

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada

[Home](#)

> [Research Program](#)

> Responses to Information Requests

Responses to Information Requests

Responses to Information Requests (RIR) respond to focused Requests for Information that are submitted to the Research Directorate in the course of the refugee protection determination process. The database contains a seven-year archive of English and French RIRs. Earlier RIRs may be found on the UNHCR's [Refworld](#) website. Please note that some RIRs have attachments which are not electronically accessible. To obtain a PDF copy of an RIR attachment please email Basesdedonnees.DatabaseUnit@irb-cisr.gc.ca.

28 April 2015

TUR105149.E

Turkey: Situation of Christian Turks of Armenian descent, including treatment by society and authorities (2014- April 2015)

Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Ottawa

1. Overview

According to Minority Rights Group International (MRG), a UK-based international NGO that campaigns worldwide for the rights of "disadvantaged minorities and indigenous peoples" (n.d.a), the demographics of Turkey's ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities are unknown since the state does not ask citizens to report such data for the national census (MRG Nov. 2011). Estimates of the population of Armenian Turks range from approximately 60,000 (ibid., n.d.b; US 28 July 2014, 2) to 70,000 (Open Democracy 25 June 2014; *The Washington Post* 6 Aug. 2014) to as many as 100,000 (*The Guardian* 16 Apr. 2015). In 2010, Tayyip Erdogan, the former prime minister [and now president] of Turkey, reportedly said that there were approximately 170,000 Armenians living in Turkey, of which approximately 100,000 were not Turkish citizens (*The National Interest* 2 May 2014; MRG n.d.b).

The Wall Street Journal states that the "vast majority" of Armenian Turks are Christian (*The Wall Street Journal* 12 Apr. 2015). Reporting on the religious demographics of Turkey's Armenian population, MRG notes that "60,000 are Orthodox, 50,000 of whom live in Istanbul, around 2,000 are Catholic, and a small number are Protestant" (MRG n.d.b.). The US Department of State's 2013 *International Religious Freedom Report* similarly states that there are 90,000 Armenian Orthodox Christians residing in Turkey (60,000 being Turkish citizens) as well as "small, undetermined numbers" of Armenian Catholics (US 28 Jul. 2014, 2). The same source reports that non-Muslim religious groups are "mostly concentrated in Istanbul and other large cities" (ibid.).

1.1 Crypto-Armenians

According to sources, following the genocide of Armenians in 1915 [1], many Armenians converted to Islam and shed their ethnic identity (*The Armenian Weekly* 15 Nov. 2013; AFP 26 Apr. 2013). Some sources use the term "crypto-Armenian" to describe those Armenians who assimilated within Turkey's Muslim communities after 1915 (ibid.; NEWS.am 16 Nov. 2013) but are speaking about their heritage (ibid.). NEWS.am, a Yerevan-based information agency that provides news from Armenia and Armenian communities (n.d.), quotes Haykazun Alvrtsyan (the Director of the Study Center for Western Armenian Issues [Asbarez 29 Oct. 2014]), as stating that there are up to two million crypto-Armenians residing in Turkey (NEWS.am 16 Nov. 2013). Open Democracy, an independent online information platform that aims to promote human rights and democratic change (n.d.), estimates that of the several hundred thousand Muslim-Armenians whose grandparents converted following the 1915 genocide, some are turning back to Christianity (Open Democracy 25 June 2014). Similarly, The European Commission's 2012 *Turkey Progress Report*, which addresses progress

and challenges related to the enlargement of the EU, states that "[a] number of crypto-Armenians have started to use their original names and religion" (EU 10 Oct. 2012, 24).

According to the *Armenian Weekly*, an Armenian-American newspaper that publishes editorials, analyses, and columns on issues of interest to the "Diasporan-Armenian public" (n.d.), the children and grandchildren of survivors of the 1915 genocide are "coming out" and are "no longer hiding their Armenian roots" (*The Armenian Weekly* 15 Nov. 2013). *The New York Times* similarly reports that in recent years, "Turkey has allowed minorities to identify themselves more freely," thus causing an increase in the amount of Turks who openly identify as Armenian (*The New York Times* 23 Apr. 2015).

2. Treatment of Armenian Christians

According to sources, freedom of religion is protected within the Turkish Constitution (Freedom House 2015; US 28 Jul. 2014, 3). Sources further report that Armenian Christians are one of three non-Muslim minority groups officially recognized by the Turkish government (ibid.; Freedom House 2015; MRG n.d.b). Sources note that Armenian Christians were granted a special legal "minority status" under the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne (ibid.; US 28 Jul. 2014, 3). The 2013 *International Religious Freedom Report* notes that "[m]embers of religious groups that had formal recognition during the Ottoman period," including Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Protestant communities, "reported that they had freedom to practice their faiths" (ibid., 1). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

In correspondence with the Research Directorate, a professor of political science and international studies and Endowed Chair of contemporary Turkish studies at Portland State University, who has published extensively on religion and ethnicity in Turkey, stated that "[t]here is no overt official repression of the Armenian minority," in Turkey, but that Armenian Turks face discrimination "in the form of derogatory comments" from people with nationalist views (Professor 18 Apr. 2015). MRG states that, although Turkey "respects" the minority status of Armenian Christians, they are regarded as "foreigners" by most Turks (MRG n.d.b). A report published by the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), an NGO based in Istanbul that analyzes the social and political issues facing contemporary Turkey (n.d.), states that Armenians in Turkey are often perceived as "'foreigner[s]'," "'outsider[s]'," "untrustworthy" or "traitors" (TESEV May 2012, 25). *The New York Times* similarly notes that the word "Armenian" is considered an insult in Turkey and is often used "as a suggestion that someone is a traitor" (*The New York Times* 23 Apr. 2015).

According to a 16 April 2015 article published by the *Guardian*, many Armenians in Turkey are "too wary of local hostilities to openly project their ethnicity" or "Christian faith" (*The Guardian* 16 Apr. 2015). The same source quotes a researcher and writer for *Agos*, a weekly-Armenian-Turkish news publication based in Istanbul, as stating that there is a "persistent fear of violence against the Armenian community in Turkey" and that, even though the situation has "somewhat improved," Armenians "are still a vulnerable group in Turkey" (ibid.). *The New York Times* quotes a Turk of Armenian descent in eastern Turkey as stating that many Armenians "are still hiding their heritage because they are frightened" (*The New York Times* 23 Apr. 2015). According to the report published by TESEV, "[t]he Armenians of Turkey try to render themselves as 'invisible' as possible in order to avoid mistreatment and potential stigmatization as a result of the negative Armenian image existing in the rest of the society" (TESEV May 2012, 27). The same source notes that Armenians face employment discrimination, including access to middle and top-tier civil service positions, as well as leadership positions in commercial organizations (ibid. 26-27).

2.1 Acts of Violence

According to sources, from November 2012 to January 2013, there were a series of attacks against elderly Turkish-Armenian women committed in the Samatya neighbourhood of Istanbul, including a fatal stabbing of an 85-year-old woman in her home (AI 28 Jan. 2013; *The Economist* 29 Jan. 2013). *The Economist* reports that five elderly women were attacked (ibid.), while Amnesty International (AI) reports that there were four victims (AI 28 Jan. 2013). According to the *Economist*, opinions were "divided" as to the motive behind the attacks; Turkey's Human Rights Association said that there were "racial motives" to the attacks, while Istanbul's governor said the motive was theft (*The Economist* 29 Jan. 2013). AI expressed concern that authorities made statements discounting a racial motivation to the attacks and called on authorities to investigate "alleged racist and/or religious bias behind the crimes" (AI 28 Jan. 2013). Further information about the outcome of the investigation into the attacks could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Information on acts of violence committed against Armenian Turks in 2014 and 2015 could not be found amongst the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

2.2 Intimidation and Hate Speech

Sources report that non-Muslim minorities have been victims of hate speech in Turkey (Freedom House 2015; EU Oct. 2014). According to the EU's *Turkey Progress Report* for 2014, Armenians were among the groups subjected to "[h]ate rhetoric by some media" (ibid.). According to the Hrant Dink Foundation, a Turkish NGO that promotes cultural diversity (n.d.), from January to April 2014, 188 opinion columns and news articles in Turkey were identified as discriminatory towards national, ethnic, and religious groups (Hrant Dink Foundation 2014, 6). The same source states that Armenians were victimized more than any other minority group, targeted in 75 of the 188 pieces of discriminatory print media (ibid., 9).

The Washington Post states that members of Turkey's Armenian community have felt "marginalized" and "even threatened" (*The Washington Post* 6 Aug. 2014). MRG reports that "Armenians have reported that Armenian schools, businessmen, and religious institutions have been receiving threats by email, letter and phone" (MRG n.d.b). In 2012, *Today's Zaman*, an English-language newspaper in Turkey (n.d.), similarly noted that an ultra-right group "mainly active in social media" has targeted "Armenian agencies, schools, churches, foundations and individuals in Turkey as part of an anti-Armenian hate campaign" (*Today's Zaman* 28 Nov. 2012). The same source reports that the group (known as the International Association to Fight Unfounded Armenian Allegations), posts lists of Armenians and Turkish-Armenian institutions on Twitter claiming that they are "part of a conspiracy supported by the Armenian diaspora against Turkey" (ibid.). Further and corroborating information on the International Association to Fight Unfounded Armenian Allegations could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

Sources state that in 2014, Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan made derogatory comments towards Turkey's Armenian population in a televised interview (*Today's Zaman* 6 Aug. 2014; *The Washington Post* 6 Aug. 2014). According to the *Washington Post*, in August 2014, the Prime Minister responded to remarks made by political rivals, stating, "I was called Georgian. I apologize for this, but they even said [something] worse: They called me an Armenian" (ibid.). Sources note that the Prime Minister's statement incited criticism from Armenian public figures (ibid., *Today's Zaman* 6 Aug. 2014).

According to sources, there have been anti-Armenian protests in Istanbul (Asbarez 28 Feb. 2012; *National Turk* 28 Feb. 2012; *The Armenian Weekly* 22 Feb. 2015). *The Armenian Weekly* reports that in the lead-up to demonstrations condemning the Khojali [Khojaly] massacre [2], which were held in Istanbul on 22 February 2015, anti-Armenian displays of graffiti, banners, and posters were propagated throughout the city (ibid.). Sources also note that at a similar protest in 2012 to mourn the anniversary of the Khojali massacre, printed signs reading "you are all Armenians, you are all bastards" were carried by Turkish protestors in Istanbul (*National Turk* 28 Feb. 2012; Asbarez 28 Feb. 2012). According to the EU's *Turkey Progress Report for 2012*, the commemoration of the Khojaly massacre in Istanbul held in February 2012 "was marred by racist and anti-Armenian slogans and degenerated into an attempted march on the Armenian *Agos* newspaper" (EU 10 Oct. 2012, 32). Media sources state that police made arrests of several anti-Armenian protestors in 2012 (*Today's Zaman* 29 Feb. 2012) and 2015 (*Hürriyet Daily News* 22 Apr. 2015).

2.3 Cultural Expression

Sources report that the Armenian minority in Turkey is allowed to operate separate schools for their children (World Bulletin 5 June 2014; MRG n.d.b). MRG states that Armenians run private primary and secondary schools in the Armenian language (ibid.). *The International Religious Freedom Report for 2013* similarly states that Armenian Orthodox schools, which operate under the supervision of the education ministry, provide curricula unique to their culture and teach lessons in their own language (US 28 Jul. 2014, 6). According to World Bulletin, a Turkish news service based in Istanbul (n.d.), "over 3,000 students currently attend Istanbul's 16 Armenian schools" (World Bulletin 5 June 2014). Corroborating information could not be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate within the time constraints of this Response.

According to the European Commission, public debate on sensitive Armenian issues was "open and lively" (EU Oct. 2014, 51). Sources indicate that initiatives to mark "Armenian Genocide Commemoration Day" on 24 April took place peacefully in 2013 (US 27 Feb. 2014, 44) and 2014 (EU Oct. 2014, 61). The *Financial Times* states that books with the word "genocide" in the title, referring to the mass killings of Armenians in 1915, have now been published in Turkey, which was "previously unthinkable" (The Financial Times 12 Apr. 2015). The same source notes that "[u]ntil recently, references to the Armenian genocide risked prosecution in Turkey" (ibid.). Sources report that the Turkish state does not officially recognize the mass killings of Armenians in 1915 as "genocide," claiming that large numbers of Turks were also killed within Turkey during the First World War (*The New York Times* 12 Apr. 2015; *The Wall Street Journal* 12 Apr. 2015). However, sources report that in 2014, the Prime Minister of Turkey publically acknowledged the Armenian deaths of 1915 for the first time by "offering condolences" to the grandchildren of those who perished (Open Democracy 25 June 2014; *The National Interest* 2 May 2014).

2.4 Political Participation

Sources report that Armenian Turks are running for seats with both the ruling party and the main opposition parties in the June 2015 general elections (Armenpress 8 Apr. 2015; *The Financial Times* 12 Apr. 2015). *The Financial Times* notes that an ethnic Armenian also serves as a chief advisor to Turkey's Prime Minister (ibid.).

3. State Protection

Sources state that in March 2014, the Turkish Criminal Code was amended to include a clause on punishment for crimes of "hatred and discrimination" (European Network 10 Apr. 2014; EU Oct. 2014, 60). According to the EU's progress report, while the amendment increases the penalty for hate offences based on language, race, nationality, colour, gender, disability, political view, philosophical belief, religion, or sect, it does not include hate offenses based on ethnic origin, sexual orientation, or gender identity (ibid.). According to the European Network of Legal Experts in the Non-discrimination Field, a network established to provide the Commission with independent advice on all the grounds of discrimination (n.d.), it also does not include hate offenses based on age, and it does not address hate killings of minorities (European Network 10 Apr. 2014).

MRG states that the Armenian Patriarch sent a letter to the Governor of Istanbul asking for protection for Armenian institutions and businessmen against threats, but "the response was that the governorship would not be able to afford the cost and they should pay for security from private companies themselves" (MRG n.d.b).

This Response was prepared after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the Research Directorate within time constraints. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim for refugee protection. Please find below the list of sources consulted in researching this Information Request.

Notes

[1] According to the *New York Times*, the Armenian genocide involved the deaths of 1.5 million Turkish Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman Empire in 1915 (*The New York Times* N.d.). The same source quotes a World War I historian David Fromkin as stating that "[r]ape and beating were commonplace. Those who were not killed at once were driven through mountains and deserts without food, drink, or shelter. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians eventually succumbed or were killed" (ibid.). Sources state that Turkey denies that this act was a "genocide" (ibid.; *The Financial Times* 12 Apr. 2015; *The Guardian* 16 Apr. 2015).

[2] Sources report that the Khojali Massacre occurred on February 26, 1992 and involved the deaths of over 600 Azerbaijani civilians at the hands of Armenian soldiers (*Today's Zaman* 26 Feb. 2015; BBC 27 Feb. 2012). Sources further state that the massacre was part of the wider Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Armenian and Azerbaijan in the early 1990s (ibid.; *Today's Zaman* 26 Feb. 2015).

References

Agence France-Presse (AFP). 26 April 2013. "Turkey's Muslim Armenians Come out of Hiding." <<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/04/26/world/turkeys-muslim-armenians-come-out-of-hiding/#.VTAYoiHBzRY>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

Amnesty International (AI). 28 January 2013. "Turkey: Investigate Attacks Against Armenian Women in Istanbul." <<http://www.amnesty.org.au/news/comments/30911/>> [Accessed 17 Apr. 2015]

The Armenian Weekly. 22 February 2015. "Khojali: A Pretext to Incite Ethnic Hatred." <<http://armenianweekly.com/2015/02/22/ethnic-hate-against-armenians/>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

_____. 15 November 2013. Raffi Bedrosyan. "The Islamized Armenians and Us." <<http://armenianweekly.com/2013/11/15/the-islamized-armenians-and-us/>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. "History." <<http://armenianweekly.com/history/>> [Accessed 16 Apr. 2015]

Armenpress. 8 April 2015. "Political Parties to Nominate Armenian Candidates in Turkey's Parliamentary Elections." <<http://armenpress.am/eng/news/800778/political-parties-to-nominate-armenian-candidates-in-turkeys-parliamentary-elections.html>> [Accessed 15 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. "About Us." <<http://armenpress.am/eng/about/>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]

Asbarez. 29 October 2014. "2.5 Million Islamized Armenians Estimated in Turkey." <<http://asbarez.com/128378/2-5-mil-muslim-armenians-estimated-in-turkey/>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

- _____. 28 February 2012. "Inciting Hatred: Turkish Protesters Call Armenians 'Bastards'." <<http://asbarez.com/101211/inciting-hatred-turkish-protesters-call-armenians-%E2%80%98bastards%E2%80%99/>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]
- BBC. 27 February 2012. Damien McGuinness. "Nagorno-Karabakh: Remembering the Victims of Khojaly." <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17179904>> [Accessed 28 Apr. 2015]
- The Economist*. 29 January 2013. A.Z. "The Ghosts of 1915." <<http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2013/01/turkeys-armenians>> [Accessed 17 Apr. 2015]
- European Network of Legal Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field. 10 April 2014. Dilek Kurban. "News Report." <<http://www.non-discrimination.net/content/media/TR-43-Turkish%20Parliament%20adopts%20a%20law%20putting%20in%20life%20the%20democratization%20package%20of%20September%202013.pdf>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d. "About Us." <<http://www.non-discrimination.net/about-us>> [Accessed 28 Apr. 2015]
- European Union (EU). October 2014. European Commission. *Turkey Progress Report*. <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]
- _____. 10 October 2012. European Commission. *Turkey Progress Report*. <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/tr_rapport_2012_en.pdf> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]
- The Financial Times*. 12 April 2015. Daniel Dombey and James Politi. "Turkey Accuses Pope of 'Prejudice' over Armenian 'Genocide.'" <<http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/d1876b7c-e10b-11e4-8b1a-00144feab7de.html#axzz3XW1Iloz5>> [Accessed 15 Apr. 2015]
- Freedom House. 2015. "Turkey." *Freedom in the World 2015*. <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/turkey#.VTAlJCHBzRY>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]
- The Guardian*. 16 April 2015. Constanze Letsch. "Turkey Eclipses Centenary of Armenian Massacre by Moving Gallipoli Memorial." <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/16/turkey-armenia-1915-centenary-gallipoli-massacre-genocide>> [Accessed 22 Apr. 2015]
- Hrant Dink Foundation. 2014. *Media Watch on Hate Speech Periodical Report January- April 2014*. <http://www.nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/January-April2014_HateSpeechandDiscriminatoryDiscourseReport.pdf> [Accessed 21 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d. "Vision and Mission." <<http://www.hrantdink.org/?About=18&Lang=en>> [Accessed 21 Apr. 2015]
- Hürriyet Daily News. 22 April 2015. "Nine Anti-Armenian Protesters Detained in Turkey." <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/nine-anti-armenian-protesters-detained-in-turkey-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=18755&NewsCatID=339>> [Accessed 22 Apr. 2015]
- Minority Rights Group International (MRG). November 2011. "Turkey Overview." <<http://www.minorityrights.org/4387/turkey/turkey-overview.html#peoples>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d.a. "About Us." <<http://www.minorityrights.org/23/about-us/about-us.html>> [Accessed 16 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d.b. "Armenians." <<http://www.minorityrights.org/4404/turkey/armenians.html>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]
- The National Interest*. 2 May 2014. Kemal Kirisci and Andrew Moffatt. "A Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement?" <<http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/05/02-turkish-armenian-rapprochement-kirisci-moffatt>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d. "About the National Interest." <<http://nationalinterest.org/about-the-national-interest>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]
- National Turk*. 28 February 2012. "Khojaly Massacre Protests Gone Wrong in Istanbul: 'You Are All Armenian, You Are All Bastards'." <<http://www.nationalturk.com/en/khodzhaly-massacre-protests-gone-wrong-in-istanbul-you-are-all-armenian-you-are-all-bastards-16707>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]
- News.am. 16 November 2013. "There are About 2 Million Crypto-Armenians in Turkey - Analyst." <<http://news.am/eng/news/181071.html>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]
- _____. N.d. "About Agency." <<http://news.am/eng/about/>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

The New York Times. 23 April 2015. Tim Arango. "Hidden Armenians of Turkey Seek to Reclaim their Erased Identities." <<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/world/europe/armenians-turkey.html>> [Accessed 23 Apr. 2015]

_____. 12 April 2015. "Pope Calls Killings of Armenians 'Genocide,' Provoking Turkish Anger." <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/13/world/europe/pope-calls-killings-of-armenians-genocide-provoking-turkish-anger.html?_r=0> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. John Kifner. "Armenian Genocide of 1915: An Overview." <http://www.nytimes.com/ref/timestopics/topics_armeniangenocide.html> [Accessed 28 Apr. 2015]

Open Democracy. 25 June 2014. Kerem Oktem and Christopher Sisserian. "Turkey's Armenian Opening: Towards 2015." <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/kerem-oktem-christopher-sisserian/turkeys-armenian-opening-towards-2015>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. "About." <<https://www.opendemocracy.net/about>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]

Professor of political science and international relations and Chair of contemporary Turkish studies, Portland State University. 18 April 2015. Correspondence with the Research Directorate.

Turkish Economic and Social Science Foundation (TESEV). May 2012. Günay Göksu Özdoğan and Ohannes Kiliçdagi. *Hearing Turkey's Armenians: Issues, Demands, and Policy Recommendations*. <http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/12091engErmeniler17_05_12.pdf> [Accessed 21 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. About Us. <<http://www.tesev.org.tr/about-us/TesevEng/1.html>> [Accessed 21 Apr. 2015]

Today's Zaman. 26 February 2015. "Khojaly Massacre Victims Commemorated Internationally on 23rd Anniversary." <http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_khojaly-massacre-victims-commemorated-internationally-on-23rd-anniversary_373718.html> [Accessed 28 Apr. 2015]

_____. 6 August 2014. "PM Uses Offensive Racist Language Targeting Armenians." <http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_pm-uses-offensive-racist-language-targeting-armenians_354746.html> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

_____. 28 November 2012. "Ultra-nationalist Group Targets Turkey's Armenians." <http://www.todayszaman.com/national_ultra-nationalist-group-targets-turkeys-armenians_299589.html> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

_____. 29 February 2012. "Investigation Launched into Racist Slogans in Istanbul's Khojaly Rally." <<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-272933-investigation-launched-into-racist-slogans-in-istanbuls-khojaly-rally.html>> [Accessed 22 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. "About Today's Zaman." <<http://www.todayszaman.com/about-us>> [Accessed 22 Apr. 2015]

United States (US). 28 July 2014. Department of State. "Turkey." *International Religious Freedom Report for 2013*. <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/222489.pdf>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]

_____. 30 April 2014. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). "Turkey." *Annual Report 2014*. <<http://www.uscifr.gov/sites/default/files/Turkey%202014.pdf>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]

_____. 27 February 2014. Department of State. "Turkey." *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013*. <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/220551.pdf>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]

The Wall Street Journal. 12 April 2015. Francis X. Rocca and Emre Peker. "Pope Francis Calls Armenian Deaths 'First Genocide of 20th Century'." <<http://www.wsj.com/articles/pope-francis-calls-armenian-slaughter-first-genocide-of-20th-century-1428824472>> [Accessed 14 Apr. 2015]

The Washington Post. 6 August 2014. Adam Taylor. "Is 'Armenian' an Insult? Turkey's Prime Minister Seems to Think So." <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/08/06/is-armenian-an-insult-turkeys-prime-minister-seems-to-think-so/>> [Accessed 8 Apr. 2015]

World Bulletin. 5 June 2014. "In Istanbul, There are 22 Minority Schools; Five of Them Belong to the Greek Minority while One is Jewish." <<http://www.worldbulletin.net/haber/138307/istanbul-armenians-build-first-school-since-1923>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]

_____. N.d. "About Us." <<http://www.worldbulletin.net/pages/about>> [Accessed 9 Apr. 2015]

Additional Sources Consulted

Oral sources: Attempts to contact the following were unsuccessful within the time constraints of this Response: Canada – Embassy to Turkey; Director of the Middle East Institute's Center for Turkish Studies; Hafiza Merkezi; Professor of contemporary Turkish studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science; Professor of history at Clark University; Professor of international relations at Koc University; Professor of political science at Baskent University; Professor of political science at San Francisco State University; Professor of political science and international relations at Koc University; Professor of sociology at Fatih University; Professor of sociology at Free University of Berlin; Professor of sociology at Northeastern University; Visiting Assistant Professor and Director of the Institute for Turkish Studies at Georgetown University.

Internet sites, including: *Agos*; Al Jazeera; Brookings Institution; Center for Strategic and International Studies; CNN; eoi.net; Factiva; Foreign Policy Magazine; *Human Rights Quarterly*; Human Rights Watch; *The New Yorker*; *Political Handbook of the World*; Reuters; Turkey – Ministry of Culture and Tourism, National Police, The Ombusman Institution; US – Central Intelligence Agency; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

[Tips on how to use this search engine.](#)

[Top of Page](#)

Date modified: 2014-06-11