

**IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF ISTANBULITES  
IN ELIF SHAFAK'S *THE BASTARD OF ISTANBUL***

**THESIS**

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
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IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF ISTANBULITES  
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THESIS

Presented to Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra*

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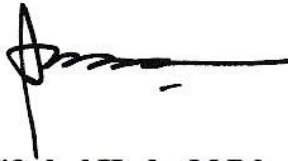
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## APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the *Sarjana* thesis of Moh. Za'imil Alivin, entitled "Identity Construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*" has been approved by the advisor for further approval by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.) in English Letters and Language Department.

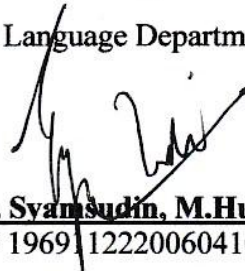
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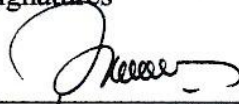
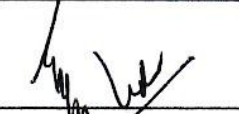

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## STATEMENT OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

I, Moh. Za'imil Alivin, hereby declare that the thesis I wrote entitled "Identity Construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*" is truly my original work and did not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another author except those indicated in the quotations and bibliography. Therefore, I am the only person who is responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, May 30, 2017



Moh. Za'imil Alivin

## **MOTTO**

“They say there is a doorway from heart to heart, but what is the use of a door  
when there are no walls?”

**(Jalal al-Din al-Rumi)**

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to everyone who values and appreciates a change for better life, and to those who dare to keep moving and go beyond the boundaries by not caring too much about their own identity but to assimilate and to make peace on behalf of human beings unity.

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All praise is to Allah, the Lord of the world, the Master and the Creator of everything in the universe, the Destroyer of all oppressors, and the Hope of all oppressed. *Shalawat* and *salam* are also delivered to Muhammad SAW the prophet of *ummah* who has inherited Islam as a peace and blessing to the entire universe. Due to the mercy He gives through His chosen prophet, I am finally able to accomplish this thesis.

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Finally, I, as ordinary human being, do realise the imperfections and weakness found in the thesis I write. Therefore, any criticism and suggestions are mostly welcome. Hopefully, this study can provide an insight for students of English literature and to open up a brand new academic discussion to conduct similar research.

Malang, May 30, 2017

Moh. Za'imil Alivin

## ABSTRACT

Alivin, Moh. Za'imil. 2017. *Identity Construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's 'The Bastard of Istanbul'*. Thesis. English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Miftahul Huda, M.Pd

*Key words* : *identity, identity construction, social remembering*

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The modernity in this late era has made the issue of identity become more complex and complicated. This phenomenon happens as the complexity and instability of identity are believed widely pervaded by the vast changing of social condition in human life. As a result, the rapid flux of identity can somehow be considered threatening the stability of identity itself, particularly in the era of modern technology, migration, urbanisation, and globalisation on which people live nowadays (Rutherford in Howarth, 2002).

*The Bastard of Istanbul's* main theme is identity and its relation to social remembrance in multicultural society. *The Bastard of Istanbul* describes how Turkey forgot the social memory of Armenian Genocide which is considered as a backdrop of Turkey's violent history by presenting characters with their conflicting identity as Turk and Armenian American who keep denying on one side, and keep remembering on the other.

This study aims to describe the process of identity construction of Istanbulites consisting of Turks and Armenians as two conflicting identities depicted in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*. Besides, it is also projected to recognise how the identity of Turks and Armenians in multicultural places, which in this case are Turkey and the United States of America, can be constructed by doing a study on a well-known literary work telling a story about identity and social memory like *The Bastard of Istanbul*.

The present study is literary criticism focusing on the issue of identity construction in the novel seen from the sociological perspective. It employs theory of identity construction proposed by Castells (2010) covering the legitimising identity, resistance identity and project identity and theory of social remembering by Misztal (2003) in forming the identity of people in the society through social memory.

This study reveals that the identity construction of Istanbulites involves three main aspects which constitute the dispute of two conflicting identities, Turks and Armenians. Turkish identity as legitimising identity is strongly controlled by its dominant social institutions in constructing the identity of Turks through the creation of norms, traditions, belief, and memory. Additionally, the Armenians identity is found to be the resistance identity which aims to resist and survive from the domination of the legitimate group. While the project identity which is another

type of identity building process referring to the desire of being independent individuals liberating from any social influences brought by the powerful institutions is found on the character Asya and Zeliha.

## ABSTRAKSI

Alivin, Moh. Za'imil. 2017. *Konstruksi Identitas Orang Istanbul pada Novel 'The Bastard of Istanbul' karya Elif Shafak*. Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Miftahul Huda, M.Pd

*Kata Kunci* : identitas, konstruksi identitas, ingatan sosial

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Modernitas pada era ini telah membuat isu identitas menjadi semakin kompleks dan rumit. Fenomena ini terjadi karena kompleksitas dan ketidakstabilan identitas secara luas diliputi oleh perubahan besar pada kondisi sosial kehidupan manusia. Sebagai hasilnya, perubahan cepat yang terjadi pada identitas dianggap mengancam stabilitas identitas tersebut, lebih-lebih pada era teknologi modern, migrasi, urbanisasi, dan globalisasi saat ini (Rutherford dalam Howarth, 2002).

Tema utama novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* adalah identitas dan hubungannya dengan ingatan sosial pada masyarakat multikultural. *The Bastard of Istanbul* mendeskripsikan bagaimana Turki melupakan ingatan sosialnya tentang genosida terhadap orang Armenia yang dinilai sebagai sejarah kelam Turki. Oleh karena itu, Elif Shafak dalam novelnya menampilkan tokoh-tokoh dengan identitas yang berlawanan, yakni orang Turki dan orang Armenia yang menolak kejadian genosida di satu sisi, dan yang mengingat kejadian tersebut di sisi lain.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan proses pembentukan identitas orang-orang Istanbul yang terdiri dari orang Turki dan Armenia sebagai dua identitas yang berkonflik sebagaimana digambarkan dalam novel Elif Shafak, *The Bastard of Istanbul*. Kajian ini dinilai penting untuk dibahas guna mengetahui bagaimana proses pembentukan identitas orang Turki dan Armenia yang terjadi pada masyarakat multikultural, yakni Turki dan Amerika Serikat, dengan melakukan penelitian pada novel terkenal yang menceritakan tentang identitas dan ingatan sosial seperti *The Bastard of Istanbul*.

Penelitian ini adalah kritik sastra yang berfokus pada isu konstruksi identitas pada novel dilihat menggunakan perspektif sosiologis. Dalam menganalisis data, penelitian ini menggunakan teori konstruksi identitas dari Castells (2010) yang mencakup identitas yang melegitimasi, identitas resistensi, dan identitas proyeksi. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menggunakan teori ingatan sosial dari Misztal (2003) berkaitan dengan pembentukan identitas masyarakat melalui ingatan sosial.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa proses konstruksi identitas orang Istanbul melibatkan tiga aspek yang menyebabkan kontestasi dua identitas yang sedang bermasalah, yakni Turki dan Armenia. Identitas Turki sebagai identitas

yang melegitimasi begitu kuat diatur oleh institusi sosial yang mendominasi dalam membentuk identitas orang-orang Turki melalui pembentukan norma, tradisi, kepercayaan, dan ingatan. Lalu identitas orang Armenia dikategorikan sebagai identitas resistensi yang bertujuan untuk menentang dan bangkit dari dominasi golongan yang melegitimasi. Sedangkan identitas proyeksi yang merupakan keinginan seorang individu untuk menjadi independen dan bebas dari pengaruh sosial apapun yang dibawa oleh institusi yang kuat ditemukan pada tokoh Asya dan Zeliha yang memilih untuk membentuk identitas baru.

## ملخص البحث

محمد زعيم الأليفين، 2017، بناء شخصية الإسطنبولي في رواية "لقبطة إسطنبول" لاليف شافاك. قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدبها. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: مفتاح الهدى، الماجستير. الكلمات الرئيسية: الشخصية، بناء الشخصي، الذاكرة الاجتماعية

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الحدثة في هذا العصر قد جعلت الإشاعة الشخصية أصبحت أعقد وأصعب. حدثت هذه الظواهر بسبب وجود التعقد وعدم استقرار الشخصية تخللت بالتغير الأدوية في أحوال الاجتماعية لحياة الإنسان. ونتيجة منها أن التغيرات حدثت في الشخصية سريعة تزعم أنها تخوف استقرار تلك الشخصية، ولا سيام في عصر التكنولوجيا الحديثة، والهجرة، والتحضر، والعولمة (روتفورد في هوارت: 2002)

والموضوع الرئيسي للرواية لقبطة اسطنبول هو الشخصية وعلاقتها بالذاكرة الاجتماعية في مجتمع متعدد الثقافات. وشرحت لقبطة اسطنبول عن كيف التركيبة نسيت الذاكرة الاجتماعية عن الإبادة الجماعية على الأرمني التي ظنت على أنها من مظلمة التاريخ التركي. ولذلك، تظهرت اليف شافاك الشخصيات المتنوعة المتعارضة في روايتها؛ الأتراك والأرمني ترفضان على حدوث الإبادة الجماعية ومن أجل الآخر تتذكران عليها.

والهدف من هذا البحث لشرح عملية تكوين شخصية الإسطنبولي التي تتركب على الأتراك والأرمني، وهما الشخصيتان اللتان تتضاربان كما صورت في رواية اليف شافاك، لقبطة إسطنبول. وزعم أن هذا البحث مهم لتعريف كيف عملية تكوين الشخصية الأتراك والأرمني التي حدثت في مجتمع متعدد الثقافات؛ تركيا والأمركية المتحدة، بوسيلة اجراء البحث في رواية المشهورة تقصص عن الشخصية و الذاكرة الاجتماعية كرواية لقبطة اسطنبول.

وهذا البحث نقد الأدب يخصص في إشاعة البنية الشخصية في رواية باستخدام النظر السوسولوجيات. وفي تحليل البيانات، استخدم هذا البحث نظرية البنية الشخصية عند جاستيلس (2010) تشتمل على الشخصية الشرعية، والمقاومة، والمسقط. وعلاوة على ذلك، استخدم هذا البحث نظرية الذاكرة الاجتماعية لميزتال (2003) تتعلق بتكوين شخصية المجتمع على الذاكرة الاجتماعية.

ونتيجة البحث تدل على أن بناء شخصية الإسطنبولي يشارك ثلاث جوانب التي تشكل كالشخصيتين اللتين تتضاربان. و أما الشخصية الشرعية للتركيا قوة بحيث تنظمها المؤسسات الاجتماعية تهيمن في تكوين شخصية الأترك على تكوين المعيار والعرف والعقيدة والذاكرة. وتعتقد أن شخصية الأرميني من الشخصية المقاومة تهدف للتحدي والنهوض من هيمنة مجموعات الشرعية. وأما الشخصية المسقط التي هي من رغائب الواحد ليكون مستقلا ومتخلصا من أي تأثيرات الاجتماعية تحملها المؤسسات القوية فتوجد في شخصية أشا وزليخة تختاران لتكوين الشخصية الجديدة.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers an overview of the research background and the rationale for choosing the topic of identity construction in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* as well as the research question and the objective of the study. Significance of the study is provided to show the benefits of the study. It is followed by the description of the research method discussing the research design, data source, data collection, and data analysis. Several key terms are defined by the end of this chapter to ease the readers in understanding the study.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The modernity in this late era has made the issue of identity become more complex and complicated. Mahoney (2001) states that defining identity might be as complex as developing the identity itself. This phenomenon happens as the complexity and instability of identity are believed widely pervaded by the vast changing of social condition in human life. As a result, the rapid flux of identity can somehow be considered threatening the stability of identity itself, particularly in the era of modern technology, migration, urbanisation and globalisation on which people live nowadays (Rutherford in Howarth, 2002).

The complexity of identity is found to get more unstable especially in *network society* which is termed by Castells (2010b) where a number of major social, cultural, technological and economic transformations came together to give rise to the new form of society in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Castells (2010b) also states that

it becomes such a confusing era to grasp and understand many aspects of human life, including identity. Thus, identity is believed as a socially constructed identification rather than just a simple idea considering identity as the belonging of individuals to geographical places where they live, as people now are able to adjust and adapt from one space into another.

*...based on empirical experience, we have observed that in the last fifteen years, the development of the globalisation process has coexisted with a reaffirmation of different cultural identities: religious, national, ethnic, territorial, gendered and other specific identities (Castells, 2010c:89).*

Consequently, this globalised world has much been influenced by many changes which also trigger the rise of other changes, particularly in its social aspects. Castells (2010a) states that along technological revolution and capitalism transformation, the world has experienced such a stream widespread of collective identity powerful expressions which challenge globalisation and cosmopolitanism on behalf of people's control over their lives. These multiple and highly versified expressions include the shape of cultural and historical source formation of identity which later gives birth to reactive movements such as feminism, environmentalism, and other movements that build trenches of resistance on behalf of nation, ethnicity, religion, and family (Castells, 2010a).

Under that circumstance, identity is no longer believed as something fixed as it dynamically changes and is always constructed and reconstructed. Calhoun (1994) defines identity as a self-knowledge which is indeed a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery or a process of searching. Hence, seen from the sociological perspective, all identities are indeed a socially constructed

identification which might use building materials from geography, history, biology, collective memory, or even religious institutions (Castells, 2010a).

Further, Castells (2010a) believes that social construction of identity always takes place in context of power relations. This functions as a basis of his proposal on the three forms of identity building covering *legitimising*, *resistance* and *project identity*. Legitimising identity deals with the origin of identity introduced by dominant institution to extend and rationalise their domination. When it is generated by actors who are in more devalued or stigmatised position in terms of its domination, it refers to resistance identity which aims to resist and survive from the influence of the dominating ones. Whereas project identity occurs when social actors are available to any cultural materials in order to build a new identity or redefine who they are (Castells, 2010a).

In multicultural countries like the United States of America and Turkey where many kinds of culture, nationality, and race are easily found, the issue of identity has become significant to discuss. Its significance even gets more obvious when the identity being discussed is based in a multicultural country with strong cultural assimilation known as *melting pot*, i.e. various racial and ethnic groups have been combined into one culture creating a richly diverse country like the United States of America (Datesman et al., 2005).

On the other hand, social clash resulted from identity construction is considered as something ordinarily arisen throughout the time, not only in the history of the United States of America, but also in the history of some other parts

of the world. Therefore, the issue of identity in multicultural places gets more momentous to discuss especially on two countries which used to be in opposition.

Likewise, Turkey is believed as resembling and sharing the common features of diversity possessed by the United States of America in terms of its multiculturalism and richness of diversity. Istanbul, as its prominent city is known as a very diverse and multi-layered city with regard to its fortunate geographical position, it becomes a border and a bridge between Europe and Asia. Besides, it also used to comprise of the blend of many different ethnics, cultures, traditions, religions and even relation across nations. Throughout the history, it is a region in which the old and the most influential empires in the world, Byzantine and Ottoman Empire ruled and sovereign (Akçam, 2004).

In line with that, the transformation of Turkey from the collapsed Ottoman Empire which was diverse and plural into a nation-state which is mono ethnicity and mono religion has gone through many hard times and violent historical moment. Due to that process of 'Turkification', the relation between Turkey and Armenia as neighbour countries in 1915 was frequently related to the discussion of massacres and mass killing, or the so called 'genocide' toward the minor ethnic and minor religious group, i.e. Armenians (Hovannisian, 1999:14).

According to *The Telegraph* on October 15, 2015, Turkey has never accepted the use of term 'genocide' regarding with the violent occurrence happening in the last reign of Ottoman Empire. This debates keep continuing up to now whether or not the 1915 incident is considered as genocide as the majority

countries in the world believe it as a form of genocide or mass killing. However, the ministry of foreign affairs of Turkey, as quoted by *Telegraph*, claims:

*"...our memory does not support the Armenian narrative on the events of 1915, [but] it is only Turks and Armenians who can effectively address their issues together and work jointly to find ways forward. Turkey is ready to do its part".*

The issue of remembrance and denial in connection with identity is often thought as a strongly related discussion as memory and identity depend upon each other. Not only identity is rooted in memory, but also what is being remembered is defined by identity (Gillis in Misztal, 2003). This is to emphasise that identity indeed has a strong relation to social memory in the process of identity construction.

As a response to the phenomenon of identity construction and remembrance and denial process in network society, literature has its own role in depicting and revealing such a phenomenon. Literature is a practice of social which often positions itself as a means to portray social phenomenon happening in the real life. Regarding with identity issue, literature is also believed as an effective endeavour to reveal the identity formation process in social life as Culler (2000) states that literature offers a range of models on how identity can be formed even though it is mostly in the implicit form. In addition, the explosion of identity theories in literature, either related to race, gender, sexuality or nationality, owes much to the fact that literature provides a wide range of materials from sociological perspective in the issue of identity construction process (Culler, 2000).

While regarding with social memory, literature is also successful to depict or represent the act of social memory in the past. It is strongly supported by the statement of Bakhtin as cited in Misztal (2003), suggesting that social memory owes a deeper and insightful understanding to the works of creative writing, particularly novels which are capable of providing the kind of inward as an objective account of the past. By knowing that, this study is notable to conduct in order to recognise how the identity in multicultural places can be constructed by doing a study on a well-known literary work telling a story about identity and memory. One of which is *The Bastard of Istanbul*.

*The Bastard of Istanbul* is written by a prize-winning booker prizes, a cosmopolitan woman, Elif Shafak, who was born in Strasbourg, France as a Turkish descent yet spent most of her childhood and teenage in Madrid, Spain and Amman, Jordan. Previously she settled and taught in Arizona. Currently, she lives in two cities, Istanbul and London. In recent years, she wrote some novels such as *The Saint of Incipient Insanities* (2004), *The Bastard of Istanbul* (2006), *Black Milk* (2007), *The Forty Rules of Love* (2009), *Honour* (2011), *The Architect Apprentice* (2013), *Three Daughters of Eve* (2016) and some others. *The Bastard of Istanbul* is one of her prominent works dealing with identity issue.

Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* has predominantly brought her into many book prizes such as Orange Prize for Fiction in London 2008, Marka Award 2010, Prix ALEF 2011 and some other awards. However, instead of the book prizes she successfully won, her publication of *The Bastard of Istanbul* led her into a law accusation as a form of 'insulting Turkishness' by a nationalist lawyer,

Kemal Kerincsiz in 2006 regarding with the exposition of the so called ‘Armenian Genocide’.

*The Bastard of Istanbul*'s main theme is identity and its relation to social remembrance in multicultural society. This is a story of two Istanbulite families, one is Turkish, Kazanci family living in Istanbul. The other one is the family of Armenian-American, Tchakmakhchian, a refugee family group of Armenian Genocide survivors in San Francisco who are against Turkish people regarding with the Armenian Genocide occurred in the last reign of Ottoman Empire era. Besides, *The Bastard of Istanbul* describes how Turkey forgot the social memory of Armenian Genocide which is considered as a backdrop of Turkey's violent history by presenting characters with their identity as Turk and Armenian American who keep denying on one side, and keep remembering on the other.

*The Guardian* journalist classifies Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* as one of two novels which bravely address the identity crisis of modern Turkey. Another article on *Guardian* also comments that the novel is somehow important to draw attention to the Armenians deportations and massacres and Turkey's ambivalence about them. The review about novel considered trying to tackle Turks identity on the process of denial has also been delivered extraordinarily as it writes:

*“Turkey's political and ethnic factions become the focal point as Armanoush and Asya debate their differing interpretations of the country's bloody history. Shafak is careful to stress that an apparent callousness about the past on the part of ordinary Turks is often rooted in simple ignorance of the facts - an ignorance that her novel is designed to address” (Guardian).*



Therefore, I, as the researcher, find it valuable to conduct this research in order to find an underlying problem of the identity issue and its construction in the social aspect of the novel. Further, the study employs two theories borrowed from sociology. The first theory is identity construction proposed by Castells (2010a) which deliberately discusses the process of identity formation and postulates that identity adhered to a person or group of people is indeed socially constructed by institutions after being internalised on them. The second theory is social remembering postulated by Misztal (2003) which tries to relate the role of social remembrance and denial with several aspects of identity formation.

There are several studies previously carried out toward the novel and the topic. The first study is of Waniek (2014), entitled *Identity Issues in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"* focusing on the search of identity of the characters in the novel, i.e. Asya and Armanoush, as the descents of Turkish and Armenian. This journal article mostly reviews the cultural background of the author and the main issue being discussed in the novel such as identity problem and Armenian genocide.

The second study is of Simon (2014), entitled *Mythology, Taboo, and Cultural Identity in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"* which explores the myths in the novel and the issue of identity seen from cultural perspective. This study focuses particularly on the analysis of myth found in the novel using Barthes' mythology.

The last study is carried out by Radu (2015) entitled *Multiculturalism, Identity, and Family Ties in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"*. It discusses

several topics such as multiculturalism, identity, and family relationship in general. This study discusses a lot about the background of the author, as well as the description of some characters and how their role contributes to the main theme of the novel.

As those mentioned articles discuss some topics in general, this study appears to discuss specifically how identity can be formed and how social memory which covers the process of remembering and forgetting can have an important role in making people's identity in present by considering what happened in the past through personal or collective memory.

### **1.2 Research Question**

The research aims to answer the question of “how is the identity construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*?”

### **1.3 Objective of the Study**

In accordance with the problem stated above, this study is projected to describe the identity construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This study has two forms of significance, theoretical and practical significance. Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich the understanding of identity construction theory by Castells (2010a) and social remembering as proposed by Misztal (2003). It is also expected to give a better understanding of *The Bastard of Istanbul* novel itself.

Practically, this study is intended to develop the study towards *The Bastard of Istanbul* by Elif Shafak seen from the perspective of identity construction and social remembering to provide a study to those who want to do further research on identity construction and social remembering.

### **1.5 Scope and Limitation**

In order to more appropriately solve the research problem, there are scope and limitation to be emphasised. The analysis of this study focuses on the identity construction of Istanbulites consisting of Turks and Armenians found from the selected novel dealing with legitimising identity, resistance identity, and project identity. Besides, it is also to discuss the problem seen from the perspective of social remembering and its process of being an identity maker in novel's present time by considering what is remembered and recalled by characters from the past.

### **1.6 Research Method**

This sub-chapter covers the explanation of research method. It consists of the description of research design, data source, data collection and data analysis as follows:

#### **1.6.1 Research Design**

This study is literary criticism which deals with the discipline of interpreting, analysing and evaluating literary works (Gillaspie, 2010). For literary criticism covers four kinds of approach to analyse the work of art as proposed by Abrams (1953) i.e. mimetic, pragmatic, expressive and objective approach, this study aims to analyse literary work using mimetic

approach which considers literature not merely as independent work, but rather something influenced and inspired from the universe.

Furthermore, in order to comprehensively discuss the relation between social phenomena occurred in the society and its depiction in literature, this study appears to use sociological criticism as an approach to analyse, assess and interpret the literary work as sociological criticism deals with the discussion of social issue in literature which is in accordance with this study and the reflection of social phenomenon portrayed in literary work (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972).

This study employs the theory of identity construction by Castells (2010a) and social remembering by Misztal (2003) within sociological perspective in analysing the work. The study is expected to portray the issue of identity construction in global context crossing different nations as described in *The Bastard of Istanbul* regarding with a part of history which is believed existed by Armenians and denied by Turks.

### **1.6.2 Data Source**

The data source of this study is the novel of Elif Shafak, *The Bastard of Istanbul* which was first published in 2006, and being republished by Penguin Books in 2015 consisting of 363 pages. The data are in the form of words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, or dialogues between characters referring to the identity construction and social remembering as depicted in the novel.

### **1.6.3 Data Collection**

The data collection of this research is done through several processes. First is doing close reading on the novel to understand the plot and general information of the story. The second reading is intended to understand better the story focusing on the issue of identity of Turks and Armenians characters as the members of Istanbul society. Then the data in the novel which indicate referring to the identity construction and the process of remembering are highlighted and marked to sort the data. When the data are already collected, the researcher analyses the problem of identity construction from gathered data by doing analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

### **1.6.4 Data Analysis**

Practically, the process of data analysis starts after the data are already collected in the form of sentences, phrases or words to exclude some other parts of the story which are not relevant. It is done in order to specify the data on identity construction and social remembering themselves. Afterwards, the data are classified into several major forms of identity construction either they belong to legitimising, resistance and project identity then it is elaborated and argued its reason on why and how it can be so. Besides, the data are also analysed using the theory of social remembering by Misztal (2003) related to identity formation. Thus, the final stage of data analysis is to draw conclusions on the data according to theories mentioned above.

## 1.7 Definition of Key Terms

**Identity** : people's source of meaning and experience, often in the form of symbolic identification to put the self in the frame of collective society.

**Identity Construction** : the process of identity building in sociological perspective which uses building materials from geography, history, institutions, memory and religion.

**Istanbulites** : the members of Istanbul society consisting of different ethnicities, i.e. Turks and Armenians.

**Legitimising Identity** : type of identity construction which is often introduced by dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalise the domination.

**Resistance Identity** : type of identity building process which is mostly generated by individuals, society, who are in devalued positions in terms of domination.

**Project Identity** : type of identity which individuals or society are available to the basis of any cultural materials.

**Social Remembering** : how societies keep remembering the past and make it as memory which is necessary to be known and framed by people for particular purpose or interest.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter covers the review and elaboration of the related literature on the theories employed and closely related studies. Theories used to analyse identity construction in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* in this study are the theory of identity construction proposed by Manuel Castells (2010a) and theory of social remembering proposed by Barbara Misztal (2003).

#### 2.1 Sociological Approach in Literary Criticism

Sociology of literature is an interdisciplinary literary approach that can be used to assess and understand literary works related to the social aspect of story. Damono in Wiyatmi (2013) argues that sociology can be used as an approach in evaluating literature which copes with society and its social phenomenon. Moreover it is supported by the ideas of Plato on mimetic concept which deals with theories considering literature as an imitation of the universe, as well as a reflection or a mirror of the reality (Abrams, 1953).

In addition, the relation between sociology and literature gets obvious as Laurensen & Swingewood (1972) state that literature and sociology share similar conspectus. Sociology is an objective and scientific field concerning with the study of social institutions and of social processes which examines several notable discussions such as social, religious, political, economic institutions, social structure, social stability, and social changes and so on. Literature is believed to concern with people's social world, their adaptation to it and desire to change it. Therefore, novel as a major genre in literature is said often to depict, recreate and

delineate the social life of people, their relation with others, family, politic, nation, class and other institutions around them (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972).

Even though the discipline of sociology and literature do not seem strongly related yet they even look contrary at glance, literature and sociology are actually complement of one to another in understanding society and what happened in it (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972). But literature is more likely to be how the social phenomenon is depicted and portrayed in the form of literary work, especially novels. Wellek and Warren (1957) state that the focus of discussion in sociology of literature is the content of literary work itself which deals with the depiction of social occurrence.

Besides, literature and sociology have the same object of study. Both literature and sociology have the same object of discussion, that is human in society, understanding human's relation, and the result of process occurred due to the relations human make (Wiyatmi, 2013). Yet the difference is that sociology itself is the scientific and objective one, while literature is close to be subjective and based on personal assessment or knowledge (Damono in Wiyatmi, 2013).

In approaching literary work using sociology, Eagleton (1988) proposes two main ways to justify literature. First, it is in the form of realist which sees literature deeply shaped and conditioned by its social context in reality. The second way is pragmatist which sees literature is shaped by all kinds of factor and readable in many sorts of context, especially by highlighting its social determinants.



Sociology of literature does not see literary work as something independent like what structuralists do. Literature, hence, should be understood by considering its relation with social aspects of human life in society as literature is believed as a product of social and cultural practice of human being. Author of the work is indeed a member of society, as well as the reader. While the content of the work may depict and represent something which actually happens in the real life. Thus, scholars of literature divided sociology of literature into three branches of approach: sociology of the author, sociology of the reader and sociology of literary work (Wiyatmi, 2013).

Although all kinds of sociological approach in literature are significant to conduct, I, in this study, will focus merely on the study of sociology of literary work which deals with social aspects depicted, portrayed and presented in the novel. In discussing the study, I would see the social context of the story on how the problem of identity building happened in society, especially in Turkish and Armenian society regarding with complex identity of the characters in the novel. Thus, sociological approach is considered applicable and well-suited to examine the problem stated by employing two specific theories, i.e. identity construction and social remembering as covered in the discipline of sociology.

## **2.2 Identity and Globalisation**

Identity and globalisation are actually considered having a strong connection in the process of identity construction in modern era. Castells (2006) states that globalisation and the strengthening of various cultural identities such as religious, ethnic, national and gender which have occurred over the last twenty

years are no coincidence, but a systemic relationship between the two phenomena. The common understanding suggesting the belief that globalisation is rather a process of unification and homogenisation is actually misguided. The statement of Castells (2006) about globalisation and identity puts forward a better understanding than what people merely see globalisation as an unification and cultural homogenisation of the world and a fact that globalisation will overcome local and historical identities, supersede some ideologies, and produced an undifferentiated universal human culture.

Globalisation is not merely a set of undifferentiated processes like commonly believed by people. Globalisation which is commonly used comes from economic realm which refers to a free trade and interdependence of markets at the different levels (Court, 2001). Then globalisation developed into many dimensions including socio-cultural aspects. Even Wang (2007) strongly states that globalisation is not simply a process of homogenisation, but rather in its contrary, it enhances cultural identity of people. Thus, this is to say that globalisation is not an ideology, but rather an objective process which structures many aspects such as economy, cultures, institutions, societies and so on (Castells, 2006).

In the context of globalisation, nation-state should also play an active role as an agent of globalisation especially when Castells (2006) considers that the nation-state failed to enshrine the multiple source of identity. As the result, identity emerges as a response given by the state and its representatives to do efforts in stimulating people to establish their collective identity. It happens

because the people feel alienated from the state which fails to represent them or help them building the meaning of their lives. Hence, they finally tended to establish and construct their identity according to the historical foundations (Castells, 2006).

Additionally, globalisation, regarding with identity, seems to have influential effect one another. Court (2001) argues that globalisation is in the sense that human beings rationally understand in spite of their different ethnic and historical-cultural origins, they share similar rational condition that can make them aware of themselves as free subjects, including the consequence of their actions. Furthermore, Court (2001) states that societies progressively replace the invariable approaches of a natural character by observing themselves with more flexible approach which refers to their own forms of social organisations. Hence, this is to say that identity is widely defined as a process of building the meaning of people's lives by drawing on the available cultural or social attributes. People create a construct which enables them to define who they are and where they belong to.

In relating between globalisation and identity, Wang (2007) affirms that people in globalisation era with such a massive development in global economy, technology and socio-cultural sectors tend to be much concerned on the uniqueness and peculiarity of their identity. Globalisation is believed as a challenge to provide the global significance of local knowledge and the sense of self, community and nation. Since people construct their identities through the available socio-cultural attributes they possess, they will surely defend them. It

hereby concludes that globalisation generally brings more awareness of people's identity than before (Wang, 2007).

Further, Court (2001) proposes the verification of his observation on identity acquisition covering the process of distinguishing between identity and difference or self-reference and hetero-reference. Subsequently, it is continued by the process of blind point discovery referring to tracing differences through different point of view to highlight both sides of the differentiated. From the comparison between different points of view, Court considers that people can at least acquire their identity and to which regions of the earth they belong, either West or East, North or South, American or European, Ibero-America or Anglo-America, Latinity or Germanity, or even Turks or Armenians (Court, 2001).

### **2.3 Identity Construction**

Identity is defined as people's source of meaning and experience they have during their life (Calhoun, 1994). Identity, which is also a form of self-knowledge, is also believed by Calhoun as a product of construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery for people with the adhered identity and difference are not made, yet constructed. Besides, Castells (2010a) defines identity as a result of meaning construction process on the basis of a cultural attribute or a set of cultural attributes given priority over other sources of meaning. While Giddens, as quoted by Castells (2010a) defines identity as sources of meaning for the actors themselves, by themselves, and constructed through a process called individuation.

The distinction between identity and what sociologists considered as role-sets (such as worker, politician, union member and so on) on people relies on the process of individuation and construction they involve (Castells, 2010c). It tends to suggest that the process of construction and individuation are actually what make identity different compared to mere role owned by people. Therefore, the discussion of how identity can be formed and built is significant to explore in order to reveal the entity of identity construction process in people's social life.

Regardless to the scholars' views from different disciplines debating either identity is a construct or not, identity, within sociological perspective is strongly believed as a construction. In other words, this is to say that to be American or European, Muslim or Jewish, Christian or Buddhist, Turk or Armenian are indeed constructed and invented through the same process of homogenisation (Castells, 2010c). Accordingly, the construction of identity often uses building materials from geography, biology, productive and reproductive institutions, power apparatuses, religions, personal experience, fantasies and collective memory. Yet it continues to the process of rearranging their meaning from those materials according to social determinations and cultural projects rooted in their social structure, as well as the space and time where and when they live in (Castells, 2010c).

Consequently, what actually matters in the process of construction is related with a big question of how, from what, by whom and for what it is formed. Therefore, it leads Castells into a hypothesis stating that who constructs collective identity and for what the identity is built largely determines the symbolic content

of identity as he believes that the process of identity formation done by social institutions always takes place in a context of power relations (Castells, 2010a). Further, Castells classifies the process of identity construction into three major forms or origins of collective identity building as follow:

### **2.3.1 Legitimising Identity**

Legitimising identity is the first form of identity building which is introduced and brought by the dominant institutions in society. The key point of this identity building is the role of dominant institutions in spreading the influence and constructing their meaning to individuals and society through their authority. In other words, this type of identity building is actually constructed by dominant social institutions. The identity construction of this origin is intentionally aimed to extend and rationalise the powerful institutions' domination (Castells, 2010a).

In addition, this is also to note that this process of identity formation is often followed and done with such repression. However, there is still possibility for the repression to work or even not to work well as planned and expected. Therefore, legitimising identity is considered always involving a kind of ideological manipulation (Castells, 2010c).

As each type of identity construction process always leads to different outcome in constituting society, legitimising identity in this case generates a civil society meaning a set of organisations and institutions which reproduce the identity that rationalises the source of structural domination even sometimes in such conflictive manner. It is no wonder as civil society proposed in Gramsci's

conception refers to a formed series of apparatuses such as religions, unions, associations, cooperatives, and etcetera (Castells, 2010a).

### **2.3.2 Resistance Identity**

This type of identity building process refers to an identity which is generated by actors who are in such devalued or stigmatised positions in terms of their domination in the society. Thus, they try to build trenches of resistance and survival even to oppose the dominating ones. In other words, groups who feel rejected, marginalised or pushed to the fringes of society in terms of cultural, historical, or social realm react by constructing an identity that enable them to resist the system that subordinates them. In order to realise that, the groups will draw on history and self-identification as they cannot resist as citizens or even because they are minority that cannot practice their rights (Castells, 2010a).

As its outcome, resistance identity creates a formation of communes or communities. This tends to suggest that resistance identity can be the most important type of identity building as it constructs forms of collective resistance against the oppression by employing history, geography or biology to make sense the boundaries of resistance. It also means that resistance identity refers to such a defensive identity in terms of existed dominant institutions (Castells, 2010a).

### **2.3.3 Project Identity**

Project identity is the last type of identity building process occurred when social actors on the basis of whatever materials are available to them in order to build new identity enabling them to redefine their position in society by seeking the transformation of overall social structure. In other words, it is an identity

which is based on self-identification drawing upon historical, cultural and geographical components. The examples are like the rise of feminism which moves to resist women's identity and rights, or even ecologist movement as a construction of citizens resisting the rights of nature (Castells, 2010a).

Project identity puts an outcome as subject which means the desire of being an individual in creating a personal history and giving meaning to the whole realm of human experiences in life (Touraine in Castells, 2010a). However, the key point of project identity is that it must always be fleshed out with historical materials, otherwise it will be subjective and unlikely to be adopted by society as a whole (Castells, 2006).

#### **2.4 Social Memory and Identity**

The discussion of social memory in the scholarship of sociology had actually emerged since 1920 pioneered by Halbwachs. Yet the rapid and profound social changes occurred in the later twentieth centuries insist the study of social memory to be much more widely open and contextualised. Thus, Myszal (2003) argues that the need of social memory felt by all societies after post-Cold War is necessary to discuss. She states that all societies, especially those that have gone through hard times and confusing period are in such condition to involve in the deep search for truth about their past. Therefore, in her theory of social remembering which is influenced by Halbwachs, she proposes the questions of how societies remember, why the past is any of relevance, who the remembering subject and what the nature of the past (Myszal, 2003).



Memory becomes social because every memory exists through its relation to what has been shared with others, particularly the society. It is also to state that memory is social because it does not take place in a social vacuum for people remember as members of social groups assuming and internalising the common traditions and social representations shared by their collectivities (Misztal, 2003). Besides, memory is social because the act of remembering itself is interactive and employed for social purposes (Schudson in Misztal, 2003). Furthermore, Schwartz as quoted in Misztal (2003) argues that memory's essential role in social is connected with collective memory which is a part of meaning-making apparatuses.

Collective memory, as the main subject matter discussed by Misztal is defined as inter-subjectively constituted result of shared experiences, knowledge, ideas and cultural practices by relating them to the past. Misztal further argues that the main communities of memory which will be discussed later are somehow affected by the process of social differentiation and globalisation (Misztal, 2003). This tends to suggest that collective memory, globalisation and even identity are related one another. Moreover, memory is considered as a highly important element to define what it is to be a person in the society. Thus, this is to say that a dissociation of memory would also mean a loss of identity (Misztal, 2003). In this case, collective memory does not only reflect the past but also shapes present reality by providing people with understandings and frameworks that enable them to make sense of the world (Misztal, 2003).

Additionally, Misztal (2003) states that the importance of social remembering is strongly related with the unity of society and the conceptualisation of collective memory as guaranteeing social identity. Therefore, she also considers that collective memory being remembered allows people to have a certain social identification, either in the level of individual or societal. Moreover, memory can also play an important role as a source of truth for constructing people's identity (Misztal, 2003).

In making distinction between collective and personal memory, Funkenstein in Misztal (2003) compares collective and personal memory to the relation between *langue* and *parole* as formulated by Saussure. Further, Halbwachs as cited by Misztal (2003) argues that collective memory is carried and supported by the groups, while individual or personal memory can be understood only by connecting the individual to the groups of which he is the member. In addition to that, Misztal (2003) states that collective memory is a kind of memory which is socially organised, mediated, conventionalised and standardised. It is in contrast with the characteristic of individual memory as a memory which is never totally standardised. This tends to suggest that personal memory experienced by different people on particular event might never be identical one another as a concrete memory evokes different associations and feeling in each of them. While collective memory is indeed socialised and controlled by the communities of memory to lead them into such a required social memory. Therefore, it results in the outcome of the memory in which collective memory tend to last longer than the individual one (Halbwachs in Misztal, 2003).

Identity, is defined by Misztal as a means used to make sense of people, their activities and what they share with others and how they differ from them. While collective identities particularly are seen as implying notions of homogeneity and a sense of belonging and attachment with fellow group members and sense of feeling the difference with outsiders (Misztal, 2003). Misztal continued that memory becomes the main source of identity building of personal or collective groups. Moreover, memory and identity considered dependent upon each other because not only identity which is rooted in memory, but also what is being remembered is defined by identity (Gillis in Misztal, 2003:133).

In relating identity with memory, some other close disciplines such as psychology, history and philosophy believe that social memory is an important element to enable people defining who they actually are. Giddens as cited in Misztal (2003) also states that the past and making sense of the past are actually the main sources of self-identification. Besides, it is stated by Misztal (2003) that collective identity precedes memory. Thus, collective memory can mean both as a shared image of the past or even the reflection of social identity of a group that framed it (Misztal, 2003). Furthermore, it is supported by a belief that nationalism which sees identity as rooted in some shared traits including ethnicity, culture, religion, language and so on protects remembrance of the past and use memory as an effective instrument in building people's identity (Misztal, 2003).

All in all, the statements explained above consequently lead into a notion suggesting that identity indeed has a strong relation to social memory as one of its important elements to define people as well as to seek for the deep meaning from

their past. Social memory, particularly the collective one is even purposely used by the legitimising institution such as a nation to repress and control the people. This happens as Misztal considers the nation as one of the communities of memory that socialise and decide what should be remembered and what should be forgotten known as *mnemonic communities*. The description and explanation of the communities of memory will also be provided in the following section.

## **2.5 The Communities of Memory**

In the process of memory formation, there is a term that is particularly used in understanding the communities of memory known as *mnemonic communities*. Generally, mnemonic communities are actually groups that socialise to people what to remember and what to forget. Thus, mnemonic communities aim to familiarise and introduce new arrivals to their collective past and to ensure people as new members to identify with the groups' past to attain the required social identity (Misztal, 2003). It is intentionally done as something familiar is indisputably easier to internalise on people as well as to be reinforced on them in making sense of themselves to the group they belong.

Misztal (2003) classifies the communities of memory or mnemonic communities into three main communities which have a control on establishing and repressing people's collective memory. They are nation, ethnic group and family. Nation is considered as the main mnemonic community as its continuity relies on the vision of suitable past and a believable future. In this case, nation requires to create a usable past in order to realise community's history or destiny. Typically, the creation of such past is the task of nationalist movements by

propagating ideology to invoke shared memories (Gellner in Misztal, 2003). Thus, such movements owe the success to memory which enable to establish a sense of community from generation to generation (Misztal, 2003).

The second mnemonic community is ethnic group. The inclusion of ethnic group into mnemonic communities is due to the fact that in societies existed nowadays with such diversity of cultures, ethnicities, religions and traditions, the fragmentation of national memory are seen more obvious than before. Misztal viewed that the processes of globalisation, diversification and fragmentation of social interests enhance the transformation of memory from the master of nation's narrative to the episodic group's narrative. In the context of the growing cultural and ethnic pluralisation of societies, the denationalisation of memory provided new importance to ethnic identities whose formation is based on traditional memory narratives. Thus, Heller as cited by Misztal (2003) states that the task of ethnic group as a community of memory is quite easy as it is considered never losing the entire entity of its rooted cultural memory (Misztal, 2003).

Family is another crucial group of mnemonic community which has a role in constructing and spreading collective memory to people. The process of memory construction is often done through shared family's narratives, shared symbolic of family unity from generation to generation, and family traditions being objectified in the form of old letters, photographs, or conversations told across generations (Misztal, 2003). This is clearly in line with such research done by Middleton and Edwards as described in Misztal (2003) resulting that children in the family learn to remember something by intervention and guide from the

parents as children do not remember clearly when they are a kid, yet the line of remembrance told and guided by adults they rely on that actually lead them into such memory.

In nutshell, all those three kinds of communities of memory either nation, ethnic group or family are actually affected by the growing differentiation of society, the globalisation and the invention of new means of communication. Thus, these also influence to the changing functions of the institutions of memory which cover the institutions such as schools, museums, courts and mass media (Misztal, 2003).

## **2.6 The Process of Remembering and Forgetting**

Knowing the fact revealed by Barclay in Misztal (2003) that memories of most everyday lives are always transformed, distorted or forgotten for memory changes over time as people change, then it is significant to also cover the discussion of how the process of remembering and forgetting can work in its social context. The process of remembering is done for particular purposes including to remind of glory days, somebody's heroic actions, or as a lesson not to do the same mistakes made. It is somehow also related to establish institutions' representation and to bring threat to national cohesion and self-image (Misztal, 2003).

On the other hand, the establishment of such representation is also done through the process of forgetting. Forgetting is considered a necessary component in the construction of memory as the writing of historical narrative necessarily involves the elimination of certain elements (Misztal, 2003). Accordingly,

Renan's studies as cited in Misztal (2003) supports that even though nations could be characterised by rich legacy they possessed, the essence of a nation is not only because its members have many things shared, but also that they have many other common things forgotten. Thus, Billig in Misztal (2003) argues that established nations depend for their continued existence upon a collective amnesia.

By considering some researches done by experts, Misztal (2003) generally divided the process of remembering and forgetting into some kinds of memory including flashbulb memory, generational memory and traditional memory.

### **2.6.1 Flashbulb Memory**

Flashbulb memory is generally a process of remembering which requires emotions as its important component. In this type of remembering process, emotions play an essential role because emotions are always in part about the past and also memories which are not tagged into such social emotions tend to fade out (Nussbaum in Misztal, 2003). Misztal continues by a statement that emotional response is a state that screens out certain memory and allow other memories to surface. Thus, it invokes a personal history within the expression in the present by bringing the memories of past experiences that contribute to the forming of the present (Misztal, 2003).

Barbalet in Misztal (2003) argues that emotions tend to be socially shared and that social sharing of emotions can result in a strong emotional impact. The more intense the personal emotions, the more likely people will share it with others. The more an event provokes emotions, the more it elicits social sharing, the more concrete, precise and long lasting. Misztal assumed that this type of

memory is clearer and less affected by time than any other memories (Misztal, 2003).

As an example of flashbulb memory Misztal took an emotional events which evokes such a very deep emotions, such as public figure assassination or tragic public events such as what happened in September 11, 2001 in World Trade Centre tower. It is taken as an example of flashbulb memory as it allows individuals to place themselves in historical context because people are able to include themselves in the narrative when they talk about an extraordinary public events with others (Misztal, 2003). Thus, this tends to suggest that the main point of this kind of memory is the role of emotions in creating and processing such a memory to people to remember or to forget on the other way around.

### **2.6.2 Generational Memory**

Generation, which becomes the key point of this type of remembering process, is defined by Misztal (2003) as genealogical sense as the measure of distance between parents and children. While Marias in Misztal (2003) defines it as 'the concrete unit of authentic historical chronology'. In relation to its importance as a process of remembering and collective memory, Rounard in Nora claims that generational memory is considered as a way to explain the feeling among specific groups of people and to help composing an image of society (Misztal, 2003). Moreover, Tocqueville in Misztal (2003) adds that in reality, generations have much in common and tend to resemble each other.

Further, Halbwachs in Misztal (2003) argues that there is a 'living link' between generations which ensures that the hand is handed on via parents and



grandparents goes beyond the limits of individual experience. While the generational gap is considered perceiving to provide a basis for changing the present. Thus, generational continuity is regarded as the source of legitimacy and stability. It is in line with a statement that as generation follows generations, each receives its inheritance from the predecessor, and this transmission is a foundation of societal continuity (Miztal, 2003).

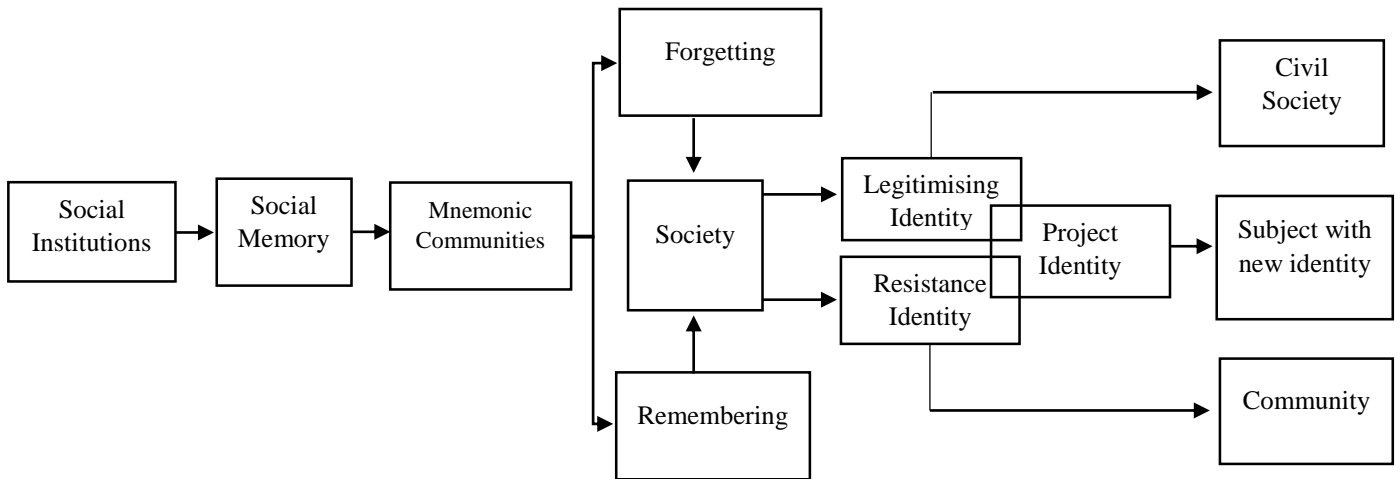
Going specifically to the discussion of generational memory, a research conducted by Schuman and Scott as cited in Miztal (2003) shows that memories structured by generational divisions tend to function of an individual having experienced an event during adolescence or early adulthood. This is in line with Miztal's argument believing generation as a product of memory due to the formative role of memories of historical events from adolescence and early adulthood in the creation of generational culture. Moreover, memory of the past is always a recollection of past time lived in relation to other people (Miztal, 2003). In short, generational memory allows people to have certain social identification, either in the level of individual or societal (Miztal, 2003).

### **2.6.3 Traditional Memory**

This kind of social remembering is often being related with the notion of tradition. Tradition is considered as a source in supporting the existence of legitimacy position in social hierarchy (Miztal, 2003). Besides, traditions seems to be a way of creating a sense of belonging and strengthening group identities. Halbwachs in Miztal (2003) asserts that even quite small groups define

themselves in relation to the memory they share which established the connection between collective memory and tradition.

In other words, traditional memory is likely to be a way to create such a collective memory to people through the traditions made or even existed long before. It can be done through tradition's normative aspects which refer to a set of assumptions, norms and models of action handed down from the past that can serve as a normative guide for actions and belief in the present (Thompson in Misztal, 2003).



*Figure 1: Process of Identity Construction*

The figure above is to illustrate the process of identity construction which starts from social institutions either a powerful institution in terms of its domination or even an institution which is in a stigmatised position. The social institutions attempt to spread their influence or domination through the creation of norms, law, traditions, customs, knowledge, belief and social memory.

Subsequently, the social institutions' raw material of social memory is proceeded by the mnemonic communities on deciding what to be remembered and to be forgotten by the society.

Once the mnemonic communities which consist of nation, ethnic group, and family result the decision either the remembrance or denial which is going to be brought to the society, the members of society who accept the process controlled by dominant institutions will include themselves to the legitimising identity, while those who are under the influence of stigmatised institutions will exclude themselves from the legitimising, but to the resistance identity in order to survive and defend their position. Whereas the individuals or society who are not totally in both positions, will create their new identity as an independent subject rather than identifying themselves to any other types of identity.

As an outcome of the identity construction process, the legitimate identity which is aimed to rationalise and extend domination will produce a civil society consisting of a series of legitimate apparatuses. Resistance identity will accomplish a community projected to manage surviving and building trenches, while the project identity will result in becoming an independent subject with the adhered new identity differed from the identity of legitimising or resisting group.

## **2.7 Previous Studies**

There are several studies carried out toward the novel and the topic. The first study is of Waniek (2014) entitled *Identity Issues in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"*. This study focuses on the intrinsic elements of the novel related to the search of identity of the characters in the novel, i.e. Asya and

Armanoush, as the descents of Turkish and Armenian. This journal article mostly reviews the cultural background of the author and the main issue being discussed in the novel such as identity problem and Armenian genocide.

The analysis of this article particularly goes around the narrative structure of the story, as well as theme, symbolism, characters, the tension of identity problem related to the past, and Armenian genocide. However, this study also attempts to show how the search of characters' complex identity can be resolved. As this article focuses on the story itself, thus, it results to reveal that the very Turkish family, Kazanci family, is actually half Armenian, and that the bastard daughter, Asya is the result of a rape of Zeliha by her own brother, Mustafa. Those are subsequently considered as the antithesis of the novel to highlight the theme and message of the story for all separations and oppositions are reconciled.

The second study is of Simon (2014) entitled *Mythology, Taboo, and Cultural Identity in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"* which explores the myths in the novel completed with the discussion of identity seen from cultural perspective. This study focuses particularly on the analysis of myth found in the novel using Barthes's mythology. In addition, the perspective of cultural view on it is another completion of the study as it argues that myths found in the novel are somehow related with the cultural attributes of the society.

Since the study of Simon (2014) considers that Shafak uses obvious cultural identities created through societal pressure or stereotype, she, in her study, incorporates those elements by using Barthes' idea of mythology. It also relies on the perspective of Ruth Benedict on the cultural analysis, Mary Powers

on the idea of taboo within society, and Kimberle Crenshaw's idea on intersectionality illustrating the way the elements of myth allow the novel to transcend its boundaries. Simon (2014) finally finds that the Kazanci family seeks and creates a new way of life through acceptance and inclusion by employing some elements of myth. Her study also reveals that *The Bastard of Istanbul* conveys meaning through both cultural mythology, and culturally relevant signifiers.

Another relevant study is carried out by Radu (2015) entitled *Multiculturalism, Identity and Family Ties in Elif Shafak's "The Bastard of Istanbul"*. It discusses several topics such as migration, multiculturalism, identity, family relationship and Armenian genocide in general. This study discusses the background of the author, even author's name allusion, as well as the description of some characters in detail and how their role as characters in the novel contributes to the main theme of the novel which are mostly about identity, multiculturalism, Armenian genocide and family relation.

The article attempts to intermingle several discussions related to what is written in the intrinsic part of the novel by Shafak by exposing several themes such as migration, multiculturalism, identity, family relationship and Armenian genocide supported by historical evidence as a part of the reality. However, the main discussion of this study is the characters on how their roles contribute to the main theme, symbolism on how the symbols represent something beyond the explicit meaning to reveal something relies behind the story, as well as the Armenian genocide issue itself. The article concludes that blending the stories of

the two families, relying the family ties, and showing how knowing or ignoring the personal and collective past can indeed influence people's lives and identity.

As those mentioned studies discuss some topics in general, this study appears to discuss specifically the process of identity formation and how social memory which covers the process of remembering and forgetting can have an important role in making people's identity by considering what happened in the past through personal or collective memory.

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the result of the study in accordance to the research question on how Istanbulites identity which consists of Turks and Armenians as two conflicting identities in *The Bastard of Istanbul* can be formed. It covers the discussion of Istanbulites identity construction which involves three aspects: legitimising, resistance and project identity. This study found Turkish identity as the legitimising identity, Armenians identity as the resistance identity, and Asya's and Zeliha's desire of being independent subject with new identity as project identity. Each aspect mentioned above is completed with the discussion of remembering and forgetting process in making sense of the conflicting identities.

#### **3.1 The Construction of Legitimising Identity**

As legitimising identity refers to a kind of identity formation process which is introduced and brought by dominant institutions in spreading the influence to the individuals and society through authority, therefore, Turkish identity in this case is found as an identity which consistently legitimises. Some building materials of identity formation employed by the dominant institutions in Turkey are actually varied. They are sometimes in the form of norms made by society or even what majority of people considered as a must to follow and something that should not be violated. It can even be in its much simpler way i.e. judgement made by common people whether or not the behaviour is appropriate for Turks to do.

However, the creation of such norms are never made for granted. There must be an influential institution of society which had made it possible to be internalised by the people. Thus, the dominant institution's role in this case cannot be easily disputed. Those who construct the norms must also have intentions to control people's identity and to let them know how they should behave and where they belong. Moreover, it is supported by the notion believed by Castells (2010c) that who constructs collective identity largely determines the symbolic content of identity. In Turkish society, particularly in Istanbul, there are some rules created that should be obeyed by women which are known as Rule of 'Prudence' for Istanbulite woman. The rules believed as norms to be followed by women of Istanbul are as follow:

*The Golden Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman: When harassed on the street, never respond, since a woman who responds, let alone swears back at her harasser, shall only fire up the enthusiasm of the latter! (p. 5)*

*The Silver Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman: When harassed on the street, do not lose nerve, since a woman who loses her nerve in the face of harassment, and thus reacts excessively, will only make matters worse for herself! (p. 6)*

*The Copper Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman: When harassed on the street, you'd better forget about the incident as soon as you are on your way again, since to recall the incident all day long will only further wrack your nerves! (p. 11)*

The rules which are named as 'prudence' are actually some ways addressed to Istanbulite women in facing a harassment. Those who obey the rules will be regarded as true Istanbulite women, while those who are against them, will keep considered being disloyal to their own society's rule. In this case, Zeliha, a nineteen-year-old, unmarried woman was the one who face such harassment on



the street and had to obey the rules in order to behave just like ordinary Istanbulite women. However, she violated the first two rules, the Golden and Silver one. Consequently, when she was on her way walking to have an appointment with a doctor, yet she violated the rules of prudence, she was disregarded as a true Turkish woman as most of people questioned and found her different than any other women who can truly follow the rules of appropriateness.

The rules of prudence presented to Turkish women are actually a product made by powerful social institutions to control the people and society. The goal aimed to reach can sometimes work well, but also has possibility to fail on the other hand. When it is successful in repressing people, it would create stronger identity as expected by the dominant institutions that have already arranged the strategy. In vice versa, when it fails to mould the expected internalised identity, the individuals would prefer to resist or even to create their own personal attributes and give meaning to the realm of their experience.

In addition, the rules are not always explicitly stated and known by majority of people. There are sometimes different ways of constructing the rule or norms of society in the more implicit way which enable people to include or exclude themselves or even other people from particular group.

*"Istanbul?"*

*Zeliha shrugged as if to say, where else could it be? Where else on earth but here? She belonged to this city! Wasn't that visible on her face? (p. 13)*

The question addressed to Zeliha who wore a mini skirt and high heels contrasted from any other women's appearance at the hospital is asked by a receptionist who did not even believe that Zeliha was born in Istanbul and a true

Istanbulite. The unbelievable fact for the receptionist is actually a transferred form of identity which is adjusted to the available dominant socio-cultural attributes to the common people in society. As Zeliha looks rather different and even contrary to the common Turkish women, the receptionist could not even recognise if she was a true Istanbulite.

Thus, this is to say that identity is somewhat constructed by the institutions which have power to dominate and repress people's way of thinking on deciding where they belong and how they should identify themselves to particular groups. It is definitely in line with Castells (2010c) statement that legitimising identity always involves an ideological manipulation.

Besides the rules presented above, there is also another regulation made by Turkish social apparatuses which is commonly accepted by most of people in Turkish society. The regulation is related to the belief of Turkish society who puts the social and religious norm as part of their life. Hence, the regulation tends to oppress those who are against it. Moreover, the regulation is indeed opposing the side of the powerless one in terms of its social acceptance.

*The bureaucratic regulations were less keen to rescue babies born out of wedlock than those born to married couples. A fatherless baby in Istanbul was just another bastard, and a bastard just another sagging tooth in the city's jaw, ready to fall out at any time. (p. 12)*

The common social belief created by officials in Turkish society positions baby born out of unmarried couple as bastard who does not deserve to be properly accepted by the society. It is regulated by such bureaucracy that gives no excuse to the baby. The role of powerful institutions in creating and constructing people's

identity gets more obvious as it is explicitly stated that the regulations are indeed made as bureaucratic to discriminate those who were born as bastard. It sees the bastard as a result of behaving against the rule that is to have a baby before marriage, which later can oppress those who disobey.

The exclusion of those who were born as bastards from the legitimate identity opens a possibility for them to create their own personal realm of human experience rather than to depend and include themselves in the circle of common society in Turkey. Thus, the story opens up with the experience of Asya, a bastard who titled the novel who often exclude herself from any common norm, belief and tradition possessed by the people around. It is also in accordance with the description of Asya in the novel who is depicted as a free girl having different perspective and way of thinking compared to any other characters.

This is actually to note that the legitimising identity can somehow affect people of the society, at least to control those who are in it and to oppress those who are against it. In this case, common Turks are described as a part of society which holds the legitimate identity. While some other characters including Asya as narrated above attempted to liberate themselves from the influence of the powerful institutions dominance as she was somewhat oppressed by the regulations existed long before she began her life as a bastard.

In line with that, it is also supported and emphasised by the statement of Turkey as a modern nation which used to be a monarchy or empire. This construction of identity is related to what is argued by Castells (2006) that the nation is invented to be an effective tool in managing societies and their problem.

Thus, the verification on Turkey as a new nation which holds its responsibility to create and build its people's identity to be legitimate is strongly connected with the role of nation itself as the dominant social institution in the society.

*"There aren't monarchs anymore, we are a modern nation." (p. 28)*

It is Auntie Cevriye, a family member of Kazancis who is a Turkish national history teacher in a high school, who proclaimed such a statement. She is depicted as a Turkish national history teacher in order to show her competence in understanding the past history of Turkey as well as its current condition. She stated that Turkey now is a modern nation that has to enable its people to rearrange their meaning which should be different from the abolished monarchy to a modern nation.

Moreover, nation-state has a big responsibility to build multiple source of identity of its people. Nation is even considered holding a key role in creating people's identity as it often stimulates people to establish their collective identity through the institutions under its control. Consequently, when the nation fails to enshrine the identity of people, and even makes them feel alienated in their own nation, they will tend to build their own personal meaning and exclude themselves from the legitimate identity repressed by the nation (Castells, 2006).

Related to that, Turkey is sometimes still misunderstood by people, especially by Westerns as similar as Arabs countries. Therefore, it is described in the novel through the utterance spoken by Cevriye as the one who knows better the history than anyone else that Turkey is indeed different compared to any other

Arabian countries. Moreover, Turkey as a modern secular state is explicitly described in the dialogue expressed by Cevriye.

*"The problem with us Turks is that we are constantly being misinterpreted and misunderstood. The Westerners need to see that we are not like the Arabs at all. This is a modern, secular state." (p. 135)*

The data above is also to emphasise the previous one in exposing the characteristics of Turkish modern nation which is in contrast with its previous political system. It is also to display the nation's role in stimulating its people to establish their new identity. Specifically, it presents the process of identity acquisition which is proposed by Court (2001) that identity can also be acquired through the process of blind point discovery referring to tracing differences through different point of view.

Thus, the way Cevriye stated that Westerners need to see that Turkey is different than Arabs represents the way the West should see Turkey from its different point of view in order to recognise the real form of Turkish identity. Besides, it also represents the idea of distinguishing one identity to another, which in this case Cevriye tried to differentiate between Turks and Arabs. Additionally, Cevriye's statement underlined the emphasis on Turkish new political system that is a secular state just unlike any other Arabian countries.

In addition to that, it is also believed by Armanoush that Turkey is actually a Middle Eastern root. While Turks do not even want to identify themselves as Middle Eastern or Arabs as Cevriye stated above. It is also seen from the thought

of Asya who sees it as a non-sense when Armanoush asked her if Turkey is a Middle Eastern root.

*Why don't you listen to your Middle Eastern roots?"*

*"What do you mean?" Asya sounded perplexed. "We are Western."*

*"No, you are not Western. Turks are Middle Eastern but somehow in constant denial. And if you had let us stay in our homes, we too could still be Middle Easterners instead of turning into a diaspora people," Armanoush retorted, and instantly felt discomfited for she hadn't meant to sound so harsh. (p. 178)*

In creating a stronger domination, Turkish dominant social institution also attempts to decide identifying Turkey as a part of Western countries that people believe as a centre of civilisation and modernity. It is obviously proven from the perspective of Turks characters in the novel who prefer to be considered as Western rather than Middle Eastern or Arabs. Turkish legitimising identity in responding to this case subsequently presents some evidences and rationalisation in strengthening the belief of people that Turkey does belong to West countries instead. However, the perspective of non-Turkish sometimes positions Turkey as a part of Middle East.

The role of the legitimate identity in this context is that to realise and rationalise the evidence that Turkey is indeed a part of the Western. The rationalisation attempted to create then should be able to present a stronger belief on Turks to identify themselves where they actually belong. Since this kind of rationalisation is not also accepted by the non-Turkish people which are not the targeted audience of Turkish legitimising identity construction, consequently, they will not even know that Turkey can also belong to the West.

Furthermore, the changing political system of the country from monarchy or Ottoman Empire to a modern secular nation leads people to adjust and change from one condition into another new one. However, some people keep maintaining the previous system of the country which holds the value of religions than the modern one which is secular, separating the nation's business from any religious influence. It is also related to the separation of the religious symbols from people in order to assimilate to what is offered by the secular one. Thus, in the case when Auntie Banu, a family member of Kazancis who holds the Islamic value tried to wear hijab to follow the rule of her religion, then she was asked by people around her including her family to take off the symbol of faith she wore on her head.

*"What's that sorry thing on your head?" was the first reaction of Grandma Gulsum, who having not softened a wee bit after all these years still maintained her Ivan the Terrible resemblance.*

*"From this moment on I am going to cover my head as my faith requires."*

*"What kind of nonsense is that?" Grandma Gulsum frowned. "Turkish women took off the veil ninety years ago. No daughter of mine is going to betray the rights the great commander-in-chief Ataturk bestowed on the women of this country."*

*"Yeah, women were given the right to vote in 1934," Auntie Cevriye echoed. "In case you didn't know, history moves forward, not backward. Take that thing off immediately!" (p. 68)*

The dialogue of Grandma Gulsum, Auntie Banu and Auntie Cevriye is about the way Turkey has moved and transformed from the previous Ottoman Empire to Turkey Republic which is secular and modern. Gulsum and Cevriye were debating the inappropriateness of wearing hijab being practiced by Banu in the modern country like Turkey which does not any longer hold the Islamic value.

Gulsum and Cevriye considered that the movement of Turkey into a secular country somehow opens a new path that enables its people to form their identity better.

Moreover, they believed that woman wearing a veil in recent time in Turkey when it is already a modern nation is a form of betrayal to the rights bestowed on the women of Turkey by Ataturk, the founding father of Republic of Turkey. Additionally, Cevriye, from her perspective as Turkish national teacher opens up the door of historical discussion back in the time when women in Turkey were first given an opportunity to vote as another benefit people got from the changing country system. The extract above also attempts to highlight the concept of Turkey as a modern nation to build the identity of the people as a citizen of the nation which is no longer a religious country as well as how the nation facilitates its citizen to build up their source of meaning according to the nation's expectation.

The power of dominant institutions in society, which in this case is the Turkish social institutions i.e. nation, government, politic, custom, norm, tradition or belief, can somehow threaten the other less dominating institution. It can happen in the form of worry experienced by the oppressed as the dominating identity also attempts to marginalise and stigmatise the other powerless group of people who are against it. It is as obvious as narrated in several parts of the story in the novel, which one of them is as the following extract:

*"Turk Street! Aren't they everywhere?"*

*Armanoush recalled her own surprise at the girl's reaction. She had tried to explain to her that the street was named after Frank Turk, an attorney who had served as second alcalde and was important in the city's history.*



*"Whatever." Her friend had broken off the lecture, showing not too much interest in urban history. "All the same, aren't they everywhere?"*

*Yes indeed, they were everywhere, so much so that one of them was married to her mom. But this last bit of information Armanoush had kept to herself:*

*She avoided talking about her stepfather with her Armenian friends. She did not talk about him with non-Armenians either. Not even with those who had absolutely no interest in life outside of their own and therefore couldn't care less about the history of the Armenian-Turkish conflict... Since her mother was an odar, what could have been more normal for her than to get married to another odar? This being the general assumption on the part of her friends, Armanoush's stepfather was thought to be an American, presumably from the Midwest. (p. 93)*

There is the feeling of frightened or inconvenience every time the Armenians realise that Turkish influences are found everywhere and to get stronger in times. The statement expressed by Armanoush's friend above can considerably represent the fear or inconvenience of the oppressed group as the opponent of legitimising identity in recognising the dominance of Turkey which is found somewhere.

It is narrated in the extract that the girl hated and also worried at the same time knowing the name of the street as Turk might refer to something related to Turkey which threatens them, although in fact, it refers to something else. It is arguably because the dominating group influence can discourage the existence of the resisting one. Hence, something which does not actually refer to Turkish stuff can also have its own power to threaten or to create hatred to her as the domination gets expanded wider.

Besides, Armanoush who tried to explain the truth to the girl so that she could calm down also found herself in such a fear. She was not brave enough to tell anyone, either Armenians or non-Armenians, the fact that her stepfather is a

Turkish man, a member of the country which once oppressed them as minority group. Revealing the fact that she, as an Armenian, had a Turkish stepfather would be much shocking for people around her, particularly her Armenians family and friends whose aversion to something related to Turkey, is more than Armanoush's.

Thus, her decision not to tell anybody is actually to anticipate the increasing tension among the Armenians, as well as not to create such a bigger fear to them. This is also to highlight the power relation between the legitimising and some other forms of identity on how the influence of legitimising identity can affect other parts excluded from the legitimate one, especially those who are in the opponent, moreover when the extended domination has been successfully rationalised in the society.

Another key concept in establishing legitimising identity is also to extend the domination which often triggers the oppression to its opponent. The existence of oppression is actually created by the legitimate identity in order to expand the domination and long last its power to those who are against it. The description of how oppression might occur in this case is described in the data below.

*In the end minorities tore themselves apart from the larger entity at a great cost, only to create their own oppressors. Nationalism was no more than a replenishment of oppressors. Instead of being oppressed by someone of a different ethnicity, you ended up being oppressed by someone of your own. (p. 232)*

The above statement is to show how a minority can feel the oppression which might be done by the legitimate society. However, the case of the above extract is an argument addressed to an Armenian character who attempted to

discuss about the oppression projected by Turkish society, yet the Turk character tried to tackle her opinion on it by presenting such argument. What is necessary to highlight from the statement above is actually the existence of oppression felt by the group of individuals who are in opposition with the legitimate identity.

*You see, here's the difference. The oppressor has no use for the past. The oppressed has nothing but the past, commented Daughter of Sappho. (p. 261)*

The statement is to emphasise the existence of oppression made by the legitimising identity which is felt by collective individuals who are in its opponent. The above extract is a statement expressed by an Armenian character to a Turk, Asya on the internet chat room of Armenian communities, Café Constantinopolis regarding with the ignorance and denial of Turkish society toward Armenian's historical truth. Daughter of Sappho argued that Turks created such an oppression to the Armenians by ignoring the use of the past when the oppressed one possess nothing else yet the past. In nutshell, it suggests the notion that legitimising identity, in order to extend its domination, indisputably often employs such an oppression to its opponents.

In line with the extract presented above, there is also another narration on how the dominant institutions of legitimising identity influence the resisting one. In addition to the feeling of alienated, marginalised, stigmatised, and hatred, there is also a feeling of averseness to get in touch with any Turks. Turkish identity which is considered as legitimising identity in this case believed by Armenians as

an ignorant group of people who deny their own mistake they made in the past.

Thus, the Armenians tried to stay away from any influence made by Turkish.

*What are you going to talk about with ordinary Turks? asked Lady Peacock/Siramark. Look, even the well-educated are either nationalist or ignorant. Do you think ordinary people will be interested in accepting historical truths? Do you think they are going to say: Oh yeah, we are sorry we massacred and deported you guys and then contentedly denied it all. Why do you want to get yourself in trouble? (p. 118)*

Lady Peacock/Siramark typed such a statement on the Armenian community chat room called Café Constantinopolis reminding Armanoush not to be close or even to get in touch with any Turks. By doing so, Armanoush would find herself all in vain trying to contact and have a talk to Turks as they would just do what they wanted to do that is to deny the history. Therefore, the depiction of Armenian perspective shows how the Turkish identity as legitimising identity put the Armenians as a minority group in a stigmatised position as they feel alienated, ignored, and even oppressed.

Moreover, the extract presented above can actually mean beyond what it does in surface. The statement of Lady Peacock can considerably lead into a notion believing that there must be something big to question related to the logic of how the Turks can deny the massacre and deportation. It is also followed by a rhetorical question of why Armanoush is willing to get in such a trouble. It can definitely be seen as a description of how strong the legitimate identity in repressing both sides of groups of people. Either those who are included in the legitimate to follow and accept the rationalisation, or those who are in its opponents to be positioned in such pointless and harmful side.

In other words, some last expression addressed by Lady Peacock to Armanoush is that to emphasise that Turks are too strong to tackle, as well as too manipulating to be asked accepting the historical fact as possessed and kept by the Armenians as they had already built a strong rationalisation on the people. Further, it is also to show how far Turkish legitimising identity has gone to rationalise and extend their domination to the society, both Turkish and some other minor groups in building their own identity.

In line with that problem, there is also an exposition of how strong Turkish legitimising identity in the society. It is found in the extract explaining the position of Armanoush being cornered in the discussion at the Café Kundera on which Turks were trying to ask her what actually happened in 1915.

*Slowly it dawned on Armanoush that perhaps she was waiting for an admission of guilt, if not an apology. And yet that apology had not come, not because they had not felt for her, for it looked as if they had, but because they had seen no connection between themselves and the perpetrators of the crimes. (p. 164)*

The above statement portrays the expression of Armanoush who tried to get an apology from any Turks around her when they had a discussion on the so-called Armenian genocide. As Turkish legitimising identity has already been rationalised and internalised on them on how Turkey is considered never done such a genocide to the Armenians group, thus, the Turks keep silence, not to ask for apology to Armanoush just like she expected. It also reveals that the strong influence of Turkish legitimising identity is too hard to tackle as it has already been internalised on people and such effort to make them realise the turbulent past of their history will remain impossible to happen. The dominant social institutions

of Turkish seem had already administered well to its society about what to remember and to forget.

The existence of repression made by the legitimate identity which stigmatise the other type of identity building process was also described in the novel through the dialogue spoken by characters at the Café Kundera. The dialogue occurred when the Armenian character, Armanoush tried to explain the 1915s incident to the Turks as she expected them to admit the genocide.

*"People have been brainwashed," his new girlfriend rallied in an attempt to both support her lover and take revenge for the tattoo discussion. (p. 209)*

*"Well, how do you know? Maybe you too have been brainwashed," Armanoush said slowly. (p. 210)*

The statement above shows the existence of social institution's repression which attempted to control the society and its people to create a new fact, to remember particular happenings, or even to abolish a social memory. The process of brainwashing as stated above can represent the effort done by the dominating social institution to make the people accept an intentionally-created historical truth, as well as to provide them a rationalisation toward the occurrence that they were debating at the Café Kundera. Besides, from the data above, it is clear to expose the dependency of individuals in creating their own source of meaning which is indeed controlled and suppressed by the dominant institutions available around them.

In discussing the domination or strength of powerful institutions possessed by the legitimising identity, it is important to note that it often attempted to create

such a rationalisation to make its opponent feel devalued as well as lack of provable historical evidence. Therefore, the rationalisation made by the legitimate identity to the people can strengthen the fact that legitimate identity has already managed everything well and been ready to provide arguments to any debate addressed to them.

*"The claims of the Armenians are based on exaggeration and distortion.*

*Come on, some go as far as claiming that we killed two million Armenians. No historian in his right mind would take that seriously."*  
(p. 210)

The extract above shows the arguments made by a Turk character at the Café Kundera in responding to Armanoush question about the Armenian genocide. The Non-nationalist Scenarist of Ultranationalist Movies claimed that he had already done many research, scenario writing, and historical movie regarding to the issue of 1915. However, he found that the Armenians were taking it in such an exaggerating way.

This argument can somehow be considered as another result of dominating institution effort in providing the people with such a source of meaning on the issue. Moreover, it states that there would even be no historian in Turkey who would accept that. From this extract, it is obvious to see how the legitimate identity had already done its effort to long last and expand its domination. Therefore, the strong influence made by the legitimizing identity could possibly not be a dispute.

Further, it is also depicted in the story how the legitimate identity of Turks persuade the Armenians to take a different role in understanding the past, as well as to accept another influence of Turkish dominating social institution.

*Since they won't join us in our recognition of the past, we are expected to join them in their ignorance of the past. (p. 184)*

The emphasis above is also to describe the fact that Turks prefer to make Armenians join their history rather than to make themselves accept the claim made by Armenians. The power relation is obvious to see in this case as the expansion of domination is done by Turkish legitimizing identity by embracing and expecting the resisting group like Armenians who tried to fight against the legitimate identity to calm down accepting the fact made by Turkish legitimate institution. It is also projected in order to long last the domination as well as to put the legitimate identity into such a safer position so that the strength of Turkish legitimate identity will remain stronger and harder to tackle.

Some other parts of the novel also narrate the strong domination and influence spread by legitimising identity which threatens and positions Armenians minor group in a stigmatised position. The strength of Turkish force is also presented in the dominance of language used by Armenians, as well as the name of cuisine ordinarily consumed by Armenians.

*"Aaaah, do you speak Turkish?!" Auntie Banu exclaimed, flabbergasted as she walked back in with a steaming pot in her hands and Sultan the Fifth still tailing her.*

*Armanoush shook her head, half-amused, half-solemn, as if feeling sorry to let down so much anticipation. "No, no. I do not speak the Turkish language, unfortunately, but I guess I speak the Turkish cuisine. (p. 156)*



The expansion of Turkish legitimising identity domination gets more obvious through the narration above as Turkish character, Banu, as well as the member of Kazanci family found Armanoush speaking in Turkish which refers to Turkish cuisine. However, Armanoush background described in other parts of the novel highlight the similar features shared between Armenians and Turkish in terms of their language and cuisine heritage.

Therefore, the claim made by Banu as a Turk can be highlighted to represent the wider influence of Turkey in expanding its domination as legitimising identity to those identities which are less dominating and more likely to be dominated by the legitimate one. It is also to note that Banu's assumption on Armanoush as she speaks Turkish instead of seeing her as a part of Armenians who share several common features in language and food is a concrete form of legitimising identity's influence to its opponents.

In terms of language, Turkish domination as legitimising identity can also be found in some other parts of the story. However, the influence of domination does not always occur in a conflicting manner. The existence of Armenian character who has assimilated himself with the Turkish influence in such a good way is depicted in the narration to show how tranquil Turkish legitimate identity being internalised in the society, even to the individual who is originally an Armenian.

*"I learned Armenian from my grandmother too." Aram smiled. "To tell the truth, both Mom and Grandma thought I should be raised bilingual, except they disagreed about what the second language had to be. Mom thought it would be better for me to speak Turkish at school and English at home, since when I grew up, I was destined to leave this country anyway. But*

*Grandma proved resolute. She wanted Turkish at school, Armenian at home." (p. 251)*

Another aspect being targeted by the powerful social institutions of Turkish is the aspect of language. It is shown in the extract above how an Armenian character, Aram who has successfully assimilated in Turkish culture can peacefully accept Turkish as his main language used in the school. The Turkish institution in creating such a legitimate identity attempts to expand its domination to the language people use as a basic means of communication in people's daily life. Thus, the way Turkish institution succeeds its strategy in internalising the expected identity to its people can even widen the domination to those who are non-Turkish. Moreover, language is strongly believed as an effective building materials used to form people's identity.

In addition, the stronger social influence of Turkish legitimising identity is also found in an extract which tries to describe how a character whose origin is truly Armenian can accept Turkish influence on him without mattering it. He even emphasises his decision not to go anywhere or to join any Armenians communities around the world. He is convinced to choose living in Istanbul and assimilating himself with any available Turkish socio-cultural attributes he found around him instead.

*"If they are oppressing you here, you can always come to America. There are many Armenian communities there who would be more than happy to help you and your family."*

*Aram did not laugh this time. Instead he gave her a warm smile, warm but somewhat tired.*

*"Why would I want to do that, dear Armanoush? This city is my city. I was born and raised in Istanbul. My family's history in this city goes back at least five hundred years.*

*Armenian Istanbulites belong to Istanbul, just like the Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, and Jewish Istanbulites do. We have first managed and then badly failed to live together. We cannot fail again." (p. 254)*

The extract above implies the existence of oppression made by the dominating institutions in creating Turkish legitimising identity which is just another depiction of Turkish expanded domination. Explicitly, it also describes Armanoush's effort in offering Aram to join a large Armenian community in California, the United States of America. She did it to Aram in case he needs a help once he finds himself inconvenient or oppressed being an Armenian living in Istanbul. It emphasises Armanoush's belief and fear at the same time toward the presence of Turkish oppression which might threaten Aram someday.

However, Aram's decision to assimilate with Turkish society is somehow supported by his understanding and deep consideration to where he actually belongs. He states that he is also a member of Istanbul who is an Armenian individual at the same time. What he learns from the past is that the Armenians failed to live together in Turkey and such failure should not happen again. Somehow this logic leads into a notion proposed by Castells (2010c) as an ideological manipulation created by powerful institution to stimulate people's belonging to particular identity which in this case Aram feels he does belong to be a part of Istanbulite.

Therefore, Aram's perspective can also reveal the portrayal of Turkish legitimising identity which has already successfully constructed and rationalised the belief of Aram to include and identify himself to Turkish society. Moreover, it also implies Aram's thought on Turkish powerful social institutions' ability to

guarantee its people's life being a part of the legitimate group's identity. Hence, it surely underlines another strength of Turkish domination which had already expanded not only to the Turkish people, but even the Armenians whose major members are the opponents of Turkish legitimising identity.

Specifically going to the discussion of ideological manipulation, it is also explicitly stated in the novel how the legitimate identity can create such a manipulation through the collectivities.

*It is a scientifically known fact that collectivities are capable of manipulating their individual members' beliefs, thoughts, and even bodily reactions. You keep hearing a certain story over and over again, and the next thing you know you have internalized the narrative. From that moment on it ceases to be someone else's story. It is not even a story anymore, but reality, your reality!"*

The above extract is actually to emphasise the existence of ideological manipulation created by the dominant institution to make the society internalise the narrative so that the result of manipulation will finally be their reality instead of a mere story. This statement also leads into a notion affirming the process of creating a source of meaning for the collective group or even to the individuals as members of the group to be adhered with such legitimate identity. Consequently, this strength will later facilitate the legitimising identity to build a conception of civil society as proposed by Gramsci which consists of a formed series of social apparatuses established from the ideological manipulation as its basic material (Castells, 2010a).

Besides the role of dominating social institutions in introducing and providing a legitimate identity to the society, it is also presented in the novel how identity is seen as something changing and employing such a process of

construction. Some extracts on the novel display how individuals are seen as somebody who might change from time to time in terms of their adhered identity.

*...he suspecting she was too Americanised, she construing he was too Turkified. (p. 254)*

The statement reveals the identity construction as a process rather than merely a gift. Aram sees Armanoush as somebody who has been Americanised while Armanoush sees Aram as somebody who has been Turkified. The instability of identity is seen from the above extract as identity is resulted from the process of internalisation of meaning in people's life. However, it is also to note that there must be a social institution which attempted to realise the process as described from the data being analysed prior.

*Yo Madame My-Exiled-Soul, you were our war reporter and now you sound like a Turk! You have not been Turkified, have you? It was Anti Khavurma. (p. 182)*

In addition to the above discussion on the fluctuating identity, it is also presented that Armanoush, as an Armenian character who travel to Turkey to search for her part of source of meaning is considered sound like a Turk. The statement expressed by Anti Khavurma on Café Constantinopolis also underlined the process of Turkification, as a process of identity construction of the Turkish identity. All in all, it is actually to show the instability of identity which is seen as a flux from time to time as well as to propose a notion believing identity as a result of internalisation process of meaning done by the dominant social institution in the society.

In connection to the discussion of Turkish legitimising identity construction, social memory seems to have a fundamental role in realising the construction of legitimate identity. Social memory, as a building material in forming people's identity is often employed by the dominant social institutions to make sense of the identity. Moreover, the collective memory is indeed socially organised, mediated, conventionalised by the powerful institutions available in the society. Therefore, Turkey as a legitimate identity in this case often uses social memory which is introduced by mnemonic communities such as nation and family in controlling people's identity formation. Particularly on social memory which should be remembered or forgotten.

In the process of remembering, Turkish society is found to keep the memory through family as an effective mnemonic community in spreading the memory. It is stated on the extract that Turkish family has a kind of tradition telling the past of their nation from generation to generation to provide a basis for changing the present. Moreover, this kind of way is projected to create a source of legitimacy and stability among the member of family as the member of the society in its wider sense. It is in line with Misztal's statement (2003) that generational memory is a foundation of societal continuity. This process of remembering is found in the extract below.

*Asya knew this story by heart, just like she knew the many other stories repeatedly narrated under this roof. What she didn't understand, and didn't think she ever could, was the thrill her aunts derived from narrating a story of which the punch line was already known. (p. 131)*

Asya, as a family member of Kazanci is described as a girl who was often told a story over and over. The narration of story told to Asya from her family as described above is to show the role of remembering process in making sense people's identity from generation to generation in different times. In this case, it is shown that the community of memory which attempted to remember the memory is the family. It is also in accordance to another extract derived from the novel regarding to the same issue.

*"Once there was; once there wasn't.... There lived two basket weavers back in the old Ottoman days. Both were hard workers, but one had faith, the other was always grumpy. One day the sultan came to the village. He said to them: 'I will fill your baskets with wheat, and if you take good care of this wheat, the grains will turn into golden coins.' The first weaver accepted the offer with joy and filled his baskets. The second weaver, who was no less crabby than you, my dear, refused the great sultan's gift. You know what happened in the end?"*  
*"Of course I do," Asya said. "How can I not know the end of a story I must have listened to at least a hundred times? (p. 132)*

The above extract is actually to emphasise the process of remembering generational memory to the people brought by family as an essential mnemonic community in strengthening people's identity through the narratives spread across generations to stabilise and legitimise the domination of powerful society. It is even stated that the member of family, Asya was listened to such story a hundred times. Therefore, in expanding the domination, the influential social institution purposely employ the social memory available to them, either to remember or even to forget.

On the other hand, Turkish legitimising identity in the novel is found having tendency on forgetting compared to remembering. Generally, the process

of forgetting done by the Turkish legitimising identity is to demolish and to vanish the memory related to the turbulent and violent past history of Turkey. The process of forgetting depicted in the story is more likely to be a flashbulb memory which highly involves such emotions as its important component.

Moreover, the past which is projected to forget is considered threatening the domination of Turkish legitimising identity in the society. It is stated many times the way Turkish society forgot the backdrop of their dark history related to the so called Armenian genocide occurred in the last reign of Ottoman empire. Thus, the Armenians, as the resisting group thought that there was a kind of brainwash done to the Turks as it is like an intentionally arranged memory destruction done by Turkish dominant social institution to them. Consequently, many parts of the novel describe the innocence of Turks who know nothing about the 1915 incident. Some of the extracts are as follow:

*I myself have been brainwashed to deny the genocide because I was raised by some Turk named Mustafa! What kind of a joke is that? (p. 53)*

The above statement is expressed by an Armenian character who was annoyed knowing the fact that one of his family member is going to be raised by a Turkish stepfather. However, what is necessary to note from the extract is the process of massive forgetting in denying the genocide. Thus, the word brainwash above is to portray the concrete form of forgetting process intentionally done by Turkish social institution.

*A few times she had tried to converse with him about 1915 and what the Turks had done to the Armenians. "I don't know much about those things," Mustafa had replied, shutting her out with a gentle but equally stiff*



*manner. (p. 104)*

Further, it is also depicted in the extract above when the Turkish character, Mustafa was stimulated by Rose to talk about an Armenian genocide. In fact, it turns out the Turk knows nothing about that. Thus, it is definitely to highlight the result of forgetting process in making sense of Turkish legitimising identity. The similar case to the above description is also found in another extract below.

*"But unfortunately his name was on the list," Armanoush said tentatively.*

*"What list?" Auntie Cevriye wanted to know.*

*"The list of Armenian intellectuals to be eliminated. Political leaders, poets, writers, members of clergy.... They were two hundred and thirty-four people total."*

*"But why's that?" asked Auntie Banu, a question which Armanoush skipped. (p 161).*

The above dialogue was expressed by Armanoush who tried to explain the Kazanci family about the Armenian massacre in 1915. What is to note from the extract above is the way Turks questioning what happened to the Armenians as they really know nothing. It is actually another depiction of what is resulted from the process of forgetting. Consequently, the Armenians found themselves difficult to make sense of their identity as Turks never recognise Armenians's turbulent history occurred in the past.

In addition to that, some other parts of the novel also portray similar issues on the process of forgetting done by Turks which really describes the result of demolishing their past from their history as it considerably is related to the dark side of legitimate group in opposing the resisting one in the past. Thus, it is

generally represented in the principle of Turkish historical movement as stated by Cevriye.

*Auntie Cevriye echoed. "In case you didn't know, history moves forward, not backward..." (p. 68)*

According to that kind of principle, therefore, the portrayal of Turkish legitimising identity which employs the process of forgetting their dark side of the past is obviously presented in the novel many times.

*Yes, several times, but it is so difficult. The women in the house listened to my family's history with sincere interest and sorrow but that is as far as they could get. The past is another country for the Turks. (p. 183)*

*If you say this, what will be the Turks' response? Nothing! There is only one single way of becoming friends with the Turks: to be just as uninformed and forgetful. (p. 184)*

Following to the discussion of how Turkish legitimate group modifies and politicises the memory, it is also several times revealed in the story. Particularly, related to the way Turkish make a cleansed and a newly revised history according to their political control on the society.

*"My family is a bunch of clean freaks. Brushing away the dirt and dust of the memories! They always talk about the past, but it is a cleansed version of the past. That's the Kazancis' technique of coping with problems; if something's nagging you, well, close your eyes, count to ten, wish it never happened, and the next thing you know, it has never happened, hurray! Every day we swallow yet another capsule of mendacity...." (p. 147)*

The extract above highlights the way Turkish family as a part of Turkish legitimate society brush away their bad memories and attempt to create a new version one which is cleansed and considerably guaranteeing their lasting

domination. Avoiding talking about the past is not the point, yet it is about how Turkish legitimate group politicise the memory to be spread out to the society by involving the communities of memory i.e. nation and family. Therefore, the employment of such social memory in making sense of people's identity is never for granted. It must always be in such political way to expand the domination of powerful social institutions which might also be done even in such a conflicting way such as the destruction of historical sites which might possibly open up the door for historical discussion of the resisting group as follows.

*It's gone. No traces left behind...*

*There are no traces, no records, no reminiscences of the Armenian family who lived in that building at the beginning of the century. (p. 182)*

All in all, legitimising identity of Turkish is considerably realised by its powerful institutions in forming the identity of its member of society by constructing such norm, belief, tradition, custom, law, and political control, as well as employing social memory by forgetting particular occurrence in the past which might threaten their domination or remembering the history which might long last their domination. Therefore, the domination of legitimising identity will keep maintaining in such a wider expansion by doing a repression on its own society and to oppress its opponent at the same time.

### **3.2 The Construction of Resistance Identity**

Another type of identity building process, resistance identity, which is generated by actors who are in devalued position in terms of its domination in the society is also found in the novel which is adhered to Armenians community as

another member of Istanbulites. In this case, Armenians is narrated as a group of survivors who attempted to build trenches defending their right according to historical truth they hold. Armenians community, which is depicted as a powerless group of society often feel marginalised and pushed into the fringes of society. Therefore, they often tried to resist from the system that subordinates them as a minority.

In realising the boundaries of resistance, they often employ their history and self-identification to fight against the oppression they experience. It subsequently opens up the door for them to unite as well as to create the outcome of the resistance identity that is establishing and making a stronger engagement of community for the Armenian survivors in defending their power from the oppression made by legitimising Turkish identity. What is necessary to emphasise in the case of resistance identity is the existence of oppression felt by the groups as well as the feeling of worry, threatened, and pushed to the fringe of society.

*"What will that innocent lamb tell her friends when she grows up? My father is Barsam Tchakhmakhchian, my great-uncle is Dikran Stamboulian, his father is Varvant Istanbulian, my name is Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian, all my family tree has been Something Somethingian, and I am the grandchild of genocide survivors who lost all their relatives at the hands of Turkish butchers in 1915, but I myself have been brainwashed to deny the genocide because I was raised by some Turk named Mustafa! What kind of a joke is that? (p. 53)*

The above extract is the expression of an Armenian character, Dikran Stamboulian worrying about her niece's Armenianness, Armanoush who will be raised by a Turkish stepfather, Mustafa. It is obvious from the extract that Dikran's feeling of worry is a representation of oppression resulted from

legitimate identity to the resisting one. Moreover, there is also a feeling of embarrassed shown by Dikran as Armenians for being in family relation with the common enemy of Armenians, i.e. Turks. Therefore, this is to note the existence of oppression made by the powerful social institution which threatens the resisting group. Besides, it is also to highlight the Turkish influence brought by a Turk, Mustafa which might affect Armanoush's Armenianness.

*"Barsam dear, show me a Turk who speaks Armenian, will you?"*

*Instead of an answer, Barsam gave his elder sister a sidelong look.*

*Auntie Varsenig continued, "Tell me how many Turks ever learned Armenian. None! Why did our mothers learn their language and not vice versa? Isn't it clear who has dominated whom? Only a handful of Turks come from Central Asia, right? And then the next thing you know they are everywhere! What happened to the millions of Armenians who were already there? Assimilated! Massacred! Orphaned! Deported! And then forgotten! How can you give your flesh-and-blood daughter to those who are responsible for our being so few and in so much pain today? (p. 55)*

The above statement demonstrates the domination of Turkish legitimising identity which cannot also be found in the side of the Armenians. Auntie Varsenig, an Armenian character questioned her brother, Barsam how many Turks who learned Armenian while there were so many Armenians who were obliged to learn Turkish. She also stated the general demography of Turks and Armenians which are also not in such a stable and fair number. She thought that Turks can live everywhere they want, especially in their own land, while Armenians were assimilated, tortured, deported, and massacred once they were a minority group living in Turkey. Hence, this is to highlight the factor which insists Armenians to

build the trenches to defend themselves from the influence of Turkish dominating institutions, even specifically in the language aspect as described above.

*'Sorry, I cannot accept your money. This is a community service.' The Armenian is pleasantly surprised and leaves the shop. The next morning when the barber opens his shop ... guess what he finds?"*

*"A package of Burma?" Kevork suggested.*

*"No! He found a dozen Armenians waiting for a free haircut!"*

*"Are you trying to tell us that we are penny-pinching people?" Kevork asked.*

*"No, you ignorant young man," Uncle Dikran said. "All I am trying to tell you is that we care for one another. If we see something good, we immediately share it with our friends and relatives. It is because of this collective spirit that the Armenian people have managed to survive." (p. 56)*

The story told by Dikran is about a group of people who were coming to a barbershop for a haircut. There were three people who came there, Arab, Turk, and Armenian. Soon the Arab knows that it was a community service, they put a basket of dates in front of the door. Turk, as the second person who know it was a community service, put a basket of *lokum* in front of the door on the next day. While the third one is Armenian who put nothing in front of the door but dozen of Armenians waiting for free haircut.

What is important to highlight from this heart-breaking extract is actually the spirit of collectivism possessed by the Armenians in order to manage themselves to survive. In other words, this is to note the need of Armenians to unite in order to resist the domination brought by the legitimate identity which might oppress them for the power they had is quite less dominating compared to

the Turkish legitimate institution. Therefore, they strengthen the spirit of collectivism to manage their resistance and survival.

In emphasising the devalued position of Armenians in terms of its domination, it is also narrated many times in the novel how Armenians suffer and feel oppressed by the legitimate social institution of Turkish. Further, the need to resist is also depicted to show how Armenians managed to survive in such stigmatised position, moreover they were reduced in numbers.

*Her face faded from determination to resignation as she slowly bobbed her head and added: "Only an Armenian can understand what it means to be so drastically reduced in numbers. We've shrunk like a pruned tree.... Rose can date and even marry whomever she wants, but her daughter is Armenian and she should be raised as an Armenian." (p. 59)*

The above statement represents the cause of Armenians' need to survive as they were drastically reduced in numbers. It is also in connection with the previous extract on describing the need of Armenians to survive by strengthening their spirit of collectivism to build trenches together, as well as to manage surviving from such oppression addressed to them. Moreover, the statement above stated that it is only an Armenian who can understand the feeling of marginalised and pushed into the fringes of society as if emphasising the role of Armenians identity as resistance identity in this case.

In addition to that, besides to build their own identity, the resistance done by Armenians is also projected to tackle and to fight against the commonplace they shared one another that is Turks as their common enemy through the common history and culture they had possessed. The existence of resistance

group's effort to tackle the legitimising group is obvious in the extract below as Armenians attempted to unite by revolving their history and culture.

*Though the themes varied greatly, they all tended to revolve around their common history and culture- "common" oftentimes meaning "common enemy": the Turks. Nothing brought people together more swiftly and strongly-though transiently and shakily than a shared enemy. (p. 113)*

To emphasise the resistance as a part of legitimising identity, it is also described in the novel how Armanoush considered herself to be an Armenian who needs to know deeper her identity by visiting her ancestors site in Turkey. This is to highlight the acquaintance of resisting group as an inseparable part of legitimising group which enables them to last the domination addressed to the resisting one which in this case is Armenians.

*You guys were all born into the Armenian community and never had to prove you were one of them. Whereas I have been stuck on this threshold since the day I was born, constantly fluctuating between a proud but traumatized Armenian family and a hysterically anti Armenian mom. For me to be able to become an Armenian American the way you guys are, I need to find my Armenianness first. If this requires a voyage into the past, so be it, I am going to do that, no matter what the Turks will say or do. (p. 119)*

*I have never felt more Armenian in my life. You see, for me to fully experience my Armenianness, I had to come to Turkey and meet the Turks. (p. 182)*

If only it is possible to separate the influence of legitimising group from the resisting one, consequently, the domination would not work well as expected by the dominating institution. However, the fact occurred between the legitimate and resistance group did happen in the past which makes the legitimate group can last their domination as it is felt by the Armenians. This case is well described in



the extracts above when Armanoush tried to explain to her friends at Café Constantinopolis about her plan to make a visit to Turkey to find her true Armenianness as she considered that her Armenian identity is somehow another part of Turkish legitimising identity.

As it is stated previously that resistance identity constructs forms of collective resistance against the oppression by employing history to make sense of the boundaries of resistance, the resisting group should have collected and kept the memory as a material they use to make sense their history. Therefore, such idea is also often concretely described in the novel how Armenians hold their memory and history in order to fight against the oppression made by Turkish legitimising group.

*"On April 24, a Saturday, at midnight, dozens of Armenian notables living in Istanbul were arrested and forcibly taken to police headquarters. All of them had dressed up properly, spick-and-span as if going to a ceremony. They were wearing immaculate collars and elegant suits. All were men of letters. They were kept in the headquarters without an explanation until finally they were deported either to Ayash or to Chankiri. The ones in the first group were in worse condition than the second. Nobody survived in Ayash. The ones taken to Chankiri were killed gradually. My grandpa was among this group. They took the train from Istanbul to Chankiri under the supervision of Turkish soldiers. They had to walk three miles from the station to the town. Until then they had been treated decently. But during the walk from the station, they were beaten with canes and pickax handles. The legendary musician Komitas went mad as a result of what he saw. Once in Chankiri they were released on one condition: They were banned from leaving the town. So they rented rooms there, living with the natives. Every day, two or three of them would be taken by the soldiers outside the town for a walk and then the soldiers would come back alone. One day the soldiers took my grandpa for a walk too." (p. 161)*

The concrete description above is to highlight the beginning cause of Armenians resistance group which was highly influenced by their turbulent

history that Turkey had done to them. The use of such vivid historical fact as above is actually to represent the way Armenians build their trenches through the memory they had held and remembered. By employing such a material, Armenians resistance will enable the people to defend their position, as well as trying to tackle Turkish legitimate influence being spread to any social aspects available to them. However, the above description is just one among many other extracts which attempt to concretise the occurrence of genocide according to the history believed by the Armenians.

*Armanoush looked at them one by one, puzzled. She was relieved to see that the family had not taken the story as badly as she feared, but then she couldn't be sure that they had really taken it. True, they neither refused to believe her nor attacked with a counterargument. If anything, they listened attentively and they all seemed sorry. But was that the limit of their commiseration? And what exactly had she expected? Armanoush felt slightly disconcerted as she wondered whether it would have been different if she were talking to a group of intellectuals. (p. 164)*

The devalued position of the resisting group is depicted through the above narration. It narrates the expression of Armanoush disappointment once she had a discussion on Armenian genocide to the ordinary Turks, Kazanci family.

Armanoush found her effort to explain the historical truth Armenians believed along the time was in vain as the targeted object she address seem know nothing about that even to ask apology on behalf of Turkish society. The extract also highlights the way resisting group powerlessness in tackling the legitimate group as their effort to argue and defend is indeed ignored by the legitimising one.

Therefore, the extract above is actually to note another depiction of Armenians stigmatised position regarding to the debate on Armenian genocide with Turkey.

*I'm okay, wrote Madame My-Exiled-Soul. But I've not been able to find grandma's house. In its place there is an ugly modern building. It's gone. No traces left behind...*

*There are no traces, no records, no reminiscences of the Armenian family who lived in that building at the beginning of the century. (p. 182)*

It is another depiction of stigmatised position of Armenians as resisting group which had lost the material they need to build their identity. The journey Armanoush made to Istanbul to get to know her identity deeper was also in vain as she found everything related to Armenia in Istanbul was demolished already. The domination influence done by Turkey as legitimate group to Armenian as a resisting one is obviously presented in the above extract. Therefore, it is to underline another position of Armenians resisting group which is in a powerless and dominated side compared to Turkey's strong domination found everywhere as depicted many times in the novel.

Moreover, it is also supported by the fact that the Armenians which were represented by Armanoush as they felt such an oppression. This fact however was not found in Aram, as another Armenian character who live in Istanbul from long ago. Consequently, from the perspective of Armanoush who claim the existence of oppression addressed to Armenians resisting group, she offered Aram to join the Armenians American community in case he found himself oppressed. The anticipation of oppression done by Armanoush in this case can indisputably represent the oppression commonly experienced by Armenians.

*"If they are oppressing you here, you can always come to America.  
(p. 254)*

Further, the feeling of threatened experienced by the Armenians is also depicted to display the resistance group fear to survive. Consequently, their feeling of threatened is only anticipated by doing anything to make them safe and sound, including avoiding something which might enable them to be a stronger group as described in the extract below.

*All things considered, Armanoush knew, perhaps not rationally but instinctively, that the Tchakhmakhchian family's resistance to her passion for books came from a deeper, darker source than simply from an urge to remind her of the things girls her age were busy with. It was not only because she was a woman but also because she was an Armenian that she was expected to refrain twice as much from becoming a bibliophile. Armanoush had a feeling that beneath Auntie Varsenig's constant objection to her reading lay a more structural, if not primordial, concern: a fear of survival. She simply did not want her to shine too bright, to stand out from the flock. Writers, poets, artists, intellectuals were the first ones within the Armenian millet to be eliminated by the late Ottoman government. (p. 96)*

The trauma and fear experienced by Armenians regarding to the 1915s incident had not completely lost. The above narration explains Varsenig's feeling of fear to Armanoush who loves reading. Reading habit which is frequently done by Armanoush threatened Varsenig if one it leads Armanoush to be intellectual and will be considered the brain of Armenians to be first gotten rid of by the legitimate identity as its opponent.

The feeling of fear, threatened, and scared are somehow resulted from the oppression made by legitimising group to the resisting one in order to extend the domination. In this case, the above extract is to expose the impact of oppression which is experienced by a group of people who are in a resisting position. If only Armanoush is a part of the legitimate identity, consequently it is not even a matter

if she loves reading. However, the fact is that Armanoush is a member of resistance identity who subsequently must be ready to be threatened by the legitimate one, even in terms of reading habit she loves to do because the existence of intellectuals from resisting group can also frighten the domination of the legitimising group. Moreover, the suggested notion is also supported by another part of the story as the following.

*"The thing is, the Armenian intelligentsia were the first to be executed so that the community would be left without its leading brains." (p. 209)*

Regarding to the objective targeted from Armenians, as resisting group, all what they want from establishing and engaging such a strong community is actually a recognition of the past they had from Turkish society. In other words, the expected target from building such resistance identity is to make Turkey as a legitimate identity to admit the occurrence of Armenians genocide in the last reign of Ottoman Empire. Thus, it is to highlight the goal projected by resistance identity in building such a defence besides to strengthen their own identity and to tackle the legitimate one.

*All we Armenians ask for is the recognition of our loss and pain, which is the most fundamental requirement for genuine human relationships to flourish. This is what we say to the Turks: Look, we are mourning, we have been mourning for almost a century now, because we lost our loved ones, we were driven out of our homes, banished from our land; we were treated like animals and butchered like sheep. We have been denied even a decent death. Even the pain inflicted on our grandparents is not as agonizing as the systematic denial that followed. (p. 184)*

It is stated in the extract above that the recognition on Armenian genocide is something important for them as it is definitely a part of their identity building

material which should not be denied and easily forgotten by Turkey as its dominating group which oppressed them. This is also to reveal the fact that Armenians, as resisting group with such a devalued position should also be recognised and allowed to practice their rights as Armenians, not as a mere part of Turkish minor ethnic, yet as independent group of people. Therefore, the ideas of objective projected by the Armenians resisting group to build their own identity can be realised by doing so.

Going specifically to the discussion of resistance identity related to how memory or the process of remembering and forgetting take a role in forming the identity of people, it is several times described in the novel how Armenians characters and Armenians community strongly hold their memory to keep them alive throughout the time. Moreover it is in accordance with the principle of Armenians group who highly appreciate the past and history in defining who they are and where they belong.

*If you have no appreciation of history and ancestry, no memory and responsibility, and if you live solely in the present, you certainly can claim that. But the past lives within the present, and our ancestors breathe through our children and you know that.... (p. 55)*

*"You have to understand, despite all the grief that it embodies, history is what keeps us alive and united." (p. 179)*

This is to note that in general, the resistance group of Armenians tend to remember their social memory rather than to forget it as they consider it as a very influential materials to make sense of their past. Most of the social memory kept by the Armenians group are in the form of flashbulb memory as it is strongly related to an emotional evoking events which are tragic such as the Armenians

genocide or massacre and public figure assassination. It is well described and represented in some extracts below.

*What happened to the millions of Armenians who were already there? Assimilated! Massacred! Orphaned! Deported! And then forgotten! How can you give your flesh-and-blood daughter to those who are responsible for our being so few and in so much pain today? Mesrop Mashtots would turn in his grave!" Shaking his head, Barsam remained silent. (p. 55)*

*"On April 24, a Saturday, at midnight, dozens of Armenian notables living in Istanbul were arrested and forcibly taken to police headquarters. All of them had dressed up properly, spick-and-span as if going to a ceremony. They were wearing immaculate collars and elegant suits. All were men of letters. They were kept in the headquarters without an explanation until finally they were deported either to Ayash or to Chankiri. The ones in the first group were in worse condition than the second. Nobody survived in Ayash. The ones taken to Chankiri were killed gradually. My grandpa was among this group. They took the train from Istanbul to Chankiri under the supervision of Turkish soldiers. They had to walk three miles from the station to the town. (p. 161)*

All in all, the resistance identity is surely involving several key points, those are the stigmatised position, the aim to resist, to survive, and even to fight against the legitimate one, as well as to realise their projected goal. Indisputably, from the description above, it is obvious that in the case of identity construction depicted in the novel, especially regarding to the issue of Armenians genocide, Armenians group tend to keep their past history as one of the most important element in forming their identity which is brought by ethnic group as its mnemonic community. Hence, Armenians identity in this case is considerably classified as resistance identity as it is projected to oppose the influence of the legitimising group as described in advance.

### 3.2 The Construction of Project Identity

Project identity, as the last type of identity formation which occurred when individuals are available to any materials in order to build new identity enabling them to redefine their position in society. This type of identity which is more likely to be based on self-identification is often found in a group of people who had the same projected identity, or even individuals who attempt to liberate themselves from any influence spread out by the legitimate group or the resistance one. Therefore, it is found in the novel several Istanbulite characters who are considerably classified into project identity, they are Asya and Zeliha as they choose to be their own self, and to redefine who they are and where they belong.

This is in line with the concept proposed by Touraine in Castells (2010c) that project identity puts an outcome as a subject which means the desire of being an individual in creating a personal history and giving meaning to the realm of human experience in life. In this case, Asya and Zeliha are considered as representatives of the project identity as they finally decide to be independent individuals in terms of taking side between the legitimising and resisting identity as described in the previous part.

*She being none of these, it was hard to make sense of this indifference, even if it was such a flickering one. (p. 3)*

In making sense of her identity, Zeliha found herself difficult to identify herself where she actually belongs. Geographically, she was born in Istanbul as an Istanbulite. Yet her characteristics were considered in contrast with her family where she lived, as well as the common Istanbulites in general. It finally leads



Zeliha to define her own identity and to be liberating herself being her own self rather than to position to the legitimate or even the resisting identity. Further, it is also described how Zeliha differed from anybody in her family who were considerably true Istanbulite following the norm, custom, tradition, and the belief of Turkish legitimising identity.

*She was the only woman in the whole family and one of the few among all Turkish women who used such foul language so unreservedly, vociferously, and knowledgeably; (p. 4)*

The narration above is a depiction of Zeliha's differences compared to any women in Turkey who can vociferously use such foul language to anyone. This shows Zeliha's desire to be an individual in creating her own personal history and giving meaning to the realm of her own experience in life. By this suggested notion, Zeliha is considerably positioned as an individual of project identity rather than to be included as a part of Turkish legitimising identity.

In addition to that, Zeliha is also portrayed in the story as a completely different person compared to any Turks. Turkey, as a country which used to be an Islamic empire somehow still holds the religious value even not in such a stronger sense like it used to be. Zeliha, on the other hand, tends to distinguish herself from such belief. She is brave enough to be an openly irreligious woman, who also hated such religious symbol she found around her.

*In seconds another mosque joined in and then another and another. Zeliha's face contorted in discomfort. She hated it when a prayer originally designed to be called out in the pureness of the human voice was dehumanized into an electro-voice roaring over the city from microphones and cabinet speakers... Among all the Kazanci women she*

*was the only one who was openly irreligious. (p. 17)*

It is narrated that Zeliha is an openly irreligious person who is completely different with any Turks who might tend to be irreligious as well, yet they choose not to show it. Besides, Zeliha is also depicted as a woman who are often against Turkish legitimate social institution as she was often found in the opposition of the Turkish legitimate society by disobeying the constructed norms several times.

*She might have violated The Golden Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman, she might also have violated The Silver Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman... (p. 11)*

Moreover, as described in the above extract, Zeliha was also found several times violating several norms or rule of prudence created by Turkish powerful social institutions addressed to Istanbulite women, those are The Golden and Silver Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman. Consequently, even the ordinary Turks will keep questioning if she was a member of Turkish society as people found her contrasting the norms that should be followed by common Turks. Therefore, classifying Zeliha into a project identity considerably makes more sense instead.

Not only in terms of the norm and women characteristics in which Zeliha looks different than any Turks, even from her appearance or dressing, she is also in contrast to the way Turks women wear clothes in that conservative region. She often wears a mini skirt, high-heels and even with some parts of the body tattooed.

*It had therefore come as a shock to be welcomed at the Istanbul airport by Auntie Zeliha wearing an outrageously short skirt and even more outrageously high heels. What was even more startling, however, was to*

*meet Auntie Banu afterward in a head scarf and a long dress, and to learn how pious she was, praying five times a day. That the two women, despite the stark contrast in their appearance and obviously in their personalities, were sisters living under the same roof was a puzzle Armanoush figured she would have to work on for a while. (p. 154)*

The extract above describes the feeling of twisted and shocked that Armanoush experienced once she met the Kazanci family at the airport. She was shocked by the way Zeliha wear her dress as she did not imagine that such dress is allowed to wear in a conservative country like Turkey, as thought by Armanoush as an outsider. Therefore, besides the absence of feeling of belonging herself to Turkish legitimate identity, and being born with different characteristics compared to anybody, Zeliha also has a desire to pursue her own need to redefine her identity. It is no wonder if she finally decides to be a different individual than any members of Turkish legitimate society.

In discussing the project identity in the novel, it is also found another character in the novel who resembles Zeliha in terms of her desire to be free and to ben an independent woman. Asya, Zeliha's daughter is also depicted as a girl who wants to liberate herself from any influence given by her surrounding, which is Turkish legitimate identity, or even its opponent, Armenians resistance identity being introduced by her friend, Armanoush. Her decision to be a free individual who can redefine herself and build her new identity is narrated in the novel, which one of them is the following extract.

*"Well, I do not demolish anyone, do I?" Asya felt the need to defend herself. "All I want is to be free and to be myself and all that shit.... If only I could be left on my own. .." (p. 146)*

Asya has given an emphasis through her statement above on her decision to be free and to be her own self instead of identifying and including herself to particular group of people with the adhered identity. It is shown from her statement that she is on her way to draw her personal history according to the meaning she obtained through the realm of her life experience. The accomplishment of such individual projected identity which is separated from collectivity is considered by Asya as a necessary thing to achieve. Therefore, she subsequently expressed another statement which is in line with her previous expression above.

*This kind of "national responsibility" was utterly foreign to Asya Kazanci. Never before had she felt part of a collectivity and she had no intention of being so now or in the future. Yet here she was accomplishing a pretty good impersonation of someone else, someone who had gotten patriotic overnight. How could she now step outside her national identity and be her pure, sinning self? (p. 199)*

Additionally, it is supported by a judgement given by both Asya's and Zeliha's close family, Auntie Banu that they two resembled one another in having such a desire to be different than anyone and to establish their own personal identity separated from any collective cultural or social attributes introduced by the legitimate social institutions around them.

*She was discontent with the way her niece constantly made fun of religion and religiosity; in that regard she could plainly see who Asya resembled exactly: her mother. If blasphemy, more or less like breast cancer or diabetes, was genetically passed on from mother to daughter, what was the use of trying to correct it? Thus, she sighed again. (p. 154)*

Project identity, in relation to the employment of memory in making sense of the identity, Asya, as subject who liberates herself from any influence from

social institutions, decides to choose becoming a pastless person rather than as a person who is strongly influence by the past. She states that she really wants to forget most parts of her past even to easily forget everything just happened. She even prefers not having the past if it is possible. Thus, she states that she does not need any identification source from the past as she desires to be totally independent and free not even influenced by the past in identifying who she is and where she belongs.

*"What's the use of it?" was Asya's curt answer. "Why should I know anything about the past? Memories are too much of a burden." (p. 179)*

*Yours is a crusade for remembrance, whereas if it were me, I'd rather be just like Petite-Ma, with no capacity for reminiscence whatsoever." (p. 179)*

*She had always tried to distance her past as far as possible from the future she hoped to attain. In the hope that, whatever the memories of times past entailed, no matter how dark or depressing, the past would not consume her. The truth is, as much as she hated to admit it, she knew the past did live within the present. All my life I wanted to be pastless. (p. 262)*

Therefore, it is to conclude that the inclusion of Asya and Zeliha into a project identity is actually based on the facts and descriptions presented above about their desire to be independent and liberating themselves from any influence of the opposing legitimising or resisting identity. However, it is not to ignore another key point of project identity as proposed by Castells (2010c) that it must always be fleshed out with historical materials as Zeliha and Asya in this case are not obviously found to employ the historical materials which are meant. Consequently, the project identity of Zeliha and Asya is somehow subjective and unlikely to be adopted by society as whole as they are indeed concerning on their

own individual identity rather than to establish such a group with the project identity by employing such historical materials.

As the result of this study, the whole process of identity construction of Istanbulites in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* is illustrated in the following chart:

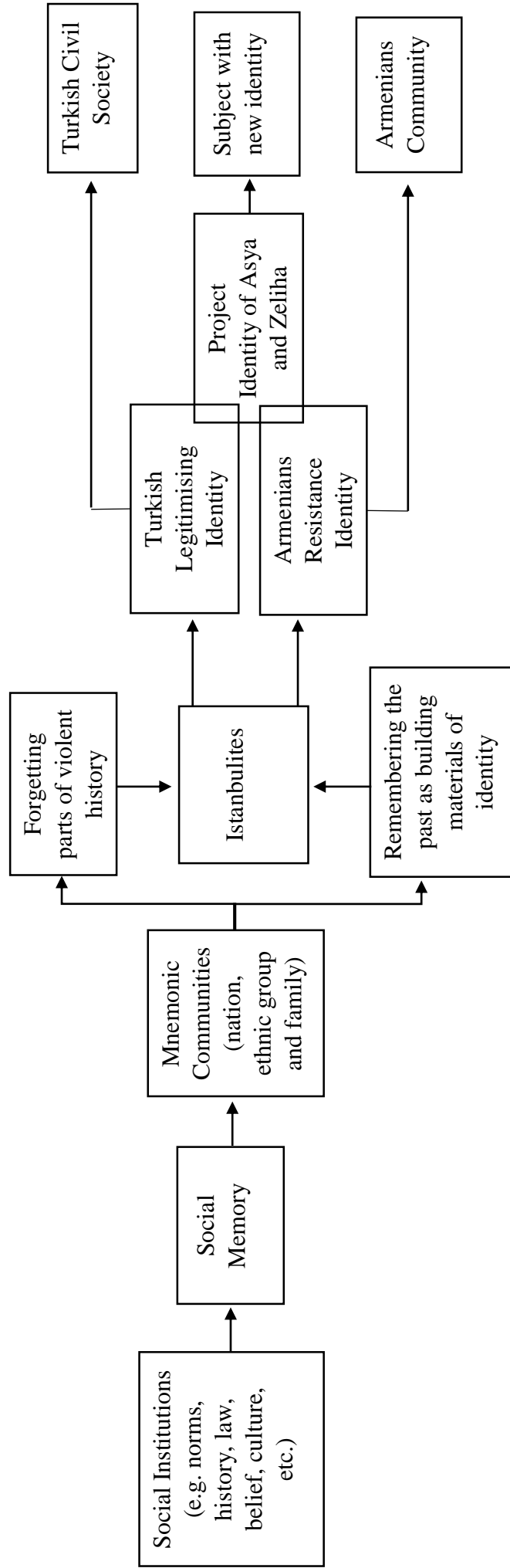


Figure 2: Identity Construction Process: The Result of the Study

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter sums up the result of the analysis on the process of identity construction of Istanbulites consisting of Turks and Armenians as two conflicting identities portrayed in Elif Shafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul*. The study reveals that the identity construction of Istanbulites involves three main aspects of identity formation which constitute the dispute of Turks and Armenians identity. It is also followed by a suggestion for further research in the end of the chapter.

#### 4.1 Conclusion

The discussion of identity which is considered as a result of meaning construction process on the basis of cultural and social attributes of society can somehow be affirmed supporting the statement that identity is indeed a social construct. Castells (2010a) states that in the process of identity formation, it often employs some building materials from social institutions like power apparatuses, religions, history, belief, norms, personal experience and collective memory. With regard to that, what is important to ask in understanding the identity formation is actually related to the question of how, from what, by whom and for what it is formed.

From the analysis of Istanbulites identity construction done on *The Bastard of Istanbul*, Turkish identity is found to be legitimising identity as it is strongly influenced by the created norms, law, customs, traditions, beliefs, and even the nation's political control as powerful social institutions to rationalise the



domination and repress the society. Besides, in controlling the society, it mostly employs the process of forgetting the social memory which can threaten their domination as well as to make a remembrance of memory that can support their power. The process of remembering and forgetting in lasting the legitimising identity of Turks is generally introduced by the nation and family as its notable mnemonic communities in the society

Whereas Armenians identity as Turkey's minor ethnic is rather positioned on resistance one which aims to build trenches to survive and resist from the domination of the legitimising. Consequently, it results in the establishment and strong relation engagement of Armenians communities around the world, which in the novel is depicted centred in San Francisco, the United States of America as a new home for Armenians refugees and immigrants. The Armenians group in resisting their identity tend to remember than to forget as they appreciate the past and history as an essential part of their identity.

The project identity is found on two main characters of the novel, Zeliha and Asya who choose not to identify themselves into particular groups or sides, but rather to be free being their own self liberating from any social influence, repression or communities' engagement. Their decision to be an independent subject with new identity is highly influenced by their exclusion from the legitimate identity as they often found themselves not suited to the constructed norms, customs, and belief of common people as the member of society.

## **4.2 Suggestion**

Since this research concerns on the discussion of identity construction of Istanbulites, i.e. Turks and Armenians as conflicting groups in the novel in such a quite general way, it is suggested to those who are interested in studying about identity to analyse another notable issue or conflict occurred in the society on behalf of identity. Moreover, the study of identity politics is also considerably worth pursuing in revealing the political interest of particular social institutions in forming and controlling the identity of people as the member of society.

Additionally, considering the features of the novel which highlight the Islamic society as its setting, it is also recommended for future researchers to analyse the integration of Islam and science within particular specific points of view. Besides, another study of identity on the more complicated problem portrayed in the more complex novel is also considered notable to conduct in finding another essential underlying process of identity construction occurred in the society. Furthermore, it is also not to ignore any other approaches in studying identity depicted in the work of art like literature by using the perspective of psychological, anthropological, or even genetic structuralism.

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## APPENDIX 1

No.	Identity		
	Legitimising	Resistance	Project
1	<i>The Golden Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman (p. 5)</i>	<i>"What will that innocent lamb tell her friends when she grows up? My father is Barsam Tchakhmakhchian, my great-uncle is Dikran Stamboulian, his father is Varvant Istanbulian, my name is Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian, all my family tree has been Something Somethingian, and I am the grandchild of genocide survivors who lost all their relatives at the hands of Turkish butchers in 1915, but I myself have been brainwashed to deny the genocide because I was raised by some Turk named Mustafa! What kind of a joke is that? (p .53)</i>	<i>She being none of these, it was hard to make sense of this indifference, even if it was such a flickering one. (p. 3)</i>
2	<i>The Silver Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman (p. 6)</i>	<i>"Barsam dear, show me a Turk who speaks Armenian, will you?" Instead of an answer, Barsam gave his elder sister a sidelong look. Auntie Varsenig continued, "Tell me how many Turks ever learned Armenian. None! Why did our mothers learn their language and not vice versa? Isn't it clear who has dominated whom? Only a handful of Turks come from Central Asia, right? And then the next thing you know they are everywhere! What happened to the millions of</i>	<i>She was the only woman in the whole family and one of the few among all Turkish women who used such foul language so unreservedly, vociferously, and knowledgeably (p. 4)</i>

		<i>Armenians who were already there? Assimilated! Massacred! Orphaned! Deported! And then forgotten! How can you give your flesh-and-blood daughter to those who are responsible for our being so few and in so much pain today? (p. 55)</i>	
3	<i>The Copper Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman (p. 11)</i>	<i>I cannot accept your money. This is a community service.' The Armenian is pleasantly surprised and leaves the shop. The next morning when the barber opens his shop ... guess what he finds?" "A package of Burma?" Kevork suggested. "No! He found a dozen Armenians waiting for a free haircut!" "Are you trying to tell us that we are penny-pinching people?" Kevork asked. "No, you ignorant young man," Uncle Dikran said. "All I am trying to tell you is that we care for one another. If we see something good, we immediately share it with our friends and relatives. It is because of this collective spirit that the Armenian people have managed to survive." (p. 56)</i>	<i>She might have violated The Golden Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman, she might also have violated The Silver Rule of Prudence for an Istanbulite Woman, but she held her ground to abide by the Copper Rule. (p. 11)</i>
4	<i>"Istanbul?" Zeliha shrugged as if to say, where else could it be? Where else on earth but here? She belonged to this city! Wasn't that visible on her face? (p. 13)</i>	<i>Her face faded from determination to resignation as she slowly bobbed her head and added: "Only an Armenian can understand what it means to be so drastically reduced in numbers. We've shrunk like a pruned tree.... Rose can date and even marry whomever she wants, but her daughter is</i>	<i>In seconds another mosque joined in and then another and another. Zeliha's face contorted in discomfort. She hated it when a prayer originally designed to be called out in the pureness of the human voice was dehumanized into an electro-</i>

		<i>Armenian and she should be raised as an Armenian." (p. 59)</i>	<i>voice roaring over the city from microphones and cabinet speakers. Among all the Kazanci women she was the only one who was openly irreligious. (p. 17)</i>
5	<i>The bureaucratic regulations were less keen to rescue babies born out of wedlock than those born to married couples. A fatherless baby in Istanbul was just another bastard, and a bastard just another sagging tooth in the city's jaw, ready to fall out at any time. (p. 12)</i>	<i>All things considered, Armanoush knew, perhaps not rationally but instinctively, that the Tchakhmakhchian family's resistance to her passion for books came from a deeper, darker source than simply from an urge to remind her of the things girls her age were busy with. It was not only because she was a woman but also because she was an Armenian that she was expected to refrain twice as much from becoming a bibliophile. Armanoush had a feeling that beneath Auntie Varsenig's constant objection to her reading lay a more structural, if not primordial, concern: a fear of survival. She simply did not want her to shine too bright, to stand out from the flock. Writers, poets, artists, intellectuals were the first ones within the Armenian millet to be eliminated by the late Ottoman government. They had first gotten rid of "the brains" and only then proceeded to extradite the rest-the laypeople. Like too many Armenian families in the diaspora, safe and sound here but never truly at ease, the Tchakhmakhchians were both elated and vexed when a child of theirs read</i>	<i>"Well, I do not demolish anyone, do I?" Asya felt the need to defend herself. "All I want is to be free and to be myself and all that shit.... If only I could be left on my own. .." (p. 146)</i>

		<i>too much, thought too much, and swerved too far away from the ordinary. (p. 96)</i>	
6	<i>"He cannot!" the teacher Cevriye broke in, missing no opportunity to show her expertise. "There aren't monarchs anymore, we are a modern nation." (p. 28)</i>	<i>Though the themes varied greatly, they all tended to revolve around their common history and culture-" common" oftentimes meaning "common enemy": the Turks. Nothing brought people together more swiftly and strongly-though transiently and shakily than a shared enemy. (p. 113)</i>	<i>While packing for her flight to Turkey she had thought hard about what kind of clothing to take with her and had ended up choosing her most modest clothes so as not to look strange in a conservative place. It had therefore come as a shock to be welcomed at the Istanbul airport by Auntie Zeliha wearing an outrageously short skirt and even more outrageously high heels. What was even more startling, however, was to meet Auntie Banu afterward in a head scarf and a long dress, and to learn how pious she was, praying five times a day. That the two women, despite the stark contrast in their appearance and obviously in their personalities, were sisters living under the same roof was a puzzle Armanoush figured she would have to work on for a while. (p. 154)</i>
7	<i>"What's that sorry thing on your head?" was the first reaction of Grandma Gulsum, who having not softened a wee bit after,, all these years still maintained her Ivan the Terrible resemblance.</i>	<i>The Janissary's Paradox is being torn between two clashing states of existence. On the one hand, the remnants of the past pile up-a womb of tenderness and sorrow, a sense of injustice and discrimination. On the other hand glimmers the promised future-a shelter decorated with the</i>	<i>This kind of "national responsibility" was utterly foreign to Asya Kazanci. Never before had she felt part of a collectivity and she had no intention of being so now or in the future. Yet here she was accomplishing a pretty good</i>



	<p><i>"From this moment on I am going to cover my head as my faith requires."</i>  <i>"What kind of nonsense is that?"</i>  <i>Grandma Gulsum frowned. "Turkish women took off the veil ninety years ago. No daughter of mine is going to betray the rights the great commander-in-chief Ataturk bestowed on the women of this country."</i>  <i>"Yeah, women were given the right to vote in 1934," Auntie Cevriye echoed.</i>  <i>"In case you didn't know, history moves forward, not backward. Take that thing off immediately!"</i> (p. 68)</p>	<p><i>trimmings and trappings of success, a sense of safety like you have never had before, the comfort of joining the majority and finally being deemed normal.</i> (p. 116)</p>	<p><i>impersonation of someone else, someone who had gotten patriotic overnight. How could she now step outside her national identity and be her pure, sinning self?</i> (p. 199)</p>
8	<p><i>"Turk Street! Aren't they everywhere?"</i>  <i>Armanoush recalled her own surprise at the girl's reaction. She had tried to explain to her that the street was named after Frank Turk, an attorney who had served as second alcalde and was important in the city's history.</i>  <i>"Whatever." Her friend had broken off the lecture, showing not too much interest in urban history. "All the same, aren't they everywhere?"</i>  <i>Yes indeed, they were everywhere, so much so that one of them was married to</i></p>	<p><i>Plurality means the state of being more than one. But that was not the case with me. I've never been able to become an Armenian in the first place, Armanoush wrote, realizing she was on the brink of making a confession. I need to find my identity. You know what I've been secretly contemplating? Going to visit my family's house in Turkey. Grandma always talks about this gorgeous house in Istanbul. I'll go and see it with my own eyes. This is a journey into my family's past, as well as into my future. The Janissary's Paradox will haunt me unless I do something to discover my past.</i> (p. 117)</p>	<p><i>"Oh, be quiet," Auntie Banu snapped, sighing. She was discontent with the way her niece constantly made fun of religion and religiosity; in that regard she could plainly see who Asya resembled exactly: her mother. If blasphemy, more or less like breast cancer or diabetes, was genetically passed on from mother to daughter, what was the use of trying to correct it? Thus, she sighed again.</i> (p. 154)</p>

	<p><i>her mom. But this last bit of information Armanoush had kept to herself: She avoided talking about her stepfather with her Armenian friends. She did not talk about him with non-Armenians either. Not even with those who had absolutely no interest in life outside of their own and therefore couldn't care less about the history of the Armenian-Turkish conflict. All the same, wise enough to know that secrets could spread quicker than dust in the wind, Armanoush maintained her silence. When you didn't tell anyone the extraordinary, everyone assumed the normal, Armanoush discovered at an early age. Since her mother was an odar, what could have been more normal for her than to get married to another odar? This being the general assumption on the part of her friends, Armanoush's stepfather was thought to be an American, presumably from the Midwest. (p. 93)</i></p>		
9	<p><i>What are you going to talk about with ordinary Turks? asked Lady Peacock/Siramark. Look, even the well-educated are either nationalist or</i></p>	<p><i>You guys were all born into the Armenian community and never had to prove you were one of them. Whereas I have been stuck on this threshold since the day I was born, constantly</i></p>	

	<p><i>ignorant. Do you think ordinary people will be interested in accepting historical truths? Do you think they are going to say: Oh yeah, we are sorry we massacred and deported you guys and then contentedly denied it all. Why do you want to get yourself in trouble? (p.118)</i></p>	<p><i>fluctuating between a proud but traumatized Armenian family and a hysterically anti Armenian mom. For me to be able to become an Armenian American the way you guys are, I need to find my Armenianness first. If this requires a voyage into the past, so be it, I am going to do that, no matter what the Turks will say or do. (p. 119)</i></p>	
10	<p><i>"The problem with us Turks is that we are constantly being misinterpreted and misunderstood. The Westerners need to see that we are not like the Arabs at all. This is a modern, secular state." (p.135)</i></p>	<p><i>"But unfortunately his name was on the list," Armanoush said tentatively.          "What list?" Auntie Cevriye wanted to know.          "The list of Armenian intellectuals to be eliminated. Political leaders, poets, writers, members of clergy.... They were two hundred and thirty-four people total."          "But why's that?" asked Auntie Banu, a question which Armanoush skipped.          "On April 24, a Saturday, at midnight, dozens of Armenian notables living in Istanbul were arrested and forcibly taken to police headquarters. All of them had dressed up properly, spick-and-span as if going to a ceremony. They were wearing immaculate collars and elegant suits. All were men of letters. They were kept in the headquarters without an explanation until finally they were deported either to Ayash or to Chankiri. The ones in the first group were in worse condition than the</i></p>	

		<p><i>second. Nobody survived in Ayash. The ones taken to Chankiri were killed gradually. My grandpa was among this group. They took the train from Istanbul to Chankiri under the supervision of Turkish soldiers. They had to walk three miles from the station to the town. Until then they had been treated decently. But during the walk from the station, they were beaten with canes and pickax handles. The legendary musician Komitas went mad as a result of what he saw. Once in Chankiri they were released on one condition: They were banned from leaving the town. So they rented rooms there, living with the natives. Every day, two or three of them would be taken by the soldiers outside the town for a walk and then the soldiers would come back alone. One day the soldiers took my grandpa for a walk too." (p. 161)</i></p>	
11	<p><i>"Aaaah, do you speak Turkish?!" Auntie Banu exclaimed, flabbergasted as she walked back in with a steaming pot in her hands and Sultan the Fifth still tailing her. Armanoush shook her head, half-amused, half-solemn, as if feeling sorry to let down so much anticipation. "No, no. I do not speak the Turkish language,</i></p>	<p><i>"They marched and marched. My grandmother's mother died on the way and before long the elderly died as well. Having no parents to look after them, the younger children lost each other amid the confusion and chaos. But after months apart, the brothers were miraculously reunited in Lebanon with the help of a Catholic missionary. The only missing sibling among those still alive was my grandmother Shushan. Nobody had heard of the fate of the infant. Nobody knew that she</i></p>	

	<i>unfortunately, but I guess I speak the Turkish cuisine. (p. 156)</i>	<i>had been taken back to Istanbul and placed in an orphanage." (p. 162)</i>	
12	<i>Slowly it dawned on Armanoush that perhaps she was waiting for an admission of guilt, if not an apology. And yet that apology had not come, not because they had not felt for her, for it looked as if they had, but because they had seen no connection between themselves and the perpetrators of the crimes. (p. 164)</i>	<i>"They were denied water and food and rest. They were made to march a long distance on foot. Women, some of them pregnant, and children, the elderly, the sick, and the debilitated . . . "Armanoush's voice now trailed off. "Many starved to death. Some others were executed." (p. 163)</i>	
13	<i>Why don't you listen to your Middle Eastern roots?" "What do you mean?" Asya sounded perplexed. "We are Western." "No, you are not Western. Turks are Middle Eastern but somehow in constant denial. And if you had let us stay in our homes, we too could still be Middle Easterners instead of turning into a diaspora people," Armanoush retorted, and instantly felt discomfited for she hadn't meant to sound so harsh. (p. 178)</i>	<i>Armanoush looked at them one by one, puzzled. She was relieved to see that the family had not taken the story as badly as she feared, but then she couldn't be sure that they had really taken it. True, they neither refused to believe her nor attacked with a counterargument. If anything, they listened attentively and they all seemed sorry. But was that the limit of their commiseration? And what exactly had she expected? Armanoush felt slightly disconcerted as she wondered whether it would have been different if she were talking to a group of intellectuals. (p. 164)</i>	
14	<i>Since they won't join us in our recognition of the past, we are expected to join them in their ignorance of the past. (p. 184)</i>	<i>I'm okay, wrote Madame My-Exiled-Soul. But I've not been able to find grandma's house. In its place there is an ugly modern building. It's gone. No traces left behind...</i>	

		<i>There are no traces, no records, no reminiscences of the Armenian family who lived in that building at the beginning of the century. (p. 182)</i>	
15	<p><i>"People have been brainwashed," his new girlfriend rallied in an attempt to both support her lover and take revenge for the tattoo discussion.</i></p> <p><i>Asya and Armanoush now exchanged looks. Within that fleeting moment the waiter appeared again and replaced the empty carafe of wine with a new one.</i></p> <p><i>"Well, how do you know? Maybe you too have been brainwashed,"</i></p> <p><i>Armanoush said slowly.</i></p> <p><i>"Yeah, what do you know?" Asya echoed. "What do we know about 1915? How many books have you read on this topic? How many controversial standpoints did you compare and contrast? What research, which literature? . . . I bet you've read nothing! But you are so convinced. Aren't we just swallowing what's given to us? Capsules of information, capsules of misinformation. Every day we swallow a handful." "I agree, the capitalist system nullifies our feelings and curtails our imagination," the Exceptionally</i></p>	<i>The opposite. I have never felt more Armenian in my life. You see, for me to fully experience my Armenianness, I had to come to Turkey and meet the Turks. (p. 182)</i>	

	<p><i>Untalented Poet broke in. "This system is responsible for the disenchantment of the world. Only poetry can save us."</i></p> <p><i>"Look," the Nonnationalist Scenarist of Ultrationalist Movies replied. "Unlike many other people in Turkey, I have done a lot of research on this issue due to my job. I write scenarios for historical movies. I read history all the time. So I talk like this not because I have heard it elsewhere or because I have been misinformed. Quite the opposite! I talk as someone who has done meticulous research on the topic." He paused to take a sip of his wine.</i></p> <p><i>"The claims of the Armenians are based on exaggeration and distortion. Come on, some go as far as claiming that we killed two million Armenians. No historian in his right mind would take that seriously." (p. 209)</i></p>		
16	<p><i>"There is such a thing as collective hysteria. I'm not saying that the Armenians are hysterical or anything, don't get me wrong. It is a scientifically known fact that collectivities are capable of manipulating their individual members' beliefs, thoughts, and even</i></p>	<p><i>All we Armenians ask for is the recognition of our loss and pain, which is the most fundamental requirement for genuine human relationships to flourish. This is what we say to the Turks: Look, we are mourning, we have been mourning for almost a century now, because we lost our loved ones, we were driven out of our homes, banished</i></p>	

	<p><i>bodily reactions. You keep hearing a certain story over and over again, and the next thing you know you have internalized the narrative. From that moment on it ceases to be someone else's story. It is not even a story anymore, but reality, your reality!" (p. 211)</i></p>	<p><i>from our land; we were treated like animals and butchered like sheep. We have been denied even a decent death. Even the pain inflicted on our grandparents is not as agonizing as the systematic denial that followed. (p. 184)</i></p>	
17	<p><i>In the end minorities tore themselves apart from the larger entity at a great cost, only to create their own oppressors. Nationalism was no more than a replenishment of oppressors. Instead of being oppressed by someone of a different ethnicity, you ended up being oppressed by someone of your own. (p. 232)</i></p>	<p><i>"The thing is, the Armenian intelligentsia were the first to be executed so that the community would be left without its leading brains." It didn't take long for the silence to be broken. "That didn't happen." The Nonnationalist Scenarist of Ultrationalist Movies shook his head vigorously. "We never heard of anything like that." He took a puff on his pipe and amid the swirling smoke looked Armanoush in the eye, his voice now dwindling into a compassionate whisper. "Look, I am very sorry for your family, I offer you my condolences. But you have to understand it was a time of war. People died on both sides. Do you have any idea how many Turks have died in the hands of Armenian rebels? Did you ever think about the other side of the story? I'll bet you didn't! How about the suffering of the Turkish families? It is all tragic but we need to understand that 1915 was not 2005. Times were different back then. It was not even a</i></p>	



		<i>Turkish state back then, it was the Ottoman Empire, for God's sake. The premodern era and its premodern tragedies." (p. 209)</i>	
18	<i>"I learned Armenian from my grandmother too." Aram smiled. "To tell the truth, both Mom and Grandma thought I should be raised bilingual, except they disagreed about what the second language had to be. Mom thought it would be better for me to speak Turkish at school and English at home, since when I grew up, I was destined to leave this country anyway. But Grandma proved resolute. She wanted Turkish at school, Armenian at home." (p. 251)</i>	<i>"If they are oppressing you here, you can always come to America. There are many Armenian communities there who would be more than happy to help you and your family." (p. 254)</i>	
19	<i>"Why would I want to do that, dear Armanoush? This city is my city. I was born and raised in Istanbul. My family's history in this city goes back at least five hundred years. Armenian Istanbulites belong to Istanbul, just like the Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, and Jewish Istanbulites do. We have first managed and then badly failed to live together. We cannot fail again." (p. 254)</i>		

20	<p><i>-he suspecting she was too Americanized, she construing he was too Turkified. The mordant gap between the children of those who had managed to stay and the children of those who had to leave.</i></p> <p><i>"Look, the Armenians in the diaspora have no Turkish friends. Their only acquaintance with the Turks is through the stories they heard from their grandparents or else from one another. And those stories are so terribly heartbreaking. But believe me, just like in every nation, in Turkey too there are good-hearted people and bad people.</i></p> <p><i>(p. 254)</i></p>		
21	<p><i>You see, here's the difference. The oppressor has no use for the past. The oppressed has nothing but the past, commented Daughter of Sappho.</i></p> <p><i>(p. 261)</i></p>		
22	<p><i>Yo Madame My-Exiled-Soul, you were our war reporter and now you sound like a Turk! You have not been Turkified, have you? It was AntiKhavurma.</i></p> <p><i>(p. 182)</i></p>		

## APPENDIX 2

No.	Social Memory	
	Being remembered	Being forgotten
1.	<i>If you have no appreciation of history and ancestry, no memory and responsibility, and if you live solely in the present, you certainly can claim that. But the past lives within the present, and our ancestors breathe through our children and you know that.... As long as Rose has your daughter, you have every right to intervene in her life. Especially when she starts dating a Turk!" (p. 55)</i>	<i>I myself have been brainwashed to deny the genocide because I was raised by some Turk named Mustafa! What kind of a joke is that? (p. 53)</i>
2.	<i>What happened to the millions of Armenians who were already there? Assimilated! Massacred! Orphaned! Deported! And then forgotten! How can you give your flesh-and-blood daughter to those who are responsible for our being so few and in so much pain today? Mesrop Mashtots would turn in his grave!" Shaking his head, Barsam remained silent. (p. 55)</i>	<i>"Yeah, women were given the right to vote in 1934," Auntie Cevriye echoed. "In case you didn't know, history moves forward, not backward. Take that thing off immediately!" (p. 68)</i>
3.	<i>Asya knew this story by heart, just like she knew the many other stories repeatedly narrated under this roof. What she didn't understand, and didn't think she ever could, was the thrill her aunts derived from narrating a story of which the punch line was already known. (p. 131)</i>	<i>A few times she had tried to converse with him about 1915 and what the Turks had done to the Armenians. "I don't know much about those things," Mustafa had replied, shutting her out with a gentle but equally stiff manner. (p. 104)</i>
4.	<i>"Once there was; once there wasn't.... There lived two basket weavers back in the old Ottoman days. Both were hard workers, but one had faith, the other was always grumpy. One day the sultan</i>	<i>"My family is a bunch of clean freaks. Brushing away the dirt and dust of the memories! They always talk about the past, but it is a cleansed version of the past. That's the Kazancis' technique of coping with</i>

	<p>came to the village. He said to them: `I will fill your baskets with wheat, and if you take good care of this wheat, the grains will turn into golden coins.' The first weaver accepted the offer with joy and filled his baskets. The second weaver, who was no less crabby than you, my dear, refused the great sultan's gift. You know what happened in the end?"</p> <p>"Of course I do," Asya said. "How can I not know the end of a story I must have listened to at least a hundred times? (p. 132)</p>	<p>problems; if something's nagging you, well, close your eyes, count to ten, wish it never happened, and the next thing you know, it has never happened, hurray! Every day we swallow yet another capsule of mendacity...." (p. 147)</p>
5.	<p>"Oh yeah!" Armanoush conceded with a nod. "Listen, about the fascination with history," she said, marshaling her thoughts. "You have to understand, despite all the grief that it embodies, history is what keeps us alive and united."</p> <p>"Well, I say that's a privilege." (p. 179)</p>	<p>If only I could have no past you know, if only I could be a nobody, start from point zero and just remain there forever. As light as a feather. No family, no memories and all that shit...."</p> <p>"Everybody needs a past," the Dipsomaniac Cartoonist took a pull from his glass, his expression hovering somewhere between rue and ire.</p> <p>"Don't count me in because I sure don't!" Asya now grabbed the Zippo on the coffee table and thumbed it to life, only to instantly snap the lighter closed with a sharp click. (p. 148)</p>
6.	<p>"On April 24, a Saturday, at midnight, dozens of Armenian notables living in Istanbul were arrested and forcibly taken to police headquarters. All of them had dressed up properly, spick-and-span as if going to a ceremony. They were wearing immaculate collars and elegant suits. All were men of letters. They were kept in the headquarters without an explanation until finally they were deported either to Ayash or to Chankiri. The ones in the first group were in worse condition than the second. Nobody survived in Ayash. The ones taken to Chankiri were killed gradually. My grandpa was among this group. They took the train from Istanbul to Chankiri under the supervision of Turkish</p>	<p>"But unfortunately his name was on the list," Armanoush said tentatively.</p> <p>"What list?" Auntie Cevriye wanted to know.</p> <p>"The list of Armenian intellectuals to be eliminated. Political leaders, poets, writers, members of clergy.... They were two hundred and thirty-four people total."</p> <p>"But why's that?" asked Auntie Banu, a question which Armanoush skipped. (p 161).</p>

	<p><i>soldiers. They had to walk three miles from the station to the town. Until then they had been treated decently. But during the walk from the station, they were beaten with canes and pickax handles. The legendary musician Komitas went mad as a result of what he saw. Once in Chankiri they were released on one condition: They were banned from leaving the town. So they rented rooms there, living with the natives. Every day, two or three of them would be taken by the soldiers outside the town for a walk and then the soldiers would come back alone. One day the soldiers took my grandpa for a walk too." (p. 161)</i></p>	
7.		<p><i>"Who did this atrocity?!" Auntie Cevriye exclaimed as if addressing a classroom of ill-disciplined students. Auntie Banu joined in her sister's reaction, although hers was inclined more toward disbelief than anger. Her eyes wide open, she tugged the ends of her head scarf as she always did in times of stress, and then heaved a prayer, as she always did when tugging the ends of her head scarf didn't get her anywhere.</i></p> <p><i>"My aunt is asking who did this?" Asya said.</i></p> <p><i>"The Turks did it," Armanoush replied, without paying attention to the implications.</i></p> <p><i>"What a shame, what a sin, are they not human?" Auntie Feride volleyed. (p. 163)</i></p>
8.		<p><i>Then she murmured, "You're fascinated with history."</i></p> <p><i>"And you aren't?" drawled Armanoush, her voice conveying both disbelief and scorn.</i></p> <p><i>"What's the use of it?" was Asya's curt answer. "Why should I know anything about the past? Memories are too much of a burden." (p. 179)</i></p>

9.		<p><i>Yours is a crusade for remembrance, whereas if it were me, I'd rather be just like Petite-Ma, with no capacity for reminiscence whatsoever."</i>  <i>"Why does the past frighten you so?"</i>  <i>Asya demurred. "It doesn't!" As the capricious to and fro of the Istanbul wind fluttered her long skirt and cigarette smoke every which way, she paused briefly. "I just don't want to have anything to do with it, that's all." (p. 179)</i></p>
10.		<p><i>I'm okay, wrote Madame My-Exiled-Soul. But I've not been able to find grandma's house. In its place there is an ugly modern building. It's gone. No traces left behind...</i>  <i>There are no traces, no records, no reminiscences of the Armenian family who lived in that building at the beginning of the century. (p. 182)</i></p>
11.		<p><i>Yes, several times, but it is so difficult. The women in the house listened to my family's history with sincere interest and sorrow but that is as far as they could get. The past is another country for the Turks. (p. 183)</i></p>
12.		<p><i>If you say this, what will be the Turks' response? Nothing! There is only one single way of becoming friends with the Turks: to be just as uninformed and forgetful. (p. 184)</i></p>
13.		<p><i>She had always tried to distance her past as far as possible from the future she hoped to attain. In the hope that, whatever the memories of times past entailed, no matter how dark or depressing, the past would not consume her. The truth is, as much as she hated to admit it, she knew the past did live within the present.  <i>All my life I wanted to be pastless. (p. 262)</i></i></p>

## CURRICULUM VITAE



**Moh. Za'imil Alivin** was born in Pamekasan, November 28, 1995. He lives at Jalan Lawangan Daya 06, Pamekasan - East Java. He is an undergraduate student of English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang majoring English Literature and Journalism. He pursued his education in TK Al-Quran Al-Kautsar Pamekasan (2001), SD Negeri Barurambat Timur I Pamekasan (2007), SMP Plus Al-Kautsar Pamekasan (2010), and MA Tahfidh Annuqayah Guluk-guluk Sumenep majoring Religion (2013). He is interested in several kinds of literary work especially which deal with identity and breaking the boundaries of West and East like Rumi's poems and Elif Shafak's novels. Besides, he is fascinated about the ideas of some notable thinker figures, i.e. Rumi on love, Elif Shafak on mysticism, memory and the past, and the power of story, as well as Slavoj Žižek and Edward Said. The challenging topics of discussion for him are identity, post colonialism, minority rights, mysticism and explorations on literary works based on social issues happened in reality. In a more practical way, he also encourages himself for a change, either a small or even the big one. Currently, he is working as a research officer intern at Centre for Southeast Asian Social Studies of Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, as he expects to learn more about area studies focusing on Southeast Asia and to observe social problems, issues, and challenges occurred recently in order to stimulate his sensitivity in understanding the people and society. He can be contacted via email at [alif.alivin@gmail.com](mailto:alif.alivin@gmail.com)