

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

# Street Names in Yerevan and Their Effect on National Identity

by

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## ABSTRACT

After the Soviet Union collapsed and an independent Armenia was formed, many aspects of Armenian life changed. National holidays needed to be rethought, national figures needed to change and an entire outlook on national identity needed to be redrawn. In order to de-Sovietize the country, many square names, place names, building names, street names and other names were changed. But still in many parts of Armenia, Soviet remnants remain and in some cases are very visible. Collective and selective memory can shape national identity and street names are just one avenue in which the leadership in a city or a country can use as a tool in order to do just that. This study focuses on the street names in Yerevan, Armenia. The study aims at finding out if and to what extent and in what ways the street names are affecting the residents of the city. The research uses quantitative methodology with convenience sampling. Some of the findings include different type of street names having different effects on the people who reside on them.

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# INTRODUCTION

## BACKGROUND

The current Republic of Armenia was founded in September 1991 after an overwhelming majority voted in favor of independence through a referendum. Armenia's Soviet history left its mark on the country and with it, its culture. With its newfound independence, came a new beginning for the young state and historic nation. National holidays had to be rethought, some national figures needed to change, and an entire outlook for national identity needed to be redrawn.

This research will focus on one aspect of the Soviet legacy that still remains in Armenia today. Walking on the streets of Yerevan, one can still see and feel the Soviet influence over the city, and with it, the country. Downtown Yerevan is shaped like a circle and on the northern quarter overlooking the city from a top-down perspective, one will find the statue of the city designer, Alexander Tamanyan. One might say that it is just a coincidence that the street name is Moskovyan, formerly Moskva, but these names, as we will find in the research, may have larger implications than their use for directional purposes.

It is no secret that the Soviet legacy still remains in Armenia in different spheres of the culture and other agents. After independence, Armenia with its central and local governments changed many of the street names and de-Sovietized them. Of course, many remnants remain, and part of Armenia's history is Soviet and Soviet Armenia history. 51 out of 513 streets in Yerevan were renamed (Hewsen & Salvatico, 2001; Hovhanisian & Hovhanisian, 1996). A vast majority of the renamed streets were formerly Russian, Soviet, and Soviet Armenian names. All of the new names portrayed Armenian historical figures, Armenian places, and words. Below, Table 1 illustrates the transition of the street names in Yerevan, Armenia after independence.

Table 1 - Transition of Yerevan Street Names 1990 - 2017				
Street Names Changed Between 1992-1996		Total Changes Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union		
		Soviet Names (1990)		Current Names (2017)
1	Aghababyan	Zoravar Andranik	Aghababyan	Zoravar Andranik
2	Alaverdyan	Hanrapetutyan (Republic)	Alaverdyan	Hanrapetutyan (Republic)
3	Amiryan	Vramshapuh Arca	Amaranotsayn	Armenak Armenakyan
4	Andrefederatsia	Atchemian	Andrefederatsia	Atchemian
5	Atarbekyan	Zavarian	Atarbekyan	Zavarian
6	Bakvi (Baku)	Artsakh	Bakvi (Baku)	Tigran Mets/Artsakh Ave*
7	Chelyuskintsinery	Tigran Mets 3rd Side Street	Dekabristneri	Rubinyants
8	Dekabristneri	Rubinyants	Dimitrov	Azatamartikner
9	Dimitrovi	Azatamartikneri	Dzerjinksu	Aghbiur Serob
10	Djaparidze	Ulnitsu	Ejmiatsin	Admiral Isakov
11	Dzerjinksu	Aghbiur Serob	Engelsi	Deghatan
12	Engelsi	Deghatan	Eritasardutyun	Karapet Ulnetsi
13	Gorku	Kristapor	Furmanov	Mamikonians
14	Gvardiakanneri	Adonts	Gevork Hovsepyan	Garegin Hovsepyan
15	Ilich	Tsavar Aghbiur	Ghukasyan	Parpetsi
16	Hakobyan	Kalents	Gorky	Kristapor
17	Hoktemberyan	Tigran Mets	Gvardiakanneri	Nikoghayos Adonts
18	Ghukasyan	Parpetsi	Hoktemberyan	Tigran Mets
19	Kalinin	Njdeh	Kalinin	Nzhdeh
20	Kamo	Z. Kanakertsi	Kamo	Zakaria Kanakertsi
21	Kanaker 4th	Aghasu	Karmir Banaki (Red Army)	Grigor Lusavorich
22	Kasyan	Siamanto	Kharkov	Sepuh
23	Kharkov	Sepuh	Khmelnitsku	Rostom
24	Khmelnitsku	Rostom	Khorenatsu	Davit Bek
25	Khorenatsu	Davit Bek	Kirov	Koryun
26	Kirov	Koryun	Knunians	Vardanants
27	Knunians	Vardanants	Komisarner 26	Agatangeghos
28	Komeritakan	Saralandji	Koshevoy	Mantashian
29	Komisarner 26	Agatangeghos	Krupskaya	Sose
30	Koshevoy	Mantashian	Kutuzov	Giulbenkyan
31	Krupskaya	Sose	Lenin	Mashtots
32	Kutuzov	Giulbekyan	Lermontov	Sayat Nova
33	Lermontov	Sayat Nova	Marx	Khorenatsi
34	Lenin	Mashtots	Mayakovski	Sasuntsi Davit
35	Marx	Khorenatsi	Mravyan	Alek Manukyan
36	Mayakovski	Sasuntsi Davit	Nairyan	Smbat Zoravar
37	Mravyan	Manukyan	Nakhiimov	Nikol Duman
38	Nairyan	Smbat Zoravar	Nekrasov	Romanos Melikian
39	Nakhimov	Nikol Duman	Ordzhonikidze Prospect	Arshakunyats
40	Nekrasov	Melikian	Pravda	Malkhasiants
41	Pravda	Malkhasyan	Sasuntsi David	Avetis Aharonyan
42	Ordzhonikidze Prospect	Arshakunyats	Shahumyan	Beirut/Italy/V. Sargsyan/Khorhrdayan**
43	Sasuntsi David	Aharonyan	Sishors	Keri
44	Shahumyan	Khorhrdayin	Sovetashen	Nubarashen
45	Sishors	Keru	Spendiaryan	Aram
46	Spandaryan	Aram	Sundukyan	Avet Avetisyan
47	Sverdlov	Buzand	Sverdlov	Buzand
48	Tamantsineri	Bagratunyants	Tamantsineri	Bagratunians
49	Ter-Gabrielyan	Koghbatsi	Ter-Gabrielyan	Koghbatsi
50	Tsulukidze	Artsruni	Ts'ereteli	Artashesyan
51	Vatutin	Emin	Tsulukidze	Grigor Artsruni
52			Vatutin	G. Emin
Tigran Mets Street turns into Artsakh Street*				
Shahumyan Street was renamed to four different names on different segments of the street**				
Source: Report of Yerevan City Map Ministry of Science and Education RoA - (Hovhanisian & Hovhanisian, 1996)				

## PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

There are many reasons as to why it is important for a nation to be unified and share a collective identity. In recent years, national identity has been a topic of growing importance throughout many parts of the world. It is important to understand how national identity is shaped, or even, how it can be shaped. Looking back at common history and memories is one method that scholars have argued on how identity is formed. Street names are an everyday part of people's lives and go unnoticed most of the time. Not enough thought and importance is given to them in regards to their relation to how a person is affected. National figures, places, holidays, events, battles, wars and even words are often commemorated through street names. This study aims to explore and measure if street names have an effect on a person's sense of national identity and if they shape people's memories and outlook in any way.

## RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

RQ<sub>1</sub>: Do street names affect the national identity of residents in Yerevan?

Subsequently, the hypothesis of the research is:

H<sub>1</sub>: Street names affect the national identity of residents in Yerevan.



# LITERATURE REVIEW

## INTRODUCTION

Street names and place names can be viewed in many ways and serve different functions. Not only are these names, often called *city text*, all around us in our everyday lives but they can also affect us in ways that we do not regularly realize (Azaryahu, 1990, 1992). These names are always subject to change and are usually an indicator to many aspects of society in which they serve. Different authorities or peoples name landscapes, cities, streets, monuments and other places and things using different methods. The literature on this topic analyzes and delves into many aspects of the naming process and effects the names have on those that surround and experience the name. Some main categories arise in the literature and are written about in detail below. Whether it is about controlling and displaying legitimacy, constructing a national identity or using street names for practical purposes, they are all very important and serve their own roles. All of these categories have numerous sub-categories within them, all of which have been given an ample amount of consideration and attention in the various streams of literature.

## CONTROL AND LEGITIMACY OVER TERRITORY

In almost all cases, where a new power is present on a territory, names of places are changed. The *city-text* (Azaryahu, 1990, 1992) changes almost immediately in order to demonstrate and legitimize the new power in control (Faraco & Murphy, 1997, p. 123; King & Ladbury, 1982, p. 5; Yeoh, 1996, p. 299). Whether it was in Northern Cyprus, Singapore, East Germany, Israel, Spain, Iran, the Soviet Union or even California, there seems to be a natural trend of renaming places after a new power is in charge of the territory. Whether it is by conquest or simply having new authority by peaceful means, change is seen all around within the names of

places (Azaryahu, 1996; Faraco & Murphy, 1997; Forest & Johnson, 2002; Ladbury & King, 1988; Lewis, 1982; Peteet, 2005; Saparov, 2003; Yeoh, 1992).

Being able to name places, at least officially, means that the authority now in charge is legitimate (Foote, Tóth, & Árvay, 2000, p. 305; Gill, 2005, p. 480; Lewis, 1982, p. 99; Palonen, 2008, p. 220; Yeoh, 1992, p. 313). “Symbols can legitimate action and belief and, by helping to define many of the collective values underpin the community, help to identify the bounds of the society and the principles by which it is governed” (Gill, 2005, p. 480). Whether the authority’s possession of the landscape was by force or in a democratic fashion, their power can be expressed through its control. Being able to name a place anything one wants expresses ownership, strength, legitimacy and power of authority (Peteet, 2005, p. 157; Rodman & Rodman, 1985, p. 246; Verdery, 2000). At the same time, actors that gain power with forceful means, such as revolutions or conquest, usually remove the old names in order to divest from the past and create a new outlook for the place (Lewandowski, 1984; Lewis, 1982, p. 99).

There are few cases in which the losers get streets or places named after them. But again, it is important to understand that this was still given to the place by the victor. These cases are abundant and mainly occurred in the New World, especially in the United States of America (Herman, 1999; Karpenstein, 1953). Whether it was after the civil war, with confederate generals being honored, or the indigenous people being respected. Although, in regards to the latter, some might argue that this was to create a differentiation from the Europeans and for America to have a separate identity or to create a sense of exoticism to attract tourists, especially in the case of Hawaii (Faraco & Murphy, 1997, p. 125; Grounds, 2001, p. 297; Herman, 1999, p. 92). At the time, this was seen as in the best interest of the nation.

Since street names can be seen as one of the most resilient and inexpensive methods of expressing change, causing them to often be the first target (Saparov, 2003, p. 179; Yeoh, 1996, p. 299). Even as the Americans explored their western territories, it was common for Lewis and Clark and their expedition to rename the new territories and landscapes as they traveled, disregarding the names that the original inhabitants had for the places (Soldier, 2004, pp. 135–136).

Space has always been both political and strategic (Caliendo, 2011, p. 1149). The conqueror or the new authority uses it to his or her advantage by shaping what is inside it for internal and external goals. At times of peace, and sometimes at times of upheaval, the residents do not pay much attention to the meanings of the street names. But in hindsight, the meanings behind street names and the street names themselves are an indication of the structure of power and who controls it (Azaryahu, 1996, p. 321; Ladbury & King, 1988, p. 364).

## STREETS AS SYMBOLS - SHAPING COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

A people's national identity is extremely important. The direction of national identity can be paved through different methods and using different tools. Controlling the narrative of history and having a collective memory in which everyone can identify with will shape national identity together. Street and place names that are named after specific people and events are geared towards shaping people's memory in one way. To a certain extent, the authority who controls the naming process can shape collective memory and with it national identity, together, in one way or another. Streets can be seen as symbols and point towards a set of a system of values, as commemorative tools of historical figures, heroes, events that have taken place in history, even names that are

named after other places (Azaryahu, 1986; Faraco & Murphy, 1997; Foote et al., 2000; Forest & Johnson, 2002; Grounds, 2001; Palonen, 2008; Robinson, 1973; Yong, 2007).

Another factor essential to shaping national identity, is how the elites want to portray the nation publicly (Johnson, 1995). Whether they want to create a religious identity (Karpenstein, 1953), a country that respects its war heroes (Azaryahu, 1990, 1992; Demetriou, 2006), or even a country that commemorates democracy or capitalism (DeBres & Sowers, 2009; Yeoh, 1996). Depending on what names they give, they display what their nation is about through its discourse on street signs, building names, and other place names. Most nations use names of people who have contributed to the specific city, called city fathers (Yeoh, 1996, p. 300). Other people who deserve recognition are also given names too, but there are certain names which you will find in different cities within the country which represent the unity that national identity expresses. These names are of national heroes, events and places. Important collective historical names which have shaped and which will continue to shape a nation's future for centuries to come (Light, Nicolae, & Suditu, 2002, p. 135).

Migration can also be a reason for national identity to change. Immediately after WWII there was a large influx of Armenians who repatriated back to Soviet Armenia from all over the world. With them they brought their historic background from Western Armenia and the places that they had settled after they had escaped the Armenian Genocide. Some neighborhoods were renamed after the places the repatriates had immigrated from. This shaped the national identity within Soviet Armenia to broaden the limited scope it once had. Now, through place names, people could recognize the notion that the Armenian nation was not constrained by the territories of Soviet Armenia (Saparov, 2003). Likewise, during the British mandate in Palestine, with the migration of Jewish settlers, national identity was expressed through the slow but steady settlement of the

migrants. At first the street signs were in English and Arabic. Soon after more and more Jewish settlers arrived and they created a majority in some neighborhoods, Hebrew was added to the signs, with the order of Hebrew, Arabic, then English. This shows the power of the settlers growing through the symbolic representation of street names. Therefore, we can use street names and the languages they are represented in as indicators to who controls the territory (Azaryahu, 1992, p. 366; King & Ladbury, 1982; Peteet, 2005). Cox and Nash argue that this process happens to a larger degree when decolonization happens and nations are reborn and need to shape their identities with different tools around them (2001, p. 12; 1999, p. 460).

Within a state, when a new power comes along, divesting from a previous narrative of national identity is often seen. This is a bit different from erasing symbols, collective memory and national identity altogether, as is usually the case of conquest. When new political elites come about with different or new values from their predecessors, a new narrative of national identity can form (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004; Méndez-Gastelumendi, 2001). As mentioned previously, one tool can be naming streets, buildings, squares and other places.

“These dedicated spaces are physical traces (memory containers) that, at the same time, can activate social representation and interpretation. Within an institutional framework of meaning, these sites are legitimated, dominant, and even deterministic, able to direct and control memory articulations, such as commemorative street (re)naming. Sites of memory, therefore, not only validate and authenticate notions of the past but also elicit and influence identity negotiation individually and collectively” (Caliendo, 2011, p. 1150).

The size of the street, the importance of the building, the beauty of the square is important when naming. Depending on the names the authority gives to small streets or unimportant

buildings, and the names it gives to crucial boulevards or key buildings, they are measuring the importance of the hero, event or national figure. Through this method, national identity adjusts based on the importance of these figures (Alderman, 2003; Yeoh, 1992).

National identity is important to shape for many other reasons. For the political development of the country, for loyalty among its people to one another, all the way to collecting taxes and creating a military. It is important for the group to identify with each other through their collective and shared memory (Dittmer, 2004, p. 476; Herb, 2004, pp. 141–142).

In the end, through *selective vision*, a certain power, authority or elites create a national discourse through the use of our surroundings. In Azaryahu's words

“Commemorative street naming is a powerful and controversial practice. It incorporates a selective vision of the past and incorporates that version of history into the special practices of everyday life” (1996, p. 321)

## PRACTICAL USES

Street names and place names serve a very practical purpose as well. Authorities need to name streets for a number of reasons. People use them every day in order to get around from one place to another or just to specify where they are talking about. Without names, it would be very difficult to pinpoint places. Locating places using names helps us in news, trade, weather and other aspects of our everyday lives (Kapur, 2010, p. 410). Streets and places with names make it easier for us, without them people would get lost much more easily (Gill, 2005, p. 480). Although, if a place or street name is changed often, the naming process, which was supposed to make things easier, can actually cause inconvenience and confusion for the people using the changed names (Ladbury & King, 1988, p. 366). To go a step further, there are certain costs that come with

changing names, postal codes, books, street signs and more need to be changed in order to update to the official name. Residents even need to go through the hassle of contacting their family members and updating them with the change and also get new driver's licenses and identity cards (Kapur, 2010; Light et al., 2002; Nash, 1999).

In the United States, streets which are named "Main" have become very iconic. It has become a symbol for almost every American city or town. Even this, with a plain name, explains a good amount within the city structure. Every city or town which has a "Main" street, the street is designed to be the most important and largest street in the city or town, its main artery. This can also be a design in order to make it easier for tourists or newcomers to navigate within the city. After some time, the "Main" streets of every city or town represented progress, democracy and even capitalism with many shops and businesses being opened on the "Main" streets of America (DeBres & Sowers, 2009, p. 217).

## CONCLUSION

With the literature surrounding this topic, one can easily understand the importance of names around them. Whether these names are on streets, buildings, squares or other places, they shape the way we look at society around us. They give the residents a set of values and a sense of collective identity surrounding the names. Of course, like the paper discussed, these values and collective identity can be changed based on the authority at the time, and they often do after revolutions and conquest. The important lesson to derive from the literature is that street names and other names are multi-faceted. Naming is not only for marking and for directional purposes. Naming can serve an entirely new set of purposes, and it often does; whether we mean to use it for that purpose, or not.

## METHODOLOGY

For this research project, a quantitative approach was used. Data was collected through a non-probability convenience sampling strategy. Residents from Yerevan, Armenia partook in the survey based on their own free will. Therefore, the research is not considered representative of the entire population of Yerevan, Armenia. Nevertheless, this exploratory research helped gain insight and shed some new light on this particular phenomenon.

### DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS & SAMPLING

The survey questionnaires were created both in English and Armenian. Testing for the survey before distribution was conducted on a group of university students and university faculty. The feedback was taken into consideration and the survey questionnaire was improved based on the recommendations.

The survey was posted on the internet on social media websites. Facebook and email were the primary tools for the distribution of the questionnaire. The survey questionnaire was also distributed in person, but on a smaller scale than it was on the internet.

The only two target requirements for taking the survey were to be above the age of 18 and to be a resident of Yerevan. The survey questionnaire had 151 respondents in total with a vast majority submitting it through the internet. The data was then transferred to SPSS which was then used to test many different variables using many different methods such as cross tabulations, independent t-tests, regressions, and so on.



The survey instrument consisted of 31 questions. Four of the questions were open-ended where the respondents could answer in any fashion, however short or as long as they wanted the answer to be.

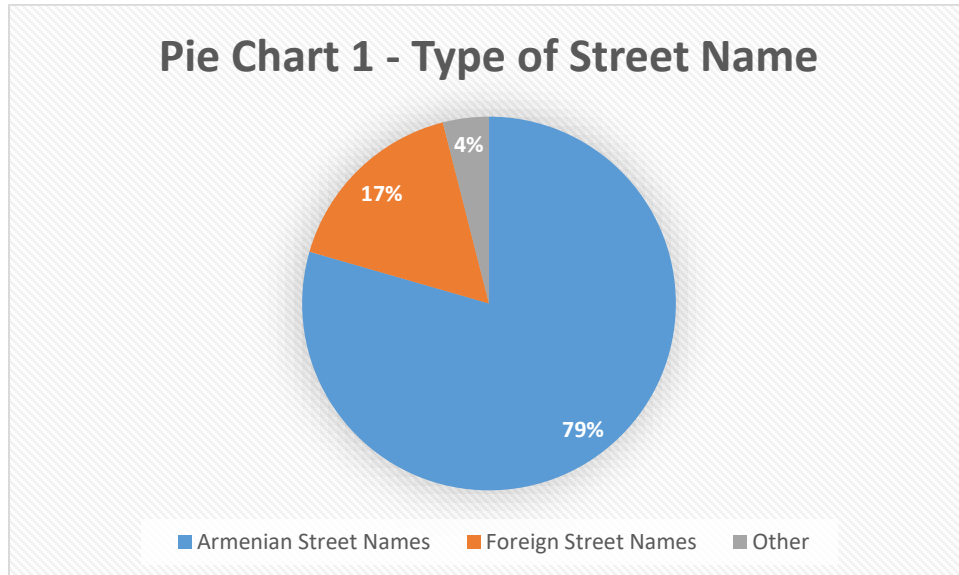
### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

There were certain limitations to this research project and they need to be explained to understand the full picture and gain a better understanding of the study. Time proved to be a major constraint on the research. One semester or just a few months proved to be too little for a major and more representative study to be conducted. Therefore, the sample size is not as high as one might want it to be. At the same time, a convenience sampling strategy was used for the same reason. After long consideration, cluster sampling and other random sampling strategies were rejected because of time and financial constraints. Cluster sampling would prove to be ineffective and inefficient since the topic of the research project had direct relation to a city's geographic structure, which in this case are streets and with it, street names. Therefore, cluster sampling was rejected because it would not serve this research since many street names or different parts of the city would be disregarded.

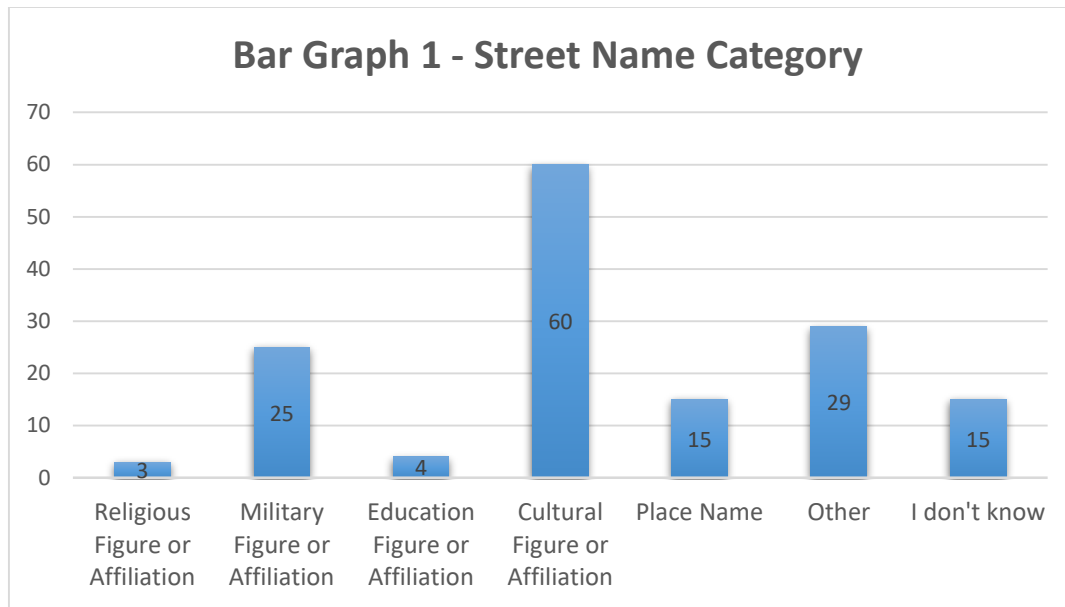
## DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

The survey instrument used for the research asked many different types of questions in order to try to get a good grasp on demographics, perception of national identity, outlook on national identity, street names, their meanings, categories of street names and many other details and indicators which we can analyze through different types of tools and methods. Below you will find a set of pie charts, tables and bar graphs representing different types of data analysis.

### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS



Pie Chart 1 above shows that 79 percent of those that were surveyed lived on street names with Armenian names. 17 percent lived on names which were foreign and four percent lived on streets which were named by other means, such as numbers. However, it is important to note that the pie chart and the data shown do not represent Yerevan's street names but rather the street names of the survey respondents.



Bar Graph 1 above shows the categories of the street names that the respondents live on. The survey question broke down street names to six categories and an “I don’t know” option. Religious, military, education, cultural, place name affiliation, other and an “I don’t know” option was given in the survey questionnaire. With a quick glance at the bar graph above, with almost 40 percent of the share, one can easily point out that cultural affiliated street names were most common among the survey respondents, and with it in Yerevan. Names that had nothing to do with the aforementioned categories consisted of 29 respondents or about 19 percent of the share. Military affiliated street names came in third with around 17 percent of the total share of those surveyed.

On the same graph, the number of respondents who did not know what their street name represented was 15 people or about 10 percent of the total population. This is a significant number and speaks volumes about the street names that are given and the lack of historical knowledge by the residents, mostly about their own history.

Table 2 - Top 11 Answers Meaning of Street Names for Respondents			
Meaning	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative %
1. Nothing/I don't know	74	49%	49%
2. Writer/Poet	11	7.3%	56.3%
3. Patriotism/Heroism	9	6%	62.3%
4. Artist	7	4.6%	66.9%
5. History	5	3.3%	70.2%
6. Home	5	3.3%	73.5%
7. Historian	4	2.6%	76.1%
8. Soviet Legacy	4	2.6%	78.7%
9. Pride	3	2%	80.7%
10. Russian Poet	3	2%	82.7%
11. Name of an Ambassador	2	1.3%	84%

The survey questionnaire also included a few open ended questions. These questions were asked to get a deeper understanding of what the street names meant to the residents as well as for other types of questions. Table 2 above shows what the survey respondents answered when asked “What does your street name mean to you?” However, it is important to note that the table does not include those answers with a frequency of one.

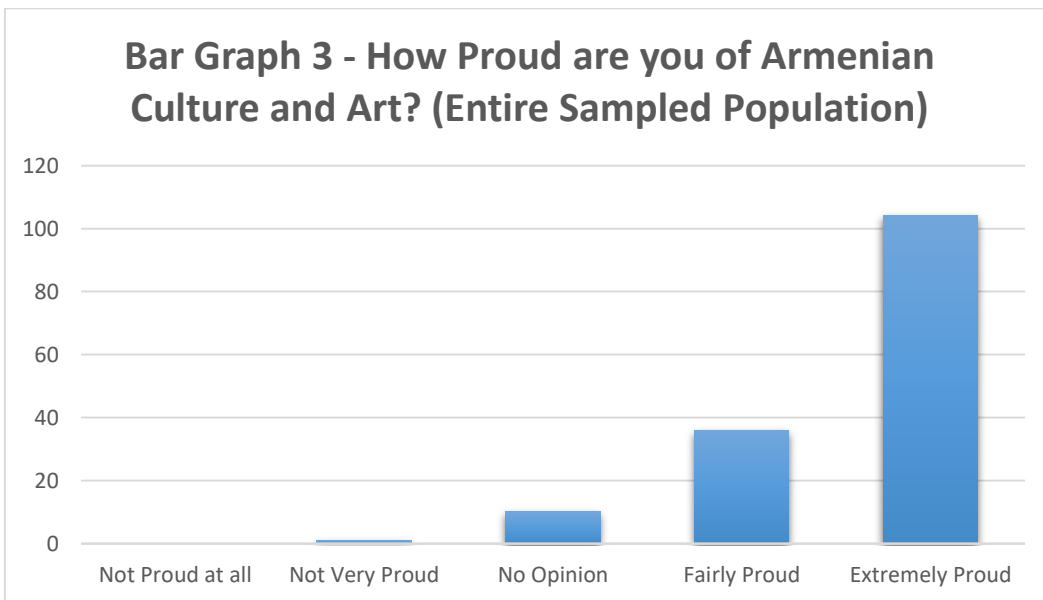
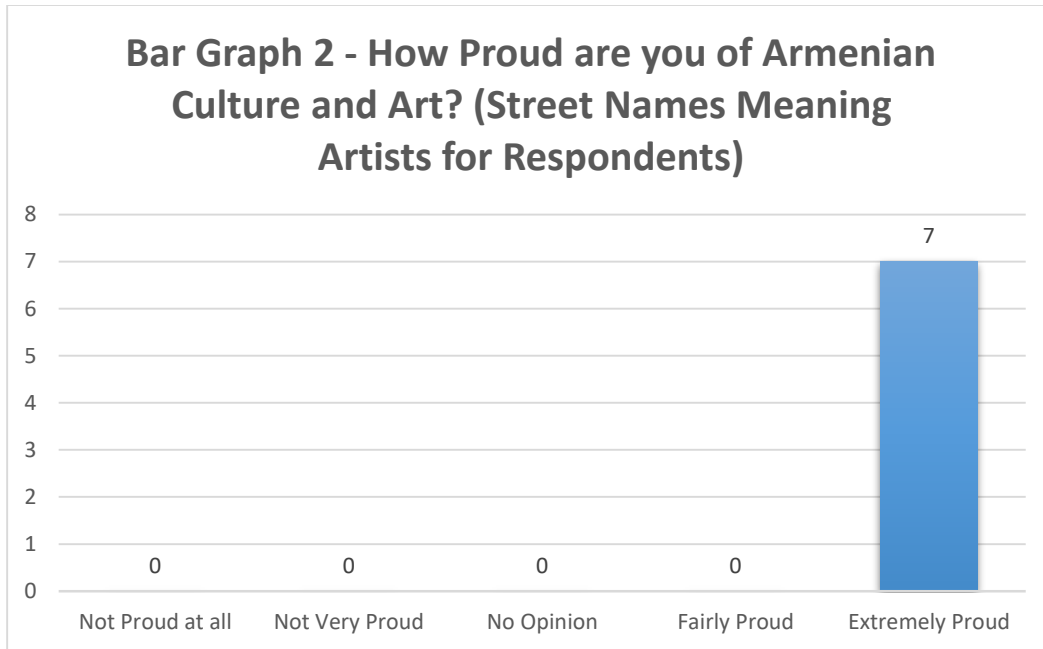
When analyzing the data found on Table 2, one might come to a shock that the number one answer with 49 percent of the total share was “nothing or I don’t know.” As we will see below in other types of analysis, the street names might mean nothing to people when asked about them but might affect them in ways that they might not even realize. Second place with a little over seven percent of the total share of the population were writers and poets. As we can see further, patriotism, heroism, history and artists were on the top of the table. A little below we see people responding with Soviet legacy, Russian poets, and ambassadors. It is important to note that foreign names used might be unfairly represented and subsequently contributed to the “I don’t know” category since the survey respondents might not know the history and names of many of the people

whom the streets are named after. At the same time this can also be true for Armenian street names. After a quick analysis of the open ended questions it was clear that a large portion of the respondents did not know many of the people whom the streets are named after, both Armenian and foreign. Armenian examples included Keri street, Vahram Papazyan street, Garegin Hovsepyan street, Hakob Hakobyan street and others. Foreign examples included Kotovski street and Fuchik street.

Below on Table 3 you will find the statistics on the aforementioned issue. Although, those that lived on Armenian named streets answered just a bit more or a 1.03/1.0 ratio with I do not know or that the name meant nothing, and those that lived on foreign named streets answered a bit less or a 0.78/1.0 ratio, the numbers are not enough to prove much. With a larger population of respondents living on a foreign named street, the issue might have been different and significant. In any case, the table still shows us that, relatively, those that live on foreign street names knew the name's meaning with a higher ratio than those living on Armenian named streets.

Table 3 - Armenian and Foreign Street Name Comparison Number of Responses to the Open Ended Question on the Survey Questionnaire on the Meaning of the Street Name		
	Armenian Name	Foreign Name
Don't Know or Meant Nothing	61	11
Different Response	59	14

Another interesting finding was made when analyzing the contents of Table 3. Artists were the fourth largest group with seven respondents answering with it in the open ended question on the survey questionnaire. Below on Bar Graph 2, a simple bar graph shows an interesting finding while doing analysis.



Bar Graph 2 shows all respondents who lived on a street name in which they deemed to be an artist answered with extremely proud or a five when asked the question “How proud are you of Armenian culture and art?” To put this in perspective the entire population’s mean was computed too. The mean for the entire population of 151 respondents was 4.61 as opposed to a mean on 5.0 for residents who lived on a street meaning artists to them. Bar Graph 2 and Bar Graph 3 do a fair

job in visually showing the reader what exactly the finding is. After more analysis, it is understood that this might be an interesting finding but the sample is too small to make any real arguments. In any case, this was an interesting matter and definitely something to look into in future research.

## REGRESSION AND OTHER ANALYSES

To compare means, show correlations and to conduct other types of analyses, different tools and methods were used. Since many questions on the survey instrument, especially those that related to street names used a nominal level of measurement and those that had to do with national identity issues used an interval level of measurement, independent t-testing was frequently used. At the same time, regression analysis was used and different variables were measured to find correlations. Below on Table 4 and Table 5 are the first set of independent t-testing.

Table 4 - Armenian Named Street Names and Foreign Street Name Comparison					
	Type of Street Name	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Other Cultures Have a Negative Impact on Armenia	Armenian Name	120	<b>2.6833</b>	1.16665	0.10650
	Foreign Name	25	<b>3.2400</b>	1.23423	0.24685

Table 5 - Significance Level		
Other Cultures Have a Negative Impact on Armenia		t-test for Equality of Means
		Sig. (2-tailed)
	Equal Variances Assumed	<b>0.33</b>
	Equal Variances Not Assumed	<b>0.46</b>

Table 4 and Table 5 above show an independent t-test analysis with two categories of street names being tested. The two categories tested were people living on Armenian street names and people who live on a foreign street name. The statement in the survey which the respondents

needed to answer was “Other cultures have a negative impact on Armenia.” The respondents were asked to answer using a Likert scale with one being “Strongly Disagree” and five being “Strongly Agree.”

As the tables above show the reader, the independent t-test that was conducted was significant as the (2-tailed) significance level was less than .05, the maximum threshold. The next two numbers to pay attention to would be the means for both category respondents. Those who lived on an Armenian named street had a mean of 2.68, which would translate to somewhere in between “Disagree” and “No Opinion” on the Likert scale, tipping just a little to no opinion. The next category, those who lived on foreign street names were given the same question and answered with a mean of 3.24. This would translate to in between “No Opinion” and “Agree” when using the Likert scale.

With the test being significant and the mean of each category differing by about 0.6 on a 5-point scale, this finding is important to the research topic. It is important to note that with the Armenian street name population being 120 and the foreign named street population being 25, the sample was still large enough to be significant. The test gives the research a clear understanding that those who live on Armenian street names, comparatively, are a little more open and accepting of different cultures as opposed to those who live on foreign street names.

Table 6 - Military and Cultural Affiliated Street Name Comparison					
	Street Name Category	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
To be Christian	Military Figure or Affiliation	25	<b>2.8</b>	1.68325	0.33665
	Cultural Figure or Affiliation	60	<b>3.6</b>	1.41661	0.18288



Table 7 - Significance Level		
To be Christian		t-test for Equality of Means
		Sig. (2-tailed)
	Equal Variances Assumed	<b>0.33</b>
	Equal Variances Not Assumed	<b>0.46</b>

Table 6 and Table 7 illustrate another independent t-test. This time the two categories have been altered to include those street names which have a military affiliation compared to street names which have a cultural affiliation. In this test, the population of cultural affiliated street names was 60 and those with military affiliation was 25. Again, just as in the earlier tables, this test was conducted using nominal measurement for the categories of street names and a Likert scale for the question of “How important is it to be Christian for being an Armenian?” Respondents needed to choose from one to five, one being “Not Important at All” and five being “Extremely Important.”

The significance level of this independent t-test is less than .05, therefore the test is significant. Those survey respondents who lived on a military affiliated street name had a mean of 2.8 when asked the question. Survey respondents who lived on a cultural affiliated street name had a mean of 3.6 when asked the same question. There is a difference of 0.8 in the means between these two categories of street names. When translating these numbers, survey respondents with military affiliated street names were in between “Disagree” and “No Opinion”, just a bit more towards the latter when asked the question. Those who lived on cultural affiliated street names were somewhere in the middle of “No Opinion” and “Agree” when asked the same question. Therefore, the test results show that Christianity being a part of Armenian identity is less important for those who live on street names with military affiliation compared to those who live on a culturally affiliated street name.

Next, the research has focused on two variables, one independent and one dependent variable in which a regression analysis was conducted. It is important to note that while the two variables were indeed important for the survey questionnaire, together they might not answer the research question but rather open up an entirely new set of questions for further researchers to explore and analyze.

**Table 8 – Regression Analysis**

Independent Variable – Residency Length

Dependent Variable – Armenia Needs a Security Partner to Survive

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	<b>.262<sup>a</sup></b>	.069	.062	1.02622

a. Predictors: (Constant), Residency Length

**ANOVA<sup>b</sup>**

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	11.477	1	11.477	10.898	<b>.001<sup>a</sup></b>
Residual	155.863	148	1.053		
Total	167.340	149			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Residency Length

b. Dependent Variable: Armenia Needs a Security Partner to Survive

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	2.777	.269		10.330	.000
Residency Length	.348	.106	.262	3.301	.001

a. Dependent Variable: Armenia Needs a Security Partner to Survive

Table 8 above shows a regression conducted with the independent variable being length of residency on a single street and the dependent variable being the answer to “Armenia needs a security partner to survive.” Both variables use a scale measurement. One uses a ratio level and the other a Likert scale, therefore an interval level of measurement.

With a significance level of 0.001, the regression is significant since it is less than the 0.05 threshold. Pearson's  $R = 0.262$  which can be translated to a moderately weak positive correlation. In any case, this finding is still a positive correlation with the independent variable affecting the dependent variable in one way or another. Translating this finding would mean that the longer a person resides on the same street the more they think that Armenia needs a security partner to survive. Of course, there are other variables at play too, this is noted in the above-mentioned text before the regression was analyzed. Age is probably another factor at play, older people might feel safer and more secure with a security partner more so than younger residents. At the same time, the reasons why someone might move from one place to another can be another factor. Students or residents moving throughout the city due to work or new residents coming from different cities throughout Armenia and even outside Armenia might have differing views regarding this question. Again as mentioned above, this can be a completely different research question, and one this study will not delve on any more. What we have learned from this regression is that residents in Yerevan who have been living on the same street for a longer period of time are more likely to agree with Armenia needing a security partner in order to survive.

## FINDINGS

The analysis of the data and statistics above gives the study the necessary information in order to answer the questions that the study started with. Different street names are having an effect on the residents of the city. Though the effect might be miniscule as we saw on the tables above, the analysis of the findings is significant. With the population surveyed, the study would be able to say that it has a few findings. First, many people, almost half the residents in Yerevan, do not know what their street name means or the name means nothing to them. Second, those surveyed that lived on a street with an Armenian name were more open to other cultures compared to those surveyed who lived on street names with a foreign name. Last, residents who live on a street which is named after a military affiliated figure see Christianity as less important to Armenian identity as opposed to residents who live on a street named after a culturally affiliated figure.

With the information mentioned above, the study accepts  $H_1$ : Street names affect the national identity of residents in Yerevan. With street names being the independent variable and national identity being the dependent variable, it is important to understand that street names are not the only variable at play when it comes to shaping national identity. Street names are just a mere fraction in an equation of hundreds if not thousands of variables which shape national identity. But with this study, it is safe to say that street names definitely do play a role in shaping national identity.

## CONCLUSION

The research study served its purpose of exploring the untapped topic of Yerevan street names. The research question was thoroughly analyzed and a vast amount of data was retrieved in order to answer difficult questions. Different types of street names affect residents in different ways. Based on the literature studied and the examples we have seen in world history, it comes to no surprise that place names and with it, street names, are one of the first things changed when a new power is in charge of a territory.

All in all, streets and street names are a part of our everyday lives and usually go unnoticed but they play an integral role in the way a country's and our own identity is shaped. With the hypothesis being accepted, it seems likely that more focus should be put on the names of the streets in Yerevan and in other cities in Armenia.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The subject matter needs to be studied further. There were many gaps in this study due to its limitations. A mixed method research study can help fill in these gaps along with a larger population sample used for analysis. A few interesting findings were identified in the open-ended answers on the survey questionnaire. Unfortunately, this study did not address these findings because it did not fit the scope of the research. If a qualitative approach was taken, further questioning could have been conducted to gain a deeper understanding of how the street names were affecting the residents.

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## APPENDIX

### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE ENGLISH AND ARMENIAN

#### Փողոցների Անուններ եւ Ազգային Ինքնություն

#### Street Names and National Identity

Իմ անունը Սերոբ Աբրահամյան է, եւ ես Հայաստանի Ամերիկյան Համալսարանի ուսանող եմ: Ես կատարում եմ հետազոտական աշխատանք, որն ուսումնասիրում է Երեւանում անունների օգտագործման ազդեցությունը բնակիչների վրա:

Խնդրում եմ պատասխանել բոլոր հարցերին:

Նաեւ խնդրում ենք ի նկատի ունենալ, որ բոլոր հարցաթերթերը գաղտնի են:

My name is Serob Abrahamian and I am a graduate student at the American University of Armenia. I am currently working on a research assignment that has to do with place name usage in Yerevan and its effect on the residents. Answer all of the questions below.

Please note that all questionnaires are anonymous and confidential.

1) Քանի տարեկան ե՞ք: - How old are you?

- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-30
- ☐ 31-40
- ☐ 41-64
- ☐ 65+

2) Ո՞րն է ձեր սեռը: - What is your sex?

- ☐ Արական – Male
- ☐ Իգական – Female

3) Ո՞րն է Ձեր կրթության աստիճանը: - What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Տարրական դպրոց - Elementary school
- ☐ Միջնակարգ դպրոց - Secondary school
- ☐ Ավագ դպրոց - High school
- ☐ Բակալավրի աստիճան – Undergraduate
- ☐ Մագիստրոսի աստիճան – Graduate
- ☐ Դոկտորի աստիճան – Postgraduate

4) Դուք ամուսնացած ե՞ք: - Are you married?

- ☐ Այո – Yes
- ☐ Ոչ – No
- ☐ Բաժանված – Divorced
- ☐ Այլ – Other

5) Դուք Երևանի բնակիչ ե՞ք: - Are you a resident of Yerevan?

- ☐ Այո – Yes
- ☐ Ոչ – No

6) Երևանի ո՞ր շրջանում եք բնակվում: - Which part of Yerevan to do you reside in?

- ☐ Աջափնյակ – Ajapnyak
- ☐ Արաբկիր – Arabkir
- ☐ Ավան – Avan
- ☐ Դավթաշեն – Davtashen
- ☐ Էրեբունի – Erebuni
- ☐ Քանաքեռ - Չեյթուն - Kanaker – Zeytun
- ☐ Կենտրոն – Kentron
- ☐ Մալաթիա - Սեբաստիա - Malatia – Sebastia
- ☐ Նորք - Մարաշ - Nork – Marash
- ☐ Նոր - Նորք - Nor Nork
- ☐ Նուբարաշեն – Nubarashen
- ☐ Շենգավիթ – Shengavit

7) Ի՞նչ է ձեր փողոցի անունը: - What is the name of the street you live on?

- ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

8) Ի՞նչ է այս անունը նշանակում ձեզ համար: - What does this name mean to you?

○ \_\_\_\_\_

9) Որքա՞ն ժամանակ ե՞ք ապրում այս փողոցում/շրջանում: - How long have you been living on this street/area?

- 1 տարուց պակաս - Less than one year
- 1 - 3 տարի years
- 3 տարուց ավել - More than 3 years

10) Ո՞ր տարբերակն է ամենա լավը ներկայացնում ձեր փողոցի անունը: - Which option best represents the name of your street?

- Կրոնական գործիչ կամ պատկանելություն Religious Figure or Affiliation
- Ռազմական գործիչ կամ պատկանելություն Military Figure or Affiliation
- Կրթական գործիչ կամ պատկանելություն Education Figure or Affiliation
- Մշակութային գործիչ կամ պատկանելություն (նկարիչ, գրող, եւ այլն) Cultural Figure or Affiliation (Artist, Writer, etc.)
- Տեղի անուն Place name
- Այլ – Other
- Չգիտեմ - I don't know

Որքան կարեւոր են հետեւյալ հայտարարություններից յուրաքանչյուրը Հայ լինելու համար  
How important are each of the following statements for being Armenian

Ընտրեք 1-ից 5 թվերից մեկը:

Select a number from 1 to 5.

1 - Բացարձակ կարեւոր չէ

1 - Not important at all

2 - Շատ կարեւոր չէ

2 - Not too important

3 - Ոչ մի կարծիք

3 - No Opinion

4 - Կարեւոր է

4 - Important

5 - Չափազանց կարեւոր է

5 - Extremely important

	Բացարձակ կարևոր չէ Not important at all	Շատ կարևոր չէ Not too important	Ոչ մի կարծիք No Opinion	Կարևոր է Important	Չափազանց կարևոր է Extremely important
11) Որպեսզի կարողանաք խոսել հայերեն: To be able to speak Armenian					
12) Հայկական անուն տալ Ձեր երեխային: To name your child an Armenian name					
13) Այրել Հայաստանում, չնայած դժվարություններին: To live in Armenia despite its difficulties					
14) Լինել քրիստոնյա: To be Christian					

Ո՞րքանով եք համամիտ հետևյալ հայտարարությունների հետ:  
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements

Ընտրեք 1-ից 5 թվերից մեկը:

- 1 - Ամբողջովին համաձայն չեմ
- 2 - Համաձայն չեմ
- 3 - Ոչ մի կարծիք
- 4 - Համաձայն եմ
- 5 - Ամբողջովին համաձայն եմ

Select a number from 1 to 5.

- 1 - Strongly Disagree
- 2 - Disagree
- 3 - No Opinion
- 4 - Agree
- 5 - Strongly Agree

	Ամբողջովին համաձայն չեմ Strongly Disagree	Համաձայն չեմ Disagree	Ոչ մի կարծիք No Opinion	Համաձայն եմ Agree	Ամբողջովին համաձայն եմ Strongly Agree
15) Ես հպարտ եմ որ հայ եմ: I am proud to be an Armenian					
16) Ես հպարտանում եմ երբ հայերը հաջողության են հասնում միջազգային մրցույթում: I feel proud when an Armenian does well in international competitions					
17) Հայաստանը ի վիճակի է արտաքին սպառնալիքները մենակը դիմադրի: Armenia is capable of dealing with external threats by itself					
18) Հայաստանը զոյատևելու համար կարիք ունի անվտանգության գործընկերի: Armenia needs a security partner for it to survive					
19) Օտար մշակույթները կարող են լավ արժեքներ մցնել Հայաստան: Other cultures may bring good values and traditions to Armenia					
20) Օտար մշակույթները բացասական հետք են թողնում հայկական արժեքների և մշակույթի վրա: Other cultures have a negative impact on Armenian tradition and values					
21) Արցախը պետք է Հայաստանի մասը կազմի: Artsakh should be a part of Armenia					
22) Հայ եկեղեցին հայկական ինքնության համար կարևոր է: The Armenian Church is important for Armenian identity					
23) Կարևոր է նշել ապրիլի 24ը ամեն տարի: It is important to commemorate April 24 every year					



Ո՞րքան հպարտ եք ստորև նշվածի համար:

How proud are you regarding the following aspects of Armenia?

Ընտրեք 1-ից 5 թվերից մեկը:

Select a number from 1 to 5.

- 1 - Հեշ հպարտ չեմ
- 2 - Հպարտ չեմ
- 3 - Ոչ մի կարծիք
- 4 - Հպարտ եմ
- 5 - Շատ հպարտ եմ

- 1 - Not proud at all
- 2 - Not very proud
- 3 - No Opinion
- 4 - Fairly Proud
- 5 - Extremely Proud

	Հեշ հպարտ չեմ Not proud at all	Հպարտ չեմ Not very proud	Ոչ մի կարծիք No Opinion	Հպարտ եմ Fairly Proud	Շատ հպարտ եմ Extremely Proud
24) Հայոց պատմություն - Armenian History					
25) Հայ հերոսներ - Armenian Heroes					
26) Հայկական մշակույթ եւ արվեստ - Armenian Culture and Art					
27) Հայաստանի գիտական եւ տեխնոլոգիական ձեռքբերումներ - Armenian Scientific and Technological Achievements					
28) Հայ ռազմական հաջողություններ - Armenian Military Achievements					

29) Ո՞վ է ձեր սիրած Հայ գրողը: Who is your favorite Armenian writer?

○ \_\_\_\_\_

30) Ո՞վ է Ձեզ համար ամենահարգելի ռազմական հերոսը: - Who is your most respected Armenian war hero?

○ \_\_\_\_\_

31) Խնդրում եմ նշել հետևյալ ազգային տոների կարևորությունը, 1-ին տալով ամենաքիչ կարևորություն, իսկ 8-ին՝ ամենաշատ - Նույն թիվը չընտրել մեկ անգամից ավելի:

Please rank the following national holiday(s) with 1 being least important to 8 being most important. Please do not select a number more than once.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Սուրբ Ծնունդ եւ Չատիկ Christmas & Easter								
Ուսուցչի օր (հոկտեմբերի 5) Teacher's Day (October 5)								
Կանանց Օր (մարտի 8) Women's Day (March 8)								
Անկախության օր (սեպտեմբերի 21) Independence Day (September 21)								
Աշխատավորների միջազգային օր (մայիսի 1) International Worker's Day (May 1)								
Բանակի եւ Հաղթանակի օրեր (հունվարի 28 եւ մայիսի 9) Army & Victory Days (January 28 & May 9)								
Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիշատակի օր (ապրիլի 24) Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day (April 24)								
Մայիսի 28 (Առաջին Հանրապետության օր May 28 (Establishment of the First Republic)								