The Armenian Diaspora and the Need for the "Other"*

Ermeni Diasporasında 'Öteki'ne İhtiyaç

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Abstract

The Armenian diaspora is one of the most dispersed communities in the world. Contrary to the dispersed population the Armenian diaspora continues to thrive as a strong ethnic identity. This could be linked to the presence of an enemy "Turk" image in which all bad images are projected. This is due to the need to have "enemies" for sustaining the identity and in-group cohesion. In the context of the Armenian diaspora the concept of "other" has become a reason for existence that legitimizes the victim identity rather than a simple need. The collective memory that is created by the need for an enemy and "other" is then intergenerationally transmitted while evolving to a different story. Youth, who are raised with feelings of enmity can pose a threat for the future of the Turkish-Armenian relations.

Key Words: Armenian Diaspora, İdentity, Political Psychology, Defense Mechanisms

Özet

Ermeni diasporası dünyadaki en dağınık topluluklardan biridir. Bu nüfus dağınıklığının aksine diaspora içinde yaşadığı ülkelerde güçlü bir etnik kimlik olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Bu durum, diasporanın psikolojik olarak kötü imgeleri yansıttığı bir "öteki" düşman Türk imajının varlığına bağlanabilir. Çünkü, milletlerin "düşman" ihtiyacı o grubu birarada tutmakta ve kimlik özelliklerini yaşatmaktadır. Ermeni diasporası bağlamında "öteki" olgusu bir ihtiyaçtan öte varlık sebebi olarak mağdur kimliğini meşrulaştırıcı özelliğe sahiptir. Düşman ihtiyacı ve öteki yardımı ile oluşturulan toplumsal bellek bir nesilden ötekine aktarılmakta, bu aktarım sırasında da şekil değiştirebilmektedir. Özellikle düşmanlık duyguları ile yetişen genç nesiller Türk-Ermeni ilişkilerinin geleceği açısından da tehlike arz etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ermeni Diasporası, Kimlik, Politik Psikoloji, Savunma Mekanizmaları

Introduction

The psychosocial identities of individuals that eventually constitute large-groups begin with birth, take shape during childhood and become permanent during adolescence. Individuals tend to internalize the traits of their families and societies, thus the traits of the large group as their identities develop. As individual identity develops through socialization starting with the transition phase from infancy to childhood during when the child begins to get to know

the surrounding and learns to distinguish the familiar and unfamiliar.[1] This phase of political socialization follows the pattern of an intergenerational transmission of political values.[2] It is also during this period that ethnic identity and sense of belonging are learned, and they become an indispensable part of identity. During this stage, the infant is not able distinguish between good and evil or black and white. The child discovers that projecting his negative feelings onto those he likes or knows is not proper and projects his aggression, which is learned from the surrounding, to an "enemy" pre- determined by the society. This enemy can also be identified as "suitable targets".[3] These feelings and behavior are then reflected to the outside as primitive defense mechanisms such as exteriorization and projection.[4] During this process, one of the most important stages of identity development emerges: the "***other***". From that point on there exists a "bad", namely an "enemy" for the child, who is also the adult of the future, onto which he can project all the negative feelings. The enemy serves as a reservoir that can deposit good and bad attribution of either the self or the others. One of the important aspects of creating the "other" is related with the individual. No individual would like to consider himself as negative or bad. Therefore, individuals and thus societies, define their identities by comparing themselves with the "others" they have created and developed; and also see themselves superior to the "others". The created "other" is also a major factor that ensures group cohesiveness. All groups in a society are observed to be in harmony and tend to stick together when faced with an enemy. With this regard, there is also an "other" for the Armenian identity as there is one for all identities. The "other" for the Armenian identity specifically, is no other than the "Turk" because for an Armenian who has separated from the "homeland", there is not a better projection and suitable target for exteriorization than the Turk. The Armenian diaspora is able to preserve its inner coherence and unity by building and maintaining its ethnic identity around enmity towards the Turks. Young generations who are raised with such hostility inflamed by socialization instruments such as family, church or media, are able to define their existence only by enmity towards the Turks. In that case, the "other" or the enemy becomes a ***necessity*** and a ***need*** for the group that owes its existence to the "other" in such a way. Armenian diaspora's need for the "other" will be better understood when taking into consideration the need to keep the group unity and cohesiveness of the individuals in diasporas, away from their imagined or real homeland. This article will analyze the processes of the psychological creation of the "other" by individuals and societies, as well as the Armenian diaspora's need for the "other".

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1 Richard G. Niemi, Barbara I. Sobieszek, "Political Socialization", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol 3, 1977, p. 220;
2 Richard M. Merelman, "The Adolescence of Political Socialization", *Sociology of Education*, 1972, Vol. 45, p. 135.
3 Vamık D. Volkan, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies*, Northvale, Aronson Press, 1994, p. 31.
4 For internalized and externalized defense mechanisms see Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*,(revised ed.) London, Karnac Books, 1993.

Development of Identity and Creation of Ethnic Identity

Identity, by dictionary definition is the whole of personality traits of an individual. The dictionary's second definition explains identity as collective characteristic traits that evince somebody or something, while in the forth definition identity is defined as "sameness".[5] The basis of the word identity, idem or identitas which is etymologically Latin means the root of a person. According to Erikson identity is located within an individual as well as within the communal culture[6]. One of the most important aspects of identity is its connection to the person's inner world. For this reason, when defining identity and self, one should take a look at the concepts of ego, id and superego. The id is the part of the mind's subconscious that acts suddenly without much thought. Freud theorized that the infant's mind was directed by the id during the initial stages of life, explaining that the superego which was a part of the ego, rather developed in further stages. As a result of the relationship between the inner and the outer world, a mechanism which is apart from the id, is formed. This more systematic mechanism is called the ego. The superego emerges as a result of the child's identification with the moral and ethic values of his family. The role of the ego is to keep the balance between the id and the super ego. The ego, which has a wide functional spectrum and the id, the least organized part of the mind, develop according to the child's relationship with objects such as his mother, other important persons or his relationship with the outside world. The self represents the person's body and mind while objects represent the other people. In such a case, the ego creates various images about the self and objects. These real or unreal images created by the ego play an effective role in the development of identity and the construction of the "other".

The identity development of an individual starts at birth, gains momentum during the first year of the infant's life and takes shape by the fifth year. In short, the foundation of a person's character and identity is laid at birth, with various other supplements during the initial years of childhood. According to psychoanalysis theories, a child is in a state of chaos at birth because in this initial stage of life, the infant has not yet been able to make the distinction between the outer and the inner world.[7] However, "I" is created at the end of the first three years, once the ego and the id is balanced in the child's mind. Positive and negative events or feelings experienced during the first months of infancy can not be differentiated by the infant. Nevertheless, the same person can be responsible for both type of behavior which may trigger the infant's like and dislike. In this case, the ego finds it very difficult to distinguish

5 "Identity", *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1980
6 Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York, London, W.W. Norton & Company, 1968, p.22.
7 Erikson, *ibid*, p. 92-93.

between the positive and the negative; the good and evil or black and white. This integration can only be accomplished in time. During the period in which the individuals of a large group (nation, ethnic group, people) accomplish their self integration, the adults of the group create shared reservoirs which are supported by socialization instruments such as school, family and media. These shared reservoirs are those that will differentiate good and evil during the integration process.[8] It is precisely during this process that self-recognition, attainment of ethnic identity and the "other" is realized.

Perhaps the most important part defining identity is ethnicity. The concept of ethnicity is derived from the Greek word ethnos and means the people. The etymological origin of the word has transformed in time and indicates a rather cultural, religious or regional togetherness today. The two main components of ethnicity are defined as identity and culture.[9] Identities may belong to both individuals and to groups.

According to Freud[10], group psychology is the oldest human psychology because people are socialized within certain groups. He further argues that individuals and societies demonstrate parallel behavior where individuals in a group are more likely to approve things or behavior that they normally would not. Questioning what it means to belong to a group, Alford[11] states that the sense of belonging goes back as far as the initial phases of life, to the "mother-child" belonging. Individuals' need to attach to a group demonstrates itself under what Volkan calls "large group identity".[12]

Large group identities have developed naturally over time, emerging as a result of historical processes, geographical circumsatances, mythological origins and such markers.[13] Ethnic identity or ethnicity, which is considered to be the most important category of the large group identity, is a phenomenon shaped by a society's historical development and molded with religion, cultural values, regional attachments and language.[14] Ethnicity, which becomes a part of the human self starting from childhood, refers to a natural sense of belonging and at the same time defines a sense of "**we-ness**". Ethnic identity

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8 Volkan, *The Need to Have...*, p. 39.
9 Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol.41, No:1, 1994, pp. 152-176; Manning Nash, "The Core Elements of Ethnicity", John Hutchinson, Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 26.
10 Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, London, International Psychoanalytic Press, 1922, p. 19.
11 Fred C. Alford, *Group Psychology and Political Theory*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994, p. 14.
12 Vamık D. Volkan, *Blood Lines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism*, New York, Farrar,Straus and Giroux, 1997, p. .27.
13 Volkan, *Bloodlines...*, p..22.
14 Manning Nash, "The Core Elements of Ethnicity, John Hutchinson, Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 27.

traits, which are not based on racial grounds, add an objective meaning to the sense of "we-ness" through various symbols such as shared history and shared values that are developed by groups in time.[15] During his development, the child, through his education by family and environment, gains awareness of the symbols valued/glorified or devalued by his ethnic group, and defines himself by means of these symbols, imitating the same behavior patterns. Ethnic identity is also defined as core identity, which in case of its loss, is very difficult to bear.[16]

Creation of the "Other" in Individuals and Societies

The shared reservoirs used by individuals during the stage of creating their core identity such as ethnic identity also set the basis for the need of the "other" in individuals and groups. The "good" and "bad" attributed to these shared reservoirs, also symbolize the beginning of "us" and "them" dichotomy. According to Volkan, the shared "bad" elements lay the foundation for a shared "other" through the child's projection of these "bad" elementes outside specifically to what is unknown or foreign to the child.[17] Thus the enemy, the "other", becomes a target to which all negative elements are ascribed. Meanwhile, as the negative and the bad elements are projected onto the "other", the shared "good" reservoirs symbolize the beginning of the sense of "us".[18] The formation of the "other" in individuals and groups is closely related with the groups' historical processes. Ethnic identity, which is considered to be the core of identity, is shaped as well, being affected by historical processes. In this respect, a major trauma, which Volkan identifies as chosen traumas, experienced collectively by a group, effects the members of the group as well. The traumas experienced by a group are symbolized by means of individuals whereby the group responsible for causing the trauma is deposited in the "bad" reservoir, and these sentiments may continue through intergenerational transmission. Thus, the "other" is created when one group feels enmity towards the other.[19]

The phenomenon of the "**other**" can also be explained as enmity or hostility. "The Other", which John E. Mack[20] calls "the enemy system", is a state

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15 Anna Cento Bull, "Collective Identities: From the Politics of Inclusion to the Politics of Ethnicity and Difference", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 2, No. 3-4, 2003, p. 42; Volkan, *The Need to Have...* , p. 84; Volkan, Vamık D., *Killing In the Name of Identity*, Charlottesville, Pitchstone Publishing, 2006, p. 23.

16 Bernd Baumgartl, "Zenophobia in a European Context", *Mind and Human Interaction*, 10:2, s. 73-74; Volkan, *Killing in...*, p. 133.

17 Volkan, *The Need to Have...*, p. 31; Vamık D. Volkan, *Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict*, England: Eothen Press, 1994, p. 3.

18 John E. Mack, "The Enemy System", Vamık D. Volkan, Demetrios Julius, Joseph V. Montville (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships Vol I*, Lexington Books, 1990, p. 61.

19 Gündüz S. Aktan, *Safarad Jews, Neo-Racism in Europe and Remembering Freud*, Ankara, ASAM Papers, No:1, p. 43, Volkan, *Turks and Greeks...*, p. 7;

20 John E. Mack, "The Enemy System", Vamık D. Volkan, Demetrios Julius, Joseph V. Montville (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships Vol I*, , Lexington Books, 1990, p. 58.

developed and sustained in the mind. Mack discusses that while enmity is sometimes real and sometimes constructed, the group maintains its integrity through "the other". Thus, the "other" is extremely important for construction and sustainability of large groups such as nations and ethnic identities. By way of the "other", the individual and the large group is able to define itself, and preserve its cohesiveness by remaining in defense against its enemy i.e. the "other". Every nation or large group is engaged in a struggle to survive its identity. It is very difficult to call a group that does not integrate for a common goal, a society. Thus, a way to keep a group together is creating the "other" alongside developing a common goal closely knit to this "other".[21] For example, it can be said that the Greek Megali Idea has become a part of this common goal, common tent and ethnic identity. Through the Megali Idea, Greeks tend to have the same feelings collectively and have developed a reservoir for the "bad" projections.[22]

Alford[23] asserts that excluding, insulting, humiliating, ignoring or criticizing an outside group enhances unity of the group and that this feeling serves as a glue holding together the members of the large group.

The Common Tent of the Armenian Diaspora

The Armenians are trying to preserve their group cohesiveness just like any other nation or ethnic group. One aspect of the Armenian society is its very powerful diaspora. Webster's dictionary explains the word diaspora which is derived from the Greek word "diaspore" (dispersion), as "people with similar origins (like ethnic groups) forced or induced to migration, resulting with their departure from their homeland, dispersion throughout the world and their cultural development in that place".[24] According to Mkrtchyan[25] formation of the Armenian Diaspora is related to economic, religious, political, ethnic and forceful migration. The migration psychology actually deserves a totally different assessment because migration causes major changes in individuals and groups. Cevik[26] asserts that identity problems of an immigrant are at the base of the mourning phenomenon related with migration. Generally the new

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21 Howard F. Stein, "The Indespensible Enemy and American-Soviet Relations", Vamık D. Volkan, Demetrios Julius, Joseph V. Montville (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships Vol I*, Lexington Books, 1990, p. 71; Rafael Moses, "The Perception of the Enemy: A Psychoanalytic View", *Mind and Human Interaction*, 7:1, p. 39.

22 William D. Davidson, Joesph V. Montville, Foreign Policy According to Freud, *Foreign Policy*, No 45, pp.145-157; Volkan, *Turks and Greeks...*, p. 88.

23 Alford, *ibid*, p. 29.

24 Robin Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation State: From Victims to Challangers", *International Affairs*, Vol 72, No 3, 1996, p. 507.; James Clifford, "Diasporas", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol 9, No 3, 1994, pp. 306.

25 Anahit Mkrtchyan, *Create Democratic Armenia Together. The Problem of adaptation of the Diaspora Armenians in Armenian socium*, Yerevan, Caucasus Research Resource Centers (CRRC), 2008.

26 Abdülkadir Cevik, "Globalization and Identity", Sverre Varvin, Vamık D. Volkan (eds.), *Violence or Dialogue?*, London, International Psychoanalytical Association, 2003, p. 88.

immigrant is generally torn between two identities. The Armenians in the U.S. or France can neither feel fully Armenian nor fully American or French just like the Turks in Belgium or Germany. Groups that wish to internalize the identity traits of the group they have newly joined while at the same time unwilling to give up their own ethnic identities, are aware of the threats against their own core identities. In order to avert the assimilation process which starts with the disintegration of language and traditions, immigrant groups engage in religious, social and cultural organizations where they will feel just like "at home".

Asserting that activities in the diaspora are organized by Armenian churches, political parties, foundations and culture institutions, Mkrtchyan notes that the Armenian diaspora preserves its identity by taking part in religious and national rituals. Religious and political organizations as well as the schools, which can also be called as socializing agents, can be extremely influential in creating a common sense of belonging and a common tent.[27] In case of the Armenian diaspora the common tent created with such means is built on the events of 1915 which were not only traumatizing for the Armenians but for the whole Ottoman society as well. As previously stated, a common sense of belonging and identity is needed to keep a group together, and this necessity creates the need for a shared "other" or a shared "enemy". The individual and societal traumas highlight and enhance the creation of the "other". Traumatic events that leave a mark in a group's history and shape the identity, also called as chosen traumas by Volkan[28], are reflected in the example of the Armenian diaspora related to the events of 1915 and migration. Armenian Diaspora in particular has chosen to preserve its identity by using the trauma generated by these incidents. This preservation, asserted also by Bourke[29], is closely related with the way historical events are depicted.

Armenian diaspora, which has transformed the events of 1915[30] into a chosen trauma, positions itself in the axis of victimization psychology. Thus, a common self, identity, belonging, history and more importantly a common "other" is necessary. The sense of being victimized, also experienced by the Armenian diaspora, is defined as being aggrieved or being subject to unjust treatment and is observed in both individual and societal dimensions.

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27 Rita Rogers, "Intergenerational Transmission of Historical Enmity", V.D. Volkan, J.V. Montville, D.A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationhips Vol I.*, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1990, pp. 91-92.; Rita Rogers, "Nationalism: A State of Mind", *Mind and Human Interaction*, Vol. 5, Number 1, 1994, pp. 19-21.; Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture", *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No:1, 1994, pp. 152-176.
28 Volkan, *Blind Trust...*, p. 48.
29 Joanna Bourke, "Introduction "Remembering" War", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 39, No.4, 2004, p. 474.
30 Kemal Çiçek, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinin 1915'teki Tehciri: Bir Değerlendirme", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt: 3, Sayı: VI, Yaz 2010, ss. 1-13

The sense of being victimized is also a process of shaping the impulses to be victimized as well as a defense mechanism against feelings of guilt. The sense of being victimized is a state of the individual and collective mind, and is closely associated with being a member of a specific ethnic group.[31] The ethnic identity defines itself as the victim and wronged, and develops its identity in this framework, as it is the case with the Armenian diaspora. For instance, Aghanian points that the Armenians "see themselves as a uniquely martyred Christian nation ignored by the West and crucified by the Ottoman Turks".[32] Thus, the sense of being victimized becomes a determinant trait of this identity. Victimization for the Armenian diaspora presents itself as a cycle of constant repetition of historical traumas in the group, resulting in the dominancy of the victimization psychology. The way this victimization psychology reflected on the young generation is asserted in articles written by young people who have never experienced the events of 1915 first hand. Such articles about claiming Mt. Ararat and mythologized Western Armenia are published in diaspora magazines such as Haytoug.[33] The following words of a young Armenian clearly demonstrates the victimization psychology, the enmity phenomena and how a child identifies him/herself with the values of his/her family during his development: "How can I not hate Turks? They are not only the children of those massacring my ancestors but are also open supporters of their ancestors' behavior. They are the ones keeping our blood soaked lands. They are the ones who are responsible for an apology or compensation. And if they do not fulfill these duties not only will I hate them but I will also feel disgusted by them".[34] As it can be seen, the fact that the Armenian diaspora shapes its identity with victimization psychology and develops strategies in this direction poses a big problem for the young generations.

One other aspect of the Armenian diaspora, like all other diaspora, is the fact that they are faced with a threat of identity erosion, assimilation in the countries they currently live in. A group, which is susceptible of assimilation in a different language, different religion and different culture, holds onto its own ethnic identity more tightly which can be described as a psychological defense. Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink openly stated this fact in an interview stating, "You realize you are Armenian when you live together with them and when you hear Turkish. If I live here and if I hear the muezzin recite the azan five times a day, then I realize I am Christian at least five times a day",

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31 John E. Mack., "The Enemy System" in *The Psychodynamics of International Relationhips Vol I.*, V.D. Volkan, J.V. Montville, D.A. Julius (Eds.), Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1990, p. 61.
32 Denise Aghanian, *The Armenian Diaspora: Cohesion and Fracture*, Lanham, University Press America, 2007, p. 93-94.
33 *Haytoug*, November/December 2004, www.ayfwest.org, p. 10.
34 Talin Pushian, "Turkish People: Hate or Educate?", *Haytoug*, April 2001 Special Edition, p. 14.

expressing ethnic identities' need for self protection.[35] In the same interview, Dink states "Even if you do not want to remain Armenian, the pressure of the others forces you to be one. How can you not remain an Armenian if someone is cursing at you, looking down upon you each day?", depicting clearly the mutual relationship between the "other" and ethnic identity. Ross[36] explains this resistance as holding on to ethnic identities in the face of threat and obscurity. Because, according to Ross and Volkan[37], groups under stress and threat or groups with such a perception, enter a psychological regression stage, engage the primitive defense mechanisms of the subconscious and hold on to the common factors of the ideology which unites the group. Group cohesiveness, harmony and identity attachment increase at times when there is a regressive threat perception.[38] Because individuals' need for sense of belonging, survival and having a worth can only be fulfilled by belonging to a group.[39] Going back to the Armenian diaspora identity, maintaining the traits of their ethnic identities appears as a natural reaction in a way because ethnic identity faces the threat of assimilation or erosion. Socializing agents work with defense mechanisms against this threat and resort to ways that reinforce the features of ethnic identity. The primary way is creating an "other" by intergenerational transmission of historical myths and traumas or by strengthening the existing "other", thereby providing group cohesion. In the described process, Turkey serves as a "reservoir of all bad elements" to which all kinds of negative elements are externalized and projected due to existing historical enmities.

The Psychological Defense Mechanism of the Armenian Diaspora Identity: the Turk as The "Other"

According to Cohen and Armstrong, national identities are developed and maintained much stronger in the diaspora.[40] Eriksen[41] states that those living outside their homeland generally stay together with people belonging to their own ethnic group which supports the "us" phenomenon. Why is the need for "us" vitally important for the diaspora? To find the answer, one should first

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35 Nouritza Matossian, "Let's Talk About the Living: An Interview With Hrant Dink", *Index on Censorship*, February 2007, www.eurozone.com. Accessed on: February 10, 2007.
36 Marc Howard Ross, "The Relevance of Culture for the Study of Political Psychology and Ethnic Conflict", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 18, No:2, 1997, pp. 299-326.
37 Volkan, *The Need to Have...* , 1988, p. 54.
38 Thomas C. Davis, Revisiting Group Attachment: Ethnic and National Identity, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 20, No.1, 1999, p. 28.
39 John E. Mack, "Nationalism and the Self", *Psychohistory Review*, 2, 1983, pp. 47-69.
40 Robin Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation State: From Victims to Challangers", *International Affairs*, Vol 72, No 3, 1996, pp. 508-509; John Armstrong, "Arcetypal Diasporas", John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Eds.), *Ethnicity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 121.
41 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "We and Us: Two Modes of Group Identification", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No.4, 1995, p. 427.

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take a look at the identity threats posed by the ethnic group, the large group or namely the group that one lives in. Perhaps the most important effect of the globalizing world on identities is that everyone has virtually opened their identity umbrellas with a need to protect themselves.[42] Threats coming from the external world such as corruption, cultural corrosion, identity corrosion as well as tradition and language oblivion have been the factors revitalizing the ethnic identities. At the same time, they have faced assimilation such as losing their ethnic identity in the diaspora, within the larger groups they live in.[43] Ethnic identities can associate such assimilation with death, not individually but in terms of identity. The Armenian diaspora is faced with similar threats like all other diaspora. How can the Armenian diaspora, unwilling to lose the traits of its ethnic identity, ensure its inner cohesion and maintain its identity features. Defense mechanisms developed by the ego in the subconscious supports this sustainability. Mahler[44] and Volkan[45], categorize primitive defense mechanisms as inward and outward defense mechanisms. Outward defense mechanisms are projection and displacement while inward self defense mechanisms are identification and internalization. According to individual psychology, these are defense mechanisms developed by the individual and the child during stage of growth in order to protect identity. During the developmental stage, the child projects the traits he finds unpleasant in himself as he feels uncomfortable with these traits and isolates these negative elements from himself this way. Being unable to integrate his positive and negative qualities together, the child has not been able to comprehend yet the fact that the "good" and the "bad" may coexist. Thus the child he has not accomplished integration. As a result of this situation, which is also observed occasionally in adults and underdeveloped societies, individuals can shift the responsibility of the negative elements they experience to what is different from them, specifically to the "other". These outward defense mechanisms that provide inner peace, security and consistency are also effective in the development of ethnic consciousness during childhood. Adults of an ethnic group sometimes seek a scapegoat for the negative elements or events they experience. There are predetermined reservoirs as discussed previously and targets approved by the society which are presented to the child by adults. During the process of socializing through the family and education, children identify themselves with the adults of the group and attribute their negatives to those pre-determined reservoirs. Thus, the "other" for the adult becomes the same "other" for the

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42 Çevik, *ibid*, pp. 85-93.
43 Mari Firkatian, "Retaining Ethnic Identity: The Armenians in Bulgaria", Zvi Bekerman, Ezra Kopelowitz (Eds.), in *Cultural Education, Cultural Sustainability*, New York, Routledge, 2008, pp. 182-183.
44 See Margaret S. Mahler, "Thoughts About Development and Individuation", *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, Vol. 18, 1963, pp. 307-324.
45 See Vamık D. Volkan, *Primitive Internalized Object Relations: A Clinical Study of Schizophrenic, Borderline and Narcisistic Patients*, New York: International Universities Press, 1976.

child and group personality is consolidated by intergenerational transmission of this enmity.[46] As mentioned before, historical traumas are also important factors in the creation of these chosen reservoirs. These chosen reservoirs also produce the concepts of "us" and the "other" such as the "ally" and the "enemy". There are projected and substituted "bad elements" and "negative elements" against the "good" and "positive" events or behavior which have been internalized. The individual is actually the whole of two opposite identities in this dilemma.[47] The Armenian diaspora also uses these defense mechanisms in order to preserve the traits of its ethnic identity and group integrity. The most striking feature of the Armenian diaspora identity is that the way it defines itself against the Turkish identity because "Turk" for the Armenian diaspora isthe ultimate "other" both historically and psychologically. More importantly, "Turk" is an "enemy" onto which it can project the inner negative elements/traits. Therefore, everything concerning a Turk and Turks is considered bad, dirty, dangerous and negative. Turks are held responsible for every kind of bad that happened or may happen to the Armenian diaspora. This enemy ideology which is also stimulated by traumas and historical enmities is transmitted between generations. Thus, even those Armenians who have not experienced the relocation trauma of 1915 consider the Turks as the "other" and the "enemy".

A pattern of sustaining identity through organizations is seen in the Armenian Diaspora of the U.S. Magazines, newspapers and websites that are circulated amongst the diasporans not only propagate the cornerstones of the Armenian identity but also crystallizes the re-created collective memory and pathological mourning through the enemy image. The events of 1915 are thus remembered in the Armenian collective memory and transmitted to the next generation as a task to mourn, remember and unsolve. Tashnagsutyun (ARF) youth journal Haytoug is one of the tools to sustain the collective memory and identity. Monthly Haytoug is prepared by diasporan youth who have never witnessed the events of 1915 but express strong opinions against the Turks and have formed a specific idea about the mentioned events. The journal frequently mentiones Armenian ASALA and JCAG terrorists as "martyrs" and "fedayees" which demonstrates that the diaspora youth considers them as role models. For instance January 2002 edition has a special "Fedayee" section that

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46 William D. Davidson, "Psychiatry and Foreign Affairs: A Vision and a Commitment", *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, Vol 6, 1986, pp. 223-242; for transmission of traumas and enmity also see Viken Yacoubian, "Forgiveness in the Context of the Armenian Experience", Ani Kalayjian, Raymond F. Paloutzian (Eds.), *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Psychological Pathways to Conflict Transformation and Peace Building*, Psychology Book Series, London, Springer, pp. 223-235.

47 Vamık D. Volkan., "An Overview of Psychological Concepts Pertinent to Interethnic and/or International Relationships", V.D. Volkan, J.V. Montville, D.A. Julius (Eds.), *The Psychodynamics of International Relationhips Vol I.*, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1990, pp. 38-40.

glorifies Ashod Yergat, a terrorist born in 1870. [48] January 2004 edition includes an article by 16 year-old Vana Kouyoumji referring to terrorist organization Lisbon 5 as a hero.[49]

Unfortunately this pattern of trangenerational transmission of enmity is manifesting itself in various organizations that are recruiting members of the diaspora youth and teaching guerilla fighting methods. Such establishment named "American Armenian Legion" highly resemble the former ASALA and JCAG as they state on their website: "We will teach you everything you need to know about firearm safety, shooting, survival, tactics, and anything else you need to know or have an interest in learning. You need not feel intimidated by a limited knowledge guns, military items, etc. We would be glad to teach you what are willing to learn".[50] Thus, current threats of a collective memory and victim identity exist in gaining new recruits where psychology of the recruits can easily be manipulated to perform a terrorist activity in the future. Although, this could be an extreme example of how ones defines his or her identity, it can asserted that this case is possible since it happened before with the case of young AYF member Hampig Sassounian.

Conclusion

The science of psychology asserts that every human being needs another person to define oneself. Apart from the individual, large groups may also feel the need to consider themselves different than others. Hostile societies are generally those which are in fact most alike and border neighbors. [51] This phenomenon is better understood when considering the example of Turks and Armenians. These two groups which are so much alike in terms of eating-drinking habits, dressing, culture and music have identified eachother as their archenemy due to past experiences with eachother and various external provocations. What the Armenian diaspora considers as "oppression and genocide" and Turks as "treachery and relocation" are the historical events which have legitimized this notion of the "other". Unfortunately, a "Turk" is a murderer to be hated for an Armenian who has politicized his identity in the diaspora while an "Armenian" has become a treacherous and an unacceptable ethnic identity for the Turk. For instance Miller and Miller give several accounts of historical enmity. When asked in a study, some participants responded with

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48 "Fedayee Spotlight: Ashdod Yergar", Haytoug, January 2002, s. 11. For further analysis on Haytoug please see B. Senem Çevik-Ersaydı, *Politik Psikoloji Bağlamında Ermeni Kimliğinin Siyasallaştırılması (Haytoug Dergisi Örneği)*, Gazi University, unpublished dissertation, 2011.
49 "Thoughts", Haytoug, Winter 2004, s. 21.
50 The American Armenian Militia, Q&A, http://www.americanarmenianmilitia.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=11&Itemid=29, access date: Oct.11, 2011.
51 Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, London, International Psychoanalytic Press, 1922, p.34; Volkan, *The Need to Have...*, p.103-104.

outrage expressing their feelings of hatred towards the Turks.[52] Meanwhile, the very fine line of transition from the "other" to enmity is mostly not taken into account. How and with which emotions children, who have not yet assigned specific categories for persons or groups, are raised is important for this reason. When young generations are raised, the aim should not be ensuring the continuity of togetherness by breeding hatred through traumas. The aim shoudl rather be raising conscious and peaceful generations. Every identity that is established on solid but slippery grounds such as grounds of enmity is doomed to face the danger of collapsing and disintegration. The integration of black and white can be accomplished by becoming aware of the processes realized in the unconscious and how these processes are exploited by group leaders, that is also expressed in Hrant Dink's following words: "Let us first know each other, let us first show respect to each others griefs, let us first keep each other alive...".[53] It should not be forgotten that during World War I, also known as the Great War in history, millions of people perished and groups inhabiting Ottoman territories including the Balkans had to separate from their homelands due to territorial losses. World War I was evidently full of grief and trauma in every way for all parties. However, events that could not be mourned and traumas that are carried until today cannot provide tranquility and peace for any society.

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52 Donald E. Miller, Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993, pp. 164-172.
53 International Hrant Dink Foundation, www.hrantdink.org, access date: June 15, 2009.

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