities and differences in certain parameters. This can be a good example of the concept of family resemblance.

⁵¹ For the whole list please look at appendices.

6. Chapter Six: Reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon

This chapter is about the reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon. It will demonstrate how participants who were selected from the Armenian community in Lebanon construct and interpret Armenianness and its parameters by citing primary data, which was collected between January and June 2012, and edited versions in 2015. This chapter will follow the same format of the previous chapter, in that an overview of the data set and the ANCO-HITS matrix will be summarised. Secondly, in order to understand the reproduction process of Armenianness in the Lebanese case, two participants who got the lowest and highest scores from the matrix will be introduced through thick description. In the example of these two participants, Armenianness will be shown by referring to religious, ethnic, political and daily aspects. Finally, the last section is dedicated to the analysis and a comparison of the findings regarding the two participants and the scores of the parameters. As is mentioned in the previous chapter, the analysis section will provide a snapshot about the reproduction of Armenianness to compare different reproduction forms.

6.1. The Overview of ANCO-HITS Scores in Lebanese Case

Similar to the previous chapter, the ANCO-HITS matrix in the Lebanese case also consists of three parts. On the left side, participants are sorted from L1 to L15 and their scores are demonstrated in the next row. The second part consists of the parameter scores, which are assumed to be cues for Armenianness in the Lebanese case. Additionally, participants' attitudes that are in a range of between -2 and +2 are located in the third part.

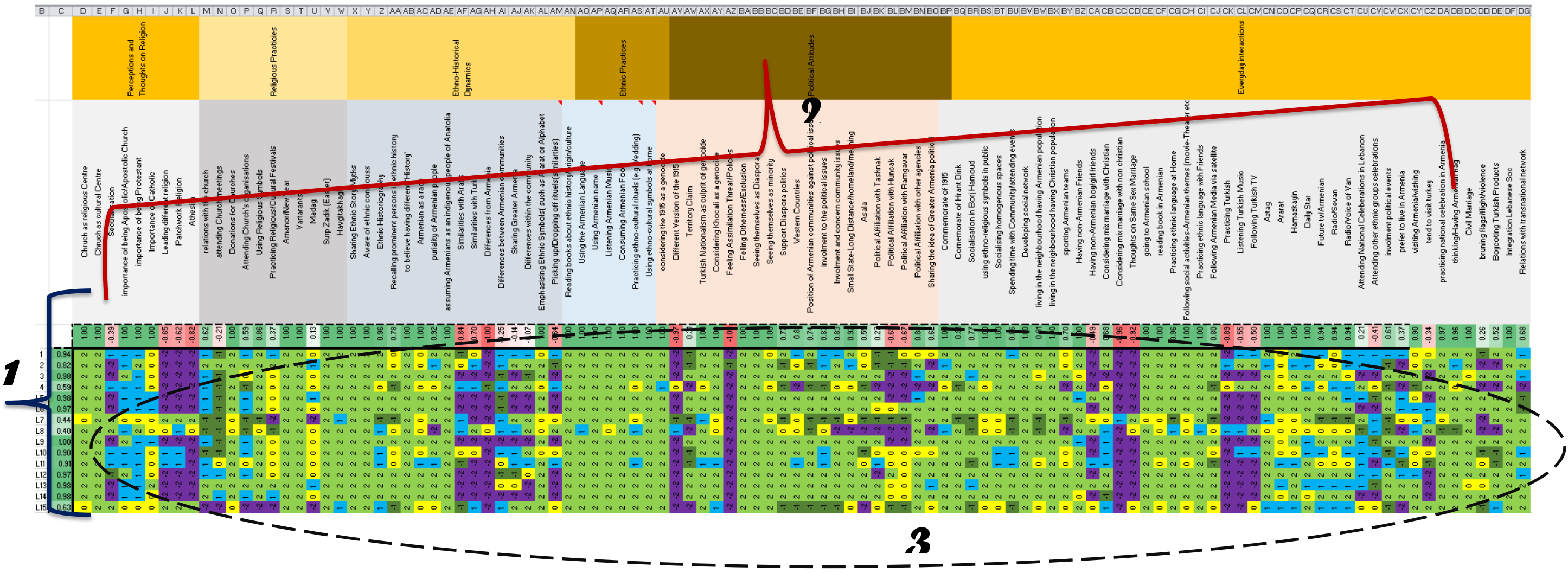


Figure 10: The overview of Lebanese dataset

Armenianness in the Lebanese case provides a different snapshot than the previous case. As a result of the ANCO-HITS analysis, the scores of the participants (n=15) fluctuate between 0.40 and 1.00. Putting it differently, the patchwork is represented in two distinct ways as pole A and B, that are distinct from the Turkish case. According to the graph, it should be underlined that the scores of the participants in the Lebanese case seem to be close to each other.

Pole A	L8*	0.40	}				
	L7	0.44					
	L4	0.59					
	L15	0.63					
	L2	0.82					
	L10	0.90					
	L11	0.91					
	L1	0.94			Difference= 0.60		
	L6	0.97					
	L12	0.97					
	L3	0.98					
	L5	0.98					
	L13	0.98					
	L14	0.98					
Pole B	L9*	1.00					

Figure 11: Ranking of participants in the Lebanese case

In the Lebanese case, participants such as L3, L5, L6, L10, L11, L12, L13 and L14 are close to pole A (1.00), and they become distinct from the other pole significantly. Similar to the previous chapter, only L8 and L9 will be introduced, and they will be called Marus and Hagop in order to increase the readability of the text.

Before moving onto the details of the participants, the ANCO-HITS matrix and the scores of the parameters should be explained. As shown, 108 parameters (from column D to DG), which are mainly derived from the primary data and the prominent literature, are assumed as cues of Armenianness in the Lebanese case. It should be noted that the numbers of the parameters are increased in the Lebanese case because of the size and features of the Armenian community in Lebanon. Differently from the previous case, the Armenian community is more developed and consists of various aspects. For example, political and ethnic aspects (in other words political parameters) are highly effective cues. Similar to the previous chapter, parameters are also categorised into four themes such as “religious perceptions and practices”, “ethnicity and ethnic practices”, “political attitudes and practices” and “interactions in everyday life”.

As can be observed in the matrix, the scores of the parameters are mainly displaying a positive inclination. There is a strong consensus about certain parameters. Most of the parameters have +1.00 values. It could be argued that Armenianness is perceived and experienced in intense ways in Lebanon. The final point about the overview of the data set are the patterns of the matrix in the Lebanese case. As can be seen in the initial results, the scores of the religious, ethnic, political and interactions in everyday life are generally positive patterns.

6.2. Participant Hagop (L12-score=1.00)

“Mar7aba: Tayfun (T)

Mar7aba: Hagop (H)

shoo ismak?: H

Tayfun. inte?:T

Hagop, Men wayn inte?:H

Ana men Turki:T

Men Turki? Bte7ki Lebneni chi?:H

La, ma barif Arabic? :T

H: What are doing here? You are the first Turk I have seen. What do you think about the Armenian genocide?

T: Well, it is a controversial issue

H: Not for me. Why am I here?”⁵²

Hagop was the first Armenian I met for my research in the garden of the Haigazian University. I have to confess that it was unusual encountering him, as he did not hesitate to ask about what I thought about the deportation of Armenians in 1915. From the first few seconds of my time in Haigazian, I realised that I would acquire interesting data and observations. As mentioned briefly in the methodology chapter, as a research site, Haigazian proved to be the most fruitful that provided ample participants and consisted of various interactions. I expected to see different points of view and attitudes about Armenianness. For this reason, I was prepared to try to understand and observe how Armenian youngsters reproduce and experience Armenianness in Lebanon as soon as I enrolled at Haigazian University. Shortly after, I realised that my initial assumptions and expectations were consistent and accurate.

Among the participants who I met in Lebanon, Hagop manifested himself as one of the polar extremes, having the highest scores from the matrix (+1.00), and he interprets the parameters of Armenianness in different ways not only from the participants in the Lebanese case, but also from the Turkish and British cases.

⁵² All quotations taken from [Nickname=Hagop], Interview with participant H on 01/03/2012, Beirut-Lebanon. Additionally, email conversation on 22/02/2015

Therefore, he is introduced as a portrait demonstrating different forms of reproduction of Armenianness.

In order to deconstruct his context that shapes the interpretation/reproduction of Armenianness, Hagop's family history and background is a useful starting point. Hagop explains his experiences and family's origins as follows:

“...My family was from Amanos [it was called Sanjack]. Once they came to Lebanon, my grandfather was 8 years old.”

“...My grandfather was a shoemaker and he worked hard all his life to provide a better life for his family. However, my father was educated and is an accountant.”

By focusing on his statement about his family background, a couple of crucial points can be underlined. Similar to the majority of the Armenian community in Lebanon, his grandparents came to Lebanon in the mid-1930s, specifically after the Republic of Hatay gained its independence from the French Mandate on 12 September 1938. Armenians who lived in villages in Hatay relocated to Lebanon with the help of France. Therefore, it could be assumed that “deportation from Hatay” is the main legacy behind his existence in Lebanon.

After the deportation, the following generation began to call themselves as “descendants of survivors”. This consideration produces the first boundary of the context and shapes all reproduction processes deeply. This feature of the context is highly important because it provides a legacy for the Armenian community and reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon.

As mentioned in the historical background (Chapter Four), the presence of the Armenian community during the Ottoman Empire in Lebanon is minimal. Even though it was possible to talk about Armenians in Lebanon (al-Arman al-Qudama - the Old Armenians) before the deportation in 1915, Lebanon was not considered a part of the Armenians' history (Migliorino, 2008). In other words, Armenians were not considered as natives of Lebanon and Lebanon was not imagined as a sacred territory in the Armenian homeland. For this reason, it could be argued that the development of the Armenian community and Armenianness in Lebanon has been in different ways. The post-deportation generations somehow include Lebanon either as a ‘host country’ or as a ‘second homeland’ into their

reproduction process. The reproduction process is observed clearly within the Armenian community in Lebanon. It should be underlined that two questions, namely, “What should be reconstructed?” and “What should be preserved during the reconstruction process?”, kept its importance throughout the reproduction process. Accordingly, these questions show how the reproduction process is led either from a top–down or bottom-up approach. At first glance, the influence of the institutions can be easily observed throughout the reproduction process in Lebanon. Putting it differently, there is a strong domination of the institutions and political elites who have been affected by social memories and nationalist ideology deriving from the 18th Century (Ter Minassian, 1984).

As is observed in the reconstruction process, social memories which are related to previous hometowns and the deportation in 1915 and 1939 play significant roles. The reconstruction process reflects intensive nostalgia about the pre-deportation period, feelings of which were reproduced and re-mentioned by the first generation. There is an obvious leadership from the first generations (including elites and institutions such as parties, schools and the church) in the transformation of the Armenian community from refugee camps to neighbourhoods. For instance, new neighbourhoods and institutions carried symbolic names related to previous hometowns or places from Anatolia. Maras shop, Yerivan Avenue, Komidas Street, Ararat Newspaper or Radio Sevan are examples demonstrating nostalgia. Their efforts and attempts not only remind youngsters of their roots and ethnic origins among other groups in Lebanon, but also lead the reproduction process from a top-down approach.

In addition to the descendants of survivors, a “congregational life style” is the second boundary of the context shaping Armenianness. This boundary is also related to a historical evaluation of the Armenian community in Lebanon. According to Migliorino (2008), the Armenian convoys, which were the first settlers, did not know Arabic once they settled down in Syria and Lebanon. As Moskofian (2011) states, even the majority of the first generation did not know Armenian.⁵³ For them, Turkish was the native language and practiced in their daily life. Accordingly, the first generation experienced serious integration problems in Lebanon. Since they were not proficient in Arabic, they were forced

⁵³ Personal meeting with Dr. Krikor Moskofian 2011, Armenian House - London

to stay together and establish their own neighbourhoods. It should be highlighted that features of Lebanon also helped the first generation to develop a congregational lifestyle throughout the years. In contrast to other Middle Eastern countries, Lebanon has never been ruled under a significant ethno-religious majority. Since it is not a classic nation-state,⁵⁴ different ethno-religious identities always found room in Lebanon's socio-political structures. In other words, the first generation of Armenians were able to experience their identities while coexisting with others. They were not forced to accept any national identity to replace their ethnic identities, so they could survive without learning Arabic for a long time.

In the example of Hagop, the influence of the boundaries are clear because Hagop reproduces Armenianness as a fourth generation Armenian who is affected by congregational life. As Hagop states:

“...we used to live in the neighbourhood which had an Armenian population when we lived with my grandparents. However, we moved out. Now, we live in Zalka. We have a church, but it is far from home. It is not walking distance...”

By observing his statements, it could be said that the Armenian Church takes a central role in congregational life because the first generation established churches immediately when they settled. Throughout time, the church has become crucial as a symbol in the neighbourhood and has been able to gather Armenians together in certain areas. This makes Armenian neighbourhoods differ from other parts of Lebanon architecturally and demographically. Consequently, congregational life brings along strong relations with the Armenian community. As Hagop states:

“...I have both Armenian and non-Armenian friends. We live in Lebanon and having only Armenian friends is impossible and frankly stupid.

⁵⁴ The concept of nation-state consists of two aspects.”... State refers to the political organization that displays sovereignty both within geographic borders and in relation to other sovereign entities. A world of nation-states implies an international system of pure sovereign entities, relating to each other legally as equals. ‘Nation’ refers rather to the population within, sharing a common culture, language, and ethnicity with a strong historical continuity. This manifests itself in most members in a sentiment of collective, communal identity. When the two concepts, ‘nation’ and ‘state’ are combined, this creates an enormously compelling mixture of legitimacy and efficiency for governing elites.” Oxford dictionary of politics: <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199207800.001.0001/acref-9780199207800-e-872?rsk=TqEglw&result=4>

However, I am closer to Armenians than non-Armenians because we are same members of the nation...”

Another boundary of the context shaping Hagop’s Armenianness is “political affiliation”. As a result of the Lebanese political atmosphere consisting of political tension between different ethno-religious groups, politics, talking about policymaking, political problems, parties or foreign policy occupies the time of not only Armenians, but also other Lebanese people. Hagop is unable to avoid this political climate, and as such, the political issues related to the Armenian community become more important: Hagop

“...even though my major is hospitality, I am interested in politics. It is a hobby for me. I don’t follow any political organisation, I am a free spirit.”

“...As most of the Armenians, I joined the march on 24th of April to protest Turkey. You may have a different political ideology, but it is a common point for us. You cannot deny the Armenian genocide. It is a kind of political stand against Turkey.”

Even if he does not have any political affiliation, he is very much affected by the existing problems between Turkey and Armenia. Joining the march, protesting Turkey’s approach towards the Armenian tragedy or boycotting Turkish products can provide him with an activist identity and maintains his interest in politics.

In terms of the boundaries of the context, Hagop’s attitudes and interpretations are affected by three boundaries, namely, a) descendants of the survivors b) congregational life, and c) interest in politics. Their importance and influences can be observed in the following themes and lead him to get a higher score on the ANCO-HITS matrix.

6.2.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

In the example of Hagop, perceptions, thoughts and practices that are related to religion provide the most fruitful data. At first glance, Hagop's general attitudes about these parameters on the ANCO-HITS matrix are positive inclinations. The scores of parameters fluctuate between "+2" and "+1" most of the time, however some parameters such as "*Secularisation (F)*", "*having different religion (J)*", "*Patchwork Religion (K)*" and "*Atheism (L)*" are coded as "-2". In contrast to expectations, however, these negative scores do not affect his overall score too much because there is no significant deviation in terms of religious parameters once he is compared to other participants. In other words, the other participants' attitudes are somehow similar in the Lebanese case.

Once his interview was analysed and I re-read my fieldwork notes, I realised that religion and religious practices are important themes in the reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon. For Hagop, Christianity is at the heart of the reproduction of Armenianness and keeps its literal meanings. As Hagop states;

"...Armenians are the first nation that accepted Christianity and majority of us are still fully committed to our religion. We do our rituals. The frequency can be changed in accordance with people..."

"...Christianity is a part of our culture. Most of the traditions were affected by the Church and the Christianity. Also our pagan culture was adopted by the Christianity..."

"...Lebanon is famous of being a religiously challenging country since its civil war and every political issue revolves around religion. So, yes, it is important whether you are a Christian or not in Lebanon and it was important in 1915. It's a well-known fact that the reason behind our horrific genocide was mainly about us being Christians. But that never stopped us from having a strong faith and hanging on to our religion..."

As can be understood from his statement, Christianity and its practices are interpreted as a cultural heritage, and the category of fulfilling spiritual needs. As a cultural heritage, Christianity and Armenian traditions have always gone hand in hand. Pre-Christian pagan traditions and culture were combined with Christianity (Ozdogan et al, 2009). In addition to this combination, Christianity

influenced the Armenian community and protected the Armenian identity throughout time because Armenians succeeded in maintaining their differences through the Church and Apostolic faith. These features affected ordinary Armenians' daily life and distinguished them from their Muslim and Greek neighbours. According to Zekiyan (1997), the influences of the church and the Apostolic faith even continued in the reformation movements of the Armenians between the 17th and 18th Century because the first examples of printing presses were religious texts. Even calendars carried intensive religious messages. These are the best examples of how Christianity affected the lives of ordinary Armenians throughout history.

Once we focus on Hagop's statements, we can see that the historical mission of Christianity continues. As a cultural heritage, the Apostolic Church helps Hagop to connect with the past and makes him differ from Muslims and other Christian people of Lebanon. It is used as a significant marker in the reproduction process of Armenianness. Obviously, being descendants of survivors and having a congregational life allows Hagop to adopt religion as a cultural heritage and learn religious practices naturally.

Furthermore, it is possible to observe some ethno-national elements in his interpretation of religion and religious practices by citing his statements above. Christianity and its practices, such as praying, customs and norms at the church⁵⁵ are interpreted from an ethnic point of view. In parallel to the literature about the Armenians' ancient history (Kurkjian, 1958; Zekiyan, 2004), Hagop as well as the majority of Armenian youngsters are proud of being descendants of Dtrtrad III, who accepted Christianity before any other nation did. There is a strong belief that young Armenians are lucky to be members of the Armenian Church, which has a history of various glories and victories in the name of Christianity since the 4th Century. In other words, Hagop sees that Christianity is not only a universal identity which gathers people from different ethnic, social, economic and cultural backgrounds in different parts of the world, but also it is considered a prominent feature of his national ethnic identity. For him, Armenianness is not considered

⁵⁵ The religious ceremony at the Armenian Orthodox Church has serious rules, which differs from other sects and churches. For example, the language of prayer is Kharabt (the old Armenian language) and the clergy have to wear special dress depending on their duties and titles during the ceremony. Needless to say, these customs are not observed in Protestant or Pentecostal churches.

as extant in non-Christian forms. For this reason, parameters such as “having different religion (J)” and “patchwork religion (K)” on the matrix are approached negatively. There is a strong disagreement about non-Christian reproduction of Armenianness. As Hagop states;

“...It is difficult to experience your Armenian identity if you are not Christian. It is affected too much. If you aren't a Christian, you don't go to the Church and feast. You lost some parts of your identity.”

“...Christianity has also helped Armenians to not be assimilated. If you changed your religion, you look like your neighbour...”

It is clearly understood that, for Hagop, Christianity is a precondition of being Armenian. Furthermore, some parameters such as “atheism (L)” and “having different religion (J)” does not fit into this reproduction of Armenianness. According to the matrix, these parameters are scored with negative values. As Hagop states;

“...I know, there are a few Muslim Armenians in Turkey, but they had to change their religion. They were forced...”

“...There is no such a thing as a Muslim or atheist Armenian. They lost some parts of their culture. So they are not fully...”

Undoubtedly, this point of view somehow produces a social control mechanism (mahalle baskisi)⁵⁶ among Armenians and different or alternative voices can be suppressed. On the one hand, this pressure mechanism maintains certain groups' (such as ARF or Hincak) power and legitimacy; on the other hand, it leads to Armenianness to stay in certain forms only. For this reason, having a different religious identity or being atheist cannot be attached with Armenianness as it is reproduced currently. In the example of Hagop, Armenianness is considered as 'a way of living' reflecting Christianity and religious practices.

In addition to these two interpretations, Hagop tends to see Christianity as fulfilling his spiritual needs. As Hagop expresses;

⁵⁶ Mardin, Ş. (2008). Türk modernleşmesi: Makaleler 4. M. Türköne ve T. Önder , (Der.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. Subaşı, N. (2008). Mahalleyi baskıyla hatırlamak. Şerif Mardin Okumalar, T. Takış (Ed.). Ankara: Doğu-Batı Yayınları.

“...I was born in Christian family and accepted it. This is my religion so far.

“...No different than others. Muslim need to believe in Allah, we believe in God. Sometimes you want to believe something without thinking...”

As is understood from his expressions, Christianity is experienced in order to satisfy his spiritual side. In this vein, Christianity is considered as a way of living. In contrast to other cases, it is possible to observe spiritual aspects and practices of Christianity easily in Lebanon. In other words, they live and die as Christians. It should be pointed out that Lebanon seems to be a cradle for Christianity in the Middle East, a region dominated by Islam. It is easy to feel that Christianity is alive in Lebanon as practices such as going to the church, funerals keep their authenticity (Bailey and Bailey, 2003). In accordance with this interpretation, the Armenian Church becomes a religious centre that satisfies Hagop’s spiritual side. These boundaries place Christianity into the heart of the reproduction process, and therefore other religions and inclinations are excluded from this version of Armenianness.

6.2.2. Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices

As a second theme, ethnicity and ethnic parameters allow Hagop to gain different points of view while he is reproducing Armenianness. According to the matrix, parameters related to ethnicity and ethnic practices are homogenous and produce positive inclinations. Parameters such as “sharing ethnic history and myths (X)”, “purity of Armenian people (AC)”, “assuming Armenians as an indigenous people of Anatolia (AD)” or “ethnic practices; namely, reading, listening or speaking Armenian language (AN, AO, AP, AQ and AR)” are coded as “+2”. Putting it differently, Hagop tends to experience parameters related to ethnicity and ethnic parameters intensely. As will be seen in the following section, the boundaries of the context allow Hagop to keep his ethnic awareness high at all times, so ethnic parameters may matter in his reproduction of Armenianness.

As Hagop states:

“...It is important to speak and know Armenian language because it is our language. Armenians must speak Armenian. Armenian parents put their kids to Armenian schools. Schools play important roles to learn the language...”

It could be argued that the usage of the Armenian language is an important practice in the reproduction of Armenianness. Differently from other cases, the language is active and in use in Lebanon and allows Hagop to reach a sense of 'us' because the Armenian language is learnt as a native language through family and school. In the end, having proficiency in Armenian leads him to think "like an Armenian". The world where Hagop experiences Armenianness is socially constructed through the Armenian language. Consequently, the world becomes meaningful. Being a descendant of survivors and congregational life may create a suitable environment to experience the Armenian language in Lebanon because all members of his family are ethnically Armenian. For this reason, the Armenian language is involved in the reproduction process by default.

Similar to the language, other parameters referring to the ethnic heritage of the Armenians are "ethnic historiography (Z)" and "prominent persons in the history (AA)", both of which can be effective in the reproduction process. It is possible to observe a pride. As Hagop states:

"...Armenians have a very rich history and long history. There are some significant achievements. For example, we are the first nation to accept Christianity. We have unique alphabet. We are oldest nation. In the past, Armenians were very successful in business. We don't have any bagger..."

As can be understood, Hagop's interests about Armenian heritage lead him to think about the pre-modern origins of the Armenian nation. Accordingly, Hagop states:

"...Armenian is always Armenian. There is no difference between Armenians who lived in 3rd Century and us. We belong to same nation."

As can be seen, Armenianness is considered inform a primordial point of view. It is assumed that there is a connection between pre-modern/historical figures and modern Armenians. This not only reflects the longevity of nations, but also it allows him to consider that Armenians are a different race. Of course, there is a misinterpretation in the usage of terms or lack of information about concepts, but the important part is that Hagop sees Armenianness as "a being". In other words, for him kinship and blood are important elements of being Armenian and to

experience Armenianness. This not only refers to the academic debate in the literature about nationalism and ethnicity, but it also produces definitions of what is Armenian identity. There is no doubt that the effort of making these definitions limits his consideration and reduces the concept of Armenianness in certain features. For instance, Hagop told me::

“...if you have an Armenian blood in your body, you are Armenian. It doesn't matter if your mom or father Armenian. One of the parents is Armenian, it makes you Armenian. It is the easiest way to have Armenian identity. It doesn't matter if you born in Armenia or Lebanon. Your parents and family are important...”

By relying on this statement, having Armenian parents and kinship are considered as precondition of his Armenianness.

Additionally, there are some idealisations in his interpretation of Armenianness. Some aspects and parameters are emphasised more. For instance, his perception about the homeland can be an example for idealisations in the reproduction of Armenianness. For Hagop, the homeland is considered as:

“...Armenia was 300,000 km² before the genocide and is now only 30,000 km². So, of course as an Armenian I would support the idea of getting the 90% of our grandparents' lands back! I mean, who wouldn't?”

As we can realise, the physical borders of the constructed homeland do not match contemporary maps. Rather, they are constructed by a historical and political context. As I previously mentioned, this conception is based on the ideas of the Armenian political elite during the 18th Century, and is thus an adopted nationalist discourse. Political elites tried to combine a few kingdoms together that were not actually united in the past in order to imagine an Armenian homeland. For instance, similarities between Armenians who lived in the Kingdom of Cilicia and Armenians who used to live in Tsarist Russia were less than what is imagined. In the reproduction of Armenianness, this fact is ignored. Hagop tends to adopt strong attitudes about the borders of the homeland even though the territory is inhabited by non-Armenian former subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, Lebanon is not considered as a homeland in the reproduction of Armenianness even if his parents and the majority of his relatives were born in Lebanon. In this

vein, it could be claimed that the idealisation of the homeland in his reproduction process of Armenianness is influenced by mainly congregational life as the idea of the Armenian homeland and nationalism are socially constructed and shared every day in diasporic spaces through social memories that have been transmitted from previous generations.

Moreover, other parameters related to ethnic aspects, such as “similarities Turks (AF)” and “similarities Arabs (AG)” show strong inclinations. As can be observed on the matrix, they were coded as “-2”. There is a strong disagreement that Armenian people show similarities with Turks and Arabs. This makes Hagop consider Armenianness as a racial category that has not changed throughout time. Hagop believes that the Armenian nation kept its physical features different from other nations, and is considered as a pure nation. In other words, similarities and common features with other ethnic groups are ignored, while differences are emphasised in the reproduction of Armenianness (Barth, 1969). In the example of Hagop, similarities with Arabs and Turks are ignored. This attitude creates positive and negative stereotypes in his reproduction of Armenianness. For instance, Hagop states:

“...there is no Armenian beggar. We are different than others. First of all, Armenians are proud and very hard working. They don't accept charity [aids] unless they hit rock the bottom. They like working. Begging is forbidden by the God. If they are need something, we have foundations and organisations seeking to help poorer members of the Armenian community.”

At this point, the influences of the congregational lifestyle can be observed. Since the community and Armenianness are considered as closed and homogenous, various stereotypes have developed, which not only enriches the homogeneity within the Armenian community, but also excludes non-Armenian elements from the community.

Similarly, this produces an important point in his reproduction of Armenianness. According to his interpretation, the Armenian nation is considered to be holistic. There is no difference between Armenians who live in different parts of the world. As Hagop states:

“...There is no difference among us. All are same member of the nation even though they live in different parts of the worlds. Originally, all come from the same place. You know, all come from the Western Armenia. After the genocide, their grandparents had to escape from their hometowns and resettled in new places. Of course, they kept their ethnic identities and traditions. So we are same and we have some plus [referring to second nationalities from the host countries or learning different languages in addition to the Armenian language].”

By using his consideration expressed above, there is intensive reductionism in his reproduction of Armenianness. Since the Armenian nation is considered as pure and static, differences which may emerge in diasporic spaces are not taken into consideration. He tends to see all Armenian people as the same and ignores alternative experiences of Armenianness that are mainly derived from different interactions in everyday life.

Finally, ethnic practices such as “using Armenian language (AO)”, “listening Armenian music (AQ)” or “consuming Armenian food (AR)” are used effectively in the example of Hagop. As Hagop states:

“...Of course, as an Armenian, I know our culture well. Listening Armenian music, speaking Armenian language or eating Armenian food are daily things. Actually, they are very popular not only among Armenians, but also among Lebanese. They visit Armenian restaurants frequently.”

These practices and attitudes reflect the influences of being a descendant of survivors and congregational life. Most of the time, these practices are experienced unconsciously and learnt in the natural flow of life. Their importance might not be realised at first glance, but reading Armenian books, listening to Armenian music or speaking Armenian in daily life are aspects of resistance to assimilation in the diaspora. Therefore, they are seen as crucial points in the reproduction of Armenianness. It is expected that every Armenian must be educated through their own ethnic language to protect their identities.

6.2.3. Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

As a third theme, political practices and attitudes are effective parameters while Hagop reproduces Armenianness. As seen from the matrix, parameters related to political practices are positively inclined and are scored “+2”. These positive inclinations give a clue as to how he uses parameters related to political parameters in the reproduction process of Armenianness. It could be argued that Armenianness is experienced intensively in the sense of political aspects because of strong attitudes, especially with “considering 1915 as a genocide (AU)”, “different version of Armenian tragedy (AV)”, “territory claim (AW)”, “Asala (BJ)” or “political affiliation with Tashnak (BK)”. These are a few of the crucial parameters because they allow him to divide the world into white and black. Once he is compared to other participants, the political parameters can be more visible in Hagop’s reproduction of Armenianness. Again, the boundaries of the context impacts upon political aspects of Armenianness and the reproduction process. As a result of these boundaries, Hagop encounters certain political ideologies and institutions in restricted areas. As Hagop states:

“...personally, I am interested in politics. This is not my major. It is like hobby...”

“...I vote generally Tashnak because it is powerful party. I believe that they fight for Armenians’ rights. The party was also effective in the Ottoman time to gain the independence. Like me, they believe that the Greater Armenia and fight for Armenian Genocide...”

As is understood from his statements about political points of view, there is an official affiliation and indoctrination process behind his reproduction of Armenianness.⁵⁷ For example, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF, one of the main political parties) is popular among Armenians in Lebanon. They are able to influence the Armenian community institutionally. It is possible to come across various institutions that maintain the social influence of ARF, such as bookstores, youth clubs, newspapers or radio stations. These examples can be

⁵⁷ As the simplest form, the indoctrination is the process can be defined as the simplest form is as the process of teaching (consciously or unconsciously) ideas, attitudes, cognitive strategies or a professional methodology. Cultures, customs and traditions can transmit from one generation to the next. Funk and Wagnalls: "To instruct in doctrines; esp., to teach partisan or sectarian dogmas"; I.A. Snook, ed. 1972. Concepts of Indoctrination (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

also considered as tools mobilising Armenians in Lebanon. ARF's popularity is sometimes infused into the everyday language. There is a saying that "if you are not Dashnak [literally do not support ARF], you are not Armenian" among youngsters. This saying demonstrates that political identities often matter more than ethnic identities. This debate dates back to the reformation period of the Ottoman Empire and nationalist rebels. It could be argued that the popularity of ARF derives from historical and sociological dynamics.

Historically speaking, ARF was able to survive after the Armenian deportation in 1915 and reorganised in the diaspora and in Armenia. It should be pointed out that Armenian political parties (including ARF) had established several institutions and developed strong networks within society, although the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia interrupted the development of independent policies in Armenia since all national parties and groups were integrated into the Soviet political system and not allowed to produce non-Communist policies. In contrast to the political efforts of the Armenian parties in Armenia, they have been more flexible in Lebanon. As explained above, they joined the policymaking process and won seats in the parliament due to their relations with the French Mandate and then the Lebanese nationalists (Migliorino, 2008). Accordingly, they have integrated themselves into the Lebanese community politically.

In addition to historical dynamics, ARF draws its strength from the sectarian Lebanese political structure. Since there are ethno-religious divisions in Lebanon, Armenians consider ARF (including SDHP and Ramgavar) as a primary party that protects Armenian interests. Therefore, political parties and associations are endemic to every segment of Armenian society, and there are examples such as women associations, youth clubs or societies at universities. It is possible to feel their dominance in some neighbourhoods such as Borj Hamood, Anjar or Fanar. These places are highly politicised, just like other quarters of Beirut and Lebanon as a whole.

In parallel to these dynamics, the political influences of ARF can be observed in Hagop's interpretations:

"...I'm not member of any party. I have a couple of friends having connections. I can hang out with them. They not only are Armenians and

my friends, but also we have similar point of views. For example, we both support similar party and fight for the same thing...”

Unlike his attitudes with regard to political affiliation, some issues are politicised.⁵⁸ According to the matrix, parameters related to the Armenian tragedy and subsequent debates (AU, AV, AW and BO) show strong attitudes, so they are coded as “+2”. As Hagop states:

“...of course, it is genocide. 1.5 million Armenians were massacred and 90% of our lands were taken from us. However, somehow Turkey is still denying it and the world is still silent!”

It is clearly seen that the deportation of Armenians in 1915 is considered as a “genocide” and it is not open for discussion. Additionally, it is possible to catch a few negative stereotypes about Turkey and Turkish nationalism. Turkish nationalism is considered as a culprit of the Armenian tragedy. In this vein, the Armenian tragedy and “fighting against Turkey” (using political or violent means) are powerful dynamics shaping his Armenianness. Therefore, violence against Turkey can be legitimised in Hagop’s interpretation. As Hagop states:

“...They [ASALA] started their mission in defence of the Armenian genocide, but they lost their way along the way. They started killing civilians. I should state that this is extremely wrong because our problem is with the Turkish government not with the Turkish people. ASALA are considered heroes of course, since they devoted themselves to the cause.”

⁵⁸ By standing on the field work notes and observations, it could be argued that the political environment/discourse affects Harir unconsciously even though he does not have any political affiliation. He acts sometimes like ‘politicised Armenians’ working for the party. It is possible to observe the influence of the discourse. For example, he wore a t-shirt illustrating “Boycott Turkish Products”, prepared and given to him by ARF. I would like to share one of my observations 23-04-2012 Today at Haigazian there is commemoration of the Armenian genocide. Student clubs organised events. They sang and showed some pictures. Of course these things for Armenians are not easy. Some of them today are very angry and try to show their reactions against Turkey. All around the campus, I saw anti-Turkish anti-Turks posters etc. and some students were wearing “no Turkish products” shirts. A group of people organised a bicycle tour to the Turkish embassy protesting. Also they put up a model monument on campus, like a reproduction of Erivan.

However, there is an important point in his consideration about ASALA. Even if they are considered as a group of heroes, their actions are sometimes called “terrorist actions”. According to Hagop:

“...since they began to kill civilians, they become terrorists and were used by different states.”⁵⁹

Moreover, fighting against Turkey leads him to tolerate different collaborations and relations that actually affect Turkish-Armenian relations negatively. For instance, the involvement of Western powers are supported by Hagop, but he is aware that it is all a part of politics. As Hagop states:

“... everything is politics. To be honest no one is actually trying to help our cause. If they wanted Turkey to recognise the genocide, they would have made them recognise it by now. They have different agendas, but it is better than nothing...”

As can be seen in the example of Hagop, these practices (even though they are not associated with Armenianness at first glance) maintain political aspects of Armenianness. The belief is that by doing something in the name of the nation, it allows him to reproduce Armenianness in a more political form than other participants.

6.2.4. Theme of Interactions in Everyday life

Interactions in everyday life, as a final theme, allow Hagop to reproduce Armenianness in different ways. According to the matrix, his interactions in everyday life seem homogenous and he has, once again, intense attitudes. Most parameters on the matrix fluctuate between “+2” and “+1”. Especially, interactions related to non-Armenians (BZ, CA, CB or CC), practices within the Armenian community (BR, BS, BT or BU) and those relating to transnational networks (CX, CY, DB or DG) show highly strong inclinations.

To start, relations with non-Armenians are clearly divided or defined with Hagop:

⁵⁹ By standing on the field work notes, it is possible to come across more radical thoughts about ASALA. Some students not only considered ASALA heroes, but also find excuses to legitimise their actions. In the first week in Lebanon, some students consistently wanted to talk about ASALA and learn my thoughts about them.

“...Everyone knows each other in Lebanon. Maybe you cannot distinguish at first place, but I can do easily who Armenians are or not...”

“...you know where you should hang out and with whom...”

“...we [Armenians] have own places, but I also go to similar places with other Lebanese. However, you shouldn't forget your people, your past and your language...”

By using his statements, being a descendant of survivors and having a congregational life makes him cautious about developing relations with non-Armenians. Since his grandparents got used to living with Armenians, relations with non-Armenians are not always intimate. Putting it differently, whether being a member of the Armenian community or not is an important feature which deepens relations because relations are also considered as sharing a common fate. As a result of these boundaries, Hagop tends to have more serious and intimate relations with Armenians. At this point, the features of Lebanese society in terms of ethno-religious sectarianism become an important dynamic helping to make clear why his relations are different between non-Armenians and Armenians. According to Cleveland and Bunton, “...the perseverance of sectarian communal loyalties stultified Lebanon's political development and allowed family and religious ties to prevail over national ones. Politics was dominated by established families whose power derived from feudalism, economic status and a long-standing tradition of leadership...” (in Moaddel, 2012). Ethno-religious differences can matter at all times in Lebanon. Accordingly, each group tends to establish their ghettoised quarters. Separate mosques, churches, schools and neighbourhoods can be the best examples showing sectarianism in Lebanon.⁶⁰

Even though the results of ethno-religious and political divisions among sects are seen in various areas, the most interesting practice is observed in relationships. According to the matrix, relationships, specifically “getting married with non-

⁶⁰ In addition to this, I would like to share one of my observations at Haigaizan. The division and limited relations with non-Armenians were also seen on Haigazian's campus. It was occupied by several student groups throughout the breaks. The important thing was each student group seemed to be homogenous and hangs out with themselves. This does not mean that students having different ethno-religious backgrounds do not speak to each other at all time. Rather, students consider other students having different ethno-religious background as a friend, but if they share a similar background, they are considered as a 'brother'.

Armenians (CC)” or “having same sex marriage (CD)” are scored negatively. As Hagop states:

“...we live in Arab country, so mix marriages are normal. However, parents prefer their kids to get married with Armenian family. Some might be very sensitive about the marriage and give serious reactions...”

“...it always brings difficulties because you encounter with new traditions and customs. So it is not preferable...”

As is understood from his statements, mixed marriages are not tolerated in his reproduction of Armenianness. There is a belief that mixed marriages (having a non-Armenian wife or particularly husband) can jeopardise an Armenians' lifestyle and prevent them from transmitting traditions, norms and values that are marked as being Armenian. It could be argued that this belief derives from two reasons, which are the patriarchal features of the Armenian community and the sectarian features of Lebanese society (Yumul, 1999-2000; Kasbarian, 2006). It is assumed that the next generation is inherited from the paternal line, so if an Armenian woman gets married to a non-Armenian man, they are excluded by default. In other words, their connection with other members of the Armenian community can be broken, and they may well be ostracised. Therefore, mixed marriage is considered as an indirect way for assimilation and a threat to the Armenian congregational life.

Secondly, the sectarian features of Lebanese society prevent the prevalence of mixed marriages in civil society. Since everyone depends on some ethno-religious identities, mixed marriages can be considered as challenges for present marriage implications. For example, one partner in a couple should abandon his/her religious identity during the wedding ceremony because there is no civil marriage in Lebanon. Also, it is assumed that the children resulting from the mixed marriage belong to the father's religion. Accordingly, their connections with the community can be interrupted or severed, and this can create various domestic problems. In the example of Hagop, mixed marriages, especially with non-Christians, are absolutely not supported because it is believed that the transmission of Armenian culture which is flavoured strongly with Christianity can be terminated if Armenian youngsters get married to non-Christian and non-Armenian partners.

Despite having strong disagreement with mixed marriage, Armenian men and women are not treated equally. There is an exception for Armenian men in terms of having a mixed marriage. Since Armenian families in Lebanon are patriarchal, high numbers of women getting married to non-Armenians are considered as a threat and disadvantage to the Armenian community. When they get married, it is believed that their connection with the Armenian community and culture would be lost. As Hagop states:

“...Armenian girls are mostly traditional in Lebanon. They save their virginity for marriage. Of course some don't. They try to do their best.

...Armenian women are protectors of our culture. They keep the Armenian gene alive by teaching her children the language and traditions of Armenian. If they get married with non-Armenian, their connection would be weakened, but we respect our women no matter what...”

As can be understood from his point of view, it is thought that the transmission of culture, such as cooking Armenian food, speaking the Armenian language with children and teaching social norms and traditions is a primary duty of Armenian women. For this reason, any effort jeopardising this balance can be objected to harshly, so female members of the community are “under the protection of male members”.

In contrast to strong division in interactions with non-Armenians, Hagop's interactions with Armenians demonstrates positive inclinations. As can be observed from the matrix, the scores of the parameters, namely “usage of the language at home”, “usage of the language with friends” and “practicing the language at academic level” are coded as “+2”. In other words, language and socialisation with Armenians show similar patterns, similar to other participants. They use similar places to socialise in. According to Hagop:

“...Since I went to Armenian schools, I had a chance to practice my language. Also my family always speaks Armenian, so I learnt naturally. My family made me Armenian...”

As can be understood, the Armenian language is used efficiently. There is no doubt that the boundaries of the context were a key that allowed for strong inclinations in the usage of the language. These boundaries not only allow Hagop

to learn the ethnic language in the natural flow of daily life, but also it makes the ethnic language matter. Not practicing Armenian (in case children attend Arabic or French schools) is seen as an erosion of Armenianness. It should not be forgotten that there is a strong politicisation within the Armenian community, which also affects Hagop's preferences Hagop when choosing newspapers or television channels. As Hagop states:

“...since I live in Lebanon, it is hard to ignore other resources. I follow Lebanese and Armenian channels and papers too. I read Aztag papers occasionally.”

“...we follow Armenia and support their policies...”

At this point, it should be highlighted that the reproduction process of Armenianness in Lebanon is not only affected by the Western Armenian language, but also other languages like Arabic, Turkish and English. This, similar to other young Armenians, leads Hagop to be able to provide alternative interpretations. As explained above, Lebanon has always been a multi ethnic and religious state. This feature of Lebanon prevents any religion, ethnicity, political identity or language from becoming dominant. It is possible to come across ethno-religious sects using more than one language in different parts of Lebanon. In the example of Hagop, and generally in the Armenian community, Arabic and Turkish can affect the reproduction process of Armenianness.

In the first instance, it could be argued that the use of Arabic is sort of a necessity derived from the fact that the Armenians are living in Lebanon. Differently from the previous generation, Arabic is also practiced as the second best known language. In the past, Armenians had difficulties in learning and speaking Arabic. Due to grammatical and syntax differences, they had difficulties speaking Arabic properly. Particularly in suffixes caused difficulties for previous generations. Words are produced through suffixes whether they are plural or male or female. According to Jebejian (2007), it is very confusing that using personal pronouns such as “anta (you.m), anti (you.f), huwa (he) or heyaa (she) among Armenians especially in the first and the second generation.⁶¹

⁶¹ As I noted in my research journey, some Armenians try to different ways to overcome their difficulties in Arabic. In my language tutor, Dr. Armen Guneslian at Haigazian University told that especially in the past, Armenian pupils had difficulties in Arabic and they could not pass the grammar schools. Therefore,

This has become a stereotype among Arabs and sometimes they use it to make fun of Armenians. However, the younger generation does not have any problem with Arabic, and they no longer live in refugee camps. They integrated into the Lebanese society, and their educational opportunities increased over time. Armenian pupils not only go to Armenian schools, but some also prefer to be registered in Arabic schools. Although there are qualitative differences among Lebanese schools, there are no differences in terms of teaching Arabic. Curriculums in Armenian schools seek to teach Arabic efficiently besides Western Armenian. Armenian schools in Lebanon are considered as minority schools and closed to non-Armenians. However, they function under the Lebanese Ministry of Education, and so their curricula and schedules are inspected. Differently from other schools, the school week lasts for five days due to extra modules such as the Armenian culture and history. Social studies, such as Lebanese history, geography and Arabic are all taught in Arabic. Also, students are required to learn either French or English as a foreign language. While Armenian is taught as a mother tongue, Arabic is considered the second best known language. As Hagop states:

“...There are Armenians who have difficulties in speaking Arabic due to Armenian schools and the community. But my Arabic is perfect because I also went to an Arabic school. It is like my mother tongue”

Therefore, it is possible to argue that Arabic is not a problem for Hagop and other young participants. They can use Arabic (not only to communicate, but also for the reproduction process) the same as the other Arab population. Actually, for most Armenians, Arabic is exercised as their primary language in public. In other words, it could be argued that speaking Arabic is a part of his Armenianness and differs him from other Armenians in the world.

Secondly, Turkish also affects his Armenianness in different ways. However, in contrast to Armenian and Arabic, the impact of Turkish is limited in his Armenianness. As explained above, the first generation Armenians used to speak Turkish and did not have proficiency in Armenian or Arabic. Thus, Turkish is a part of their grandparents' Armenianness. As Hagop states:

Armenian families those who are wealthy sent their children to abroad to study. Cyprus was one of the popular destinations. He also studied in Cyprus after 70s because of the language problem.

“...I know Turkish but I’m not fluent. My grandfather still talks Turkish. We communicate in Turkish with him.”⁶²

It could be considered that Turkish is not only their grandparents’ language, but also speaking Turkish reminds them of their past and the deportation. In light of this, the contribution of Turkish in the reproduction process is negative. It is not learnt among the Armenian youth purposely. For this reasons, the Yunus Emre Foundation, which is a Turkish cultural institution running various language courses and seminars, is boycotted by young Armenians who have political affiliations.⁶³ In the example of Hagop, Turkish is not involved in the reproduction process of Armenianness, even if his grandfather uses Turkish as a primary language.⁶⁴

In addition to the usage of languages and intensive ties with Armenians, socialising places are also different. According to the matrix, parameters such as “socialising in Borj Hamood”, “attending community events” or “joining youth clubs” give a clue as to how Armenianness is reproduced homogenously. As Hagop states:

“...Borj Hamood is known also the Armenian quarter because we built it. When survivors of genocide came to Lebanon, they settled down and built Borj Hamood and they saved it during the civil war. It was not captured...”

“...You don’t need to know Arabic if you live in Borj Hamood...”

⁶² I should state some point about their Turkish. I had a chance to meet his grandfather in his home and interviewed him in Turkish. As a native speaker of Turkish, I could argue that his Turkish was broken and not standardised. He tended to use colloquial words and had a very strong accent that may be heard in the south of Turkey. Some sentences are established in improper ways. It should be noted that they are not crucial mistakes. Rather they should be seen as collocation errors.

⁶³ During my field work, I witnessed a few protests and reactional attitudes of some Armenian students. Protesting to education fair in Lebanon (January, 2012) is one of those protest. There was an education fair which hospitalise different universities from the world. Turkish universities had a few stall. I was told that Armenian youngsters (some of them were business students at Haigazian university having political affiliation with Tashnak.

⁶⁴ By citing to field works notes in Lebanon, there is an interesting point about the usage of Turkish. Turkish can be considered in different ways between male and female participants. It is practiced among male participants unconsciously because most of swearing/strong language is Turkish. Especially among male participants, it is possible to come across several words loaning from Turkish. I observed a backgammon game between two Armenian students at campus of Haigazian. Throughout the game, I heard so many Turkish swearing words and phares such as “*amina koyayim [I fuck your pussy], siktir [fuck off] or vay sansimi sikeyim [ooo, i fuck my luck]*” whenever someone lost the game or made wrong move.

Judging by his statements, it could be argued that Borj Hamood is seen as a “saved neighbourhood”. Armenians spread out in Borj Hamood and transformed the previous refugee camp into a neighbourhood until the Lebanese Civil War in 1976. When the war broke out, each ethno-religious group occupied different fronts and neighbourhoods. Despite the multi ethnic and religious mosaic of Lebanon, Beirut (and also other cities and provinces) was divided into two fronts. While Christian forces controlled the eastern side of Beirut, Muslim powers controlled the west. In parallel to the decision of Armenian political parties and the Armenian Church to remain neutral in the civil war, Borj Hamood was defended by Armenian armed groups to maintain their neutrality.⁶⁵ Throughout the years, the importance of Borj Hamood district has increased and it is considered as a centre of the Armenian congregational lifestyle.

Finally, interactions related to transnational network are important parameters of Hagop’s Armenianness. As can be seen from the matrix, interactions about transnationalism (CX, CY, DB or DG) are positive and offer higher scores. As Hagop states:

“...Armenia is our country too. It is a special place...”

“...I have applied to get my Armenian passport and officially become an Armenian citizen. We also follow news about Armenia and support their policies...”

By focusing on his statement about Armenia, it could be argued that he has developed long-distance nationalist emotions (Anderson, 2006). Accordingly, it is followed through various ways such as satellite television, newspapers or social media. The emotional connections are always stirred up. For Hagop, Armenia is not only imagined as a homeland, but it also affects his everyday interactions because he takes Armenia’s “side” without hesitation whenever the conversation touches on Armenia and Armenians. At this point, it should be highlighted that Armenia’s official policies about diaspora encourages Armenians to have positive points of view. At first glance, their policies toward the Armenian diaspora are very comprehensive. According to their

⁶⁵ As Harir states; “Tashnaks, as I mentioned before are a very respected and powerful political party in Lebanon and they defended Bourj Hammoud and other Armenian communities during the civil war. They were armed and defended their families. Other Armenian parties like Henchag and Ramgavar also defended their regions during the war but Bourj Hammoud was and still is filled with Armenian Tashnaks.”

Ministry of Diaspora, Armenians who are outside of the borders of Armenia are accepted as diaspora Armenians who are eligible to have an Armenian passport and citizenship.⁶⁶ Therefore, diaspora Armenians are able to develop some emotional attitudes even though they have lived, and are yet living, in different countries with other citizenships.

In the example of Hagop, these positive attitudes about Armenia reflect his everyday life and practices. As can be seen on the matrix, Hagop is able to involve symbols (parameter DB) related to Armenia and Armenian culture in the reproduction process. As Hagop states:

“...The Armenian flag is important to us. It is common for us. I should say that I have the Armenian flag. Other Armenian symbols in the house remind us every day that we are Armenian and should fight for the world to recognise what happened to us in 1915...”

There is no doubt that transnational attitudes allow him to gather other Armenians, irrespective of background, into the same category in his mind. In addition to this, symbols and practices related to Turkey and Turkish culture are excluded in his reproduction. As Hagop believes:

“...All Lebanese Armenians boycott Turkish products. There is no room for that. Why should we encourage the Turkish economy when they have massacred our ancestors?”

“...when Turkish products are bought, the Turkish Army get richer and richer. Thus, we don't want to see any Turkish elements unless the genocide is recognised by Turkey...”

⁶⁶ Once the war started in Syria in 2011, Armenians as same as other people of Syria began to abandon their hometowns. Lebanon, Jordan and the Western countries are popular destinations. Some Armenians preferred to immigrate to Armenia. They were encouraged to settle down and had Armenian passport. As Lusine Stepanyan says that the president office mentioned that Syrian Armenians cannot be as refugee in their homeland. Therefore, Syrian-Armenians as well as others members of the diaspora are eligible to have Armenian passport (Armen press, 2014 <http://armenpress.am/eng/news/788876/back-to-armenia-bbc%E2%80%99s-special-report-on-the-difficult-path-of-syrian-armenians.html>) According to BBC, over 15000 Syrian Armenians fled to Armenia (BBC, 2015 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-32438128>)

“...I don’t know we have similarities with Turkish people because we don’t have so much interactions. You are the only Turkish person I know...”

As can be seen from his statement, he is distant to Turkey and Turkish culture. While he is reproducing his Armenianness, a “Turkish flavour” is not used. Because of the debate on whether the events of 1915 were considered as genocide or not, mutual interactions and contributions which have been observed throughout history, such as cuisine, traditions, music, architecture or literature, are not able to be learnt by him or purposely ignored. Turkey is still considered as an “enemy” country, that denies the “genocide” and runs away from “historical responsibilities”.

6.3. Participant Marus (L11-score=0.40)

“...I don’t like extremism in any sense. I am not extreme like others. How do other students treat you?...”⁶⁷

This was one of the important moments which I remember during my interview with Marus at Haigazian’s Library in Beirut. Even her short statement reminded me that she perceived the Armenian community through various categorisations that fluctuated between extreme or moderate. Before proceeding with a discussion of the ANCO-HITS matrix and the parameter scores, Marus seemed to be a bit different to the other students who I came across. As explained above, Haigazian provided a very good research site in terms of the variety of participants. It is possible to observe extreme points in every segment of Lebanese society. Foreigners, locals, rich Arabs, poor Palestinians, Shia, Sunnis, Muslim and Christian can be all be found on campus. Marus made her differences clear and obvious to me.

In order to deconstruct her context shaping the interpretation/reproduction of Armenianness, her family history and background will be a useful starting point. As Marus states;

“...well, my mother’s side are from Sasun and my father is from Antep. After the genocide, they settled down in Syria. My parents were born in Syria as descendants of the survivors. My grandparents lost their hometowns, relatives and properties. They had to start from zero. They lost their sisters, brothers and relatives. I didn’t see my grandparents. They told my parents. They were always upset.

“...Of course, they told me what happened during the genocide and previous hometowns. But we don’t talk about the genocide all time. We pray for them. The life is going on...”

By relying on her family history, it is possible to understand the boundaries of the context shaping her interpretations of Armenianness and its parameters. Her background refers to three main points. Firstly, her background consists of a deportation story, and therefore Marus is a classic example of a diaspora family

⁶⁷ All quotations taken from [Nickname=Marus], Interview with participant M on 26/04/2012, Beirut-Lebanon

that was defined in Cohen's (2008) typology. Even though Marus personally did not experience the Armenian deportation in 1915, her family history has highly rich stories and memories. As Cairns and Roe (2005) argue, family history as a form of social memory provides an unofficial history for the next generations. For this reason, previous hometowns keep their importance in her interpretations and provide her with additional local identities. It should be noted that the Armenian deportations are the main legacy behind the Armenian community in Syria and Lebanon.

The short background provided also signifies that her family follows a classic form. Both parents are ethnically Armenian and she was raised in an Armenian family. Having an Armenian family provides her with several advantages in terms of identity, such as being able to learn Western Armenian, Christianity and Armenian traditions within natural flow of daily life. Additionally, having an Armenian family provides her with organic membership in the Armenian community. Undoubtedly, this is an important feature in the Lebanese case. Even though the sample has changed, it is possible to trace the millet system in the Lebanese case similar to the Turkish case. Lebanon, as a post-Ottoman and post-colonial country, sustains traditional dynamics in the construction of society. Accordingly, this transforms Lebanese society and makes it religiously oriented. In other words, religious identities and communities become vital indicators in the Lebanese case when individuals define their identities. For instance, the religious affiliation defines an individual's positions in the Lebanese case. If a father is Christian, even if the mother is Muslim, the children are registered as a part of the Christian population. It is a highly patriarchal and traditional form of society. In the example of Marus, she belongs to the Christian population as an organic member of the Armenian community, and this is the second boundary of the context.

Secondly, Marus's consideration and approach towards the Armenian community is the final point regarding the boundaries of the context. Contrary to the other participants, Marus is not originally from Lebanon.⁶⁸ She was born in Syria and

⁶⁸ At this point, a few criticisms can be raised if she was a proper representative for the Lebanese case since she was born in Syria. At first glance, critiques can be just; however, Lebanon and Syria cannot be differed in the historical context. In other words, it is possible to observe various similarities among people. Majority of people speak Arabic and share common history such as legacy of the Ottoman, mandate regime and influences of pan-Arabism. Additionally, origins of Armenian community derived

came to Lebanon for her education. Due to the conflict in Syria (the Syrian Civil War, raging since 2011), she has decided to settle in Lebanon after she has completed her degree. Accordingly, she finds herself as a new resident of Lebanon. As Marus states:

“...I am not an official citizen of Lebanon. I have a Syrian passport, so I am not a part of the Armenian community in Lebanon. I am on a student permit, but probably I am not going to go back Syria because of the war. It is not safe place. It doesn't have any future.”

“...I live in Achrafieh that the tendency of place is Christians, this area is more peaceful than others in Beirut. I am sharing a house with 4 people. They are foreigners, but also students. Having housemates is safe and you can pay much less for the rent. They are more relax people. They are open-minded...”

By examining her statement, we can see that Marus is able to have a different context to others. In contrast to the other participants, Marus does not have intense relations with the Armenian community and its institutions in Lebanon. She began to interact with the Armenians in later stages of her life. At this point, it might be considered that Marus does not fit the features of the sample since she was not born in Lebanon. However, this feature gives Marus the opportunity to develop critical point of views and allow her to keep members of the Armenian community at a distance. Accordingly, she does not share similar attributes or even social spaces with other Armenians. Differently from the majority of the other participants, she does not live in a ghetto or neighbourhoods that have a high population of Armenians. For this reason, she is able to interact with non-Armenians in everyday life. In contrast to Armenians who live in neighbourhoods such as Fanar, Borj Hamood or Anjar, Marus's interactions with the Armenian community are relatively limited, even though she has various Armenian friends at an individual level. Thus, living at a distance from the Armenian community is the third boundary of the context shaping interpretations and the reproduction of Armenianness.

from Syria. It is possible to argue that they are share similar culture and living together with similar Arab majority. However, in some cases, she needed to emphasis her differences from Lebanese community; especially, in political point of view.

At this point, it should be highlighted that her preferences also derive from her socio-economic features. As she mentioned above, she prefers to live in Achrafieh that has a high Christian population. As can be observed if one was to visit, Achrafieh is a fairly affluent neighbourhood in Beirut. The sizes of flats are larger and more spacious, and their market values are more expensive than other parts of Beirut.⁶⁹ As Marus states:

“...My dad is a merchant. It is his own business but specifically he imports clothes from Turkey. It is hard to say certain number but his income is higher than average. We have house, money and shop, so it is good...”

As can be understood, she comes from a relatively rich family. Her socio-economic background allows her to experience Armenianness at different social places that go beyond the Armenian community.

6.3.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

In the example of Marus, parameters related to religion and religious practices are generally positive values. According to the matrix, the columns between D and W show that the parameters of religious perceptions and practices fluctuate between -1 and +2. This fluctuation shows that Marus's interactions with the church and the religious moves at various levels. For example, parameters such as “relations with the Church (M)”, “attending Church meetings (N)” or “attending church organisations (P)” are coded as -1. In contrast to other participants, these scores signify that she does not have too much of an affiliation with the church. Instead of refuting the existence and importance of the Armenian Church for the Armenians in diasporic spaces, she simply avoids establishing deep relations with the church. As Marus states:

“...I am Christian, but not a conservative. I am not saying being religious is stupid. I don't go to the church apart from important days like Christmas or Easter. When I was kid, of course I used to go a lot because my family took me with them. I couldn't say no. But now, I have my own life...”

⁶⁹ It is posh and it's a Christian area. Rentals are expensive (buying a house will cost between 500,000\$ and 1.5 million\$). It is very neat, and has heritage houses. It is a warm place with some beautiful places. Compared to poor places, it is pretty neat and organized. People are well educated and mainly speak French.

It can therefore be assumed that she tends to practice her religion at an individual level. This assumption may not be seen as noticeable if Marus belongs to the Turkish or British case, as because both countries somehow adopt secularism and individualism. However, her practices are perceived as unusual in the context of Lebanon. As discussed above, religious affiliation and identities matter in Lebanon due to the historical dynamics of Lebanon. For this reason, Marus seems to be different in the sample scope. It should be pointed out that living at a distance from the community shapes her interpretations and relations with the church. By focusing on Marus's Armenianness, the theme of religion and religious practices are seen in different ways.

Firstly, the Armenian Church is considered as both a religious and cultural centre. According to Marus:

“...the Church is a special place for Armenians. It is a national establishment and homogenous place. If you are not Armenian, you wouldn't go to the Armenian Church. It is a bit different than other churches. If you are Catholic, you can go to Catholic churches. But in the example of the Armenian case, even you are a Catholic, you go to the Armenian Catholic Church. So it is a national institution...”

“...the Church is important because it reminds us of our culture, where we came from, where we were etc. Some names of churches come from previous hometowns...”

As can be understood from her statements, the church as a religious centre is still considered in a highly homogenous form. Due to the historical evaluation of Christianity and the Armenian nation, Armenians have been able to have their own national church. Throughout the years, the Armenian Church differed religiously and culturally. The Armenian religious doctrine (Tchilingirian,1995), architectural style and the language used in prayer are excellent examples demonstrating how Armenians produced a unique form of the Christianity. For this reason, the Armenian Church and religion keep their literal meanings in the example of Marus, even though she has relatively lower scores in the matrix.

Moreover, the Armenian national form of Christianity and its historical evaluation allows her to interpret the religion and the church as parts of the cultural heritage.

In this form, the Armenian Church is seen as a cultural centre where other members of the Armenian community can meet up. In the Lebanese example that is deeply divided based on ethnic and religious identities, the Armenian Church is used as a significant socialising place. For Marus:

“... I don't socialise at the church. In the past, people, elderly people may prefer to go to the church to see their friends. Now, we are living in different world, so if I want to see my friends, I don't choose the church as a meeting point. Of course, if both of you are religious, you can go...”

“...for me, the church is a symbol for culture. Whenever I see the church, I read the title. This reminds me of who I am...”

By analysing her statements, we can assume that the Armenian church is not used as a place to socialise for her. Rather, it is seen as a protector and reminder of Armenian culture. Therefore, it is involved in the reproduction process in different ways.

Secondly, the Armenian Church and Christianity are considered as old fashioned institutions in Marus's reproduction. As Marus says:

“...we have a different perception about the world and lifestyle now. In the past, people used to be more religious. This has changed among Armenians. They are still religious, but not too much. For me, I believe but I don't allow any clergies or religious thoughts to shape my life. The church should reform itself in some issues. The Armenian Church is very conservative and stable. It is not open to new things...”

As is understood from her statements and general attitudes towards religions, she does not refute or reject the church. Rather, she finds it hard to fit religion and religious practices into her everyday life.

In short, it could be argued that the religious aspects in the reproduction of the Armenianness in Marus's example have positive values, but they are not experienced at a community level. Apart from occasions, her relationship with the church and the community are very limited because she tends to live at a distance from the Armenian community and its institutions. Therefore, her Armenianness

is reproduced outside of the mainstay of the Armenian community and gets lower scores than other participants.

6.3.2. Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices

Ethnicity and ethnic practices in the reproduction of Armenianness are another theme that affects Marus's reproduction of Armenianness. According to the matrix, parameters related to ethnicity and ethnic practices fluctuate between "-2" and "+2". The parameters relating to the "purity of Armenian people (AD)" is coded as -2, while the majority of parameters, such as "sharing ethnic history and myths (X)", "indigenous people of Anatolia (AE)" or "differences within the community (AK)" are coded as "+2". Based on these results, it could be assumed that Marus has positive attitudes towards ethnicity and ethnic practices. Negative values can be considered as key points that distinguish her from other participants in the Lebanese case and yields a lower score overall.

The ethnic parameters of Armenianness can be seen obviously in Marus's reproduction. As explained in the historical evaluation of the Armenian community, Lebanon allows for different ethnic and religious identities to exist. For this reason, they can be readily observed and they matter in the daily lives of people. The boundaries of the context allow her to experience and learn ethnic aspects of Armenianness easily. As Marus states:

"...I was born into the Armenian family, so I don't remember when I realised I have different identity. Maybe in the secondary school because I went to Armenian school and speak Armenian all the time. Of course I spoke Arabic too. Probably, I didn't think deeply once I was a kid..."

"...I was thought that Armenians have a gorgeous history and my mom always told Armenian stories when I was kid. I know my history, what happened in the past. Our victories and achievements etc. Armenians were the first nation that accepted Christianity. I am proud of it because they had to defend their religion during the history. They built ancient churches in the Armenia. They were very brave..."

"...the Armenians have also their own alphabet, so we recorded many things. We have a very rich archive. If you compare to Lebanese or Turkish, we might have long history. Lebanese think that they are

descendants of Phoenicia, so they are European. Armenians believe that our origins derive from Noah and his son Hayk...[in the Armenian language, “Hay” and “Hayastan” are used to refer Armenian and Armenia respectively.]”

As can be realised from her statement, Marus shares some parts of the Armenian ethnic history. It is possible to catch myths and social memories in her statement. These cultural reservoirs not only remind her of the Armenians’ past, but also allow her to define her collective identity in different ways. In other words, Marus maintains her ethnic differences through these cultural reservoirs in the Lebanese context where ethnic and religious differences become matter. She continues to experience and demonstrate her ethnic aspects of Armenianness as a descendant of Hayk in Lebanon.

In terms of ethnic parameters, another point that differentiates Marus from other participants is her interpretation about the purity of the Armenian people. As can be seen in the matrix, her attitudes to parameters related to the Armenians’ ethnic origins, such as “Armenian as a race (AE)” and “purity of Armenian people (AD)”, are negative. As Marus states:

“...I don’t believe that Armenians are a special race or pure. This is against my point of view. For me, it is not important if you are pure or not. It is about feeling. If you feel, you are Armenian. It is really impossible to trace your origins. I mean if someone gets married with a non-Armenian, her child would not be Armenian less than me. We are all influenced. It is a mutual process. Armenians also affect other nations...”

According to her interpretation of Armenianness, “blind nationalist” elements, such as belief in a sacred and pure nation, are not important and they are not involved in the reproduction process. It could be argued that her limited relations with the Armenian community prevent her from learning nationalist elements institutionally, such as social clubs, and allow her to develop various interactions with non-Armenians. For this reason, the ethnic aspects of the Armenianness in her interpretations are not combined with the political aspects.

By observing her statements about ethnicity and ethnic practices, her attitudes are not intense or selective, even if it is seen as a positive pattern in the theme of

ethnicity and ethnic parameters. The ethnic aspects of Armenianness are less emphasised in the reproduction process. For this reason, she continues to get lower scores once the ANCO-HITS analysis is run overall, and specifically for ethnic parameters.

6.3.3. Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

Another important theme is political practices and attitudes. By observing the scores on the matrix, it could be argued that parameters falling under the theme of political practices and attitudes are generally negative in inclination and yielded lower scores for Marus. In contrast to other participants (especially Hagop), the political aspects of the Armenianness in Marus's interpretation are less observable.

Apart from a few parameters, such as "considering 1915 as genocide (AU)", "Turkish nationalism as a culprit of the genocide (AY)" and "seeing themselves as diapora (BB)", it is seen that Marus does not show similarities with other participants. As Marus states;

"...I am not interested in politics. I don't follow any party. My political thoughts are not extreme like some Armenians. Some Armenian students have extreme thoughts. They don't interact with Arabs. They always talk Armenian and talk about genocide etc. They are not independent from political parties..."

"...There is a saying in Armenian language. If three Armenian come together, they plan to establish a state. I don't like talking too much politics."

As is understood from this short statement, her attitudes seem to be moderate. It should be noted that political aspects of Armenianness are influenced by the boundaries of the context. This allows her to find alternative socialising places while she is reproducing Armenianness. Since she is living at a distance from the Armenian community, she does not interact with institutions and Armenians who are influenced by ARF or SDHP and their ideologies. As a result of this, political divisions between political groups do not mean anything to her. As can be seen from the matrix, Marus's relations with youth clubs and other political organisations are limited. In contrast to other participants, there is obvious rejection in joining these political associations.

This prevents her from finding common ground with other participants, particularly in terms of political goals and ideologies. As Marus states:

“...I know what the Greater Armenia is. It is an imagination. We used to live Armenia, but now it belongs to Turkey and have problem with Kurdish. It is our historical land...”

“...Personally, I don't have any thought to go there and live. It is history now. Of course, nationalist Armenians still try to get back the territory, but this is not rational...”

“...Politicians in the party should work more and make real their promises. Greater Armenia does not make sense for me because I can enter to Turkey free. It is a kind of illusion. I have different life and interests...”

This statement shows that she cannot converge on common political points with most of the other participants in Lebanon. Thus, her Armenianness has different political expectations. As discussed in the previous section, the idea of Greater Armenia can be popular among youngsters who are influenced politically. In the example of Marus, however, she does not buy into the idea at all.

However, it should be pointed out that Marus sometimes shows similarities with other participants in terms of political practices and attitudes. For instance, parameters related to the Armenian tragedy (AU, AV and AX) demonstrate a similar attitude. As Marus states:

“...It was genocide, there are many evidence. Turkish people don't know anything because they believe what Turkish government say...”

“...Armenians were killed. It was a fact. They were also Christian. Turkish nationalism, Ittihat Terrakki, killed Armenians. You may find different explanations, but they don't change the reality...”

Marus believes that the Armenian tragedy should be called a genocide and Turkish nationalism was the main culprit behind the death of Armenians during the deportation. As mentioned above, the boundaries of the context, in this case Marus is a descendant of the survivors of the events of 1915, play a significant role behind her interpretations. These attitudes and beliefs are learnt through social memory from within the family. According to the matrix, other versions of the Armenian tragedy are ignored and not seen as truthful. She has a strong belief that Turkey has systematically denied what happened in 1915. Similar to

other participants, it is not discussed if the Armenian tragedy of 1915 was a genocide or not, as the answer is already believed to be too clear to ignore

However, Marus's political expectations are different and show different values. As can be seen in the matrix, parameters such as "territory claim (AW)", "involvement political issues (BG)" or "political affiliations (BK, BL and BM)" are presented as negative. As Marus states:

"...I am not interested in politics. I don't follow any party..."

"...Honestly, I don't wait anything from the Turkish government like compensation or returning lands. But, it must recognise the Armenian genocide. It is a matter of honour for Armenian people..."

As is understood from her statement, the Armenian deportation of 1915 is considered as a cause that every Armenian should fight for. Of course, tactics and strategies can differ. In Marus's case, there is a moderate approach. In contrast to other participants who tolerate and even excuse ASALA's terrorist attacks and methods, Marus is able to reject their actions. Moreover, she tends to get involved with non-Armenian organisations that seek to help the Palestine cause or improve democratic and liberal rights for all Lebanese.

In short, it could be argued that the political aspects of Armenianness and political practices are mainly lower scores and present with a negative inclination. In certain parameters, Marus shows similarities with other participants, but most of time there is a clear difference between her and other participants.

6.3.4. Theme of Interactions in Everyday life

As can be seen in the matrix, her interactions in everyday life are highly diverse and show completely different attitudes than Hagop and other participants. Interactions in everyday life related to the Armenian community (BY, BZ, CA and CC) show strong attitudes. Additionally, parameters that are related to practices within the Armenian community (BR, BS, BT or BU) and to transnational networks (CX, CY, DB or DG) are different from the other participants. The results of the ANCO-HITS matrix show that the scores of the parameters are highly diverse and fluctuate between "-2" and "+2".

In terms of interactions with non-Armenians, the first thing which can be seen is division and the existence of stereotypes in the reproduction process of Armenianness. Similar to the previously described participant, interactions with non-Armenians happen in certain divided categories. Marus tends to divide interactions with those who are “just friends” and “more than friends”. As Marus states:

“...If I am happy with being a friend, I just do that. And as you see, Lebanon has a multicultural population and it is hard to find friends who are on the same way. Just be normal friend. I personally like to hang out with girls like a girls’ night going to some clubs. Depending on our mood, we have some clubs have been addicted...”

“...Personally, I don’t care if someone is Armenian or not, but in the end if you begin to pick among your friends. Everyone could be my friend, but not my best friends. Of course there are a few criteria such as respect and understanding. If you are militant religiously, how can we meet?...”

Undoubtedly, this division reflects the multicultural structure of the Lebanese society. Having interactions with non-Armenians (in terms of being “just friends”) is an unavoidable result of living in Lebanon. Since the establishment of the Lebanon, the society has consisted of various identities. Even though differences within Lebanon can produce a sectarian society, these differences can sometimes be considered as multiculturalism. In Marus’s case, it could be argued that differences within society affect interpretations and interactions in a positive way. Marus is able to create a world consisting of non-Armenians. As is understood from her statement, her ethno-religious identity does not affect her friendship preferences. She is able to have non-Armenian friends easily. However, Marus adds a small point about her friendships:

“...I don’t have too many interactions with Turkish people. I know a few Turkish people. They are okay. When I visit Istanbul, I come across some stupid people who have negative points of view about Armenians. Apart from them, there is not any problem having Turkish friend. As I said, someone has to respect my identity and worldview if he is called as a friend...”

This mainly derives from a lack of interaction with Turkish people because she does not have enough opportunity to have Turkish friends in Lebanon. Therefore, she seems to be neutral, with a skew towards being positive.

However, there are a few fault lines and taboos that can be observed when she interacts with non-Armenians. For instance, there are certain divisions in terms of relationships. In addition to her friend preferences, ethnic and religious identities matter in her “more than friends” preferences. As Marus states:

“...I don’t personally disagree having non-Armenian boyfriend. Honestly, I don’t have any Armenian boyfriend. It depends on where you spend your time. This is not problem...”

“...before starting an emotional relationship, I take into consideration if the person serves me and my parents’ expectations. If my relationship is becoming serious, I tell my mother. But marriage is different. I can’t do mix-marriage because my father disowns me. Having a boyfriend is different...”

“...they treat my brother in different ways. He is more flexible. He is typical Armenian men, macho. If he gets married with non-Armenian, he would not be disowned. At first, he could be criticised, but then they would accept his decision. This is very common in the Armenian families. They have a different point of view towards boys...”

Romantic relationships with non-Armenians, particularly marriage, are considered as a way of assimilating Armenians. Therefore, there is a strong hesitation among members of the Armenian community to engage in mixed marriages, particularly if they are female due to familial concerns if not personal concerns. Even though youngsters seem to be more liberal in their attitudes to having mixed marriages, as seen in the example of Marus, they tend to consider their ethno-religious identities before starting any relationship due to concerns and expectations of the family and the community. As Marus highlights, male members of the Armenian community have some flexibility. Since the Armenian family is very patriarchal, it is believed that ancestry comes from the paternal side, so even if the mother is a non-Armenian, the children can be accepted as Armenian due to their father. Her statements show that, according to her, relationships with non-Armenians can be somehow tolerable. As long as she

does not have a serious relationship with non-Armenians, her willingness to have some kind of romantic relationship with non-Armenians can be a part of her reproduction process.

Another point is her relationship with other Armenians. Contrary to Hagop and other Lebanese participants, she does not have deep relations with the Armenian community and its institutions since she came to Lebanon at a later stage in her life, and preferred to live at a physical distance from the neighbourhoods that are inhabited by mainly Armenians. For this reason, she does not use the same socialising spaces. As Marus states:

“...Since I don't live in Borj Hamood, I don't know the neighbourhood well. We have some clubs that we love but they are mainly located in Achrafieh or other Christian neighbourhoods [Gemezzia] or nearby to the universities [Haigazian and the AUB].”

In contrast to the Turkish and British cases, the Armenian community has different opportunities in terms of socialising spaces and institutions. In the Lebanese case, it is easy to observe Armenian nightclubs, youth clubs, scout clubs, schools, churches, cultural centres, radio stations, television channels and newspapers because Armenians were able to establish their own neighbourhoods. As mentioned in the historical background, these neighbourhoods used to be refugee camps in the early 20th Century. It should be emphasised that these places are not ordinary clubs and centres, as they allow young members of the Armenian community to practice their ethnic language and traditions. As observed during the fieldwork in Lebanon, Armenians can practice their language more efficiently once they come together. In this vein, they become highly homogenous places where Armenianness is reproduced. As can be seen, however, Marus's relation with these places is limited.

At this point, it should be pointed out that Marus's approach towards ethnic language and practices are similar to the other participants even though she does not tend to share similar socialising spaces. Differently from the other participants in the Turkish and British cases, the Armenian language is practiced efficiently as a mother tongue. Putting it differently, the ethnic language has been learnt in the natural flow of everyday live. Having Armenian parents as well as going to

Armenian schools helped her to have a proficient command of the Armenian language as well as Arabic. As Marus states:

“...I went to Armenian schools. I also learnt Arabic in there and in the neighbourhood where I spent my childhood. I learnt Arabic as an Arab. It is fluent because I had Arab friends. In the school, I also learnt English and French...”

“...I don't have any problem in Arabic. In the past, Armenians were not able to learn Arabic. They made mistakes while they were speaking. Now, we don't have any problem in Arabic...”

However, this fluency in the Armenian language does not bind her to the ethnic language fully. Rather, Marus is very selective in her practice relating to the Armenian language. As Marus emphasises:

“...I am very selective in books and music. I don't feel that I have to read something written in Armenian. If it is worthy to read, I would be read. As most of the young people, I listen to every kind of music mainly in English. I don't prefer Armenian T.V shows because they are not attractive. I watch American and Turkish series...”

This selective attitude of Marus provides important demonstrations of differences among other members of the Armenian community. As explained above, the Armenian community in Lebanon is highly politicised and mobilised by political parties. As a result of the policies of the political parties, simple practices relating to Turks, such as consuming Turkish food, learning Turkish or watching Turkish channels are not welcomed.

In the example of Marus, it is possible to come across different practices and motivations. Although she does not consume Turkish products similar to other participants, her main motivation is the quality of Turkish products and her purchasing power. Marus does not buy Turkish products as long as she can find “better quality and expensive” products that are imported from France. In other words, she does not buy Turkish products because she likes other products better, not because she wants to boycott Turkey. She is a strict follower of Turkish

drama series that are increasingly becoming considered as a form of Turkish soft power in the Middle East, particularly economically speaking.⁷⁰ As Marus states:

“...I love Kivanc, you know him? [Kivanc Tatlitug is a famous Turkish actor who acted in many roles across various Turkish series shown in the Middle East] I met him in Istanbul and visited the studio. I love Turkish series. If someone hears that I watch Turkish series, I might be criticised. But the reality is that they also watch secretly because they also wonder about Turkey...”

In addition to the positive point of view about Turkish series, she does not have a hostile approach to the Turkish language. As Marus argues:

“...I know Arabic, Armenian and English very well. I know French, but not fluently. I also know Turkish, not fluent. I can understand Turkish. When I speak, I have difficulties. I consider that knowing Turkish is a plus. If you know it, you can benefit. Turkey is very popular in the Middle East. I see it as an advantage...”

Marus’s interactions in everyday life are highly distinguishable among the sample. For this reason, she gets different scores and reproduces Armenianness at an opposite pole to the majority of other participants.

In the reproduction process of Armenianness, the final point is Marus’s transnational interactions and networks. Differently from the Turkish case, Marus defines herself as a diasporic Armenian and, by default, she locates herself at the heart of the transnational network. As a result, she is able to use transnational networks more efficiently. As Marus states:

“...After the genocide, some members of my family stayed in Syria, Lebanon and Turkey. Some immigrated to France and the USA. If you are an Armenian, you might have a relative somewhere. Of course, there are many genocide stories...”

⁷⁰ It should be noted that interests on Turkish series are very high. According to Akgun and Gundogar (2013), Turkish series are watched 69 percepts participants. <http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/03122013120651.pdf> [Access Date 01/06/2015], Furthermore, it is a significant export indicators. As Pinto, Coe of Global Agency which export Turkish series and promoting in the Middle East, they earned 150 million dollar after exporting. <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/turk-dizilerin-rekoru> [Access Date 01/06/2015]

She has relatives across different regions and countries. This dispersion provides her with the benefits of being able to interact with different people from different cultures whenever she reproduces her Armenianness, because of her family connections. At this point, perceptions about Turkey and relations with Armenians in Turkey provide an interesting point of view. As mentioned above, her family originally comes from Antep and Sasun in Turkey. As a result of her father's business, relations with Turkey and Turkish people still continue. Accordingly, Marus is aware of her relatives and some members of the Armenian community in Istanbul. As Marus states:

“...I have been to Istanbul many times. I really like to spend my summer holidays there. I have relatives and it is a cheap destination. There is a direct flight from Beirut...”

“...I like Turkey, it is a nice place. I don't have any problem with Turkish people too, apart from those who deny the Armenian genocide. Some of the Turkish people have prejudice about Armenians and Christians...”

There is no doubt that traveling to Turkey allows her to have more moderate views about Turkish people and Turkey. In contrast to some members of the Armenian community in Lebanon who have not seen Turkish people or visited Turkey, Marus does not perceive Turkish people as an enemy. With the exception of difficulties regarding historical problems relating to the events of 1915, Turkish people can fit into her Armenianness reproduction process.

By examining the scores of the matrix, we can realise that Marus's attitudes towards Armenia are limited in contrast to her positive inclinations regarding transnational networks. For Marus, Armenia is not considered a homeland and parameters such as “prefer to live in Armenia”, “practicing national celebration of Armenia”, “thinking/having Armenian flag (CX, DA and DB)” gets negative values. It could be assumed that these negative values derive from her background and experiences in Syria and Lebanon because Marus expresses that:

“...Syria is my homeland. I was born in there and grew up. My nuclear family is there. I define myself as Syrian-Armenian. Armenia is an important country. The country belongs to Armenians. But I don't want to live there. It is a different culture because we get used to different things.

For example, I like Fairuz and her songs. They [Armenians in Armenia] have different traditions...”

“...I don't have Armenian flag, only I have post cards. I have a Syrian flag because it is my country...”

As can be understood, Marus and her family are able to combine their ethnic identities and Syrian identity peacefully. For this reason, she does not share long distance nationalistic sentiments that connect her to Armenia and she does not adopt any political project. Armenia is perceived as a country that has a dense Armenian population, and a place where she does not want to settle in even if she had the chance.

6.4. ANCO-HITS scores and Analysis of the Lebanese Case

Similar to the previous chapter, the analysis of the Lebanese case will follow the same steps. By relying on primary data and findings, general insights will be extrapolated. Firstly, comparing the boundaries of the contexts shaping the interpretations of Marus and Hagop can provide interesting views on how Armenianness is reproduced in Lebanon. Secondly, the socio-economic situation of the Armenian community in Lebanon and differences between Marus and Hagop allow us to see how they approach parameters of Armenianness. Accordingly, their similarities and differences will be demonstrated on the line graph. Visually speaking, there is no doubt that this helps us to understand how Armenianness is reproduced at the poles. Finally, the overall scores of the parameters will be analysed to understand fault lines and crucial points within the Armenian community in Lebanon.

By examining the introductions of the portraits, it can be seen that both reproduce their Armenianness in different contexts. In the example of Marus (0.40), she has context consisting of a) having a deportation memory, b) being raised in an Armenian family and c) living at a distance from the community. On the one hand, the first two boundaries allow her to experience Armenianness and its religious and ethnic aspects in the natural flow of life. She has not made any extra effort to learn religious and ethnic aspects of Armenianness as she was born into the community. On the other hand, the last boundary presents us with the opportunity to look at the Armenian community and other Armenians from the outside. As a

result of this, she not only has critical points of view regarding political debate and fragmentation within the community, but she is also able to develop various interactions with non-Armenians. While she is reproducing her Armenianness and interpreting parameters, she can experience other identities (Lebanese and Syrian) and practices. Accordingly, some parameters such as “Territory Claim (AW)”, “Support of Diaspora politics (BD)”, “Western Countries (BE)”, “Following Armenian event (CH)” or “Following Armenian Media (CJ)”, are not paid much attention in Marus’s reproduction process even though they are perceived as crucial dynamics by other participants. Due to her distance from the Armenian community, these are rendered meaningless to her.

In contrast to the contextual boundaries experienced by Marus, Hagop (+1.00) reproduces Armenianness at the opposite pole. His context is formed of boundaries such as a) descendants of the survivors b) congregational life and c) political affiliation. These boundaries produce a different social environment from Marus that shapes his interpretations and the reproduction process. In particular, the first boundary plays a crucial role in the reproduction process generally. It makes Hagop more sensitive while experiencing his Armenianness because he tends to see and perceive the world from the perspective of the descendants of the survivors of the Armenian tragedy in 1915. Additionally, two other parameters make him differ from Marus and her reproduction of Armenianness, as these boundaries allow him to develop intense interactions with other members of the Armenian community and institutions. Particularly, congregational life allows Hagop to experience ethnic and everyday aspects of Armenianness intensively because he is able to develop networks primarily with Armenians rather than with non-Armenians. Putting it differently, it divides Hagop’s world (including all relations and social environments) into two parts, namely Armenian and non-Armenian.

In addition to the differences between the boundaries of the contexts, another point in the analysis are their respective socio-economic backgrounds. Because of family business and wealth, Marus is able to practice her Armenianness in different spaces and live in different parts of Beirut that are more affluent. However, Hagop and his family show a typical example of Armenians in the Lebanese case, as they seem to be middle class. As seen in the examples of

Hagop and Marus, socio-economic differences impact their interactions and socialising spaces directly, and so differences become easily noticeable.

As a result of economic disadvantages, Armenians have been forced to stay together. It is possible to find historical reasons why Armenians generally come from low economic backgrounds. According to Migliorino (2008), most members of the Armenian community had to settle down in Syria and later on Lebanon without significant amounts of capital. After the deportation, the first generation had to live in refugee camps pennilessly. This made Armenians a more closed community in Lebanon. Like the majority of members of the Armenian community, Hagop adopts a congregational lifestyle, so interactions occur mostly among Armenians. Putting it differently, the economic power of participants allows them to integrate themselves into Lebanese society to different extents by changing their socialising spaces, so it provides opportunities to develop interactions with non-Armenians. Its effect can be observed especially in political parameters. If they are not economically comfortable or as affluent as participants such as Marus, they may strengthen their bonds with Armenian institutions. For example, Haigazian University mainly consists of Armenian students, and supports Armenian students who are economically disadvantaged. As such, this encourages students to interact with institutions within the Armenian community.

By observing the differences between boundaries and socio-economic backgrounds, it could be assumed that Armenianness is reproduced as integrated or ghetto forms in the Lebanese case. It is possible to state the differences between integrated and ghetto forms of Armenianness numerically. In contrast to the Turkish and British cases, the difference between pole A and B is higher (0.64). This can be seen clearly on the line graph that demonstrates the similarities and differences of participants.

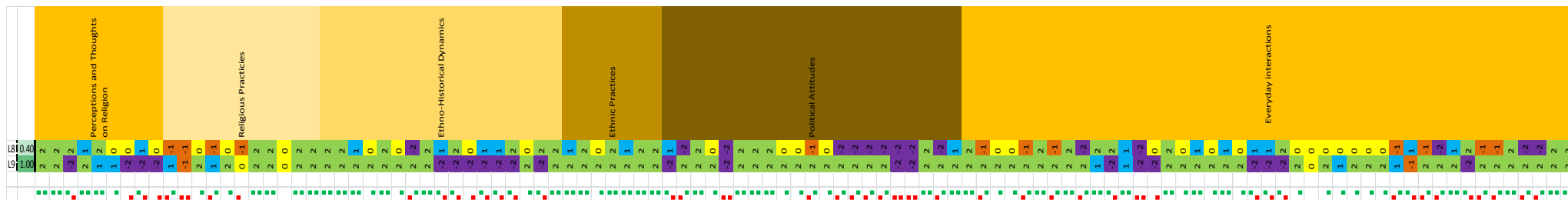


Figure 12: Similarities and differences between the two participants and their cues of Armenianness in Lebanese case

The final point in the analysis are the scores of the parameters and fault lines within the sample. As seen from the matrix, there is a domination of green colours indicating positive scores. According to the matrix, most of the parameters, such as “church as a religious centre (D)”, “Apostolic Church (G)”, “ethnic conscious (X)”, “using Armenian language (AO)” or “considering 1915 as a genocide (AU)” are scored +1.00. These results signify a positive consensus among the participants. In addition to these positive scores, some parameters demonstrate strong negative attitudes. “Differences from Armenia (AH)”, “assimilation threat (AZ)” or “getting mixed marriages (CD)” are good examples of a negative consensus. It is possible to observe this negative inclination at various levels once Armenians begin to talk about mixed marriages and relations with non-Armenians. Accordingly, the scores of the parameters related to mixed marriages and relations (CA, CC and CD) are -0.49, -0.96 and -0.92 respectively. By looking at the matrix, it is observed that participants are disagreeing with the idea of mixed marriage generally. Participants will mostly not engage in mixed marriages while they are experiencing the reproduction of Armenianness in the Lebanese case. The idea of mixed marriage is considered as a negative practice, jeopardising the “purity of Armenianness” because, as stated by Hagop, mixed marriage is considered as an indirect way of assimilating the Armenians.

It should be pointed out that some parameters that are related to political affiliation (BJ and BK) and perceptions about Turkey and Turkish people (CL, CM or CZ) can be more controversial when reflecting the attitudes of participants. Particularly with regard to political aspects, participants are prepared to be different. Historically, separations between Armenian political parties affect participants’ attitudes and interpretations while Armenianness is being reproduced in the Lebanese case. Therefore, political affiliations sometimes go before their ethnic identities. In the example of Hagop and Marus, this controversy can be observed clearly. As a result of congregational life and political affiliation, Hagop tends to position himself into a certain political point of view while Marus keeps herself away from any political association purposely. By relying on the scores of the parameters on the matrix, participants show intensive homogeneity and consensus because most of the parameters have high scores.

In short, the Lebanese case provided us with examples of how Armenianness can be reproduced in two distinct ways by referring to Marus (0.40) and Hagop

(1.00). Both indicate opposite poles on the matrix. The reason behind this differentiation mainly derives from their different socio-economic backgrounds and the boundaries of the contexts influencing their interpretations about religion, ethnicity, political and daily aspects of Armenianness. As can be seen on the line graph, the differences between these two participants are more than their similarities. In each example, various aspects are highlighted. In the example of Hagop, Armenianness is reproduced as political and congregational forms (ghetto style), while Marus tends to involve non-Armenian dynamics (integrated style) into her interpretations. Consequently, as discussed, their practices and perceptions (especially related to non-Armenians and Turkey) are significantly different. This does not mean that there is no consensus within the sample. Some issues such as engaging in mixed marriages or the Armenian cause mostly produces a consensus either positively or negatively. In ``s case, it is possible to come across some staunch nationalistic points of view deriving from political institutions and official doctrines, while Marus tends to keep herself away from any institutions that seek to affect her worldviews and interactions with non-Armenians. In contrast with Hagop, Turkey and Turkish people are not coded negatively in her reproduction of Armenianness.

7. Chapter Seven: Reproduction of Armenianness in Britain

This chapter is about the reproduction of Armenianness in the United Kingdom. It will demonstrate how the participants who were selected from the Armenian community in the UK construct and interpret Armenianness and its parameters, the data for which was collected between September 2012 and March 2013, and edited versions in 2015. In this chapter, I will firstly overview the data set and the ANCO-HITS matrix will be summarised. Secondly, in order to understand the reproduction process of Armenianness in the British case, the two participants who got the lowest and highest scores from the matrix will be introduced through thick description. Accordingly, the boundaries of the context shaping the participants' interpretations will be critically analysed. Finally, and as before, the last section will be dedicated to analysing and comparing the two participants and the scores of the parameters.

7.1. The Overview of ANCO-HITS scores in the British Case

Similar to the two previous chapters above, the ANCO-HITS matrix in the British case is formed of three sections. As seen on the left side, participants who are selected in the British case are sorted out from B1 to B15. Their scores are put into the next row. The second part consists of the scores of the parameters that were used, or not as the case may be, while Armenianness was reproduced in the British case. Furthermore, the participants' attitudes can be demonstrated in a range of between -2 and +2 in the third section.

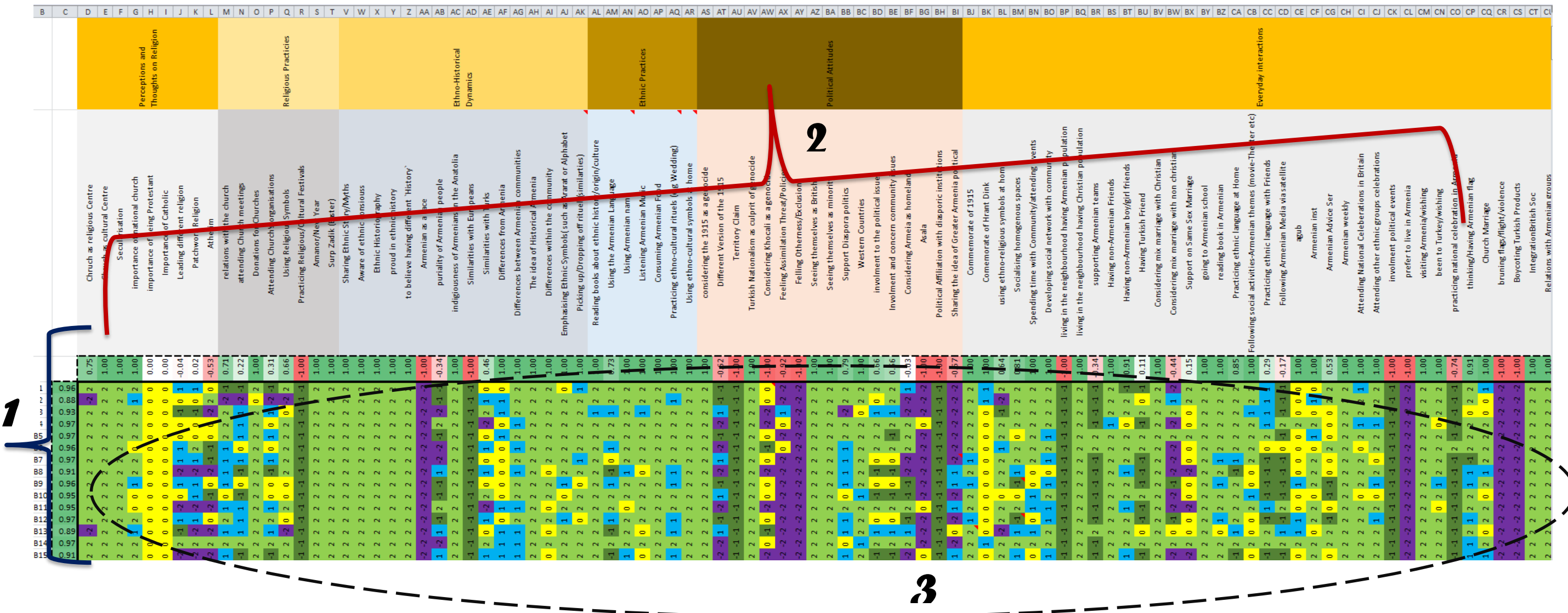


Figure 13: The overview of British dataset

A snapshot of Armenianness in the British case has a different outlook from the other cases. As a result of the ANCO-HITS analysis, the scores of the participants (n=15) present as being between 0.98 and 0.83. In other words, the polar extremes of A and B are indicated within these scores. At first glance, it is apparent that the difference (0.15) between the poles in the British case is much smaller than the other two cases. To put it differently, participants have more similar points of view and attitudes towards the parameters, which are assumed as cues of Armenianness in the British case. For this reason, Armenianness in Britain is generally not too distinguishable from participant to participant

Pole A	B2	0.88	}		
	B13	0.89			
	B8	0.91			
	B15	0.91			
	B3	0.93			
	B10	0.95			
	B11	0.95			
	B1	0.96			Difference=0.09
	B6	0.96			
	B9	0.96			
Pole B	B4	0.97			
	B5	0.97			
	B7	0.97			
	B12	0.97			
	B14	0.97			

Figure 14: Ranking of participants in the British case

In the British case, participants such as B10, B11, B1, B6 and B9 are close to pole A (0.97). On the other side, participants who have relatively lower scores such as B13, B8, B15 and B3 can be considered as being closer to pole B.⁷¹ Similar to the previous two chapters, only B5 and B2 will be introduced as opposite poles. These polar portraits will be named as Nairi and Armen respectively in order to increase the readability of the text.

Another point in the overview of the British case are the scores of the parameters. As can be seen from the matrix, there are 96 parameters (between column D and CU). Differently from the previous two cases, the features of the Armenian community in the British case and its size have affected the numbers of the parameters. In contrast to other cases, the Armenian community in the British case is very small and hardly visible in the multicultural population of the UK. For this reason, it is hard to find a developed Armenian community that penetrates various segments of the society. For instance, the Armenian community does not have the opportunity to represent Armenians from within an ethnically motivated political party, And this is due to the British political system. For this reason, the attitudes of the participants in the British case in terms of political aspects are not effective. In order to see similarities and differences in the reproduction of Armenianness, the parameters within the British case will be categorised into four themes such as “religious perceptions and practices”, “ethnicity and ethnic practices”, “political attitudes and practices” and “interactions in everyday life”, in uniformity with the previous case studies.

As can be seen from the overview of the matrix, there are positive inclinations and strong attitudes toward the parameters. The scores of the religious, ethnic, political and everyday interactions are generally scored as +1.00. It could be assumed that the British case provides a more uniform snapshot of Armenianness in at least one particular diasporic context than the other two cases, especially since the scores of the participants and the parameters do not differ too much.

⁷¹ As is seen from the graph, two participants get similar scores from the ANCO-HITS analysis. Even if both signify the pole A, only B5 will be introduced due to word limit. It should be noted that, each one might have different interpretations towards parameters and the reproduction process can be different.

7.2. Participant Aris (B2=0.88)

“...well, the Armenian community is small and nearly visible...”⁷²

Aris is one of the participants who accepted to meet me and share his thoughts about Armenianness and the Armenian community. It should be noted that tracking Armenians in the multicultural streets of London was not easy. Historically speaking, the Armenian community in the UK has been evaluated in different ways from the Lebanese and Turkish contexts. Armenians in the UK are almost completely invisible, even though the history books mention many prominent persons who had significant achievements in business, politics and other social fields (Zekiyan, 1997; Von Voss, 2007). The Majority of Armenians have become less visible among the population of the UK even though the country is diverse ethnically and religiously.⁷³ In some ways, this provides the Armenians and the Armenian community with important features and distinguishes them from the other ethnic and religious groups within the UK. It could be argued that Armenians can be visible qualitatively rather than quantitatively. In other words, the number of Armenians (estimated at 20,000) is lower than the other two cases and additionally other British subjects such as Bangladeshis (451,000), Pakistanis (1,174,000) or Indians (1,451,862). However, they can be more effective and organised in terms of political pressure and their socio-economic conditions compared to some other minorities (Talai, 1989; Garbin, 2005; 2011 Census).⁷⁴ Aris finds opportunities to reproduced Armenianness in this environment and context.

There is no doubt that the family history and socio-economic background of Aris provide important clues as to how he reproduces and interprets Armenianness within the British context. As Aris states:

⁷²All quotations taken from [Nickname=Aris], Interview with participant A on 12/12/12, London-the UK. Additionally, e mail conversation on 25/05/2015

⁷³ Jivraj (2012) summaries that numbers of people having non-White ethnic backgrounds have doubled between 1991 and 2011. Their population increased from 3 to 7 million even though they remain a minority of total population (14%). There has been continued ethnic group mixing within families and neighbourhoods.

⁷⁴ As Zekiyan states, the Armenian diaspora before the 20th Century had good relations with Britain. As a result of privileges which drove from economic relations, they began to settle down. After the deportation, other Armenians followed. The Gulbekians are one of the prominent families that can be effective from time to time. For example, they supported Antony Toynbee and Blue Book, which claims that Armenians were massacred according to British reports from the front. Additionally, the Gulbekian foundation funds Armenain Studies in the UK (especially at SOAS).

“...My parents were born in Iran, and as far as I know my ancestors have been there for 200 years, but most probably arrived 400 years ago when the Persian King Shah Abbas forcefully moved the Armenians [400,000 Armenians] to Iran so that they can help develop the capital at the time, Isfahan...”

“...My parents came to London as students before the [Iranian] revolution. After the revolution, they returned to Tehran but could not live there anymore so they returned to London...”

“...My parents kept our Iranian/Armenian traditions at home. We were raised in the culture and always speak Armenian to them. Outside, obviously we have always integrated and socialised with everyone, regardless of race, religion, etc...”

“...I have always preferred to keep a balance because as much as I am Armenian, I am still British as well because I was born here and this is my home...”

It is possible to observe the boundaries of the context impacting his interpretations of Armenianness and its parameters by observing his family history. His background refers to two points, namely Iranian and British heritage. The first point allows him to define himself as a member of the migrant diaspora and consists of a lot of stories about migration and a previous homeland. As a result of the Iranian Revolution in 1979, his family settled down in the UK and began a new phase of their lives. The first point thus signifies a nostalgia about their Iranian background, which is not genuinely experienced by Aris. This Iranian background may create a social environment and different aspects to his diasporic identity.

As is discussed in the theoretical chapter above, Cohen argues that diasporas are formed through various motivations and reasons. His arguments can be observed in the example of the Armenian diaspora and also in the British context. The British Armenian community exists due to several motivations such as migration, education, cultural or tragic circumstances. It has expanded through time as a result of various reasons. It could be argued that the existence of all members of the Armenian community are not necessarily related to the

deportation in 1915. As can be seen in the example of Aris, his presence in Britain derives from the Iranian Revolution of 1979. In this sense, it could be argued that the Iranian-Armenian community in Britain results from a combination of the motivations deriving from personal tragedy (the Islamic Revolution) and educational (such as his parents, who first were students in the UK).

By relying on Aris's brief family history, it is possible to argue that there are various categorisations and levels of awareness that signify that the Armenian community is formed of several sub-groups in the reproduction process. Accordingly, it is expected that Armenians who have Lebanese, Cypriot and Iranian backgrounds have different experiences and interpretations about Armenianness.⁷⁵ For this reason, the reproduction of Armenianness in the British context reflects that the concept "diaspora of diaspora" (Pettie, 1997), which refers to the heterogeneity of the Armenian community in the UK. In the example of Aris, his Iranian background may provide unique features while he is reproducing Armenianness and interacting with Armenians and non-Armenians. Therefore, "*Iranian background*" can be accepted as the first boundary of his context shaping his Armenianness and interpretations.

Moving on, "*to born into the British culture*" appears as the second boundary of the context. As mentioned, Aris was born in London as a child of an Armenian family who had already acquired British citizenship. In contrast to his parents, he was born into the British culture and integrated easily. It is understood from his own words that he tends to experience Armenian and British identities simultaneously and produces a 'cultural hybridisation' which is defined as "...the ways in which forms become separated from existing practicing and recombine new forms in new practices..." (Smith and Levy, 2008: 3). In this vein, it could be

⁷⁵ These are the major Armenian groups within the Armenian community in Britain. Each of them has own social clubs and associations. According to Misak Onakian, a founder of CIAC, disorganisation and sub-grouping are the main problem in the Armenian community. Each group tends to hangout in different places and it sometimes is observed negative stereotypes. As is he stated, this derives from previous backgrounds of Armenians before settling down in the UK. In other words, they already have strong local identities such as Turkish, Lebanese and Iranian and began to distinguish (2014). It should be noted that their motivations to settle down in the UK can be different. For instance, Cyprus Armenians came to the UK mid of the 20th century when the power in the island began to change. In this vain, they can be called tragic diaspora. However, Armenians those who migrated from Armenia after the collapsing of Soviet Union and early period of the independent Armenia came for mainly economic reasons.

argued that Aris adds another layer to his parents' identities because he is able to combine ethnic Iranian-Armenian culture with a British heritage.

As observed throughout the fieldwork, Aris is able to demonstrate this cultural hybridisation successfully. This cultural hybridisation and how he absorbs the cultural indicators of Britishness in addition to his Armenianness was felt minutes after meeting him. For example, Aris speaks English as a native language and adopts prominent cultural events. Even though Armenians tend to celebrate Christmas on 6th of January, Aris stated that he celebrates Christmas (as cultural aspects) on 25th of December. He also eats British cuisine and listens to Western pop music. It should be pointed out that the absorption of cultural indicators allows him to develop more peaceful relations with other subjects of the United Kingdom. In contrast to British Muslims, such as Pakistanis, Indians or other immigrants, Aris is never considered as a "threat" that is sometimes pronounced by EDL and UKIP consisting of racist and conservative discourses (Tulip, 2013; Kotecha, 2013). Since Aris, as well as other members of the Armenian community, has integrated and mostly assimilated well, they are able to use their British heritage positively while Armenianness is experienced. In other words, to be born into the British culture does not clash with their ethnic backgrounds since the Armenians' integration process was achieved more easily through sharing a similar religion and lifestyle to white English people.

Another boundary of the context which can be extracted from his statement is "*dedicating time for Armenianness*". As is mentioned in the historical evolution of the Armenian community in the UK, Armenians do not have a dense population in Britain. It is hard to argue that most ordinary Britons know any Armenians who have been living for four generations in the UK. Contemporarily speaking, the Armenians' population is estimated between 18,000 to 20,000 (Talai, 1989; Foreign Commonwealth Office, 2014) which is minuscule compared to the overall population of Britain. For this reason, their visibility in the public sphere and everyday life is limited. As Aris states:

"...people don't generally know of Armenians, to them I represent 'the other' rather than a specific ethnic minority..."

It is unlikely to see a couple of Armenian pupils in the same school classroom. However, intra-Armenian relations are sustained through various institutions and

special efforts. As can be seen in the example of Aris (including other participants too), he dedicates special time to discover Armenianness and maintain relations with other Armenians. Aris This boundary is similar to the concept of “part time Armenianness” (Talai, 1989). It is difficult to argue that Armenianness is sustained constantly in the example of Aris. Armenianness is experienced and observed in certain circumstances. As Aris states, weekends are mostly reserved to practice his Armenianness and interact with other members of the Armenian community.

“...my weekends used to be fully booked for Sunday school and scouts. Not right now in my life, because I work at the Armenian Centre, so I interact with Armenians all week long...”

Since Armenians in the Britain do not live in distinct neighbourhoods or even ghettos, their chances of meeting fellow Armenians are less. Therefore, Armenians who live in cities come together for special events such as celebrations, festivals, or parties and also in certain institutions. It should be noted that these events are highly homogenous and related to Armenianness directly. Throughout these events, Aris is able to switch to his Armenian world by consuming Armenian food, speaking Armenian or listening to Armenian traditional music.

In short, it is possible to highlight three boundaries of the context shaping his Armenianness by examining his family background and statements above. As will be seen in the following themes and parameters in the next sections, these boundaries are: a) Iranian background b) to be born into the British culture and c) dedicating special time for Armenianness, affect Aris’s interpretations and experiences of Armenianness. They can be considered as significant dynamics of why Aris gets lower scores on the ANCO-HITS matrix.

7.2.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

Perceptions, thoughts and practices related to religion will be the first theme to help us understand the Armenianness of Aris. At first glance, there is a negative inclination. According to the matrix, the scores of the parameters about religion fluctuates between -2 and +2. The reason for this fluctuation derives from his attitudes toward the religion generally. Religious aspects and practices such as

“Church as a religious centre (D)”, “relations with the church (M)”, “attending church meetings (N)” or “using religious symbols (Q)” are scored as -2, whereas “church as a cultural centre (E)”, “secularism (F)” or “celebrating new year (S) or Easter (T)” show positive values. Altogether, these parameters allow him to get lower scores and affects his interpretations.

By examining his interview and the fieldwork notes, the most interesting point is that Aris does not experience religious aspects of Armenianness and produces an alternative form. In the reproduction process, it is realised that religion and religious practices are not experienced in their literal meanings. As Aris states:

“...My parents are atheists but they always gave me and my brother a choice...”

“...However, when I was 13, my family took me and my brother to Armenia to be christened...”

“...My mother wanted us to be christened because of the cultural tradition rather than a religious belief. With regards to dealing with my Armenian culture without the religious belief, it was fairly simple because most of my relatives are indifferent with only a few who are deeply religious. Religious practises and events for me are just traditions that are present in any community. We are all human and need to have rituals to cope with life and its changes such as death, marriage and birth. I am an atheist but I appreciate those traditions regardless of the religion, whether it's Christianity, Islam, Judaism and other religions. For me, being an atheist is to do with not believing in a god and instead believing in evolution...”

As seen from his statement, Christianity lost its original meanings and is not practiced in everyday life. Rather, it is considered as a part of cultural heritage. Even though he does not practice the religion and does not have relations with the church, Aris tends to interpret religion from a cultural point of view.

Since he defines himself as an ‘atheist’, it is impossible to talk about any spiritual aspects of the Armenian Church and Christianity for him. Instead of this, Aris sometimes tends to believe in other concepts such as ‘karma’, ‘power’ or a ‘creator’, which perhaps makes him agnostic more than atheist. However, it should be noted that they are not experienced systematically as a religion, rather

he sees it as a philosophy. In this vein, Christianity and the Armenian Church reminds Aris of Armenian culture and his background from time to time. Prominent religious events such as Christmas and Easter are remembered and practiced as cultural habits. As Aris states:

“...For me, it’s just a family get-together. I love these events because that’s when I feel most Armenian. Therefore, these traditions when I get to spend time with them are always more about feeling at peace...”

At this point, it should be noted that practicing religious rituals as a cultural habit does not carry any religious meaning for Aris. Religious activities become popular even while they losing their original meanings. It could be argued that this interpretation shows similar patterns to the perceptions of other British people about Christmas, Easter and other religious events. According to Gans (1979), religion has lost its power and significance since the industrial revolution and modernisation period. Unlike the past, people in the UK tend to not involve religion in their everyday lives. British society has become increasingly secular day by day and religion has lost its popularity.⁷⁶ Religious feasts and festivals such as Christmas, Easter or St. Patrick’s Day become popular cultural habits and are perceived as holidays. Therefore, it could be argued that the boundaries of this context as are completed by Aris having an atheist point of view.

This leads us to think over how Aris fits Christianity and the Armenian Church into his Armenianness without the religious meanings. As is clearly seen in the reproduction process, the considerations about the Armenian Church goes beyond its religious role. For Aris:

“...I have never been involved with the church to be honest. As I have become older, I realised others have. Obviously, being an atheist, I don’t believe in any of it but I think it’s important for the community...”

It could be assumed that the Armenian Church without religious aspects is seen as a cultural place where he can meet up with other Armenians. It could be argued

⁷⁶ Of course the situation of Islam and Muslim in Britain are different. Not only in the Britain, but also in the Europe, numbers of the Muslim increased gradually. According to the last census 2011, Islam became the second biggest religion in the UK (approximately 2.7 million) and numbers of the Muslim have increased constantly (2011 Census: KS209EW Religion, local authorities in England and Wales (Excel sheet 270Kb)" (XLS). Office for National Statistics. Retrieved 7 July 2014) (Gilliat-Ray, Sophie (2010). Muslims in Britain. Cambridge University Press. p. 117.)

that the Armenian Church becomes a crucial place even for non-believers in terms of homogeneity. Since the population of Armenians is low and their visibility is limited, the Armenian Church seems to be one of the prominent institutions that is solely visited by Armenians in hidden corners of London and Manchester. In other words, Armenians can be visible on Sundays or certain religious and special occasions. Apart from religious services, the Armenian Church hosts various social events for Armenians. Armenian winter and summer festivals (I had a chance to attend these events over a couple of years) attracts high numbers from the Armenian population. The Armenian Church is seen as a cultural centre that allows Armenians who tend to spend their weekends with other members of the Armenian community to mix with one another. It should be noted that these are not large scale events, as only Armenians who already have connections with these institutions attend these festivals.⁷⁷ In the example of Aris, these occasions not only lead him to consider the Armenian Church as a cultural centre, but also help to mobilise his ethnic identity.

By relying on his attitudes towards religion and the Armenian Church, the final point to discuss is the position of Christianity and its relation with Armenianness. In the reproduction process, Christianity is not considered as a precondition of being Armenian. According to Aris:

“...I think most of the community probably feel that being Christian is crucial to being Armenian. Personally, for me, I feel that ethnicity, borders and religion have all been made by human beings, and unfortunately cause huge segregation among human beings. Therefore, that’s why I don’t believe it to be important because I consider myself human first. For the rest of the community it’s hard to say because Armenians are diverse themselves...”

At this point, it is clearly seen that his secular background and British culture play a significant role. Religion and ethnicity is not combined into one identity. Rather, secularism and multiple religious identities are not obstacles to experiencing Armenianness. It could be argued that his point of view about religious aspects

⁷⁷ For example, these events are highly Armenian and technically closed for the non-members of the community. If it is compared to St. Patrick Day, attendees are generally Armenian or people somehow know any Armenian or are interested in the Armenian culture. These events can be called as big picnics which are organised by the Armenian community.

of the Armenianness are highly liberal and that he tends to define Armenianness from an ethnic and national perspective. Someone can be Armenian even though they do not believe in Christianity and belong to the Armenian Church as long as they share a similar history and ethnic ties.

As such, this interpretation of Armenianness seems to be a contradiction to the literature that assumes that being Christian is a precondition of being Armenian. This may not only create sometimes a clash between segments, due to it dividing Armenianness across ethnic and religious lines, but it also triggers researchers to understand ethnic and religious identities in the diaspora from a postmodern point of view.

In short, it could be argued that Aris's attitudes about religious parameters are mainly negative and he tends to consider the religious institutions as a cultural heritage more than anything else. As a result of the boundaries of the context, Aris produces an alternative form of Armenianness and gets lower scores on the matrix.

7.2.2. Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices

As a second theme, ethnicity and ethnic practices are an important theme in the reproduction of Armenianness. Ethnic aspects can allow Aris to have a different point of view about how he reproduces and interprets Armenianness. Accordingly, he differs from the other participants. At first glance, it is seen that the parameters related to ethnic aspects are generally presenting with a positive inclination. Parameters such as "sharing ethnic myths (V)", "ethnic historiography (X)" or "ethnic practices (AM, AN and AP)" are coded at +2. However, there are a few parameters, namely "Armenian as a race (AA)" and "purity of Armenian people (AB)" that show negative scores. Overall, it could be argued that ethnic parameters are used effectively in the reproduction process and have higher scores.

There are two reasons that help us to understand why ethnic parameters are visible in Aris's case and, more broadly, in the British case. Firstly, it derives from personal preferences. As introduced above, the religious aspects of Armenianness are not emphasised by Aris. This triggers Aris to fill this gap with alternative perspectives and practices. Putting it differently, he does not combine

religious and ethnic aspects, rather he tends to experience his Armenianness from an ethnic perspective only. Accordingly, parameters which refer to ethnic history get higher and more positive scores.

The second reason why ethnic aspects are effective in the reproduction process is related to the status of the Armenian family in the British case. As explained above, it is hard to come across signs, buildings, monuments or neighbourhoods that are Armenian due to socio-demographic reasons. Therefore, the Armenian family becomes the starting point to learn about who Armenians are and what the Armenian culture is. The family is a significant institution that allows young members of the Armenian community to learn the details of Armenianness. Depending on the individual family's effort, ethnic practices can be learnt. If parents tend to experience Armenianness intensely, for example, they always talk about Armenian history and culture, then their children may develop stronger ties. As Aris states:

“...I learnt Armenian at home and at school. But most importantly I always and still speak it at home. My parents always taught me the importance of keeping your language, not because of patriotic reasons but instead for identity. Any language is important, and that's the language my ancestors passed down generation to generation, therefore it would be so sad to stop...”

In Aris's example, ethnic parameters such as practicing the Armenian language, listening to Armenian music, using an Armenian name and consuming Armenian food are effectively experienced. At this point, it should be noted that the influences of the boundaries of the context are effective in assisting his Armenianness, particularly how he dedicates special time Aris to experience these parameters effectively and highlight the ethnic aspects of Armenianness. As Aris states:

“...In my childhood, my weekends were fully-booked. When I was growing up the only time I would mix with Armenians was Sunday School, as well as scouts...”

As can be understood from his statement, Aris's weekends were not wasted. Every minute of his weekends and spare time matter in the reproduction process

of Armenianness because weekends are mainly dedicated to Armenianness and the Armenian community. Especially Sunday schools, where Armenianness is thought to make significant contributions to youngsters who tend to experience Armenianness in everyday life. Sunday schools not only allow young members of the community to learn their ethnic language and history, but also provide them with a homogenous environment and socialising space.

In terms of the ethnic aspects of Armenianness, some parameters provide differences in Aris's reproduction process. As can be seen from the matrix, it is considered that being Armenian does not refer to any race (AA) or concepts of purity (AB). As Aris states:

“...Well I think we are all human and that the idea of race is a myth. It is hard to argue that Armenians are totally pure. But for Armenians I think the idea of race stems out of being a minority and always being controlled and at times oppressed. Therefore, there is a fear among Armenians to maintain their culture...”

This gives a clue that Armenianness is not seen in a static and primordial way. In other words, Armenianness is not defined with kinship and blood. Aris is aware of differences among Armenians and Armenian communities (AI) that are established in various parts of the world even though he tends to see all Armenians under the same overarching category. In parallel to the postmodern approach in ethnicity theories, Armenianness is reproduced as a result of learning and socialising processes. Therefore, Aris reproduces his Armenianness and gets in touch with other members of the community that in turn helps him and informs his Armenianness without reference to kinship, blood or racial purity.

This point of view leads Aris to reproduce Armenianness in moderate ways. In contrast to some of the previous cases already discussed, Aris does not compare Armenians with other nations in terms of physical differences. According to the matrix, Armenianness is not seen here as representing a specific race. Therefore, it could be argued that Armenianness is considered from an ethno-cultural point of view. Moreover, Aris tends to highlight similarities between Armenians and Turks, which mainly derive from cultural heritage such as similar cuisine, family structure and manners.

Overall, it could be argued that the ethnic aspects of Armenianness in the case of Aris can be visible and show positive values. In contrast to the religious parameters, ethnic parameters are adopted into everyday life and experienced. They can be observed whenever Aris switches to his Armenian identity during Armenian occasions, whilst attending Sunday school, scouts or other homogenous institutions.

7.2.3. Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

With reference to the scores and inclination on the ANCO-HITS matrix, it could be argued that the theme of politics and political parameters seem to be powerless and ineffective. In contrast to other cases, the political aspects cannot be easily seen. According to the matrix, the scores of the parameters that relate to political practices are generally negative values. This causes the production of a negative pattern. There is no doubt that this negative inclination in the theme of political practices shows us how Aris highlights political aspects of Armenianness in the reproduction process. By referring to these scores on the matrix, it could be assumed that Armenianness can be interpreted in a less politicised way than other cases and participants.

Before moving on to how Aris reproduces Armenianness in terms of political aspects, it should be noted that the parameters can be categorised into two groups. In the first group, parameters such as “considering 1915 as genocide (AS)”, “Turkish nationalism as a culprit of the genocide (AV)”, and “support diaspora politics (BB)”, get higher points and they show similarity with other cases. Even though Aris provides a moderate form of Armenianness, these parameters lead him to consider the world in black and white terms. As Aris states:

“... I, myself and my family, have no link to the genocide like most Armenians in Iran. However, I have seen the pain and trauma it has caused to the descendants [of survivors]...”

“...I don't think anyone can deny what happened to the Armenians as not being genocide because there is so much evidence. I think any nationalism leads to fascism. With regards to Turkish nationalists, yes I believe they are the reason for the genocide occurring and still denying it today. The

Ottoman Empire like Nazi Germany wanted to blame the 'other' for their own economic downfall. For me nationalism always leads to fascism, this is why for me it is such a dangerous ideology..."

"...I expect the Turkish government to recognise it as genocide so Armenians and Turks can move forward together. If they don't, segregation will become bigger between the two nations. I do support claims for recognition because as a human being I have seen what denial has done to so many descendants of survivors. There is a pain and sadness that won't be resolved until the government recognises what happened..."

It should be noted that this point of view leads Aris to find a point of convergence with other members of the Armenian community across different diasporic spaces. These opinions demonstrate how they can play a significant role in the creation of a collective identity. In the literature of ethnicity and nationalism, many scholars underline a "common fate" while defining the nation (Smith, 1996). Therefore, these similarities, especially about the Armenian tragedy, contribute to his Armenianness.

However, differences can be more remarkable in the example of Aris. For instance, "territory claim (AT)", "feeling assimilation (AX)", "long distance nationalism (BF)" or "sharing the idea of greater Armenia (BI)", can be seen as examples for differences between Aris and other participants. As Aris states:

"...I am British and I have grown up in this country..."

"...As much as I liked Armenia when I went there, I never felt that it was home. Neither did I feel Iran was home. For me the feeling of home is my family and relatives..."

These differences not only provide an alternative form of Armenianness, but also distinguish Aris from other participants in terms of political aspects of Armenianness.

At this point, it should be pointed out that Aris's political attitudes and interpretations are impacted by the dynamics of the British context deeply. In other words, being born into the British culture and a member of the British

Armenian community make Aris less prone to projecting long-distance nationalism. Generally speaking, demographic trends and the evaluation of the political system in Britain shape Armenians' political attitudes and representation in the political system. As a result of the implications and features of the political system, it is impossible to observe small parties that are ethnically motivated. Great Britain is the oldest country that combines both monarchy and democracy. Although there were serious human rights violations and colonial practices, it seems to be a cradle of democracy. The British political system allows for a government and an opposition comprised of a few mainstream political parties alongside the constitutional monarchy. Small parties, particular ethnic based ones, cannot gather the necessary numbers to secure for one of their candidates a seat in parliament. This is largely because they cannot mobilise enough votes to poll first in local districts. Therefore, small parties that are ethnically motivated are not powerful within the British political system.⁷⁸ As such, there are no political parties that seek to cluster Armenian votes collectively, nor would they be very successful even if they tried due to the lack of Armenians. In contrast to the Lebanese case, Armenian votes are usually dispersed between the mainstream parties. When considered from this point of view, Aris and other participants do not get involved in politics.⁷⁹ If they are interested in politics, they are no different to other ethnic and religious minority citizens of Britain.

It should be underlined that political involvement happens at an individual, and not group, level and depends on the participants' personal efforts and interests. It could be argued that having an Armenian community does not allow for any specific advantages or incentives to take part in politics. Even if there are a few organisations seeking to apply political pressure and lobby in the British parliament, they do not represent the Armenian community politically because they are not political parties that aim to wield political power. Therefore, it could be argued that political practices depend on personal interests. In the example of Aris, this can be observed clearly:

⁷⁸ Even though populist nationalist/racist parties have increased their votes recently, they cannot win the seats because they are not the first. It is hard to argue that ethnic motivations are effective to vote. As is mentioned above, Pakistanis is the largest ethnic group, but they do not have any party.

⁷⁹ It should be noted that there is not any work seeking to Armenians political attitudes and preferences.

“...[I don’t support] a particular organisation. I study part time and hope to eventually become an academic. I feel through my studying I have become more subjective, and always ask questions regardless of the political group. [I am not] interested in politics so far...”

In contrast to this lack of political interest, it is seen that Aris is not careless towards issues within the Armenian community. For this reason, he tends to involve himself in some civic organisations and take part in volunteer work for the Armenian community. As I observed a couple of times, he appeared in several social events.⁸⁰

Another negative point about Aris’s reproduction of Armenianness that makes it different and yields lower scores is his approach to diasporic politics, which is sometimes known as “territory claim (AU)” and “political projects (BI)”. As can be seen from the matrix, Aris’s attitudes towards these parameters are generally negative. As Aris states:

“...The only type of politics I completely reject is nationalism and fascism for it’s not so much about territory as it is genocide. Territory has been created by human beings and unfortunately today still people die for this. I think it’s easy for me to be in London and claim a land I do not live in or next to...”

“... I don’t want there to be a war or dispute over this land because I don’t want Armenian or Turkish people to die. In an ideal situation, it would be good for those descendants of the genocide to gain back their ancestral home. However, this will only lead to bloodshed, which I cannot support or agree with...”

As is understood from his statement, the political aspects in his Armenianness are limited. If compared to other cases, political aspects are based on more rational grounds. Accordingly, polarisation and politicisation are not effective for Aris, in contrast to other cases. This not only makes him a more moderate participant, but it also this leads him to exclude certain radicalisation and violence from his Armenianness. For instance, the “actions of ASALA (BG)” are clearly

⁸⁰ Due to ethical concern, organizations and events will not be mentioned.

refuted and cannot find any room in the reproduction process of Armenianness. As Aris expresses:

“...I cannot understand how violence can solve anything, therefore I cannot support the killing of another human being. I cannot accept ASALA’s actions because I have lived in Britain my whole life and have not lived in a country that is in conflict of territory...”

“...I do think peaceful means can be found in the British culture to help raise awareness and gain recognition from the Turkish government...”

“...My parents, when students, went all the time, but wanted to give me and my brother a choice. So when I turned 22, I decided to go to the march for the genocide. I wanted to go to see what it was like and how it would make me feel. It didn’t really change me much...”

By referring to his statement, it could be assumed that being born into the British culture as a boundary of the context prevents him from acquiring a culture of conflict at least community level (among ordinary people).⁸¹ Aris adopts more peaceful practices to fight against Turkey’s lack of recognition of a genocide against the Armenians having ever occurred.⁸² “Signing petitions”, “writing to your MPs” or “protesting in front of the Turkish Embassy” can be given as examples showing how Aris uses political tools to pronounce his thoughts. These political practices can be called as “quintessentially British” and emerged from the British political system. Even though their chances of success and effectiveness are questionable, it is certain that these practices turn Aris to be less politicised and less of a traditional activist.

The final point about the political aspects of Armenianness is Aris’s perception about homeland. This helps Aris to reproduce Armenianness in a different form. As Aris states:

⁸¹ It should not be assumed that British have conflict free experiences. There is intense colonial past and highly aggressive foreign policy can be observed in the example of military operations in 1991, 1997 and 2003 towards Iraq and Afghanistan.

⁸² As a result of the political dispute and debate on the Armenian Tragedy, this is the common discourse in diaspora. This sometimes is phrased like “fight against Turkey” or “Armenian cause”. In the previous case, Armenians tend to adopt various practices which may touch radical practices such as terrorism. In the example of Aris and British case, these practices can be more moderate and peaceful.

“...As much as I liked Armenia when I went there, I never felt that it was home. Neither did I feel Iran was home. For me the feeling of home is my family and relatives...”

“...I don't feel that connected to Armenian because I have no family there. My identity is my family. I don't have a homeland because I have a mixture of cultures in me; Armenian, Iranian and British. However, it's not much of an issue for me because I consider myself human before anything else...”

“... I feel assimilated into British culture because I think it's easier because it is so diverse...”

By observing his statements about a homeland, it is clearly seen that a homeland is not defined in political intents and aims. Rather, it is considered through family and relatives. For this reason, the historical homeland which is defined by irredentist Armenians seeking to enlarge the Republic of Armenia by claiming the eastern and the southern provinces of Turkey and northern Iran (the claimed lands of Greater Armenia), do not influence Aris in the reproduction process. It could be argued that his points of view about homeland derive from more realistic dynamics and it is affected by the context directly. As explained above, Aris was born into the British culture. He has assimilated successfully into the British context. For Aris, “returning to Armenia” is not discussed. Even though he stated that he has no homeland, Britain is seen as a place where his family lives and makes a contribution to his mixed identity. Armenia is only thought of as a country where he can visit. Therefore, his relations and ties with Armenia or the historical background of the homeland are not deep and strong.

In short, the theme of political attitudes and practices provide a limited point of view in the example of Aris. In the reproduction process of Armenianness, political parameters are generally present with a negative pattern and lower scores. The reason for this could be the boundaries of the context and dynamics in the British case, as Aris does not have the opportunity to politicise Armenianness. For this reason, political aspects of the Armenian community have not developed well in contrast to the Lebanese case. As can be seen from the matrix, parameters depend on Aris's personal interests since the community does not have institutions that allow Armenian youngsters to be politicised. Accordingly, political projects such as territorial claims and the idea of Greater Armenia are not

highlighted in the reproduction process and make Aris less committed to these ideas.

7.2.4. Theme of Interactions in Everyday life

The theme of interactions in everyday life consists of interesting parameters in the reproduction process of Armenianness. As can be seen from the matrix, parameters related to interactions in everyday life are generally positive. Interactions related to Armenians and the Armenian community (BM, BO, BP or BN) fluctuate in the range of +1 and +2, whereas interactions related to non-Armenians (BS, BT or BU) change between -1 and +2. In addition to these two groups of parameters, interactions relating to transnational networks (BJ, BK, CD, CL, CO, CP and CU) fluctuate between -2 and +2. Overall, it could be argued that interactions in everyday life are highly varied and provide different interpretations whenever Aris reproduces Armenianness in the British context.

To start with, Aris does not make a strong distinction between Armenians and non-Armenians. As a result of the socio-demographic trend, Aris interacts primarily with non-Armenians. It could be assumed that the number of friends and colleagues who do not have an Armenian background are higher than his Armenian friends. As Aris states:

“...I categorised because of differences in culture. Obviously, my friends of Armenian heritage share similarities with me in relation to upbringing and home life. But I also share similarities with my non-Armenian friends as well because of my mixed identity. I think I’m in a lucky position because I’m able to choose what aspects of my mixed identity I like...”

It could be argued that he categorises his Armenian and non-Armenian friends culturally. There is no doubt that the boundaries of the context, especially being born into the British culture, play a significant role in this because Aris is a fourth generation Armenian. In contrast to other immigrants and diaspora communities in Britain, Aris does not have any integration problems and experiences the British culture deeply as he has been assimilated. As Aris states:

“...[In terms of spending time], my non Armenian friends when going on holiday go to travel which I enjoy as well...”

“...I think it all depends on your own individual personality and what fits that best from both cultures of Armenian and British...”

As is understood, differences between him and his friends who have different ethno-religious backgrounds are not considered. In the natural flow of everyday life in London, these differences do not matter. Indeed, he sometimes prioritises his British identity (including practices and habits) over his ethnic Armenian identity. As I observed in my meeting with Aris, conversations start in English in everyday life. If he wants to increase homogeneity or to show respect to older Armenian people, he switches to the Armenian language. Unless he switches to his Armenian language, it is hard to know at first glance that he is Armenian. As Aris states:

“...My favourite thing is to play music and go to gigs. That is due to my British identity because I had these opportunities here. I wouldn't have had this if I grew up in Iran, therefore I'm very grateful...”

“...I have a British culture and a wider western culture because I have been here all my life...”

As can be understood from his statement, Aris adopts British culture very well and shows similarities with other British youngsters.

There is no doubt that these similarities affect Aris's point of view about non-Armenians positively. Especially, he produces positive attitudes about relationships. As can be seen from the matrix, “having non-Armenian friend (BS)”, “having non-Armenian boy-girl friend (BT)” or “considering mixed marriages with Christian (BV)” gets positive values. According to Aris:

“...When I was younger it was more important because I came from generations and generations of a minority in Iran, therefore the fear of integration and marrying outside of the Armenian family was a taboo. Now I'm indifferent and to be honest I don't care if they are Armenian or not. For me it's more important being with a good human being. If they are Armenian and I'm only with them because of that it's stupid...”

Putting it differently, having relationships with non-Armenians or Armenians is not marked in the reproduction process of Armenianness. It is not paid any attention

even though he points out that marriage is a problem for the previous generation due to the fear of assimilation. Mixed marriages with non-Armenians and non-Christians are tolerated in Aris's Armenianness. It should be noted that the socio-economic dynamics in the British context can play significant roles in this attitude. If compared to the Lebanese case, it is difficult to observe any sectarianism that is sustained through ethnic or religious motives.⁸³ Therefore, mixed marriages and relationships with other ethno-religious backgrounds do not matter in this manifestation of Armenianness.

In addition to relations with non-Armenians, interactions with Armenians also have positive values. As can be observed from the matrix, the scores of the parameters, namely "usage of the language at home", "usage of the language with friends" and "practicing the language at an academic level" are coded as +2. In the example of Aris, the usage of ethnic language is effective even though he does not have so much opportunity to interact Armenians in everyday life because the population of the Armenian community is small. As Aris states:

"...I have relatives in Iran and Los Angeles who live in much bigger communities, and thus it is very different because there is a stronger chance [for them to meet with other Armenians]..."

This limits Aris, who may only come across Armenians in public accidentally. However, his ethnic language was learnt within the family first, and this learning continued in the Sunday schools. Sunday schools are not compulsory within the British education system. Rather, they are organised within voluntary educational and cultural institutions. In addition to language classes, Armenian pupils have a chance to learn about Armenian history and culture.

In addition to the usage of Armenian language, the English language impacts upon Aris's reproduction of Armenianness. As a result of the context, English is learnt as a native language. It allows him to integrate himself into the British society and culture. Therefore, he experiences British culture as an 'insider' and

⁸³ It should be noted that the Britain is not purely peaceful country which applies the Human Right absolutely. It is possible to come across serious indicators towards xenophobia, migrants or Islam, which most of time is not recorded. ????? can be good examples how the multiculturalism suffers in the Britain. ASK TALHA

has social practices like other Britons. This helps to produce common understanding between Aris and the majority white British people.

Furthermore, the socialising spaces that Aris frequents are also affected by this similarity between him and his other British friends. In contrast with other cases, it is impossible to find homogenous Armenian neighbourhoods in Britain, and Aris has already stated that he generally hangs out with fellow Britons, so he uses places common to the majority of the British people.⁸⁴ He goes to same schools, cafes and pubs. However, he takes care to spend special time in certain places such as Armenian foundations, social events and the church whenever he wants to remember his Armenianness. These places can be considered as a pause in the overwhelming flow of his “Britishness”.

Finally, I will now discuss the parameters related to transnational networks in the reproduction process of Aris’s Armenianness. As seen from the matrix, the scores of these parameters (BJ, BK, BR, CD, CL, CO, CP and CU) fluctuate between -2 and +2. Aris’s attitudes towards transnational networks can be called “ordinary” since he is a member of the diaspora that is defined by the Ministry of Diaspora of Armenia. However, his attitudes can be observed at various levels. Particularly, negative attitudes are visible in parameters that influence the reproduction process in different ways and distinguish Aris from other participants. For instance, “prefer to live in Armenia (CL)”, “following Armenia media via satellite (CD)” or “attending national celebration (CO)” show negative attitudes. As Aris states:

“...I don’t watch Armenian TV because they speak too fast and also the dialect is slightly different to mine which I speak at home. I don’t want to live in Armenia because I hardly have any family members there and I have been here all my life. I think I would struggle a lot...”

⁸⁴ At this point, it should be noted that there is a conceptual issues about Britishness too. Since the term of British does not refer to any ethnic group, it should be understood as a way of living too. It should not be forgotten that it is likely to observe various types of Britishness, which are mainly differed religious heritage and ethnic background. In the example of Aris, successful integration can be observed with “white and Christian (at least cultural point of view)”. Muslim British tend to live more congregational ways due to religious differences.

“... I don't feel that connected to Armenia. [Apart from] Armenian Easter and Christmas, [Aris does] not celebrated Armenia's national celebrations...”

As can be understood from his point of view, his relations and perceptions about Armenia are limited. It is hard to argue that he is attached to Armenia fully. Potentially, being born into the British culture was very effective at preventing him from forming strong relationships with Armenia. Since the Armenian community in Britain does not have powerful political and cultural associations that seek to maintain diasporic relations with Armenia, the youngsters' connections and interests remain limited. It should be noted that Armenia does not have a powerful popular culture that can challenge the British culture that Aris experienced at an earlier age. Rather, Armenia is considered as a needy country that should be supported by other Armenians who have economic advantages. As Aris states:

“...I think Armenia has a right to have a country because it has its ancestral land there and culture.”

“...I follow up some blogs or Facebook groups about Armenians and Armenia...”

As can be seen in Aris's case, the main motivation of the transnational network is to support Armenia. Therefore, his relations sometimes happen on social media while sharing a photo, video or comment. He may maintain his relations with other Armenians in different parts of the world through social media.

Overall, the theme of interactions in everyday life provides interesting points of view. In the reproduction process of Armenianness, parameters related to interactions in everyday life are mainly positive, and this could be because Aris was born into the British culture, which undoubtedly influenced the way he interacts in an everyday setting. Aris is able to develop peaceful relations with non-Armenians. As seen above, he tends to emphasise British culture and said that he uses a shared mixed culture in everyday life. On the other hand, his interpretations about transnational networks reflect a limited point of view. Aris considers Armenia as a needy country and sometimes underlines that he shares similar cultural norms with them. He tends to maintain his relations with other Armenians through social media or socialising at certain times and places.

7.3. Nairi (B5=0.97)

“...I like Turkish food. I go to Turkish supermarket to buy things because it is very close to our cuisine. I like tursu [pickle]. It is sour...”⁸⁵

Nairi experiences Armenianness at the opposite pole to Aris in the British context, having scored highly on the ANCO-HITS matrix. Although I had several meetings with Nairi, the sentence quoted above was one of the ones that caught my attention the most. This sentence alone is enough to be able to understand that she experiences Armenianness in a different way to other Armenians and has different points of view about Turkey and Turkish people.

Before moving on to the details of her Armenianness, it should be noted that the scores between Nairi and other participants are close. They show similar patterns in certain themes, and this reminds us of the features of the context shaping the participants' attitudes and perceptions. In other words, their similar contexts demonstrate similarities even though their scores are different. In this vein, Nairi and Aris are distinguishable from each other in terms of their scores, even though they grew up in similar environments which derive from the general characteristics of the British context, namely demographic trends, and the political or socio-economical features of the Armenian community.

Similar to other participants, the boundaries of the context which are shared by Nairi can be observed through focusing on her family history and socio-economic background. As Nairi states:

“... my family came from Lebanon. Before that our grandparents used to live in Adana. Now it belongs to Turkey...”

“...My father's side is originally Syrian Armenian and my mother's side is Lebanese Armenian. They met in Lebanon...”

“...my parents came to the UK because my dad secured a yearlong residency with a hospital here. Following the end of the residency, he was offered a job at another hospital. While they were in the UK they felt that the best option for them and the family was to stay in the UK. Their original plan was, with the rest of the extended family, to move to America. As dad had been offered a job in the UK he decided to stay and after being here

⁸⁵ All quotations were taken from [Nickname= Nairi], Interview with participant N on 17/10/2012, London-the UK and email conversation on 04/06/2015 and also 20/12/2012.

for a while was eligible for a passport. The [Lebanese] civil war was a factor in their decision to stay in the UK. They had had some pretty horrible experiences of the war, not as civilians, but dad was also treating trauma and casualty patients so he saw some pretty bad things. They never really talk about emotions or trauma they sustained, they give more objective story telling...”

“...my mother is a full-time house wife...”

It is possible to argue that her explanations about the family may provide traces for the boundaries of the context. As can be seen from the family history, it seems to emanate from the condensed experience of three generations in terms of the reproduction of Armenianness and its parameters. Firstly, it signifies her local identity before the deportation of the Armenians in 1915. Nairi's grandparents used to live in Adana, Turkey before the deportation and carried so many stories that were formed through telling and retelling. Secondly, it consists of reconstruction and survival elements. As Nairi states, her grandparents settled down in Lebanon as a result of the deportation. They began to create their Armenianness within the refugee camps, described in the historical overview chapter, specifically with regard to Lebanon. From this perspective, it provides an example of the “victim diaspora” (Cohen, 2008). Putting it differently, her parents may show the effects of the victim diaspora because they constructed their Armenianness in Lebanon and Syria. Thirdly, nuclear family is a typical example of the economically motivated diaspora as her parents did not return to Lebanon and settled down in Manchester. In the following years, they became members of the British Armenian community while protecting their heritage originating from Adana and Lebanon. It could be argued that this concise family history and engaged diasporic identity is the first boundary of the context.

Secondly, “to be born into the British culture” is an effective boundary shaping Nairi's attitudes and interpretations. Similar to previous participant, Nairi was born in the UK (in Manchester) and shows cultural hybridisation at high levels in terms of practices and socialising spaces. As Nairi states:

“...I see myself as a British Armenian. They are both my identity. I have similarities with my British friends because I have been born and brought up here...”

“...I was educated in the UK and English is my primary language...”

“...I like the culture here, the mannerisms, the proximity to my family...”

Another boundary of the context could be her neighbourhood and relations with the Armenian community. As Nairi states, her family lives far away from the Armenian Church and do not have any Armenian neighbours. Their relations with the Armenian Church are restricted to certain times, apart from Sunday schools. For this reason, she tends to spend her time more with non-Armenians throughout her childhood. As Nairi states:

“...We grew up in a small English town and were really the only ethnic minority group around and so there was a lot of clashes because we were so different from our classmates. My big sister and I look more ethnic, whereas my little sister is a bit fairer and so visually fits in more with the English people...”

“...At school, when I was younger, bullying and stereotypes were constant. We were called horrible names and ones that didn't even relate to me [referring to the word “Paki” a derogatory term for an individual from Pakistan], but that just shows how little they knew about me. When I was at university there were some people who would just belittle me because I was Armenian, but those people and their opinions meant less than nothing to me. After I saw their true colours and their lack of acceptance of people different from themselves, I never saw them again...”

“...Proximity is a real problem. We couldn't go to the church or interact with other Armenians at all. They live in Scotland or Birmingham...”

Thus, living at a distance from the community can be seen as another boundary of the context.

Furthermore, Nairi also shows similarities with the previous participant in terms of contextual boundaries. For instance, Nairi has to make special effort to experience Armenianness and practices since she has limited relations with other members of the Armenian community. Depending on her preferences and wishes, she is able to contact other members of the Armenian community. As Nairi highlights:

“...In London, I don't know any Armenians, so my interactions are limited. However, if I live in Manchester, I would go to the church with my family because it is a family thing...”

Additionally, Nairi gives special importance to her family. She learns ethnic and religious aspects of Armenianness within the family primarily, since she has a deficient and distant relationship with the community. As Nairi describes:

“...More often than not, the moment I walk in my home, my dad takes my suitcase from my hand, they give me a big hug and push me into the kitchen so that I can try what new jam mum has made...or dad can show me his latest project. I wouldn't change it for the world and it is the other side of the spectrum when I think of English people...”

As can be understood from her statement, members of the family become primary partners who interact with Nairi.

In short, it is possible to summarise that the context consists of four boundaries, namely; a) engaged diasporic experiences b) being born into the British culture c) living at a distance from the community and d) dedicating special time to practice Armenianness. As will be seen in the following themes and parameters in the next sections, these boundaries are important dynamics behind her interpretations and higher scores on the ANCO-HITS matrix.

7.3.1. Theme of Religious Perceptions and Practices

Parameters relating to religious perceptions and practices have a positive impact in reproduction of Armenianness. As can be seen from the matrix, her attitudes about religion seem to be homogenous and positive scores. Religious aspects, such as “church as a religious centre (D)”, “church as a cultural centre (E)”, “secularism (F)”, “donations for the church (O)”, “using religious symbols (Q)”, “celebrating new year (S) or Easter (T)”, are scored as +2. Other parameters such as the “importance of the Apostolic Church (G)” or “Catholic Church (I)” illustrate less positive scores of +1. In contrast to the previous participant, the parameters related to atheism (L) are scored as -2.

In contrast to the previous participant and opposite pole, Aris, religious parameters are experienced in their original meanings. In the reproduction process, religion and religious practices find a significant place. As Nairi states:

“...the teachings in religion are to love one another. I try to practice that but don't believe that I'm doing this because a god told me so...”

“...My understanding of religion is more of a shared understanding and teaching of how everyone should behave...not judge one another, don't behave in a way you wouldn't like to be treated etc. That isn't religion for

me but is a lovely teaching from it. Having said that, I understand the religion in my community to be a central part to our collective identity...”

As is seen from her statement, Christianity has not lost its original meanings even though its frequency can be changed in terms of practicing. It would be argued that it has. She likes the morality of love and peacefulness in religion, but sees it as a nice teaching, not as divinely ordained principles

This point of view can also be seen on the matrix. Since she defines herself as an Armenian Christian, she tends to assign different meanings to the Armenian Church. In the reproduction process, the Armenian Church is considered as a religious (D) and cultural centre (E). As Nairi states:

“...Having said that, I understand the religion in my community to be a central part to our collective identity...”

“... The physical act of going to church is important to me because I go when I am with my family. It’s a time when we are all together and just sitting there quietly in each others’ presence. I love that. It becomes so infrequent now that we are all over the country. I also like the act of going to church because I have been going there since I was born, so whenever I am up in Manchester I go to church because I get to see people who I have grown up with...”

“...My friends know that I have grown up in an Armenian Church and understand that it is a branch of Christianity, so if anything they ask questions because they are interested in what is different...”

“...I see religion as an intrinsic part of our identity because of us being the first Christian country in the world, what it meant for solace and sanctuary during the genocide etc. As a result, the church was and is used as a centre for information and events for Armenians. My experience is that often the people who organise events are people who go to church who you give your email address to and they add you to a mailing list. In the absence of going to church, I often find that I will be randomly forwarded an email for something and then through that I can request to be sent more information. The church is the key to accessing cultural events I think...”

The Armenian Church and Christianity allow her to not only emphasise differences between other participants, but also helps her to keep ethnic differences among her British friends. As explained above, the Armenian Church and religious doctrine distinguish it from other sects of Christianity and churches in Britain (Tchilingirian, 1996). Putting it differently, going to the Armenian Church reminds Nairi of her Armenian heritage. It should be emphasised that the Armenian Church gives her the opportunity to connect her to the ancient history of Armenians through the vehicle of ceremony. For instance, the language used in the Armenian Church is known as “Karapaht” (old Armenian). All hymns and gospels are pronounced in old Armenian. Additionally, objects which are used in the church can be different from those found in other denominational churches. As can be seen, the cross and illustrations inside the churches are clearly different and reflect features of the Apostolic faith.

This positive attitude toward religion can also be seen in different areas on the matrix. “Atheism (L)” and other parameters such as “patchwork religion (K)” and “leading different religion (J)” are not effective parameters in the reproduction of Armenianness because she does not have strong interactions with the Armenian community. As Nairi states:

“...I have never known anyone who is Armenian to be anything other than Armenian orthodox or atheist/agnostic. I don’t really have any chance for exposure to that so I don’t know how they would be accepted or rejected by the more traditional Armenian community...”

In other words, it could be argued that Armenianness, most of time, is observed and experienced as a part of Christianity. For this reason, attitudes towards the parameters, which may emerge out different interpretations about Armenianness, are coded as 0.

A final point of the reproduction process is the religious practices of Nairi. In parallel to her positive attitudes as presented in the theme of religious perceptions and practices, Nairi tends to practice religious events. As Nairi states:

“...We pretty much went to every event hosted by the church apart from Sunday school. Other than that, every time someone important came, Easter, Christmas, every church day we would go. I remember the

tranpatseg [opening of the doors] during Easter. They knock two pieces of wood together really loudly as part of the Easter ceremony....it always used to startle me! I love the Armenian church songs. I appreciate the music, the composition, the singers' voices. I did enjoy spending time in church, sometimes it would go on a bit too long. The service we have in Manchester is about 2 hours long, give or take, for special occasions..."

In contrast to the previous participant, prominent religious events such as Christmas and Easter are remembered and practiced as both cultural habits and religious ways. The influences of her context can be observed behind religious practices and her positive scores. Although she was born into the British culture, her engagement with diasporic experiences lead her to have a positive point of view about religion and religious practices. As explained above, her family came from Lebanon where Christianity is practiced publicly and gives her an environment where she is able to experience religious practices. At the same time, these religious events provide her with unmissable opportunities to socialise with other members of the community.

It could be summed up that Nairi tends to experience the religious aspects of Armenianness in their original form. As can be seen from the ANCO-HITS matrix, Nairi gets positive values among the parameters related to religious perceptions and practices. The boundaries of the context, including living at a distance from the community, specially dedicating time to practice Armenianness and engaging in diasporic experiences plays a significant role behind higher scores on the matrix and make her reproduce Armenianness at one of the poles.

7.3.2. Theme of Ethnicity and Ethnic Practices

In the example of Nairi, ethnicity and ethnic practices show a generally positive inclination. As can be seen from the matrix, most of the parameters, such as "sharing ethnic myths (V)", "ethnic historiography (X)" or "ethnic practices (AM, AN and AP)" are coded as +2. Similar to the previous participant, Nairi also has negative attitudes in certain parameters, such as "Armenian as a race (AA)" and "purity of Armenian people (AB)". In other words, as a result of the context of being born into the British culture, these aspects are not developed. Nairi also interprets Armenianness as 'a cultural heritage' rather than race. Similar to Aris, Armenianness is not seen in a static and primordial way. Nairi is aware of

differences among Armenians and Armenian communities (AI) that have been established in various parts of the world, even though she tends to see all Armenians under the same overarching category.

In terms of ethnicity and ethnic practices, the most important point is visibility in the reproduction process. Nairi tends to give special importance to ethnic aspects. In parallel to the previous participant, as well as others, in the British case, the boundaries of the context, namely dedicating special time to Armenianness and the importance of family, have unavoidable influences in the reproduction of Armenianness. Most of the ethnic practices can be experienced in the example of Nairi. She explains the importance of family and describes her home in the following sentences:

“...mum would home-school us on Armenian history and language...”

“...Whenever I explain my family home to my friends, I always ask if they have seen the film My Big Fat Greek Wedding, because our home is very similar to that. As I mentioned our house is literally called ‘Armenian home’, we have a basketball board in the drive and its painted in the Armenian flag, when you walk in, the floor mat says ‘Welcome’ in Armenian, the pictures on the wall....Armenian.....the decorations on the window sill....Armenian....the TV playing in the background...Armenian.....you get the gist...”

“...Both my sisters’ partners are 100% British. They used to find our home and our ways really, weird, overwhelming, intense, odd, loving...Lots of different things...”

“...At home we are always encouraged to talk in Armenian, and the boys have been learning Armenian too. When we are all at home, we all gather in the kitchen and mum will instruct us all on what we are going to bake and cook and she might tell a story about when they were younger and how all the women would be in the kitchen doing this, and then she will catch us up on stories about our relatives in America...”

As is understood from her statement, family seems to be a primary space in order to learn and experience ethnic aspects. It should also be pointed out that living at a distance from the community as a boundary of the context increases the

importance of the family in the reproduction process. Most of the practices related to Armenian ethnicity are experienced within the family and home. In other words, Nairi finds herself in the Armenian world once she spends time at her home. The ethnic aspects of Armenianness can be experienced at various levels. As Nairi states:

“... Having seen My Big Fat Greek Wedding, I realise that some of the things is really cultural and we, as a family, adore that film. The pride that the father has in that film showing how the root of any word is Greek, is kind of what like my dad does...he'd say, 'that tea you are drinking, it was introduced by an Armenian', or 'when you get money from an ATM....that was invented by an Armenian'. That weirdness....I now labels it as pride that my father has for Armenia...”

Undoubtedly, the atmosphere within her house makes positive contributions in experiencing ethnic aspects of Armenianness and allows her to get higher scores on the matrix.

In Nairi case, the ethnic parameters of practicing the Armenian language, listening to Armenian music, using Armenian names and consuming Armenian food, are all experienced. As can be seen from the matrix, these parameters are coded positively. Similar to Aris, dedicating special time allows Nairi to experience these parameters effectively and highlights ethnic aspects of Armenianness. Nairi tends to give importance to ethnic aspects. Language courses and community events where we met up can be examples demonstrating her interest in ethnic aspects.

Overall, it could be argued that parameters relating to ethnicity and ethnic practices are similar between Nairi and Aris. The boundaries of the context, especially dedicating special time to practice Armenianness, living at a distance from the community and having Armenian parents are effective dynamics behind the ethnic aspects of Armenianness as Nairi interprets the parameters. Accordingly, these positive interpretations and points of view lead Nairi to get a higher score and locate her at the opposite pole in the British context, even though she shows similarities with the other pole. Again, the similarities in the British case between all participants make them all relatively resemble one another, even at the poles of the matrix.

7.3.3. Theme of Political Practices and Attitudes

The first thing to note is that there is not much difference between Nairi and Aris in terms of political practices and attitudes. As explained above, the features of the British case are not conducive to participants adopting strong political attitudes and does not allow political aspects of Armenianness to be developed. As such, Nairi has been influenced by the political environment of the British context so she has not developed different practices from the opposite pole.

The ANCO-HITS matrix arguably shows that the theme of politics and political parameters seem to be powerless and ineffective. Similar points of view and negative inclinations can be observed. As can be realised, Nairi tends to interpret Armenianness in a less politicised way.

Before moving on to the details of how Nairi reproduces Armenianness in terms of political aspects, it should be noted that the differences between Nairi and the previous participant can be more useful to understand the reproduction of Armenianness and prevent us from repeating the same analysis involving the political system of Britain and its effects on the Armenian community. In this vein, the matrix demonstrates that Nairi differs from him across four parameters, namely “involvement in the political issues (BD)”, “involvement and the concern for the community issue (BE)” and “considering Armenia as a homeland (BF)”.

The first differentiation in the example of Nairi is her attitudes about Armenia where she presents with more positive values. As Nairi states:

“...I have an affinity with Armenia because of the links I have through my ethnicity. It’s where I might be now should the genocide never have taken place (and my parents still have met etc etc). So in that way, Armenia is my homeland...”

“...but I don’t have an identity of me in Armenia, so I don’t know how I would be...I would be a British Armenian living in Armenia...”

It could be argued that Nairi is able to involve “Armenia” in the reproduction process. Her attitudes can be considered as an example for long-distance nationalism that consists of nostalgic and romantic elements, and her idea of homeland consists of two parts. According to Nairi, the homeland refers to two

places, namely the ethnic/historical homeland and the real homeland. Similar to the definition in the literature, it refers in the broader context to areas that cover the borders of 'Greater Armenia'. Accordingly, she attaches herself to Armenia even though her hometown is Adana, which is currently the 5th biggest city in Turkey (TUIK, 2014). In addition to the historical perception, Nairi also has a different point of view about homeland. This point of view derives from more realistic dynamics and it is affected from the context directly. As a result of successful integration, Nairi sees Britain as a homeland too.

In addition to the consideration of Armenia as a partial homeland, the second point which differs from the previously described reproduction process is Nairi's attitudes towards political issues (BD). As can be seen from the matrix, Nairi has positive attitudes in political involvement. As Nairi states;

“...I attend the elections in the UK because it affects my life directly...”

“...I am interested in politics as it dictates our world. They don't always make the right or democratic decision and I think the processes that lead to that decision is interesting. I don't have a political affiliation as none of the parties that have a chance for election really represent my views...”

Nairi tends to pay attention to political issues in the Britain even though she does not have an active political life or affiliations.

However, these interests are not observed once the political issues are related to the Armenian community (BE). According the matrix, Nairi tends to stay neutral. For Nairi;

“...I don't really have any political views in terms of the Armenian community. I wouldn't really affiliate with any of the Armenian political parties. I'm very left wing and don't think Armenian parties are there yet, advocating for gay rights and social housing etc...”

There is no doubt that living at a distance from the Armenian community impacts her preferences because she does not live with Armenians. As explained above, she interacts with other members of the Armenian community once she visits the Armenian Church or in certain events.

Further to these different points in the reproduction process, there are also many similarities with the opposite pole. For instance, “considering 1915 as genocide (AS)”, “Turkish nationalism as a culprit of the genocide (AV)”, and “support diaspora politics (BB)” can be examples for similarities. As Nairi states:

“...I became really emotional and was overwhelmed with how unjust the whole situation is...”

“...For so long I was brought up with the idea that Turkey and Turkish people are all evil and the perpetrators of the genocide. I know now that is wholly untrue. Yes there are people who ignore it ever happened, but I have a couple of Turkish friends, all of whom have the same level of justice seeking about the genocide as me and my family...”

“...I think there are very few stories about the genocide that people have shared, and if they have it’s been very late on in life for them...”

“...We have very few family stories about the genocide. There is something about the Armenian culture where, I think, you don’t really share these kind of stories. I don’t know why. I know my paternal family had a horrific time with the genocide and the stories that my dad has got about his family are ones that have been pieced together by different parts of the family and brought together...”

As can be understood from these statements, there is a strong and clear distinction about the Armenian tragedy of 1915. This strong attitude brings Nairi closer to other members of the Armenian community and creates a common fate. It should be noted that strong attitudes about the Armenian deportation make positive contributions to political aspects.

It should also be noted that Nairi’s political practices were evaluated in accordance with the political culture and context of the UK. As explained above, the political culture prevents Armenians from adopting or supporting violent means. On the one hand, the political culture and lack of political interests keeps Nairi away from any polarisation; on the other hand, they produce nonviolent political means. As Nairi states:

“...I have attended the genocide protest outside of the Turkish Embassy and have planned to go on the march but have been away each time. I change my profile picture every year for the month of April to the genocide and support the petitioning of MPs. I would never support violent methods to gain recognition of the Armenian genocide. If someone offered the choice between staying as it is or knowing that using violent methods would guarantee the recognition of the Armenian genocide, I would rather stay as we are. If violent methods were ever used, I think it discredits our fight. It minimizes the importance of all the people who did die. They died because they didn’t want to fight people, so why should we do it now? Even at the Armenian genocide System of a Down concert, there were pictures of people burning the Turkish flag, I was utterly disgusted. That picture could discredit so much of the advancement and work that has been done peacefully...”

“If we are condemning the violent actions of a people, why would we then use those exact means to make our point? It is so unbelievably hypocritical I have never been able to understand it.”

It could be argued that peaceful means such as “signing petitions”, “writing to your MPs” or “protesting in front of the Turkish Embassy” are also practiced in the reproduction process.

In short, the political aspects of Armenianness can be interpreted in accordance with the British context. As can be seen from the matrix, Nairi shares similarities and differences with other participants. Accordingly, the scores of the participants are close to each other. In Nairi example, being born into the British culture and living at a distance from the community lead to political aspects to be seen as ineffective and powerless. As a result of the context, political projects, affiliations with organisations and violent political means do not find any room in the reproduction process. Rather, Armenianness is interpreted in a non-politicised environment. It should be underlined that interpretations and thoughts about the Armenian deportation show strong distinctions and lead Nairi to get higher scores.

7.3.4. Theme of Interactions in Everyday life

As a final theme, interactions in everyday life provide a positive point of view in the reproduction process. By citing the matrix, parameters relating to interactions in everyday life have positive values and show similarities with the previous participant. As can be observed, the scores of the parameters related to interaction with Armenians (BM, BO, BP or BN) and non-Armenians (BS, BT or BU) fluctuate in the range of 0 and +2. In addition to this fluctuation, the parameters related to transnational networks (BJ, BK, CD, CL, CO, CP and CU) are valued between -2 and +2. Overall, Nairi does not differentiate from the previous participant even though she has unique interpretations in certain parameters.

As can be seen from the matrix, practices related to interactions such as “usage of the language at home (CA)” and “usage of the language with friends (CC)” is coded as +2. As Nairi states;

“...Speaking Armenian is the most obvious thing about being different. I know we look a bit different but the second we start talking in a language which isn't English, we automatically identify to the language we are speaking. It's the easiest way for me to know that I am Armenian...”

At this point, it should be highlighted that the language is considered as an essential tool while interacting with other Armenians.

It should not be forgotten that the Armenian community in the British case welcomes various languages and sub-cultures which had been learnt from other countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, Armenia or Cyprus. It could be said that this diversity may break down the homogeneity of the Armenian community in terms of standardisation of language. It was observed that some members of the Armenian community speak the Western Armenian dialect whereas others were speaking the Eastern dialect.

Even though both are considered as the same language, there are some differences in terms of pronunciation and spelling. In terms of the basis of the language, these differences may deepen the gap between Armenian groups within the Armenian community. As documented throughout the fieldwork, Nairi uses Turkish vocabulary for food. The interesting point is that she is not aware of it because she (as well as her parents) thought that those words were Armenian. Whenever she comes across Armenians who had learnt either the Western or Eastern Armenian properly, she realises that there are sub-groups within the

Armenian community. However, these differences are not paid much attention because she grew up in a highly segregated environment. As Nairi states:

“...Maybe more between Armenians from Armenia and Armenians from other places in the world, that’s probably the biggest difference. But I’m saying that having grown up in a community where we had like no Armenians from Armenia, everyone was from somewhere else in the world and they were all our friends. When I go back I see people from Armenia who I don’t know and have created their own little group, they sit together, do different events etc. Still lovely and friendly and if I spoke with them they would be fine, but there is a subtle difference that way...”

In addition to this division and the usage of language, it should be noted that British culture has a significant effect on interactions in everyday life. In contrast to the usage of Western Armenian in the family, Nairi (like other participants) tends to use English as her primary language. As Nairi states:

“...I try not to speak in Armenian when I am around people who don’t understand what I am saying, as I think its rude. People sometimes ask me to say something in Armenian so that they can hear what the language sounds like. When people have overheard me in passing speaking in Armenian they find it funny that sometimes I mix an Armenian sentence with English words...”

Thus, her mundane practices, such as her sense of humour and conversation topics have changed as she was born into the British culture. Putting it differently, it is hard to say that she has an Armenian background at first glance, until she speaks Armenian.

As a result of living at a distance from the Armenian community and being born into the British culture, Nairi’s socialising spaces are distinguished. In the natural flow of everyday life, Nairi has less chance to come across Armenians in public. Special events such as the New Year Party, concerts, lectures, donation dinners, and so on, allow Nairi to socialise with other members of the community in homogenous places. As Nairi states:

“...I remember, when we were younger, we used to all go to a nice hotel for Christmas lunch as a whole community. That was lovely. It was a chance for us all to dress up and it was the only time we as a family ate proper English food. We don’t do that anymore because by the time it gets to Armenian Christmas we are all back at work...”

Otherwise, it could be argued that she does not show any difference from other Britons in terms of how she spends her spare time. As Nairi states:

“...When we were students, we were big partiers and clubbers and drinkers and now not so much. It was like we had to get that out of our system and now we don't do that so much...”

“...We meet up for everyone's birthday and sometimes we dress up and go out, other times we play board games and drink tea. My ethnicity and identity has never been a problem for them...”

Therefore, it could be argued that these special events became important opportunities to experience her Armenianness in homogenous places.

Since she was born into the British culture, non-Armenian celebrations such as Remembrance Day, Bonfire Night and Halloween are practiced. As Nairi states:

“...I do wear a poppy to commemorate the fallen as I was always brought up to do so as our schools drill that into you from a young age. I think it is also a good way to remember those who died for our freedom in all the wars...”

“...[Regarding Halloween] When I was at uni, it was an opportunity to get dressed up and have a big party, but in terms of the real reason All Hallows' Eve is celebrated...”

“...[Guy Fawkes and Bonfire Night] we sometimes go out to a local park or green with friends to watch the fireworks, but I think the meaning of Guy Fawkes night is being lost through the generations. It is now more commonly referred to as Fireworks Night, rather than acknowledging Guy Fawkes' failed attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament. Again, for this event, I don't celebrate the original reason for the day, but more because it is a chance to get together with friends and watch fireworks and eat toffee apples...”

It should be noted that these celebrations are considered within the popular culture and have largely lost their original meanings.

In the reproduction process, another point is Nairi's interactions with non-Armenians. As can be seen from the matrix, parameters related to relations with non-Armenians (BS, BT, BU, BV and BW) have positive values. According to Nairi:

“...My only experience of Armenian men is that they can be sleazy! Other than that, my community doesn't boast that great a selection of eligible

young men! I think it is normal that mixed marriages will take place. Without getting too sloppy, I don't really think you can help who you fall in love with. Same for if someone who was Armenian fell in love with a Turk, I don't think that matters. Purely because what has brought them together is stronger than what can keep them apart..."

"...My parents have been quite relaxed about relationships and families. They are happy for us to do whatever makes us happy..."

Putting it differently, being Armenian or not does not matter in romantic relationships, and in fact there may even be a negative bias against Armenian men. This point of view clearly derives from the boundaries of the context of living at a distance from the community and being born into the British culture. These boundaries increase the number of potential partners and provide alternative options, so she is not stuck among Armenian men. As is understood from her statements, her liberal attitudes sometimes are not welcomed among elder members of Armenian community who have been scared of being assimilated within British society, even though her parents are open about the idea. In this vein, she provides a different point of view.

As a result of the context in which Nairi grew up, her liberal thoughts, especially in same sex marriage (BX), can be more visible. According to Nairi:

"...I have always been quite left wing and liberal and believe in the fundamental equal right and opportunities for the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community (LGBT). My parents are ok with anyone who is LGBT and have said to us that if we identify as being gay, that's ok for them, which was amazing to hear because I have a friend in the Armenian community who came out as gay nearly 20 years ago and he was treated rather differently by his family, which was so sad. I remember my dad saying to him that he was always welcome to come to our home for family dinners because he was a part of our extended family. I saw my dad in a different light after that as I had assumed he would have also ostracised him. I should have given him more credit!..."

"...I think generally in the Armenian community, LGBT issues and rights are nowhere near being addressed, let alone equalised. But I think British Armenians have been given a different perspective growing up here as it is "out and proud". Just as my being Armenian is important to me, sexual orientation is also important to identity. The moment we force someone to

conform to a prescribed way of being, i.e. heterosexuality, we deprive that person of living their lives to their fullest, and I am in no way authorised to deprive a person of that...”

For Nairi, the Armenian community is not completely ready to absorb same-sex marriage. As she adds;

“...I would love for not only the Armenian community and church, but the whole world to accept people being different and give them all equal rights, regardless of gender, religion, sexual orientation, favourite colour! That way I think we would see a lot of the discontent in the world stop, but I don't think, certainly my community, is truly there yet...”

Under the theme of interactions in everyday life, the final point is transnational networks. Once looking at Nairi's attitudes and interpretations about transnational networks (BJ, BK, BR, CD, CL, CO, CP and CU), it is possible, yet again, to see similarities. As can be observed on the matrix, parameters related to transnationalism fluctuate between -2 and +2. It could be argued that Nairi somehow tends to develop ties with Armenia and Armenians who live in different parts of the world. As Nairi states:

“...I have a large family. Some of my relatives live in Lebanon and the USA. I don't have any relatives apart from my parents in the UK. So, I sometimes contact with them and send post card or do skype call...”

“...we don't have any relatives in Armenia, but my parents visit there every year. My sisters and I went a couple times...”

“...I got a khachkar, [it is also known as an Armenian cross-stone], alphabet, cognac, Armenian brandy and of course Armenian flag. These remind me of my ethnic heritage...”

“...I could support Armenia if England has football match. This is my ethnic homeland, but I couldn't live in there...I was very happy once Armenia won medals in the Olympics...”

“...I don't celebrate national holidays of Armenia...”

By observing her statements, it is seen that her connections with Armenia are more cultural and symbolic. Having a flag, brandy or supporting Armenia in the Olympics can demonstrate this cultural connection and transnationalism in everyday life. Apart from these practices, there is not any physical connection, including not joining in on national celebrations in Armenia nor having an

Armenian passport. There is no doubt that being born into the British culture and integrating into British society does little to encourage Nairi to interact with Armenia deeply.

Similarly, her connections with Lebanon, which was her parents' 'birth land',⁸⁶ are not strong. As Nairi states:

“...I only have one cousin out of a very large family there now. No one else. I don't really have an emotional connection with Lebanon. My parents never really have had either from what I can understand. They have no desire to go back and visit their birth land. Me and my sisters did want and be able to see what they were talking about when they said school and flat they grew up in, but they have never wanted to so I don't really feel like I have a connection with Lebanon...”

Since her connections with Armenia and transnational organisations are limited, practices such as “boycotting Turkish products (CS)” or “visiting Turkey (CM)” are not an issue that might be affected by the negative connotations within the transnational network. As experienced in the Lebanese case, Turkey has negative perceptions among Armenian youngsters who are affected by Armenian political parties and these perceptions are shared publicly through social media in transnational networks. Nairi provides an opposite example for that. Rather, she is a very good consumer of Turkish products. As Nairi states:

“...I like Turkish food. I go to Turkish supermarket to buy things because it is very close to our cuisine. I like tursu [pickle]. It is sour. I don't boycott...”

Clearly, these limited relations with transnational network and apolitical point of view not only allows Nairi to have a positive point of view about Turkey, but also to get positive scores on the matrix. It should not be forgotten that this derives from the boundaries of the context because they lead Nairi to adopt a more liberal worldview.

To sum up, the parameters related to interactions in everyday life are not too different, and Nairi scores highly on the matrix as a result of the context. In terms of interactions with Armenians and related practices, there is some limitation. Additionally, there is no strong division between Armenian and non-Armenian friends. Even if she categorises them, the numbers of her Armenian friends are

⁸⁶ She tends to define Lebanon as birth land.

less than non-Armenian friends. Accordingly, mixed marriages with non-Armenians are not seen as something that matter. In terms of socialising spaces, she does not have so many options and is largely no different from other Britons, and special events can allow Nairi to interact with Armenians at church or other places. Her positive attitudes are reflected on interactions with transnational networks while she reproduces Armenianness. Accordingly, she tends to attach herself to Armenia in cultural ways, which does not mean that Armenia is considered as a country where she might consider settling down.

7.4. ANCO-HITS scores and Analysis of the British Case

By following similar steps as the other two chapters detailing other cases, this section seeks to put forward broad insights drawn from the British case. First of all, the boundaries of the contexts that shaped Aris and Nairi's interpretations of Armenianness will be compared to understand to what extent they differentiate from each other and to understand the key features of the British case. Secondly, their differences and similarities will be visualised to see how they are approached. Finally, the scores of the parameters, which are calculated in accordance with the participants' attitudes, and combinations will be analysed to understand fault lines within the Armenian community in Britain. This analysis helps us to see which parameters are employed in the reproduction process of Armenianness.

In the example of Aris (score=0.88), *a) Iranian background, b) to born into the British culture and c) dedicating special time* appear as boundaries of the context which shape his Armenianness. Differently from other cases, these boundaries create a different world for him while he is interpreting and reproducing parameters of Armenianness. His Iranian heritage becomes an essential dynamic behind his existence, and informs us about a broader diasporic narrative of relocating from one country to another. Therefore, he not only distinguishes himself from the rest of the British people, but also emphasises his unique features among the other members of the Armenian community. Accordingly, it provides another identity (as a sub-group identity) within the Armenian community in Britain. His diasporic identity is established around his Iranian background. Moreover, other boundaries allow Aris to develop peaceful relations and interpret parameters in moderate ways. As a result of the second boundary, Aris finds himself in the cultural hybridisation process. His ethnic heritage and practices can be combined with British culture and he therefore displays multiple identities. It should be pointed out that the last boundary allows Aris to switch his Armenianness on and off at will. Since he does not have so much chance to interact with Armenians in public, his Armenianness depends on special effort. It could be argued the last boundary is a key part of this part-time Armenianness.

On the other side, it is observed that Nairi (score=0.97) has similar boundaries while she is reproducing Armenianness. In the example of Nairi, *a) engaged*

diasporic experiences b) being born into the British culture c) living at a distance from the community and d) dedicating special time for Armenianness, form the context. In addition to similar boundaries, Nairi produces another feature in her diasporic experiences. Her parents came to the UK in the mid-1980s and the motivations behind their preferences are different. As was mentioned in the family history, parents first came to the UK from Lebanon because of professional reasons and they did not return. Apart from this boundary, it could be argued that both participants are influenced from the same context. Consequently, the scores yielded by Aris and Nairi approach each other. It is calculated that the difference between the two poles is only 0.09. Even though they seem to be at opposite poles on the ANCO-HITS matrix, the context shaping Armenianness seems to be similar, and the effects of living in Britain therefore make the reproduction of Armenianness similar. For this reason, the interviews of both participants demonstrate so many similarities and produce similar answers and stories.

Another point is the socio-economic backgrounds of the participants in the analysis process. It should be pointed out that they are more or less from similar socio-economic backgrounds and it is possible to highlight similar features by focusing on the family histories. For instance, both parents have proficiency in English since they completed their education in the UK. This key feature not only provides opportunities to interact with English people easily, but also it allows us to consider Aris and Nairi's families as successful examples in terms of integration. More importantly, they have prevented the emergence of Armenian ghettos in the UK, unlike other migrant communities (due to demographic features of Armenians).⁸⁷ As a result of the level of education within the families, they are middle class. Their economic situations are not low. Rather, they differ from other migrant communities who tend to live in ghettos by depending on internal networks within their communities and benefiting from welfare from the state. For instance, they are clearly different than Pakistani community in Bradford, where actually white Britons are minority. The only difference observed in terms of socio-economic background is the participants' hometowns in the UK. Aris lives in London, Acton Town whereas Nairi used to live in Manchester, but she moved in London due to professional reasons. By considering Brhaa's

⁸⁷ <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21589230-britain-no-longer-has-serious-race-problem-trouble-isolation-new-kind>

arguments that specifically refer to the relation between socio-economic differences and experiences of national identity (as well as other identities too), it could be said that the reproduction of Armenianness and the interpretations of participants do not seem to be different. This can be seen clearly on the line graph, which demonstrates the similarities and differences of participants.

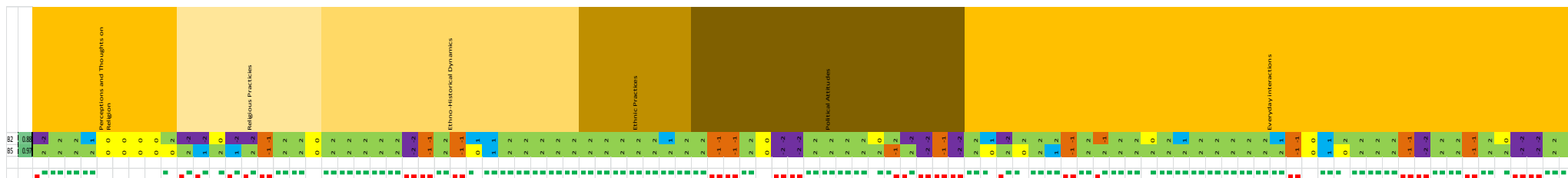


Figure 15: Similarities and differences between the two participants and their cues of Armenianness in British case

As we can observe, most of the time their attitudes towards the parameters resemble each other.

The final point in the analysis section is the scores of the parameters and any fault lines that present. It is possible to argue that the scores of the parameters are mainly monolithic in appearance. In each theme, it is possible to come across parameters that are calculated as +1.00 and -1.00. As pointed out in the previous chapters, these scores refer to “consensus” among the participants. According to the matrix, “Church as cultural centre (E)”, “importance of national church (G)”, “differences from Armenia (AF)”, “differences within the Armenian community (AG)”, “using Armenian name (AN)”, “consuming Armenian food (AP)”, “considering 1915 as genocide (AS)” or “prefer to live in Armenia (CL)” refers to a consensus about aspects of Armenianness.

However, it is possible to come across contradictory attitudes. Especially, the Aris’s attitude towards religion compared to Nairi can be given as an example. Since he tends to define himself as an atheist, he does not give any attention to religious aspects of Armenianness. Apart from religious parameters, it is hard to observe any other polarisation. As seen from the matrix, “atheism (L)”, “patchwork religion (K)”, “attending church meetings (N)”, “purity of Armenian people (AB)” or “supporting Armenian teams (BR)”, can be parameters showing different points of view. In the scope of the sample, these may be areas of debate. Putting it differently, the parameter of atheism (-0.53) is a controversial topic, but the score of the parameter itself is closer to Aris’s interpretations of Armenianness (0.88) than Nairi’ interpretations (0.97). Even if both participants do not have so much difference, Aris seems to reproduce a “less traditional” Armenianness.

It should be explained that a couple of dynamics play significant roles behind this limited polarisation. There is no doubt that the successful integration of Armenians in British society prevents members of the Armenian community from being polarised. The Armenian community in Britain becomes a diaspora of diaspora since it has expanded by way of several migration waves, and so the spirit of congregational life has been lost. Participants were able to integrate themselves into British society and substitute their ethnic identities in public. Putting it differently, it is hard to observe a ghetto lifestyle (such as Hagop/Lebanese case) or unofficial Armenianness (like Sero/Turkish case).

Instead of these models, it is possible to talk about “part-time Armenianness” which is remembered from time to time in certain events through participants’ special efforts. Armenianness is practiced symbolically in the British case.

In conclusion, the British case provides a highly moderate point of view about the reproduction of Armenianness unlike the other two cases. Even though the participants appeared as two distinct poles, their scores are very close to each other. Additionally, it is observed that they share similar boundaries in the reproduction process. It should not be forgotten that integration into British culture and society, and the evolution of the Armenian community, are effective dynamics that bring participants closer to each other. In terms of the parameter scores, the fluctuation is deep. Most of the parameters were calculated either +1.00 and -1.00, which refers to a strong consensus and expectations. Armenianness is polarised in the examples of Aris and Nairi, while religious aspects and relations with the Armenian community are the main fault lines which differs interpretations of Armenianness from each other. Apart from the parameters related to religious aspects and relations with the community, the attitudes of the participants produce a significant level of commonality.

8. Chapter Eight: Discussion

This chapter will discuss the different reproductions of Armenianness. First of all, in order to understand the contribution of this research, objective criteria and measurements of Armenianness that was in the literature that was influenced by traditional approaches, such as primordialism and instrumentalism, will be discussed. Later on, the primary findings from the ANCO-HITS analysis and observations in the fieldwork will be cited to demonstrate how Armenianness, in its various forms, is reproduced among youngsters in diasporic spaces. This section will help us to observe how Armenianness, as a socially constructed concept, differs from traditional points of view that consider Armenianness as a monolithic, stable and universal identity. Accordingly, the position of the research and its contribution to the ethnicity and nationalism studies can be understood clearly.

8.1. What is Armenianness?

“Alright, how should I see the Armenianness?” This was the first question of my fiancée who has been trained as lawyer and has different understanding of ethnicity after I explained my research. I should confess that her question seemed to be short and simple. However, its answer this question is perhaps one of the main aims of this research and brings with it a couple of discussions which might be formulated by the following questions; *“Is Armenianness a universal phenomenon or not? Is it possible to talk about different types of Armenianness?”*. These questions not only help us to see the contribution of the research into the literature of ethnicity and nationalism, but it also increases our understanding and knowledge about Armenianness and its meanings in diasporic spaces.

To start with the question of whether Armenianness is a universal phenomenon or not, there are two possible short answers. The question can be replied with “yes, it is a universal phenomenon” or alternatively “no, it is not”. Depending on the theoretical framework and epistemological point of view, the answer can change.

As discussed above, ethnicity (as well as Armenianness) has objective and subjective aspects. Objectively speaking, there is no doubt that Armenianness can be seen as a universal phenomenon and refers to a certain group of people

who tend to come together around shared collective features. By relying on the ethno-symbolist approach, "...a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific 'homeland', a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population..." are all important elements of 'ethnie' which were considered a core of ethnicity and modern nations (Smith, 1986:32). As was introduced in the historical background (Chapter Four), the Armenian case is able to fill in the concept of ethnie. It is observed that Armenians tend to define themselves with a unique group name (Hay). There is a belief that Armenians are the descendants of Hayk who was one of the sons of Prophet Noah who saved his followers from the "Great Flood" (mentioned in the Bible, Genesis 7:22, and the Quran, Surat Nuh 71:1-28). Throughout time, they have achieved their own unique language and alphabet. At the same time, they have enriched Armenianness with various social memories, myths and symbols. These helped to produce a sense of solidarity and awareness. By focusing on the table below that summarises the definition of ethnie and its reflections in the example of Armenianness, it is possible to talk about the universality of Armenianness since these elements allow the masses to be mobilised and provide an opportunity to emphasise differences with their neighbours (Pettie et al, 2011).

Definations of ethnies (Smith, 1986:32)

a collective proper name

a myth of common ancestry

shared historical memories

one or more differentiating elements of common culture

an association with a specific 'homeland'

a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population

Armenianness

Hayk (Armenian)

Descendants of Hayk (a son of Noah after the flood)

First Christians, 'the Armenian genocide' or 'fedayii (Armenian rebels)' so on

unique alphabet and language, ancient sect of Christianity so on

Armenian homeland where is imagined "...in the northern borderline of Western Asia between Asia Minor and Iranian plateaus, Black Sea and Mesopotamian plains..." (Kaligian,2011). The Western or Eastern Armenia

Descendants of the Armenian Tragedy, minority and diaspora so on.

Figure 16: The comparison between the concept of ethnies and Armenianness

In this form, it should be highlighted that Armenianness is established on the group. They are called Armenian because there is a group of people who are/were called Armenians. Therefore, the existence of Armenianness depends on the group itself. They are primarily responsible for the reality. This point of view is valid, even though it is developed under 'the influence of groupism', which tends to see groups (ethnic, religious and national so on) as homogenous and bounded actors.

It should be noted that objective elements of Armenianness can be more visible and meaningful once it is compared to another ethnic group. For instance, Japanese and Armenian ethnicities are clearly different than each other and no one can argue that they have many similarities (clearly, they are not relatives). Both are considered as homogenous communities. Although this point of view makes significant contributions to the understanding of the universality of ethnicities, it seems to be insufficient in answering the questions of "what do people understand from 'Armenianness'? How do they experience it in diasporic spaces?. Resulting from one of the main motivations of the research, it could be argued that focusing on objective elements solely is highly reductionist because it ignores differences among members of the Armenian community. By relying on grounded analysis and findings in the fieldwork, Armenianness can be observed in various forms. Armenianness also has subjective definitions, which can be derived from the interpretations of youngsters in diasporic spaces. Needless to say, this point of view derives from the social constructivist approach which assumes reality is flexible, contingent, relativist and multiple (Ozkirimli, 2005). This forces us to consider that Armenianness is not holistic and valid for all. Putting it differently, it can be reproduced in various forms in diasporic spaces and its boundaries can be changed in accordance to time, space and mean-makers' attitudes and interactions in everyday life. By observing the ANCO-HITS analysis and primary data, it could be observed how Armenianness varies in the case studies.

In the example of Turkish case, the outcomes of the ANCO-HITS and observations in the fieldwork show that the universality of Armenianness is already fragmented. As was explained in Chapter Five, the Turkish case provides

two distinct forms of Armenianness. In these forms, attitudes, practices and the perceptions of participants varied. As was discussed in the examples of Sero (unofficial/challenger/crypto) and Boghos (official/status quo/congregational), differences could be observed in religious, ethnic, political and everyday themes. These themes can be helpful in understanding differences in the reproduction process. At this point, it should be noted that there is a significant nuance between differences and forms of Armenianness which are put forward by this research and previous works which stated categorisations within the community, such as Ozdogan (et al, 2009), Yumul (1992) and Dink (2003). The main difference is that previous works tend to categorise Armenians through citing the community, such as Istanbul and Anatolian Armenians. To put it differently, they already had accepted the community as unit of analysis. This is what Brubaker said was “groupism”, which consisted of reductionism and assuming ethnicity/nationality as being holistic. In other words, either Istanbul or Anatolian Armenianness needs to have a community. As was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, this research directly focuses on the participants’ attitudes, practices and perceptions and treats Armenianness as a ‘modus vivendi’ (Bourdieu, 2002). In this vein, the cases of Sero and Boghos provide different examples of types of living. Their understanding and interpretations of Armenianness were different even though they are aware of the objective definition of the Armenian identity. In other words, “being a first Christian, descendant of Hayk or homeland (as well as other features)” do not mean the same thing to these participants.

In the example of Boghos, Armenianness is seen in a congregational form. Religion and religious parameters become significant elements which make Armenianness meaningful. These parameters are generally interpreted in their literal meanings and allow him to define who he is. Therefore, they are powerful indicators and boundaries of Armenianness. First and foremost, Armenianness refers to religious identity and community. Accordingly, it is assumed that there is a homogeneity no matter what other differences members of the Armenian community have, such as social, cultural, economic or political. All are adopted as Armenian as long as they use religious parameters in the reproduction process. Religion is seen as a precondition of being Armenian.

Secondly, strong connections with other members of the Armenian community are important. Institutions such as schools, the national church and foundations

play important roles in maintaining relations. As a result of congregational life, it is expectedly a closed-community. This is somehow valid for the Turkish case because Armenians have integrated into Turkish society even though the Armenian community is organised congregationally. There is no doubt that features of the Turkish case, such as a low population trend, assimilation and living in Istanbul, forces youngsters to be involved in Turkish society. However, family, schools, institutions and social networks allow them to experience their Armenianness in more congregational forms. It is still considered that the language is an important element of being Armenian.

Another point in the congregational form of Armenianness are the political practices. As was discussed, the Armenian community lost their political power after the deportation of 1915 and became an apolitical religious community. Throughout the years, they have tended to support Turkish political parties instead of establishing ethnic political groups. This type of Armenianness seems to be moderate and reconciliatory with the state. Relations with Armenia and other political actors in diasporic spaces have always been hard truths for the Armenians. Nationalist, irredentist and populist approaches and attitudes of 'other Armenians' abroad are not been tolerated. At this point, it could be argued that there is a strong division in the congregational Armenianness. Even though Armenianness is interpreted broadly, it has already created 'other Armenians'. This creates mutual misperception between Armenians who tend to experience Armenianness in congregational ways and those who emphasise political aspects. Members of the "official" Armenian community are considered as assimilated/Turkish Armenians while others are perceived as 'radical' and 'other'.

The Turkish case provides another form of Armenianness in addition to congregational form. The most visible feature of this form is that it does not have any official affiliations. According to state records, their grandparents converted to Islam (willingly or forcefully) during the deportation in 1915. Accordingly, the population of Armenians in rural areas has been reduced dramatically. Armenians in rural towns were either deported or forced to hide their identities.⁸⁸ Therefore,

⁸⁸ In the literature, it is possible to come across a few works seeking to explain what happened in 1915 and demonstrate casualties of Armenians. It should be noted that this is a highly controversial debate as they tend to reflect one side of the history and clearly ignore the Ottoman archives. As can be understood, the casualties of the Armenians fluctuate between 1 million and 2 million, which does not even match Armenian institutions' records (the Armenian national church)

Armenian communities began to disappear and Armenianness restricted to being within families (Ritter and Sivaslian, 2013; Kalustian, 1979). This led to the emergence of a different form of Armenianness and practices. Most of time, this form of Armenianness is known as Crypto Armenianness, which tends to produce hybrid expressions, and therefore it can be labelled as ‘unofficial’

As was introduced in the example of Sero, he experiences Armenianness reproduced away from the community. In this form, there is not any actual connection with the Armenian community and its institutions. Elements which are considered in the objective definition can hold different meanings. Sero, before the discovering process (by migrating to Istanbul), was not aware of these features. However, the interpretations of those who reproduce this form can differ once they encounter with ‘other Armenians’ and their reproductions.

As was discussed above, religion and religious parameters lost their original meanings in this form. Rather, they are a cultural heritage that is learnt once they begin to know the Armenian community and to discover their Armenian past. It could be argued that religion and the Armenian Church are not only cultural heritages, but they are also indicators of power and status quo. As a result of the regulations about minorities, which defines the concept of minority with religious intent, the Armenian Church and the Patriarchate are accepted as official representatives of Armenians and the Armenian community. Since Sero defines himself as atheist and experiences Armenianness in irreligious ways, his reproduction seems to be radical and as a “challenger” form of Armenianness. It should be underlined that the definition of Sero’s Armenianness derives from an individual point of view. In other words, if someone wants to define himself as Armenian, any institution or regulation should not intervene with who Armenian is or not.⁸⁹ In this form of Armenianness, having a religious affiliation is not considered as a cue for Armenianness.

⁸⁹ This point of view is generally pronounced by Armenians who seek to liberate the ‘community’ from religious interpretations. There will be a conceptual problem as long as the Armenian community is considered as a religious group. By default, this point of view excludes Armenians who have different religious inclinations and no religious affiliations. This claim can be seen as a transformation of Armenian community (Gemeinschaft/religious community) to Gesellschaft (civic society). For further information; Ozdogan et al, *Turkiye’de Ermeniler*, Istanbul:Bilgi (2009) and Ozdogan and Kilicdagi, *Ermenilerin Turkiye Ermenilerini Duyamak*, Istanbul:Tesev (2011). For the difference between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Ferdinand Tönnies (ed. Jose Harris), *Community and Civil Society*, Cambridge University Press (2001).

Moreover, political attitudes and perceptions can differ in the example of the unofficial form of Armenianness. Differently from the congregational form, it brings along political activism that develop from the fragmentation of Armenianness and existing implications in Turkey. Since there is a political dispute over the definition of Armenian identity, existing regulations, implications and perceptions are questioned. As was discussed in Chapter Five in detail, this activism targets two points. On the one hand, it is a reaction against official Armenianness and the Armenian community. On the other hand, it gives a political message to Turkish society in terms of minority issues and de-politicisation. In this vein, political aspects within the unofficial Armenianness can be active and transnational. It allows Sero to find room for the political agendas of Armenia and diasporic institutions, namely minority issues, relations with Armenia and debates on the deportation of 1915. Instead of supporting or attending mainstream parties, small and left wing political parties which are not happy with the definition of Turkish identity can be seen as closer representatives of unofficial Armenianness.

This debate can also follow in language. As a majority of Armenians who have official connections with the Armenian community and institutions are able to learn and practice the Armenian language. However, it is inappropriate to assume that the Armenian language is a key in the unofficial Armenianness because they hid and were mostly assimilated among Kurdish, Turkish and other Muslim peoples before discovering their Armenianness. Therefore, the usage of the Armenian language is very limited while Armenianness is reproduced. As Dink (2003) states, this sometimes produces psychological clashes between official and unofficial Armenianness. Since unofficial Armenianness does not show strong attachments with the objective indicators of Armenianness, they are looked down upon.

In terms of the fragmentation of Armenianness, the examples of Sero and Boghos draw attention to a categorisation problem. It is possible to witness several debates on whether it is needed to categorise Armenianness or not. As explained above, there are a couple of types of Armenianness in Turkish case. In addition to these two forms of Armenianness, it is possible to talk about Muslim Armenians and reconverted Christian Armenians. These not only break down the homogeneity of the Armenian community, they also become are sincerity test for

Armenians who complain about the nationalist policies of Turkey. It is still debated how Muslim Armenianness is accepted, if we need to mark Armenianness with any religious adjectives or if they are going to abandon their previous identities. These are questions which should be elaborated by further research.

In addition to the Turkish case, it is possible to observe further fragmentation of Armenianness in Lebanon. As was discussed above, the deportation of Armenians in 1915 is the main legacy behind Armenians in Lebanon. After the deportation, they began to settle down and reconstruct their communities through nostalgia for previous homelands and the deportation (social memories). Therefore, the forms that the reproduction of Armenianness may take in Lebanese case are more intense than in other cases. As was seen in the example of Hagop (congregational/nationalist/ghetto) and Marus (integrated/liberal/moderate), Armenianness emerged in different forms. Each form consists of various practices, attitudes and perceptions in terms of religion, ethnicity, political and everyday life.

In the example of Hagop, Armenianness is reproduced in congregational form. As a result of this congregational lifestyle, almost every aspect of Armenianness is intensely reproduced and parameters related to religion, ethnicity and politics matter. It should be underlined that the sectarian features of Lebanon in terms of ethno-religious identities affect Hagop's reproduction of Armenianness. Needless to say, this feature makes ethno-religious differences important. In this form, "being Armenian" is considered the same as "being Christian". The religious aspects of Armenianness are seen in their original meanings. In this form, Armenianness refers to two points. On the one hand, it is a different version of Christianity. As a result of considering Armenianness as a religious identity, it also makes the Armenian community as one of the religious groups of Lebanon. Therefore, it is possible to observe intensive homogeneity and solidarity among members of the Armenian community. Christianity is considered as a precondition of being Armenian. Since Christianity is more powerful in Lebanon than other Middle Eastern countries, young Armenians are born into a society consisting of Christian values. To put it differently, religion is not a museum object that reminds them of their religious past, but it is also used to satisfy their spiritual life.

On the other hand, Armenianness is considered as an ethnic/national identity. Similar to other ethnic groups such as Arabs, Kurds or Assyrians, Armenianness indicates an ethnic background. Therefore, ethnic elements can be observed in this form. As discussed above, the ethnic aspects of Armenianness are emphasised to deepen their ethnic features and determine the boundaries of the Armenian community. Armenians imagine themselves as descendants of Hayk and the people of Hayastan, who were deported to Lebanon. As a result of this, this form slightly turns the Armenian community into a closed ethnic ghetto. Since refugee camps transformed the neighbourhoods (e.g. Borj Hamouud), they reconstructed the neighbourhood with ethnic symbols. Flags, signs and street names (as well as buildings), can be given as examples of how ethnic aspects of Armenianness are used in this form. There is no doubt that these symbols help Armenianness and the community to evolve as ghettos. It should be noted that this evolution process is exactly what Brubaker mentioned by 'marking' (Brubaker et. al, 2009). Either through the assistance of institutions or individual efforts, neighbourhoods are marked as "Armenian". Similar to the Turkish case, family, schools, institutions and social networks allow them to experience their Armenianness in more congregational forms. It is still considered that the language is an important element of being Armenian. Since they live in a ghetto, proficiency in the ethnic language and usage of it are highly strong markers.

It should be underlined that there is a threat of assimilation in this form due to the influence of life in the ghetto. Therefore, Armenians who experience Armenianness in this form tend to mark things in the world as Armenian or not. In this vein, mixed marriages, speaking different languages, believing in different religions or even listening to different types of music can be seen as threats to the unity of the Armenian identity. As a result of this, everything can be politicised easily.

In parallel to this, another point in the congregational form of Armenianness is related to political aspects. In contrast to the Turkish case, the political aspects of Armenianness in Lebanon are more visible and powerful. The deportation of 1915 made Armenianness in Lebanon more political and nationalist. Since it is interpreted from a nationalist point of view, it is possible to come across examples for collective mobilisation through social memories. As mentioned in Chapter Six, Armenian political parties have influence the community and defined its

boundaries of Armenianness. It is possible to come across examples for collective mobilisation through social memories. To put it differently, objective elements of Armenianness especially related to the homeland can be interpreted from the nationalist point of view and lead them to have irredentist perceptions about Turkey and Armenia. It is frequently heard that Armenia is occupied by Turkey because they tend to imagine 'Greater Armenia'. As a result of this form, it is possible to observe intense enmity towards Turkey and the Turkish government (sometimes Turkish people). Armenianness is reproduced as 'Turkish-free' ways while it is believed that Armenia is their primary homeland.

In the example of Marus , it is seen that perceptions, interpretations and attitudes can be more liberal. This not only creates an alternative form of Armenianness, but it also forces us to see how Armenianness is fragmented even if both forms are reproduced in Lebanon. The most visible feature of this type of Armenianness is 'relations with the Armenian community and its institutions'. Armenianness is reproduced in various spaces. Instead of living and spending time in the ghetto, Marus tends to experience Armenianness while integrating into the Lebanese society. It is possible to observe non-Armenians (non-Christians, Muslim Arabs and foreigners) and their practices (such as Arabic) in this reproduction of Armenianness. This tendency also affects her categorisations of Armenianness. As seen in Chapter Six, she needs to put another adjective in front of her Armenianness. This form is generally called Lebanese-Armenians. Lebanese identity can be considered as an umbrella that helps them to meet other Lebanese.

As discussed above, this form of Armenianness welcomes ethno-religious parameters symbolically. In contrast to the sectarian features of Lebanon, these parameters are not experienced passionately. Secularism is somehow effective in the reproduction of Armenianness. Most of the religious parameters and institutions are seen symbolically. Especially the national Church and religious practices that are considered a cultural heritage. Differently from other types of Armenianness, they are not considered at a collective level. As can be seen through the example of Marus, religion is mainly practiced at an individual level. It is not seen as a precondition of Armenianness although it is emphasised that Christianity created a huge cultural reservoir for Armenians. It could be assumed that Armenianness are observed as in more civic form.

As a result of living at a distance from the community, Armenianness is experienced in various places. In contrast to the opposite form, 'marking' is limited. Armenianness is not attached to certain neighbourhoods and practices. Accordingly, differences between Armenians and non-Armenians become thin.

Another point which breaks down the universality of Armenianness is political aspects of Armenianness in the example of Marus. As discussed in the Chapter Six, she tended to reproduce Armenianness without any political orientation and attachment. Therefore, imaginations of political institutions are not seen. For instance, the saying "if you are not Tashnak, you are not Armenian" does not mean anything in this reproduction form of Armenianness. Since this point of view interprets Armenianness with a mainly cultural heritage, political aspects are not emphasised in the reproduction process. In this vein, relations with non-Armenians can be positive and moderate. Instead of dealing with assimilation, integration with rest of the Lebanese society is encouraged. Therefore, the reproduction process seems to be more integrated.

There is no doubt that attitudes about integration make Armenianness more moderate especially in relations with non-Armenians and Turks. As was put forward, Turkish people are not considered as an enemy although there was strong opposition to the Turkish government in terms of the Armenian Tragedy. In contrast to the ghetto form of Armenianness and the 'advices and policies' of the Armenian political parties such as boycotting Turkish products, not visiting Turkey, not watching Turkish series or protesting Turkish airlines, there are more moderate interactions.

Similar to the Turkish and Lebanese cases, it is possible to observe the fragmentation of Armenianness among members of the Armenian community. As was discussed in Chapter Seven, the general characteristics of the British case lead us to consider the Armenian community as a "diaspora of diaspora". Since it welcomes Armenians who already grew up and began to construct their Armenianness in different context such as Iranian, Cyprus, Iraq, and Russia (old Soviet Armenia), they brought their Armenianness and provided various boundaries for the next generations who would interpret and reproduce Armenianness within a different context.

As was discussed in the example of Aris (religion-free/part-time/liberal) and Nairi (religious/part-time/long-distance from the community/liberal), the fragmentation of Armenianness can be seen clearly. Attitudes, perceptions and practices about religion and relations with community can be the main differences in the reproduction process of Armenianness.

In the example of Aris, religion and religious practices are not involved in the reproduction process. The religion lost its original meanings and it is neither experienced at a collective nor an individual level. In other words, he reproduces Armenianness without religious elements. In this vein, religious parameters as objective indicators are not effective in the reproduction process. This lack of interest in the religion and negative attitudes lead him to construct Armenianess as 'religion-free'. As mentioned above, he tends to practice and attend well-known events such as Christmas and Easter. However, they have completely lost their religious meanings. Most of time, they are considered opportunities to spend with other members of the community. Undoubtedly, secularisation in the UK and the dispersion of Armenians among the rest of the population were effective factors in having a non-religious point of view. As discussed above, it is hard to argue that Christianity and religious practices are as powerful as the Lebanese case as.

In contrast to example of Aris, Nairi approaches religion and religious parameters positively and tends to involve them in the reproduction process. While she reproduces Armenianness and defines herself, she emphasises Christianity. In other words, it is observed in a religious form of Armenianness. However, her interpretations seem to be symbolic because she does not shape her daily life under certain religious points of view. Rather, she focuses on symbolic aspects of the religion. Accordingly, she differs herself from other British participants through her experiencing the religious aspects of Armenianness.

Finally, it is possible to observe some similarities in the reproduction process and outcome forms. As a result of the demographic features of the British case and less polarisation, both forms of Armenianness are formed in liberal ways. This influences their relations with non-Armenians. Most of the interactions, such as mixed marriages and speaking different languages in everyday life are tolerated and not considered as assimilationist threats to the 'unity of the Armenian

identity'. Both are well integrated into the British society. They are not reproduced in the ghettos or homogenous neighbourhoods. This may cause Armenians defining themselves as British-Armenian to somehow push back their ethnic backgrounds while experiencing Britishness. In this vein, Armenianness can be seen in different forms in the British case too.

So far, Armenianness is observed in various forms in different spaces. By observing these differences, it is hard to argue that Armenianness is still a universal phenomenon. The Turkish, Lebanese and British case studies provide interesting examples into how Armenianness is reproduced among youngsters and its meanings are changed.

At this point, it should be underlined that there are more than one types of Armenianness. Each refers to different reproduction processes. By showing the introductions of each cases, reproductions of Armenianness can be signified by the following words;

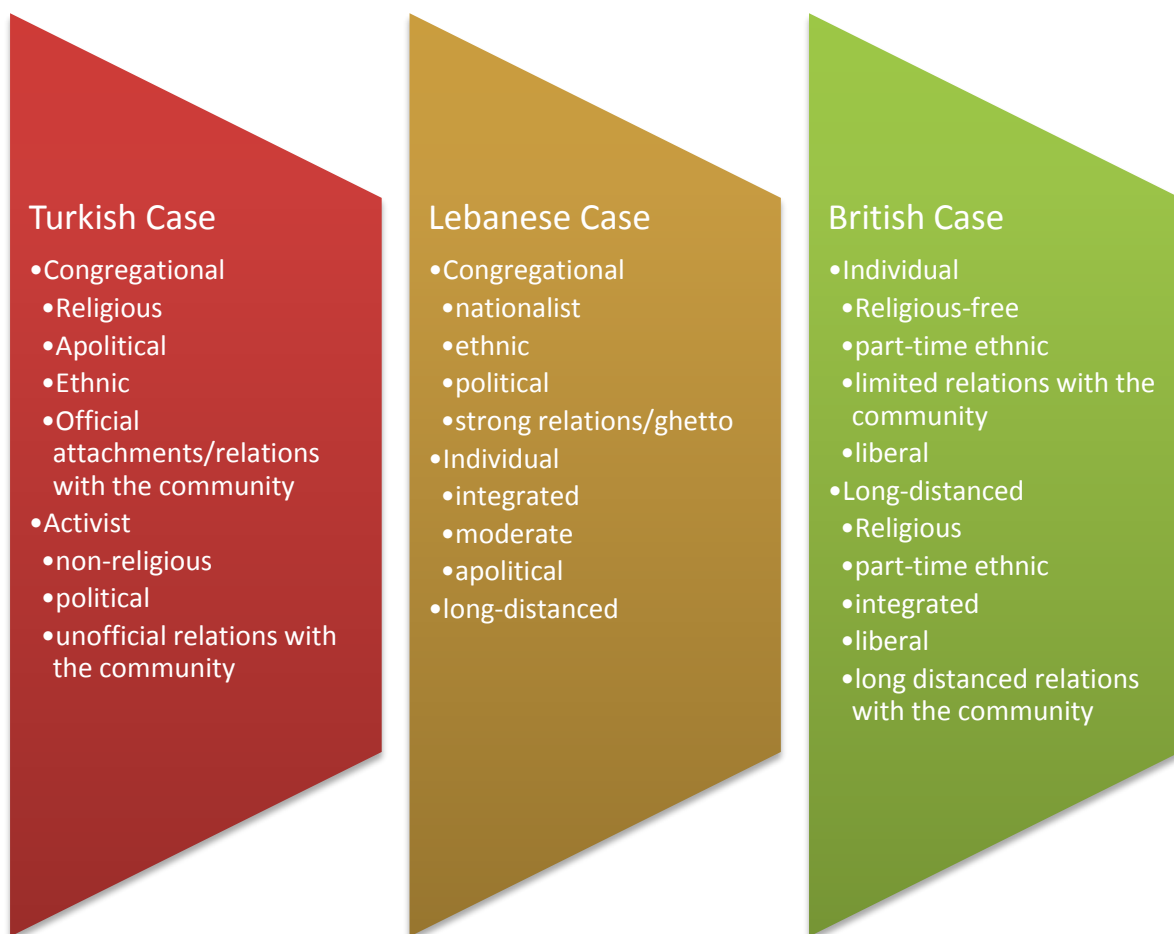


Figure 17: The comparison of different models of Armenianness

As seen from the graph, each form of Armenianness has its own dynamics and nuances. Even though similar concepts have been used to label each participant, they do not signify the same thing because the boundaries of the contexts shaping participants' interpretations are different. Additionally, features of the case countries can be different in terms of social, economic or political. The most visible difference among the reproduction forms of Armenianness is the concept of congregational forms. As can be observed in the Turkish and Lebanese cases, they signify different points of view.

In the Turkish case, the congregational form of Armenianness seems to be moderate and refers to Armenians those who live in Istanbul. There is a tendency to highlight differences between Armenians in diaspora and in Armenia. More importantly, it is observed that the congregational form of Armenianness in Turkey hesitates to support political projects such as "Greater Armenia or Armenian Bills" which are pronounced in the diasporic spaces. Moreover, congregational forms of Armenianness in Turkey seems to be more integrated into the Turkish society rather than staying as ghetto. As was put forward in the above, the congregational form of Armenianness demonstrates many similarities with Turkish society in terms of interactions in everyday life and political attitudes. In contrast to the Lebanese case, the congregational form in the Turkish case does not consist of nationalist and irredentist discourse. They mainly bring up the discourse of "people of Turkey", which refers to constitutional citizenship.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ This is not only debate within the Armenian community, but also it is discussed in Turkish society. In addition to the term of "people of Turkey [Türkiyeli]", it is possible to observe different definitions. For instance "Armenian people of Turkey [Türkiyeli Ermeniler] or "a citizen of Turkey republic ethnically Armenian [Ermeni kökenli Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandasi] are sometimes pronounced by Armenians. Moreover, other members of the ethnic groups those who tend to highlight ethnic background use similar definitions such as "Kurdish people of Turkey [Türkiyeli Kurt]" or "a citizen of Turkey republic ethnically Kurdish [Kurt kökenli Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandasi]". Bot offer a new type of definition about citizenship and relate to new constitution debate in the Turkish political life. Briefly, current definition of citizenship has been issued as each person who is dependant constitutionally to Republic of Turkey is Turkish in the Article 66 of Turkish Constitution. Because the rule refers to Turkish nation instead of any ethnic group. Historically, the term of Turkish was given by outsiders who considered people living in Ottoman territory that consisted of various ethnic religious and identities culturally different. For them, the article 66 refers to cultural identity and historical heritage. Yet, defender of new Turkish constitution claim that the article points out ethnic background and origin so it is assimilationist and anti-democratic. Further, they argue that the term of "Türkiyelilik" refers to territorial and civic ties instead of present definition of Turkishness. For further information; Grigoriadis, I.N. (2007) Turk or Türkiyeli? The reform of Turkey's minority legislation and the rediscovery of Ottomanism, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43(3), pp. 423–438. Oran, B (2008) Exploring Turkishness: Rights, Identity and the EU Essay Series The Issue of "Turkish" and "Türkiyeli" (Turkey National; from Turkey) <http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/1314.pdf> [Access Date: 06/05/2015]. Uyanik, M. (2003) Bir Ust Kimlik Tasarimi olarak Türkiyelilik. Istanbul:Metropol. Ortaylı, I. (2015) <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/turkiyelilik/ilber->

Therefore, relations with non-Armenians in the Turkish case are more moderate and less political. However, congregational Armenianness in the Lebanese case is highly national, protective, political and transnational. On the one hand, this form of Armenianness creates ghettos and tends to mark everyday life as “Armenian” while it has strong transnational ties. Armenia is considered as a homeland. It could be argued that congregational forms of Armenianness in Lebanon show more similarities with activist forms of Armenianness in Turkish case.

It is possible to observe similar conceptual issues between Marus and Aris. Both were labelled as individual forms of Armenianness. However, Marus does not refute religious aspects of Armenianness. Marus tends to use religious parameters with their original meanings even if she does not have strong relations with the Church. Yet, religion and religious parameters still have spiritual meanings. In contrast to her, Aris sees religious aspects without literal meanings. Rather, they are part of cultural heritage and opportunities to spend time with other Armenians. Furthermore, Marus and other participants in the British case have been affected by a different context. Their approaches to the community are different. It should not be forgotten that there is a strong Armenian community in Lebanon even though Marus does not tend to developed strong relations with the community and institutions. This is completely a personal preference. However, participants in the British case do not have access to a wider Armenian community. Therefore, ‘distance from the community’ refers to the way in which Armenianness is learnt and practiced within the family.

In short, adopting a social constructivist point of view and considering human beings as means-makers leads us to think about the fragmentation of Armenianness in diasporic spaces. As can be observed, Armenianness can be reproduced in different forms and meanings can be changed. Even though it is compared to other ethnic groups, it is possible to talk about the universality of Armenanness, as it is seen that Armenianness is highly diverse and construed as patchworks having different colours, patterns and intended use. Therefore, there is no obstacle to define Armenianness as a combination of ways of seeing,

ortayli/pazar/yazardetay/05.04.2015/2039097/default.htm [Access Date: 20/05/2015]. Civelek, N (2012). Türkiyelilik, Türkiye Halk(lar)ı, Türklük Ve Vatandaşlık <http://www.turkyorum.com/turkiyelilik-turkiye-halklari-turkluk-ve-vatandaslik/> [Access Date 20/05/2015].

feeling and doing. Without falling into the trap of reductionism and generalisation, which are clearly against social constructivism, Armenianness can be understood as a cognitive process that allows people to see and perceive the world as Armenian. In this way, it is possible to come across various stereotypes, perceptions about 'us' and 'them' and social categories. The world can be considered with Armenian interpretations. Secondly, Armenianness is 'a way of feeling', which can be defined as "...meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt...characteristic elements of impulse, restraints and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kings, in living and inter-relating continuity..." (Williams, 1977:132 in Karner, 2010). Even though cultural consciousness as experienced and felt by human beings as "a kind of feeling and thinking which is... social and material" (ibid.), it could be argued that it does not need to be experienced first-hand. Especially in diasporic communities, this can be experienced symbolically through collective memories (Gans, 1979; Bakalian, 1993). Finally, Armenianness is 'a way of doing' which is related to "...common paternal lineage shared by all that places transcendental responsibility on each actor." (Fishman, 1980). The Physical heritage of ethnicity creates expressive obligations and opportunities for behaving and preserving their great heritage by transmitting it from generation to generation. Ethnically, 'doing' can be linguistically dependent and expressed only within the traditional ethnic network. Songs, chants, sayings, prayers, jokes, and so on are all required, recognised, expected, rewarded and undetectable by other ethnic communities unfamiliar with Armenianness. Additionally, the 'doing' of Armenianness in diasporic spaces can be related to mundane, everyday practices such as cooking and eating Armenian food. In this vein, it is hard to argue that Armenianness has a specific form and definition that all can agreed on. It is fluid, contingent, flexible and relative to each diasporic spaces.

9. Chapter Nine: Conclusion

This research was conceived as an empirically grounded analysis of ethnicity. It sought to understand how ethnicity works and is reproduced in diasporic space through focusing on the Armenian Diaspora and their reproductions of Armenianness constructed in Turkey, Lebanon and Britain.

It was observed that each case after the deportation in 1915 evolved in different ways. For the Armenian community in Turkey, “remaining”, “becoming an official minority” and “depoliticisation” seemed to be key features. The Armenian community was organised in congregational ways around the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul. Christianity was accepted as a precondition of being a member of the community. On the other side, ethnic Armenians whose grandparents had to convert Islam or be assimilated within various other ethnic or religious groups such as Kurds, Hemsin or Alewi, discovered their Armenianness once they migrated to Istanbul. They found themselves at the juncture of a power clash between the state and representatives of the community because it is not easy to categorise them in accordance with the current rules and regulations about minorities.

Differently from the Turkish case, the Armenian community in Lebanon was established on the legacy of the deportation of 1915. As such, the Lebanese case can be an example of a tragic diaspora, which was established due to deportation or war. Despite the trauma and its destructive effects, the Armenian community was able to re-establish itself in Lebanon. It was discussed how Armenians maximised their interests throughout the French Mandate period and integrated themselves into the Lebanese social, economic and political life. Gradually, refugee camps became neighbourhoods and homogenous places. “Being a survivor of the Armenian genocide”, “long-distance nationalism”, “enmity towards the Turkish state” and “nostalgia about the previous homeland” seem to be key dynamics of the community in Lebanon. These dynamics led to the production of a powerful community politically, socially, economically and culturally. As was stated, Lebanon, and as a result of it being a multicultural state, has become a significant cultural and religious centre for the Armenian people. In contrast to the other cases, Armenianness found room to thrive in public life and became more visible.

In contrast to the two previous cases, the Armenian community in Britain has developed in different ways. The main motivation behind coming to Britain was either economical or educational reasons. This is especially true for those Armenians who had lived in the Middle East in countries such as Iran, Iraq, Lebanon or Cyprus. They initially came to Britain to study, but they tended to settle there after they completed their studies due to insecurity and worse economic conditions in their former host countries. Therefore, the Armenian community is sometimes called a 'diaspora of diaspora'. As was mentioned, the population of the Armenian community was lower than the other two cases. For this reason, Armenians disappeared among the rest of the population, and the manifestations of the Armenian community are more cultural. Throughout the years, they have been able to establish their churches, community services and schools. However, they are not very visible to outsiders. Differently from the first generation, youngsters are more integrated into British society.

In the second part of the research, it mainly focused on the reproduction of Armenianness in each case through interpreting fieldwork data. Accordingly, the second part consisted of three chapters seeking to demonstrate how Armenianness is reproduced in everyday life.

In Chapter Five, the reproduction of Armenianness in Turkey was analysed. Primary data was coded through ANCO-HITS and it yielded some scores, both from the participants as well as the parameters. The scores of the participants fluctuated between 0.55 and 0.96. These scores were assumed to be polar extreme representations where Armenianness is reproduced in the most distinct ways. Accordingly, these two participants were introduced separately by way of "thick description" which referred to the participants' social and economic backgrounds. This allowed us to observe the context that helped participants to reproduce Armenianness.

Additionally, similarities and differences among the participants were discussed under themes such as religion, ethnic, political and interactions in everyday life. In the example of Sero, Armenianness was reproduced in an unusual form. He generally got lower scores and interpreted parameters more intensely. As was discussed above, Armenianness was reproduced as a result of a discovering process. Sero, as an unofficial member of the Armenian community, reproduced

Armenianness and his interpretations, especially in religion, differed from other participants because he was not Armenian in accordance with the records of the state or even the Armenian Church. His Armenianness was reproduced as a challenge to common knowledge and expectation. Without having any religious identity or proficiency in the ethnic language, Sero tended to interpret Armenianness in more cultural ways. As was mentioned, he was able to emphasise the political aspects of Armenianness. There is no doubt that the boundaries of the context affected his reproduction. These were; a) combination of urban and rural practices b) living at a distance from the community and its institutions and finally c) protest and activist attitudes towards deep-rooted perceptions and thoughts about Armenianness. His interpretation of Armenianness went beyond the community's boundaries and connected him with Armenia emotionally.

Differently from Sero, Boghos reproduced Armenianness in a more moderate form. As a result of having official membership of the Armenian community, he began to learn components of Armenianness within the family and had a chance to experience it at a collective level. More importantly, he benefited from institutions such as schools and foundations directly. In this vein, his Armenianness was very similar to the accepted customs within the community. In his reproduction, religion had a key importance to define who Armenians are. Even though he was not against alternative religious identities at an individual level, he saw Christianity as a precondition of being Armenian. His context was comprised of; a) being an Istanbulite b) remaining in Istanbul c) having organic affiliation to the Armenian community and d) cohabiting practices and experiences with non-Armenians. These boundaries all shaped Boghos's attitudes and interpretations.

Finally, the fault lines and common grounds among the sample in the Turkish case were discussed. The scores of the parameters fluctuated between -1.00 and +1.00. This analysis allowed us to see that to what extent parameters were shared among participants. The Turkish case showed that ethnic and cultural components were effective in the reproduction process, whereas religious aspects were practiced symbolically. For the majority, religion is considered the essence of Armenianness. Furthermore, the political aspects of Armenianness were weak, whereas participants' interactions with 'others' were strong. Later on,

they were used to summarise the features of the Turkish case. All in all, Armenianness was either reproduced congregationally (official), or in activist (unofficial) forms.

Next came the reproduction of Armenianness in Lebanon. Since the Armenian community was established on the legacy of the deportation of the Armenians in 1915, the findings about the reproduction were clearly different. Participants tended to reproduce Armenianness through highlighting various aspects. As was discussed above, the scores of participants fluctuated between 0.40 and 1.00. Similar to the Turkish case, two participants, Hagop and Marus, were introduced by citing their socio-economic backgrounds and boundaries of the context that affected their attitudes and interpretations.

In the example of Hagop, Armenianness was reproduced in congregational ways. His interactions with the Armenian community and its institutions were stronger than other participants. The boundaries of his context were; a) descendant of the survivors b) congregational life and c) interested in politics. In this form, the parameters relating to ethnic, religious and political aspects were experienced mainly in their literal meanings. Religion and the national church were considered as primary indicators of being Armenian. Subsequently, other cultural components such as “speaking Armenian”, having an “Armenian wife”, “going to Armenian school” or “socialising with Armenians” mattered in the reproduction process. Especially in relations with Armenia and attitudes toward Turkey, Hagop was affected by nationalist discourse that welcomed political projects such as “Greater Armenia” or “boycotting Turkey”.

In contrast to Hagop, Marus interpreted Armenianness in more liberal forms. As was discussed, Marus encountered different boundaries of the context; a) descendant of the survivors b) being raised in an Armenian family and c) living at a distance from the community. These boundaries led Marus to interact with members of the Armenian community in limited ways. Her Armenianness refers to “reproduction out of the community”. Therefore, some parameters such as political and collective religious solidarity were not highlighted in the reproduction process. Political projects such as Greater Armenia or relations with Armenia were not paid much attention in her Armenianness, since she tended to keep away from the community and certain institutions such as political parties and

also their principles. In short, Marus's Armenianness was less politicised and moderate, and also welcomed non-Armenian elements. If she was compared to Hagop, it was seen that she was less ethnically motivated than other participants. Rather, she integrated herself into Lebanese society and remembered her Armenian background from time to time.

As a final point, it should be noted that the reproduction processes of Armenianness through Hagop and Marus were observed easily in public areas because Lebanon provided a suitable environment where they can experience Armenianness freely and effectively due to the multiculturalism of Lebanon. For this reason, religious, ethnic and political aspects have become more visible.

In terms of the parameter scores and fault lines, the Lebanese case provided a more homogenous snapshot. As was discussed, participants were not too distinguished from each other and most of the parameters demonstrated positive strong points of view. Even though parameters fluctuated between -1.00 and +1.00, parameters relating to religious, ethnic and political practices were clearly defined and had higher scores. As seen from the matrix, the scores of the parameters demonstrated the same patterns. In brief, it could be argued that Armenianness was reproduced in two distinct ways through the example of Hagop (nationalist/ghetto/congregational way) and Marus (distanced from the community/more personal/liberal ways). Within these forms, interactions, attitudes and meanings showed similarities and differences.

Finally, the reproduction of Armenianness in Britain was examined. As I posited, the British case provided a highly different example and snapshot than the other two cases. The main reason for that is that the Armenian community in Britain also consisted of subgroups such as Iranian, Iraqi, Lebanese, Cypriot and Turkish which had already adopted different cultures. Therefore, the Armenian community in Britain was considered as a "diaspora of Diaspora" (Pettie, 1997).

Similarly, primary data was coded through ANCO-HITS and it yielded scores from both participants as well as the parameters. The scores of the participants fluctuated between 0.88 and 0.97. In contrast to the other cases, it was shown that the participants mainly had similar attitudes and interpretations. As was discussed, participants were not too different from each other because the boundaries of the context showed similarities. Additionally, it was shown how the

general characteristics of the Armenian community in Britain, such as a low population and a lack of organised institutions, affected their interpretations and interactions.

In the example of Aris, the most important point in the reproduction of Armenianness was his religious-free approach. In other words, he did not accept Christianity as a precondition of Armenianness. Rather, he considered Christianity as a form of cultural heritage. It was explained that his interactions with Armenians were limited due to the small population of the Armenian community. He tended to interact primarily with non-Armenians, so his attitudes towards non-Armenians were positive. Furthermore, the political aspects were not effective in the reproduction process because Britain does not provide a suitable political atmosphere that emphasises the ethno-political aspects of Armenianness. In the example of Aris, transitional ties were also limited. He did not have any attachment or connection with Armenia. It was generally considered as a cultural homeland. The boundaries that influenced his context, and that of most other British Armenian participants, were; a) Iranian background b) being born into the British culture and c) dedicating special time to practice Armenianness.

Similarly, Nairi provided an alternative form of Armenianness. Her boundaries were; a) engaged diasporic experiences b) being born into the British culture c) living at a distance from the community and d) dedicating special time to practice Armenianness. However, some key differences were observed in her Armenianness. She approached religion and religious practices in traditional ways. As was shown, most of the Christian practices kept their original forms and meanings. Accordingly, she allowed religious aspects to be visible in the reproduction process.

In addition to religious aspects, Nairi's Armenianness reflected the influence of the family. As a result of the social dynamics of the Armenian community, she did not have too much opportunity to engage with other members of the Armenian community in Britain. Rather, she learnt most things from within the family. It was observed that Armenianness was reproduced while she distanced herself away from the community and its institutions. Finally, it should be noted that her Armenianness was not radical or politicised. Even though some parameters

related to the Armenian deportation reflected strong points of view, she did not participate in any organised political projects or groups. The political aspects of her Armenianness was weak, but this was a normal phenomenon in Britain. Subsequently, Armenia was considered as an ethnic homeland, and it was not considered as a place that she preferred to settle down in. It was seen as a kind of museum which should be visited from time to time and supported.

All in all, the research showed us that Armenianness is not a holistic “thing”. Rather, it is socially constructed and consists of various points of view in diasporic spaces. By observing the scope of participants, all defined themselves as Armenian. However, their understandings of Armenianness as well as its cues (parameters) were different because their interactions and contexts varied. As was hypothesised, Armenianness in diasporic spaces seemed to be a patchwork that had countless patterns and colours, and was used to achieve different aims. It was seen that the reproduction of Armenianness and its interpretations by youngsters sometimes contradicted the top-down constructions and imaginations. Young Armenians, as mean makers, produced alternative meanings and constructions. ANCO-HITS as an analytical method helped us to understand the complexity of Armenianness because it allowed us to see how participants differed from each other. Moreover, it allowed us to compare other cases with each other. In this vein, it could be argued that the participants who were introduced as poles were referring to different types of Armenianness even if they showed some similarities and occasionally had close scores. Being “moderate”, “political” or anything else did not mean the same thing in each case and should be considered separately.

10. Appendixes

Appendix A: Maps of the Armenian Population

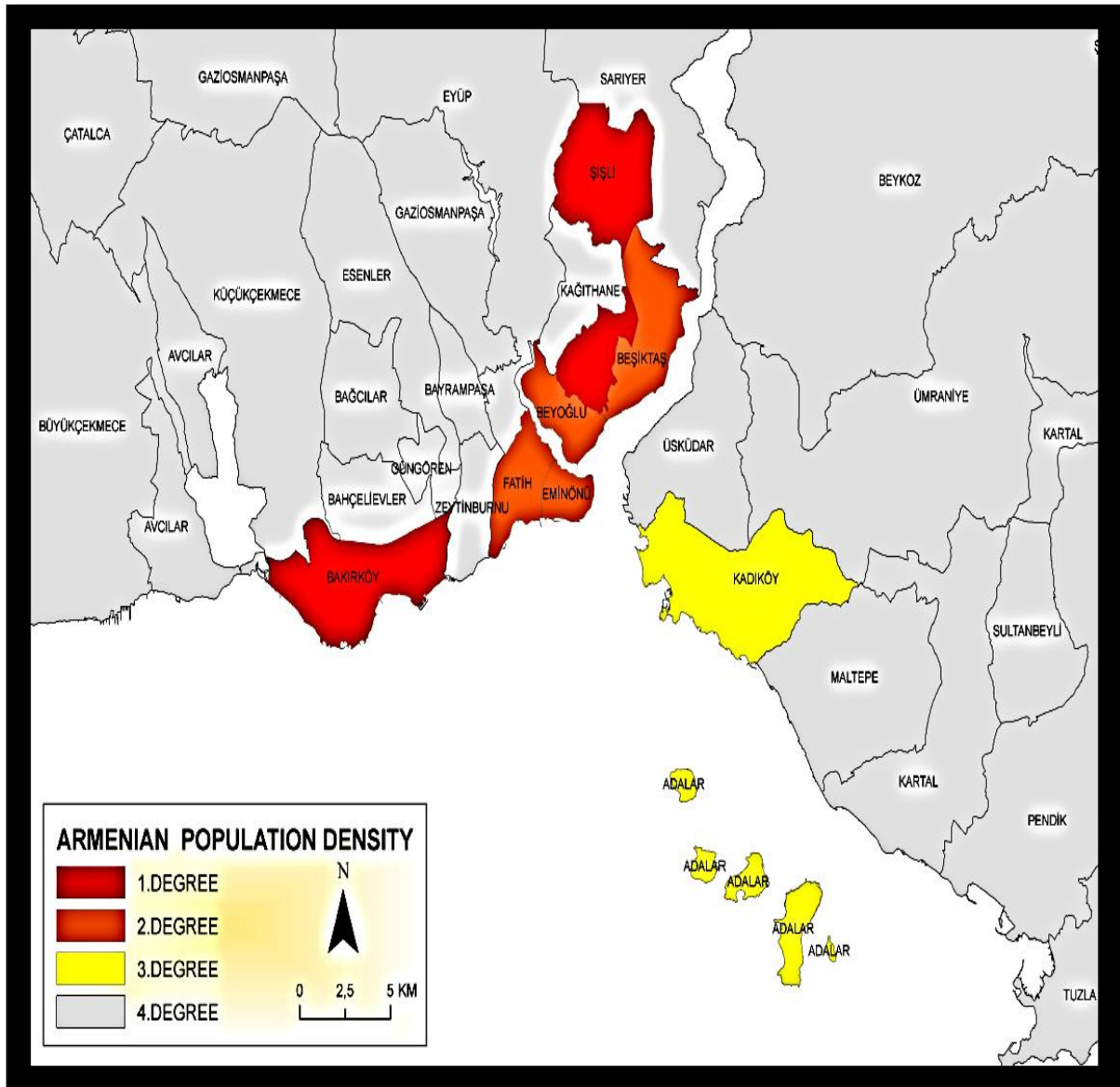


Figure 18: Distribution of Armenian Population in Turkey

KARA, M. 2009. The Analysis of the Distribution of the Non Muslim Population and Their Socio-Cultural Properties in Istanbul in the Frame of Istanbul European Capital of Culture 2010. MA, Fatih University.

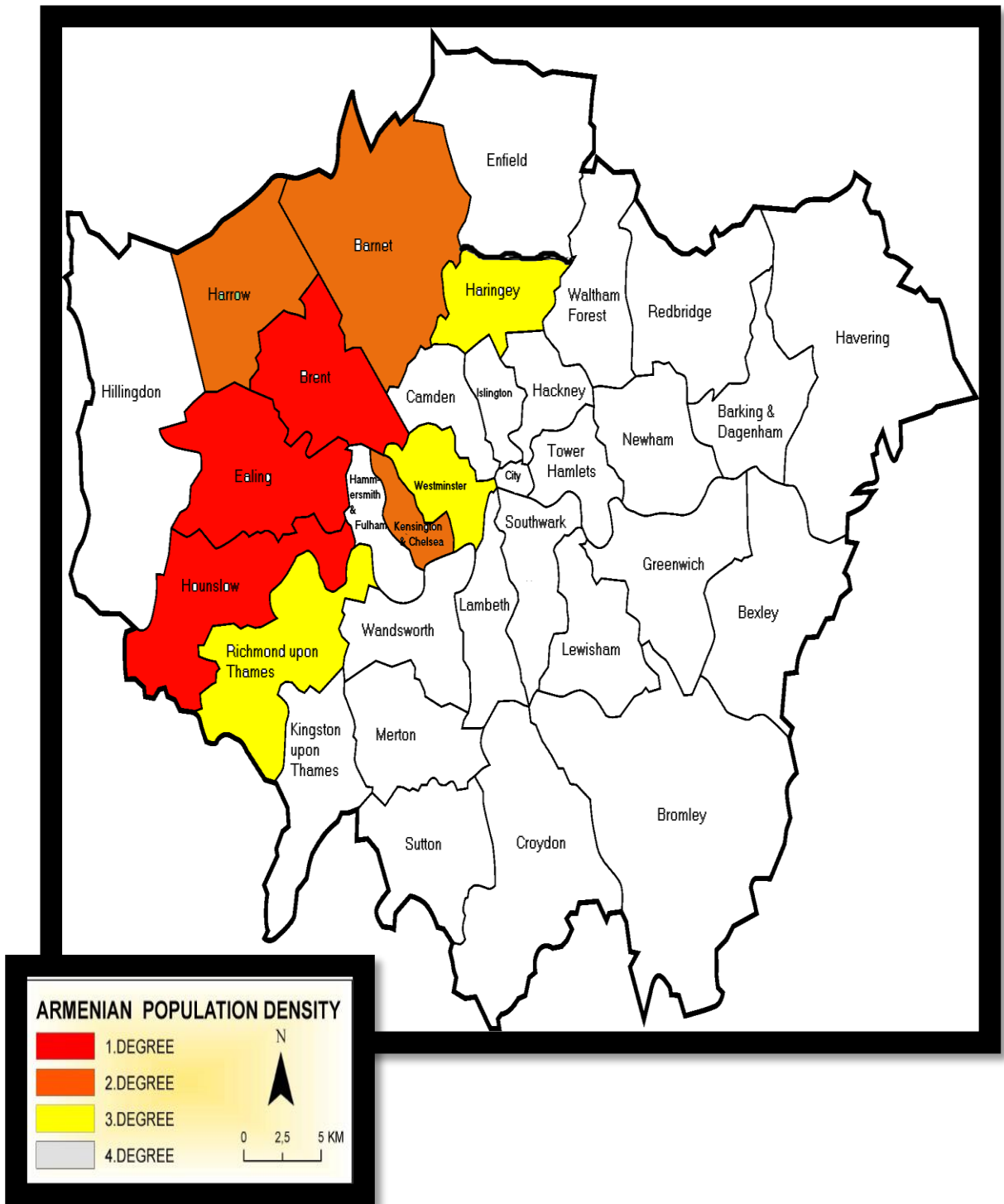


Figure 19: Distribution of Armenians in London

The map is created by myself through citing surveys which were conducted by Malik (1990) and Armenian Community Council of the UK (2014). The blank map was taken from <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=589177> [Access Date: 25/06/2015]

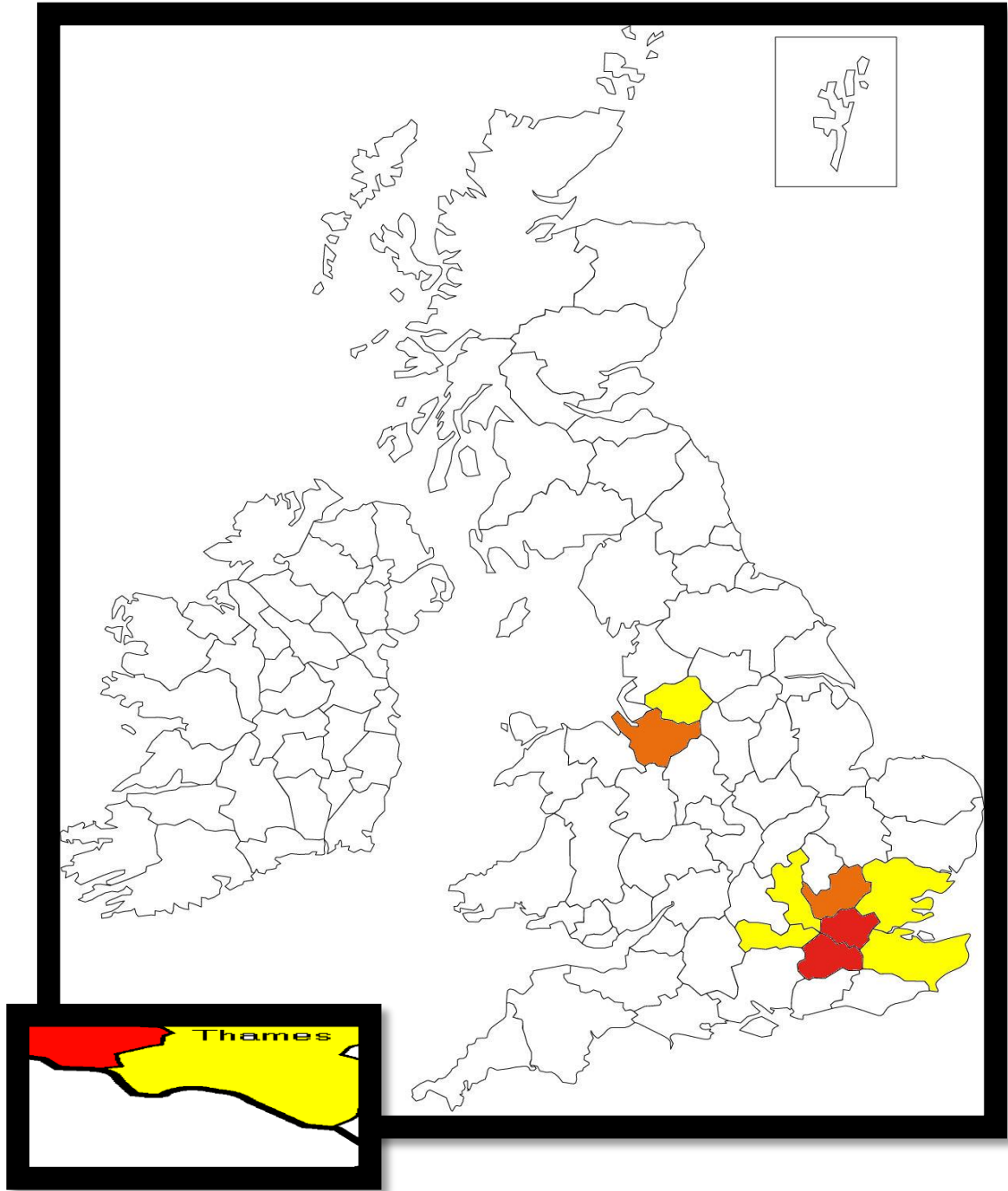


Figure 20: Distribution of Armenians in the UK

It was created through data of Malik (1990) and Armenian Community Council of the UK (2014). The blank map was taken <http://www.freeusandworldmaps.com/html/Countries/Europe%20Countries/UnitedKingdomPrint.html> from [Access Date: 25/06/2015].

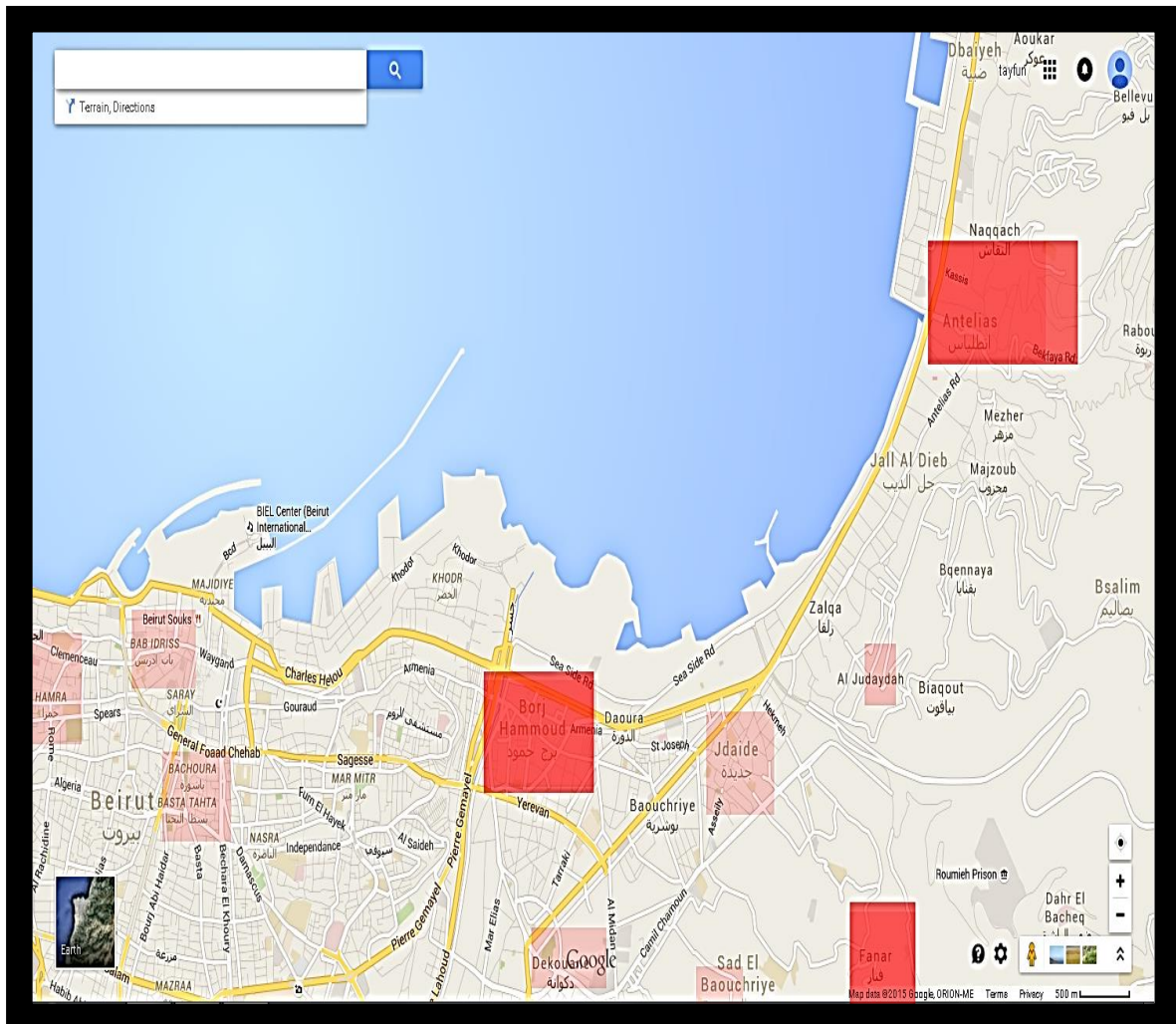


Figure 21: Distribution of Armenians in Beirut

The map was created by myself through citing the data about Armenians' worship places. The data was collected by Blue bird research (2011) that is a think tank seeking to research on family history, social history and ethnography across Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, extending to Armenia, Cyprus, parts of the Middle-East, and Russia. <http://www.bluebirdresearch.com/?s=lebanon+map&x=0&y=0> [Access Date: 16/07/2015].

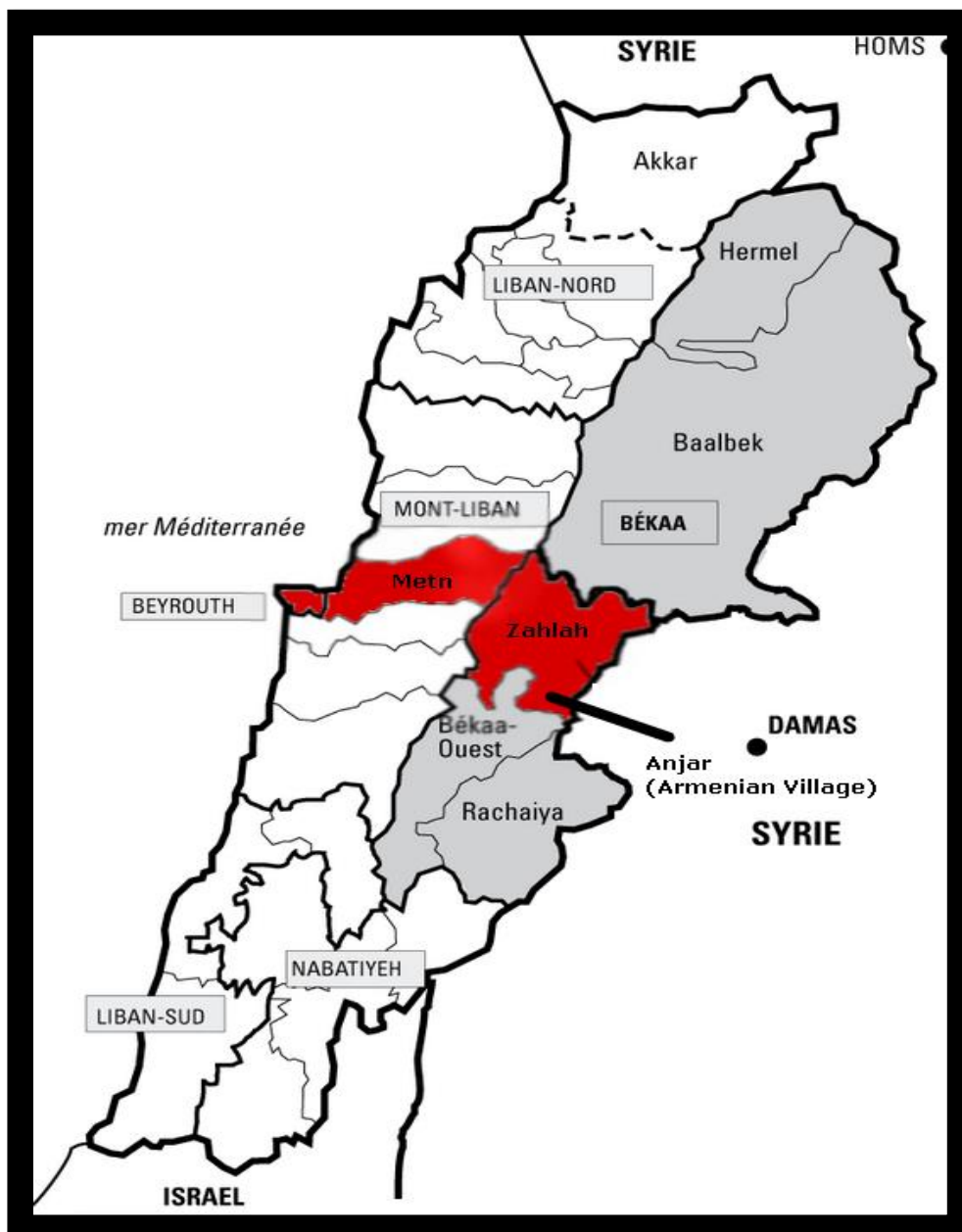


Figure 22: Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon

It was created through citing information which are derived from Blue Bird Research (2011) and Verdail (2005:4-8). The blank map can be found on <http://geocarrefour.revues.org/docannexe/image/1644/img-1.png> [Access Date: 16/07/2015].



Figure 23: Armenian cross (khachkar)

The national church and the stone make contributions to homogeneity of Anjar.



Figure 24: A street sign in Anjar, Lebanon.

It indicates to one of the previous hometowns where Armenians used to live in. Now Sassoun is in Turkey and known as Batman.



Figure 25: Mr. S**'s office**

A pomegranate symbolises that dispersion of Armenians all over the world. As a bibelot, it is favorites of Armenian people.



Figure 26: An offensive sticker on rubbish bin in male toilet at Haigazian University, Lebanon

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