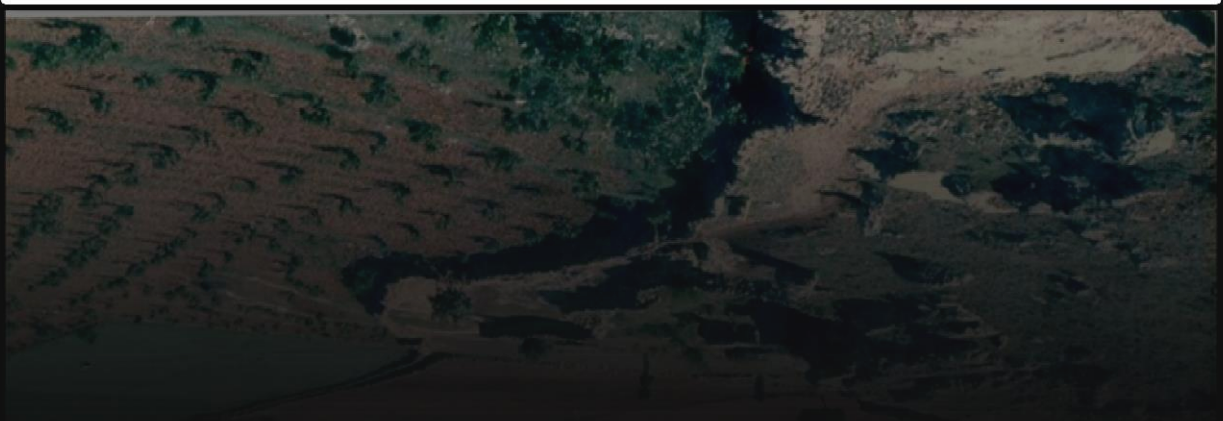


THE GOVERNANCE OF MEMORY OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

A case study of memory transmission among Aramean,
Assyrian and Chaldean families



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Foreword and Acknowledgements

This thesis is written as a completion to my master degree in Public Administration, with the specialization Policy & Governance, at the University of Twente. The research I have completed, for this master track, is about the governance of memory of migrant communities in Western Europe, to be precise the governance of memory of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants.

My research could not be completed without the help of many involved ones, who I would like to thank in particular. First of all, my greatest help and support, my husband Matai Mutlu. He always kept me motivated and helped me during the toughest days. Besides Matai, the rest of my family was also of great help. My mother has always believed in me, that gave me a lot of strength to come to where I am today. My father always pushed me to give my very best. My sister and brother also supported me through these months, always asking me when I would finish so they could read my work. Whenever I visited my other relatives, they kept asking me questions about my research, they were very enthusiastic and supportive. When I needed inspiration, I could go to my grandfather Zeki, my uncle Piyer and my aunt Meryem. They were always brainstorming with me during my research, keeping me sharp. For gathering the data I want to thank father Abrohom Garis and Kennedy Mutlu, without their help I would have not made it this far.

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to provide a contribution, to the state of art, in the governance of memory. This research studies, how the narratives of the violent events of 1915, of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families in the Ottoman Empire, have manifested themselves throughout generations. For this qualitative case study, 50 interviews and observations were used. From analyzing the governance of memory, of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families, it shows that their tribal memory is still alive and rhapsodists are present throughout generations, even in the fourth generation. The analysis also shows that there is a foundational narrative, that keeps returning in every interview. The fact that this narrative returns, is because of the migrant community's norms and values throughout generation. Another finding is the transmission of feelings instead of narratives. Respondents claim to start with the transmission of feeling towards their children, at a very early age. The last finding is about the human rights of the migrants, both in Turkey and in Western Europe. It seems that these migrants claim their lives are still influenced by the Turkish government, even though they have fled Turkey as political refugees. These influences affect their memory transmission and the ability to commemorate, they claim. This study concludes that the memory transmission, of the violent events of 1915, were mostly through oral tradition, however during time this changed to commemoration, writing books and songs. The conclusions of this research, have led to practical implications for policy and governance, in particular for commemoration and migration policies.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introducing the governance of memory

“Memory is one of those elusive topics we all think we have a handle on. But as soon as we try to define it, it starts slipping and sliding, eluding attempts to grasp it either culturally, sociologically, or scientifically” (Huyssen, 2003).

The paradigm of memory is a growing area of research in many disciplines, there is an increasing trend towards the study of memory, particularly in the area of Holocaust memory studies. In the last century, the past was seen as stable and known, it was used to construct collective identities and nation states. By this, we could get a feeling of belonging and common origin. However recently there has been growing awareness, that the way the past is remembered was always along specific social axes of differentiation, such as class, gender, ethnic background etc. These axes are invested with particular meanings, which can differ according to different discursive formations, that are used as an interpretative framework and all of these constitute the governance of memory that is performed in everyday cultural, political and economic practices. Typical questions that are being asked from the discipline of the governance of memory, are: How does remembrance shape our links to the past? What is the link between past and present? How are narratives of past constituted, maintained or dissipated (RHHS, 2012)?

The main goal of this research is to provide a contribution to the state of art in the governance of memory. The governance of memory is all about researching group processes and memory transmission. In the light of my master track: Public Administration, Policy & Governance, this thesis will be a contribution, due to the fact that researching memory transmission and group processes and its effect on collective identity shaping can lead to practical implications for policy making. The focus I have chosen for this research is the governance of memory of migrant communities in Western Europe. Research shows that migration has much influence on the governance of memory (Carsten, 1995).`

The migrant communities I chose, for this research, are the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean minorities in Western Europe. These migrants are political refugees that migrated from Turkey. The memories of their traumatic experiences of 1915, it appears, have been

transmitted in different ways, across different generations, sustaining community unity and a collective migrant identity.

These peoples are currently living in diaspora (Brock, 2001). Sheffer (1986:3) claims that *“migrants in diaspora are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin, their homelands”*. This would mean that the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families that live in Western Europe, see this as host countries and that they feel strong sentimental and material links with their homeland.

In a study by Chamberlain (2009), about collective memory of diasporic migrants, she claims that the narratives these migrants tell, celebrate family and affirm survival. These foundational narratives, encode the diasporic memory, they explain and substitute for not being in their homeland. She also claims that these migrants have the need to tell, to pass on to the generations the explanation as to why they are no longer where they could or should be. Families can hold to the same or similar narratives and these narratives become like a badge of connectivity. These type of foundational narratives work as engines of inclusion and not exclusion. Memories are a key route into revealing and understanding the processes, adjustments and negotiations of migrants, of the mobile and liminal worlds they inhabit, of the connections with the longings for home. These memories also contain those all-important traces from an older past, those deeper levels of values, attitudes and behaviors, clues to a collective memory. Collective identity of diasporic migrants provides a cultural continuity with those back home and overseas (Chamberlain, 2009).

Thus, in order to research the governance of memory of migrant communities, the focus has to be on the foundational narratives that create the community unity. This unity creates a sense of belonging, a group identity instead of individual identities. Therefore the central question of this research is:

‘How have the narratives, of the violent events of 1915, of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families in the Ottoman Empire, manifested themselves throughout generations?’

The migrant communities that are chosen for this research originate from Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, what is now Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. However, the foundational narratives, that hold this collective migrant community together, are about the traumatic experiences of 1915 in the Ottoman Empire. The suffering from oppression and violence, appears to be, a central part of the construction of the diasporic narrative of the migrant group, researched in this thesis. It are these narratives that create the group identity, whether these migrants live in Sweden, Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands. They all share the same collective memory about their history in the Ottoman Empire.

1.2 Research questions

In order to answer the main research question, I have broken it down in three sub- questions listed below:

1. *How have the narratives of the violent events, as developed by Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families from Bote, been transmitted throughout generations since the event?*

As mentioned before, it are the narratives that create a unity within a migrant community. These narratives can be seen as the key, for this sociological process of group identity. To research a group, one has to research several members of a group. The families that are chosen for this research, all originate from a village called Bote¹. The migrant families of Bote were chosen, because every survivor of the events of 1915 has deceased now, thus it is impossible to collect primary data from the survivors. Fortunately, the survivors of Bote had already been interviewed many years ago by their relatives. Therefore I have chosen this particular village. To understand how the governance of memory manifested itself throughout Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families, one has to know how the governance of memory was transmitted throughout these generations. Without researching how memory is transmitted, it is impossible to study the governance of memory of these people. That makes this sub questions the most urgent to formulate. When understanding how these narratives are transmitted throughout generation, the process of forming a collective migrant community can be studied. These refugees have fled from the Ottoman Empire and their key narrative seems

¹ Bote is small village in South-East Turkey. This village used to be full with Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families. However today, this village has only Kurdish inhabitants.

to be about their traumatic experiences in 1915. Only after formulating this question, it is possible to do further research to the governance of memory of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people.

In the central research question and in this first sub question, three peoples are mentioned. The reason that three peoples are being mentioned, is that there is some controversy about the origin of the Christian people that were victimized in the events of 1915 in Bote. In Bote, the inhabitants were of Kurdish origin, Chaldean origin and Syriac² (Suroye) origin. The Christian peoples have typically identified the Kurds as not having suffered from the violence. These migrants even claim the Kurds helped the Ottoman Empire with the events of 1915. The Chaldean families of Bote were originally from a place called Si'irt. In the 18th century, a Chaldean woman and six men, her sons, came to live in Bote. The rest of the inhabitants of Bote were called Syriacs (Suroye), referring to their Syriac-Orthodox religion. However, when coming to Europe their actual origin was debated. Some called themselves Arameans and some Assyrians. Although these three people are all Semitic, it was impossible to refer to the peoples as Semitic, because then I would also falsely include Hebrews and Arabs.

2. What are the changes that have occurred in this memory transmission in the period 1915- today?

After researching how memory is transmitted, changes can occur in the transmission process. The changes that occur, can help understand the governance of memory of a people. The timeline chosen, to study the changes in memory transmission, is from 1915 until today. This because the violent events started in Bote in 1915 and the descendants are still living right now, so the transmission has not stopped. An example of change in transmission, is the change in language that is used to tell narratives. Research shows that due to migration, migrants often fail to rule their mother tongue. Another change can be the actual tool used to transmit memory, from narratives to books, to movies and to music. These changes have underlying reasons. Changes do not occur out of nothing. The urgency of this questions lies in the timeframe, because researching families means researching throughout time. During this

² Syriac: Syriac- Christian people are divided into sub-religions: Syriac Orthodox, Syriac Catholic, Syriac Protestants.

time, these families have migrated and have experienced many changes in their lives. All these changes can have significant meaning for their governance of memory.

3. How can these changes be interpreted?

The governance of memory of a people, can be influenced by many different factors. Every generation has its own “culture” and every family has its own traditions. Therefore when researching different families, of different backgrounds and different generations, changes in memory transmission are possible. It is important to know the background of the people. In what country do they live, are they educated, are they free to express their opinion. It is also important to understand the place of the respondents within the families. The survivors can have a whole other way of transmitting their memory than the second or third generation. The generation that is born in diaspora, can have a whole other perception of the world than all the other generations, for the first three are born in Bote. The changes are important to study and the interpretations even more, because then the governance of memory differences within the families of Bote can be actually understood. Understanding these differences, is important for understanding the meaning and significance of the changes. The kind of interpretations I am looking for, will be in relation to the goal of this research: researching the governance of memory of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families and the shaping of migrant collective identities. The interpretations will be searched for in terms of migration processes and all its impact on collective identity of these migrants.

1.3 The approach of this research

The purpose of this research is to explore and describe the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean genocide of 1915 in Bote. This research is explorative, because this case has never been researched before, however it is also a descriptive research, because it describes the governance of memory of these peoples.

The argument of this thesis will focus on the impact of the migration process on the governance of memory, in terms of changes that occurred in the transmission of the memory of the events of 1915, of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families. To answer the research question, presented in the previous paragraph, qualitative research has been conducted. In this approach, I will lay out the logic behind my argument and the debate of this

thesis. The focus of this thesis will be constantly on, the key concepts that I have chosen to research, the link between the governance of memory and the shaping of migrant collective identities. These concepts are derived from the aim of this research, that lead to the research question. The research question is broken down in three main sub questions that create three issues. From these three issues, four concepts are used, to build the debate in the theoretical framework.

First the necessary concepts will be theorized in the next chapter. This will create a discussion with the leading authors on each issue of the theoretical framework and will increase the insights on this argument. After finding the most useful concepts and theories about the governance of memory and its link to the collective migrant identities, the operationalization begins. In chapter three, this operationalization is described, the key concepts will be made measurable and that will lead to interview questions for the data collection. Since this research is a qualitative case study, where the case is the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean genocide in Bote in 1915, qualitative data will be obtained by making use of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The respondents for these interviews will be Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families throughout four generations. After the data collection, the analysis begins. The focus of the analysis is to find new insights about the governance of memory, of these migrant communities. The insights I am searching for are in terms of the formation of collective migrant memory and migrant communities in Western Europe. By choosing to interview 50 respondents, I hope to find new insights and differences throughout generations, that can have influence on the collective migrant identities.

The following chapter will be the theoretical framework of this research. This framework will create a debate with several authors about theories of governance of memory of migrant communities. The third chapter, the methodological chapter, will explain the choices made for data collection and data analysis. In chapter four, the analysis will be laid out. This chapter will consist of a further debate on the four concepts that are central in this research. The fifth and last chapter will be a conclusion, with the answer to the central research question, a further discussion about the findings and the practical implications that derive from this research.

2. Theoretical Framework

The aim, of this research, is to study the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote and the impact of migration on memory transmission. In this chapter I will theorize my research question. In order to construct a solid theoretical framework, first it is necessary to explain the logic behind this framework. I will build my argument on three main issues: the governance of memory, elements in the governance of memory and the institutions of genocide and human rights. These three issues are broken down into four leading concepts: memory transmission, politics of forgetting, commemoration, and human rights. By making use of these concepts, I will create discussions between and with authors of existing research, that can lead to finding new useful insights in migration policy and memory transmission. From the scientific literature, I am searching for insights about these four concepts, because it is very relevant to study the memory transmission and the politics of forgetting, for the community unity of these migrants. The narrative of the events in 1915, are the key foundations to this migrant collective identity they share. Commemoration forms and human rights are chosen as concepts because commemoration possibilities depend on human rights. The more these migrant communities are commemorating these events, the more their unity stays alive. Therefore I have chosen these concepts to research their governance of memory and their migrant collective unity. Further on, I will use these same concepts to operationalize and to construct interview questions for the data collection of this research.

The debate, that will be leading in this chapter, will be about the governance of memory of migrants in Western Europe and all the implications that come along with it. This insight I have chosen, comes from the fact that these migrants come from non-Western to Western societies. This migration has a lot of influence on their memory transmission. Migration and the institution of their current homeland can be of great meaning to their memory transmission process. Therefore I have chosen to theorize memory transmission, but also human rights issues and migration processes.

2.1 The governance of memory

In this paragraph the debate, about the governance of memory, begins. Different forms of memory transmission are being discussed. Several insights of authors will be described and discussed. This paragraph will begin with insights on collective memory. Further on there will be a discussion about globalization and its impact on memory transmission. This discussion is important for this research, because to understand the governance of memory of migrants, one must search for discussion about memory governance and culture, since migration can bring people from one culture to another.

Since the beginning of man, and from the moment we enter the world as infants, we are surrounded by narratives. Stories about the lives of individuals, autobiographical narratives, define who we are in relation to our family, nation and history. Human beings are story tellers, because by telling stories, we understand our worlds and ourselves. When autobiographical narratives are told, autobiographical memory is transmitted. Not only simply recalling what happened, is transmitted through autobiographical memory, but also information about why this event is interesting, important or meaningful. In autobiographical memory, language is a critical tool, first because language allows us to share the past with others and in this process new interpretations and evaluations of past events evolve, second because language provides an organizational structure for autobiographical memories that is called narratives (Fivush, 2008). *“Narratives are canonical linguistic frameworks that organize event memories into comprehensible chronological and causal sequence of events in the world”* (Bruner, 1990).

Fivush (2008) claims, there is a difference in narratives from Eastern countries and Western countries. Culture influences narratives, because it affects the way people see themselves and the world. Western people see themselves as autonomous agents who control their own destiny, whereas Eastern people define themselves as interpersonal agents in relation to family or community. Therefore adults in Western countries provide personal narratives, with a focus on themes of autonomy and achievement and adults in Eastern countries provide narratives focused on community and the moral good. Another distinction in narrative telling is gender. Females have a more relational sense of self and they focus on issues of care and community, whereas males have a more autonomous sense of self and focus on individual identity and achievement. However, what about migrants that came from

Eastern countries to Western countries? Is it possible to use these two stereotypes, or do we live in a globalized society with influences from both Eastern and Western cultures?

Another claim that Fivush (2008) makes, is that when narratives are being told about the familial past or the grandparents' adventures, the period of the child's life is critical. That is why Fivush makes a split between two developmental periods: the early preschool years and adolescence. In the early preschool years, parents tell their children short stories, sometimes fiction and sometimes family narratives. Research shows that Western mothers are more elaborative about emotional aspects of the past than Asian mothers. Whereas Asian mothers focus more on morality and compliance. Therefore Western children are telling more elaborate, detailed narratives of their personal past and display higher levels of emotional understanding and regulation. Eastern children focus more on moral rules and social roles. Girls tend to tell longer, more detailed and more emotionally imbued narratives than boys. In the second critical developmental period: the adolescence, people begin to link events across time and places, they link themselves in relation to others and interconnected stories of human drama. Some families tell narratives in an overall collaborative style, with every member contributing to a coherent narrative that expresses and validates multiple perspectives. Other families have a more independent reminiscing, with each member telling their own part of the story. These disparate parts are not woven together, but are a series of individual stories. Families that express and explain more emotion, and provide a more causal understanding and resolution of emotional experience, have adolescents who display higher social and academic competence (Fivush, 2008). So based on the idea of collective memory, one must distinguish the variables culture, age and gender, in order to understand what narratives and collective memory are. Still, the discussion remains. Are we able to define what is typically Eastern and what is Western? And if so, where do migrants fit in, is there a compromise?

Fivush based his theory on the concept of nations and collective memory, many researches disagree on this subject. They argue that we no longer live in a nation-state societies, but emancipated into globalization. According to Stepnisky (2005), the structure and content of memory narratives have changed significantly, from pre-modern and modern, into a global era. Pre- modern societies are grounded in oral medium of communication. Oral tradition is an aspect of human society's evolution. *"It is the complex process of passing on information of a people's culture from one generation to the next, in the absence of script, by*

word of mouth through stories” (Bagchi, 2010). Oral memory is particularly somatic and engages the body, therefore oral memory is closer to the movements and passages of life than the abstract literary forms of memory that were to follow. In pre- modern times, like the first centuries CE, people from early Jesus movements and rabbis, have relied on face-to-face contact and direct oral communication. In the fourth and fifth centuries, church fathers and bishops have extensively corresponded by letters. However, in Palestinian Judaism, it seems to have taken longer until the advantages of written correspondence were recognized. The written correspondence that existed, was mainly employed for semi- or quasi- official purposes and in order to transfer information over long distance between Palestine, Babylonia, Syria and Egypt (Hezser, 2010).

In a modern era, people have emancipated from a *gemeinschaft* into a *gesellschaft* and with this emancipation we have also switched from oral narratives into the written narratives. A larger part of the world, comprising mostly what is today known as developing societies, was left untouched for long by this emancipation. In these societies, oral tradition still had an important role in spreading information and knowledge. However, with the advancing technological revolution, even these societies eventually started using modern means of information transfer (Bagchi, 2010). This mechanism made people write down old (oral) narratives and create actual books of these old narratives. However, the emancipation did not stop with modern era, it evolved from the modern era into a global era. National identities became cosmopolitan identities and narratives in books were replaced by the internet. An important characteristic of the global era, is a growing connection to the material reality of earthly globe and the human beings, who live on that globe. People are aware of global risks, like terrorism and environmental problems. Because of this awareness, people start to pay an increased attention to the institutionalization of universal human rights. This global era also creates contact between strangers and enemies, and this contact leads to a fueling conflict and people calling out for means of resolution, that cannot be provided by nation-states. The capacity to remember, is in danger in a global era. People are faced with cultural amnesia, because the global age is characterized as a process of continual uprooting and relocation of identity (Stepnisky, 2005). Thus, with the emancipation of *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, an emancipation of memory transmission happened alongside.

Critics of globalization, on the other hand, claim that globalization dissolves collective memory and sets up inauthentic and rootless substitutes in its stead (Ritzer, 1993). Anthony Smith says: *“A timeless global culture answers to no living need and conjures no memories. If memory is central to identity, we can discern no global identity in the making”* (Smits, 1995:24). According to Smith (1995:22) *“the artificial and standardized universal culture has no historical background, no developmental rhythm, no sense of time and sequence... alien to all ideas of “roots” the genuine global culture is fluid, ubiquitous, formless and historically shallow”*. His theory is based on two recurring assertions which, restrict memory to the symbolic boundaries of the nation and situate it in a normative dichotomy of real lived experiences and inauthentic mediated representations. Levy and Sznajder (2002) note, that it is breathtakingly unhistorical to say, that nations are the only possible containers of true history, for the Catholic Church and Judaism are good examples. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) claim, that there is a vast literature on national tradition, and it is clear that every single national tradition has gone through a moment of invention. In the time of nationalization, national cultures were being criticized with exactly the same arguments that are being used at the global culture. The fact that they were superficial and inauthentic substitutes for rich local culture and that no one would ever identify with such large and impersonal representations. Notwithstanding, the fact that this turned out to be wrong, the perception that representations are substitutes for authentic experiences persists (Levy & Sznajder, 2002).

This debate shows that there are many different perspectives and discussions about governance of memory. When participating this debate on memory transmission and globalization, it is clear to me that globalization does not substitute a nation-state or a national culture. It is merely the fact that globalization creates global memory, but a personal thought or memory is not substituted by globalization. Personal memory, local memory and national memory, can be influenced by global memory and vice-versa. When the majority of people claim that Nazi- German were malicious and the Jews were victims, this can influence personal, local, national and global memory. If people would forget the Holocaust and if there were no commemorations, after many generations, even the Jews would forget about the suffering of their ancestors. So this will be the focus I will use for the rest of this debate. This also gives answers to the issue of migrants from Eastern to Western countries and if we can still use stereotypes in this global age. I believe not, I think that we should see it as it is, a

mixed culture and also mixed traditions and mixed memory transmission techniques. In the case of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families, we should search for theories about collective memory and its decline, since these families came from closed collective societies and migrated into globalized Western societies.

2.1.1 Collective memory of closed communities

The debate of this paragraph, is about the decline in oral tradition and the collective memory of closed communities. The more closed a community is, the more it seems like a tribe and the more important memory transmission is. Closed communities, living in Western countries can sometimes have tribal aspects, according to Cohen and Wertheimer (2006). These tribal aspects of closed migrant communities, can be linked to the foundational narratives of migrants. This paragraph will debate on the tribal aspects and decline in closed migrant communities.

According to Chamberlain (2009), diasporic migrants have foundational narratives that celebrate family and affirm survival. She also claims that migrants hold on to similar narratives and these narratives are like a badge of connectivity, they work as engines of inclusion. These foundational narratives form a strong and closed collective memory, contain those all-important traces from an older past, those deeper levels of values, attitudes and behaviors, clues to a collective memory. Collective identity of diasporic migrants provides a cultural continuity with those back home and overseas (Chamberlain, 2009). Sometimes diasporic migrants can have many tribal aspects in their culture. Cohen & Wertheimer (2006) claim that diasporic Jews have strong familial or tribal associations embedded in their peoplehood. They claim, that this familial bond is a function, not solely of biology but of a shared history, a common fate.

On the other hand, according to Bagchi (2010) with the advancing of technological revolution, even developing societies eventually started using modern means of information transfer instead of oral tradition. This revolution has led to the decline of tribal memory. The emancipation, from pre-modern societies to globalized societies, results in a decline of tribal memory. This technological revolution is a result of this modernization process. When using this theory, one would expect tribal memory to be extinct. However, there are also researchers that claim that tribalism can live on even in modern societies. So the debate on tribal memory

is very divergent, on one side researchers claim tribal memory is dead and on the other side it is claimed that tribal memory is very much alive even in modern societies.

Given the absence of a written language, storytellers are the major and necessary container of each tribe's traditions. Through song, dance and oral stories, the elders preserve their tribe's history and values, and communicate these to the young (Booch, 2008). When the evolution of alphabets and development of scripts began, this had an enormous impact on oral tradition. It was no longer necessary, to memorize history and culture of a people for transmission to succeeding generations. Still, the written literature was mostly based on orally told stories (Bagchi, 2010). Written literature is the first reason why tribal memory would have been extinct. Nevertheless, according to Neal McLeod, tribal memory is very much alive even in this age. Neal McLeod (1999) writes about tribal narrative memory. He says storytelling has been the way tribes have preserved collective memory for countless generations. Storytelling has been an ongoing process, linking the past to the present and the present to the past. So what makes tribal memory decline and what keeps tribal memory stable?

Mel Joseph (1997) claims, that an important factor in tribal identities and tribal memory is the preservation of language. Tribal memory, traditions and ceremonies cannot survive in any meaningful way, if they were not in the original language. Mel Joseph (1997) says: *"language is important for the source of identity. Tribes should speak their language to the best of their ability, even if they learn only one word a day"*. The basic tool of oral tradition and tribal memory, the languages, is facing a global extinction crisis. More than half of 7000 existing languages worldwide, are expected to die out by the end of this century. More than 2000 are gravely endangered. When a language dies, it takes with it irreplaceable knowledge of the past traditions and the present day natural world (Bagchi, 2010). Without a language, a nation loses its stories and its ability to voice itself. Without stories, in the original language, a nation loses an important layer of what it is and begins to forget what motivated its ancestors. Without this collective memory, stories in languages, true self-government will never be possible. So without language, there is really no way indigenous people make sense of their worlds. *"Language as our Old People tell us and as many people in other cultures have known, is the vehicle for the transmission of ideas"* (Tootoosis, 1977). The fact that language is important, for the existence of tribal memory, creates a debate on whether tribal

memory is declining or even disappearing. However, even existing languages are constantly changing, so would that make tribal memory disappear as well?

For people living in diaspora, such as Jews, Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans, it seems possible that they still hold on to their tribal traditions. According to Cohen and Wertheimer (2006), these people have strong familial or tribal associations. They feel connected to their people throughout the entire world. So even if they would lose their language, they still live as a closed migrant community with tribal aspects. Thus it does not necessary mean that decline in language means decline, in tribal memory. Narratives can be translated from the dying language into the modern language. It depends on the tribal spirit of a people whether the narratives live on. These peoples have also went through the technological revolution, however they are still typed as extremely closed communities with tribal features. That completely sliced down the theory, that this technical revolution even made tribal memory decline in developing countries, since these people in diaspora live in Western countries. So the decline of tribal memory, is not per definition because of technical revolution, nor because of decline in language. There must be other factors involved, since tribal memory is indeed declining.

Old ones of a tribe can be seen as rhapsodists, whose duty is to transmit narratives. Every clan has its rhapsodist, every tribe and every village has storytellers that keep memories alive. When asked about the rhapsodist, everyone in the clan/tribe/village knows who he is. Most of time it is the witness of the narrative. The witness is able to recollect detailed information about an event. He transmits this to his offspring and they also feel the moral duty to keep this memory alive. This because the witness not only transmitted the memory about the event, but also the emotional and moral importance of this memory. In other words, tribes need their rhapsodists, but do they also need their language to keep the narratives alive? When rhapsodists fail to exist, the narratives die. When the language disappears, it is up to the rhapsodist to translate the narratives for his people. This means that the danger of language decline can be resolved by the rhapsodist.

People with a real tribal memory, feel that it is a moral duty to remember. Old ones of a tribe, often tell stories about what they know and begin a story by saying: I can only speak about the things that had happened and that I know about. Old ones never say what the point of their stories are, they force the listeners to discover this for themselves (Dyck, 1992). This

is a traditional non-Western narrative technique, this way the listener is given a chance to internalize the stories. Next to that, old ones are very humble about their knowledge. They often begin stories with: *I know not very much* (McLeod, 1999). Old ones of a tribe are the key to tribal narrative memory and the old ones tell narratives to the young. However, when the young person refuses to listen, it will kill the tradition of tribal narrative memory. The tradition fades away and dies (McLeod, 1999). The development of new technology printing, has helped to widely and rapidly spread the written word in the form of books. The advent of electronic mass media, including radio and television, is another factor. Their widespread networks are progressively reaching into remote places (Bagchi, 2010). Because of television or social media and smartphones, the young ones fail to listen and concentrate on the stories of old ones during a family get-together. So the distraction and the reduced control over the original language can kill the tradition and it can die. That means that technological revolution and decline in language, can actually have effect on decline in tribal memory, but mostly from the side of the receiver.

Vansina (1985) stresses the stability of oral tradition over time. He claims that when accounts of events have been told for generations or so, the message then current may still represent the tenor of the original message, but in most cases the resulting story has been fused out of several accounts and has acquired a stabilized form. McLeod disagrees, he claims while there will be an aspect of narrative cohesiveness, there is also the aspect of each teller and listener integrating the story into their own lives. McLeod says Vansina fails to take into account the way in which people internalize the narratives that they have heard and finds Vansina's analysis of oral cultures somewhat limited. Vansina claims that oral traditions remain the same over a period of time and writes: "*Once created, a composition to be memorized is supposed to remain unchanged from recitation to recitation, although in fact its actual wording will vary over time*" (Vansina, 1985). The use of oral narrative is also accompanied by a worldview which grounds the narrative. This worldview informs how the participants understand and generate meaning in the word (Tonkin, 1992). Some people today claim that old stories should not be written down. Some say that this takes the vitality out of the stories. However tribal memory is fading away in most cultures, because of globalization and global media. In order to maintain the stories, one has to shift from oral narrating to the written word. Some say this process destroys tribal traditions (McLeod, 1999). But then again,

when tribal memory is fading, doing nothing will destroy the narratives and the history of the tribe. So by destroying the tradition of oral transmission, the tribe's history can at least be saved.

In this paragraph the debate on tribal memory, in closed diapsoric communities, was discussed. However this debate is merely on the fact that tribal memory is indeed declining. There was no real hard perspective on the increase of tribal memory. It was only McLeod (1999), who claimed that tribal memory was not disappeared yet, but indeed declining. A surprising perspective was of Cohen and Wertheimer (2006), who claimed that tribalism still alive even in modern societies. However, what that means for tribal memory, these authors could not explain. Thus, it seems as if there is a general view that claims tribal memory is declining and the reason for this decline is the ongoing modernization process, that results in decline of language and technological revolutions. In terms of the governance of memory this means that migration can lead to strong and closed migrant communities. These closed communities can have tribal aspects, and tribal memory can have an influence on the governance of memory of a community.

2.2 Elements in the governance of memory

In this paragraph, the debate on politics of forgetting is central. The politics of forgetting weaken the governance of migrant identity building and community unity, since the foundational narratives are the key in shaping them. In this paragraph, first several ways of forgetting are described. It is necessary to understand the many ways of forgetting before the actual debate on politics of forgetting can begin. Then the role of trauma of the governance of memory begins. After this debate, commemoration and migration issues are discussed in separate paragraphs because these issues both influence the governance of remembering and forgetting. This paragraph ends with the discussion about the role of genocide and human rights in the governance of memory. It will create many insights about the paradigm of forgetting and the impact on organization of memory and identity. Factors of remembrance and forgetting will be debated throughout these sub-paragraphs.

2.2.1 Politics of forgetting

As I mentioned above, before beginning the actual debate on the politics of forgetting and the role of trauma, it is necessary to describe the paradigm of forgetting. When there is no memory transmission, through narratives for example, failings of memory transmission arises. This failing leads to the politics of forgetting, what eventually can lead to cultural amnesia. Forgetting is often seen as something negative, people feel obliged to remember and see forgetting as failure. However in this global era, complex social processes arising from global flows of capital, labor and culture are comprised and are constantly being reconfigured at diverse spatial scales at the global, national, regional and local levels. This leads to forgetting, whether it is consciously or unconsciously. Through the lens of politics of forgetting and globalization processes, forgetting and remembering are fluid but intentional acts intimately threaded into power struggles among different classes of actors (Connerton, 2008).

According to Connerton (2008), forgetting can be distinguished into seven types: repressive erasure, prescriptive forgetting, forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, structural amnesia, forgetting as annulment, forgetting as planned obsolescence and forgetting as humiliated silence. Repressive erasure, the first type, can be employed to deny the fact of a historical rupture as well as to bring about a historical break. The second type, prescriptive forgetting is precipitated by an act of state, but is believed to be in the interest of all parties to the previous dispute and because it can therefore be acknowledged publicly. Forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, emphasizes not on the loss entailed in being unable to retain things as rather on the gain that accrues to those who know how to discard memories, that serve no practicable purpose in the management of one's current identity. The fourth type, structural amnesia, makes people tend to remember only those links in their pedigree that are socially important. Forgetting as annulment arises from a surfeit of information. In this type of forgetting, memory is like a blind lust for collecting of a restless gathering up of everything that once was. The sixth type, planned obsolescence, is based on capitalist systems of consumption. Because of the limits to the turnover time of material goods, capitalists have turned their attention from production of goods to production of services. Therefore a time span, referred to in marketing as the products life cycle, becomes shorter. Result is, that long-term planning becomes less important, time control focuses more on consumer desire than on work discipline. The last

and seventh type of forgetting, humiliated silence, acknowledges that occasions of humiliation are very hard to forget, it is easier to forget physical pain than to forget humiliation. In a collusive silence, brought on by collective shame, there is a desire to forget and this sometimes leads to the actual effect of forgetting (Connerton, 2008). In short, there are seven types of forgetting and each situation or narrative can have its own type of forgetting.

2.2.2 The role of trauma in the governance of memory

After describing Connerton's seven types of forgetting, the debate on forgetting a trauma begins. Forgetting a trauma can be characterized as structural amnesia, still forgetting a trauma is something that almost seems impossible. Who can ever forget such suffering, one would say. Nevertheless holocaust memory studies, use the Roma Gypsies as a paradigmatic case of a people who forget rather than remember their history. Stewart (2004) argues that in exploring memory in the social environment, research always emphasizes the role of narrative as a social form mediating between individual experience and public representations. Roma people remember the Holocaust as few images, that were normally kept deep in the shadows of the cave, illuminated occasionally. For example Agnes Daroczi, a Hungarian Romany cultural activist, narrates about hearing of boards appearing outside every house on evening towards the end of the war. On each of these boards the next morning a number was written, indicating how many were to be taken from each house. Iconic moments such as these, are recalled and described by Roma people as if they were understandable in and of themselves, without the need to be situated in any more general narrative framework. Unlike Jews, Roma have no passover. They do not have ritual performances, no commemorative ceremonies, no prototypical events and no re-enactments. According to Connerton (1989) this is universally essential to conveying and sustaining imaged and recollected knowledge of the past. Stewart (1988) and Clendinnen (1999) both claim that Roma possess the art of forgetting. They turn their face to the future, Roma people have chosen not to bother with history at all and seek no meanings beyond those relevant to immediate survival.

Unlike the other authors, Stewart (2004) disagrees, he claims that if it were true that Roma forget, then the Nazi persecution of Gypsies would have had no lasting effect on Romany social life. External reactions from non-Roma were also different from the reactions that Jews received. Gypsies were accused of being asocial (*gemeinschaftsfremd*) or criminal

and that they are to be blamed for their own suffering. These reactions lead to the fact that no Romany witnesses cared to speak at Nuremberg and that no official criminalization of these acts took place until the 1970s. There has not been a proper delegitimizing of the persecuting of Gypsies, officials who had taken a leading role in genocidal policies against them were never prosecuted and some even restored to their original positions. In other words, again it seems that the governance of memory is influenced much by the people's culture. Jews tend to have a complete different governance of memory than the Roma. It seems that Stewart, who in 1988 claimed that Roma possess the art of forgetting, changed his view in 2004, saying the complete opposite. After years of research, Stewart found out that he should look beyond his own standards, and that he should see the Romany as they see themselves. So I agree with Stewart (2004), when people outside the Romany clans, claim that Romany people forgot the Holocaust, it is possible that they use other indicators for the concept forgetting than a Romany would use. One should look from the eyes of the people to understand why they do or do not commemorate their genocide.

Hirst's (1994) research shows that amnesiacs' recall varies according to the type of cueing received and rather than rely on simple record-recall models of memory, the process of recognition should be included in the forms of activity which we define as memory. Everyone possesses recollections which fall into the category of implicit memories. This entails memory in a form which is difficult to access declaratively or verbally and appears to be imperceptible to the individual. Another conclusion of this research is, that despite the inability to recall events since the onset of amnesia, subjects retained a sense of a unique and distinct identity and a changing autobiographical narrative. Thirdly, Hirst claims that there are ways in which the social situation remembers things for people. For example, Romany people live without a 'history', because they have their relations with the non-Gypsies to remind themselves who they are and who they have been. Since they are still oppressed, threatened and discriminated against. This way, they recognize the nature of the durational world in which they are condemned to live. Research shows that features of the social world like being exposed to institutional practices of repression, discrimination and oppression, act to sustain certain forms of remembering. When treated like this, in violation of the universal human rights, people not necessarily need commemorations or narratives to remember. The rest of the world (their oppressors), do it for them on a daily basis (Stewart, 2004). Again this insight

is in accordance with the fact that one should look from the eyes of the Romany people to understand their choices. When claiming that these people live without history as Western people define history, even though they are reminded with history every day through oppression and danger instead of a history book is a false way of researching a people's governance of memory.

Thus for this research it means that forgetting should not be labeled that easily one must study the people of the case study in order to know their backgrounds, traditions, beliefs, norms and values to start categorizing what they have forgotten or not. Therefore in this research I will study and observe these people beyond their answers to the interview questions. I will also stay open minded during the analysis, and try not to jump into conclusions.

2.2.3. Commemoration

Building on the focus of the previous paragraph, one could say that commemoration is a very broad concept. Commemorating can be an official day or site, such as Western people define commemoration. However, it can also be a prayer in one's thought or a candle that keeps burning in one's house. In this paragraph the debate will be about commemoration. Next to the debate, several forms of commemoration will be described. Since closed migrant communities can have their own culture, their commemoration can also differ from standard commemoration.

The commemoration of the Holocaust is the most known commemoration. After the second world war, a moral and political challenge appeared in Germany. The German people felt obliged to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive, they felt it as a collective guilt, a debt to the victims. Because of this feeling, the idea of 'keeping alive the memory' entered the formation and development of a political culture in a conscious and reflective way (Duvenage, 1999). Germany and other European countries, established commemoration sites, commemoration days and teach about the atrocity of the Holocaust.

Bishai (2000) writes that when a society suffers from agonies of violent identity-driven conflict, like the Holocaust, it often creates a wedge of painful memory between families, friends and neighbours. To heal and grow as a peaceful society, remembering and forgetting are necessary and require painful confrontation with responsibility. After a

tremendous trauma, like a genocide, reconciliation is possible after establishing a single true narrative. The goal of establishing a single true narrative, is to reconcile the enemies and to create a national unity. Meanwhile, when Germans and Jews created a true narrative, the Gypsies, who suffered in the same Holocaust, are not mentioned as the Jews. Gypsies have no commemoration of the Holocaust like the Jews. They have no commemoration sites or days at all. In other words, who says commemoration is only possible by choosing a particular day or site to commemorate? However, perhaps every culture commemorates in its own way and what western standards are for commemoration are different from other peoples.

Next to international Holocaust commemorations, there is also religious commemoration of the Holocaust. Baumel (2001) describes religious Holocaust commemoration and divides it into two groups: Centrist religious Holocaust commemoration and Ultra- Orthodox religious Holocaust commemoration. Centrist Jews support the notion of the Holocaust, being a divinely initiated and guided yet inexplicable event and not a direct punishment for collective or individual sin (Jakobovitz, 1988). They refer to this period as Hester Panim (when the Lord hid his face). Centrist Jews began to search for a commemoration day already in 1946, but these initiatives did not take root (Eshkoli, 1997). Kaddish Day was the first religious commemoration day, after the Israeli Chief Rabbinate held a commemorative ceremony, at which they buried ashes from the Flossenburg concentration camp near David's tomb on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. Yom Hashoah, a second commemoration day, accepted by the Centrist Jews, became a symbol of secular Holocaust and Heroism Memorial Day, due to its proximity to outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Unlike the Centrist Jews, Ultra- Orthodox Jews see the Holocaust as a direct punishment from God for a plethora of sins, the most serious of which was assimilation and, in the eyes of some, Zionism. An example of Ultra- Orthodox religious Holocaust commemoration, is the memorial Kinot (lamentations) in memory of Hitler's victims to be recited on the traditional fast day, the 9th of Av. So, when people are massacred because of their religion, religious commemoration are more likely to arise than when people are massacred because of other reasons.

In other words, the concept of commemoration is very broad and in order to research the commemoration of the Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans, one must research and look for commemorations through their eyes. Therefore I have chosen not to search for definitions of what commemoration is and just keep it open minded. I will create a very broad definition

of commemoration labelling it to all possible forms to remember whether it is done in private or in a group, spiritually or during a ceremony, just any form.

2.2.4 Migrations

Migration has a lot of influence on the governance of memory and forgetting. In this paragraph, the debate will be about the link between migration and the governance of forgetting. Before starting the debate on this link, it is also important to know the reason for the migration of a people. The reason the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people migrated was on a political basis. These migrants were political refugees. When a people is forced to leave its homeland, perhaps the impact of migration on their governance of forgetting can be different from normal migration.

Research shows that migrants are willing to forget their ancestors and past places both consciously and unconsciously. Forgetting is strongly linked to the creation of a new identity. People actively forget the past in order to engage in creating new ties and in order to gain a living in new places (Yong-Sook, 2004). The essence of a nation is that all the individuals hold many things in common and also that all of them have forgotten many things (Renan, 1947). Forgetting is a collective art in the creation of shared identity. Forgetting is a crucial part of the way identity is actively acquired (Carsten, 1995). Migrants must forget in order to create the shared identity with their new homeland. Structural amnesia and genealogical amnesia (forgetting who their ancestors are) are important factors for this new identity creation process. On the contrary, Chamberlain (2009) claims that migrants have key narratives about their history that form their collective identity.

In a study of Carsten (1995) about the governance of forgetting, her respondents seem to be able to recall the place of birth of their parents. However, they are far less sure of the details of their grandparents' lives, particularly if they never knew them. In her research, she concludes that one's own and one's parents' origins are remembered, but those of more distant ancestors are rapidly forgotten. The process of forgetting about one's ancestors is linked to the positive creation of kinship. Carsten also claims that migrants do not forget everything about their ancestors, because she was able to elicits some information on these topics in some context. Migrants have individual memories that coexist with collective forgetting. When grandchildren are told little about their grandparents, when a family does not

recount their individual migration histories to their neighbors, these small omissions are part of the construction of shared knowledge about the past, present and future. Over time, the stories which are not told, the relatives who are no longer significant, are forgotten through the fact that no information about them is transmitted. One cannot forget what one has never known (Carsten, 1995).

In short this means that for positive integration into their new “home”, migrants are obliged to forget their history. One must create a new identity in order to succeed in this new country. But how much forgetting is enough to integrate? Is there a standard, or should we look beyond the surface and focus more on the underlying reason of the migration to be able to determine a standard for forgetting that makes integration successful? This paragraph has shown that the governance of forgetting is influenced by many factors. Whether it is commemoration or migration, each people is different because of their different backgrounds. The main focus we can use from this paragraph, is the constantly returning fact that when researching a particular people, one must look through their eyes instead of through Western eyes. This insight is mainly based on the claims of Stewart (2004), who learned this after many years of researching the Romany people.

2.2.5 The role of genocide and human rights in the governance of memory

Commemoration, transmitting memory and writing down old narratives, in one word the governance of memory, is linked to many circumstances as discussed in previous paragraphs. The Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people claim they were not free to express themselves in Turkey. Human rights issues in Turkey, is a much discussed topic. But the institutions of human rights and genocide are only 60 years old. To understand the term genocide, we have to go back to the 2nd World War. In these following two paragraphs, the debates about the institutions of genocide and human rights are laid out. These debates are used, to be able, to interpret the changes of memory transmission, that could occur for the Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans.

2.2.5.1 Genocide

Genocide is a strongly loaded symbol that was introduced in the 1940s, this symbol indicates traumatic events of wholesale ethnic and religious violence. During the 2nd World War, Jews all over Europe were massacred. To describe this massacre, the term Holocaust is used, as

the sum of all anti- Jewish actions, carried out by the Nazi regime between 1933 and 1945. These actions vary from stripping the German Jews of their legal and economic status in the 1930s; segregating and starvation in the various occupied countries; the murder of close to six million Jews in Europe. Another word, used to describe the same events, is the biblical word Shoah. Shoah, which has been used to mean destruction since the Middle- Ages, became the standard Hebrew term for the murder of European Jewry as the early 1940s.

Events can be interpreted in different ways and this results in different terms to describe an event. Raul Hilberg used the term destruction, in Soviet- Russian research literature the term catastrophe is mainly used. In ultra- orthodox communities the term khurbn (destruction) and gezerot tash-tashah, the decrees of 1939-1945 (Vashem Yad, 2012). Shoah is the word that most Jews use for the attempted extermination of the Jews by the Nazis. Jews prefer this term to the word Holocaust for several reasons, namely:

1. The Holocaust is used by many to describe all of the victims of Nazi extermination policies.
2. The definition of the word Holocaust implies sacrifice burnt entirely on the altar. Many Jews consider this inappropriate as there was no sacrifice involved.
3. The term Holocaust is currently being hijacked by many other people resulting in its meaning being eliminated. For example: Animal Holocaust, African Holocaust or Today's Holocaust.

Before the Holocaust, there were many other genocides, however in that time the term genocide and crimes against humanity were not yet defined. The institution of genocide was created in 1944, by the UN and the institution of crimes against humanity in 1947. In 1948 the UN adopted the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as General Assembly Resolution 260. The feeling of “never again”, was only arisen after the Holocaust. There was no social awareness of the importance of understanding genocides to prevent them from happening in the future. Paradoxically, even after the second World War, there have been enormous amounts of genocides. So that creates a debate on whether institutions like the UN and their Conventions of Preventions and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide are actually effective. The whole world know that genocides should be prevented,

we even have a strong institution (UN) to prevent it. So what could be the reason for not seeing a decline in genocides after this UN Resolution 260?

According to Straus (2005) research shows, that the word genocide or Holocaust is not easily used by politicians. The Darfur genocide received a great deal of attention. However the public debate in the United States and elsewhere, was not focused on how to stop the killings, but on whether or not it should be called a genocide, under the terms of the Genocide Convention. In July 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution labeling Darfur a genocide. Then, in September 2004, Secretary of State, Colin Powell, used the term and president Bush followed suit in a speech to the UN several weeks later. During the Rwandan killings, few years before the Darfur killings, the US government did not use the term genocide. The use of the term, could have saved many lives. The reason for not using this term is that governments are obligated to do something to prevent killing when calling it a genocide. After knowing that the U.S. government failed during the Rwandan genocide, they said: “We should have learned from Rwanda that to stop genocide, Washington must first say the word.”

Still the lessons from Darfur are bleak. Despite the failure, to intervene in Rwanda and despite Washington’s decision to break its own taboo against the use of the term genocide, the international community has proved to be slow and ineffective in responding to large- scale, state- supported killing. This Darfur crisis shows that the term genocide, to galvanize international intervention, is also limited, because genocide is a contested concept: there is much disagreement about what qualifies for the term (Straus, 2005). In 2010, the U.S. government was still not willing using the term genocide. This time it was the Armenian genocide that was called Medz Yeghern by president Barack Obama. He refused to call it the Armenian genocide, so he chose the Armenian word Medz Yeghern, Great Crime (Bekdil, 2010).

If the U.S. would have called it a genocide, they were required to take measures of political pressure towards the Turkish government. Therefore, calling it Medz Yeghern, a term that not implied taking measures, was more convenient. Currently there is a lot of tension in Syria. The word genocide has not been used yet, however many people have been slaughtered. According to Joel Voordewind, especially Christians have been the victims in this so- called civil war. In a documentary, this Dutch parliamentarian, explains that since

this war in Syria, a half million Christians have been forced to migrate. He also explains that the number of forced migration among Christians in Syria is disproportional comparing to the total refugee population. This because the half million Christians are the quarter of the total Christian population in Syria (Voordewind, 2013). Another assault, especially on Christians, is the abduction of two bishops, one Syriac- Orthodox and the other Greek- Orthodox, on April the 22nd. Only few days after the day these bishops were kidnapped, the press released the news that they were both safe and returned to their monasteries. However, this was not the case. It seemed that the bishops were still captured and even today, they have not been released (WCA, 2013). Still, the word genocide or war, has not been mentioned, every country calls this a civil war. Whenever there is a civil war, no parties can be held accountable and the United Nations, or other world leading countries, will not have the responsibility to put pressure to prevent these killings. Terminology therefore, is not just choosing a word for a certain event. It implies much more. Thus, even after the world had opened her eyes, preventing genocides is not as easily done as said. Politicians are under a lot of pressure when using the word genocide.

2.2.5.2 Human rights

The most important institution, that is necessary to transmit memory and to commemorate traumatic events, is the institution of human rights. It was only after the Holocaust and the UN adoption of the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, that human rights became a real institution. In this paragraph the human rights of minorities in Turkey such as Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans, is discussed. This debate will provide insights on how Turkey's minority policy is seen by many researchers.

Turkey is a bridge between east and west and seems more Western than Eastern since the early 20th century in its domestic and international political outlook. In protecting minorities' human rights, Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Turkey claims that their minorities policy is guaranteed because of this treaty, however this guarantee is much debatable. Hughes (2010) claims that this treaty does not solve Turkey's human rights issues and he is not the only one. According to Hurst (2012), religious freedom and minority rights, are the most volatile issues in Turkish politics and most religious minorities are too small and powerless, to avoid being caught in the maelstrom- all of Turkey's non-Muslim minorities put

together add up to only 0,2% of the population and the smallest groups have only a few thousand members in a country of more than 70 million inhabitants. He claims that the worst part is, that Turkey is still animated by strong nationalist ideals and allowing real religious differences can seem like a dangerous concession to foreign powers and thus potentially at odds with the goal of Turkish unity. In other words, a Turkish unity means the denial of minorities like the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people in Turkey.

Colak (2006) claims that in the late 1980s, Turkish politics was subject of a war of cultures. This was caused by the rise of the separatist Kurdish movement, which had rejected the homogenous Turkish identity and turned to violent action. It was also caused by the Islamist groups that included severe critics of the official policy of secularism, together with the Alevis, which condemned the state's propagation for Sunni-based Islam. This war of cultures resulted in questioning the official definition of Turkish culture and its implications for political membership. Neo- Ottomanism feelings, were recaptured to resolve internal sociocultural tensions, that resulted from cultural diversity. On the other side, Kemalists' main intentions, were to end the Ottoman multicultural and multinational legacy by melding all differences under the name Turk. The Ottoman Muslim population became the dominant group in Anatolia. These reformist rulers strove to transmute Ottoman Muslims into a 'civilized' homogenous Turkish nation. Non- Muslims living in Turkey, were Turks in citizenship only, but Muslim migrants from the Balkans and the Caucasus were easily naturalized and accepted as part of the Turkish nation. For the rulers, the transformation of people from a religious identity to a modern and national identity was possible, only by means of a secular state and society. Thus again, for the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people, it was impossible to live as minorities with all the human rights that were promised towards the UN.

Turkish minority policies are founded mainly on the outdated provisions of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. Although the treaty provides protection for all non- Muslim minorities, all Turkish governments since 1923, have interpreted the treaty in such a way as to guarantee protection only to three minority groups, which have been defined as religious minorities: Armenian Orthodox Christians, Greek Orthodox Christians and Jews. Because of this narrow definitions, other non- Muslim minorities such as Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean have been excluded from this definition and do not enjoy the same rights as other recognized minorities.

This arbitrary definition, which has no legal basis in international law, is one of the main sources of minority problems in Turkey, according to Soner Önder (2012). He also says that the invisibility of the non- Muslim minorities, that were not mentioned in the treaty, is an outcome of the state policy. The policy strategies utilized regarding minorities are: denialism (Modern Turkish identity is based on the denial of others), assimilation (homogenizing the Turkish nation, favoring the Turkishness and Sunni Islam), confiscation and deportation or forced migration (genocide of 1915). This systematic policy has resulted in a situation in which Turkey, as a multi- ethnic and multi- religious country, has been emptied of its non- Muslim minorities. Those minorities who against all odds remained in the country, have now been pushed into the darkness of invisibility. And minorities have become a mysterious unknown: a foreign entity to the broader Turkish society (Önder, 2012). So even if the Turkish unity was not preferable and if the Ottoman Muslim population was not the dominant group in Turkey, the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people do not even exist according to Turkish laws and policies.

Hurst (2012) claims that the failure, to comply with the Lausanne Treaty, is visible in at least seven important ways. First, it recognized only a few of its many non- Muslim groups as protected minorities under the Lausanne Treaty. Second, Turkey has failed worst in providing the type of protection that the Lausanne Treaty discusses the most, the one most firmly embedded in the Ottoman millets system: institutional rights. Third, the Turkish government has long failed to recognize non- Muslim minority groups' property rights. Fourth, the government has made it difficult to use the non- Muslim minority languages in public, for example in the broadcast media. Fifth, Turkey has not legally barred non- Muslim from public employment, but informal discrimination has made it very difficult for non- Muslims to be hired. Sixth, despite its promises in Articles 40 and 41, Turkey has not funded the provision of primary education in non- Muslim minorities' native languages, nor given non- Muslim minorities any share of the funds it makes available to Muslims for religious, educational and charitable purposes. Seventh, Turkey imprisons non- Muslim conscientious objectors, like Jehovah's Witness Yunus Ercep, in violation of its promise in Article 43, not to compel non- Muslim minorities to commit acts violating their religious beliefs. The authors of the Lausanne Treaty seem to have anticipate these problems and designed the Treaty to protect religious minorities from difficult circumstances, in which they find themselves.

However, the Turkish government has pursued policies from which some have inferred as desire to encourage the remaining Jews and Christians to emigrate voluntarily to finish what 1923's population transfer started and create a religious homogeneous state (Hurst, 2012).

In short, this means, minorities such as Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people are not recognized and do not have rights as minorities. This paragraph has shown that the debate is very negative towards Turkey's minority policy. The biggest issue of this failing attempt for the protection of human rights, is the fact that the concept of minority is limited to only Armenian Orthodox Christians, Greek Orthodox Christians and Jews. This means that all other minorities have no official status and no official human rights as minorities.

2.3 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter the theoretical framework was presented. The main issue of this chapter was to theorize the research question and to create a debate on the concepts that were derived from the research question. These concepts were: memory transmission, politics of forgetting, commemoration and human rights. Every concept had its own debate, with many authors that created a discussion, sometimes agreeing and sometimes disagreeing. The contribution that I will deliver, is that I have linked these separate concepts and made them one big discussion about the governance of memory and its link to migrant communities. In this chapter conclusion, I will also present the key authors that I have chosen to continue my debate in the operationalization, analysis and the conclusion of this research. With these authors I have created a strong debate that can lead to rich insights about the governance of memory and the migration process.

The main debate that plays a role in this theoretical framework, is the debate on memory transmission. This debate focusses on the decline in tribal memory and the reasons for its decline. However, it also focusses on the transformation from collective memory to global memory. It seems that memory transmission is in constant debate and researchers have not agreed on this subject. To complete my own research, I must choose a focus that provides me with much insights. Therefore I have chosen the focus on tribal memory and globalization. With this debate I expect to find new insights for the governance of memory of the Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans, since these people came from a closed collective society with tribal aspects and migrated to global societies. The key authors I will chose for my further research

are McLeod and Bagchi, since these authors brought the most contribution to the debate about memory transmission and will create the best insights.

Next to the debate on memory transmission, another important debate is the politics of forgetting. This debate shows that commemoration and migration can have effect on the politics of forgetting. However within this observation, other debates rise, such as the debate on commemoration. Many researchers claim that Romany people possess the art of forgetting and that these people do not commemorate their genocide. However, one of these authors, Michael Stewart, changes his view after he has studied the Romany people for many years. In 1988, he claims that they have no sense of history. In 2004 he claims the complete opposite, saying that if it was true that Roma forget, then the Holocaust would have no lasting effect on Romany social life. Migration would also lead to forgetting according to leading author Carsten, however I think one should focus on the reason of migration before accepting that forgetting is necessary for successful integration. Therefore the key authors I have chosen to continue my debate on the politics of forgetting and migration are Stewart and Carsten.

The last debate is on the human rights issue. This debate shows that the institution of the United Nations and all Human Rights declarations and minority policies cannot be a guarantee for the protection of minorities. It shows that, despite all efforts, politicians fail to speak out whenever there is a genocide, because of many political reasons. It also shows that commemoration is only possible if people have proper human rights, otherwise these people are not free to express themselves and commemorate their genocide. The leading authors for this debate are Önder and Straus, since they brought rich insights about the politics behind the word genocide and the human rights issues in Turkey.

Based on these debates, the hypotheses of this research is that the memory transmission of the narratives of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families is through oral tradition. More specific, oral tradition and tribal memory are currently fading away, so the younger generations probably fail to transmit and fail to receive. This failing, can be interpreted in terms of decline in language and the positive integration in Western countries, that results in cultural amnesia. These predictions are grounded in theories about governance of memory. However, the real answers to the research questions will follow from the interviews and the analysis of the collected data.

3. Methodology

In this chapter I will lay out the steps taken to get from the theoretical predictions, laid out in the previous chapter, to the measurable data required to answer the main research question. This methodology consists of two paragraphs, the first is the data collection, the second the data analysis. In the first paragraph, I will describe my methods of data collection. This will not only be a description, but I will also explain the choices I have made during the data collection. The main goal of this research is to make a contribution to the state of art in governance of memory of migrant communities in Western Europe. The collective identity of these communities is based on their foundational narratives about the traumatic events in 1915 in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore I have chosen to interview these people about this particular narrative. This narrative holds these minorities together as a migrant community. This narrative creates a group unity and forms their group identity. Understanding how these minorities create this unity and identity can lead to rich insights for policy making. To create a complete vision about these unity and identity processes it was necessary to interview several families and people from different generations. For the second paragraph, to make a big contribution to the governance of memory, I had to find a method of analysis that could select the most meaningful findings. These meaningful findings would be discussed further with the leading authors of my theoretical framework, to make sure that I could answer my research question. The road to answering the research questions lies in the connection between the aim of the research, to the research questions, the main concepts used for operationalization, and the interview questions. All these items are arisen from one another, therefore the interview questions will lead to output that is able to answer the research questions.

3.1 The data collection

The main goal of this research is to study the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families. This study is about the collective migrant memory and identity building of these migrants. To find meaningful insights about this collective identity building of migrant and their collective memory I have chosen to conduct empirical research. To gain as much insight and depth as possible, I have chosen for qualitative empirical research. There are different ways to do a qualitative study, one of them is the case

study. A case study implies that attention is directed to a specific case or phenomenon (Babbie, 2007). The case that is chosen for this research is the traumatic narrative of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families from Bote in 1915. With this case, the governance of memory of these migrant families, can be studied, because it is this particular narrative that forms their collective identity. This research is explanatory, because the goal is to understand how the governance of memory, of different migrant families, has manifested itself.

To explain the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people, the village of Bote is selected. Bote (Bardakci is the Turkish designation) is a small village that lies 15 km. from Midyat (Mardin, South- east Turkey). During the traumatic violent events in 1915, Bote was filled with Christian people, Syriac (Aramean/ Assyrians) and Chaldean families lived alongside the Kurds. The first criterion for the selection of this case depended on existing data from the survivors of these violent events. Since there are currently no survivors living (the events were in 1915), it is impossible to interview them. Fortunately the survivors of Bote, had been interviewed many years ago by their relatives. It must be considered that by limiting the research to Bote, the external validity would not be guaranteed. On the other hand the data collected from the actual survivors are highly valuable. To limit the research to non-survivors by using other villages for this research would be unfortunate. A second criterion for choosing Bote is the plurality of people, not every village had Chaldean inhabitants.

This brings us to the units of analysis, the migrant families from Bote. To actually study the governance of memory, several families were selected. The existing data (interviews with the survivors) did not involve all the families in Bote. The migrant families who did interview their parents are: family A, family B, family C, family, D, family E and family F. To protect the identity of my respondents, I chose not to use their real names in the analysis. After collecting the secondary data (already existing interviews) the second step was to interview the children of the survivors, the so-called second generation. Subsequently, the third and fourth generations. There is a fifth generation living today, however this generation is too young to understand what happened in 1915. To enhance the reliability and validity, different families were studied, some of Chaldean origin, some Aramean and some Assyrian. There was also a difference in gender of the respondents and position within the family

(oldest or youngest child. The fifty respondents are from migrant families, and they live in Western Europe. Therefore travelling to interview a respondent was necessary. Since I live in the Netherlands, I only had to travel to Sweden to interview some of the respondents. All the interviews were held in the summer of 2012, between May and August.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used for this research, because people tend to talk unstructured about emotional occurrences. Conducting in-depth interviews is based on a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions (Babbie, 2007). This means that there should not be many questions structured in advance. That is why I have chosen for nine questions for this research. These questions/topics are derived from the operationalization of the theoretical framework. In advance, a researcher must decide on the topics to safeguard the quality of the research. Semi-structured in-depth interviews rely almost exclusively on open-ended questions. Side effect is that a researcher must constantly be watchful for question bias. A semi-structured interview must be clear and neutral formulated. Another requirement is that in-depth interviews must have specifications. When a question can potentially be interpreted in several ways, it is important for the researcher to use specifications as clarification (Babbie, 2007). Babbie (2007) argues that in-depth interviews allow more flexibility and can be used as an advantage. Opposed to surveys, in-depth interviews, allows more flexibility in question formulating and choice of follow-up questions. Still, to ensure the reliability of this research, it was important to structure the interviews in order to be able to compare the output, that is why semi-structures interviews were chosen. Thus, nine questions were asked during the interviews, this way the respondents had enough freedom to tell the whole story. Because there were few questions, their stories were not cut-off, respondents had enough time to explain an occurrence in details. All fifty interviews were recorded on video and later translated into Dutch, this to enhance the reliability, validity and explicitness. To transcribe all the interviews was a huge task, it took me months to write down everything and translate it.

Flexibility is highly important for this research, since people tend to talk emotional about a subject such as a these violent events. It is impossible to predict the interview process. In a flexible research it is difficult to safeguard the reliability and validity. To make sure that these requirements were safeguarded, I have chosen to do face-to-face interviews. This way it was easier to recognize errors and to correct them during the interview. To make sure that the

respondents would only recall their own memory, and not be influenced by their spouses or children, I have chosen to interview them separately. This would enhance the reliability, for I would be sure to measure what is needed to be measured. The length of the interview depended on the respondent. However there was a certain declining line visible. People of the 2nd and 3rd generation could speak much longer and detailed about the events of 1915, approximately two hours. The respondents of the 4th generation however, spoke to the utmost 60 minutes. There was one outlier, this interview lasted four hours. Some respondents had little knowledge about these narratives. Therefore it was unnecessary for those interviews to last a long time. On the other hand, people who remember much, required more time to narrate.

3.2 Data Analysis

When all the interviews are transcribed and translated into one language. The analysis can begin. But before the actual analysis, I had to choose a method for analyzing. This method starts even before the data collection, it starts with the operationalization. Because the point of operationalization, is to make the concepts of the theoretical framework measurable, in order to analyze the data and to answer the research questions. In this paragraph I will only explain my logic behind the operationalization. The actual operationalization of this research is described in detail in Appendix A. To operationalize, I have chosen the main concepts, discussed in the theoretical framework and from these concepts I have constructed interview questions in order to finally answer the research questions. I have selected these concepts in the previous chapter, when I laid out my logic for the theoretical framework. These concepts fled from the three main issues (sub questions) and are: memory transmission, politics of forgetting, Commemorations, and human rights (see figure 3.1). With these four concepts, I have also chosen the leading authors, with whom I will continue my further debate. These are Levi & Sznaider, McLeod, Stewart, Carsten, Straus and Onder. I have made an analytical scheme for the operationalization (see Appendix A). Each concept is a topic in this scheme and eventually these concepts lead to interview questions. Through the analytical scheme, research questions are being connected to the theoretical framework and the interview questions.

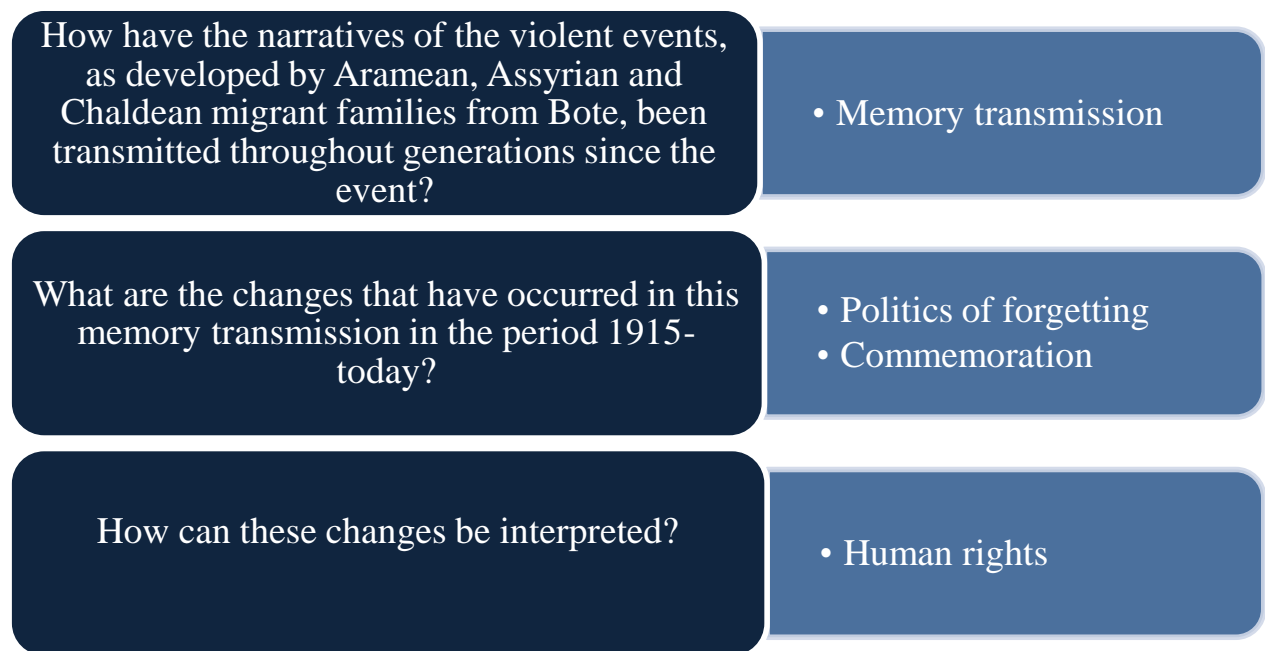


Figure 3.1

Operationalization consists of four steps: 1. Conceptualization (What are the different meanings and dimensions of concept X), 2. Nominal definition (Define X), 3. Operational definition (How will we measure it), 4. Measurements in the real world (Babbie, 2007). Through these steps I will operationalize each concept and I do this by debating with my leading authors. The conceptualization was partially already made by creating concepts that are derived from the goal of this research, to the research questions, to the main topics that were debated in the theoretical framework. However the different meanings and dimensions of these concepts are still debatable. To define a nominal definition, I will first have to be in discussion with the key authors I have chosen per concept. The operational definition, how will we measure it, will be done by choosing indicators that can lead to actual measurable questions. In Appendix A , the nominal definition and operational definition will be done and the measurements in real world are the actual interview questions.

After formulating interview questions, the data collection started. When all the data was collected, the analysis started. First all the interviews were transcribed. I translated all the interviews to Dutch, in order to measure the outcome on in an equal process. Important concepts or words used by the respondents, that are impossible to translate, stayed in the

original language. Next to the transcripts, I also wrote memos. The memos include my observations during the interviews. Examples of the content of these memos are: the respondents' emotions, attitude, vocabulary, settings in respondents' houses etc. This data cannot be found in transcripts of the answers of a respondent. These are the things one must observe as well as a researcher. I was also present during the commemoration of the events in Bote of 1915, in the summer of 2012 in the Syriac-Orthodox monastery in Glane (Netherlands). This was also an observation I used for this research.

When the transcribing and translating process was finished, I started analyzing with the open coding method. By transcribing and coding, the validity and reliability of the data can be increased (Babbie, 2007). I started with open coding: Little pieces of data, that are important according to the researcher, are labeled and categorized. Equal output can be grouped in a later stadium. The second step was axial coding: Different themes are systematic related. The final step was selective coding: A process of integrating and refinement of the theory. I began to select the first interviews and chose meaningful fragments. After this I chose whether the fragments were meaningful for this research. Then I gave the fragments a code (a name). This process continued. However, sometimes coding loses its rich and individual information, because coding is only focused on making it analyzable. That is why I also used the method axial coding. When it seems the coding is finished, sometimes respondents can present new and rich information. Therefore I looked if all the codes were enough to cover all the data. I also clustered the codes and made head codes to distinct them from sub codes. Finally I used selective coding to search for the relations of the most important categories. After making all these codes, I implemented them in Atlas TI, a program for processing qualitative data. Next to the output of the Atlas TI program, the memos were of great use for this research.

After all this coding, I noticed that I had found too much meaningful data. This was logical, because I had 50 respondents, and some interviews lasted four hours. It can even be debatable whether this research is a mix between qualitative and quantitative research, because of the amount of data I had found. If I would present all these findings, this thesis would be very unstructured. Therefore I had chosen to limit my analysis to the most meaningful findings about the four concepts I had chosen, memory transmission, politics of forgetting, commemoration and human rights. Since the aim of this research is to find great new insights that could be a big contribution to the state of art in governance of memory, I

chose these four subjects, to explain in detail, instead of describing every result I had found. The analysis is therefore build on these four most meaningful findings. Each finding will be explained and linked to both the theoretical framework and the results of my collected data. The findings will eventually lead to further discussion and practical implications for policy making.

3.3 The chapter conclusion

In order to get from the theoretical framework to the observation and analysis, several steps had to be discussed. This chapter served the purpose of laying out the steps and measures taken to accommodate them. The focus I chose to find answers to the research questions, is the direct link I made from the three sub questions to the four concepts. These concepts lead to interview questions, so the answers to the questions will eventually lead to answers to the sub questions of this research. For this empirical qualitative research I chose to do 50 semi-structured in-depth interviews. The respondents were all Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants from Western European countries. Four generations have been interviewed, from six families. Five families are currently living in the Netherlands and one family is living in Sweden, therefore travelling to Sweden was necessary. In the next chapter, my analysis will begin. This analysis is built as a debate, just like the theoretical framework. Except, the analysis combines the theoretical insights with the findings that result from the analysis of the collected data. The debate of the analysis will be in line with the three issues of this thesis, because that way the three sub questions will also be answered.

4. Analyzing the governance of memory of migrant communities

The main goal, of this chapter, is to answer the sub questions of this research. The answers to the sub questions are derived from the four leading concepts of this research: memory transmission, politics of forgetting, commemoration and human rights. This chapter begins with a debate on the governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote. From this debate, the four findings of the leading concepts will be derived and these will lead to the answering of the sub questions.

Like I mentioned earlier, the coding process went deviant from normal coding processes. I began with open coding, continued with axial coding and expected to end with selective coding. However this created too much output to describe in the analysis. Therefore I chose four meaningful findings, one finding per concept, to describe and analyze further in this debate. In these four findings, many horrible aspects of the trauma are mentioned. It is necessary to describe these events in order to understand the several transmission processes of these peoples.

This chapter is built in a structural way. First of all this chapter is divided in two paragraphs. The first paragraph will continue the debate based on the four meaningful findings. The second paragraph will be a conclusion and will answer the three sub questions of this research. The logic behind this sequence is, that the answers to the sub questions must derive from the debate about the four findings that are central in this chapter. The first paragraph will consist of sub-paragraphs, each with the same order. The sub-paragraphs will be about the four findings that are based on the debates of: memory transmission, the politics of forgetting, commemoration and human rights. Each sub-paragraph will begin with the introduction of the debate about the topic of that sub-paragraph. After the introduction, the debate actually begins. This debate will create a connection to what the key authors say, what the respondents claim and what my findings are. By making this connection, the output of the interviews will be in discussion with the key authors that I have chosen to continue this debate. From this debate, new meaningful insights can be found to create a big contribution to the field of governance of memory.

4.1 The governance of memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants.

4.1.1 “I was chosen by God to remember the genocide”

In this paragraph the debate is about the memory transmission of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote. Levy & Sznajder (2002) claim that globalization is affecting memory transmission. According to these authors, because of globalization, there is a decline in tribal memory. This decline is based on several factors such as: decline in language, technical revolution and modernization processes (Bagchi, 2010). This paragraph will create rich insights about tribalism in modernization. It will show that tribalism and modernism are merely stereotypes that offer room for compromises. First aspects of emancipation will be analyzed. Then, the decline in tribal memory will be debated, this debate is based on the key authors and the output of this research.

McLeod (1999) claims that the emancipation, from pre-modern societies to globalized societies, results in a decline of tribal memory. In the case of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families from Bote, this emancipation also occurred. The claim that emancipation occurred is based on the following reasons. Claiming that these people have migrated to modernized societies, is based on the fact that they have migrated to Western countries. These Western countries, are typical modern societies, as Durkheim describes them. People in Western societies live a individualistic life, an important aspect is that people only visit each other when they make an appointment. In these societies there is no hospitality, there are only formal contractual relationships. In pre-modern societies, people are indeed hospitable. People can visit each other without making an appointment, they are part of a family. In pre-modern, tribal societies, family and honor are important institutions. Based on the collected data, it is safe to say that these migrant families from Bote, used to live in a tribal society. According to the respondents, people in Bote had a village chief, this was called *the mukhtar*. Respondents of the second generation tell narratives about themselves in relation to their families. They claim that Bote was divided into quarters, each quarter with its own tribe. Families lived together in one house, and when these respondents say families, they mean a household of grandfathers with their children and grandchildren all living together. They say it was tradition for the women to move into the house of their in-laws. All these men, women and children slept together in one room, visitors could come in and out of the

house any moment, people did not need appointments to visit each other. Respondents also claim that they have strong blood ties, this because Botoye have inner-tribe marriages. All these narratives show that these people lived in tribalism.

So with this migration, both literally from country to country and figuratively from society to society, the decline of tribal memory is expected. McLeod (1999) claims that decline in language and in tribal identity leads to the decline in tribal memory. When a language is declining, the narratives will not be understood. If the original narrative is told in the original language of a people, and these people fail to speak their mother tongue, the narrative disappears. Another reason for tribal memory to decline is the technological revolution (Bagchi, 2010). When narratives are not transmitted orally, when these narratives emancipate into written word or electronic articles, tribal memory also declines. Tribal memory transmission means that narratives are transmitted orally, mostly from the elders to the young.

However, according to Chamberlain (2009) diasporic migrants need foundational narratives to form their closed collective community. The foundational narrative that forms the collective migrant identity of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people of Bote is the narrative of the traumatic events of 1915. These migrants claim to have suffered from genocide in 1915 under the regime of the Ottoman Empire. According to 100% of the respondents, their memory about the genocide in Bote has declined, especially throughout generations. The elders (1st and 2nd generations) claim that their (grand) children don't know much about the genocide. Respondents of the 3rd generation claim that they do know some narratives, however that their parents know more. From this generation there is 16% that claims to know more than their parents. All the generations together, claim that the respondents of the 4th generation know very little about the genocide. Many of these young 4th generation respondents claim to know absolutely nothing about the traumatic events in Bote. However, when they start talking they are able to recollect some old memories about the general narratives of the events. From the 4th generation there is 10% that can recollect more about the traumatic events than their parents. The reasons these respondents give for the decline in their memory about the genocide is mainly their migration. They blame migration, because they believe decline in the language is a direct result from migration

When I was little, the elders of the village always told narratives about the genocide. We would all sit together and listen. Unfortunately, children in this time are not like that anymore. But who can blame them.. It was our choice to migrate and now we expect these children to speak fluently Aramaic and understand what oppression is. They don't understand what we are talking about, half of our narratives are in Kurdish, the other half in Aramaic. But it is not only that. Our children nowadays have no idea what life in Turkey was like. They don't understand what oppression means, therefore they don't care (Family F, 2nd generation).

Respondents use the word genocide when they talk in Dutch, Swedish or English. However when they use their own original Aramaic language they use the word *Seyfo*, this means sword, referring to Islamic swords that were used during the events of 1915. The first and second generation also use another word to describe the events, namely *Firman*. *Firman* is a Kurdish/ Arabic word that means *sultan's order*. Respondents claim that the order to exterminate the Christian people came from the government of the Ottoman Empire, therefore they use the word *Firman* to describe the events.

According to 100% of the respondents of 2nd and 3rd generation, their (grand) children don't understand the genocide. They say migration is the reason for decline in language, but also the incomprehension about life without freedom. The respondents that were born in Bote claim to be political refugees that fled Turkey because of oppression and danger. They claim these 4th generation children don't understand fear, their lives have been safe ever since they were born. Still, this is not the only reason they claim for the decline in memory. 100% of the respondents say that it is very normal that the memory about the genocide declines throughout generations. They claim that the actual witnesses should be able to remember the most, and throughout generations there is supposed to be a declining line that makes each new generation know less about the genocide. Since the witnesses of the events of 1915 have all deceased, and the 2nd generation is getting older, all the respondents claim that the information about the genocide is going to decline enormously from the 3rd generation to the following generations, unless these narratives are going to be recorded.

If there was only a book, that could explain to me, in a chronological order, what has happened in Bote in 1915, it would be much better for me. A simple book, like history books, perhaps there should even be a book for children about the genocide. It is very important that our people never forget what our ancestors have suffered. However I can't even tell you one simple narrative about my family. I have some flashes, some images, but no real chronological order in my head. But it is not only that, there is also the fact that my children will know even less. In the old days, we didn't call to see if someone is home, we just went there for a visit because there was always someone at home. But now, people can't even visit their own children without calling them first, people don't have time for family anymore. That means less family get-togethers. And even though I only remember flashes about the genocide, the information I do have comes from the narratives of elders during a family get-together. So if that also disappears, there will be no narrative left in the heads of our following generations" (Family E, 4th generation).

So respondents claim that the narratives should be written down, to preserve the narratives. Not only because of the decline in language, but also because of the form of transmitting should change. When families don't get together that much anymore, it means that modernization processes occur. Therefore the time for oral tradition declines, the younger generations could however read a book about their history in their own time, say these young respondents. Writing the narratives down also resolves another problem, according to the respondents. There are many contradictions to find in the narratives of families. These contradictions are about little details in narratives, for example: Within a family there are two lines that go in different directions from the 2nd generation. This little difference in detail is the age of their father when he was allegedly abducted by the Kurds. The first line, the line of the eldest brother, claims that their (grand) father was 12/13/14 years old when we was abducted. The other line, the line of the 2nd oldest brother, claims that he was 7 years old. The arguments they use to defend their claim is actually the same. The first line says: *"He has to be older than 12, because during his journey he had to carry a heavy weapon that his abductor ordered him to carry"*. The second line claims: *"He had to be younger, approximately 7 years old, because the weapon his abductor ordered him to carry was way too heavy for him. He asked his abductor for a break during his journey because he couldn't*

carry it anymore”. When I confronted both family lines with this discussion they all said that they were absolutely sure that they knew his real age. The younger generation again claimed to regret that these narratives were not recorder before their great-grandfather diseased, because then they would know the truth.

Thus according to both, the key authors about tribal memory and the respondents, tribal memory is declining. Respondents claim that due to migration, that lead to decline in language and individualistic lives with less family get-togethers, the younger generations will be able to remember very little about the genocide in Bote. These respondents believe that recording and translating the narratives, when the witnesses were still alive, would have resolved this problem. However still, the young generations would not be able to understand the genocide because they have not suffered from oppression as their elders, claim the respondents of the older generations. That makes the answer simple, tribal memory seems indeed to be declining, however there is only one aspect that contradicts this answer. The aspect that contradicts is the fact that there are some respondents that remember more about the events of 1915 than their parents. As I mentioned earlier in this debate, there is 16% of the 3rd generation respondents that know more than their parents, for the 4th generation this percentage is 10. This lead me to make a new analysis, using the family trees that can indicate the rhapsodists in each family.

Figure 4.1 shows the analysis to search for rhapsodists, the names colored in red are the rhapsodists. This means that rhapsodists still exists and that tribal memory is not dead. The criteria I used to label a respondent as rhapsodist are two aspects. The first is the amount of narratives this respondent could remember and the amount of details. The second criterion is the fact that this respondent knew much more than his/her own generation and his/her parents’ generation. This figure shows that there is no logical pattern in who is to become a rhapsodist within the family or within the generation. Sometimes these rhapsodist pop out after three generations and sometimes there is a direct link per generation. It also shows that there are indeed rhapsodists in the fourth generation, this means that the memory transmission did not stop and the tribal memory of these rhapsodists did not die.

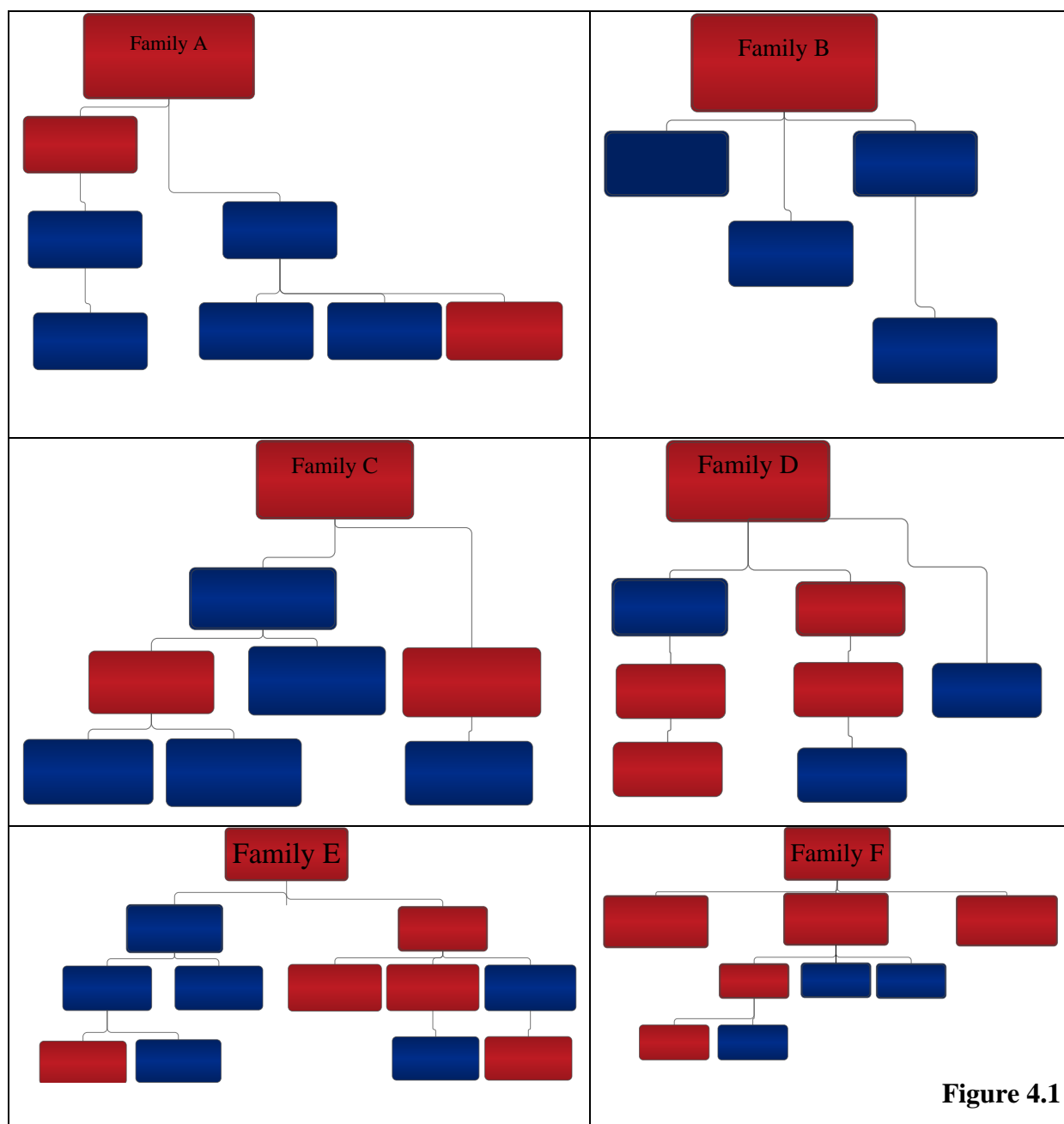


Figure 4.1

After the findings of this rhapsodist-analysis, I started to analyze the transcripts from the interviews with these rhapsodists again. I noticed that it was indeed remarkable that respondents from the 4th generation were able to remember that much detailed information about something that happened almost 100 years ago. These rhapsodists, whether they are elders or even adolescents, have the capacity to remember as a tribal chief, because the way

they narrate is very detailed and correct information. I use the term correct information because I compared the narratives of the rhapsodists to the interviews of the 1st generation respondents, and the information was correct. These rhapsodists can pass on the narratives very easily, and they claim to do it. They speak about the events of 1915, as if they were present, strangely some of these rhapsodists are from the fourth generation and have never seen Bote. Maybe during a short visit, but elders claim that these children do not understand the life in Bote in 1915, that this generation is comparable to Western people, as they and their parents claim. Examples of these extraordinary aspects of their interviews is that they remember the names of Kurdish landlords, as if they knew every living man in Bote during the genocide.

My wife always asks me, why you, why us? But I never told her that I was chosen by God to do this, because I am. I am a part of this people. Whether you like it or not, one of the people must be chosen to die for his people and I feel chosen. We can't give up, but it's hard. You live in a country with different norms and values as your own. They break you, you literally die. It doesn't work, this materialism in these countries is really the end of us. Look at our people in general, they work hard to have nice clothes, houses or businesses. They don't work hard for their souls or their spirits. People nowadays say, leave me alone. I want my simple life, with my wife and my children and my work. But that is not enough, when I look at our history, our language, our ancestors, I think: how can this people forget their rich history in such a short time. This is horrible, it hurts me and to be honest I really fight against this (Family E, 3rd generation).

This quote is from one of the rhapsodists. In this quote it is clear that this respondent feels as if it is his duty, chosen by God, to fight for his history and to never forget his traditions and ancestors. Also the other rhapsodists claimed that it was their duty to remember all this. These rhapsodists claim that they feel obliged towards their ancestors, because if they would forget it would mean that their ancestors have suffered for nothing. It is clear that these rhapsodist are very radical when it comes to this duty they feel. They claim to give up certain aspects of their lives just to hold on to this narrative. That means this feeling of their migrant identity must be extremely strong. So in terms of theory, this means that despite of the theory's expectancies, tribal memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families is not

declining. It is still alive and even found in the fourth generation. The fact that the tribal memory of these respondents is not declining, lead me to these migrant's self-view, that can be derived from the interviews. This self-view is visible in two aspects. The first aspect is the way these respondents speak about their Botoye-identity that originates from their ancestors. The second aspect is the inner-tribe marriages of Botoye that are significantly high throughout generations.

All the respondents, young and old, claim that the way Botoye feel Bote in their hearts is more extreme than other villages of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people. They claim that this extreme bond, comes from their ancestors, for these have passed a feeling on throughout generations. When remembering their ancestors these respondents describe that the people of Bote (during and before the genocide) were people of true honor, in the most tribal sense of it.

"I don't say this because I want to brag, but Botoye men were true gabore. They stood together as one. They were like one big strong family. They were also very religious, their Christian religion was very important to them. Our ancestors were true hero's, and the Kurds were aware of this, that is why they made a special plan to exterminate our Botoye ancestors" (Family E, 3rd generation).

Respondents of the first, second and third generations, claim that the Kurds made a special plan for Bote, a plan that was not necessary for the other villages. They say the Kurds knew that Botoye would give their last breath to defend themselves, they would stand as one and they would be unbeatable. They claim that their ancestors were true *gabore*, the Aramaic word for heroes. All these respondents tell the same narrative about the times before 1915. They claim that before the Kurds and Turks would attack these families, they had to come up with a strategic plan to make sure that every Botoye was exterminated, because they knew that if only one would stay alive, this one would not give up defending his pride and religion. So before they started the genocide, respondents claim that the Turkish government called out a conscription, it was called the Safarbalik. After this conscription, they claim that a Kurdish landlord placed military officers in Bote, saying that they were there to protect the Christians from the local Kurds. But this was never the case according to the respondents of first, second

and third generation, they say after a while it was clear that these soldiers were there for extermination. According to the respondents, the day the genocide started, Kurdish landlords from all over the region, gathered their troops and came to Bote, to systematically exterminate every Christian in Bote.

There were approximately 1600-1800 Christians living in Bote at the time of the genocide. They were prepared, it is not that they haven't thought about what was coming. The landlord claimed that he brought soldiers for the protection of the Christians, but he wanted to make sure that no Christian would escape. This landlord worked together with the Ottoman government. Some young Botoye wanted to steal the soldiers' weapons for their own protection, but at that time the leader of the Botoye Christians was father Galluno. He defended the Kurdish landlord and told the young men to stop their plans, for the Bible says that one should not harm his fellow man. It was only because of the goodness of their hearts, that they did not prepare themselves for the genocide. It was only when they heard the genocide started in Saleh (a nearby village) that they realized it was too late. They started to look for the landlord that was supposed to protect them, but he was nowhere to be found. Muslims gathered from all over the region, because they knew that exterminating Botoye was not an easy task, Botoye were people with great pride and honor..(D. Garis, 3rd generation).

According to the Botoye respondents, this feeling of pride and honor was transmitted throughout generations in all Botoye families and that even in the 21st century, Botoye still stand together and fight for their brothers. This feeling of pride, in a tribal way, affects the governance of memory. For it is the tribal pride that makes these migrants want to remember their ancestors. In a study of Carsten (1995) it is shown that migrants remember their own origin and their parents' origin but those of more distant ancestors are rapidly forgotten. This study also shows that over time, the stories which are not told, the relatives who are no longer significant, are forgotten through the fact that no information about them is transmitted. So when stories are indeed told, with pride, migrants tend to remember these stories about their ancestors. When this pride still exists, as the respondents claim, and when it is transmitted throughout generations, these people still feel close to their ancestors. Many respondents of the fourth generation claimed that they felt as if their ancestors had died for them, and that they were obliged to remember them, for that was the least they could do. This fourth

generation claims to be very aware of the genocide and very politically active for the recognition of this genocide. The traumatic events in Bote were almost 100 years ago, still this 4th generation narrates about their duty to be active in the recognition of their genocide, as they claim these events were. The fact that these young respondents claim to feel as if their ancestors had died for them, because now they do have freedom of religion and freedom in other forms, also shows extreme collective identity building. These migrants link their identity to this key narrative: their genocide of 1915.

The memory transmission of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote is a complicated process. It is complicated because these Botoye families perceive themselves not like other families of other villages of Tur- Abdin, according to 80% of the respondents. They claim to be Botoye in exile, this indicates that they still see themselves as Botoye instead of Europeans or cosmopolitans. Seeing themselves as Botoye, shows that they hold on to their tribal feelings and collective identities. Paradoxically, respondents of all generation claim that their people are becoming more individualist and westernized in the last 15-20 years. Their claim is based on the fact that most people work nowadays, both men and women, and this leads to people having less time for their family or their traditions. In order to create the shared identity with their new homeland, in this case the Western globalized world, migrants must forget (Yong-Sook, 2004). According to 100% of the respondents, the integration of their migrant families has succeeded. They claim that the fifth generation is upcoming, these children have parents that are born in Western countries, and they know not better than these countries to be their homeland.

Despite of all this well adaptive behavior, there is one aspect of the Botoye self-view that is extremely tribal. This is the aspect of the inner-tribe marriages of Botoye people. During my observation I also noticed these tribal aspects in the lives of all respondents. Before interviewing my respondents, I noticed when walking into their living rooms, that every family, every home had a picture of Bote on their walls. It seems that these migrants hold on to their homeland, and their children see this picture every day. This enforced their collective migrant closed identity and their community unity. And when I spoke to these respondents about their personal life, I observed that these people indeed spoke proud and honorably about their ancestors and their village. During the interviews I also noticed many of

the respondents saying: *“people say that it is typical Botoye behavior to always get together, young children notice very early that they are somehow linked and they prefer hanging out with their own”*. When I ask who “people” are, they claim that when saying *people say*, they mean Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans from other villages. The respondents of the second generation explained to me that every village is known for something, some villages have inhabitants that are greedy, some are known to be scammers and some are uptight, and Botoye are known to be extremely close and patriotic towards their tribe/ village. From the fifty respondents, 45 state that the people from Bote are known for being very close, like one big family. They claim that, although it sometimes disturbs people from other villages, Botoye often marry within their tribe/village. Respondents say they prefer to give their daughters to Botoye men instead of men from other villages. It is very peculiar that this goes on even in this century for it were also respondents of the fourth generation that claimed to prefer inner-tribe marriages. Respondents of the fourth generation are people that are born in modernized societies. They go to school and work in modernized countries. They have friends outside their tribes or people, and still they claim to share this thought about inner-tribe marriages. For Western people, it is absolutely uncommonly to marry within their family. However, strangely enough, for these young half tribal half westernized people it seemed as the most normal thing in life.

“I know to western people it makes no sense. Why should I prefer marrying within my own tribe. Still, western people don’t understand this. These marriages are not fixed, these young people chose very consciously to marry within their own tribes. They feel as if it is an honor to stay a Boteyto³ “(Family F, 4th generation).

When I asked this young respondent where this feeling of pride and honor comes from, that it makes modern girls in a globalized world want to preserve these tribal traditions, she smiled and said that this feeling of pride comes from the fact that most of our parents tell children at a you age, that they would never find better husbands than Botoye. Later on, I even heard that a comic sketch was made about it during a play for a fundraising party for Bote. This play was

³ Boteyto is a woman from Bote.

about a young girl who fell in love with a non-Botoyo. Her mother kept advising her that she should marry within her tribe, however this girl did not listen. When her mother finally accepted her boyfriend, the girl noticed that the boy was unreliable and she came to the conclusion that her mother was right. There was no better marriage candidate than within her own tribe. This means that these inner-tribe marriages are stimulated ever since these respondents were born. This seems to be part of their upbringing, therefore what seems extremely uncommon for Western people, can still seem acceptable for these young respondents living in Western countries. This shows again, radical thinking and these ideas are shared within this community. Radical traditions and actions like this, is what keeps this migrant community closed and united.

So it seems that the vivid tribal memory comes from a vivid tribal identity. These migrants see themselves as Botoye, instead of European or cosmopolitans. This self-view can be linked back to the tribal identity of their elders in Bote. These respondents claim that their enemies were aware of their strong family ties. These strong ties are even seen in this age, for example through inner-tribe marriages of young 4th generation respondents. Still this tribalism and tribal memory is in danger. The more these people become westernize, the more their tribal identity will decline and with it their tribal memory. In my analysis I found two factors that influence this tribal memory. The first factor is age, the second factor is presence.

The first aspect is age, because one must reach a certain age to understand what a these traumatic events really mean. Respondents claim that after their people become adults and realize what the genocide meant to their people, is when they realize that they should never forget about this and that they should transmit it throughout every generation. Young respondents, from the fourth generation, claim during the interviews that they find it very important to transmit the narratives about the genocide when they would have children. However these respondents are not able to actually tell many narratives about the events of 1915. This means that they repeat the statement of their elders, that this genocide should not be forgotten, but that they have not yet reached an age to understand that they are the key to this preservation. So becoming aware of the need for preservation and actually believing in it comes with age.

The second aspect I found, why receiving fails during transmission is the luxury they have in rhapsodists. I noticed during my research that many respondents were always referring to others when they were not able to answer a question. When there is someone in their family that knows many detailed narratives about the traumatic events, they get the feeling that remembering in a tribal way is unnecessary. They depend on these rhapsodist's memories instead of their own. When they want to transmit the narratives to their children, they claim to begin with an overall simple story and tell their children that if they would want to know more, they should go ask the their uncle or grandfather because they know more. This leads to bifurcation between rhapsodists and non-rhapsodists. When rhapsodists still live, the duty to remember lives on, and the tribal memory does not die. But whenever these rhapsodist try to think from their modernized part they lose their tribalism. The non-rhapsodist still believe that these rhapsodist are able to recall every detail of the narrative, but the rhapsodists themselves explain that when these rhapsodist think about writing the narratives down, typing them out, translating them into Dutch/ Swedish/ English, for preservation of the narratives, is when their great capacity to remember disappears. It is only when they store this data from their heads into paper or a hard drive from the computer, when they start to forget, so they claim. Because then, the duty to remember is gone, they rely on modern tools to remember it for them.

Thus in terms of theory this means that McLeod was indeed right, tribal memory is declining. Still, the decline seems not significantly high because 10% of the 4th generation are rhapsodists. Bagchi (2010) claims that decline in language results in decline in tribal memory, however these 4th generation rhapsodist don't speak Aramaic that well, they just feel the duty to ask questions and remember the events of 1915. This tribal memory succeeds to exist because of the tribal aspects and the extreme community unity in the lives of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote. Their closed community unity is seen in several forms such as: pictures of Bote in their homes, calling themselves Botoye and especially inner-tribe marriages that are preferred even in the 4th generation. The analysis that showed that rhapsodist exist throughout generations has led to a new rich insight. In terms of theory, this was never expected because of the modernization these people went through. Despite the

expectations of the theories, these rhapsodist indeed exist and keep the tribal memory alive and enforce their community unity and migrant identities.

4.1.2 Agnus Dei, U faro d'Aloho.

The debate of this paragraph is about the governance of forgetting in terms of migration. According to Carsten (1995), forgetting is a collective art in the creation of shared identity and forgetting is a crucial part of the way identity is actively acquired. Carsten (1995) claims that migrants must forget in order to create the shared identity with their new homeland. Structural amnesia and genealogical amnesia (forgetting who their ancestors are) are important factors for this new identity creation process. However in this case, the theory of politics of forgetting is debatable. Theory claims that migrants must forget their ancestors in order to integrate successfully in their new homeland. Though, there is a narrative that keeps returning during every interview. This narrative is transmitted the most successful throughout every generation of all the six families.

Agnus Dei, *U faro d'Aloho*, is what he called himself. It was Use the Gerbatahawi, the name that keeps returning in every narrative of every family. The narrative of Use is told by every respondent, even when they did not realize they were narrating about him. Unexpectedly, it seems that this man is not directly related to one of the fifty respondents I interviewed. Even though none of the respondents are related to him, they seem to know his narrative better than the narratives about their own ancestors. In this paragraph the unexpected success of this narrative will be analyzed in detail. First the debate will be between theory and the results of this research, but the debate will go further comparing the similarities and differences between the four generations.

Use was a big, strong and handsome man. He was dressed very nice and the Kurdish landlords grabbed him. Because he refused to flee through the tunnels in the church. He said: I will not abandon the prisoners. There was no braver man than him.... they grabbed him, stabbed him with daggers, they cut his skin. They kept saying: Use your beauty, your bravery, your length, your strength, you are not worth it to die here. We don't want to kill you. Why don't you convert to Islam, then we don't have to kill you. He answered them and said: Shame on you, put your hands on your heart. You are men. The ones that came before me and my gun did not escape without blood. I have killed them. I will never convert, I will never betray

Jesus. I see my wounds now and it feels like a flea that is shaken off my body. I don't feel your daggers cutting off my body parts. After this, the Kurds grabbed their drums and horns, they made music and started to torture him. First they cut off his ears and said: look we cut off your ears, now convert. If you don't convert, then we will keep cutting of your body parts. Use started to chant Syriac- Orthodox psalms, as loud as he could. Then they cut off his nose, his arms and his skin. Again they asked him to convert and he answered: I am the lam of Jesus, I rather die than convert to Islam. So they cut off his tongue. They started to laugh and make fun of him. Use prayed to God and asked God to take him away. Then one of the Kurds, Aliko the Mitterb, couldn't stand it anymore, Haushe (one of the Christians) saved his son a while ago, so he kept saying to the other Kurds: Why are you torturing him this much. I saw it with my own eyes, he told the others to make space and he jumped on Use's chest and chopped off his head. I saw that his body was shaking. At the second that he died, a rainbow came over him and shined on him. The Kurds laughed and said: you see, he is burning in hell already. But one of the Kurds said: no you idiots, it is the holy spirit that is taking him to heaven (Family A, 1st generation).

Unlike Carsten (1995) claims, 100% of the respondents know the narrative of Use the Gerbatahawi. Since he is not even related to them, this is a very remarkable finding. The transmission has been successful because of several reasons. The first reason is heroism. Every genocide needs its hero, the hero is the role model for the 'normal people'. The description of Use is comparable to a mythical legend, he is described: brave, strong, just and a true hero. They describe him as a hero, based on their norms and values, despite of all his suffering, he would not give up his faith. Since these migrants were political refugees, their key narrative is about their suffering because of their Christian faith. In heroic narratives there are also often supernatural aspects. In this narrative the rainbow that appeared after Use was killed is seen as a sign of God, by all the respondents. Respondents claim, he had suffered so much for his religion, that God immediately showed a sign and took Use's soul with him. He is described as a true hero and a true Christian martyr. He can be seen as the legend of this genocide, even though according to the narratives, almost every person in Bote was a tortured or killed for his religion, this person made the most impact.

The reason behind this enormous impact is because of the norms and values of the Botoye people during the events of 1915. The following quotes will give insights on what these migrants claim to have been through during that time. It is important to understand what the content of the narratives are, to understand the norms and values of the survivors. Because these norms and values have impact on the governance of memory, it is the norms and values that made these respondents remember someone that is not even their relative.

It was the 7th of July, the first attack against Christians in Bote. The first witness was Bahdo Yusef, he was a 13 year old boy. The Muslims had stabbed him with a knife and he ran into the church. His stomach was cut open and with his intestines in his hands he entered the church (Family B, 3rd generation).

According to 100% of the respondents, the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean people of Bote went to hide inside the church during the genocide. Respondents claim that there was no way their people could defend themselves against the enormous amount of Muslims that gathered in Bote with fine armory.

Because the numbers of Muslims were that much, Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans from other villages like Inwardo weren't able to help our people. Because of fear, all the Christians in Bote went back to the church. Our churches were built as castles, because there were several genocides by the Ottoman authorities over time. These churches were built as a safe place, and 90% of the villagers went inside of the Mor Efrim church. Under this church there were four underground tunnels. Our people wanted to flee from these tunnels towards Inwardo, a village that had only Christian inhabitants. However the Muslims found out about these tunnels and they threw hay inside the tunnels to fumigate and suffocate our people (Family E, 3rd generation).

My grandfather always told us, our abductor took us to the well and he gave us some water and bread. One of us children, Gevriye, said: look we will come with you, but we will never convert to Islam. That is how strong their belief was. Their parents had taught them this, especially the girls. Before the doors of the church would open, the parents told their

daughters to make sure that they would never convert to Islam. They said: you should accept death before becoming a Muslim. When you know that they will catch you, it is better to jump into a well or off a roof than to be their wives. So after Gevriye, a young boy, told his Muslim abductor he would never convert, the Muslim man became furious and said: You Christians are unbelievable, after everything that has happened, you children still talk about your faith! Unbelievable how strong your heads are. He said, well if you won't convert lets go back to the church and I will kill you there. It seems the Muslims had a rule, to kill only near the church because they were afraid that the amount of rotten bodies will create diseases (Family B, 3rd generation).

So according to the respondents, after 13 days in the church, the doors eventually opened. They claim these children had to flee, their parents were getting massacred and that some children were spared, they were abducted and used as slaves. According to the respondents these children also witnessed the torture of Use the Gerbatahawi. After hearing this last speech from their parents about the importance of faith, the next thing these respondents were forced to watch was the torturing of Use the Gerbatahawi, so they claim. The narrative of Use was the living image of what the respondents parents stood for, he was their role model even though he was not even related to them directly. That is why this narrative had such an impact on these survivors. Since it had such an impact, this 1st generation did not forget the narrative. Therefore it is also logical that this narrative was told by these survivors, over and over again. According to 70% of the respondents, most survivors didn't witness the murder of their own parents, they just found the bodies. However they claim they did witness this torture of Use the Gerbatahawi.

This narrative is transmitted the most successful, because 100% of the respondents told about this narrative. However the differences in narrating are very extreme, especially throughout generations. It is very clear that the 1st generation speaks about the narrative exactly the same. All the 1st generation respondents narrate the same story, this is because allegedly during this torture, these respondents were only little children under the age of 10 and they were forced by the Kurds to sit and watch this torture. These 1st generation respondents explained that all their parents were killed and they believed that Christianity was

gone. They claim that this torture had a huge impact on their lives because they all saw this in front of their eyes and because of what they saw, some of these children chose to forget their Christian religion and heritage. They say that they were scared that they would have to suffer the same torture if they refused to convert.

The main similarity about this narrative is the emotions of the respondents. Whether they are from the 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th generation, all respondents get emotional when they talk about the narrative of Use the Gerbatahawi. These emotions are in several forms, the respondents that know much about this narrative, cry during their narration about him. The respondents that know little about the narrative, do have wet eyes, but they refrain themselves. The more the respondents knew about his suffering, the more emotional they would get during the narration. This narrative has such an impact and this impact is much visible in the transmission of this narrative. The first generation tell this narrative as if they were still children sitting there in front of Use, even though they are elders at the age of 90 years. When they narrate about this story, they narrate like their memories go back to that moment, like they remember how they felt as children sitting there together, starved to death and fighting for their lives. Because during their interviews they add little details during this narrative such as:

Use was taken, and we sat there as little children, suddenly they took him. I saw it with my own eyes. I was thirsty It was suffocating warm. The man that had pulled me out of the church put some water in my mouth, but not in my throat (Family A, 1st generation).

During the interview of this respondent, it seems like he tries to hide his emotions. He keeps answering in a sarcastic way and he laughs about things that are pretty serious. My observation on this interview is that he must be traumatized that much, that he has to make this narrative simple and sarcastic, in order to narrate it. This respondent was the only one that acted like this during the narration about horrible things.

However next to the similarities there are also differences. The main difference is in generations. As I mentioned before, the first generation respondents claim to be eyewitnesses and they tell the narrative exactly the same. The second generation, surprisingly, also tell the narrative exactly the same as their fathers. Though, there is a break at the 3rd generation. This generation can be broken down in two groups. This generation claim to have heard about Use

the Gerbatahawi, either from their own parents (2nd generation) or their grandparents (1st generation). During the interviews with the 3rd generation, it is clearly that some of these respondents did receive this transmission and some respondents did not. This difference in receiving is not dependent on the transmitter but on the receiver, because within one family it seems that some children do narrate about Use and some claim to have never heard of his name. The ones that do know this narrative, claim that their (grand) parents have told about Use many times during family get-togethers. This means that the ones that don't know Use, were just not listening because according to the ones that did receive this information, they were all present. The respondents of the 3rd generation that did hear about Use, tell the narrative very detailed, almost the same as their predecessors. The ones (3rd generation) that claim to not have heard about Use, do narrate about a man that was tortured in the most awful way. They actually tell about Use, details that are mentioned are: the Kurds cutting of his body parts, Use talking about the lamb of God (Agnus Dei), and the rainbow that came over him when he died, however they don't mention his name.

The 4th generation tells the story of Use the same as the 3rd generation that “so-called” never heard of Use. That means that these two groups actually know the story of Use, but they don't know his name. According to the elder respondents, these 3rd and 4th generation respondents forget his name because it is an uncommon name, Use stands for Joseph in the Kurdish language and Gerbatahawi stands for the village he came from: Gerbatahaw, also Kurdish. Because the name Use and the village are not known to these last generations, they tend to forget his name. There is a clear break visible, due to the migration, when it comes to his name and background. But when it comes to aspects of his torturing in the narrative, there is no respondent that hasn't heard about this narrative.

The fact that this narrative transmission was so successful, is in opposition to the theory of Carsten (1995). Carsten claims that if migration and creation of new kinship is successful, structural amnesia is necessary. However 100% of these respondent claim to be very successful integrated into their new western countries. So what could be the reason for both, successful integration and successful remembrance?

To us, integration into a new society isn't difficult. We have been doing this for many centuries. As we go back in history, we learned that our far ancestors have lived in many

different societies. We come from the old Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. Our land has known many different empires throughout history. Nowadays this land is divided into different countries, such as: Turkey, Syria and Iraq. We had to adapt to the Turkish customs and traditions in order to survive, and not only Turkish but also Kurdish because the majority in our region were Kurds. Since the ancient Mesopotamian times, we know not better than to adapt in order to stay alive. Even in times of oppression and genocide, we were able to preserve our own language, traditions and religion. We must have found a balance between adapting and holding on, because of the many times we had to adapt. So adapting in Christian western countries is not that difficult to us (Family F, 3rd generation).

Thus, respondents claim the balance between integration and holding on to tradition comes from the history of Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans. It is not only this respondent who talks about this balance, 70% of the respondents claim the same. They all claim that they can adapt better into western societies, unlike other Middle-Eastern minorities, because of their Christian norms and values. They claim that since these Western countries also have Christian norms and values, the adaptation was easier than adapting to Islamic societies. So in terms of theory this means that forgetting because of migration is not so black and white when it comes to this case. Divergent to this theory, that one would not remember their ancestors or people more distant than grandparents because of migration is not applicable in this case. Use is not related to any respondent but he narrated about the most frequent. This is unlikely according to theory, but very visible in 100% of the interviews. So the impact of this narrative must have been enormously to be this successfully transmitted. The fact that the words Use and Gerbatahawi are details that are forgotten by the last two generations, is based on the decline in Kurdish language. This is in agreement with theory, that due to decline in language, tribal memory is not able to preserve. Still language decline not seems to be fatal for tribal memory transmission. That is because the key narrative that is the foundational narrative of their collective identity is about the events of 1915. This similar narrative is the badge of connectivity as Chamberlain (2009) described. This narrative is the key route of the connection with the longings for home. Whether the respondents were from the Netherlands

or Sweden, their collective identity provides a cultural continuity with those back home and overseas. They share the same history.

4.1.3 “When he threw them he said: Here come the birds, he seemed to be enjoying killing babies and little infants”

Transmission of memory can be through narratives but even without narratives something can be transmitted. The transmission of feelings and emotions is much stronger than an actual narrative. The debate in this paragraph will be on commemoration. What is commemoration? Is there a standard like a day or a site, or should we look beyond standards and search for every form of transmission/ceremonies about the events of 1915? In the analysis I found that there are several forms of commemorations by the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families of Bote. I will discuss all these forms, and link them to theory to debate on whether this should be marked as commemoration or not, or even if it is possible to mark something as a commemoration.

The most visible form of commemoration is the religious commemoration that was organized by the father Abrohom Garis. Respondents claim that the religious commemoration in the summer of 2012, was the second commemoration that father Abrohom Garis had organized in the Netherlands. They claim he does this annually in Sweden, his homeland. 98% of the respondents say that there was no commemoration in Bote after the genocide. However 2% claim that there was an annually religious commemoration during Easter mass. During this mass, the victims of the genocide were commemorated claims a respondent of Family F of the 2nd generation. Despite this claim that there was indeed a commemoration in Bote, the other 98% claims otherwise. This majority of respondents say that the transmission of the memories of this genocide starts very early in the lives of the Botoye. Because commemoration in Turkey was no option, the transmission was always very discrete towards others, they claim. These respondents claim to have fled Turkey because of this lack of freedom of religion and became political refugees when entering Western countries. However according to these respondents it was very necessary for self-protection and self-preservation to transmit the fact that there was a genocide, and this transmission was done through feelings instead of words.

100% of the respondents claim that before children can understand what a genocide is, their parents transmit certain feelings, feelings of injustice, feelings of pain, feelings of awareness and betrayal. They say these feelings are transmitted differently throughout the four generations. The first generation claims to have witnessed the feelings of betrayal, oppression, and pain on first hand. This generation has witnessed the events of 1915 themselves. But even before 1915, this generation claims to have been aware of the danger Muslims can be toward Christians. They say that there have been many other genocides before the genocide of 1915. And during the traumatic events in 1915, before opening the church doors, these respondents say that their parents told them of the danger and betrayal of Muslims. After opening these doors, they claim to have witnessed betrayal and danger on first hand, so they took the feelings and awareness of their parents and added their own feelings. Respondents say that when the genocide ended, this 1st generation was forced to go back to Bote and live among their former oppressors. This generation married, and had children. The 2nd generation was born after 1915, but this generation claims to have been warned by their parents. Besides that, the 2nd generation claims they were also oppressed and that even after the genocide was officially over, the killings of Christians did not stop. The fact that these people transmit these negative feelings about Muslims towards their children at an extremely young age seems pretty drastic.

Paradoxically, besides these extremely negative feelings, these people chose to stay in Bote. When asking all the respondents why they/ their ancestors stayed, for the first three generations it seems very clear why, despite this danger, the Christians in Bote did not leave. First of all, they explain, because this was their home, the land of their ancestors. Secondly, because there was no possibility to leave, in that time they did not have the means to migrate that easily. They claim they were able to migrate within their region, but that would not solve the problem. So in order to survive, next to the alleged killers of their families, they had to forgive. The adult respondents all say that their people do not feel hate towards Muslims, because as Christians they should be able to forgive. But that this does not mean they should forget, on the contrary all the respondents claim that the most important thing is that one should not forget this forgotten genocide. The generations that are born in Turkey, claim to have felt these emotions because they were still oppressed and knew the danger of living besides the Muslims. They say that they were not free and that they were constantly

remembered of the genocide because their oppressors made sure that they kept this unsafe feeling.

According to Stewart (1988) and Cledinnen (1999) Roma people, who have suffered from genocide and oppression, possess the art of forgetting. They turn their face to the future and seek no meaning beyond those relevant for immediate survival. Stewart (2004) however, disagrees. He claims that if this would be true, the Roma would not have had lasting effects of the Holocaust of their social life. Even though Roma have no commemoration they have their relations with the non-gypsies to remind themselves who they are and who they have been. Since they are oppressed, threatened and discriminated against. Stewart says the Roma do not need commemorations or narratives, they have the rest of the world to remind them of the suffering for them on a daily basis. In this case of the migrant families from Bote, it seems the same. They claim to be able to stay in violent land, without commemorations. According to 98% of the respondents, there was never a commemoration in Bote for the genocide of 1915 and that commemoration was not necessary because these first three generations were still living in oppression. They also claim to have had their neighbors to remind them of the genocide on a daily basis. Even the 3rd generation, the last generation born in Bote, claims to have been oppressed, that girls were not allowed to leave the house without their father or brother, because of fear to be raped or abducted. 3rd generation men claim to have been tortured during military service, as if they were animals. In the seventies respondents claim that there was word of a next genocide and that the Christians lived in fear of repetition of 1915. They say this fear and the new possibilities lead to enormous groups of migration to Western countries. So their feelings were not only based on what their (grand) parents transmitted but also on their own feeling of injustice.

However after these families migrated to Western countries, their children are born in freedom and according to their parents they are not aware of the danger that Muslims can bring them. Respondents describe that after these children are at the age of four, they start going to school and they are confronted with the fact that they are different from the Western children, but also different from the Turkish children in their class. Their parents claim they try to make these children understand the difference between them and the Turks/ Muslims at a very early age. They explain their children to not get close to Muslims because Muslims are

not to be trusted. They say their children are allowed to play with Muslim children during school time, but not afterwards. These children hear their elder family members often talking about Muslims in a negative way. Approximately after the age of 7 respondents claim these children ask why Muslims are bad and can't be trusted. The explanation they get is that Muslims hate Christian people and even though they sometimes seem nice, they should not be trusted. This explanation is repeated through every generation, they say:

"They used to be our neighbors and friends but within 1 day, they were able to change into our enemies and they oppressed us and killed us. That is the reason why we had to migrate to where we live now, they took away everything we had and killed all our ancestors. They call us gavur, infidel, and in their Koran it says that they are allowed to kill a Christian. They even get a reward for killing us, they are promised many virgins in heaven for killing only one Christian" (Family C, 3rd generation).

Even though parents try to transmit these feeling and explanation, without actual narratives, the children claim to have received this feeling and understanding of the genocide. On the contrary, respondents of the elder generations, that were born in Bote, claim that the young ones would never truly understand why Muslims can't be trusted. Some parents try to transmit everything they can about the genocide, and some people are not even aware that they are transmitting, as described in the following quote:

My mother used to call me Haci Galil whenever I was a bad boy. When I did something wrong, or when I didn't listen to her. One day, when I was young, I asked her who Haci Galil was. She told me that this was her Muslim neighbor in Bote, a man who always ruined her father's land on purpose. It was years later, after I got married, when I heard the real story of this Haci Galil who was actually a infanticide (Family E, 4th generation).

Respondents of 1st and 2nd generation claim that Haci Galil was one of the worst infanticides of this genocide. They claim that together with a man called Mahmudo d'Shato he killed almost all the children in Bote in a very cruel way. The Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families of Bote say that they were under the impression that the Muslims would spare women and children, since that was normal in other wars. They say that the elders thought that Muslims would have the decency to spare the helpless. But this was not the case at all,

they claim. The goal of this genocide, according to the respondents, was to exterminate every Christian, men, women, children and even new born babies. They say the Muslims slaughtered children in the most extreme ways, because they did not want any Christian alive. Respondents say that if they would spare the babies, they feared that these babies would become men and seek for revenge because they knew Botoye were a pride and honorable people. Again, this extreme proudness is visible in the narratives of these migrant families. They keep portraying their ancestors as honorable heroic people that these migrants feel proud of.

I haven't seen it myself, but when you hear the stories it almost feels like I had. There was a man called Mahmudo d Shato, he took all the children and threw them against the wall of the church, he was very evil. Every child he saw, he grabbed and threw their skulls to the ground from the church roof. When he threw them he said: "Here come the birds." He seemed to enjoy killing babies and little infants. The ground was covered in blood. There was another man Hadji Galil, our neighbor. He lured all the children in the village he talked to them in Aramaic, so they would think that he was a Christian. He said to these children: "Come out, come out, I will feed you bread and give you water and candy." All the children ran out to him and one for one, he threw them into a well. He also wanted to experiment on these little infants, he made them all stand in a line and wanted to see how many children he could kill with only one gunshot. These people used to be our neighbors, but they turned into animals without a conscience (Family F, 2nd generation).

As is seen in the quote of the respondent of Family E, 4th generation, it is only after the children are old enough to understand what a genocide actually means, that they start to ask questions and find out the truth. Why did the Muslims do this, why don't we have a land of our own are questions they claim to ask. From that point, the oral tradition begins, from father or mother to child the narrative of the events of 1915 are told. However this narrative is not fully understood until these children become adults. According to the elders, they are not able to relate to these stories, because they have never seen oppression and murder in front of their eyes, because they live in Western countries and are free to live however they want. And the younger generations confirm this, they say that it is only when they become adults, that they start to realize what their ancestors have suffered and with this realization, the feeling of guilt

begins. During every interview, respondents asked me what my questions would be. They were all afraid that they were not able to answer my questions. When I asked them if they felt guilty that they did not know enough about their suffering ancestors. They confirmed and said that it felt as if they had betrayed them by forgetting who they were and what they died for. They describe these victims of the genocide as true Christians, people with great faith and people who are pure and deserve to go to heaven without a doubt. The respondents say they feel as if they have become too materialistic, because they live in freedom, and that they have forsaken their ancestors. This guilt comes from the shame to fail to remember. In a diasporic migrant community, the key narrative creates unity. And when this key is gone, this has impact on the migrant community's unity and their identity.

Next to narratives and feelings, symbols can be transmitted as well. For example the symbols in the following quote:

I have heard many narratives from my grandfather. He often told me about these things. My great-grandfather Danho told my grandfather Afdalla to never comb his hair and never to look in the mirror and these words are still alive. Because of the genocide, my great grandfather said we should not behave like this anymore. And these words are very good, also for our youth, we should not forget these things. These people have to pay for what they did....There was this man, called Use u Gerbatahawi. He was tortured in a unforgettable way. He had a sister, and until her death she refused to wear shoes. Even in winter she walked outside barefoot. This was her way of protesting against her brothers suffering. After they tortured him like this, she said, I will never wear shoes. This must be told to our children, we should never forget our genocide. We have suffered, but we did not lose. We won, you know why. This genocide did succeed to kill us, but not our Christian faith. They lost from our faith and we have won (Family D, 3rd generation).

This respondent speaks about symbolic behavior, that he claims, the younger generation could never understand. However when speaking with young generation respondents, they claim to understand these symbols and recognize them still today. They claim that elders, in respect of the dead, do certain things like stop dying their hair, wearing black clothes etc. This shows that even though elders believe that children do not understand these feelings and symbols, the children believe that they do understand. In terms of theory this means that transmission is

not necessarily through narratives, feelings and symbols are sometimes much stronger. Without standard commemoration, people can understand the suffering of their ancestors, because they have the outside world to remind them. In Bote, the respondents claimed to have their oppressors to remind them. In Western countries, the respondents claim to have 9/11 and other examples oppression of Christianity in the Muslim world to remind them of the genocide of their ancestors.

So the insight this paragraph provided in terms of theory, is that it seems that Stewart (2004) was right. When people are still traumatized, and the scars aren't healed yet, commemoration is not necessary to remember the trauma. Besides that, commemoration should be a broader concept than just a site or ceremony to commemorate. These feelings that are transmitted throughout all generations, that start at a very young age, are also a form of commemoration. With the transmission of feelings, the oppression and betrayal is commemorated. The elders claim transmitting these feelings to their children is to make sure, they will never forget the danger of Muslims and what had happened in 1915. Also symbolic commemoration is possible, like refusing to look in the mirror, to comb your hair or to wear shoes. Thus, commemoration can be an extremely broad concept that must be searched for through the eyes of the collective migrant community, instead of the eyes of the western man.

4.1.4. The illusion of freedom.

In this paragraph freedom and the human rights of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families is debated. Their freedom in the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish state and in Western countries will be analyzed. The point of this paragraph is that despite of gaining freedom and rights, some things are still the same according to the respondents. There are standards according to the UN, about what human rights are. These are written down in human rights declarations. However respondents claim to still suffer from restrictions of freedom. These restrictions can have influence on their governance of memory and therefore also their community unity and collective identity.

The Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families from Bote, came from a place where they claim to have no rights. This is not only based on the claims of the respondents, but also on the several articles that were used in this thesis about the human rights in Turkey. Human rights are necessary for the transmission of memory and the commemoration of trauma.

Before 1915, the Ottoman Empire had no human right policies, it was in 1923 that Turkey signed the Treaty of Lausanne, promising to protect minorities. Önder (2012) claims that in reality, this treaty was not followed, Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans were not even recognized as minorities. Years later, even despite UN efforts, and even nowadays, Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans do not have basic human rights in Turkey (Önder, 2012). So this means that their human rights in the Ottoman Empire and in the Turkish republic were absent.

Respondents claim that the government of the Ottoman Empire wanted to exterminate them, and that after 1915 they still lived in fear for their lives. Önder (2012) confirms this and says that the policy strategies of the Turkish state regarding minorities are: denialism, assimilation, confiscation and deportation.

Even two generations after the genocide, and even in times when the UN pressured the Turkish government, it still made no differences. They want to exterminate us, in every possible way. Christians are still not allowed to follow proper educations, the only highest position we can have is being a doctor. Positions that provide power, for example working for the government, is impossible. Then there is the abuse we suffer during our obligatory military service. We are forced to serve, and we do it, and the reward we get for serving the country is being abused, physically, mentally in any way possible (Family E, 1st generation).

The respondents claim that even years after the traumatic events of 1915, they still lived in fear for their lives. Danger was always around the corner, they say.

We weren't able to go outside without our brothers or father. If we would, we would be abducted and raped by the Muslims. So we were forced to stay home every day of our life. But life for the men was even worse. They were obliged to serve in the military however they were abused in many ways. My father would pay the high rank military officers to keep my brother safe... but it was all for nothing. When he came back he said he had seen hell, but he had to thank God to be alive, for many of his fellow Christian soldiers were killed by their own legion (Family E, 3rd generation).

In Western countries, these people claim they do have human rights. They say to be very thankful for the human rights they have in their new homelands. They claim to raise their

children with gratitude towards the native Western people, because freedom doesn't come naturally in every country. They claim to tell their children to make the best of their lives and to educate themselves as high as possible.

However there is still one thing that these people can't have despite of their freedom: recognition of the genocide of 1915. The genocide of 1915 is not recognized by the Turkish state, but the Dutch government has not recognized this genocide as well. The Netherlands has only recognized the genocide of the Armenians. The Swedish government however did recognize the genocide of the Aramean, Assyrian, Chaldean, Pontus Greeks and Armenians. The reason, respondents give, for the difference between Swedish policy and Dutch policy about the genocide is that there are significantly more Turks in the Netherlands than in Sweden. So, these families do have human rights in Western countries, unlike in Turkey but they say that they are still not as free as they expected to be, because Turks still have control over some aspects of their freedom.

I sit here now, I am safe, no one can harm me. It is just a narrative that lives on, a narrative that I can't do anything about. On political levels, nothing is done. A few years ago I requested a monument for the victims of 1915, this monument was to be placed in the Volkspark in Enschede. Our first few conversations were through the phone, everything was fine. But when I went to the municipality the mayor told me that they were afraid to place the monument because of the reaction from the Turks living in Enschede. These were the exact words from the mayor of Enschede. Later when I got home, I asked for a declaration on paper that says why my request was rejected, but they never sent it to me. This is how politics work, even in this so-called free country. See I don't have proof, but I heard those words. And I will never forget them (Family E, 3rd generation).

In terms of theory this means that despite their human rights, these people are still not able to commemorate their trauma as they wish. All respondents claim that commemoration of the genocide was impossible in Turkey, and that after the genocide, the Christians were still oppressed, killed and kidnaped. They did however commemorate the victims of the genocide during the Easter mass, according to 2% of the respondents. During Easter mass, they claim it is their tradition that the dead are remembered and during this commemoration, the victims of

the genocide were also mentioned. But this would happen during mass, and the Muslims could not know about it, they say. The respondents claim that they don't even see this as a true commemoration, they see commemoration as an official ceremony or site, especially for the victims. So they claim that their real commemoration only started a few years ago, so almost a hundred years after the genocide.

According to the 90% of the respondents, it is only recently that the Botoye started to organize and to plan commemorations, fundraisings and festivities. The migrant communities have actual committees for these activities. They say they organized fundraisings to rebuilt the churches in Bote and rebuy them from the Turkish government. The Turkish government claimed these as their own property and turn them into mosques, according to the migrants. Respondents claim, it took a lot of political pressure and money to rebuy and rebuilt these churches. Next to that, this committee organized a Botoye family barbeque, the purpose of this barbeque was for Botoye to remain close and not forget where they came from, so they claim.

The commemoration of the events of 1915 was organized by father Abrohom Garis, according to respondents, Botoye's most important rhapsodist at this time, I had used this event as an observation for my research. During a special religious commemoration in church, he commemorated the victims of 1915, one by one he called their names and prayed for their souls. After this church mass, the attendees moved to another room, where he started to quote from his book. He wrote a book about the genocide of Bote in 1915, he is the only one with that much information, claim the other respondents. The respondents that were present say he made everyone cry, men, women, children, his narratives touched many hearts and even months after this commemoration these people are still touched by his words. This commemoration was possible in the Netherlands, it happened behind doors in the Syriac-Orthodox monastery. However when trying to commemoration outside these respondents claim they still have difficulties.

Some years ago we went to commemorate our genocide in the city of Enschede. However this commemoration turned out to be dangerous. The Turkish people in Enschede attacked us, and we were forced to stop commemorating for our own protection. It is unbelievable that in this

free country, they still are able to prevent us from commemorating (Family D, 2nd generation).

As mentioned before, even if these families would not commemorate their trauma or would not transmit the narratives, they would be reminded of their trauma and oppression because of the outside world. When living in Turkey, the oppression was very obvious, according to Önder (2012) and all the respondents, but in Western Europe, these families claim to be still confronted with the oppression of the Turkish government. However despite this danger they claim to face, they still chose to commemorate and fight for recognition of the genocide. This means that these diasporic migrant communities are risking their lives to keep the memory of 1915 alive.

I have three children, two daughters and a son. When my son was born, I went to register his name. At that time I was living in Holland for 20 years, I had a Dutch nationality and I was never aware of what power the Turkish government would still have on my live, after all I was living in a free country. At least, that is what I thought. But when I registered his name at the Dutch registry, they told me that his name was not an Islamic name and that I was obliged to choose an Islamic name from the list of the Turkish government. I was shocked, I told the lady at the desk that I had fled from oppression in Turkey because I could not express myself as a Christian and that it is unfair that she obliged me to choose an Islamic name because this is Holland! She refused to listen and said that these were the rules she had to follow. I couldn't believe my eyes... (Family F, 3rd generation).

It is said by all respondents that the Turkish government refuses to delete their people from the Turkish nationality, even though these people send their request of giving up the Turkish nationality. So they stay in the lists of people with Turkish nationality and even Dutch governments follow the rules of making these people choose an Islamic name, claim the respondents.

When we came to the Netherlands, the first thing we did is deregister ourselves from the Turkish nationality. It was a decade later that we found out the Turkish government didn't erase us as Turks. When we asked the Dutch officials, they said in order to deregister we had to go to the Turkish consulate and ask for a deregistering paper. This paper had to be

translated by translator confirmed by oath, this costs a 120 euros per paper. The paper I got was useless, comparing to the paper of people who did serve in Turkish military. I got a paper, with no real normal information, it was a rubbish piece of paper. My cousin who did serve in Turkey got a normal paper with a photograph and the necessary information to be deregistered. When handing this in the Dutch official looked at me, and looked at the paper, she looked away and confirmed by deregistration. However I was lucky, there were many who were denied, because it looks like this paper wasn't official, comparing tot the paper that the people that served military received (Family F, 3rd generation).

These Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans claim that they saw the Western world as a safe place where they can express themselves freely. And that they never expected to still be tormented by the Turkish government But when the elders think back, they start remembering that it were these Western people that helped the Ottoman Empire with the ethnic cleansing of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The elders narrate about German high-officials that were present during the genocide.

German high official military officers came to Diyarbakir to teach the Turkish soldiers how to exterminate minorities. They had their tanks in Diyarbakir. The chauffeurs of the tanks were German and these tanks were used against Christian minorities. There are official documents found that prove the presence and collaboration of the Germans, in German, English and US consulates. There were also missonares that wrote about the presence of Germans during our genocide....After Diyarbakir, they also came to Tur-Abdin and had a meeting in Midyat with the Kurdish landlords. They promised the Kurds to give them their own land if they would clean out the Christians in the area (Family E, 3rd generation).

So in terms of theory this means that the freedom and human rights of these migrant communities in Western countries is not as pure as they expected. They claim to keep on being oppressed, indirectly from the Turkish government. Respondents say the pressure of the Turks on Western politicians is high enough to make sure that these Western countries do not recognize this genocide and don't give them the freedom to commemorate in a proper way. Respondents claim they will always fear that the Muslims will take over, even in Western societies because the feel that Western people give Muslims the power to do what they want

and to decide what happens. They say this is visible in refusing to accept a commemoration monument because of their fear for the reaction of the Turks. Even during a commemoration in the city of Enschede (Holland), Turkish minorities came to their commemoration and attacked them very violently, they claim. According to the migrants, eventually in a few decades the Muslims will take over, and when they do, this time they will be prepared. The new insights that are found are in comparison to the theory of Önder and Strauss. Önder claims that human rights are still violated by the Turks and Strauss speaks of the political pressure to use the word genocide. It seems that despite of migration to Western countries, these migrant communities still not feel free to express themselves and to commemorate their traumas. When the commemoration of trauma of a community is restricted, it impairs the community unity and collective identity. However these migrant communities claim to not give up, despite danger, and that enforces this collective identity they share and creates unity within their closed migrant community.

4.2 Conclusion

In this paragraph the answer to the three sub questions will be presented. These answers are derived from the debates in the previous paragraph. These debates were based on both the theoretical framework and the results of the data collection. The sub questions of this research are: 1. How have the narratives of the violent events, as developed by Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families from Bote, been transmitted throughout generations since the event? 2. What are the changes that have occurred in this memory transmission in the period 1915- today? 3. How can these changes be interpreted?

The narratives of the events of 1915 in Bote were mostly transmitted through oral tradition. It were narratives that were told during family get-togethers. Next to the transmission through oral tradition, these migrant families also transmitted feelings throughout generations. They transmitted these feelings towards their children, starting at a very early age. Feelings that were transmitted were feelings of danger, injustice and betrayal.

Since the violent events until today, the transmission of memories about 1915 have been changed. The transmission of oral narratives has not stopped. However family get together have declined and because of that, so did oral tradition. Next to the transmission of oral narratives and feelings, there is a book about to be published that is written by father

Abrohom Garis. Also the recordings of the interviews with the survivors of 1915 are changes that occurred during the transmission. These recordings were taped in the 1990s. The last change during this transmission is the recording of a song by Marcel Cheni, a Botoyo migrant from Germany. He has recorded a song about the families in Bote and the fact that Bote is empty now. He even sings about the rhapsodist in Bote, claiming the man was always narrating about the genocide. Another change was the use of the word genocide. In Turkey, the survivors called it *Firman*, meaning the Sultans order, referring to the order that was made to exterminate all Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Later on, these people referred to their suffering as *Seyfo*, sword, based on the Islamic sword that exterminated them. It was only in Western countries, when they started to call it genocide. The timing of this word is based on that it is a word used in Europe, and this word has a political pressure. When their trauma is to be called a genocide, they will receive an official recognition and perhaps there will be other consequences from there out.

The interpretation of these changes have a lot to do with migration. Due to migration, these families claim to have westernized, and don't have time for family get-togethers anymore. Therefore the oral tradition has declined, and so did the possession of the Aramaic mother tongue. Since the narratives are told in Aramaic, sometimes even with Kurdish words, the young generation fails to understand the narratives. The narrative of the violent events of 1915 are the key to bind this migrant community. This shared narrative creates an extreme unity and collective migrant identity, that connects these diasporic migrants throughout the world, since they share the same history narrative.

5. The conclusion

This chapter consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph is about the answer to the central research questions. The second paragraph will be a further debate with the leading authors of this master thesis. The third paragraph will present the practical implications that this research has on the Policy and Governance of Public Administration.

5.1 Answer to the research question

The main goal of this research was to provide a unique contribution to the state of art in the governance of memory. Therefore the governance of Memory of the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families of Bote has been the case of this study. The research questions of this thesis was: *How have the narratives, of the violent events of 1915, of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families in the Ottoman Empire, manifested themselves throughout generation.*

The narratives of these migrant communities have manifested themselves throughout generations in 4 different forms. The first in oral tradition, from father to son, the narrative of the violent events of 1915, has been transmitted. Even though respondents claim that there is a decline in this oral tradition, it still occurs. The decline in oral tradition is because of the modernization process these peoples experience because of migration. The families from Bote migrated from a pre-modern tribal society to a modern westernized society. This migration has a huge influence on their governance of memory. It was only when these respondents lived in Western countries, when some of them decided it was necessary to record the witnesses of the violent events. According to the respondents, this choice was made because these witnesses of 1915 were getting very old, and it was unclear how long they would stay among their families. These recordings still exist and were used for this research as well. Another form of transmission is a song that is written about Bote. This song, by Marcel Cheni, recreates life in Bote. He mentions every tribe and their characteristics. One particular phrase is actually about the rhapsodist in Bote. He sings: Yusef be Neshbah and Fetrus be Alko, narrating about what happened during the genocide. The fourth form of manifestation is the book about the genocide in Bote, by father Abrohom Garis. He is currently finished with his book in Aramaic and he says he plans to translate the book into Swedish and English.

Besides actual transmission of words, there was also such a thing as transmitting feelings. Feelings have been passed on very early in the lives of the children in these migrant communities, so they claim. They explain that these were feelings of pain, injustice, danger and betrayal, they claim. Respondents claim this was done even in Bote during the violent events. The 1st generation respondents say their parents prepared the children for the betrayal of Muslims and the danger they would be in. They claim these parents also told their children to hold on to their Christian faith, no matter what the consequences. After 1915, the survivors claim to be still oppressed and in danger, so these feelings lasted. Even when the 3rd generation lived, life in Turkey was impossible for these families and the feelings of danger, injustice and betrayal lived on, according to the respondents of all generations. It was only when these people migrated, that these feelings were transmitted slightly different. The 3rd generation claims to understand that their children did not know danger or betrayal of Muslims, and that they had to live among these Muslim as friends. Still, these people claim to have chosen to explain to their children that Muslims are not to be trusted, because Muslims hated Christians. Another commemoration form was the religious commemoration of the victims of the violent events of 1915. It was only 1 respondent who claimed that religious commemoration was done even in Bote, some years after 1915. However all the other respondents claimed that religious commemoration only started few years ago by father Abrohom Garis. During this commemoration he prayed for the souls of these victims and afterwards he tells narratives about the traumatic events of 1915. There are also other forms of commemoration, however these forms are not literally about commemorating the narratives. These forms are organized by the committee of Botoye. Examples are creating a football team for Botoye, having a Botoye family barbecue to make sure the children get to know one another and fundraising festivities for the restoration of the churches in Bote. These forms of commemoration also create an enormous boost for the closed collective community and the unity of these diasporic migrant communities.

The changes that have occurred in this memory transmission manifestation is because of migration. Since these families have migrated to Western countries, they have more rights and freedom to express themselves, both according to all the respondents and Önder (2012). Therefore they are able to write books, organize commemorations, record narratives and songs etc. However this migration also lead to the decline in memory transmission. Migration

has created a decline in language and the comprehensibility about what the genocide means, according to the older respondents. They claim that is why the younger generations can't speak Aramaic properly and they don't understand what life in Turkey was like. In the next paragraph the discussion about the governance of memory and the migration from a tribal society to modern societies will be continued.

5.2 Further debate on the governance of memory

In this paragraph the debate about the governance of memory and its link to the migration from tribal society to modern societies continues. This paragraph will show how my answers relate to what the key authors of this research have found. Which authors claim similar findings, and which contradict these findings. The point of this paragraph is to position the developed insights I have found. This will create a debate which will show the new insights I have developed.

The first main insight I have found is the fact that tribal memory is not declining as the theory expected it to decline. All the authors of the theoretical framework claimed that tribal memory should decline because of modernization. Indeed, it is true as McLeod (1999) claims that if the young generation refuses to listen, it will kill the tribal memory. The fact that these young generations fail to listen is mainly because of decline in language, since these narratives are mostly told in the original language. Before collecting data, my hypothesis was that the memory transmission of the narratives of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean families is through oral tradition. More specific, oral tradition and tribal memory are currently fading away, so the younger generations probably fail to transmit and fail to receive. This failing can be interpreted in terms of decline in language and the positive integration in Western countries that results in cultural amnesia.

Nevertheless, my analysis shows that there are still rhapsodists, even in the fourth generation. This means that the tribal feelings of these peoples have not died yet. The reason for this is the sense of peoplehood these families still have, even in diaspora. As Chamberlain (2009) claimed, diasporic migrants need foundational narratives to create a community unity and a shared identity. The foundational narrative that these migrants share is the narrative of the traumas of 1915. Besides Chamberlain (2009), there are only two authors that claims the same as my findings. These authors writes about the feeling of peoplehood in diaspora and

that this preserves tribalism. Cohen and Wertheimer (2006) claim that Jews living in diaspora also had a forceful peoplehood, however this peoplehood is declining. They claim the decline is because the shifting attitudes. For example, younger adults exhibit weaker attachment to Israel than to their elders. Cohen and Wertheimer (2006) say the most blatant reason for this decline is the dramatically higher rate of intermarriages as compared with early generations. When looking at the young generations of these migrant communities, these respondents claim to still see the value of marrying within their tribes. Young female respondents claim they even see it as an honor to marry to Botey men and stay Botey

Thus it seems like the authors of the theoretical framework are all claiming the same as my findings. They claim, tribalism declines because of modernization, language decline results in decline of tribal memory. However it seems that the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants from Bote are not yet to be called modernized. So the new insight I have found it that they are living in an extremely closed migrant community with many tribal aspect, that leads to preservation of this tribal memory and the creation of new rhapsodists throughout every generation.

Another debate that goes further is the link between migration and forgetting. Carsten (1995) claims that migration leads to forgetting and this forgetting is necessary for the creation of new kinship. He also claims that migrants forget their history and also their ancestors, this is called genealogical amnesia. Paradoxically, the narrative that is transmitted the most successful is about a man that is not blood related to any of the respondents. So the impact of this narrative has other reasons. The main reason is, the norms and values of the survivors' parents. Before opening the church doors, these parents instructed their children to hold on to their faith, claim the 1st generation respondents. However this still doesn't explain the balance between remembering and creating new kinship. There was one theory that could explain this, however the respondents also claimed to know the answer. This insight was very new to the state of art in the governance of memory. This insight is based on the adaptability of these peoples. They claim that through history, even in ancient Mesopotamian times, their people had to adapt to each oppressor or new ruler. That through the years they had managed to preserve their traditions and languages, even in a country where they had no human rights. So when these peoples migrated to Western countries, they found themselves adapting better than most other minorities from Middle-Eastern countries. The reason they give for the well

adaptation is the corresponding religion of them and their new homelands. They claim that Western countries share the Christian norms and values, and that makes adaptation even easier. This insight was not found by any of the other authors, of course this is natural since these authors haven't researched these particular migrant communities. The aspects of forced migration and well adaptability are not present in the migration of many other peoples. Therefore this is a unique insight that has not been found before in terms of governance of memory. The insight that came from the existing theories was by Chamberlain (2009) about the key narrative of a diasporic migrant community. He claims that migrants need these foundational narratives to preserve their collective identity. In this case, the narrative of the violent events of 1915, are indeed preserved, in spite of migration that should lead to forgetting.

The third rich insight I have found is the transmission of feelings, a very rare form of commemoration. The authors of this debate have only listed the standard forms of commemorating. However Stewart (2004) studies the commemoration of the Romany people differently. He claims that having no standard commemorations doesn't mean that these people have forgotten their history. He claims that they have the rest of the world to remind them of it on a daily basis. His finding is in accordance to what I found for the Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans. Since they weren't able to commemorate their trauma because of the lack of freedom and human rights in Turkey, these people didn't need commemoration to remember their sufferings. They were oppressed and in danger even until the last day before migrating, they claim. The children of the 4th generation, that were born in western countries, are not oppressed, however they say they do notice hostility from Muslims and they do receive feelings from their parents preparing them for the danger of Muslims. Thus, the transmission of feelings can be a form of commemorating. One should look beyond standards if the case study is about a closed collective migrant community with extreme tribal features.

The last debate is about the issue of human rights in Turkey and the Western countries. According to all the authors, the human rights of minorities are not properly organized by the Turkish government. Minority policies are incomplete, because Turkey claims that there are only three minorities living in Turkey: the Jews, Armenians Orthodox Christians and Greek Orthodox Christians (Önder, 2012). The Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean minorities are not even mentioned (Önder, 2012). This means that these peoples have no minority policy and

thus no human rights as minorities. However after migrating to Western countries, these peoples have received human rights. Nevertheless, it seems that despite migration, respondents claim the Turks still have influence on their lives in diaspora. According to the respondents this leads to limitations for commemoration and the governance of memory. This insight has not been found before, the authors all claim that Turkey oppresses these peoples in Turkey, however the lasting effect it still has for their governance of memory is not discussed. These limitations even lead to practical implications for the Policy and Governance of Public Administration, therefore the debate about the influence on Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans by the Turks, will be continued in the following paragraph.

5.3 The practical implications of this research

This paragraph will lay out the practical implications of this research. These practical implications are based on levels of Policy and Governance of Public Administration. The practical implications are followed from the findings of this research. The issues that are addressed in this paragraph are commemoration policy and migration policy.

The first practical implication affects commemoration policy. The interviews show that the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants claim not to feel free to commemorate their trauma the way they want. Respondents claim that Dutch officials do not grant them the commemoration sites that were promised, because of fear of the reaction of Turkish minorities. Next to that, during a commemoration in the city of Enschede, respondents claim to have been attacked by Turkish minorities. The restriction these respondents feel to commemorate, is indeed a practical implication for commemoration policy. When these migrant communities are unable to commemorate their trauma it affects their community unity. The effect on the community unity comes from the fact that the commemoration is about the key foundational narrative that holds this community together. When commemoration fails, the narrative is not successfully transmitted and the unity of these migrants can be under stress.

The second practical implication that is derived from this research is the false labeling of migrant communities of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean origin. Respondents claim to be frustrated because Dutch officials falsely label them as Turkish minorities. According to the respondents, this false labeling is a result of the facts that they have indeed Turkish last names

and their place of birth is Turkey. However the practical implication that derives from this labeling is the fact that according to respondents, Dutch officials force these migrants to choose an Islamic name for their children during birth registration. The respondents claimed to explain to the Dutch officials that they were not Islamic and live in a free country, thus therefore have the right to choose their own name. However they claim, the Dutch officials were confused, and kept repeating that this is standard regulation for Turkish minorities. The fact that these minorities claim to be forced to choose Islamic names for their children, is a violation of their rights. In Western European countries, people are free to choose their children's names as they wish.

However this standard regulation came from another practical implication. After these migrants came to Europe, they claim to have given up their Turkish nationality. Nevertheless, according to respondents, in the administration of the European countries, many of these migrants still had a Turkish nationality. This was also the reason that Dutch officials forced the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants to choose Islamic names, because this was standard regulation for Turks. The respondents claimed to be very frustrated, because they noticed that this was a result of their double nationality. It seemed that many years ago these people had filed for giving up their Turkish nationality, however the Turkish government didn't want to grant them the status of being a non-Turk, claim the respondents. Dutch officials followed only procedure, because in the system it said that these people were still Turks and were forced to choose an Islamic name. To resolve this issue, the Arameans, Assyrians and Chaldeans claim to have followed many money and time consuming procedures. They claim to have been forced to translate their deregistration letter for Turkish nationality by a translator that was confirmed by oath, per letter this costs 120 euros. They say they had to hand in a deregistration letter to their Dutch municipality and only then, they could be registered having only the Dutch nationality.

However respondents claim this didn't solve the problem. They explain that there were two kinds of deregistration letters, the letter for people that served in the Turkish army and people that didn't. They say, the people that did serve, got a proper letter with a photograph and all the proper information about their status, the people that didn't serve, got a rubbish paper with some minimal information. Respondents claim that this created another problem, when these papers were handed in to Dutch officials, they found it strange that some

papers had proper information and other papers didn't. According to respondents, sometimes these officials, refused the deregistration of people that had not served military, because the paper looked so fake and unofficial. This lead to repetition of the time and money consuming process these people had to follow before. Unfortunately, again there was no certainty that this time the Turkish officials would actually grant them a paper with proper information. This practical implication leads to time and money consuming processes that affects migration policy, because these migrants claimed the Turkish government still has influence on their lives, although they migrated to Western European countries. Thus, the three practical implications that derive from this research are: commemoration restrictions, falsely labeling of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants as Turks and time and money consuming processes for the deregistration of Turkish nationality.

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Appendix A: Operationalization

In this Appendix, the operationalization of chapter three will be described in more details. The operationalization will be through an analytical scheme. Through this analytical scheme, research questions are being connected to the theoretical framework and the interview questions. This way the theoretical concepts, as described in figure 3.1, can be operationalized and finally the data can be processed. As I mentioned before, the logic behind this operationalization is created from the main goal of this research. This main goal was to contribute to the state of art in governance of memory. Therefore the narratives of migrant families about the violent events of 1915 in Bote has been chosen as case study. This case study will contribute by the link between memory transmission and the collective identity of migrant communities. From this central goal, three sub questions have been constructed. These sub questions can be seen as the three issues of this research.

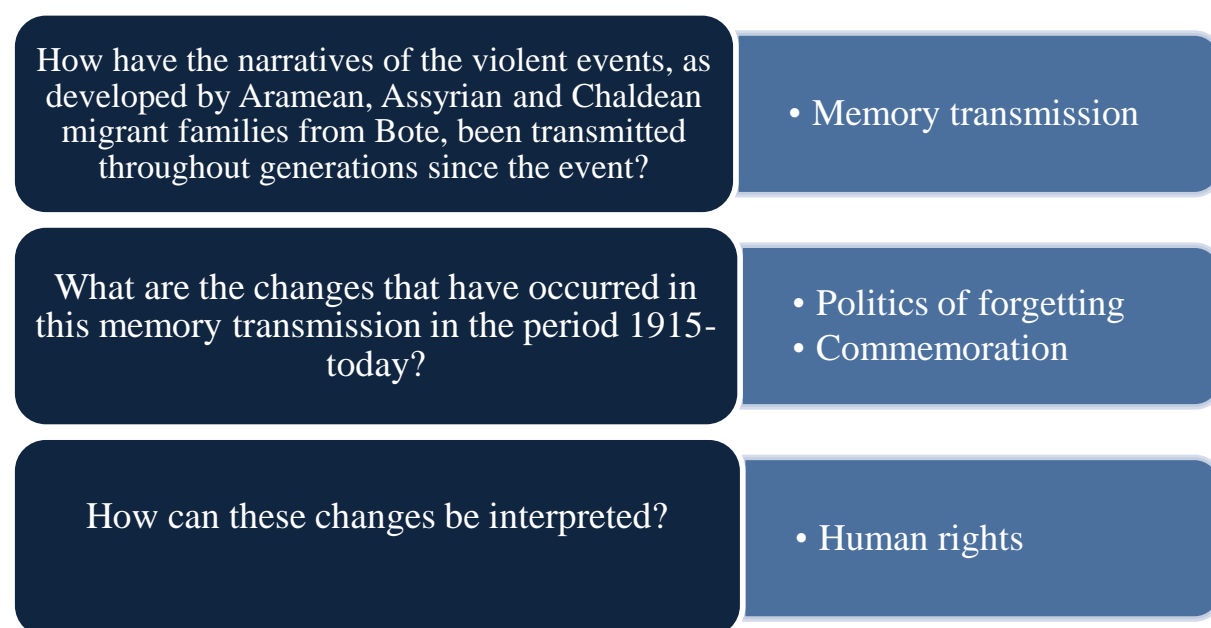


Figure 3.1

To operationalize, I have chosen the main concepts, discussed in the theoretical framework and from these concepts I have constructed interview questions in order to finally answer the research questions. I have selected these concepts in the chapter two, when I laid out my logic for the theoretical framework. These concepts fled from the three main issues (sub questions)

and are: memory transmission, politics of forgetting, commemoration, and human rights. With these four concepts, I have also chosen the leading authors, with whom I will continue my further debate. These are Levi & Sznaider, McLeod, Stewart, Carsten, Straus and Önder. I have made an analytical scheme for the operationalization. Each concept is a topic in this scheme and eventually these concepts lead to interview questions.

Operationalization consists of four steps: 1. Conceptualization (What are the different meanings and dimensions of concept X), 2. Nominal definition (Define X), 3. Operational definition (How will we measure it), 4. Measurements in the real world (Babbie, 2007). Through these steps I will operationalize each concept and I do this by debating with my leading authors. The conceptualization was partially already made by creating concepts that are derived from the goal of this research. However the different meanings and dimensions of these concepts are still debatable. To define a nominal definition, I will first have to be in discussion with the key authors I have chosen per concept. The operational definition, how will we measure it, will be done by choosing indicators that can lead to actual measurable questions.

The first research question is: How have the narratives of the violent events, as developed by Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrant families from Bote, been transmitted throughout generations since the event? To operationalize this question, the concept memory transmission is chosen.

Concept A: Memory transmission

In this research the memory that is transmitted is about the violent events of 1915 in Bote. This key narrative about the events is important for the collective identity of these migrant families. The definition of narratives is: *canonical linguistic frameworks that organize event memories into comprehensible chronological and causal sequence of events in the world*” (Bruner, 1990). Thus for this memory transmission we will use the transmission of a narrative. For this operationalization I will use four indicators: oral tradition, written word, electronic transmission and art forms of transmission.

Indicator A: Oral tradition

Stenizky (2005) claims that the transmission of narratives can be done in several ways. In pre-modern societies, oral media of communications were used. Oral memory is particularly somatic and engages the body, therefore oral memory is closer to the movements and passages of life than the abstract literary forms of memory that were to follow. In pre-modern times like the first centuries CE, people from early Jesus movements and rabbis have relied on face-to-face contact and direct oral communication (Heszer, 2010). Oral tradition and tribal memory are typical in a *gemeinschaft*. *Gemeinschafts* are communities that are based on blood relations and family. These pre-modern people also have tribal memory, that means that they are able to remember very detailed information. Many authors claim that oral tradition has declined because of modernization. However Cohen & Wertheimer (2006) claim that people in diaspora can still have tribal aspects in their lives. Oral tradition is a typical tribal form of memory transmission. The most pure form is from father or mother to child. In terms of this research it is important to know the tool of transmitting for understanding how much tribal aspects this closed migrant community has.

Indicator B: Written word

In a modern era people have emancipated from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, thus also from oral narratives into the written narratives. This modernization mechanism made people write down old (oral) narratives and create actual books of these old narratives. *Gesellschafts* can be seen as modern societies such as nation states. These communities are more individualistic and are based on contractual relationships. When migrants come from tribal villages to nation states such as Western countries, this can also influence their memory transmission. Emancipation can lead to decline in tribalism and also decline in the collectiveness of a small community such as a migrant community. Therefore I will use these several forms as indicators of memory transmission.

Indicator C: Electronic transmission

The emancipation did not stop with modern era, it evolved from the modern era into a global era. In a globalized world, people mostly use the internet to tell narratives and to diffuse information. This way of transmitting has no boundaries, in electronic transmission, a narrative can reach people from all over the world. Since the Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants live in diaspora in several different countries, it is important to research

whether they transmit memory through electronic transmission. Although emancipation seems like decline in tribalism, it can enhance the community unity of migrants all over the world. Because this way of transmitting is easier and has no boundaries.

Indicator D: Art forms of transmission

The last indicator I chose for memory transmission art forms of transmission. There are other ways of telling a narrative than just speaking. Through song, dance, pictures or movies, narratives of events can also be transmitted. These art forms can be throughout all forms of communities, whether the community is tribal, modern or global, art forms have always existed. Especially when people are afraid to tell narratives, sometimes secret art forms are used to transmit certain narratives of trauma.

The interview questions that derive from this concepts are:

1st Interview question: Would you be so kind to introduce yourself?

2nd Interview question: Could you describe the events in Bote in 1915?

3rd Interview question: How did you come to know about the events in Bote?

The first question is simply an introduction. With this question the respondents can introduce themselves. When the introduction is done in relation to family or tribe, it will be clear whether the respondents live in a tribal community or not. When the respondent narrates only about his own life and achievements, it can be clear that the respondents has emancipated. The second question actually tells the narrative. This question shows how much the respondent knows about the foundational narrative of his closed migrant community. This way the unity of migrants can be studied. This question also shows how the respondents view the narrative, and if they are able to recall extreme details that shows their tribal memory. The third question explains the form of memory transmission. Respondents can explain how they have heard about these narratives, whether it is from their parents, a book or a movie.

The second research question is: *What are the changes that have occurred in this memory transmission in the period 1915-today?* To operationalize this question, the concept politics of forgetting is chosen. This concept has two indicators: Types of forgetting and the role of trauma in the governance of memory. The second concept of this research question is: commemoration. For this concept the indicators are: commemoration days and

commemoration sites and other forms of commemoration. The politics of forgetting and commemoration can indicate the changes in memory transmission for these migrant communities.

Concept B: Politics of forgetting

The politics of forgetting is important because this is a failing of memory transmission. Since memory transmission is important for the community unity of diasporic migrants and their collective identity shaping, the politics of forgetting is important to research as well. In this case the politics of forgetting refer to the foundational narrative about the violent events of 1915 that hold the community of Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldean migrants together.

Indicator A: Types of forgetting

Forgetting can be distinguished into seven types: repressive erasure, prescriptive forgetting, forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, structural amnesia, forgetting as annulment, forgetting as planned obsolescence and forgetting as humiliated silence (Connerton, 2000).

1. Repressive erasure can be employed to deny the fact of a historical rupture as well as to bring about a historical break. For example Roman rebels of revolution were punished by destroying their images and statues as a way of denying it ever happened.
2. Prescriptive forgetting is precipitated by an act of state but is believed to be in the interest of all parties to the previous dispute and because it can therefore be acknowledged publicly. When remembering a past can lead to danger and vendetta's, forgetting and forbidden to remember is a way of solving this.
3. Forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, emphasizes not on the loss entailed in being unable to retain things as rather on the gain that accrues to those who know how to discard memories that serve no practicable purpose in the management of one's current identity. Like a previous relationship you forget in order to make the new relationship work.
4. Structural amnesia, makes people tend to remember only those links in their pedigree that are socially important. Examples of structural amnesia are the women that are almost never mentioned in a family tree. People tend to remember the men's names.

Or the fact that we have recipe books now and do not need to remember how to make a certain dish.

5. Forgetting as annulment arises from a surfeit of information. In this type of forgetting, memory is like a blind lust for collecting of a restless gathering up of everything that once was. When saving data on a computer it is not necessary anymore to remember it yourself.
6. Planned obsolescence, is based on capitalist systems of consumption. Because of the limits to the turnover time of material goods, capitalists have turned their attention from production of goods to production of services. Therefore a time span referred to in marketing as the products life cycle becomes shorter. Result is, that long-term planning becomes less important, time control focuses more on consumer desire than on work discipline.
7. Humiliated silence, acknowledges that occasions of humiliation are very hard to forget, it is easier to forget physical pain than to forget humiliation. In a collusive silence, brought on by collective shame, there is a desire to forget and this sometimes leads to the actual effect of forgetting.

Indicator B: The role of trauma in the governance of memory

According to many researchers it is not possible to remember a traumatic event if no commemorations are held and no narratives are told. However research shows that Romany people do not have commemoration ceremonies, ritual performances, prototypical events and not even a term to describe their genocide. It has no name, no history, no commemoration. Nevertheless, Romany people remember the genocide in images. And most important, the non-Romany make them remember everything by repeatedly violating their human rights (Stewart, 2004). However according to Carsten (1995) forgetting is a crucial part of the way identity is actively acquired. Forgetting is a collective art in the creation of shared identity. When migrants leave their homeland, for the creation of a shared identity they are required to forget. Chamberlain (2009) on the other hand claims that migrants have to remember their foundational narrative in order to create a shared identity with their own closed migrant community. Thus through this indicator, it is possible to research whether there have been changes in forgetting throughout generations, and that can imply the closeness of a migrant community or the successful integration in the globalized communities.

The interview questions that derive from this concepts are:

4th Interview question: Do you believe that you have forgotten certain memories about the events in Bote of 1915? And if so, why?

5th Interview question: Could you explain what the killings in Bote of 1915 personally mean to you? How would you typify the killings in one word?

The fourth question will indicate how much the respondents thinks he/she has forgetting aspects of the narrative. In the previous questions it will show how much he/she does know. With this fourth question the reason for forgetting will also be given. The fifth question will show how much impact this narrative seems to have on respondents. And what word they use to typify the violent events.

Concept C: Commemoration

Indicator A: Commemoration days

A commemoration is a ceremony or service in memory of a person or event. Examples of commemoration are: Holocaust Memorial Day, Liberation Day, Remembrance Day. This is done to make sure that a specific memory is never forgotten. Like with the Holocaust, commemorations are organized to make sure that after many generations it will still be remembered in order to prevent it from happening again. Religious commemoration can be organized by religious leaders. The commemorating group can use its religion, prayers, and traditional ceremonies to commemorate their lost ones. Commemoration can enhance the transmission of memory and thus the community unity of migrants. When a foundational narrative lives on through commemoration, these migrant communities will still feel connected throughout generations and countries.

Indicator B: Commemoration sites

Commemoration sites are places or monuments that can be used during a commemoration ceremony. Sometimes it is in forms of art or a symbolic statue. Sometimes it is the actual site of the event like Auschwitz, the concentrationcamp in Poland. During commemoration days, these sites can be visited and commemoration sites can be a place of gathering for the community to commemorate as a unity.

Indicator C: Other forms of commemoration

Besides commemoration days or sites, there are also other forms of commemoration possible. Some people commemorate in private, for example in their own house with their family. Other forms of commemoration to transmit feelings of community unity, such as parties or festivities are also a form of commemoration. This form of commemoration is about remembering to be a closed unity.

The interview question that derives from this concept is:

6th Interview question: Can you give me examples of how you commemorate the events in Bote of 1915?

With the answer to this question. The respondents is able to indicate how he/she commemorates. This way the respondents are not limited by the researcher to define what they believe commemoration should be.

The third research question is: *How can these changes be explained?* To operationalize this question, the concept human rights is chosen. Two indicators are selected to explain this concept, namely: violation of human rights and minority policy. Human rights can have influence on memory transmission and commemoration and therefore also the forming and bonding of a closed migrant community.

Concept D: Human rights.

Indicator A: Violation of human rights.

According to the UN, Turkey violates the human rights of its citizens. Freedom of speech, freedom of religion and other basic human rights are violated. Especially the rights of Christians. They are not allowed to practice their own religion, to teach their own language and to build churches (Önder, 2012). Talking about the violent events of 1915, is no option for these victims, because the Turkish state still denies this ever happened. The violation of human rights can have an influence on memory transmission and commemoration.

Indicator B: Minority policy.

Turkey does not accept Aramean, Assyrian and Chaldeans as minorities. The only minorities that are mentioned by the Turks are: Armenian Orthodox Christians, Greek Orthodox Christians and Jews (Önder, 2012). If the other minorities do not exist, if they would be just

Turks, they will not have their own language, culture, traditions, property and religion. Therefore Turkey does not give them the right to express their own language, culture religion and traditions. Minority policies in Western Europe are not like that, according to the UN. Every minority is accepted and everyone is treated equally by the law. Thus minority policy can have a lot of influence on the human rights of minorities. When minorities are not recognized, they will not have the opportunity to organize commemoration days or sites. However when minorities can be free to do what they want, and are treated equally, activism can arise. A whole generation can awake and fight for their rights. This can enhance the migrant's community unity and their shared identity.

The interview questions that derive from this concept are:

7th Interview question: To what extend do you see or have heard about the differences in commemorating the killings in Turkey before the migration and in Western Europe after the migration?

8th Interview question: Could you explain how the narratives about the events in Bote of 1915 affect your life?

9th Interview question: Could you explain how you act upon the narratives of Bote in 1915?

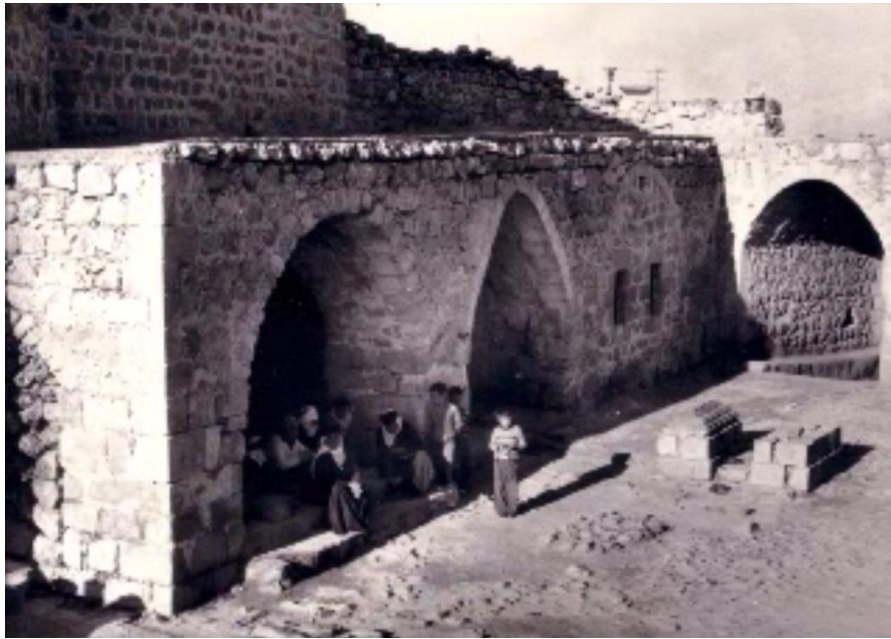
The 7th question will answer the differences in human rights of these migrant communities in Turkey and in Western countries. This is important because their human rights can affect the commemoration, memory transmission and their activism. The 8th interview question will show the impact of this narrative on the respondents. Does a respondent feel very close to this narrative, or does it has no impact on him. This shows the closeness of a community that shares the same foundational narrative. The 9th question shows the degree of activism when it comes to transmitting and commemorating this narrative to enhance the community unity.

Appendix B: Interview questions

1. Would you be so kind to introduce yourself?
2. Could you describe the events in Bote in 1915?
3. How did you come to know about the events in Bote?
4. Do you believe that you have forgotten certain memories about the events in Bote of 1915?
And if so, why?
5. Could you explain what the killings in Bote of 1915 personally mean to you? How would you typify the killings in one word?
6. Can you give me examples of how you commemorate the events in Bote of 1915?
7. To what extend do you see or have heard about the differences in commemorating the killings in Turkey before the migration and in Western Europe after the migration?
8. Could you explain how the narratives about the events in Bote of 1915 affect your life?
9. Could you explain how you act upon the narratives of Bote in 1915?

Appendix C: Pictures

Picture of the church in Bote, where according to the respondents, all the Christians in Bote were hiding during the violent events of 1915.



Picture of the religious commemoration of the victims of 1915 in Bote, an observation used for this research.

