

**ARMENIANS LIVING IN TURKEY and THE ASSASSINATION OF HRANT
DINK: LOSS, MOURNING and MELANCHOLIA**

**This thesis is submitted to the Faculty of Art and Social Sciences in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

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by

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“Hrant Dink’e”

ABSTRACT

ARMENIANS LIVING IN TURKEY and THE ASSASSINATION OF HRANT DINK: LOSS, MOURNING and MELANCHOLIA

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Cultural Studies, MA, 2012

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On January 19 2007, Hrant Dink, an Armenian journalist who had dedicated his life to Turkish-Armenian reconciliation and known by his critiques of Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide, was assassinated in the street by a radical nationalist. After the event, a strong civil resistance movement was ignited unexpectedly. Istanbul saw one such demonstration. Rather than a mere protest, it was a spontaneous reaction, where a hundred thousand people gathered and started shouting slogans such as: "We are all Armenian, we are all Hrant" and "Long live the brotherhood of the people." In my thesis, I will try to explain the affect of being Armenian in Turkey, based on the new political atmosphere after the assassination of Hrant Dink, through the notions of trauma, memory, mourning and melancholy. I will examine the civil associations and organizations founded after the assassination. This paper will give me the chance to review the literature that turns the corpus of melancholy and trauma upside down by attributing to them an activating role.

Keywords: Armenians living in Turkey, Hrant Dink, Melancholy, Affect, Post-memory, Turkey

ÖZET

TÜRKİYELİ ERMENİLER ve HRANT DİNK'in ÖLÜMÜ:

YAS, MELANKOLİ ve KAYIP

Nora Tataryan

Kültürel Çalışmalar MA, 2012

Tez Danışmanı: Leyla Neyzi

Bu tez Hrant Dink'in 19 Ocak 2007'de öldürülüşünün, Türkiyeli Ermeniler özelinde nasıl algılandığına ilişkindir. Bir kırılma noktası olarak da okuyabileceğimiz bu olay, bize hem Ermeni Toplumunun geçmişi nasıl hatırladığına ve hem de bu hafızanın bugü nasıl etkilediğine bakma şansı verecek. Tezimde Türkiye'de bir Ermeni olarak yaşamının nasıl bir duyguya tekabül ettiğine yas, melankoli ve kayıp kavramları üzerinden bakmaya çalışacağım. Hrant Dink'in ölümünün ardından oluşan yeni politik atmosferi ve kurulan kurumları inceleyeceğim tezim aynı zamanda Hrant Dink'in ölümünün nasıl bir dönüşüme işaret ettiğine de ilişkin olacak.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Türkiyeli Ermeniler, Hrant Dink, Melankoli, Duygulanım, Postbellek, Türkiye

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PREFACE

Before starting my thesis, I would like to talk about how the aim of this study is set, and more precisely how, towards where and by which reasons the field of this study evolved. To some extent, expounding this transformation will disclose the problematic of my thesis.

Before writing down my thesis, I was concerned about the way Armenians living in Turkey constructed their collective identity. I had intended to make criticism of this construction as I considered it to be defined through a mechanism similar to nationalist elements that form Turkish identity which was countered by the abovementioned construction in order to defend itself. I conducted over twenty interviews. I aimed to explore the way Armenians living in Turkey gather around a collective identity and the structure of the founding principles of this identity rather than the way they live or the things they do. Nonetheless, the fieldwork I conducted and the writing process of this thesis blur all of these notions.

I would like to start to explain my confusion by problematizing the term “Armenians living in Turkey”.¹ Just as it is misleading to think what we call Armenian society as homogenous, claiming that an Armenian living in Diyarbakır and an Armenian living in Vakıflıköy can be summarized into one term is equally false. Therefore whenever I use the word Armenian during my thesis I will be taking it up as a

¹ I could also use the term “Turkish Armenians” here, however I prefer to say Armenians living in Turkey since this term excludes the Turks who are converted after 1915. Here with the term Armenians living in Turkey I would like to refer the ones who are Turkish citizens and legally Armenian (Ozgul, 2009)

conceptual term and I will be intending to refer to those who live in Istanbul today. I can explain the reasons of my adoption of the term through concepts I refrained from using and subsequently I dropped out.

At the beginning of my fieldwork while I was attempting to understand the way Armenian identity is established, I was also thinking that what is called being an Armenian in Istanbul can be understood through three lines of thought and action as Yumul remarks: religion, language and endogamy (Yumul, 1992). I did not doubt a moment that the attitude formed around these concepts can be explained through theories of nationalism. As we are able to explore the historical ruptures of turkification policies – “Conscription of wealth”, “Compulsory military service”, “Citizen, speak Turkish Campaign” (Aktar, 2000) – which have been practiced since 1915 by discussing them under one title, so should we be able to explore Armenian nationalism as it can be analyzed through theories of the nationalism of oppressed peoples (Oran, 2002) which developed as a reaction of Turkish nationalism. As a result of these deductions I concluded that today in Turkey the backbone of Armenian society is established upon a similar type of nationalism and I embarked upon evaluating my ethnographic material through such perspective. However, nationalism was not only sufficient to explain that special case but also included some dangers which might have led one to neglect the main points of the issue. Today in an age where we can no longer speak of a nationalism but only plural nationalisms, the first danger would be classifying these two types of nationalisms as two different realms and ignoring the fluidity that exist between them. The second mistake would be taking them up as preconceived notions without regard to the will of the people and studying the way they influenced the daily life of individuals on the basis of this preconception. At the end I concluded that rather than handling this issue as the different aspects of the same instrument that feed each other I ought to examine how the state of being an Armenian as an individual is constructed out of the organization of an affect.² The area I would define was not that simple or known by everybody plainly. As the phrase goes, it was

² I would like to say that the notion of “affect” that I am going to talk about detail has no meaning without the theories of nationalism. Thus while mentioning them I just want to clarify that they are insufficient to understand the situation of Armenians in Turkey themselves, but the affect could only be meaningful based on these theories.

not a *conscious*³ area. Therefore, rather than the definition of the state of being an Armenian through categorical mechanisms and preconceived notions, I would like to talk about the affective territory which emerges through the failure of these theories. In other words, I would like to deal with that affect which causes many of the activities we perform unintentionally in our daily lives, the affect ingrained in our skins which political theories are unable to penetrate (Ngai, 2004). In this perspective, I do not use the term Armenian as a historical, legal or ethnic concept. For me the term Armenian means a narrative of what the people that live in Turkey feel about being an Armenian, how they remember the history and how they live with such a memory. Mindful of the dangers of using concepts like Turkishness or Armenian carelessly, especially when an affective analysis is involved, I think reiterating that these terms are conceptual notions provides methodological convenience.

Before presenting the main topic of my thesis, I would like to clarify one last point. One of my mistakes before starting to write my thesis was trying not to include my own identity and disregard what being an Armenian meant for me as the author of this study. I carried out my research by constantly questioning what writing this thesis meant for me as an Armenian living in Turkey. However, I accepted that fact as an integral part of my thesis. Although this study is written down through what Bourdieu calls “scholastic point of view”⁴, I would also like to state that all of that follow is closely related, in a political sense, to my faith in hope. I believe the issues I problematized in this study will also answer many questions I already have in my mind and questions about deconstruction.

How am I going to study the thing that I call the affect of being an Armenian? I regard that defining such an ambiguous and obscure term, especially after the different periods in this geography brought about different definitions of being an Armenian, requires a time limitation in describing the field of my work since the thing that is formulated as being an Armenian in this geography and more specifically in Istanbul has been experienced in different forms in different periods. Although I do not want to limit my study to a specific time period, I can state that it covers a time period that starts

³ I have not use the term conscious in psychoanalytic terms here, I will give some explanations of this feeling in the following chapters.

⁴ Bourdieu 1977

in 2007 and lasts till post-Hrantian period (the period after Hrant Dink is murdered). My starting point will be 19 January 2007, the day the chief editor of Agos newspaper Hrant Dink is killed (What I mean is the process which resulted in murder as well as the consequences of it). Although taking the day when Hrant Dink is murdered as the breaking point seems reasonable enough because of both my personal opinions and the field work I conducted, the genuine breaking point I will mention in this study is the place where this affective territory is most visible rather than a death and its consequences. I find it worthwhile to point out the affective territory where terms like Armenian, Turkish, Kurdish and everything that relates to identity is destroyed. To sum up my thesis with one sentence, I will endeavour to illustrate how the murder of Hrant Dink opened a space, how this space were defined formerly and how it is perceived today specifically regarding the Armenian society that live in Istanbul.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

“When Hrant Dink died, Armenians felt obliged to leave their sweet homes, and go out. They were obliged to do something. Everyone was on the street that day! Everyone! Everyone went to the street that day, and everyone became political, everything changed a lot after that day...”

Selin, 22⁵

⁵ *Original:* Hrant Dink öldüğünde yani, herkes bir zahmet o sıcak evlerinden çıkıp sokağa çıktı. Bir şey yapmak zorundaydılar. Herkes sokaktaydı o gün. Herkes! Herkes o gün sokağa çıktı ve bir anda politikleşti. O günden sonra çok şey değişti.

On January 19, 2007, Hrant Dink, an Armenian journalist who had dedicated his life to Turkish-Armenian reconciliation and is known by his critiques of Turkey's denial of the Armenian genocide, was assassinated in the street by a radical nationalist. Today, it is clear that this assassination was a highly organized affair, since several high-ranked state officers had been aware of it. After the event, a strong civil resistance movement was ignited unexpectedly. Istanbul saw one such demonstration. Rather than a mere protest, it was a spontaneous reaction, where a hundred thousand people gathered and started shouting slogans such as: "We are all Armenian⁶, we are all Hrant" and "Long live the brotherhood of the people."⁷

In many ways similar to the Armenian genocide of 1915 committed by the Ottoman Empire, the assassination of the Armenian journalist and peace activist Hrant Dink can be seen as an act of militant Turkish nationalism. An act that has left an indelible mark on the Armenian community. For my thesis, I chose to work on the *affect* of being Armenian in Turkey, based on the new political atmosphere after the assassination of Hrant Dink, through the notions of trauma, memory, mourning and melancholy. In my thesis I will also examine the civil associations and organizations founded after the assassination. This study will give me the chance to review the literature that turns the corpus of melancholy and trauma upside down by attributing to them an activating role. It will also enable me to actively reflect on the nationalist processes of memory building.

After giving a brief idea about the outline of my thesis I would like to follow how I organized the chapters of it. The thesis has three main parts. In the first part named "A reflection on the notion of affect" I will explain the concept of affect which I will make use in order to elaborate on the affect of being an Armenian as mentioned before. In this section following the Methodology part, I will start by explaining why an affective analysis is crucial for this thesis. Then, I will apply descriptions of affect by different scholars. This section starts with Spinoza who used the term of affect for the first time and extends to contemporary researchers' description of affect. I will first mention how affect differs from emotion, how I use this term on the subject of Armenian society and then I will mention some ideas of scholars who have considered

⁶ Turkish: Hepimiz Hrantız Hepimiz Ermeniyiz.

⁷ Turkish: Yaşasın halkların kardeşliği.

affect in the framework of anthropology and who have followed a similar method. At the end of this section proceeding with cross-reading, Deleuze will determine the key frame of this affect concept which I will repeat through rest of my thesis. I feel also make use of different understandings of affect by Deleuzien and Lacanian anthropologists. This will present a basis for further discussions. In this section, I will take the chance to discuss how an affect is organized and how it opens a political ground. Consideration of affect as connectivity as relationally by scholars like Thrift, Brennan, Navaro Yashin and Massoumi will allow me to discover another feature of it to which I will give reference in following chapters. In this chapter where I will make an early entrance with field examples, I will also give some clues about how murder of Hrant Dink is an important point in explaining the affect of being Armenian. Thus, as I often repeat, rather than taking Hrant Dink's death as a rigid breaking point, which I would propose if I do not have academic concerns, I find it worthwhile to analyze this process as place where the thing that I call the affect of being Armenian has become the most striking, this volatility has become tangible so to say. That's why in the chapter entitled "Being an Armenian in Turkey: Memory and Burden of the Past", I will speak of the period before Hrant Dink's assassination because it serves as a tool that refers to the difference between the two periods. In this chapter, using the interviews I have conducted, I will analyze how Armenian society experiences the state of being Armenian, which actually has not simply vanished after Hrant Dink's death. This chapter is consisted of two parts. In the first part titled "Armenian Genocide as a Breaking Point", I will look at how genocide and narratives of genocide determine what I call the affect of being Armenian through concepts of memory, recollection and post-memory. In the next part titled "Armenians as a Docile Minority: Narratives of Victimhood", I will analyze what I call the affect of being Armenian through the concept of victimhood and I will look at how this victimhood points to a melancholic realm and how it reveals a mourning state through its relationship with genocide. While doing this, I will have the chance to look at how Armenian history is carried and lived today. Following this, I will mention an alternative understanding of history which I call affective writing of historiography. In the fourth chapter titled "Towards a New Form of Melancholy: Assassination of Hrant Dink", I will focus on the main subject of my thesis which is the new affective memory emerged after Hrant Dink's death. In this chapter which will start with short quotations about how the interviewees experienced the day of assassination, I will describe the atmosphere in the trail of my own personal

experiences in order to follow the affective response broke out after Hrant Dink's death. This introduction will allow me to discuss what becoming political means in Armenian society. Another point I want to look at under this first subtitle in the third chapter is how the death of Hrant Dink has become an iconic event and stayed as such in memories. In the second section of this chapter, I will look at a new literature that has turned the mourning and melancholy literature upside down. In this part where I will cite scholars like Kazandjian & Eng Chetkovich, I will mention activation effects and suffering generating outcomes of trauma. In the last part of this chapter, I will try to come up with an analysis making use of the transformations some of my interviewees have gone through who are from institutions and initiations emerged after Hrant Dink's death. Finally in conclusion, at a place where being Armenian cannot be explained through religion, language, and intermarriage, I hope at least to have introduced how a complex state of being Armenian can be mentioned.

If I succeed in this endeavor at the end of the thesis, I will accomplish two things: first, to relieve myself, as an Armenian academic, of the burden of having to write about this difficult topic; and second, to put to the test my approach to “hope” in the political sense.

To sum it up, in this thesis, I will mention Hrant Dink's death and the affective memory which has developed during five years following this incident. This will allow me to analyze the affect of being an Armenian from Turkey and its melancholic basis. While looking at how this basis has transformed, I will try to explain why theories of nationalism-identity is insufficient at point where the concepts of “being Turkish” “being Armenian” are collapsed, and why it is crucial to employ an anthropological and affective analysis for a study of Armenian society in Turkey. For taking the risk of sounding to simplistic, one could say that today being an Armenian living in Turkey is nothing more than an affect. In this framework, in the first part of my thesis, I will theoretically read this affect I mention. Thus, I will try to think the affective reaction emerged on 19 January 2007 and the political ground developed in the five years following this event together with the concepts of melancholy and mourning. This method will free me from ineffectiveness of handling Hrant Dink's murder only as an historical fact, while it requires a reading beyond an ordinary death and mourning process. Perhaps the main issue that should be discussed is to argue how this affect, which has created by an incident that can be traumatic for both Armenian society and

many other people in this geography, can be organized and translated into an political ground. However insufficient I see myself for this goal, what I do in this is to analyze the interviews with Armenians from Turkey in a theoretical framework I assumed related and finally the conversations of interviewees among themselves.

Now, I want to mention how I will explain the affect of being Armenian in Turkey in details and to discuss my method.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

Firstly, I want to emphasize that, it is not a matter of coincidence to work on this subject as an Armenian who lives in Turkey. I was attracted to study this topic as a person directly influenced from Hrant Dink's murder, but I am aware of the fact that this is a thesis and no matter what I do, this text will have been written by a scholastic point of view (Bourdieu, 1977). Thus my personal position as a subject of this affect cannot be thought separately from the content of my thesis. In other words, this is my “problem”. I am experiencing this and I am trying to make a sense of this every day. In a sense, this thesis unifies the writer and text, and eventually makes them one. I have long thought about this positioning issue (Harraway, 1988), and to be honest, I could not decide who is writing this thesis. An academician? An Armenian in Turkey? Although I bear in mind that my identity is an advantage for this research, (interviews without a gate-keeper, an easy access to the codes of the Armenians...), I know that the process will be quite abrasive.

To go back to Hrant Dink's murder, as an Armenian anthropology student in Turkey, not only have I read academic articles that I will show in the bibliography but

also I have been living in Turkey as an Armenian. For all these reasons, I am convinced that the connection of the theoretical and ethnographic elements are crucial for my work just like my own experiences I have just mentioned. I have to say that as someone who witnessed this rupture and its consequences personally, this event affected my personal life as well at many levels. After the assassination of Hrant Dink, I started to work at the International Hrant Dink Foundation, participated in the formation process of “*Nor Zartonk*”(New Revolution; an initiative of Armenian youth), and also organized workshops at the Armenian Cultural Center in Istanbul. Thanks to this, I have already had the network of people among which I can choose my interviewees. Although I do not believe in being an Armenian for in such a complicated issue everyone lives being Armenian in different ways, position myself as an insider or native (Narayan,1988) would weaken the ground of my thesis.

Thus I have to accept that the relation that I built up with the field is quite blurry and during my research I could not distinguish were my field is separated from my ordinary life since I was grown up in a neighborhood where Armenians are densely populated. Later on, I stopped dealing up with this issue which was the biggest problem for be before and I also add my personal experiences into my thesis.

Since my topic requires it eventually, the majority of the people interviewed were the Armenians in Turkey, to be more accurate Armenians living in Turkey. In the process of choosing the interviewees, I have kept in my mind that Armenian community is not a homogeneous group, so those people will be from different backgrounds and regions. For example, an Armenian who is from Anatolia is different from an Armenian from Istanbul, besides, an Armenian who works for community foundations and institutions is different from an Armenian who keeps his/her distance from the community in many ways. In this context, I was aiming to make interviews not only with the ones I choose without distinction, but also with the ones who are involved in choirs, Agos, Nor Zartonk, schools, churches, newspapers, publishers, theatre groups and foundations. In this framework, I have interviewed around twenty people. Adding up the informal interviews, this number has reached to thirty. I have conducted deeper interviews with the groups I have mentioned above. In this sense, while I am asking open-ended questions to reveal how they live as Armenians in their daily life, I will also use specific facts (19th of January-Hrant Dink Memorium Demonstrations 24th of April Commemorations) in order to connect my thesis’ major topics with everyday life

practices. Another important group within the Armenian community in Turkey were young Armenians. In this context, I believe that the discussions between young Armenians were also very valuable. I also joined meetings of Nor Zartonk, Nor Radyo and Armenian Cultural Center in Istanbul.

In the analysis section that you will read in the following chapters, although I have chosen my informants from different parts, I find it crucial to deal with each informant in her own uniqueness while analyzing on the basis of narratives, thus I have not categorized my informants into age, gender, or class basis for the analysis. Since what I call the affect of being Armenian manifests differently for every person, an overall general analysis is not applicable. Then, why I have chosen an anthropological approach rather than writing an psychology thesis can be questioned; but the main matter of my thesis is to make a critique of power which is whetted through these different narratives, or rather to discuss the grounds which prepares these emotions. That's why the topic I deal with in this thesis refers to a more basic point, although I find possible gender, class or ethnic studies on Armenian society quite valuable. In some parts, certain differences in expression among generations and some breaking points due to age differences show up clearly. Especially people I have interviewed for the last part of the thesis while talking about new initiatives mostly consist of young people. I know that this study could have been conducted in different ways with different objectives, my method is just a selected method among many possible methods.

I conducted life history interviews and participant observation for this study. Although talking in a language makes impossible to reach to the realm of realm of “real” (here I mean the original experience) one should bear in mind that life history narratives are not the representation of “real”⁸ or transparent. As Riesmann states in “Narrative Analysis” an event only make sense when it is transposed into narrative. Thus keeping this narrative effect in mind, I should say that the things that you are going to read in this thesis are 3rd rank narratives since people experienced them, they

⁸ It is another discussion if it is possible to reach to the real or not. It is also possible to consider anthropology as a method, as a tool to witness the reality. Hegel says that “Truth is not like the product in which the trace of the tool can no longer be found.” (Hegel in Guy Debord “La société du Spectacle”)

transformed them in their memory and narrated me than lastly I wrote them here. So these narratives could be very far from original experience since life history interviews are undergone many transformations both in individual and social levels. One should also consider that as Ustundağ mentioned in “Belonging to the Modern: Women’s suffering and Subjectivities in Urban Turkey”, Apart from the content the textual form of the narration and the context also determine the interviews. (Üstündağ, 2005:15)

One of major reasons that make this research quite difficult to practice within the limits of mere theoretical discussion is that there are few academic works about the Armenians in Turkey. I am strongly convinced that using the “oral history” as a method would be highly appreciated. What I describe as the affect of being Armenian does not clearly present a structure, which can be located into official understanding of history. In this regard, oral history, which challenges the official history as a discipline should be the core method to make sense of a community of which memory is contaminated by the official history. As Portelli said both oral and literal sources should count into the oral history in a disciplinary sense since the narratives are the most important sources of understanding of genre. (Portelli, 1997)

In the issue of quotation usage, I have preferred explaining my view in a theoretical framework then leave the ground to the interviewee rather than first giving information about the interviewee and then using the quotation, which could be a way of creating a language of the power. I have left quotation long and made people talk as long as possible. I have allowed long silent periods while letting the interviewees free without asking them directing questions. For ethnography, I have used indirect free speech as I find analyzing a bit inconvenient. In this sense, I have avoided any intervention that would shape the narratives of interviewees into the format of the thesis.

I started conducting interviews in the fall of 2009 and starting from this year Armenian community experienced many incidents. The most significant one was the assassination of Sevag Balıkcı, a young Armenian who has been killed on the day of 24th April while he was doing his mandatory military service. During the interviews that I conducted in the same week of the incident, my informants expressed their and this event made them remember the past in a more negative way. Moreover, the

disappointment of the ones who were following the court cases of Hrant Dink is also reflected to the speech of my informants.

I carried out the interviews mostly in the homes of my interviewees. There were so many ethnographic moments of silence, especially when the subject was about genocide. Here as I am going to discuss in the following chapters I consider these silences also as parts of ethnographic analysis. Some of these silences or silences issues are related with the lack of knowledge on my informant's family pasts and as Rosental an Völtre sited about the gap of narratives of elder generations, transmission of the history and its relationship with their representation of life stories. Some of the people that I interviewed said that they consciously do not talk about genocide or any related issues in their homes to raise their children without imposing them some prejudices about Turks.

In this research, I aim to gather the related views of certain theorists and to make people talk to each other about an issue that they have never talked before in the ethnographic dimension of this work. I hope that this dialogue not only teaches me new perceptions, but also turns into a think-aloud activity in which I position myself as a part of it.

As I have already stated before, studying the affect through looking at what it means to be an Armenian was not an aim I was able to set but an effect of the field work I conducted. The first interview, which led me to think about this problem was the interview I carried out with Talar, a university student of 25 years old. When I asked Talar what it meant to be an Armenian for her – after that I gave up asking this question – she gave an answer which inspired this study: “well, a feeling, I don't know how to put it. Several people sit at the same table. One of them would be an Armenian. You wouldn't know why but you would feel an intimacy, well, something like that, a feeling without reason anyway.”⁹

Beyond doubt, it is impossible to signify being an Armenian merely as a political fact today. This adjective points out to the *turkification* policies, to several

⁹ *Original.* Şey yani bu bir duygu, nasıl söyleyeceğimi de tam bilemiyorum. Hani Masada böyle bir sürü insan oturursun onlardan biri Ermenidir. Ona böyle bir yakınlık hissedersin, neden olduğunu bilmessin, yani öylesine ve sebepsiz bir şey.

matters like freedom of expression and Armenian genocide and to the intangible manifestations of these matters, which influence our daily lives in various ways. To start with, I shall confess that the most difficult part of this study was determining the “elusive” elements of being an Armenian, which have not been contaminated by politics that much. For the very reason, I decided that any ethnographic research about such a subject cannot be carried out without an affective analysis. Besides, I am of the opinion that this methodology should be appropriated by social sciences and it is unique in terms of defining an indispensable territory regarding anthropologic studies. As a result, the thing called being an Armenian and studying the affect (after 2007) relating to it is a state which only anthropology as a discipline can make possible, for what I am going to talk about here are things - like “pus” – which are not admitted to the grand narratives. The “*thing*” I conceptualized thanks to the theories of affect and refer to as the affect of being an Armenian is a considerably loaded concept. Therefore whenever I say affect what I mean something upon which policies are developed rather than the subjective feelings, which are difficult to be studied (this is the space I will criticize regarding the theories of affect). Moreover, being an Armenian and its affect can be understood at the spot where these policies fail. The very spot, where the abovementioned “*thing*” emerges and can be viewed most directly and responsively. Hence, I think that the basic condition of putting this issue into words is possible through the affective reading I have mentioned. Otherwise anything I do would disturb me.

I tried to choose different people from different groups in my fieldwork, which I conducted with twenty people as I said. Leaving the senselessness and unpredictability of this choice aside, I would be mistaken if I said that the people I interviewed had a common “affect” – keeping in mind the fact that affect is not something to generalized and simplified in that way. There is another ethnographic part of this study as everyone has different methods to deal with this affect. To be frank, it is impossible to carry out this study otherwise. Therefore we can consider that the interviews carried out with twenty-thirty people will not reveal what all of the Armenian society living in Turkey experienced. The information presented will be the reflection of the interviewers’ words.

The affect I will shortly be discussing in detail and will reveal from what my informants told me will actually not be anything more than the dialogues they engaged between themselves and dialogues they had with me.

A last note: In an atmosphere where there is the risk of stigmatizing every opposing voice against all the opposing voices, writing a thesis criticizing Armenian society could perhaps be granted to only an Armenian. My ideas represented in this thesis would probably draw many reactions from Armenians in Diaspora and in Turkey if read, but as I have said this maybe will end up being what I have understood from affect.

CHAPTER III: A REFLECTION ON THE NOTION OF “AFFECT”

“In my own work I use the concept of ‘affect’ as a way of talking about that margin of maneuverability, the ‘where we might be able to go and what we might be able to do’ in every present situation. I guess ‘affect’ is the word I use for ‘hope’.”

—Brian Massumi, “Navigating Movements”

After briefly mentioning why I needed an affective analysis in my study, I would like to discuss what this concept - which I use so often – is. Keeping in mind that it is impossible to make only one definition of affect, I will firstly recite how affect is defined by different thinkers and then I will explain how I used it in my thesis.

The first philosopher to use the word “affect” is Spinoza and he defines the Latin word “affect” (*affectio* in Latin) in Eticha’s third part intitled “On the Origin and Nature of affects” as follows: By affect I understand affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these affections.(Spinoza, 1677: 131).

If we pay attention, we can observe that for Spinoza, affection depends upon one of the important concepts of his philosophy; *occursus* -in Latin-. Spinoza uses affect (*affectus* in Latin) different from affection as the infinite variation of the power of existence (*conatus* in Latin). For Spinoza, man is an automat and can perform infinitely various actions with vitality amongst ideas, which are tied to each other infinitely. Spinoza calls the constant variation of this vitality as “affect”. In other words, affect is the actualization of our vitality among the given possibilities. However affection is the influence exerted on our body by encounters which take place among these infinite possibilities (Spinoza, 1677: 134). Deleuze who is influenced from Spinoza to a large extent in his philosophy states in his work compiled from his lectures on Spinoza that *affectio* is the lowermost level of knowledge. Neither word denotes a personal feeling (sentimental in Deleuze and Guattari). *L’affect* (Spinoza’s *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a per personal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body’s capacity to act. *L’affection* (Spinoza’s *affectio*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body (with body taken in its broadest possible sense to include “mental” or ideal bodies). Affect is not simply emotion, nor is it reducible to the affections or perceptions of an individual subject. ‘Percepts are not perceptions, they are packets of sensations and relations that outlive those who experience them. Affects are not feelings, they are becomings that go beyond those who live through them (they become other)’ (Deleuze 1995: 137). In other words, as a result of the occurrence of the human body with anything else and the correspondence that develop between them, this knowledge is the influence wielded upon the body by its correspondent. Considering that Deleuze defines affect as a sort of “becoming” we can state that affection is a direct knowledge, precedes Spinoza’s knowledge types (knowledge out of concepts, knowledge out of ideas) and is located at a lower level hierarchically. The knowledge defined as such is a direct product of an encounter. This concept, which can be considered to be personal and singular is in fact

the backbone of Spinoza's philosophy of ethics and politics. Deleuze reminds his students of this case as follows: "Why do the people who are in power, whatever field they work in, feel the need to affect us in an upsetting way? There is the need for upsetting passions. Yes, exerting upsetting passions is a must for power to operate" (11 Lectures on Spinoza, 2008: 88). Although this affect appears to be singular and to be the subject of psychology and psychiatry, what is important for my study is the fact that it still becomes the object of politics. In other words Spinoza reminds that this feeling, which emerges out of the singular encounters of people can somehow be organized. Furthermore, this process, which can be assumed to be almost unconscious and abstract creates a space for politics and what is more politics cannot be carried out anywhere else. Additionally, Spinoza bases his definition of ideal state upon this and defines a well-operating state as a system, which is responsible of preparing encounters that will ensure the happiness of its members. In her work entitled *Cultural Politics of Emotion* Sara Ahmed states that even if the affections which emerge out of encounters are unconscious, they can be the subject of politics and what is more political analysis conducted in that way is healthier. "Good" feelings as well as bad ones like hate and fear are intensively mobilized and governed in the political realm, and that politics is not merely about cold pragmatism and purely rational calculations. For this reason, unconscious mechanism should also be taken into account in political analysis." (Ahmed, 2004:33) To continue with Deleuze, we can say that affect is not something about human but it emerges out of the encounters of people. In his book "Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza" Deleuze asserts that affects does not relate to humans therefore he calls them non-human becomings. These encounters contribute to the formation of different language and practices and demonstrate that affect is social and politic in Deleuze too. Under the title "Becoming Politic" I will deal with this issue in detail. (Deleuze, 1990)

Still, talking about affect politically or about affective politics does not render what we call affect as a concrete concept which is ready to be analyzed. Jacques Lacan who takes up affect as the subject of psychoanalysis emphasizes the unconscious attribute of affect. His definition does not match up with the definitions, which Spinoza and Spinozian anthropologists apply. According to Lacan, affect is a mechanism, which

breaks the symbolic order¹⁰ rather than a concept which is pushed into unconscious. In Spinoza and Deleuze the understanding of affect, which cannot be held back by symbolic barricades corresponds to an understanding of a constant and prevalent affect rather than a static and unchanging condition as the understanding of affect embodies infinite possibilities. According to Lacan and unlike Spinoza, affective experience is a process, which can be interrupted or blocked. Affect in Lacan's philosophy corresponds to a space, which can be called the Real. This type of affect carries a potential break, which may influence the symbolic order in a positive or negative sense. In his work entitled *Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social Clough* defines affect as follows: "By the same token, the Real – which corresponds to affect in Lacanian terminology – distorts the symbolic order both in negative and positive fashions since it consists of stagnant and inertial deadlocks in which subjects are trapped persistently as well as potentialities fruitfully breaking the always-already castrated linearity of time and space." (Clough, 2007:13)

Up until now we have stated that affect emerges out of encounter, has a complex structure and we also talked about the politics which would be developed from it. Brian Massoumi says that he uses affect in substitution for hope in "Navigating Movements" and defines affect as follows: "In my own work I use the concept of 'affect' as a way of talking about that margin of maneuverability, the 'where we might be able to go and what we might be able to do' in every present situation. I guess 'affect' is the word I use for 'hope', affect is completely anything can happen any time." (Massoumi, 2007:4) We observe that Massoumi who states that affect has the capacity to create change and lead to maneuverability defines affect as energy, as a vibe which shows itself suddenly. According to him another feature of affect is its power of breaking the existing flow of meaning (Massoumi, 2007:8). Starting with Spinoza he states that affect is a potential virtual co-presence. In the same article, he emphasizes that affect is something embodied and says that it is the capacity to actualize one of the infinite possibilities for man.

¹⁰ In his Seminar IV, "La relation d'objet," Lacan argues that the concepts of "Law" and "Structure" are unthinkable without language—thus the Symbolic is a linguistic dimension.

If we establish a dialogue between the text of Massumi and Thrift, we can state that Thrift too discovers affect within encounters and togetherness. “So affect, defined as the property of the active outcome of an encounter, takes the form of an increase or decrease in the ability of the body and mind alike to act, which can be positive and increase that ability (and thus ‘joyful’ or euphoric) or negative and diminish that ability (and thus ‘sorrowful’ or dysphoric)” (Thrift, 2007) For both Massumi and Thrift, in a Spinozian sense, affect is a potential condition our body might experience and does not have to be subjective, does not have a method or mediation. We somehow find ourselves within that state. In other words affect haunts us. Thrift defines this infinite potential as follows: “So affects, for example, occur in an encounter between manifold beings, and the outcome of each encounter depends upon what forms of composition these beings are able to enter in to.” (Thrift, 2007: 187) As Massumi puts it: “Affect is synaesthetic, implying a participation of the senses in each other: the measurement of a living thing’s potential interaction is its ability to transform the effects of one sensory mode into those of another. Affects are virtual synaesthetic perspectives anchored in (functionally limited by) the actually existing particular things that embody them.” (Massumi, 1997: 228) “That is why all emotion is more or less disorienting, and why it is classically described as being outside of oneself, at the very point at which one is most intimately and unshareably in contact with oneself and one’s vitality. Actually existing, structured things live in and through that which escapes them. Their autonomy is the autonomy of affect.” (Massumi 1997: 228) “This emphasis on relations is important. Though Spinoza makes repeated references to ‘individuals’ it is clear from his conception of bodies and minds and affects as manifolds that for him the prior category is what he calls the ‘alliance’ or ‘relationship’. So affects, for example, occur in an encounter between manifold beings, and the outcome of each encounter depends upon what forms of composition these beings are able to enter in to.” (Massumi 1997: 228)

We have so far observed that Deleuze who is inspired by Spinoza and anthropologists in his line of thought find affect within encounters and although they define it as something emerges within human and his/her body, they emphasize that it has a structure different than that of emotion. If we turn our gaze at Brennan from this point of view, she goes farther in her book entitled “Transmission of Affect” by speaking of the autonomy of affect and the possibility of it independent of individual

experiences. Arguing how the transmission of affect takes place in her work, Brennan expounds on the fact that good and bad affects can somehow be transmitted into the objects. In the same book she argues that affect also has a biologic structure. Even when she takes into account the fact that the transmission line cannot be known explicitly, she states that affect has rotonomy . (Brennan, 2004)

All in all we observe in the picture we depicted a line of thought which finds affect within the encounters by referring to Spinoza and Deleuze and an affect which we can read through Lacanian perspective, a line of thought which is more psychoanalytic and in contrast with Spinozians.

Although the concept of affect I will employ in my thesis is the mixture of the different conceptualizations I have mentioned above, there will be points where I will object to both of these point of views. It will be helpful if I emphasize the point where affect is separated from emotion there. As Thrift points out ‘Affect is not simply emotion nor is it reducible to the affections or perceptions of an individual subject.’(Thrift, 2008:183) In her ethnographic study on Cyprus Navaro Yashin argues that “Affect does refer to an emotive domain, broadly speaking, but its scope goes much beyond that of subjectivity or the self. In this approach, too, as in ANT, there is a welcome move to go beyond the philosophy of the subject.” (Navaro Yashin, 2009:12)Being the subject of anthropology, the affect, I will address is not subjective, hence it is political. Therefore addressing an unconscious affect in Lacanian sense for my research does not seem to be reasonable enough. I will address the affect Deleuze and the anthropologists who follow him define. One fact may be overlooked when the definition of Spinoza and Deleuze is used: the subjective structure of Affect. In a sense, when I discuss the affect of being an Armenian in Turkey (keeping in mind the difficulty of discussing something very complex, I am not arguing about something very subjective) I have pointed out in the preface even though it is misleading to deal with the issue as a political and historical fact, it is equally false to approach it as something merely subjective and personal. In the second part I will explain in detail the reason why I needed the concept of affect throughout my thesis and where it stands in an anthropological analysis. At this moment I will talk about the difficulty of conducting a study with another method about Armenians living in Turkey.

I don't know really, it is very difficult to tell. It is the occasion that brings it out. A feeling of confidentiality or maybe you know the Armenian community has this shell, introversion, maybe at this moment you can escape. When there is a problem you can speak Armenian, we have a collective space, our Armenians, we share something in that space”¹¹ (Melisa, 26)

In the first section, I tried to establish the theoretical background while explaining why I needed an affective analysis for this study. In this section I would like discuss the reason why a study on Armenians living in Turkey cannot be conducted through any other method. Melisa, 26 years old, talks about a feeling which she thinks to be very personal and which she is unable to name exactly when she tries to explain what being an Armenian means for her. When the complex structure of such narratives is kept in mind, we realize that there is “something” which influences our daily practices and in fact requires an analysis for the actions we perform, the way we walk in the street, or simply the way we eat.

This subjective state, this “thing” which can be overlooked due to generalizations or grand narratives point out to “something” more than a state that emerges within the individual on its own. Although this “thing” which I will name as “affect” in the rest of my thesis might appear to be very personal, as in this example, it might also be the place where the individual establish his/her own identity of being an Armenian. The “thing” which might appear to be very subjective does not emerge out of encounters at a given moment, but out of the past and power mechanisms, which has a role in constructing this affect. Although the conclusion I have made may seem to be hasty and over interpreted, it allows us to think about the state of being “Armenian” in Turkey as a “feeling” rather than as an ethnic determination. Therefore this fluid “thing” which we cannot grasp unless we talk to each person necessitates an ethnographic study. On the other hand, what I establish as an affective analysis will not be simply sorting out all of the interviews I carried out or presenting the complex structures such

¹¹ *Original: Gerçekten bilmiyorum yani anlatması çok zor bir şey, ortamın getirdiği bir şey. Güven hissi gibi bir şey, o an kaçabileceğim bir yer gibi oluyor senin Ermeniliğin. Hani Ermenilerin böyle kendi içine kapalı bir kabuğu var gibi. İstedğin zaman oraya kaçabiliyorsun. Bir sorun olduğunda Ermenice konuşuyorsun, ortak bir alanımız var yani biz Ermenilerin ve o alanda bir şeyler paylaşıyoruz”*

as the one I have exemplified above in successive order. What I mean is that all the arguments must be viewed through an affective lens. We need to consider everything that is revealed in these interviews (whether they are ordinary daily issues or major historical facts) through thinking about the transformative quality of concepts like memory and mind and by questioning the past. As Ngai points out the “thing” which is ingrained in our skins and which we do not realize might turn into the elements that form the ego exactly at the spot where it seems to be unimportant.

It is obvious that there is a need for anthropological research. There is not any theory, which precedes the daily practices of life. The fieldwork must reveal it. I do not claim that my fieldwork will reveal it because each person experiences it differently. As De Certeau says each person has strategies and tactics cope with it.

CHAPTER IV: BEING AN ARMENIAN IN TURKEY: MEMORY & BURDEN OF THE PAST

“How may I explain an unexplicable grief by my own words?”

Zabel Esayan – *“Among the Ruins”*

4.2.a Armenian Genocide as a Breaking Point

In the first section of my thesis, I would like to discuss the period before the murder of Hrant Dink, which we can retrospectively characterize as a breaking point for Armenians living in Turkey. Instead of listing the reasons for specifying the murder of Hrant Dink as a breaking point, I believe that it will be more effective to explain how

this fact emerged in my fieldwork through quotations. Keeping in mind the fact that the periods which I will name as before and after the murder of Hrant Dink are not divided by distinct lines, I consider that this division presents profound advantages if it is taken as a convenience in a methodological sense. When you take into account the conditions that prepared the murder and the structure of public perception of being an Armenian in Turkey, which changed through Hrant Dink and Agos, we feel the firsthand experience of being in a slippery zone. As I have mentioned in the preface, while studying the period before 2007 we should deal with the present by keeping in mind the milestones, which affected Armenian society in Turkey. The affect of being an Armenian which I will describe – and I will employ concepts of mourning and melancholy frequently in order to describe this affect - is more like a feeling we can distinguish in relation to memory and post-memory of Armenian society. As I have already pointed out while explaining why I needed an affective and anthropological analysis, there might be a broad angle between the historical facts and the way they are experienced. In my opinion the core of the whole issue is not the history itself but how these types of memories are constructed. Therefore we should not forget that when we talk about the affect of being an Armenian we are actually talking about a memory and the construction process of that memory. After the fieldwork I carried out I can claim that today the greatest problem that lead to tension between Armenian society living in Turkey and the Turkish public is the “genocide”. In the preface of her book entitled “How do we remember?” Leyla Neyzi states, by referring to Rose, that the data in the memory is reformed and transferred through the attributes of the moment of recollection (Rose in Neyzi2003). However Halbwachs argues that the types of recollection of humans are greatly influenced by social contexts which overwhelm the ability of the human brain to remember, therefore creating a new context. (Halbwachs, 1992) As Leyla Neyzi states by quoting from Portelli, any memory research has to concentrate on the point of intersection where the individual and the social meet (Portelli, 1991). Therefore the fieldwork which I restricted to Armenians living in Turkey, the people who experienced the tragedy in their own particular way transfer their narratives of genocide according to where and how they experienced it. For Armenian people living in Turkey, the events, which have been experienced since 1915 are able to play a great role regarding the patterns of remembering the genocide. For this very reason it is possible to answer the question of the difference of memory between Armenians who immigrated and now live in the Diaspora and Armenians living in Turkey today through

the social determinations. We also observe that politics adopted by nation-states are also influential in terms of forming this memory. States, which endeavor to construct a memory according to the bureaucratic relationship with Turkey attempt to keep the memory of 1915 alive and we witness that they reproduce this memory through apparatuses (Althusser, 1970) like education and media. Leaving all nation-state policies aside, it would not be a mistake if we claim that the Armenians living in Turkey are subjected to a more complicated situation, since they somehow have to cope with the Turkish state and people with whom they are living.

“Well, we couldn’t go in those times. Inwardly I am really happy. Talar my younger one, you know studied in France. He got married and he lives there now. It is easy to speak about France, America and stuff. Well, we have lived in the lands that belong to the enemy for years now. And we live there even though we know that it belong to us. Turkish people are barbarous. They came, they fought and confiscated it. That’s the way it is. The condition of the bolsahaylars¹² is very special. We live our language, our Christianity in the land of the enemy. What’s the difficulty of living in Europe?”¹³ (Sirpuhi, 65)

As Turkey denies the genocide and constructs its official history through this denial, a different historical understanding, which is narrated orally emerges within the two societies. Since the years when oral history emerged in Italy, starting with the assumption that the narratives and the memory of the oppressed groups and minorities would be subsumed into the official history (Portelli, 1977) we can claim that Armenian society developed a noticeable tradition of oral history particularly about the history of Turkey. As this Armenian history is not allowed to enter the schools in Turkey, this narrative remains at home and in the private sphere. Despite this pressure, it has become stronger and has been narrated through the years. The descriptive narratives about the genocide, which appeared during my fieldwork demonstrate how effective the tradition

¹² Eng. Armenians living in Istanbul

¹³ Original: “Yani biz gidemedik zamandında. İçten içe de mutluyum ama, yani Talar benim küçük, Fransa’da biliyorsun okudu, evlendi, kaldı. Fransa’dan, Amerika’dan falan konuşmak o kadar kolay. Yani biziz burada düşmanımızın toprağında yaşıyoruz senelerdir. Hem de bizim toprağımız olduğunu bildiğimiz halde. Türkler barbar bir halk. Gel, savaş, üzerine kon. Bu şekilde. Diyeceğim o ki bolsahayların durumu farklı, çok özel. Biz düşmanımızın toprağında dilimizi, hristiyanlığımızı yaşıyoruz. Avrupa’da babam da yaşar.”

of oral history operates. I will elaborate on that matter in detail in the part called affective writing of historiography.

“I used to hear about Chart when I was a kid. It was as if whenever my father and the relatives and their friends drank, they started to talk about it. My father had also Turkish friends. But they wouldn’t talk when they were there but if there were more than three Armenians in the house and if they were drinking raki, the subject of the conversation would be first of all football, secondly Özal and thirdly this issue. Comic yes but that’s the way it is.”¹⁴ (Nazlı, 34)

The word “Genocide” is a concept, which was mentioned, used or at least referred by everyone I had interview with throughout my fieldwork. Armenians use the concepts “*cartum*”¹⁵, “cart” with which I am familiar as well to describe the genocide. The word “*medz yeğern*” which Obama used as it is relatively correct in political terms and the word “genocide” which has legal references are practically not used in the daily language. Although the interviews were in Turkish, because this word and the narratives that depend on it were in Armenian shows that even if it is expressed in Armenian it is still an issue on which people are unable to talk comfortably or even if people express themselves they do so through great anxiety. During the interviews, these parts were being narrated with a low voice and a great attention to ensure that nobody is watching them.

I would like to think about the word genocide and other possible names before starting to examine these narratives. One of the most important scholars who discusses the issue of naming the genocide is Marc Nichanian, who considers it to be such a severe and painful grief that he refuses to name it as genocide. In his article entitled “Catastrophic Mourning” Nichanian depicts the mourning process which followed the Genocide through silence, a concept of literature (Nichanian 1999). Defining the mourning process which has been experienced after 1915 as the barred mourning, he states that grief transforms or more precisely is transformed into melancholy because of

¹⁴ Original: “Cart’ı küçükken rakı masasında duyuyordum hep. Babamlar biraz içince bunu konuşmaya başlıyorlardı sanki. Türk arkadaşları da vardı babamın onlar gelince konuşulmazdı, ama bir masada üçten fazla Ermeni varsa ve rakı içiyorlarsa, futboldan ve Özal’dan sonra konuşulacak üçüncü konuydu bu bizim evde. Komik ama öyle.”

¹⁵ A pejorative word -literally correspond to chop- which means “genocide”, “massacre”.

the social conditions. (*Ibid*) Therefore we start to comprehend that the Genocide is a severely difficult problem both for those who experienced it and those who remained after it. With reference to Zabel Esayan's book "Among the Ruins", he explains this situation through the term "limit" in his article and describes the affect, which the Genocide brought about as limit of imagination of some sufferings and presupposes that the word Genocide does not in any way convey the feeling of grief. When considered, Genocide is a catastrophe that breaks the existing flow of meaning suddenly. According to Nichanian, because the Genocide is such a painful grief that it cannot even be mourned, it poses an obstacle for those who describe it as genocide (*Ibid*). For him, there is a need for sense in order for mourning to become possible. In this sense, it is impossible to mourn for something we cannot imagine. "Affect of the catastrophe as an unnameable feelings, then how can we talk about the catastrophe? What do we refer to with the genocide?" (Nichanian, 1999:107) Nichanian argues that the moment we name this catastrophe as genocide we tame it and we try to set it forth as an event, which is able to be known. This text of Nichanian, which can also be read in terms of violence, is a text written on Linguistic and philosophical conditions of possibility as well. Accordingly it will be helpful if we keep in mind the fact that the genocide mentioned throughout my interviews points to "loss" and "affection", which is created after this event, rather than to a legal term. Therefore my endeavor to set genocide as the subject of affect is an attempt to cast light on how the space for resistance is constructed through the rejection and recollection of it. Nichanian argues that the affect of this catastrophe is beyond the limits of the imagination and the moment we start to name the unnamable we try to signify it violently through the codes of language. (*Ibid*) On the other hand, the way the genocide is recollected and how such a catastrophe is transferred from one generation to the next despite the rejection of the state is exactly the subject of affect and my ethnographic research. While I was conducting my ethnographic study I recognized that asking direct questions about this transference is journalistic and I was more interested in how this matter is remembered and how it transforms within the memory. In these ethnographic encounters where language and asking questions might be considered as a form of violence, the Genocide and the types of recollection changed according to the people with whom I interviewed as well as the way they dealt with their memories regarding the genocide. The fact that the accounts about the Genocide are very detailed is interesting:

“Right after 1915 there was widespread news about Antranik Basha that he recruited Armenian soldiers. my grandfather Vartan my grandfather would say Antranik kept a unit consisting of 55 people very close to him they followed him wherever he went actually. Antranik commanded a much larger army but those 55 people were always and all the time with him my grandfather would say they belonged to this unit,he was in that unit but he was a very inexperienced soldier he would give a lot of examples for his clumsiness, inabilities, cowardice, his personal fears and this way my granddad comes to Turkey through fighting when he was in Antranik’s army though it is not clear when and where,at one point he was shot in the chin a bullet had lodged and my grandfather’s jaw bone was crooked from there in the face because a bullet lodged, this bone was broken its shape distorted, it was contorted there, it was such a bullet wound that he lost contact with all of his brothers he remained far away from the battle front they took him to the hospital because of the wound and the troop then went ahead and he never saw his brothers again,he got in touch with them and they exchanged letters they tried to communicate with each other but they never saw each other again, both of his brothers remained in Russia he stayed in Turkey my grandfather he was treated at an infirmary whose manager was a Protestant pastor my grandmother then my grandmother was from Şebinkarahisar Tanzara Şebinkarahisar is like Su Şehri which belonged to Giresun Su Şehri is called Sivas today but it belonged to Giresun back then and my grandmother was from Şebinkarahisar Tanzara and I felt from her narrations she too comes from a bourgeoisie family like my paternal grandmother she comes from a bourgeois life, both study until I don’t know which grade in the primary school, they went to school until third or fourth grade that’s how they learnt to read and write,both of my grandmothers are literate my grandfather was literate as well, by the way my grandfather Vartan was literate too but my grandfather Markar was ignorant my maternal grandmother was forced to go into exile their father was not together with them they went into exile her mother and 5-6 siblings when those who are forced to go into exile arrive in Eğin their mothers die of disease on the road, my grandmother used to tell the story of her mother like that, she would say: the streets of Eğin city were full of steps like a ladder the streets were constructed on slopes and she used to say there were steps everywhere my mother died we were baffled we stood up over the dead body I was the oldest one we didn’t know what to do, we kept crying we couldn’t leave her then an officer came out – she meant to say a soldier – he saw the dead body he tied a rope around her feet and he dragged her away while he was dragging the dead body I hugged them like that I didn’t allow them to watch but I did I heard the sound of her head on each step I have never forgotten that sound, my grandmother would start to cry then, this affected me deeply I watched it till it disappeared I watched, she wouldn’t go into the details but she wouldn’t tell most of the times, the 5-6 siblings did not survive she then ended up in an orphanage a coincidence perhaps the orphanage was next to the infirmary where my grandfather was being treated there was a Protestant missionary an Armenian Protestant pastor that Armenian Protestant pastor said to my grandfather you are all right now you need to leave you are a mature lad I want to help you to get married well my dad got surprised and said I am not the right man not a man who gets married

whatever I have my son the pastor says there are girls like you out there my concern is creating an atmosphere for you to get to know them rather than getting you into marriage there is this girl I believe it to be possible let's go now if you think it will be all right if you like the girl let's take her and marry her go along your way together with her at least you will protect her and my only concern is that or under normal circumstances of course it wouldn't be that way and it would a very funny story to tell, vorpanosa? Would say we bought a basket of fruits and went there to see the girl they call Badveli Poğokogan pastor Badveli as they bought a basket of fruits together with Protestant pastor Badveli and went to the orphanage my grandmother and the manager of the orphanage met she asked her is it ok she said ok and they got married there and then because of the atmosphere of those years they went to Trabzon, Trabzon was a free city like Istanbul or like the Izmir of those years back then Trabzon was a place to escape and no one would disturb the other they went to Trabzon and I don't know where they worked what they did there but at least they had the means to rent a house.”(Yetvart 56)¹⁶

¹⁶ Original: “1915’in hemen akabinde Antranik Paşa asker topluyor Ermeniler’i askere alıyor lafı yayılınca ağabeyleri ile birlikte Antraniğin ordusuna yazılıyorlar dedem Vartan dedem anlatırdı derdi ki Antraniğin en yakınında 55 kişilik birlik vardı her an nereye giderse onunla beraber olan aslında Antranik çok daha kalabalık bir orduya kumandalık ediyorken o 55 kişi her an yanında olandı biz o birliğin içinde idik derdi, o birliğin içinde ama dedem oldukça acemi bir asker kendisi bunu bir sürü örneklerle anlatırdı acemiliklerini, beceriksizliklerini, korkaklıklarını kendisinin şahsi korkaklıklarını ve böyle böyle dedem belli ki savaşıarak Türkiye’ye girmiş Antraniğin ordusunda zaman ve yerleri çok net bilmemekle birlikte bir noktada vurulmuş dedem çenesinden bir mermi saplanmış ve dedemin şu çene kemiği eğri büğrü idi yüzünün buradan bir kurşun yarasından ötürü bu kemiği kırılmış idi şekli bozulmuş idi çenesinin, burası eğri büğrü idi, dedem öyle bir kurşun yarası ile yaralanmış ve kardeşleri ile temasını koparmış kendisi cephe gerisinde kalmış o yara ile hastaneye kaldırmışlar birlik devam etmiş ve bir daha da hayatının sonuna kadar kardeşleri ile görüşemedi, haberleşti mektuplaştı temasları oldu ama bir daha görüşemediler iki ağabeyi Rusya’da kaldı savaş bittiğinde kendisi Türkiye’de kaldı dedem böyle bir Protestan rahibin müdürlük yaptığı bir hastanede revirde bir yerde tedavi oluyor o dönemde anneannem de anneannem Şebinkarahisar Tanzaralı’dır Şebinkarahisar da Giresun’a bağlı Su Şehri gibi Su Şehri bugün Sivas ama o zaman Giresun’a bağlıymış anneannem de Şebinkarahisar Tanzaralı’dı ve anlattıklarından benim hissettiğim o da bir burjuva aileden gelmektedir babaannem gibi o da daha bir kent soylu yaşamdan gelmektedir, o da babaannem gibi ilkokulun bilmem kaçınıcı sınıfına kadar bir okul yaşamı sürmüştür, 3. 4. sınıfa kadar falan okula gitmişliği vardır bunlar onlara okur yazarlık sağlamıştır, hem babaannem hem anneannem okur yazarlardır dedem de okuryazardı bu arada ve Vartan dedem bir tek Markar dedem cahil idi anneannem de sürgün edilir babası yanlarında değildir annesi ve kardeşleri ile birlikte 5-6 kardeş ile birlikte sürgün edilirler o sürgün kafilesi Şebin Karahisardan Eğin’e vardığında yolda anneleri hastalıktan ölür anneannem annesinin ölümünü şöyle anlatırdı derdi ki Eğin şehri sokakları basamaklıdır merdiven gibidir basamaklıdır sokakları yokuştur ve hep basamaktır derdi annem öldü biz şaşkın kalakaldık annemin cesedinin başında ben en büyükleri idim der ne yapacağımızı bilemedik ağlaştık durduk ayrılamadık oradan nice sonra bir zabıt geldi

Therefore, the significant point is how the Armenian society living in Turkey remembers these narrations and how these narrations are transferred from the past into the present rather than whether the word genocide is used or not. The most surprising information I received was the fact that some of the events were considered through their relationship with 1915.

“If my daughter marries a Turkish man... Wallahi it is up to her, I didn't bring her up like that. You know they say; what are you going to do if she gets married, you don't want to lose your child you have to accept it. Not at all. I won't accept it. We are talking here about a nation who raped the Armenian society, so will my daughter be raped too? If my daughters marries a Turkish man, they will not be my daughters any more. I am very clear about this.” (Armenuhi, 46)¹⁷

der asker demek istiyor baktı ki annem ölmüş ayağına bir ip bağladı annemin cesedini çeke çeke götürdü o cesedi götürürken ben kardeşlerimin hepsini böyle sardım hiçbirine seyrettirmedim ama ben seyrettim o cesedi sürüklerken o basamaklarda kafasının küt küt vurmasının sesini bugüne kadar kulaklarımdadır der ağlamaya başladılar anneannem bu beni çok etkilemiştir ve bunu seyrettim gözden kaybolana kadar seyrettim öbürlerine seyrettirmedim ama ben seyrettim sonra detaylarını anlatmazdı ya da bizim aklımızda kalmadı ama çoğunlukla da anlatmazdı o bahsettiği 5-6 kardeşten hiçbiri kalmadı bir tek kendisi bir yetimhaneye düşmüştür ve işte bu bir tesadüf olsa gerek o yetimhane dedemin tedavi gördüğü revir ile yan yana iki yapıdır gene orada da bir Protestan misyoner vardır ermeni bir Protestan rahip o ermeni Protestan rahip dedeme der ki sen iyileştin artık gitmen gerekiyor sen yetişkin bir gençsin nasıl yapalım ki yani ben seni evlendirmek istiyorum dedem de şaşırmış demiş ki ya ben evlenecek bir adam değilim yani neyim var neyim yok oğlum demiş senin gibi de kızlar var orada benim derdim seni evlendirmekten ziyade onlara sahip olacak bir ortam yaratmak bir kız var benim aklım kesiyor demiş şimdi seninle gidelim eğer senin de aklın keserse o kızı alalım evlenin siz onunla beraber yolunuza devam edin hiç değilse sen ona sahiplik yaparsın benim derdim budur demiş yoksa normal şartlarda olsa tabi ki öyle değil ve komik de anlatırlardı bir sepet meyve aldık kız görmeye gittik derdi vorpanosa bu söz böyledir demiş Badveli Poğokogan rahibe Badveli diyorlar Protestan rahibine Badveli ile birlikte bir sepet meyve almışlar gitmişler kızlar yetimhanesine oranın müdiresi ile anneannem ile tanışmışlar tamam mı tamam demişler ve bunları orada evlendirmişler ondan sonra da o yılların atmosferi içerisinde Trabzon'a gitmişler Trabzon serbest bir şehirmiş İstanbul gibi ya da o yıllardaki İzmir gibi yani kaçılabilir bir yer Trabzon'da kimsenin kimseye müdahana ettiği yokmuş Trabzon'a gitmişler artık ne iş yapmışlar, ne etmişler bilmiyorum ama bir ev kiralayacak pozisyonları olmuş.”

¹⁷ “Kızım Türkle evlenirse...Valla kendisi bilir, ben onu öyle yetiştirmedim ki. Hani diyorlar ya napacaksın evlenirse çocuğunu mu kaybedeceksin, mecburen kabul edeceksin diye. Hiç de bile. Ben öyle yapmam. Ne yani zaten halk olarak bizim ırzımızla

“Back in those days my daughter, we already know what happened. It is not necessary for someone to pop up and say ok I did it. Don’t go far away, my aunt. She is taken and placed into an orphanage. A Dacik¹⁸ adopts her. He makes her a maidservant and wife. Then she marries her second husband and she gives birth to Hosrov. Park asdvadz (thanks god) she didn’t give birth from her first one. She didn’t stay a long time together with him anyway. See what happened today! Hrant died, What was his name, Sevag or something, that child in the army, they took him down. Down. So what my daughter? The same thing continues, in the past they killed as a whole but today they kill one by one. What do they call it in Turkish? Midayutyun... there! The mentality is the same.”¹⁹ (Lusin, 75)

This continuity and the idea of uniformity within the memories propel us to think what kind of transformations such a traumatic event undergoes while it is being projected into present and in turn how it determines the present. Since it is an unacknowledged event, genocide and all the tragedy, which took place as a result of it comes into the surface always in different forms. The affect of being an Armenian, which I have reiterated all along, is based upon forms of recollection and evocation. As I said, politics are developed out of this affect and even if it is not mourned this narration which is transmitted orally and internally can be read through? The mourning process. At this point, we observe that rather than taking up genocide as a legal term it is much more helpful to find out to what it corresponds in memory. Just as being an Armenian is something much more than a legal determination, genocide becomes associated with how a loss is mourned in terms of its effects. This actually points out to a melancholy rather than a loss. Therefore this event which took place one hundred years ago, although it led to great losses, remained a catastrophe which cannot be mourned and this great loss turns into a ghost which haunts us wherever we go, a ghost

geçmiş bir millettten bahsediyoruz, bir de benim kızımın mı ırzına geçecek? Bir Türklerle evlenirse kızlarım, artık benim evladım olmaktan çıkarlar. Çok netim bu konuda.”

¹⁸ Armenian: Turk in a pejorative sense

¹⁹ “O zamanlar kızım, zaten ne oldu hepimiz biliyoruz. Yani birinin çıkıp tamam yaptım demesi çok lüzumlu değil. Uzağa gitme, benim teyzem. Alınıyor yetimhaneye konuluyor. Daciğin biri geliyor alıyor. Hizmetçi yapıyor, karı yapıyor. Sonra ikinci kocası ile evleniyor da Hosrov falan doğuyor. Park asdvadz (Allaha şükür) ki o ilkinden çocuğu olmuyor. Zaten kısa kalıyor onunla, anlattım ya kaçırıyorlar onu. Bugün olan ne, al! Hrant öldü, Sevag mıydı neydi o askerdeki çocuğun adı, onu da aldılar aşağı. Aşağı. Nedir kızım. Aynen devam ediyor, eskiden topluca yapabilmişler bunu şimdi teker teker. Ne derler ona Türkçe. Mıdaynutyun... hah zihniyet aynı.”

which Armenian society, and indeed all communities in this geography, must always deal with. That state of struggle to deal constantly points to this melancholy.

4.1.a. The Melancholic Nature of Being Armenian

In his article written in 1917 and entitled “Mourning and Melancholy” Freud defines melancholy as pathology. (Freud,1917)From this point of view he explains the destruction of the self by highlighting the difference between ordinary sadness and grieving for a lost loved one. In this type of melancholy there is a “loss” and the damage inflicted on the ego because of the inability of going into mourning. Freud constructs melancholy through the inability to narrate the mourning process, which is experienced after the loss, through the anxiety it imposes on people and through the fact that it attaches to the ego and transforms it. (*Ibid*) Freud goes on to say that: “Mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as fatherland, liberty, an ideal, and so on. As an effect of the same influences, melancholia instead of a state of grief develops in some people, whom we consequently suspect of a morbid pathological disposition.”(Freud, 1917:215) When we examine the words of Freud by thinking of Armenian society, we encounter a process of unexpressed mourning for the experiences caused by the catastrophe in 1915 and a constructive melancholy, which forms the self of the Armenian society through that unexpressed mourning. The important point in this theory is its transformative power in narcissistic terms rather than having a structure as in grief which renders the world meaningless and empty. Similar to the methods applied during trauma studies which I mentioned earlier, we can argue that here too a trauma and the melancholy it causes are adopted collectively and establish themselves by segregating anything that does not belong to it. However, we notice that Freud, who defines this concept as a pathology in 1917, uses it as a constructive element of ego in his later texts. “On the one hand, like mourning, melancholia is the reaction to a real loss of a loved object; but, over and above this, it is bound to a condition which is absent in normal grief or which, if it supervenes, transforms the latter into a pathological variety.”(Freud, 1917: 217) Freud’s thesis is also important in terms of stating that this process is an unconscious process. Therefore the thing I put forward as

the affect of being an Armenian is a melancholic identity that the Armenian society establishes by giving damage to its own self. Therefore a struggle, which starts with a loss can be organized by creating fear and affection and it can turn into a glue which holds a community together. Different from mourning, this melancholy constantly haunts us and the ego has to cope with the libidinal energy in contrast to mourning. When I say ego, I mean the collective ego of the Armenian society. As Freud says, the obsession when melancholy is in question. Instead of raising this state into consciousness, the question is now dealing with the past continuously and transposing loss to be a part of the ego. (*Ibid*) As I have already stated, the substantial constituent that establishes this injured self of Armenians is the “genocide”.

“Well, suppose that there is no 1915, what remains about Armenians? I think if Turkey acknowledges it, nothing will remain for the Armenian community to talk about.”²⁰ (Sarven, 32)

“Oh Nora, for god’s sake! I am so angry! Armenians, can they develop their own policies? Get rid of this cart, they don’t know anything else. There are these good old days when our literature and music were at the top, they lay it on a bit thick. If you ask nobody knows. Have you read anything by Yesayan? Do you know any play by Baronyan? No. My most precious treasure is my identity as an Armenian. Genocide took place. What would happen if it didn’t? How would they account for their laziness? Armenians cannot develop a policy of their own because they base their identity on reproduction of the race not on production of art or politics. Back in the past something happened. We are still there. Which of us still relates to those days? We lost our property, our ancestors died, what a pity! Ok, it’s all right. But are we still there? It’s always whether the USA acknowledged it, whether they called it Genocide or not. What is happening today anyway? If you appropriate your identity only through the marriage of your children with Armenians and if you only wish that they do not marry a dacik, if you don’t speak in your language, don’t read your books they will keep cutting you down. We kill ourselves. I think the Armenians are already stuck in the mud.”²¹ (Nerses, 27)

²⁰ *Original:* “Yani bugün 1915’i çıkart ne kalıyor geriye Ermeniler’e dair, bence Türkiye bunu kabul ederse Ermeni cemaatnin konuşacak başka bir şeyi kalmayacak.”

²¹ *Original:* “Ya Nora, allah aşkına, o kadar sinirliyim ki! Ermeniler yani siyaset mi üretebilir burada? Şu cartı çıkar hiç bir şey bilmiyorlar başka. O güzel günler var edebiyatımızın müziğimizin tavan yaptığı, göklere çıkartılıyor. Sorsan kimse bilmez. Bir tane Yesayan okudun mu? Baronyan’ın bir oyununu bilir misin? Yok. Ama Ermenilik en kıymetli hazinem. Genocide oldu. Olmasa ne olacaktı acaba? Ermeniler bu ataletlerini nasıl açıklayacaklardı? Ermeniler bugün siyaset üretemezler. Çünkü Ermeniliklerini ırkın üremesi üzerinden kurmuşlar, sanat üretme siyaset üretme üzerinden değil. Bir gün bir şeyler olmuş. Hala oradayız. Yani allaşkına o günkü zarar

The subject which is based on the gap we see in Freud enables in every respect the formation of a neurosis within the ego and in this sense melancholy becomes an indispensable part of the formation of the self. In his book entitled “Melancholy of Race” Cheng explains how grief turns into grievance. Apprehending that transformation makes the rage, hatred and grudge of the Armenian society against Turkish people more understandable. The feelings of hatred are no longer held because of the genocide. It arises as a result of the prohibition of the state, which does not allow the Armenian society to mourn. Cheng characterizes this state through giving this example: when black children admit that they are unsuccessful they use lotions, which change the color of the skin. In this process, which he argues through concepts of being black and white, he makes references to Freud by stating that this is a type of consumption as well and melancholic grief is actually not a condition of grief but the legalization of it. In other words, while 1915 is not adequate to explain the grief of the Armenians the rage they incorporate as they construct their identity may turn out to be a vital factor to explain the affect of Armenians living in Turkey today. From this point of view, when melancholy grows from a particular thing, which is exhibited by some subjects into creating its own other, it becomes obligatory. In this sense, we can claim that Turkey’s nation-state construction and the processes that correspond to it are nourished and dissociated by melancholy to a certain extent. Cheng’s discussion of the melancholy of the blacks is associated with that argument. As to the melancholy of the Armenians, Cheng emphasizes the melancholic relationship –I am not talking about the relationship Armenian society establishes with itself here –is not solely a nostalgic relationship which is established when it is being lost, but further than that, it is related to the feeling of separation from the very thing that actually forms it with a deep grudge. (Cheng, 2001) In the same book Cheng underlines the reason why it is difficult to make mention of the melancholy of racial people. According to Cheng such an approach - through his own words - is: 1. The tendency to confuse psychological analysis with prescription 2.

şu an hangimizi bağıyor. Malımız mülkümüz gitti, atalarımız öldü. Vah vah! Tamam. Ama yani bugün hala orada mıyız? Vik vik, yok Amerika kabul etti etmedi, soykırım dedi demedi. Bugün ne oluyor yani? Sen Ermeniliğini çocuğum aman Ermeniyle evlensinden daciikle evlenmesinden ibaret sanarsan, dilini konuşmaz, kitabını okumazsan seni daha çok keserler. Kendi kendimizi öldürüyoruz. Bence Ermeniler çamura batmış vaziyette.”

The tendency to confuse psychological analysis with prescription 2. The assumption that damage (in the form of having internalized harmful dominant ideals) amounts to the same thing as having no agency or, conversely, the presumption that having agency of a strong ego makes one impermeable to such invasions. 3. The neglect of authority's melancholic attachment and finally 4. The failure to address that psychodynamics of psychological vulnerability and their intrinsic relations to identificatory and subject formations- formations that are as unstable as they are historical, as multifaceted as they are coercive. At this point the greatest contribution of Cheng is stating that Ego is a haunted ego. (Cheng, 2001:14)

At this point the condition of constantly dealing with the Genocide enables Armenians to use it to explain the events that take place today as a reference through Derrida's concept of hauntology. (Derrida, 1994) It opens itself to be read through this concept. Today the Genocide haunts the Armenians.

4.1.b. Specteres from the past: "If you are an Armenian, you have to deal with these issues"

*"If you are an Armenian, you have to deal with these issues. At least it equips you with an identity. It is easy for me to be a leftist. You are a dissident the moment you are born. You are a minority. You are against those in power. Well, many Armenians are too eager to serve the government today. And Armenians are rich of course. I and the people that surround me are poor, I don't know what this means. Anyway, if you are an Armenian you will deal with the genocide, you cannot step aside. It is a burden on your shoulders. There are various defense mechanisms about that. This is understandable. You can claim that Kurdish people did it so that you can get away. It is the easiest way. Well many Kurdish people might have really done that,?? it is the routine policy of the Turkish state. It triggers a war between the peoples. Or you could say it took place and remained in the past in order to get away from the issue again. But after the death of Hrant it is very difficult to do that and there is also worse, you could say Armenians made a lot of noise back then, you can say that. The interesting part is some way or another you have to find some kind of excuse for yourself. You can't go on to live without overcoming this in Turkey. Oh I almost forgot the best one. You can leave there and start to say how bad it is to live in Turkey, that's better, and that way you will not do your obligatory duty as a soldier, well I will have to be a soldier, that's why I keep talking about it (laughing)."*²² (Aleks, 29)

²² Original: "Mademi ki Ermenisin, bu işlerle uğraşacaksın. Asgari anlamda politik bir kimlik veriyor bu sana aslında. Benim solcu olmam kolay. Doğuştan muhalifsin. Azınlıksın. İktidarın karşısındasın Ki bir çok Emreni bugün iktidarın yaltakçılığını yapmaktadır. Bir de Ermeniler zengin ya tabii. Ben ve çevremdekiler fakir, bu da ne

In his article, "Spectres of Marx," Derrida argues that Marxism cannot be well understood with its ontological and historicist basis, and in this context, he underlines that Marxism is the "realm of undead". In Montag's "Spirits Armed and Unarmed: Derrida's Specters of Marx" article, by uttering Derrida's own words, Marxism takes its strength from "spectrality" not from being here and there or alive or dead. Later on, he says that Marxism has always existed in a "ghostly" form even after Marx's period. From this point of view, we witness that Derrida's understanding of existence deals with a space that is far beyond the "presence". What is different from ontology's most speculated "spirit" concept is that Derrida creates a space for "spectre". (Derrida, 1994:165)

In his opinions about Marx, Derrida gives us a clue about hauntology as it is also particular to Armenians, as it manifests itself in recollection processes. As a concept which Derrida uses when he describes the thinkers who always deal with Marx, genocide has a similar nature for Armenians who have to deal with the Genocide. (Derrida, 1994:160) In other words, because Armenians present the genocide de facto in their narrations regarding the present, it turns out to be a fact to be thought over.

Derrida puts the difference between "spectre" and "spirit" like this: "spirit" is defined as something that escapes definition and identity, (*Ibid*: 192) thus in this context, we might conceive "spirit" in a Cartesian way of understanding that is the opposition between spirit and corpus. On the other hand "spectre" is –in Derrida's terms- "paradoxical incorporation" or "becoming body", because "spirit" can only be visible when it finds a material guise, and hence it might create an "affect". In this sense, "spectre" does not need materiality. In this context, Derrida finds ontology

demek anlamıyorum. Neyse, yani Ermeniysen en azından soykırımla uğraşacaksın, kenara çekilmezsin. Sırtında yük gibi duruyor. Bununla ilgili çeşit çeşit savunma mekanizması var. Çok anlaşılır. Kürtler yaptı diyip çıkabilirsin işin içinden. Ki en kolayı. Yani birçok kürt yapmış olabilir fiilen bunu ama halkı halka kırdırmak zaten Türk devletinn alışlagelmiş bir politikası. Ya da geçmişte yaşanmış dersin çıkarsın işin içinden, ki bunu da Hrant'ın olumu zorlaştırdı epeyi. Bir de en kötüsü var Ermeniler de çok sesini çıkartmış o zaman dersin. İşin ilginç yanı öyle ya da böyle bir bahane bulmalısın kendine. Yani bunu overcome etmeden hayatına devam edemezsin Türkiye'de. Ha en güzelini unutuyordum. Bir de gidersin buradan Türkiye'yi kötüler durursun bu daha güzel, hem askerlikten de yırtarsın, ben askere gidicem ya sürekli askerlikten bahsediyorum dimi (gülüyor)"

inadequate and comes up with the term “hauntology” that is an interspace between the spaces of absence and presence. This definition of absence and presence which flourishes from the context of ontology versus hauntology talks about spreading and returning experiences which we cannot identify with the space of presence rather than asking questions about what a presence is and how it begins. Lewis, in his article, discusses this space with the concepts of Derrida’s that are “instability of real” and “ghostly embodiment of the fear”. (Levis, 1991:161) At this point, Derrida’s “impossibility of being” concept gives us new kinds of structures apart from the absolute presence of space by locating this concept into de-ontological approach. (Derrida, 1994) When we look further into Derrida’s statements with an affective lens and through Lewis and Montag’s interpretations, we understand that what is in question is our constant unutterable, undetectable states of emotion, infatuations, melancholy, grudge in short, affect’s theoretical construction. If we move on to Freud from this context, in “Uncanny”, he indicates that the screen memories are one of the forms of remembering. According to Freud, this space, which is explained through the “unconscious” is replaced with another screen (that connects to an unwanted feeling or memory somehow) when the memories we do want to remember or subdue arise. (Freud, 1899: 4) This different kind of memory which we encounter in screen memories or rather we mention about the memory’s different kind of capture is actually capturing the “moment” and felt through some certain affections’ “utterance”. (*Ibid*)Derrida’s concept of specter (Derrida,1994)points out to the state of Armenians coping with the Genocide by implying that even if we conceive the genocide as an event which remains in the past it is still somewhere nearby. Can we claim that this state of being haunted corresponds to what I call the affect of being an Armenian and to the fact that its rejection inflicts damage on the ego after a certain period? Can we claim that especially after we make a cross-reading of Freud’s opinions about being haunted? Is there an ongoing desire to maintain that state?

To answer this question, we can refer to Wendy Brown’s article entitled “Resisting Left Melancholy”.(Brown, 1995) I think that Brown’s suggestion corresponds to the state of being in love with ones own sufferings” particularly when Armenians are in question. I believe this state could explain the affect of being an Armenian in Turkey more clearly when we summon the help of DeCerteu.(De Certeu, 1899) Giving reference to Freud’s article dated 1917 in which she studied melancholy;

Brown defines melancholy as a more ideal loss than the loss of mourning.(Brown, 1995:20) To remember, Freud argued that the loss in melancholy is related to an object which is dismissed from consciousness. I will now discuss how this thesis can be reformulated as the “melancholy of Armenians” with reference to Brown’s arguments. I am aware of the fact that the Armenian case is different in various ways from this process, which Wendy Brown discusses with a frame of post-fordism and Thatcherism. (Brown, 1995: 27). Nonetheless, I am of the opinion that despite all of these differences such a method is appropriate to explain Armenian melancholy. The analysis I will try to conduct with reference to Freud, Benjamin (1995) and will offer me the chance to discover the melancholic base of what I call the affect of being Armenian. We have already stated that Freud explains melancholy as the internalization of the guilt, which was once directed to a loved object into one’s own ego. (Freud, 1899) Following a similar path, Benjamin explains left melancholy as long-term contemplations and loyalty to objects culminating to the extent of commitment rather than possibilities of political transformation. (Benjamin, 1996:37) In other words, both in Benjamin and in Freud affection is reified. In her article entitled “Resisting Left Melancholy” Brown questions whether there exists any other loss in the subconscious of people embracing left-wing politics further to the acknowledgment of these losses and concludes that the basic reason of the commitment to the left is that it promises the path to the good. (Brown, 1996:23) At the same time, if according to Brown this commitment which makes us feel close to leftists is not welcomed without expecting a radical transformation of our commitment of love and politics it turns into left melancholy, a melancholy which is self-destroying.(*Ibid*)

As to the Armenians living in Turkey, we can conclude that the social, economic, cultural and most importantly human loss experienced after the genocide transformed into taking pleasure from self-sufferings - in the sense that Brown argues - because of a hundred year of ignorance of the facts about the experiences Armenians underwent and their oppression. In this case the need for an object of substitution; in other words similar to the substitution of left commitment with hatred, the rage expressed by Armenians against Turks is not only the substitution of a desire but also it is fixed.

“We cannot do it, it’s far away from us, my daughter. It’s the duty of young people, you will do it. We accepted it, lived there.”²³ (Lusin, 75)

“What are the Armenians going to do? I am the person who should be the happiest, Nor Zartonk was established for this dream, but the Armenians don’t deserve it. Well, shouldn’t they raise their voice for something? There are full of types sharing the mentality of Sirinoglu²⁴. We are happy and stuff...”²⁵ (Aren,25)

Ngai on the other hand in the chapter of her book entitled “animatedness” proposes that Asian Americans are considered to be more docile and better citizens in respecto African American and this situation corresponds to a certain “lump” in them.(Ngai, 2005:120) Ngai argues that this lump is formed through racial otherness and even if it is expressed in silence this lump covers a space in anthropologic analysis. The basic question of Ngai explains how these people who are designated as a docile minority are rendered inarticulate because of this identity which is classified through the mechanisms of power. (*Ibid*)In the same chapter Ngai underlines that this state of being plunged into silence is a mechanism similar to missing one’s footing which is employed as means for governability. Ray Chow in his work entitled “Writing Diaspora” describes a very similar situation through the metaphor of “*automaton*”. (Chow, 1995) According to Chow because of this undischarged emotion there emerges a state in which people are unable to speak. However this does not mean that the state of inability to speak is meaningless or should be excluded from the analysis. (*Ibid*) Considering the Armenians we observe a picture similar to Asian Americans; a silent, less threatening minority. (Ngai, 2005)This is worsened through inward sufferings and pains. Therefore, when the idea of a minority whose voice should not be heard emerges the minority becomes totally governable. As Linda Green argues, at this point fear becomes a way of

²³ Original: “Bizden geçmiş artık kızım. Atık gençlere kalmış. Biz burada yaşamayı kabullendik.”

²⁵ Original: “Ermeniler artık bugün ne yapacak, ben ki yani en umutlu olması gereken kişiyim, Nor Zartonk sonuçta bunu hayal ederek kuruldu ama yani bu Ermenilerden artık cacık olmaz bence. Yani hiç bir şeye mi ses çıkartılmaz. Şirinoğlu kafasında tiplerle dolu. Çok mutluyuz bilmem ne..”

life and silence pervades our daily life and starts to control our actions.(Green, 1999) At this point Ngai takes up this lump which as an analytic and ethnographic tool and employs it as a method to explain racial otherness. (Ngai, 2005: 94) She observes what type of fractures and excessive states it creates. The same mechanism might also become a survival mechanism and a defense mechanism. The speech of Hrant Dink emerges as a destruction of this silence.

We must keep in mind the fact that silence is as important as memory and evocation in studies of memory and post-memory. This mechanism is present in memory, just as forgetting may sometimes end up with the inability of explaining or transmitting the memories (Yogi, 1966). In this sense, if a study of post-memory would be conducted on Armenians, it would be especially helpful to keep in mind the fact that this silence is a dynamic in violent and traumatic pasts. In his article entitled “Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Mémoire” (1986) Pierre Nora discusses the differences between milieu de memoir and lieu de memoir. These concepts, which do not exist in English are determined as I have mentioned above through the determination of the memory by collective memory and the extent to which the memory is deformed. If we are to speak with the concepts of Nora, lieu de memoir helps us to understand the memory which is experiences or the memory which is transferred, on the other hand milieu de memoir helps us to understand where this narrative stands and how it is determined through social structure. (Nora, 1989:7) Hirsch uses the following statement for the post-memory of traumatic memories: “Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right.” (Hirsch, 2008:11) Redstone emphasizes that this trauma is very important in terms of understanding the political violence the social memory leads. Redstone, talking for the example of the Holocaust, argues that massive trauma is different than individual trauma, that a sense of community is established through this feeling, and that some meanings appear out of this narrative. A social trauma is thus a wound to the social body and its cultural frame (Erikson, 1995)

4.2. Armenians as a Docile Minority: Narratives of Victimhood

During the field studies I conducted, I observed that a “victimhood” story was the most common example of the concepts of remembering and memory that I mentioned in the first part of this chapter. In some of the interviews, especially in the ones I did with people from the first generation, the common narration had an emphatic and discouraged discourse, claiming that their attempts to do politics in a country like Turkey are all in vain.

This country is such a country that it has been the grave of our grandmothers, grandfathers and ours, but we still live here. Why would they not ask us why we live here and say ‘go away if you like’? Now they say ‘You have to either like or leave this country. Of course this sentence must be formed with an ‘either...or...’ structure. The ones that leave both love and leave this country, it is not an ‘either...or...’ case. We are old now, you will have to go. We need courage. Actually I am a courageous woman. But I would not want to have anything to do with the state. The police and the prosecutors frighten me. I would not want to have a deal with the state. We could not go, though we had the opportunity. We could not go. We stayed here, we stood by with folded arms. We Armenians are like that, we try to keep our noses clean. But we have a right. If you meddle in something, they would give you a rough time. If you say something, you are deemed guilty, even though they would do nothing if the others said the same thing.”²⁶ (Hermine, 55)

In her book titled “Feminism Without Borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity” (2003) Mohanty talks about how the feminist discourse unites through the concept of *sisterhood* and the problems it causes. In her article, Mohanty speaks of Morgan’s (1996) and Reagon’s (1983) understanding of feminism and critiques them. Her first criticisms that the concept of “woman” defined by sexual politics runs the risk of being too generic and the fact that this concept may turn into an ideology with

²⁶ Original: “Bu ülke öyle bir yer ki kızım yani mezar olmuş bize yayalarımıza, dedelerimize, biz hala yaşıyoruz. Demezler mi neden yaşıyorsun o zamana bas git diye! Şimdi de diyorlar ya “Ya Sev ya terk et!” Yani zaten bu –ya, -ya lı bir cümle olmaması lazım. Terkedenler hem seviyor hem terk ediyor ya o ya öbürü değil ki” (...) Bizden geçti kızım, siz gideceksiniz gideceksiniz artık. Cesaret lazım. Ben cesur bir kadındım aslında. Ama gel gör ki devletle ilgili bir işim olsun istemem. Bir polis, bir savcı falan bunlar beni korkutur. Devletle alacağım vereceğim olsun istemem. Gidemedik biz, fırsatlarımız oldu. Biz gidemedik. Kaldık burada, elimiz kolumuz bağlandı. Ermenilerde var bu, etliye sütlüye dokunmadan yaşarız. Haklıyız ama. Dokunursan gösterirler, başkası der bir şey yapmazlar sen dersin suç olur.”

multiple meanings and references may be overlooked. (Mohanty, 2003:111) Mohanty's analysis of "woman" also corresponds to the Armenians. Keeping in mind that it is impossible to make a general definition of "the Armenian" (I talk about the Armenians living in Istanbul throughout my thesis, but even they do not have a homogenous identity, which makes it impossible to talk about the existence of a single universal way of being an Armenian), it was interesting to find out during my interviews that people often talked about being an Armenian as if it was a universal concept. This commonality was based on the general "victimhood" of the Armenians. The concept of "womanhood" and the resulting state of suffering criticized by Mohanty in feminist discourse was determined for the Armenians by the genocide and the resulting notion of "victimhood". (*Ibid*) The Armenians were united in such a discourse through the sufferings their ancestors had in common and they accepted this "victimhood". Another interesting point in this context is that even though it has been one hundred years since the genocide, the things they experienced after the genocide remain to be of secondary importance compared to the genocide itself. If we go back to Mohanty's concept of "sisterhood", in a similar way, this comprehensive and ambiguous field defines itself as "armenianness" through the genocide and makes the differences invisible. In this way, the Armenians living in different countries and yet sharing a common ground of "being an Armenian" through this common pain abstain from doing politics but prefer to accept this common pain and place it into the center of their concept of "being an Armenian". They even consider anything that may damage this common ground as a threat to their unity. In a similar vein, this unity also carries the risk of creating common enemies. This concept, which we may interpret as the nationalism of the oppressed peoples (Oran, 2002), helps the Armenians feel close to each other through a common history, namely the genocide. But how could such a feeling of closeness be dangerous? If we continue with Mohanty, similar to the way she described for feminism, this unity may turn into a governmental tool by putting some of the differences out of sight, actually by pretending that such differences do not exist. (Mohanty, 2003) When it comes to the Armenians living specifically in Istanbul, this unity makes the class differences between the Armenians living in Anatolia and Istanbul invisible. As in feminism, it is highly problematical how the Armenians are assumed to be cross culturally singular and monolithic. This leads to the "erasure of historiography" as again argued by Mohanty. (Mohanty, 2003: 114) In the same way as how the historiography written by a western woman of privileged classes ignores the women living in the third

world countries, a common and rigid history of genocide may also be dangerous to the same degree.

“They think our struggle, namely Nor Zartonk’s struggle, is against the Turkish people, which is not the case. We really had difficulty in making people understand this. They asked why Kurdish or Turkish people made programs in our radio broadcastings. I mean, they reacted negatively. Of course, Nor Zartonk is an Armenian initiative but it is not meant to be a place to provoke Armenian nationalism. It is a comprehensive initiative. I mean how can Nor Zartonk exclude the Kurdish issue? We are all leftists after all. But some of them want it to be all about the Armenians. Even I do not feel the same way as all the Armenians. When they say Armenian, people have a single perception of it but as you might know better, I mean the sociological definition of this, for example the class differences disappear completely. Then there is this pimp, I am sorry, this man called Şirinoğlu, he comes and says “We are very happy, we do not have any problem.” This is the result of differences being wiped out under the concept of being an Armenian. There is a general perception that the Armenians are rich, but I am not. They ask why Nor Zartonk does not organize its activities on the island. They think all the Armenians can go to the island. As if there is no Armenians in Dolapdere or in Samatya, all transparent.”²⁷ (Aleks,29)

Another aspect of this difference is based on the fact that the Armenians in the Diaspora and in Turkey seem to be part of a single entity. The same illusion created by patriarchy in that it assumes that all women live in the same way, ignoring the fact that the experience of being an Armenian is very different in Diaspora and in Turkey. The same mentality which places women in an opposition against men places the Armenians against the Turkish people through the genocide discourse and in the same sense, in which “woman” is presented as the truth teller according to Mohanty, (2003) being an Armenian is represented as being a “victim”.

²⁷ Original: “Bizim yani Nor Zartonk’un mücadelesi Türklerle’ymiş gibi algılanıyor ama öyle değil, ya biz bunu oturtmakta sahiden çok zorlandık. Neden Kürtler, Türkler falan radyo yayınlarımızda program yapıyorlar diye sorun oluyordu. Tepki alıyorduk yani. Ermeni insiyatifi tabii nor Zartonk ama Ermeni milliyetçiliğini pompalama yeri değil. Kapsayıcı bir insiyatifi. Zaten kürt meselesini falan nasıl dışlayabilir, hepimiz solcu tipleriz yani biliyorsun zaten. Ama yok ne istiyor bazıları sırf Ermenilerle alakalı olsun istiyorlar. Ben bir çok Ermeniyle de aynı hissetmiyorum ki kendimi. Ermeniler de diyince tek bir algı varmış gibi ama sen daha iyi bilirsin bunun sosyolojik karşılıklarını falan da yani sınıf farkı mesela tamamen ortadan kalkıyor. Şirinoğlu diye bir afedersin gavat, çıkıp Hrnat Davası bile çözülmemişken diyebiliyor yani ki, “Biz çok mutluyuz” bir sorunumuz yok diyor. İşte bu Ermenilik kavram ıaltında farkların yok edilmesidir. Ermeniler zengindir algısı var, ben değilim. Nor Zartonk’un aktivitelerini neden adada yapmıyorsunuz diyorlar. Bütün Ermeniler adaya gidebiliyor zannediyor bunlar. Dolapderedeki Ermeniler, Samatyadakiler falan sanki yok, transparan.”

As a result, just like the concepts of the universal “sisterhood” (*Ibid*) and its possible meanings, a universal concept of being an Armenian plays a crucial role in reproducing and unifying the narration of “victimhood”. Based on my experience with the Armenians and my field studies, I generally observed that the Armenians feel a kind of closeness to each other based on this concept of being an Armenian, which could be groundless and superficial. At this point, I think it would be faulty to assume that this feeling was an emotion, which the Armenian society created on its own, as if it was the result of an internal dynamic. The reason is that when we discuss a fact such as genocide or the *turkification* policies experienced by most of the minorities in Turkey, defining this feeling, actually this affect-calling it a feeling would be faulty- as being a result of an internal dynamic is at least as dangerous as these policies. Therefore here we talk about a build up of anger through the course of the history. This anger brings along an illness, a hostility against the Turkish people. This anger may also sometimes manifest itself in very groundless and imaginary ways. For example, since the memory of the Armenians in the Diaspora is fixed in 1915, they think the lives of the Armenians living in Turkey are in danger, and thus, they use the murdering of Hrant Dink or Sevag to justify their views.

The anger and the morbid affects I discussed in this section are actually somehow created affects. Therefore, the anger or the victimhood of the Armenians cannot be analyzed in isolation. On the other hand, if we think in the light of such concepts as melancholy, mourning and hauntology (Derrida,1993) , the picture we have shows us nothing but a great loss, which could not be mourned for years and the anger created by this deprivation. Thus, affective analysis, allows us to see both the opposites of the singular narratives in the political fields and at the same time, have the opportunity to include the excessive? cases which would have been forgotten through generalization.

“My child, if she says that she will marry an Arab, marrying a Muslim is not the problem. She cannot marry a Turk. He/she also cannot marry a Kurd, for different reasons, I mean they are a very primitive society, he/she cannot do it, he/she would not be successful in marriage. I mean there are many reasons. Ok she/he can marry an Arab or an Iranian, still I would be unhappy, because why wouldn't she/he marry an Armenian. Because I wouldn't be able to raise my granschildren as Armenian, I wouldn't be able to speak to them in Armenian. Armenian is my language of affection, it is my language, my mother tounge. I love my dog and speak to it in Armenian. I can't imagine talking to my children in Turkish. I mean, it is not about

imagining, I cannot speak, even when I have to because my child is the most valuable thing in my life, how can I talk to him/her in another language, I would talk to her/him in my own language. Think about it, I will love my grandkids and will not be able to talk to them in my own language. Then I wouldn't be able to show my affection to them, I can only talk to them as I talk to my children, with peek-a-boos. This is where I lose my hope, this is one of the contradictions in my life, I mean I think the Armenians are being destroyed, I try to do something. I don't cherish any hope in Turkey but still I try to do something, I have such contradictions. I mean I am a socialist, I am against nationalism, look at me, how I talk to you? This is a contradiction in my life.”²⁸ (Armenuhi, 46)

4.2.a Affective way of writing histories

When I explained the affect of being Armenian through the concept of melancholy, I mentioned that in the interviews I have done so far, I observed a state of “being in love with one’s own sufferings” and giving up. Actually, this is quite important to explain the affect which moves forward with very personal narratives and lies behind the things that change the daily lives of the people, like for instance, Lusin’s saying “We cannot leave here any more,” or Armenuhi’s definition of Armenians as being stuck in mud. The thing that lies behind this, is in fact, this mentality of official history,

²⁸ Original: “Çocuğum mu...Arap, Arapla evleneceğim derse Müslüman ile evlenmek değil sorun Türk ile evlenemez Kürt ile de evlenmesin Kürt ile de başka sebeplerden dolayı çok premitif bir millet yani onu yapamaz evliliği başarılı olmaz onun için ama Türklere her şey var olmaması için her şey var yani diyorum Arap ile İranlı ile evlensin hiç yani tamam üzülürüm niye hay olmadı üzülürüm niye torunlarımı benim istediğim gibi hay yetiştirmeyeyim hayeren neden konuşmayayım çünkü şevkat dili benim dilimdi anne dilidir ben köpeğimi çok seviyorum onunla Ermenice konuşuyorum çocuklarımla ben düşünemem çocuklarımla Türkçe konuşamıyorum düşünemem değil konuşamıyorum yapamıyorum yapmam gereken yerlerde de yapamıyorum çünkü çocuğum benim en kıymetli şeyim nasıl onun ile ben başka bir dille konuşayım benim dilimle konuşurum düşün ki torunlarımı ne kadar çok seveceksin ve kendi dilini de konuşamayacaksın sevemem ki konuşurum çocuğumu sever gibi severim ancak agucuk mugucuk. İşte umudumun yok olduğu yer, işte bu benim hayatımdaki çelişkilerden biridir yani Ermeniler yok oluyor diye düşünüyorum bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum Türkiye kesinlikle umut beslemediğim bir ülke hala bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum bende böyle birkaç tane hayatımda çelişkiler vardır yani Sosyalistim kesinlikle milliyetçiliğe karşıyım bak seninle nasıl konuşuyorum bu da benim hayatımın bir çelişkisidir.

which we consider as not having an important place in our daily lives. When I stated in the first part of my thesis that I will analyze the affect of being an Armenian, I claimed that this affect is not merely a feeling, that it can be organized and that it is possible to do politics through this affect. At this very point, I think, the mentality of the official history teaching about the Armenians beginning from the first grade at schools in Turkey, Turkey's denial of the Genocide in 1915 and the reflection of that denial in the official history are important issues. Nearly all of my interviewees said that they realized that they were Armenians in their childhood. Even though the Armenians are allowed to have their own schools in Turkey, the program of study in these schools is again determined by the Ministry of Education. The interesting thing is that in these schools the history of the Armenians is never taught. An even more interesting aspect of this issue is that the compulsory lessons such as "Turkish History", "Citizenship Education" and "Geography" are not allowed to be given by Armenian teachers. In contrast to the other lessons taught in Armenian schools, these lessons, which cannot be "put at risk" are given by "Turkish" teachers appointed by the Minister of Education. Therefore, an Armenian teacher graduating from the department of history can be appointed by the Ministry of Education to any school but the Armenian schools of minorities. As a result, the official history to be taught to the Armenians is guaranteed by the state. Then the Armenian children learn about their own history at home, in the private sphere through oral transmission. The interesting point is that these two accounts of histories do not match, actually they contradict each other. This duality is based on some problems which cannot be identified so clearly in childhood and on the "turkification" mechanisms processed not just with history lessons, but also on the street, in neighborhood relationships and again in other different lessons.

"When did I first understand that I am an Armenian? When I realized that I could not say "mama" on the street. I could say "mama" at home but I had to say mother on the street. This made me feel bad, I can still remember this feeling. The feeling of being different. Believe me, even when I was just a kid, I mean when I realized that I was an Armenian, I pitied myself, it was as if I was supporting a team that no one supported. I wished I was Turkish, just

like everyone else. What is this all about? I remember being an Armenian as a flaw, of course because of history lessons...’’²⁹ (Karin, 24)

-I never realized it. Now, I was born in Levent, I mean I lived in Levent up to a certain age. There were many Turkish people around us, there was only one Armenian family across from us, but it was nothing abnormal. We would speak Armenian with them, and we would speak Turkish with Müzeyyen Hanım. Besides, my father had friends in Levent, generally from academia, from the academy of fine arts. The wife of one them was Emine Abla. Her husband Metin Ağabey worked with my father, they would go to work together. Emine Abla was newly wed back then, she got married when she was about seventeen years old, a very young woman. She couldn't get along with her mother-in-law. Metin Ağabey would bring her to us in the morning, then he would go to work with my father and come back in the evening to take his wife bacj home. So, Emine Abla was always with us. I grew up with Emine Abla. As I said, she was a young woman, I mean seventeen or eighteen. The children would play with her. I remember her from my childhood. She and Metin Ağabey are in all the pictures from my childhood. They were like my aunt and uncle. When I went to school,... I will connect the story back to Emine Abla. We moved to Feriköy, I began school. In the first grade, we had a teacher called Fetiye Hanım, wearing a suit, just like a republican woman, I mean she was just like this Canan Artıman. I don't remember her face very well but she had curly hair, a green suit, she would stand erect, just like an Atatürk woman. She asked a question one day. It was a Turkish lesson. I understood it quite well. I was good at Turkish in general. I was very successful in primary school. I could understand Turkish very fast, I learned to read and write very quickly. She had appointed me as the assistant teacher, she would call me little teacher and make me sit near my friends who had not yet learned how to read and write. She would tell me to teach them. I still see one of them, she calls me my teacher. This woman asked me a question one day, she asked us our mother tongue I and some others like me said Armenian but I mean this was not something they taught us. Neither in kindergarten nor in the first grade no one told us that our mother tongue was Armenian, we did not hear such a thing from our Armenian teachers but it was a childish thing, I mean mother tongue means the language of my mother, I suppose that was the reason (...). We used to speak Armenian in the house, therefore we said Armenian but the woman said no, you mother tongue is Turkish, Armenian is an additional language. We were little kids then, six years old. I was six in the first grade and engaged in my first deception, I mean not deception actually because she was

²⁹ Original: “İlk nerede anladım Ermeni olduğumu “mama” diyemezsin sokakta oradan anladım. Evde mama diyebiliyordum sokakta anne demem lazım. Bu bende kötü bir his yaratıyordu çok net hatırlıyorum yan iben bu hissi. Yani ben farklıyım hissi. İnan daha küçükken, yani Ermeni olduğumu anladıktan sonra, böyle kimsenin tutmadığı bir takımı tutuyormuşum gibi bir zavallılık hissi hissediyordum. Yani keşke Türk olsam herkes gibi olsam diye düşünürdüm. Bu da nereden çıktı yani şimdi Ermeni olmak bir defo gibi hatırimda kalmış, bir de tarih dersleri tabi...”

*a teacher, an authority, I wouldn't argue with her and say no, my mother tongue is Armenian. You are a kid, she is an adult, you are a student, she is a teacher. There is a hierarchical relationship but you still do not believe what she is saying. A teacher is lying to you and you feel it, this is not how I see the things right now, I felt it right back then. You evaluate most of your feeling later on but that was not the case then. I said to myself, ok you may think so but my mother tongue is Armenian, then I realized something. Again in the same year, Zeynep was three years old, she is the daughter of Emine Abla. I mean a little kid, just starting to wander around. Yes Emine Abla had a daughter, she was three, I was six years old. Even though we had moved to Kurtuluş, we still continued to see each other, I mean we are still very close. There was Zeynep's grandmother with us, we were playing in the house. Then Zeynep goes to her grandmother's room for a moment and when she came back she asked directly if we were Christian. I thought what Christian was. She asked 'Are you Armenian?' I said 'Yes', she said 'Idiot'. Then at six years old, I was Armenian. My mother tongue is Armenian, but it is an additional language and I am an Armenian and therefore an idiot. Then I realized everything."*³⁰ (Armenuhi, 46)

³⁰ Original: Ben hiç fark etmedim, bana hiç fark etmedi şimdi ben Levent'de doğdu yani belli bir yaşa kadar Levent'de kaldım etrafımız hep Türklerle çevrili idi yalnız sadece bir aile vardı karşıda ermeni bir aile ama yani çok anormal bir şey değildi onlarla Ermenice konuşulurdu, Müzeyyen hanım ile Türkçe konuşulurdu, ayrıca babamın arkadaşları vardı genelde Levent'de akademi çevresinde güzel sanatlar çevresinden arkadaşları vardı hatta bir tanesinin eşi Emine abla Metin ağabey babamla birlikte çalışırdı beraber onlar işe giderlerdi Emine abla da yeni evli on yedi yaşlarında filan evlenmiş, gencecik bir kadın, kaynanası ile geçinemezdi sabah Metin ağabey onu bize getirirdi beraber babam ile işe giderlerdi akşam da gelir alırdı karısını giderdi eve dolayısı ile Emine abla hep bizim evde ben bir Emine abla ile büyüdüm dediğim gibi genç de bir kadın yani sonuçta onyediy – onsekiz yaşlarında bir şey çocuklar oynar eder hep onunla büyüdük yani, onu hep hatırlarım çocukluğumdan resimlerde hep Emine abla, Metin abi vardır, onlar benim dayım yengem gibi bir şeydi ilk okula gittiğimde şimdi Emine ablaya bağlayacağım olayı da onun için anlatıyorum sonra biz Feriköy'e geldik işte ben okula başladım birinci sınıfta Fetiye hanım diye bir öğretmenimiz vardı tayyörlü Cumhuriyet kadını gibi Canan Arıtman var ya o tipte bir kadındı yani, yüzünü çok net hatırlamıyorum ama hafif kıvrıkcık saçlı yeşil bir tayyör giyerdi hep dim dik dururdu böyle tam bir Atatürk kadını filan o bir soru sordu Türkçe dersi ben çok çabuk kavramıştım genelde iyiydim yani ilkokulda çok iyiydim çabuk anlıyordum Türkçe'yi de çok çabuk kavramıştım okumayı yazmayı beni şey tayin etmişti, öğretmen vekili küçük öğretmen derdi işte henüz öğrenme yani okumayı yazmayı sökmemiş arkadaşların yanına koyardı sen öğreteceksin filan onlardan biri ile hala görüşürüm öğretmenim der o da bana o kadın bir soru sordu bir gün çocuklar sizin ana diliniz nedir ben ve benim gibi birkaç kişi Ermenice dedi ama bu hiç bize öğretilmiş bir şey değildi yani mangabardezde de birinci sınıfta da çocuklar sizin ana diliniz Ermenicedir yani ermeni öğretmenlerden hiç böyle bir şey duymamıştık, görmemiştik ama çocuk şeyi yani ana dili demek ki annemin dili gibi bir şey yani herhalde oradan yola çıkarak(...)Evde Ermenice konuşuyorduk, Ermenice dedik kadın yok dedi, çocuklar dedi hayır hayır sizin anadiliniz Türkçedir Ermenice ekdildir, ekdil biz de şimdi çok küçüğüz altı yaşında isem birinci sınıfta ben altı yaşında idim altı yaşında ben ilk defa

When it comes to the transmission of the Armenian history, the Genocide is not mentioned most of the time, but this erasure is more than just a privation, as I have said in previous chapters, it points to “problems” in various other fields.

“The event of my life! Look, this is an earth shattering story, I was in Ferikoy in the forth grade. Our history teacher... Was it history? No, actually social studies I guess. Does not matter, I don't know. Nora, she was totally a fascist bitch. Oh this is being recorded but I mean, even that is not enough. She said openly that the Armenians collaborated with Russia, there was war. The Armenians betrayed us and things like that. Then I said, I mean I don't remember if I heard this at home or where. What did I say? Oh, very funny (She laughs)! I said exactly “Should we slaughter the Armenians because they collaborated with the people in Russia?” ‘People in Russia’, look at my political awareness back then! When I said this, oh my God! The woman went as red as a beetroot. She went mad and said “What are you talking about? Did I say we should slaughter them?” I was very embarrassed. But now I am glad that I said it. So funny, and some of my friends even applauded me!! Look, this son of a bitch, oh I am sorry but I swear a lot, will your teachers read that? Doesn't matter, I mean why are you talking about the Russians with a kid in 4th grade? I mean, we were just in the forth grade. Then they said I was beating the boys. Yes, I really did such things then. I had cut the hair of a boy. The teacher knew this and when I talked about slaughtering in class they punished me for being “prone to violence”. My mama got really angry at me. You know what, she even beat me, I guess. Yes, yes she beat me. Bbut I was a kid, I didn't know anything about these issues back then. She could have told me not speak such things in public, but that I could talk about them in such and such places. How would I know? Actually,

takiye demiyeyim de yani sen öyle biliyorsun ama işin doğrusu o değil diye yaşadım, o çünkü bir öğretmen bir otorite onunla çenkleşemeyeceğimize hayır benim ana dilim Ermenice diyemeyeceksin küçüksün o büyük, öğrencisin o öğretmen alt-üst hiyerarşik bir durum var burada ama onun dediğine asla inanmıyorsun doğru değil biliyorsun, koca bir öğretmen yalan konuşuyor bunu hissediyorsun bu şimdiki değerlendirmem değil ha o zamanki hislerim çoğu şeyleri daha sonra değerlendiriyorsun bu öyle değil içimden sen öyle bil yani benim ana dilim Ermenice orada bir şeyler fark etmeye başladım yine aynı sene o Emine ablam var ya Emine ablam evet ben altı yaşında idim Zeynep de üç yaşında Zeynep daha yeni yeni ortalara çıkmış bir çocuk Emine ablamın kızı evet çocuğu oldu işte üç yaşında ben de altı yaşındayım biz hala çok Kurtuluş'a taşınmamıza rağmen gidip geliyoruz görüşüyoruz yani çok samimiyiz bu güne kadar öyle Zeynep'in babaannesi var evde biz oynuyoruz Zeynep ile bu bir ara babaannesinin odasına girdi sonra geldi gelir gelmez bizim odaya siz dedi Hristiyan mısınız? Hristiyan nedir yani onu düşünüyorum, Ermeni misiniz dedi, evet dedim aptal dedi haa orada işte ben Ermeniyim altı yaşında artık şey oldum yani tamamen ana dilim Ermenice ama o ektir ve Ermeniyim onun için aptalım böyle bunların farkına vardım”

it doesn't really matter, I am glad I said what I said. It was my first political protest (she laughs) ”³¹(Maral, 32)

“The talked and talked about my grandmother. But why did she have to be called Emine for more than six months, maybe one year. She completed the first grade with excellent grades. She was a very successful student, of course we would be very happy but all these gained importance on that day. Then I asked my father why he didn't tell me about these things, why I don't know these things. He said that it is all over now, problems solved, now we live with Turkish people. He asked “Why would I have complexes?” and said that he didn't tell me such things so that I wouldn't have complexes either. Why would I have complexes? What does it have to do with complexes? But I understood it when my kids learned it at a very young age, I understood what my father meant to say. I didn't talk to my kids about these issues, they already learned everything from outside, I mean at a very young age. From the analysis of or the news about the Armenian issue on TV, from what people talk about on the street. My children learned at a very young age and I understood what complex is from them...”I mean it is very difficult to explain this complex for me. For example I didn't grow up with hostility against the Turkish people but my children don't like the Turks. Is it easy to live with people you don't like?³²(Armenuhi, 46)

³¹ Original: “Hayatımın olayı! Bak acayip bomba anlatıyorum şimdi, dördüncü sınıftayım Feriköy’de okudum ben. Tarih öğretmenimiz var ya. Tarih mi? Yok herhalde, sosyal miydi o zaman. Neyse bilmiyorum. Nora, tam bir faşist kaltak. Ay kayıt da ediliyor bunlar ama, yani az bile dedim. Açık açık söylüyor, Ermeniler Rusya’yla işbirliği yaptı, savaş vardı. Ermeniler ihanet etti falan. Ben de artık evde mi duymuşum nerede bilmiyorum. (Gülüyor) ne demişim! Ay çok komik. Aynen böyle: “Ermeniler Rusyalılara. Rusyalılar bir de politik bilincime bak o yaşta! Ermeniler Rusyalılara yardım etti diye kesmek mi lazım Ermenileri!” demişim. Bunu dememle. Allaah. Kadın kıpkırmızı oldu. “Ne kesmesi öyle bir şey mi dedim” falan diye krize girdi. Ben nasıl utadım. Ama yani şimdi ne iyi yapmışım. Ay çok komik bir de arkadaşlarımdan bazıları alkışladı beni!! Hale bak ya. Ya bir de ulan orospu, ay çok pardon ya ama ben biraz kufurlu oldu, hocaların falan okuyacak mı bunu? Neyse yani sen 4. Sınıftki çocuğa ne Rusyası anlatıyorsun ya? 4. Sınıf ya. Sonra ben o sırada erkekleri dövüyormuşum falan. Hakkaten vardı öyle şeylerim. Çocuğun birinin saçını kesmişim. Öğretmen bunları da biliyor bir de sınıfta kesmek dedim ya bana “bu çocuk şiddete meyilli” falan diyerekten ceza verdiler.Mamam zaten bana bir kızdı. Ya ama nasıl biliyor musun. Dövdü galiba ya evet, evet dövü ya. Ama ben küçücüğüm yani benim hiç bir şeyden haberim yok o zaman, bana anlatsa yani dese böyle böyle dese, bunları şurada konuş burada konuşma dese yok, ne bileyim ben. Amaan İyi ki de demişim, aslında. İlk politik çıkışımdır. (kahkahalarla gülüyor)”

³² Original: “Anlatılıyordu, anlatılıyordu babaannem ama niye bu neden, neden babaannemin hayatında böyle bir altı yedi ayını belki daha fazla bir senesini Emine olarak geçirmiş ya Emine olmuş Alülü Ala ile beşi bitirmiş Alülü Ala çok başarılı bir

If we keep in mind how history-writing stimulates the construction of national memory it will be appropriate to ask the following question: “How do students in Armenian Minority Schools represent themselves in Turkish History and how do they match their own identities with this historical scholastic narrative?” Thus regarding my own experiences, my focus on two separate narratives from each other: The one in school and the one at home. Hence, the interviews I have done showed me that today, these two narratives are not as disparate as one might expect. The changes of the political context make visible an alternative Armenian history different from textbooks in Turkey. The duality of the narratives forces the children studying in Armenian schools to shoulder the burden of the history and thus most of the interviewees have memories of history classes.

“The history classes were of course very different, our teacher was Mr. Recep, I think he was your teacher as well, he was a good man. I don’t know if you create it yourself. In your high school you become very conscious, you know it is written in the books. The topic will be touched upon, it will be. There is this big title “The Armenian Issue” and there is the “Sütçü İmam event”. I was personally curious about these matters and read about them on my own before the class. The day came. The history teacher said we are skipping this, it is difficult to deal with that there. We had talked about it among our friends. We talked how he would teach and talk about it because we are playing football with the man at the weekends, we are that close so to speak. The man didn’t do it. I remember the fear I felt inside, not fear how should I put it? It was like the feeling you have right before something strange happens. We caught each other’s eyes. We were relieved. But we talked in Armenian after the class. We talked about how we wished he had talked about it, we wished he had said it happened yes it is true. Now I am looking back, how difficult it was for the man, this was the solution he came

öğrenci imiş, haa çok sevinirdik ama neden işte o gün bunlar anlam kazandı ve babama şey derim baba bunları niye bana söylemediniz niye benim haberim yok, ya bu mudur, o omudur işte artık çözüldü, sonuçta dedi Türklerle birlikte yaşıyoruz, niye bu kadar kompleksli olayım dedi gerek yoktu o zaman şey yapmadım kompleksli olmayayım diye yapmış o zaman onu da anlamadım niye kompleksli olayım ki ne ilgisi var ama işte onu ben çocuklarım çok küçük yaşta öğrenince anladım, babamın ne demek istediğini, benim çocuklarım ben hiçbir şey anlatmadım hiçbir şey söylemedim her şeyi dışardan zaten öğrendiler yani çok küçük yaştan öğrendiler. Televizyonlardaki ermeni olayları analizlerinden haberlerinden işte etraf taraftan konuşulanlardan edinenlerden benim çocuklarım çok küçük yaşlarda öğrendiler ve kompleksin nasıl bir kompleks olduğunu ben onların üzerinde şey yaparak...”Nasıl bir kompleks bunu anlatmak benim için biraz zor şey var mesela ben Türk düşmanlığı ile büyümedim ama benim çocuklarım Türkleri sevmiyor sevmediğim biriyle yan yana yaşamak kolay mı?

up with. He never talked about it. Because it is really difficult to talk about it when you have so many Armenians in front of you, that is to say, reading those things written about Armenians. But there were those different types of history teachers. She was a geography teacher or something. She would bring up the issue out of the blue. Simply a fascist. Talk about the mountains and the stones and leave us in peace. No. When you hear about these issues from your teachers, you are not stupid anyway, you don't believe them, you know the truth. You just swallow the words. The Armenian teachers and Turkish teachers oppose each other almost in every school. It is not approved if you are close to Turkish teachers.”³³(Arek, 21)

I am of the opinion that understanding the double nature of affect is valuable in terms of understanding the thing I reiterate as the affect of being an Armenian. In the section where I talked about what affect is I stated that affect emerges out of encounters. I based my arguments on Spinoza and Deleuze. At this point I should underline the fact that it is dangerous to perceive this affect as something very subjective for I put it forth through melancholy and mourning. To continue with Mohanty's example, it is equally dangerous to imagine Armenians as “victims” by constantly thinking about the genocide because this approach means the depreciation of the activism coming along with the exploitation of being an Armenian as a show window of a certain type of politics. (Mohanty, 2003) The activism which is established through binarized concepts relegates the victimhood into experience, setting up a hierarchy between different sufferings. As Reagen argues, this affect which corresponds to a subjective feeling

³³ Original: “Tarih dersleri çok deęişikti tabii, Recep Hocay'dı bizim hocamız, senin de hocan olmuş sanırım o da iyi bir adam da yani. Ya kendin mi yaratıyorsun bunu bilemedim ki. Bir kere lisede çok bilinçli oluyorsun, biliyorsun yani kitapta var bu. Gelecek o konu gelecek. “Ermeni sorunu” diye koskoca başlık bir de “sütçü İmam olayı” var. ben şahsen bunları merak edip okumuştum kendi kendime, önceden. Sonra o gün geldi. Recep Hoca dedi ki, bu konuyu atlıyoruz, dedi, şey burada yapılamıy çok zor dedi. Önceden konuşmuştuk arkadaşlarla, yani nasıl yapacak falan diye, çünkü haftasonları halı saha falan yapıyoruz adamla yani oyle yakınız. Adam yapmadı dersi. Yapmadı. Böyle içten içe korku duyduğumu hatırlıyorum, korku da deęil de nasıl desem aman. Yani garip bir şeyler olmadan hemen önce duyduğun bir şey gibi. Sınıftakilerle bir göz göze geldik falan. Rahatladık . Ama dersten sonra hayeren (Ermenice) konuştuk. Keşke anlatsaydı dedik, ama olmuştur doğrudur diye anlatsaydı. Şimdi bakıyorum da, adam için de ne zor kendince öyle bir çözüm bulmuş. Hiç anlatmadı. Çünkü karşında o kadar Ermeni varken sahiden çok çok zor yani Ermeniler hakkında o yazanları okumak-okutmak. Ama başka tipte tarih hocaları da vardı. Coğrafyacı mıydı bir kadın durduk yere bu tip olaylardan bahsediyordu. Faşist işte. Dağı taşı anlat geç. Yok. Ya genel olarak böyle şeyleri öğretmenlerinden duyduğunda salak deęilsin ya inanmıyorsun yani onun söylediğın gerçeęi biliyorsun. Şöyle bir yutkunuyorsun devam ediyorsun. Zaten Ermeni öğretmenlerle, Türk öğretmenler hemen cepheleşiyor okullarda. Türk hocalarla çok yakın olmana sıcak bakılmıyor falan.”

historically located does not result from a transcendental realm of reality but in contrast it corresponds to an activating feeling which brings along political engagements. (Reagen, 1983) We still observe that Mohanty's statements on the feminist model are valid for Armenians as operations of governmental technology. (Mohanty, 2003) Such a model does not provide space to discuss historical situatedness, subjectivity, and affective fissures. In contrast it closes this space and if we go further it creates an activist violence. I will talk about this in detail in the third chapter where I will discuss the murder of Hrant Dink and its aftermath.

In her book entitled *"The Cultural Politics of Emotion"* (2004) Sarah Ahmed argues that the discourse of happiness represents a multicultural diversity when deconstruction is applied. (Ahmed, 2004:47) She also talks about the possible dangers of that discourse. Talking about Armenians exclusively, besides the imagination of Armenians as a "docile minority" I believe that the emphasis on old multicultural days and the attachment of value on Armenian food, architecture etc. is dangerous as it nourishes this discourse. Ahmed defines it as "From unhappy racism to happy multiculturalism". (*Ibid*) (Thinking Ahmed together with the concept of mourning, this state, that is to say the perception of a very happy multiculturalism, prevents mourning and it poses the danger of leading to grudge which fixes the melancholy this state creates. (Özselçuk, 2005). If we remember again that Melancholia is tussling around the past, what does giving up melancholy in the name of political organization mean? Hence, the activist attempts to deconstruct the discourse of abovementioned victimhood might strengthen it. "We become strangers or affect aliens. The feminist kill-joy. Awkward situations. The family as a happy object. Whoever rejects this happy object becomes an affect alien." (Ahmed, 2003:50)

*"Armenians were not viewed as a minority that participated in politics, this didn't change with either Agos or Nor Zartonk, there are these perceptions like Armenians have their own food, they are hard-working and have stuff. And there is Asala, they are not Armenians. More precisely, they are trying to boost the perception of docile minority about Armenians living in Turkey. Many Armenians condemn terrorism when the asala events comes along, this is not similar to Kurdish issue. They are the sympathizers of PKK. Armenians somehow adopted this idea of docile minority."*³⁴ (Nazan, 30)

³⁴ *Original*: "Ermeniler siyaset üretebilen bir azınlık gibi görülmüyorlardı, Agostan Nor Zartonk'tan önce, yemekleri var, çok çalışkan olurlar falan gibi algılar var. bir de asala var mesela onlar Ermeni değil. Daha doğrusu Türkiyedeki ermeniler özelinde uslu

Ann Cvetkovich (2003) in her article entitled “Legacies of Trauma, Legacies of Activism” discusses the melancholy of incomplete mourning and argues that a certain state of organization might lead to it even if the conditions for mourning are not realized.

Before starting the 3. Chapter of my thesis I would like to ask the following question: Is it possible to approach the process of melancholy and mourning of Armenians which I have already mentioned? Can this oppressed lack generate a surplus? According to Stravrakakis, desire is mobilized at the point created when “experience” and “real” do not overlap (corresponding to the “real” and “significant” in Lacan’s psychoanalysis). This absence is also where political existence can be found. Lacan’s term “negativity” is used to define this absence; the political subject is created from such an absence or, in other words, from its opposite. Moreover, In the Lacanian Left he views this negativity as the “condition of possibility for a passionate and imaginative transformative politics and for the radicalization of democracy.” From this perspective, it would not be incorrect to state that this absence is a *constitutive* absence. Therefore, the silence that is being discussed here generates a kind of surplus, which is actually quite interesting in that it can create a space for resistance against racism and nationalism.

Hence, when we speak about Armenians, it would not be wrong to claim that this absence is a constructive absence; the possibility of this absence might be the thing that should be emphasized there. Could the melancholy I discussed in the first part be viewed in a different way? Is it possible? I will try to talk about this in the third chapter of my thesis by referring to a different type of literature. In her article “Legacies of trauma, legacies of activism,” Ann Cvetkovich (2003) argues that, while melancholy has been viewed as pathology ever since Freud wrote “The Uncanny,” it also has the power to open up possibilities. The death of Hrant Dink and the period of mourning and melancholy that followed were events that, in my opinion, opened up possibilities and set people in motion. Considering Spinoza’s definition of “affect” and Lacan’s

azınlık algısı yaratılmaya çalışılıyor. Bir sürü Ermeni asala olayları gündeme geldiğinde terörü lanetliyor, yanki kürtlerin pkk sempatzanı olması gibi bir durum söz konusu değil. Ermenilerde bu iyi azınlık fikri beimselmiş öyle yada böyle.”

definition of “melancholy,” the affect that emerged after Hrant Dink’s death brought to the surface many suppressed and silenced pains, enabling the wound festering under the skin. Hence things which are ingrained in the skin of the people in their daily lives and which we do not recognize well might lead to such affection. As I have discussed in the section on Historiography.

The reason why I am discussing intangible feelings festering under the skin, affects and affection results from the fact that I expect everyone who deals with such traumatized memories to develop their own strategies in the way De Certeu (1988) proposes. In this very ambiguous territory we are unable to explain the reaction of y? about his/her daughter’s marriage with a Turkish man or the tendency of violence Maral demonstrates in his/her history class through nationalism. What are these strategies and tactics? While strategies are totalities nourished by general and existing ideologies, tactics are mechanisms which presents variety. (De Certeu, 1984) Tactics are more minor and stands in opposition to that totality. To put it more simply, unlike strategies, tactics do not have names. Strategies simplify and signify; tactics are daily life itself together with all of its complexity, years of experience and a hundred years of memory ; they are performances or practises like walking, eating, drinking, talking etc. (Ibid:)

In “Milletin Bölünmez Bütünlüğü”, Kentel, Ahıska and Genç say that (2007): Strategy for example is the rules and grammar of a language. It defines what is right and what is wrong. It is a politics trying to gain acceptance. Tactics on the other hands are the formation of incomplete sentences during a conversation; wandering around this grammar, using metaphors, making mistakes, behaving creatively or conservatively. For example, the city as a concept is a strategy, which is expected to be adopted; it is a culture that people emigrating from the villages should adopt, it is the traffic lights, green zones, commercial and residential zones. (Ibid:17) They always have to prioritize their strategies against the performance of the tactics and they have to redefine themselves and their surroundings. As a result, tactics are cunning, they are the “art of the weak” against the strong and they distort and spoil the strategies. (De Certeu,1984)

To turn back to our essential point, today it seems it is possible to handle the affect of being Armenian as the answer of tactics which stands in opposition to strategies as a Turkish nationalism, reproduced at the moment when it is consumed. So here there is this double dimension. 1. Turkish nationalism as a strategy 2. The tactics

developed regarding this strategy. Bearing in mind that, an Armenian living in Turkey is the citizen of Turkey at the same time, the tactics developed could be determined by both the strategies of the state and the tactics developed by non-Armenians. Thus we should consider that the Armenians living in Turkey chose what they want from these strategies and tactics. Each single person develops his/her own ways to cope with living in Turkey as an Armenian and this complex structure makes it difficult to analyze the affect of being Armenian in Turkey and define it in a single and rigid way.

CHAPTER V: TOWARDS A NEW FORM OF MELANCHOLY : THE ASSASSINATION OF HRANT DINK

“... I know, all of us are furious. I’m so furious I want to break everything around me. Downstairs there’s a bust of my father. I want to break that bust to pieces, because it’s not busts that I love, it’s people.”

—Arat Dink, 19 January 2009

In the first chapter, I have tried to show how Armenians in Turkey remember genocide in general and how this mourning, which could not be performed due to state policies, refers to a complex state of affect. In this chapter, I will try to elaborate how

the mourning of Hrant Dink's murder, another influential event in Armenian society, is performed and how this event points to a change in the framework of Armenian society. As I have mentioned above, although it is not correct to take this event as a turning point, its transformative effect should not be underestimated when seen in the context of the conditions that preceded the murder and the new civil-political atmosphere that emerged afterwards. Throughout this dissertation, I have tried to present an affective analysis of the process that emerged after the death of Hrant Dink. I do not know whether it is too early to make such an attempt, or even if perhaps this approach is already too late in intervening. I believe that approaching the death of Hrant Dink and its related developments merely as a political issue misses the point. The death of Hrant Dink, experienced as a trauma by both Armenians and countless others living in the region, has in fact today opened the door to many opportunities that Hrant Dink was working for while he was alive. Remembering and believing that melancholy and mourning have this mobilizing potential is perhaps the only thing that we are able to do after Hrant Dink's death.

I will now try to look at the period after the date of 19th January 2007. It should be borne in mind though that this rupture that I will discuss did not happen in a day however it is a non-rigid and close to demarcation. I will attempt to show how people experienced this “rupture” as most of them called and let them speak with each other.

Before drafting my thesis I found it very difficult to separate my writing into two parts. However, my ethnographic research has led me to make such a distinction since, as I always say, this event has significance beyond one person's death and points to a malady that has been afflicting this region for a century. It is therefore difficult to subject this event to a mere political analysis. I believe it is only possible to write about this event by taking the affective reading described above as a basis. Indeed, doing anything else would only make me feel uncomfortable. In order to explain why I feel unable to write about the issues surrounding Hrant Dink in a more “academic” way, I must first return to the day of 19 January 2007. After speaking of my own experience I will leave the ground to my informants. Thus in the first part of this chapter I will explain the day 19th of January, giving examples from my ethnographic field work, and then in the second part I will look at the literature which turns the corpus of melancholia and mourning upside down.

5.1. The Day of 19 January 2007

Description of the Field

I was with a friend at my mother's house when our grandmother came from another room and said worriedly, "Nora, Hrant Dink has been shot!" I must admit that, for a moment, the thought that my grandmother had gone crazy did cross my mind. At her insistence, we turned to the television, which was already on, and indeed, Hrant Dink's death was being announced on the ticker-tape at the bottom of the screen. I couldn't be sure what I was feeling at that moment. I was neither particularly angry nor sad, though these feelings were to haunt me long after. I was stunned and I was worried. I wondered how the media would cover this event. Would it stay there on the ticker-tape? How was the evening news going to cover it? I had been on that street myself not so long ago. I listened to every channel, one after another. If just one had said he was "wounded" rather than "killed," I would have believed it. My friend and I decided to go there. My mother called, warning us not to leave the house. She said things might get rough.

I did go to the place where Hrant Dink was killed, a place I would one day come to view as a site for action. Like everyone else there, I was crying. It was crowded but very quiet. I had never seen such an atmosphere before. My mother, who had told me not to leave the house, joined me there herself by evening. In fact, everyone was there. My cell phone was ringing non-stop all day. I kept receiving messages of condolence from my friends. The area in front of the Agos office was getting more and more crowded. Like everyone else, I left a flower on the place where Hrant Dink had died, and, like them, I lit candles. It was a collective mourning process. Yet there was something there that transcended the individual people and their sorrow.

After describing what I felt and experienced there on that day, I have reached the point today where I can talk more objectively about that gathering. Of course, the gathering that took place that day was a very reflexive and spontaneous act of coming together. Everyone who heard the news rushed to the Agos office. This act, totally unplanned, was in fact a way in which the affect created by this death was mobilized reflexively. I am consciously referring here not to “emotion,” but to “affect,” because what happened went beyond a personal feeling, but was the result of a wound which has continued to fester deep inside everyone who was standing there, regardless of their reasons for having come. In other words, it did not matter whether it was a random Armenian, someone who was grieving over the loss of a journalist, or those who had a clearer political agenda—for one moment, absolutely everyone came out to the area, and that feeling, in one way or another, became political.

“That day I was at my aunt's place in Yeşilköy, I had stayed over and on the 19th I was going to leave Yeşilköy for Kurtuluş. I was just taking my time. We were talking with my aunt across the TV. The TV was on, and we thought let's change channels. I was just pushing channel buttons without really thinking about it. At some point something happened and my aunt said “” O gün ben Yeşilköydeydim teyzemdeydim önceki gün Yeşilköyde kalmıştım 19'da “Nora stop, what was it, come back.” Hrant Dink was lying on the ground, The text on the TV was saying Hrant Dink was shot. My brain stopped, it was saying “was shot” but not dead, if he was shot he was not dead, because it did not say “dead”. Then I wondered why there was a newspaper sheet on his body. Maybe it was archive footage The ambulance came and picked him up but at the corner of the screen it said “live”. I thought about this for a couple of seconds. If the ambulance had come, why he was covered with newspaper sheets? I was trying to think such nonsense until I grasped the situation. It took a long time. We were shocked. We were flicking between channels like crazy. We tried to figure out what had happened. I was not that conscious back then, I was not following his 301 case, or I did not know he was threatened a lot or I was not reading his column. He had actually mentioned in his column that he had received threats, but I did not know. Soon, my boyfriend, that Turkish boyfriend I was with back then said “my condolences” after two days when he had just learned it. First I did not get it, because he was not my relative, he just made the connection because he was Armenian. My mother went herself, due to that fear Armenians have she said “it will be very crowded, it can be chaos, there can be some conflicts, and you may not escape.” I said, my mother is a bit overweight, I said are you gonna escape? He was telling me that it is not important if something happens to me, but you cannot and my mother went with her friend who is our next door neighbor. I stayed at home and watched

it on the TV. And I'm sorry that I did not go, I went to Memorial demonstrations afterwards."³⁵(Selin, 22)

"I heard, I was devastated. Many people say "I couldn't believe it for some time", but I immediately believed, I don't know why. I could not talk for some time. My mother was saying "what happened son is a bad thing but it was not your mother, not your father, so why are you so upset?" I was in real shock.. I knew him well. Brother Hrant died, and they killed an Armenian. It is both a political distress as if receiving news of a coup d'etat, and it is the distress of death. It paralyzed me. I was one of the last to go to Agos. And when I saw Rakel and Sera I was totally out of myself. For the First couple of days I could not do anything."³⁶(Ari, 35)

³⁵ Original: "O gün ben Yeşilköydeydim teyzemdeydim önceki gün Yeşilköyde kalmıştım 19'da işte Yeşilköyden çıkıp Kurtuluşa evime gidecektim işte oyalanıyordum öyle teyzemle oturuyorduk televizyon karşısında sohbet ediyorduk ama televizyon o ara açıktı hadi zaplayalım didik kanal değiştiriyorduk ben boş bulunuyorum düşünmeden kanallara basıyordum bakmadan ekrana teyzem bir anda şey oldu Nora ne diyor dur geri yap falan dedi, Hrant Dink yerde yatıyordu böyle beyaz yani gazete vardı üzerinde alt yazıda Hrant Dink vuruldu yazıyor beynim durdu şimdi vuruldu diyor ama ölmedi hani vuruldu ise ölmedi öldü demiyordu ama niye üzerinde gazete var diyorum herhalde eski görüntü ambulans gelip götürmüştür ambulans götürdü ise köşede canlı yazıyor hayır birkaç saniyede bunları düşündüm hani e peki ambulans gelip götürdü ise niye üzerinde gazete var bir sürü böyle saçma mantıksız şeyler düşünmeye çalışıyorum, hani jeton düşene kadar şey oldu böyle bayağı zaman aldı şok olduk haberle, deli gibi kanallar arası şey yapıyorduk ne olduğunu anlamaya çalıştık ne nedir açıkcası çok da şey değilim o dönem o dönem böyle bilinçli bir şekilde onun 301 davasını çok takip etmiyordum ya da çok tehdit aldığını bilmiyordum ya da köşe yazılarını okumuyordum o yüzden bilmiyordum zaten tehdit aldığını köşesinde demiş ama okumadığım için bilmiyordum.Sonrasında şey oldu erkek arkadaşım bu Türk erkek arkadaşım onunla beraberdim başın sağolsun dedi iki gün sonra olduktan sonra öğrenmiş, ilk başta anlamadım hani neden bahsettiğini çünkü sonuçta akrabam değil ermeni diye yakınlık kurmuş yani...Annem kendisi gitti sırf Ermenilerin çektiği o korku dedi ki çok kalabalık olacak kaos olabilir çatışma olur, bir şeyler olur yani kaçamazsın dedim ki annem de kilolu sen mi kaçacaksın bana diyor ki bana bir şey olursa önemli değil sen yok bir şey yapamazsın ve annem de arkadaşı ile yani yan komşu ile gitti ben evde televizyondan izledim ve yani yazık şu anda gitmediğime pişmanım ondan sonra anma etkinliklerine gittim."

³⁶ Original: "Duydum, mahvoldum tabii. Çoğu insan inanmadım inanmadım öldüğüne falan diyor, ben gördüğüm dakika inandım nedense oyle oldu bana. Konuşamadım bir sure. Annem falan diyor ne oldu oğlum tamam diyor yani çok kötü bir şey ama diyor, baban ölmedi anan ölmedi neden böyle oldun diyor. Hakikaten şok geçirdim yani ben. Ya hem yakından tanıyorum, Hrant Abi öldü hem de yani bir Ermeniye öldürdüler. Hem böyle darbe haberi alır gibi politik anlamda bir sıkıntı, hem ölüm sıkıntısı. Beni put yaptı. Agos'un önüne düşün yani ben en son gidenlerdenim. Bir de Rakeli, Sera'yı falan öyle görünce hepten koctum zaten. İlk bir kaç gün iş yapamadım."

“I had just been there 5 minutes ago. I learnt it at home from TV news. I said damn it, damn it. What is this shit and I left. My mother wanted to come too. I was surprised. Normally she is very cautious. She would not even let me go, I thought. She came. Anyway it was interesting that everyone hit the road to go there. they could not help it, everyone said something, they said what's going on. Maybe they did not believe and wanted to see themselves. Actually I would not expect this reaction from Armenians. It was very crowded. There were of course other groups among the crowd. Maybe some people thought “look everyone is going, even Turkish people, we should go too.”³⁷(Arek,22)

“First my mother said, if you want the truth, he was talking a lot, look what happened. This was her first reaction. But after seeing that everybody was interested in this issue, she changed her mind. Now she is using what had happened on the 19th of January images on her facebook profile.”³⁸(Jbid, 20)

“I was in the States when Hrant Dink died, with my son We had gone to the States. When I received the news the next day, the first thing I felt was to apologize to my mother. I felt it necessary to apologize because, as she said, he told a few things about my article in the magazine”³⁹ (Armenuhi, 46)

“I was in the shuttle bus, when Hrant Dink died. He died on a Friday, on fridays we would not have the last class, so we would leave the school at ten to three. I remember we were on the seaside road going to Toyota. I was listening to music. Well, something happened. I was hearing the parts chief editor of Agos Hrant Dink, I was using only one of the earphones and the radio was on in the shuttle. I was listening to music from my Ipod, but when the radio said ‘chief editor Hrant Dink’, I paid attention. ‘He lost his life due

³⁷ Original: “Ben 5. Dk. Önce oradan geçmiştim. Evde öğrendim haberlerde, kahretsin dedim ya kahretsin. Bu ne lan dedim, kalktım gittim. Annem de gelmek istedi ona şaşırdım o gün ben çok. Çünkü pımpirikli bir kadın yani. Benim bile gitmeme izin vermez diye şey yapardım düşünürdüm. Kalktı geldi. Zaten çok ilginç herkes kendi bir oraya attı yani, gelmeden duramadı kimse, herkes bir şey dedi yani noluyor dedi. Ya inanmadı kimse gözüyle görmek istedi, ama Ermenilerden ben böyle bir tepki beklemezdim açıkcası yani çok kişi vardı. Tabii bunarın büyük kısmı başka guruplardan ama. Belki şey de olmuş olabilir, şimdi düşününce şey gibi ulan herkes gidiyor türkler bile bari biz de gidelim diyenler mesela.”

³⁸ Original: “İlk başta benim mamam şey dedi aslına bakarsan, çok konuşuyordu bak ne oldu dedi. İlk tepkisi buydu yani ama sonradan acayip herkes ilgi gösterince bu mesleye, geri vites yaptı bence. Şimdi facebook profilinde 19 ocakta ne olmuştu şeysi kouyuyor.”

³⁹ Original. “Ben Amerika’da idim Hrant Dink’in öldüğünde oğlumla birlikte Amerika’ya gitmiştik ertesi gün haberi aldım vallahi ilk hissettiğim şey mamama özür dilemek oldu , özür dilemek gerektiği oldu mamama. Çünkü dedi ya mamam o dergideki yazıma laf etmişti diye”

*to the armed attack in front of his newspaper office' .The whole shuttle started and cried "Oh my god". There were a lot of tears and crying. I went home and my mother said 'have you heard. Then you do not understand'. Till Tuesday (his funeral was on Tuesday) we kept watching Turkish channels NTV and CNN. It was a huge pain, and we were not even close, what about his family? That day we went with my mother to their place. They were friends with Rakel from the church. They were hysterical. Their eyes were all swollen. His daughters were having laughter crises. It was very very very bad. I cannot tell you. After that point, everything was broken. I believed even more in the case that something requires change no matter what. There were some remarks of Hrant Dink which I did not get. We were thinking it would have been better if he had not said those. Then we said he was totally right, but it was unfortunately after his death. I mean this case was nothing to us until his death, after that everything was different."*⁴⁰ (Selin, 22)

Describing the first feeling I would like to go to the "field" where Hrant Dink was murdered. I believe Massumi's equation of "affect" with "hope" results from the influence of Spinoza in his work. Here, affect is the potential for our bodies to mobilize; it does not need to be subjective, and there is no way for it to be mediated. We somehow find ourselves lost in a situation. Affect haunts us. It is precisely this that I am trying to say: On that nineteenth of January, that feeling which somehow haunts everyone in the "field" forced hundreds of people out into the streets. There was a silent crowd in front of Agos that day, though that silence was to be transformed within a few

⁴⁰ Original. "Ben Hrant Dink öldüğünde Cuma günü ölmüştü o zaman da bizim okullar üçe on kala çıkıyordu yani Perşembe Cuma son ders yapılmazdı dolayısı ile servisteydim yani böyle hatta şeydeydik Toyotaya giden bir yol var sahil yolunda oradaydık müzik dinliyordum şey oldu Agos gazetesi genel yayın yönetmeni Hrant Dink'e kadar olan kısımlarda hafiften duyuyorsun kulaklık bir kulağım da açtıktı tabii bir kulak kapattım serviste radyo açtıktı bir taraftan da müzik dinliyorum I pod'dan o arada bir şey genel yayın yönetmeni Hrant Dink falan dedi ben kulak kabarttım gazetesi önünde uğradığı silahlı saldırı sonucu hayatını kaybetti, bütün servis Allahım diye bağıriş nasıl olur diye başladı şırıl şırıl yaşlar akıyor falan filan eve bir gittik mamam işte duydun mu artık böyle ondan sonra ne olduğunu anlayamıyorsun Salı gününe kadar Salı günü kalktı cenazesi o güne kadar NTV CNN Türk kanallarını seyrediyoruz büyük bir acı idi yani biz ki dış kapının mandalıyız yani içime düşen acı kendi ailesinin içine düşen acı nasıl zaten o günü evine gittik mamamlarla arkadaşta yani işte bu kilise topluluğundan Rakelle çok arkadaşlardı mamamlar bir gittik zaten yani çıldırmış vaziyetlerdi gözler şişmiş falan işte durup durup gülüyorlardı böyle kızları krize giriyorlar gülme krizine çok çok kötüydü ya anlatamam ondan sonra iyicene zaten artık bütün şeyler koptu yani benim için yani daha çok inandım hani bir davanın varlığına daha çok inandım bazı şeylerin değişiksiz gerektiğine ne olursa olsun yani anlayamadığım sözleri olurdu Hrant Dink'in niye böyle dedi keşke demeseydi gibi yerleri olurdu haklıymış dedik ama işte maalesef onu kaybettikten sonra yani o ölene kadar hiçbirşey değildi bizim için konuşulmazdı o öldükten sonra her şey çok farklı oldu."

hours into slogans which today have become banal, but which were fresh at the time: “We are all Hrant, we are all Armenian”⁴¹; “Long live the friendship of the peoples”⁴²; “The murderous state will pay for this”⁴³; and “Hrants are immortal.”⁴⁴ At 7 p.m., the crowd marched to Taksim, shouting the same slogans. There they held sit-in a protest and then walked back to Agos. In the days following 19 January, meetings like this continued, eliciting a reaction that grew day by day until the funeral.

As I mentioned in the first chapter, according to Massumi, another characteristic of affect is the power it has to disrupt a pre-existing mode of understanding. (Massumi, 2004:7) It is not difficult to apply this point to Hrant’s death either, since this event paved the way for a community which had until then remained silent (or was silenced) to become politicized, if just for a day. In saying this, I certainly do not mean to imply that all Turkish Armenians were politically mobilized from that day on, yet today it is difficult to say that Hrant’s death did not open up a new framework. Continuing again from Thrift, we can talk about the power created by the political response of an urban space in the context of 19 January. (Thrift, 2007) Taking our cue from Thrift, we can read the reaction of the thousands of people converging on one space as the emergence of an affective response in a particular area.

From the perspective of its relationship to location and affect, it is important that the space in front of Agos was chosen as the site for gathering. In an article entitled “Affective spaces, melancholic objects: ruination and the production of anthropological knowledge” Navaro Yashin uses the example of Cyprus to discuss how streets and houses (here referring to the houses which were evacuated by forced migration) create affect in people. (Navaro Yashin, 2009) As the site where Hrant Dink was killed, the space in front of Agos has a similar dynamic power. The most significant aspect about this space that emerged from my interviews is that this site is no longer viewed and is just a normal place. Garo, a 55-year-old jeweler, explains this as follows: “Believe me, since that day I have not set a foot there, I don't just walk by as if it were any other

⁴¹ Hepimiz Hrantız Hepimiz Ermeniyiz

⁴² Yaşasın Halkların Kardeşliği.

⁴³ Katil Devlet Hesap Verecek.

⁴⁴ Hrantlar Ölmez.

place.”⁴⁵ When Mayday demonstrations pass in front of Agos, the crowds now chant slogans related to Hrant Dink, another sign of the site’s significance. In what follows, I would like to touch on the factors which gave rise to such an affective response on that day, in that location.

Navaro Yashin in her article (2009) asks: Does affect emerge from the self or from the environment, from subjectivity? She is trying to understand “Is it Turkish-Cypriots’ conflicted subjectivity that exudes an affect of melancholia in Northern Cyprus, or is it the rusty and derelict environment kept visibly unmaintained since the war that generates this feeling?” with her own words. (Navaro Yashin, 2009:15) So the question is: Are we to speak of subjectively felt or spatially effected melancholy? Setting off from this point, I will look at the melancholy, new form of mourning created by mobility and location, and how these forms change in time. Before that I want to look at what people say about the description of the location.

“I could not step there for days and months... I do not like the music shop and eye-wear shop even one bit. I cannot think of that place without Hrant. I wonder how those girls can still work in that building. I cannot stop thinking this. Anyway, something like that happened to me on the day he died, no no at his funeral. There were so many people I thought what's going on? What kind of a thing is this?. I felt I'm not alone in this planet, something like that. You see people you know, there my dacik Friend from old newspaper, and I became happy for a moment. Then I thought why are you happy, in such a day I was almost celebrating my old left-wing days, the 1st of May days. I have to say that the crowd was different though you were there, you know but shall I say this again. At least I can tell you what I felt. It was like, hmm, you must have also realized, it was such a crowd, but so silent, there was no single sound. I heard people saying this is a mourning just fitting for Armenian people. Well that means Armenian people will be proud of this. What was I saying, is there a thing like this kind of mourning, that kind of mourning. But on that day, well, now it was not normal, how can I know. I did not know how to feel, Nora. Rakel's speech and all, was she a woman who lost her husband, or some other woman? I mean, what kind of a

⁴⁵ *Original.* “İnanın o günden sonra oraya basamıyorum, önünden herhangi bir yermiş gibi geçemiyorum.”

*pain is this, what kind of pain they made her feel, those bastards, there is no description for that*⁴⁶ (Sarkis, 55)

*“(...) the funeral was a bomb anyway. I do not personally like political, manipulative things, I escape, I mean if I see a demonstration on the street, I would not want to walk through it. I would stay and wait. I went to Hrant Dink's funeral because he was one of us. I do not know if I would go if he was someone else. But when I went there, something happened, I became sentimental, I was moved by the crowd I guess...”*⁴⁷ (Dilara, 23)

“I have leftist history, not history, I still define myself as a socialist. I called friends from Student Opposition, actually they always call me anyway. I became the coordinator of this. I was preparing the banners and stuff, I was gonna deliver them... Cihan called me. I like him a lot, he is such a reliable person. He said let's meet at the “location”. What location? I was shocked. I could not say anything, I could not say it is not the ‘location’. I know his intention was not evil but still come on what is the location. He died. It is a funeral in the end. There was his family and everything. There was a dark silence. It was not like the 1st of May. I have always seen a parallel between being Armenian and being leftist. If you're Armenian it is easier to become an opponent, but that day, and you know me I'm not nationalist or anything, but that day, at that little point, at that word “location”, I felt my being

⁴⁶ *“Oraya basamadım sonradan günlerce aylarca...Oradaki gözlükçüden ve müzik dükkanından da hiç haz etmiyorum zaten de. Orayı artık Hranttan bağımsız düşünemiyorum. Şaşıyorum hatta nasıl kızları falan hala o binada çalışıyorlar. Benim aklıma geliyor duruduramıyorum. Zaten öldüğü gün de biraz öyle oldu yok yok pardon cenazesindeydi o , o kadar kişi orada dedim neler oluyor. Nasıl bir şeydir bu. Sanki şu yeryüzünde yalnız olmadığımı hissettim gibi bir şey oldu tanıdıklarımı görünce görüyorsun tabii orada dacik arkadaşlarım eski gazeteden falan sevindim böyle bir ne bileyim. Sonra dedim ya dedim neden seviniyorsun böyle günde solculuk günlerimi böyle anar gibi oldum, bir mayısları. Kalabalık farklıydı gerçi onu da söyleyeyim, gerçi sen ordaydın biliyorusnama soyleyeyim mi bunları ben bidaha. En azından nasıl hissettiğimi söyleyeyim. Şeydi ya hani sen de farkettiler kesin, böyle bir kalabalık ama nasıl sessiz, çıt yok. Tam Ermenilere yakışır bir yas oldu falan diye konuşmalar duymuştum o zaman hah yani Ermeniler de bunla bile övünecekler. Ne diyordum, yani yasın öylesi böylesi mi oluyor. Ama hoş, o günde şey şimdi normal değildi ya ne bileyim. Ben ne hissedeceğimi bilemedim inan ki Nora. Rekelin o konuşması falan, şimdi orada kocasını kaybeden bir kadın mı duruyor? Başka türlü bir kadın mı? Yani bu nasıl acı, nasıl bir acı tattırdılar o kadına bu namussuzlar, işte bunun bir tarifî daha yok!*

⁴⁷ *“(...) cenaze zaten bomba, ben kişisel olarak politik, manipülatif şeylerden falan hoşlanmam kaçırım yani sokakta eylem görsem içinden geçmek istemem, dururum beklerim. Hrant Dink'in cenazisine gittim çünkü bizden biriydi ölen başkası olsa gider miydim bilmiyorum. Ama oraya gidince yan böyle duygularım kabardı bir bir şey oldu, kalabalığın gazına geldim galiba...”*

*Armenian. It is weird but true. I will tell it to Cihan but I didn't have a chance yet.”*⁴⁸(Aleks, 29)

In this thesis I set out to mention the affect of being Armenian. I'm aware of the fact that I could not really explain this concept. However, as Aleks mentions, what I call the affect of being Armenian is revealed in uncertain and sudden impressions like this. (In other words, we can tell that affect does not emerge as an internalized and diffused realm in which we define our behaviors accordingly.) I mentioned that affect is formed at encounters when I was citing Spinoza at the beginning while talking about the definitions of the affect. Therefore at this point it is proper to make a critique of present affect theories (Massumi, Trift, etc.) that came after Spinoza. Both Massumi (2004) and Trift (2007) give a very subjective definition of affect. Degrading this concept, which carries the threat of being consumed on a psychoanalytical level, into such a subjective ground will make us miss the real matter. Although affects seems like the revealed behavior of individuals, they actually reflect the manifestation of an incident. What Aleks, Selin and Armenuhi mention above does not totally point to a mourning or melancholy which have emerged only in them. The melancholy created by this kind of mourning or this specific incident is imposed. Neglecting that there is a reason behind there was that affect at that place is the biggest mistake at this point.

⁴⁸ *“Bizim solculuk geçmişimiz var, geçmiş de değil hala sosyalist olarak tanımlarım falan da kendimi, öğrenci muhalefetinden arkadaşları aradım daha doğrusu onlar arıyor hep beni zaten bu işin koordinatörü oldum, dövizleri falan da ben hazırlıyordum dağıtımını yapacaktım zart zurt...neyse cihan aradı çok severim ha acayip sağlam çocuktur cihan. dedi “alan” da buluşalım. Ne alanı lan. Şok oldum! Diyemedim hiç bir şey. Alan değil orası diyemedim. Biyeti kötü değil biliyorum da yani çüş alan ne lan. Adam ölmüş cenaze neticede. Ailesi falan va ren bileyim. Karanlık bir sessizlik var. 1 Mayıs gibi değil yani. Solculuk ve Ermenilik arasında her zaman bir paralellik görmüşümdür Ermeniysen daha kolay muhalif olabiliyorsun falan ama o gün yani ki beni biliyorsun ne kadar milliyetçi falan değilimdir, ama o gün orada o küçükçük yerde o “alan” lafında Ermeni olduğumu hissettim. Tuhaf ama öyle. Söyleyeceğim Cihan'a bunu da bir fırsatını bulmadım.”*

5.2. Through a new form of melancholy:

How has the introverted melancholy, which I have mentioned in chapter III changed and transformed? The assassination of Hrant Dink, being yet another traumatic event, is making people who had until 2007 kept their silence(s), speak up. Thus there is a new survival tactic now: To speak and to discuss. Besides having the effect of mobilizing the masses upon the death of Hrant Dink (an event that signifies more than a loss; an event that is the “last straw” in the list of maladies affecting the ethnic politics of this region), it would not be wrong to say that the despicable act of killing Hrant Dink in an attempt to silence the Armenians, has actually created a small space in which some voices can be heard. In the following part I will try to formulate how this new “space” occurred and around what kinds of affect it was organized. So the question is: How can mourning be an activating process through loss in a political sense? How can one draw the limits of the political? What are the effects of organizations founded after this event? What does it mean to appropriate such a grief?

In examining the developments which followed Hrant Dink’s death through the lens of mourning and melancholy, it is clear that the mourning process was not experienced by the Armenian community, particularly by Hrant Dink’s family and loved ones, as a normal mourning process. Yet I should note that everyone developed their own methods of coping with this situation, something we could compare with de Certeau. (1984) There are many examples, for instance, of institutions that were established as a way to cope after Hrant Dink’s death: the Hadig Initiative, Nor Zartonk (which continues to this day), Nor Radio, the Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association, the Community of Friends of Hrant Dink, and, perhaps most importantly, the International Hrant Dink Foundation. How did the mobilization of affect give rise to all of these associations and initiatives? I will refer to this in the second part of this chapter in detail.

In her article “The Melancholy of race,” Anne Anlin Cheng (2001) discusses the economics of grievance. Taking a cue from Cheng, I would also like to talk about the

ways in which the public appropriated the grievance felt on the occasion of Hrant Dink's death. As I wrote above, this death was not just appropriated by Armenians, but also by a broad group of people who were by no means homogeneous. These people, who sought to grieve, saw an opportunity to atone with the Armenians of the region who continued to live there after Hrant Dink. Even if this mourning had many facets, ranging from the Armenian conference held at Bilgi University in 2005 to the apology signature drive for Armenians—something I believe would be a useful way of approaching the issue differently for those who opposed the nationalist perspective—the mourning process held after the murder was one that many sought to appropriate for themselves. The crowds that filled the funeral are clear enough proof of this.

“Hrant's death was something, I mean it attracted everyone's attention to this topic. It forced everyone who had not had any idea about this issue to develop an idea. Kurdish people advocated it, leftists advocated it. From today's perspective, things can seem different but that day everyone was there. That's the truth. Today also, everyone advocates it from a different point. There are conferences for example. Wasn't it your school, at Sabancı, there was a controversial discussion? I was also there. I mean, it can help good things to occur.”⁴⁹ (Selin, 22)

“My mother's view of the issues changed. I observed this, and I still do. She used to be intimidated by Kurds, but now she talks using the literature, she discusses minority rights and stuff. This is a change I think.”⁵⁰ (Narod, 26)

The fact that this many people had never gathered together before at any demonstration or protest not only made this one death exceptional, it is also a sign that it was perceived as an opportunity to fulfill the demand to appropriate this mourning

⁴⁹ *Original: “Hrant'ın ölümü şey oldu yani bir de, herkesin bu konu üzerine ilgisini çekti, bu konuda bir fikri olan olmayan herkesi bir fikri olmaya zorladı. Kürtler sahip çıktı, solcular sahip çıktı. Bugünden bakınca daha farklı görünebiliyor falan şey ama, yani o gün de herkes oradaydı böyle bir gerçek var. Bugün de herkes bir yerinden sahipleniyor. Konferanslar falan düzenleniyor mesela sizin okulda oldu değil mi Sabancıdaydı o tartışmalı bir panel olmuştu ben oradaydım. Neyse güzel bir şeye vesile olabiliyor*

⁵⁰ *Original: “Mamamamın gerçekten olaylara bakışı değişti, ben bunu gördüm, hala da koruyorum. Kürtlere iyiy falan diyen kadın, şimdi literatürden konuşuyor, azınlık hakları falan diyor, e bu bir değişim bence”*

and to alleviate a number of other grievances as well. Thinking again about the quotation by Arek that I gave above, it was not possible for a pain appropriated to this extent not to be appropriated by Armenians as well; even those who did not support Hrant Dink while he was alive because he was too “radical”, could not help but at least agree to this minimal political position. Even the elements of power and authority known today to be responsible for Hrant Dink’s murder—leaving their incentives aside—appropriated the mourning process in the period following the death. The request to fly Turkish flags at the funeral as well as the state and military officials who attended the funeral are examples of this.

“My grandma at first said things like “Of course, he talked too much”. Even when she heard the “We’re all Armenians” slogan, she said “bad things will happen”. Then one day she called me in and asked me what is the real issue here, what did Hrant Dink use to say. And she regretted, can you imagine, that she had talked like that on that day. This old old woman, she is at the age of 80. She tried to understand at that age. There are still fools are around who do not understand. They scream “We are very happy” That woman understood. She voted for Sirri at yesterday’s election too.”⁵¹ (Narod, 26)

If we put mourning and melancholy back into the picture, we see exactly how much of an impact the recognition of a loss has on the process of mourning over that loss. Beyond the recognition of loss at the funeral of Hrant Dink, the way in which this loss was recognized is equally important for two reasons: first, the fixation on the blood and the love of victimhood; second, the open expression and transformation of a feeling of loss and spite.

At the same time, to experience melancholy also means being fixated on one identity, something for which Wendy Brown provides many examples in her account of the melancholy of the left. The danger is that this “wounded attachment” will

⁵¹ *Original: “Benim yayam ilk başa –tabii çok konuşmuştu- falan demişti. Hatta kadın hepimiz ermeniyiz sloganını duyunca başımıza çok kotu şeyler gelecek falan dedi. Sonra bir gün beni çağırdı yanına sordu, bu işin aslı ne hrant dink ne derdi falan diye, ve pişman oldu, biliyor musun o gün söylediğine yani o koca kadın 80 yaşında ha benim yayam. O yaşında anlamaya çalıştı olanaları. Hala anlamayan angutlar var. Çok mutluyuz diye naralar atıyorlar ortalıkta.O kadın anladı...Dünkü seçimlerde de Sirriya verdi oyunu.”*

occasionally serve to constrain the emergence of an effective movement. It becomes impossible, under these conditions, to grasp the present; the only recourse left is to mobilize around one's own unhealthy condition and to take pleasure in it (Brown 1999). The societal trauma created by 1915 and the silence that developed in response can be seen as examples of this. But the space which opened up after Hrant Dink's death was a more productive space (using "productiveness" in the sense of "political productiveness"). As Brown says, for such a space to be opened, "We have to let melancholia go, and its wounded attachments." In her article "Mourning, melancholy, and the politics of class transformation" Ceren Özselçuk discusses the fact that improvement can only begin after the period of mourning has been completed. Özselçuk asks here what kinds of things we desire, what we project this desire onto, and how these channels can be changed and used in mobilizing desire in new ways.

Thus, we encountered a new literature which is situated opposite the corpus of the melancholia. Eric Santner and Özselçuk use Brown to look at the concept of resentment. We see here that mourning does not exclude melancholy, but actually walks hand-in-hand with it. What is being discussed here has nothing to do with the pathological "melancholia" of Freud (1957). Yet, they say, when we consider that every mourning process seeks out a wounded ego, this melancholy must be let go and the desire which emerges must be mobilized once again. In the article entitled "A dialogue on racial melancholia" by Eng and Han we see that, more than simply harming, melancholy opens up a zone of conflict. In these wounded egos' process of recovery, there is the potential to open up a marginal space where the voices of the "other", in the collective sense, can be heard. In this way, we can conclude, as David L. Eng and Shinhee Han do, that "suffering can be productive" (Eng and Han 2003:364). Furthermore, we can say that trauma "is not necessarily a self-devastating experience," because the constructive period that follows trauma serves to restructure both the sorrow felt during mourning as well as feelings, such as rage, that reduce people's conatus (Spinoza's "life energy") into a more meaningful and acceptable frame. Eng and Han thus paint the most optimistic picture thus far of melancholy. But this does not mean the end of a reckoning with the past, either. (*Ibid*: 365)

At this point, the most significant result I have retrieved from the interviews is that interviewees see the atmosphere after Hrant Dink's murder not as a great painful event wanted to be forgotten, but rather the beginning of a promising era. No doubt we

can also state that in this choice there is the role of the four year period after Hrant Dink's death, and the wrath for his unsolved case.

Then what happened after Hrant Dink's death? How was this mourning performed? At this point, I believe it is useful to look at Eng and David Kazandjian. Here, too, melancholy ceases to be something pathological and becomes an essential step in the constructive process of mourning. (Eng & Kazandjian, 2003) They write that melancholy forces one's ghosts and specters out into the light of day (here we can take inspiration from the concept of "specter" in Derrida's "Specters of Marx" as something that we are constantly forced to think about). Thus, melancholy is redefined as the state of constantly dealing with the past, yet when the idea of the "pathology of melancholia" has been scraped away, this struggle (Eng & Kazandjian, 2003:366) can be something valuable as well. In this way we achieve a new "structure of desire." (*Ibid*: 366) Returning to the case of Hrant Dink, the efforts to deal with the past after this death were not inward-looking, but for the first time, opened up to the outside. My friend Nerses, one of the founders of Nor Zartonk, speaks vividly about this experience: "Nor Zartonk was founded before Hrant Dink died. We were all devastated after he died. ... But this somehow made us all more courageous, and after 2007, we accelerated our work and our movement became more political. We gave a promise to our dear brother (ağparig) Hrant that we tried to fulfill after he died, and we're still trying."⁵²(Nerses, 27)

This engagement generates sites for memory and history, for the rewriting of the past as well as the re-imagining of the future. While mourning abandons lost objects by laying their histories to rest, melancholia's continued and open relation to the past finally allows us to gain new perspectives on, and new understandings of, lost objects. Sustained forms of mourning such as melancholia can be said to figure as what Fred Moten theorizes in his essay for this collection as "an insight that is manifest as a kind of magnification or intensification of the object." (Moten, 2003: 315) In this sense, melancholia raises the question of what makes a world of new objects, places, and ideals possible. At the same time, what are the psychic mechanisms—the modes of

⁵² *Original*: "Nor Zartonk, Hrant Dink'in ölümünden önce kuruldu. Onun ölümünden sonra hepimiz çok sarsıldık...ama bu bizi sanki daha da bir cesaretlendirdi, 2007'den sonra çalışmalarımıza hız verdik, hareket politikleşti. Hrant Ağparig'e verdiğimiz bir söz vardı, ölümünden sonra onu yerine getirmeye çalışıyoruz, hala da çalışıyoruz."

being and the affective registers—that make investment in that new world imaginable and thinkable?

After Hrant Dink's death, it was not only the initiatives and institutions I mentioned above, but any number of other political organizations that emerged to follow this process and appropriate its results for their own purposes. In discussing the affect of feminist activism in her article "Sisterhood and Coalition and Academia" Chandra Tatpade Mohanty argues that when this affect is tied only to experience, there is a danger of creating a sense of victimhood. (Mohanty, 2003) I have already discussed this issue in the third chapter. However when we look at what happened after Hrant Dink's death, it was not a sense of victimhood that emerged, but rather a movement that became ever more politically active over time and, looking forward, one that is increasingly freed from its affective character. Taking our cue once again from Cvekovitch, it is in this sense that melancholy renders mobilization possible. Cvekovitch also underlines the aspects of activism that prevent this from happening. (Cvekovitch,2003) Yet when we look at the structure of this melancholy, in the end we still see the same potentiality we find in Brown and Eng and Kazandjian. In treating trauma in Kosovo as a "corrective response," Reisner distinguishes the effect of trauma from the trauma itself. As such, the effect of trauma does not necessarily have to be a negative one. Rainer, discussing a process of recovery through the medium of theater, shows how this trauma can be transformed. (Reisner, 2003) In this sense, the death of Hrant Dink, too, enabled the start of a productive process including several panels and workshops, and it opened up the possibility of struggle against the very conditions that paved the way to this murder. In conclusion, instead of trying to avoid the trauma that was experienced after Hrant Dink's death, instead of fixating on the trauma, people succeeded in giving it a voice and changing it into a transformative force. These concepts of trauma-as-action and despair-as-mobilization go beyond victimhood and point to a new and dynamic political sphere.

Consequently, I want to repeat that if we mention Hrant Dink and the transformative effect of his death today, we have to speak of how this event is remembered. Thinking how the incidents during the trial process influenced the recollecting of this event in collective memory, even after I started to write this thesis,

we realize that one and rigid description of memory is insufficient. For myself, I see it possible to critically approach this issue through grievance, its acceptance, and its being termed in different ways. Primarily, I want to remember how this memory is constructed and transformed into iconic memory through Patricia Levy. Sociologist Patricia Levy In *Iconic Events: Media, Politics and Power in Retelling History*, examines the process by which historical moments become "iconic" and defines the media's role within that process. "The book's central argument is that the American press not only plays a major role in deciding which events become staples in collective memory, but also influences how these events are interpreted and construct "very particular and limited narratives" about the events based on simplified mythical concepts" (Levy, 2003: 2).

*"Actually, even people attending the demonstration talk among themselves about, well... They say there is an opening speech, then they are just parting or walking. At the end they deliver a press release and part. They talk among themselves and someone says names of the attenders are written and they read it. Unions read it, nobody listens, then they talk to one another and they go. I don't see any point in going knowing this."*⁵³ (Melisa, 26)

"For me a personal thing is when people learnt that I'm Armenian. Armenians in Turkey know better what an is Armenian and they show interest. Before, you had to explain yourself: Armenian is this, Armenian is that. Now people know and they come to you for information. Some people want to talk to me just because I'm Armenian. It is very interesting. For instance, a friend from university... I did not have a close relationship with this woman, but she wanted to meet me recently. I was kind of surprised, wondering why. Whatever, we met. She works as a tour guide in Ağrı and areas around Hemşin in summer. She observes some stuff there about daily talks and stories about Armenians and she just wanted to share these with me. I know an Armenian and I want to share. She mentions this, it is very interesting. Or an Italian I have met recently. He is interested in Armenians, Armenian architecture and stuff like this. I don't have an interest in this, for example. It seems awkward to me, so now being Armenian is becoming popular or something. Or it has become more popular to study something about Armenians in academic work, especially among Turks. Actually it is good. There were no studies for so long, now it is important and a big

⁵³ Original: "Gerçi yani eyleme katılan insanlar bile kendi içinde konuştuğu zaman biraz şey yapıyorlar hep aynı diyorlar açılış konuşması oluyor diyor oturuyorsun sonra dağılıyorlar ya da yürüyorlar sonunda basın bildirimini oluyor dağılıyorlar kendi içlerinde de şey diyor adam gelenlerin zaten tek tek isimlerini yazıyor okuyor mesela sendikalar uzun bir konuşma kimse dinlemiyor kendi içinde konuşmaya başlıyorlar ve dağılıyorlar hani bunu bile bile de gitmenin benim için bir anlamı yok."

change. What I witness, what I experience one to one is that people are coming and talking to me. Being Armenian used to be a disadvantage, now while applying for Master's, they say Oh you're Armenian, you know Armenian, it will be an advantage for you. Oh God, before nobody would say such a thing. Everyone would say oh, you're an Armenian, they won't take you. But now they're telling you know Armenian, it is popular and that's why it has turned into an advantage."⁵⁴(Melisa, 26)

I do not mean that a lot of things have been achieved when I say a new political atmosphere opened up. It is still very complex and there is hopelessness. I don't also want to say this is solved after Hrant Dink, because it is still a chaotic environment.

"Sometimes I lose my hope, well, it is one of the dilemmas in my life. I think Armenians are vanishing, and I'm trying to do things. Turkey is a country for which I have no hope, but I still try to do things. I have a few dilemmas like this in my life. I mean I'm a socialist and I'm totally against nationalism, but look how I'm talking to you. This is a dilemma of my life. No, of course I do not want to lose i., Anyway this is a dilemma of mine, I live with such. I'm a socialist, I have respect for human rights, I never discriminate on the basis of race but Turks cannot be involved in my life. That's all. It is the same with Turkey. Turkey will explode one way or another, this Republic cannot go on like this. A different system is crucial, it is a must, be it a federation or whatever, I do not know. But this cannot go

⁵⁴ Original: "Benim kişisel şey var yani ermeni olduğumu duyunca Türkiyede'ki Ermeniler hani ermeninin ne olduğunu daha çok biliyor ve ilgi gösteriyorlar eskiden sen kendin anlatmaya çalışıyordun ermeni şudur, ermeni budur artık insanlar biliyor ve sana geliyor daha çok bilgi için, sırf ermeniyim diye insanlar benimle konuşmak istiyor çok enteresan mesela üniversiteden bir sınıf arkadaşımda kız pek çok bir samimiyetimiz yoktu mezun olduk falan geçen benim ile görüşmek buluşmak istedi falan ben de şaşırđım Allah Allah diye kızla işte buluştuk Ağrı'ya ve Hemşin tarafına yazın tur rehberliği yapıyor kız hani orada gözlemediği işte Ermeniler ile ilgili insanların normal gündelik hayatlarındaki konuşmaları ve hikayelerinden çıkan ermeni mevzusu falan kız sadece bunları benim ile paylaşmak istemiş buluştuk ve bunları anlattı yani ermeni tanıyorum ve paylaşmak istiyorum bunu anlatıyor yani çok enteresan ya da işte bu tanıştığım bir İtalyan, İtalyan'la tanıştım o da Ermenilere merak sarıyor öyle a ermeni mimarisi bilmem ne ben çok ilgileniyorum yani garip geliyor Allah Allah falan diye ermeni olmak popüler mi oldu ya da entelektüel dünyada akademide biraz Türkler çevresinde işte Ermeniler ile ilgili bir şey çalışmak araştırmak moda oldu aslında iyi bunca zaman hiçbir araştırma yapılmadığı için en azından araştırmalar yapıyor bu önemli bir şey hem büyük bir değişim, benim tanık olduğum bire bir bana yansıyan insanların gelip benimle konuşması gözlemediğim en büyük değişim oldu ve işte mesela ermeni olmak daha önce bir hayli dezavantaj olurken işte üniversitede Mastera başvuracakken insanlar böyle ha ermenisin, Ermenice biliyorsun bak bu avantaj olur Allah Allah yani eskiden haki bunu kimse çıkıp demez, herkes şey der ha ermenisin seni almazlar derken şimdi şey diyorlar Ermenice biliyorsun şimdi bu moda ya o yüzden bir avantaja dönüştü"

on. Maybe Ak Parti is strengthening its position, but it also reveals its real face while doing it. This comes from Ottoman tradition, it will bring presidency, and they will demolish everything and form a structure based on Muslim community (Ümmetçilik), a modern one maybe. If they do it maybe the system can change, maybe it can really continue differently, but if the AKP cannot manage it, involvement of military or I don't know. Early elections may happen and a different party can come to power, Turkey will explode again. Anyway, I have a thesis; no state having Turk in its name exceeded 100 years They all vanished in 100 years. Ottomans did not use Turk, and they existed 700 years but they are not Turkish. There is such a thing. That's why I do not think Turkey will exist for 100 years, I really don't think so. But I do not know. You say Turkey will explode, there is no hope in Turkey. I say I have no hope for democracy but I still actively participate in politics. Because I want to do something. I, of course, want a life like a human being without fearing. Nora, do you know what kind of a thing is this, do not go abroad. Here you say, what a pity, why is it like this, why is it like that, you get distressed but you live, you are used to it. But when you go abroad, when you live there, you realize what you lose here or what you experience here better. This is very painful and annoying. I would like such things to change. I mean a country where I can breathe without fear, where I can say this belongs to me without fearing. I can also say this belongs to me for Istanbul. I do not care about Turkey, because it is not mine. If I go and start living in Çanakkale, I know a local Çanakkale person will not welcome me. Here does not welcome me because it wants to, but because it is obliged to.”⁵⁵ (Armenuhi, 46)

⁵⁵ Original: “İşte umudumun yok olduğu yer, işte bu benim hayatımdaki çelişkilerden biridir yani Ermeniler yok oluyor diye düşünüyorum bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum Türkiye kesinlikle umut beslemediğim bir ülke hala bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum bende böyle birkaç tane hayatımda çelişkiler vardır yani Sosyalistim kesinlikle milliyetçiliğe karşıyım bak seninle nasıl konuşuyorum bu da benim hayatımın bir çelişkisidir.

Yok tabii ben kesinlikle bunu yok etmeye çalışmıyorum zaten bu benim bir çelişkimdir ben bunları yaşıyorum böyledir ben sosyalistim insan haklarına saygılıyım kesinlikle ırk insan ayrımı yapmam ama benim hayatıma Türkler dahil olamaz okadar yani Türkiye içinde öyle ya Türkiye büyük bir ihtimalle patlayacak yani bir yerden patlayacak bu Cumhuriyet böyle gitmeyecek yani, değişik bir yapılanmaya muhakkak yani yapmak zorunda federasyon mu olur ne olur bilmiyorum böyle gitmez, böyle gitmez işte belki gittikçe Ak Parti sağlamlaştırıyor yerini sağlamlaştırdıkça da gerçek yüzünü ortaya çıkartıyor bu Osmanlı geleneğinden geldiği işte başkanlık sistemi getirecek artık şeyi ortadan kaldırıp ümmetçilik filan gibi modern ümmetçilik öyle bir şey yaparsa yapılanma değişir belki gerçekten o zaman daha farklı bir şekilde devam eder ama AKP’de bunu beceremezse askerin müdahil olması veya ne bileyim sistem erken seçim yine olup değişik bir partinin gelmesi ile devam ederse patlar Türkiye Türkiye patlar benim zaten bir tezim vardır hiçbir Türk adını taşıyan devlet 100 yılı geçmemiştir hep 100 yıl içinde yok olmuştur ya Osmanlılar Türk kullanmamıştır o 700 yıl devam etmiştir ama onlar Türk değil öyle bir şey var onun için ben bu Türkiye’nin de yani 100 yılı yaşayacağını hiç düşünmüyorum gerçekten düşünmüyorum ama ne bileyim işte hem böyle düşünüyorum Türkiye patlar diyorsun Türkiye’de umut yok

5.3. The institutions founded after the death of Hrant Dink

In this part, I will mention initiatives, Associations and other formations founded after Hrant Dink's death. As a result of both the development of my thesis and the interviews, I have explained that Hrant Dink's death was a breaking point. However, I want to repeat in the last part of this last chapter that it is not correct to say that Hrant Dink's death has completely and thoroughly changed the Armenian community and transformed it politically because it is certain that there is a change of mentality that I have realized during the interviews, although it does not have big practical implications. In this sense, in the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the practical implications and in the second part I will focus on the changes in the minds of people.

No doubt, the biggest institution founded after Hrant Dink's death was the International Hrant Dink Foundation. The foundation explains its goal as follows:

“The Hrant Dink Foundation was set up in 2007 to carry on Hrant’s dreams, Hrant’s struggle, Hrant’s language and Hrant’s heart. The Foundation defines the development of a culture of dialogue, empathy and peace as the basis of all its activities, which concentrate on the following areas: working toward equal opportunity among children and young people, and supporting their creativity ensuring that cultural diversity is recognized as a richness and differences are acknowledged as a right developing cultural relations among the peoples of Turkey, Armenia and Europe, supporting Turkey’s democratization process, supporting efforts to write histories devoid of nationalism and racism and gathering articles, photographs, and documents about Hrant Dink. The Hrant Dink Foundation will undertake multifaceted activities in these areas, such as publishing books, creating archives, organizing summer schools, organizing film, music,

demokrasisi adına hiç umut taşımıyorum diyorum ama yine aktif politikaya giriyorum çünkü bir şeyler yapmak istiyorum hayat isterim tabii ya insan gibi böyle korkmadan , Nora bu nasıl bir şey biliyor musun hiç yurt dışına çıkma burada tüh be bu niye böyledir niye şöyledir sıkılıyorsun ama yaşıyorsun alışkınsın ama yurt dışına çıktığın zaman orada yaşadığın zaman burada neler kaybettiğini veya neler yaşadığını daha iyi anlıyorsun bu çok acıtıcı çok rahatsız edici oluyor işte onların değişmesini isterim yani korkmadan nefes alabileceğim bir ülke, kokmadan ya burası benim ben sadece İstanbul için benim diyebiliyorum, Türkiye benim hiç umurumda değil Türkiye benim değil ki çünkü ben gidip bugün Çanakkale’de yaşasam Çanakkaleli beni bağrına basmayacak ki, burası da bağrına bastığından değil mecburen basıyor”

visual arts, dance and literature festivals, and giving awards in memory of Hrant Dink."⁵⁶

On of my informants who is working in for the foundation described his/her feelings:

"It is like when one does something to please the family in the community. They ask, for example, what do you do? When you say I work in the Hrant Dink Foundation. there comes a very meaningful "Hmm" which means they do not like it but they do not comment either because they are sad about Hrant Dink They like him, but they do not completely approve of the foundation because the works are too visible and are getting attention. They say hmm and the conversation is over, we move on to something else. They do not ask further questions such as how long have you been working or what are you doing, they say hmm and the topic is closed. Recently I do not say if they don't ask. we do not tell Turkish people anyway if we think they look like fascists. And now I do not tell some Armenians, because it really gets on my nerves if they say Hmm. I try to not get mad because they do not get the importance of our work, they are biased, or not biased but prejudiced. For example, one went to the exhibition of Armenian architecture, he liked it. He does not know it was organized by the foundation but he talks about it and how good it was. When I say our foundation organized it, there came a surprised reaction "Hmm", as if to say how come there is such a good work by the foundation. And then they are curious. they expect it to be a political and critical thing, perhaps. They think a foundation does only one thing, I guess, I don't know. Inner dynamics of the community are also interesting. I told you that I understand the community better when I go to the foundation, I think I did not know that well. I did not know about this polarization in the community. For example, there is a more decent group who get along well with the power-holders, whose political orientation is not that important; and there is another group which is more politically involved, which is closer to the left, and who do not only mention the rights of Armenians when it is about democratization, they also talk about Kurdish people and minority rights. For instance, I work in the foundation and it is important for me to work for all minority rights. I do not think in a way that one should support my right but not the others. But when I go home and hear my mother, I go crazy. Actually, my friends cannot believe this. For example, while MHP leader Bahçeli is talking on the TV news, my mother is says "he is right, I would not want to have minorities in my country." I say how can you say this, you are minority, then she says it is about Kurdish people. She criticizes Kurdish people, saying that they overstep the mark. I find it incredible, how

⁵⁶ www.hrantdink.org

come you can talk like this about Kurdish people? If something bad happens to you, you deserve it."⁵⁷ (Melisa, 26)

As we can see from Selin's narrative, not everyone in the Armenian community sees these movements, initiatives and associations from the same perspective. However, what I want to mention here is the discussion about this topic created by Hrant Dink's death. If we continue with Selin's words, after Hrant Dink's murder, everyone had to deal with this issue one way or another, or in other words they had to take a side. This taking sides connects the to criticism of movements and initiatives mentioned above.

⁵⁷ Original:“İşte umudumun yok olduğu yer, işte bu benim hayatımdaki çelişkilerden biridir yani Ermeniler yok oluyor diye düşünüyorum bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum Türkiye kesinlikle umut beslemediğim bir ülke hala bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyorum bende böyle birkaç tane hayatımda çelişkiler vardır yani Sosyalistim kesinlikle milliyetçiliğe karşıyım bak seninle nasıl konuşuyorum bu da benim hayatımın bir çelişkisidir.

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However, as it is in the section in which I mentioned tactics from De Certeu, here we see that everyone struggles/deals with this issue in different ways.

Nor Zartonk, Nor Radio and Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association have been one of the biggest changes. Beginning with the Armenian Community of Turkey, Nor Zartonk works for the intellectual development of the peoples of Turkey. It contributes to the internalization of universal and libertarian values.

Nor Zartonk (New Renaissance) contributes to the social and cultural development of the society and plays an active role in achieving peace and welfare. It supports any type of the project that helps people to understand their society, as well as the whole world, and provides self-improvement. Nor Zartonk helps individuals to recognize Equality, Justice, Democracy and Peace as fundamental values and contributes to the understanding of Human Rights as a whole without any kind of discrimination. Nor Zartonk is against militarism, sexism, homophobia, racism and any other kind of discrimination. Nor Zartonk is against gerontocracy, which is the power of the old over the young. Nor Zartonk supports any kind of science, art, culture, education, sport activity and prepares projects. Nor Zartonk can cooperate and make common projects with any organisation that shares its ideals. Nor Zartonk is a participatory, libertarian platform where anyone can express his/her ideas. Nor Zartonk has no hierarchical structure or administration.⁵⁸

“Nor Zartonk is very interesting. I did not found it actually, but everybody thinks I was involved from the very beginning. Can and a few friends were from Student Opposition, and I was also there, I mean in Student Opposition, they are sensitive people anyway. They say at one point let's have a mail group because presenting a leftist paradigm was not enough. Nor Zarton was founded through a mail group in 2005. Some issues specific to being Armenian were talked about and discussed. Everybody started to write a few mails. Then the meetings started. We were meeting in Beyoglu at the Chamber of Engineers. But it was only about 4-5 people. Once we called Hrant Dink as a speaker after organizing a small panel kind of thing. He came and talked with us. We admired him a lot. He would speak so nicely. Then, after Hrant Ağparik (brother) died, Nor Zarton became institutionalized. In that conversation that day, there was talk about a radio broadcast idea. We were talking about what Armenians can do and there was a radio broadcast idea. We also had that idea but we were delaying it in one way or another. After he died, we said we had promised, as if it was a promise and Nor Radio was founded. As Nor Zartonk, we have done some stuff to discuss and criticize the condition that killed him or prepared his death. Now, as you know, it grew much bigger. We have our Armenian Culture and Solidarity Association, we have a place, workshops, panels, films, we are known. On the 1st of May we walked with Armenian banners for

⁵⁸ www.nortartonk.org

the first time. Hrant's influence is very big in these. Of course, I wish he had not died but we did good things instead of sitting and crying, and we'll do more. I'm sure he would want it this way if he lived. I wish he lived. But we kept our promise”⁵⁹(Nerses, 26)

Hadik is an other initiative founded after 2007 which unfortunately can not continue its activities today.

Hadik Initiative, consisting of Armenian youth from Turkey who gathered around Agos After losing Hrant Dink on 19th of January and who are at peace with their identities, aim to work in order to increase productivity and to strengthen the representation of minority youth in the social and cultural fields which youth presence is insufficient. Hadig is itself a project. It develops its project while producing other projects. What does it do? It organizes cultural and artistic activities, works voluntarily in intercultural activities, performs flash-mobs, and tries to get to know other opinions. It keeps its pieces fresh while not neglecting its inner education.

⁵⁹ Original: “Nor zartonk çok ilginç ben kurmadım aslında nor zatonku ama herkes en baştan beri varmışım gibi zannediyor can ve bir kaç arkadaş öğrenci muhalefetinden ki ben de zaten buradaydım yani öğrenci muhalefetinde zaten duyarlı insanlar falan böyle onlar diyorlar bir mail grubu kuralım çünkü mevcut solcu paradşgma yetmiyor nor zarton bir mail grubu üzerinden kuruldu yani 2005te. Ermeniliğe özel durumlar meselelr falan konuşuldu tartışıldı sonra git gide üye sayısı artmaya başladı bu mail grubuna falan herkes teker ikir beşer mail attılar. Sonra toplantılar başladı beyoğlundu mühendisler odasında toplanıyorduk ama toplantı dediğim 4 kişi 5 kişi bir array geliyorduk falan. Hatta bir keresinde Hrant Dinki konuşmacı olarak çağrmıştık panel gibi küçük bir şey organize edip. Oturup sohbet etmişti bizle hayran kalmıştık. Öyle güzel konuşurdu ki. Sonra işte Hrant Ahparik ölünce zaten Nor Zartonk iyice kurumsallaştı. O günkü sohbetimizde bir radyo fikri konuşulmuştu Ermeniler ne yapabilir gibisinden falan konuşuyorduk, radyo fikri vardı. Bizim de vardı ama erteliyorduk bir şekilde. Sonra o ölünce söz vemiştik dedik sözümüz vardı gib yani Nor Radyo kuruldu. Nor Zatonk olarak da onu öldğren diyim onu öldğren hazırlayan bu ölümü hazırlayan şartları tartışan eleştiren işler yaptık. Şimdi zaten biliyorsun aldı yürüdü artık Ermeni Kültür ve Dayanışma derneğimiz var bir yerimiz var atölyeler vari paneller filmler var artık tanınıyoruz 1 Mayısıta Ermenice pankartla yürüdük ilk defa. Bunların olmasında Hrant’ın etkisi büyük . Tabii keşke ölmeseydi ama oturup ağlayacağımıza güzel şeyler yaptık bence yaptık daha da yapacağız o da yaşasaydı eminim böyle olmasını isterdi. Keşke yaşasaydı. Ama biz sözümüzü tuttuk.”

It is possible to enlarge these initiatives and movements with Friends of Hrant movement which focuses on trial process, or with Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop which has headed a discussion of this topic.

Apart from these, we can talk about the changes in people. And this is a claim which emerges in general from how individual people think and how they talk about the changes in their ideas. At this point, we can reach the affect of being Armenian which is the main topic of my thesis. Because after this death, everybody has tended to justify their position negatively or positively and everyone in the Armenian community has believed that they had to take position.

“I’m afraid I do not actually go to demonstrations or anything. Because, I cannot say “It is none of my business” but you’ll understand me when you have a family and kids. I cannot say it happened for good, who can tell my kid, but there are people who can tell. They say he was talking a lot, but I cannot go to the demonstrations either. A calamity only really affects its immediate victim, but I cannot go to demonstrations., Everyone is involved with this issue now. There is a focus on Armenians. We Armenians live with fear on our own. But with this event, everyone started to say Armenian Armenian. My son also goes, and he says mother come, but I’m getting mad at him too. He sat and told me many things about minority rights, I know he is right. I mean, I understand what they are doing to Kurds too, I understand better. But the moment you speak, they silence you, it is how it is here.”⁶⁰(Ayda, 55)

In Hrant Dink’s death, I see something very similar. The reaction which followed the despicable act of killing Hrant Dink in an attempt to silence Armenians, actually created a democratic space in which everyone’s voice could be heard. This is how we, as Nazlı says, have the opportunity to grasp the Armenian problem, the

⁶⁰ Original:“Ben korkuyorum açıkcası, eylemlere falan gitmiyorum yani gitmiyorum çünkü ya banane diyemeem hayatta diyememe ama çoluğun çocuğun olunca sen de anlayacaksın. Kesinlikle iyi ki oldu demem zaten kim diyebilir kızım ama diyen vary a çok konsuyordu diyenler var ama oyle gosterilere de gitmem gidemem. Ates dusutugu yeri yakıyor, beni de uzdu tabii ama su anda eyleme gitmem, korkuyorum çok herkes karıştı herkes bu meseleye. Ermnilerin usutune dikkat cekildi ermeniler biz korkuyla yaşıyoruz kendi halimizde. Ama bu olay herkes ermeni ereni der oldu. Benim oğlum da gidiyor mama gel diyor ama onun da gitmesine kızıyorum. Oğlum oturdu bana anlattı azınlık hakkında birsuru sey ona hak veriyorum. Yani kurtlere yapılanı da bugün anlıyorum ama, daha iyi anlıyorum. Ama konustugun an sesisni kesiyorlar, boyle burası”

Kurdish issue, or the LGBT movement as different aspects of the same issue. In Lacan, the negative construction of desire in a political framework usually reproduces itself as surplus value. According to Stravrakakis, (2003) desire is mobilized at the point created when “experience” and “real” do not overlap (corresponding to the “real” and “significant” in Lacan’s psychoanalysis). This absence is also where political existence can be found. Lacan’s term “negativity” is used to define this absence; the political subject is created from such an absence, or, in other words, from its opposite. Moreover, the Lacanian Left views this negativity as the “condition of possibility for a passionate and imaginative transformative politics and for the radicalization of democracy.”(Stavrakakis, 2007) From this perspective, it would not be incorrect to state that this absence is a constitutive absence.

If we sum up with the words of David and Eng, (2003) we see that Hrant Dink's death and the process following this have brought along a new reading. This is moving to an activating melancholy from an introverted and wrathful generational melancholy, as I have mentioned in the first chapter. In short, it refers to a new reading rather than a change. Benjamin also mentions how historical materialism presents the past and he calls it moment de production. At this point, we mention a new production. If we read this through affect and, as I have repeated, it is impossible that a new production area does not have political and ethical openings. Thus, this loss which is Hrant Dink's murder, has certain appropriations. The concept of Acedia by Aristo which points to melancholy, according to Benjamin (1977), connects historicism to fixation and historical materialism turns into hopeless historicism. Thus, there are two kinds of mourning process we can mention after a loss. First is active mourning, and the other is reactive acedia. Therefore, has the unmourned genocide I mentioned in the first chapter created a conflict. And caused an acedia. What I argue now is the reactive feature of acedia, as Benjamin calls it. But, how can a one and only loss have hopeful and hopeless connotations? I want to move forward using the categorization of Kazandjian and Eng as it is. Kazandjian and Eng ask the question of “what remains” instead of “what is lost”. Thus, we move towards to an abundant “now”, leaving behind nostalgic “now”.

Freud differentiates mourning and melancholy clearly in his article titled 'Mourning and Melancholia'. (1957) When it comes to David and Eng, we can also discuss it through the interwoven state of these two concepts. According to Freud, melancholy is the state of dealing with the loss all the time; while mourning is a healthy situation. In the new literature on the other hand, loss and melancholy become two concepts that cannot be separated.

Kristeva describes melancholy in her book "Black Sun" as follows: "inexorable grief as the signifiers flimsiness, extended capacity of representation". (Kristeva, 1992:45) With this description, Kristeva takes melancholy to symbolic ground. This can be possible through the subject having a constant relation to the object of loss. The formation of this symbolic order is possible only with melancholic recess. This psychoanalytical determination calls the affect I have mentioned throughout my thesis to a very subjective ground from the political ground. However, I think it is very enlightening to think how this determination can work in collective memory.

Looked at from such a perspective, loss can create new alternative meanings and this requires the condition that loss representation should be forced into a symbolic meaning and overcome. In this sense, Hrant Dink's death should be problematized through what his death can contribute to the representations in our minds, rather than as the death of a person. To continue with Benjamin, we see that Benjamin emphasizes how loss opens up "now" and enlarges this area. At this point, Benjamin's recommendation is to look at the political, economical and cultural dimensions of loss rather than looking at loss and how loss is apprehended. History is named as how that apprehension and naming procedure the phenomenon of what remains. Thus, looking at loss with this point of view brings a certain long understanding of history. And this understanding is beyond an understanding which is fixed on history, and frozen at a certain point. It is, as Cekovitch mentions in the article titled "Legacies of trauma, legacies of activism: Mourning and Militancy, an alternative history of the aids movement by constructing and interpreting an archive of interview. Ceren Özselçuk also points to the difference between rethinking and resentment and melancholy. (Özselçuk, 2005: 4)

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

Instead of a conclusion, I want to summarize the points I have mentioned in the thesis and then to discuss the further questions that the thesis' problematic may arise. As I have stated from the beginning on, I wanted to look into the new political environment with an affective perspective. This study I have done through the concepts of melancholy and mourning has showed me a path to understand what affect is, and how the processes of melancholy and mourning can be looked differently. In this framework, I have started my thesis with defining affect. This definition has helped me in describing the affect of being Armenian, which I have repeated in the chapters following the introduction. Making a critique of this literature, which may describe affect as if a highly subjective feeling, has reminded me again and again that affect emerges through encounters. In this context, I have had the chance to mention how “becoming political” gets complicated for Armenians. Consequently, this chapter called “What is affect” has helped me about how this affect can be organized and open a political ground. Realizing that unlike emotion, affect emerges through encounters, has inspired me into seeing how power can be sustained over these mechanisms. Again with this evaluation in the second and third chapters, thinking the concepts of strategy and tactic which I have used referring to De Certeau, one can see how this affect is used by power mechanisms, transformed into a political tool, and how, in this sense, affect is something being used in political context contrary to emotion which emerges in individual by itself. Thus, at the end of my thesis, I think it is useful to repeat what I have suggested during introduction and following chapters. An anthropological study about Armenians should cover how they live their being Armenian and how they are lived their being Armenian beyond how they live, their culture and traditions. As Navaro Yashin, who also inspired me for this study, mentioned, the point with which I very much agree is that most theoretical work on affectivity, before this particular ‘affective turn’, has focused on the inner world or interiority of the human subject, coined ‘subjectivity’. In the psychoanalytic tradition, for example, affect has been

synonymous with subjectivity. Thus, the structure of affect that breaks subjectivity, and its ability to exceed the limits of fields studying the psyche of human being like psychology and psychoanalysis was one of the most important points that inspired me into a possible anthropological study about Armenians. As we look at Hrant Dink's murder in relation to my subject or at any fact about Armenians in the history of Turkey, we see that the effect of these incidents separately or the shared element of these is not merely a coincidence. At this point, the biggest gain of an affective analysis is taking the fact against such behaviors, which may emerge as very individual and subjective into consideration. Thus, this affect, this suppuration under our skin is actually made of encounters, and power mechanisms may create these affects by organizing certain encounters. What's unconscious is how we spread and absorb this situation into our daily lives. Yashin explains non-subjective structure of affect in Spinoza as follows:

If sentiments, emotions, or feelings refer to subjective experience (or senses which can be put into discourse), 'affectus', in Spinoza's sense, refers to a sensation, which may move through the subject, but is not known to it (that is, it is unmediated by the cognitive, or the thinking and knowing, and talking subject). There is a 'lack of subjectivity' in Spinoza's philosophy (Navaro Yashin, 2009:14)).

As it can easily be read throughout the thesis, we can tell that Hrant Dink's death refer to a becoming and transformation in political sense beyond being merely a sharp breaking point. What I wanted to do in the second and third chapters was only analysis of interviews about the incidents pointing to this transformation. In this context, in the first chapter, I have looked at how Armenians in Turkey remember genocide free from Hrant Dink's death and at pathological structure deriving from genocide and from having to deal with its memories constantly together with how this structure shows itself in our daily lives. No doubt that my study here was limited to Armenians living in Turkey; however, it is possible to mention this burden, (with this burden I mean genocide taking a place in memories one way or another) referring to everyone who lives or have lived in this geography. Again in the second chapter, I have focused on narratives of victimhood while looking at what this basis corresponds to in Armenians, and I have mentioned how this narrative is formed through an alternative history.

However, due to the reasons I have mentioned above, this understanding of history is only one of many possible understandings. At this point, it could be possible to read even official history in such a way. In the third and last chapter, I have tried to speak of the day Hrant Dink died and the process that has followed. This chapter may refer to my personal hope in political sense rather than an analysis. Setting off from here, in this chapter, I have mentioned the spontaneous reaction happened in the street just after Hrant Dink's death, and also the mourning and melancholy that is appropriated by various movements and groups which followed that spontaneity. At this point, it could have been proper to mention “appropriation of grief”, I have only gone as far as mentioning the movements and groups emerged after Hrant Dink's assassination. Yet, we can still discuss who have appropriated this grief in which ways. Appropriation of grief after Hrant may refer to a relieving, curing transformation. As I have not spotted this in a concrete way during the interviews, I have not added this into my analysis. However, if I state my personal view in conclusion chapter, I also find it problematic to treat this case in its own uniqueness. Limitation of this concept I have used throughout my thesis to explain affect and its ways of organization within this case is I think very problematic both because it may weaken its effect in triggering people, in mobilizing masses, and because it is not enough to criticize/change the power mechanisms that have prepared this structure. Aside from these, we see that Hrant Dink's death has somehow made people living in this geography think about Armenians. Both people who appropriate this case and people who think that Hrant Dink “disturbed the peace of Armenians which is already at a thin line by speaking too much” faced the thing called being Armenian in Turkey and had to take sides. Thus, throughout my thesis, while talking about the transforming effect of Hrant Dink's death, aside from political organizations and movements emerged as concrete steps, I imply the change experienced by everyone who has reconsidered this issue in a negative or positive way.

As a last note I have to say that It is very hard for me to complete this theses because of the latest development on the Hrant Dink's court case. Since while I was writing the last sentences of this thesis Turkish court ended a five year trial without penalize the real murders. It is handed down life imprisonment for Yasin Hayal, a major suspect in the killing of Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, of instigating a murder while another suspect Erhan Tuncel was acquitted of murder charges. More than that everyone cleared of charges of membership in a terrorist organization.

I am also aware that I am unable to answer all the questions that I had raised, and the notion “affect of being Armeninan” still remains unclear. However bearing in mind the difficulties studying such a topic, I still want to believe that the assassination of Hrant Dink, although the justice could not be provided in the court, changed something and make everyone think on this issue.

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