STREET NAMES IN YEREVAN AND THEIR EFFECT ON NATIONAL IDENTITY

SEROB ABRAHAMIAN

serobabrahamian@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of the independent republic of Armenia, many aspects of Armenian public life changed. National holidays had to be revised, national figures had to change and an entire outlook on national identity had 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 survive and in some cases are very visible. Collective and selective memory can shape national identity, and street names are just one avenue 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 street names are affecting the residents of the city. The research uses quantitative methodology with convenience sampling. One of the findings is that different types of street names have different effects on the people who reside on them.

INTRODUCTION

Background

The current Republic of Armenia was proclaimed 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 had to be replaced, and an entire outlook for national identity had to be redrawn.

This research will focus on one aspect of the Soviet legacy that still remains in the Republic of Armenia today. Walking on the streets of Yerevan, one can still see and feel the Soviet influence over the city, and through it, the country in general. 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 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. However, many remnants of Soviet Armenian history survive. 51 out of 513 streets in Yerevan were renamed.[1] A vast majority of the renamed streets formerly had Russian, Soviet, and Soviet Armenian names. All of the new names portrayed only Armenian historical figures, places, and words. Table 1, below illustrates the transition of some of the street names in Yerevan, Armenia after independence.

Table 1: Some of the Street Names Changed in Yerevan after the Disintegration of the Soviet Union		
#	Soviet Name	Current Name
1	Alaverdyan	Hanrapetutyan (Republic)
2	Bakvi (Baku)	Artsakh
3	Dimitrovi	Azatamartikneri (Freedom fighters)
4	Djaparidze	Ulnitsu
5	Dzerjinksu	Aghbiur Serob
6	Hoktemberyan	Tigran Mets
7	Kalinin	Njdeh
8	Karmir Banaki (Red Army)	Grigor Lusavorich
9	Kirov	Koryun
10	Knuniants	Vardanants
11	Krupskaya	Sose
12	Kutuzov	Giulbenkyan
13	Lermontov	Sayat Nova
14	Lenin	Mashtots
15	Marx	Khorenatsi
16	Mayakovski	Sasuntsi Davit

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[1] R. H. Hewsen & C. C. Salvatico, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas*, University of Chicago Press, 2001; R. I. Hovhanisian & D. P. Hovhanisian, *Report of Yerevan City Map*, Ministry of Sciences and Education of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, Armenia 1996.

51 out of 513 streets in Yerevan were renamed in the first few years after independence. The Soviet legacy still remains, especially in streets like Moskovyan. This research does not aim to answer the question of why they remain, but aims to answer how the current street names affect national identity.

17	Nakhimov	Nikol Duman
18	Ordzhonikidze Prospect	Arshakunyats
19	Sverdlov	Buzand

Purpose and Importance of the Study

In recent years, national identity has been a topic of growing importance. It is important to understand how national identity is shaped and reshaped. Having a common history and sharing common memories is one method of identity formation that scholars have identified.[2] Street names are an everyday part of people's lives and go unnoticed most of the time. Usually, not enough thought and importance is given to them regarding their impact on people. National figures, places, holidays, events, battles, wars and even words are often commemorated through street names. Many researchers and papers have focused on Eastern Europe and former Soviet Republics,[3] but not much work has been focused on the Republic of Armenia. Focusing on the case of Yerevan, 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$_1$: Do street names affect the national identity of residents in Yerevan?

Subsequently, the hypothesis of the research is:

H$_1$: 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.[4] These names are always subject to change and are usually an indicator to many aspects of the society in which they serve. Different

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[2] M. Azaryahu, "The Purge of Bismarck and Saladin: The Renaming of Streets in East Berlin and Haifa, a Comparative Study in Culture-Planning," *Poetics Today*, 13(2):1992, pp. 351–67; B. S. A. Yeoh, "Street-Naming and Nation-Building: Toponymic Inscriptions of Nationhood in Singapore," *Area*, 28(3):1996, pp. 298–307.

[3] D. Light, I. Nicolae, & B. Suditu, "Toponymy and the Communist city: Street names in Bucharest, 1948-1965," *GeoJournal*, 56(2):2002, pp. 135–44; J. C. G. Faraco, & M. D. Murphy, "Street Names and Political Regimes in an Andalusian Town," *Ethnology*, 36(2):1997, pp. 123–48.

[4] M. Azaryahu, "Renaming the Past: Changes in 'City Text' in Germany and Austria, 1945-1947," *History and Memory*, 2(2):1990, pp. 32–53; Azaryahu, 1992.

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 the effects that the names have on those that surround and experience them. Some main categories arise in the literature and are discussed in detail below. Whether it is about controlling and displaying legitimacy, constructing a national identity or being used 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*[5] changes almost immediately in order to demonstrate and legitimize the new power in control.[6] Whether it is 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 power is obtained by conquest or simply the establishment of a new authority by peaceful means, change is seen all around the names of places.[7]

Being able to name places, at least officially, means that the authority now in charge is legitimate.[8] "Symbols can legitimate action and belief and, by

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[5] Azaryahu, 1990; Azaryahu, 1992.

[6] Faraco & Murphy, p. 123; R. King, & S. Ladbury, "The Cultural Reconstruction of Political Reality: Greek and Turkish Cyprus Since 1974," *Anthropological Quarterly*, *55*(1):1982, p. 5; Yeoh, 1996, p. 299.

[7] M. Azaryahu, "The power of commemorative street names," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *14*(3):1996, pp. 311–30; Faraco & Murphy; B. Forest, & J. Johnson, "Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet-Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *92*(3):2002, pp. 524–47; S. Ladbury, & R. King, "Settlement renaming in Turkish Cyprus," *Geography*, *73*(4):1988, pp. 363–67; P. G. Lewis, "The Politics of Iranian Place-Names,"*Geographical Review*, *72*(1):1982, pp. 99–102; J. Peteet, "Words as Interventions: Naming in the Palestine - Israel Conflict," *Third World Quarterly*, *26*(1):2005, pp. 153–72; A. Saparov, "The Alteration of Place Names and Construction of National Identity in Soviet Armenia," *Cahiers Du Monde Russe*, *44*(1):2003, pp. 179–98; B. S. A. Yeoh, "Street Names in Colonial Singapore," *Geographical Review*, *82*(3):1992, pp. 313–22.

[8] K. E. Foote, A. Tóth, & A. Árvay, "Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a New Past on Place," *Geographical Review*, *90*(3):2000, p. 305; G. Gill, "Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names," *The Russian Review*, *64*(3):2005, p. 480; Lewis, p. 99; E. Palonen, "The city-text in post-communist Budapest: street names,

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".[9] 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.[10] 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.[11]

There are a few cases in which the losers get streets or places named after them. But again, it is important to understand that the naming decision was still made by the victor. These cases are abundant and mainly occurred in the New World, especially in the United States of America,[12] with confederate generals being honored after the civil war, or indigenous people being respected. On the other hand, with regard 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.[13] 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, they are often the first target.[14] 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.[15]

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memorials, and the politics of commemoration," *GeoJournal*, *73*(3):2008, p. 220; Yeoh, 1992, p. 313.

[9] Gill, p. 480.

[10] Peteet, p. 157; W. L. Rodman, & M. Rodman, "Rethinking Kastom: On the Politics of Place Naming in Vanuatu," *Oceania*, *55*(4):1985, p. 246; K. Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2000.

[11] S. J. Lewandowski, "The Built Environment and Cultural Symbolism in Post-colonial Madras," *The City in Cultural Context*, 1984, pp. 237–54; Lewis, p. 99.

[12] R. Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *89*(1):1999, pp. 76–102; K. Karpenstein, "California Place Name Records," *Western Folklore*, *12*(2):1953, pp. 129–132.

[13] Faraco & Murphy, p. 125; R. A. Grounds, "Tallahassee, Osceola, and the Hermeneutics of American Place-Names," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *69*(2):2001, p. 297; Herman, p. 92.

[14] Saparov, p. 179; Yeoh, 1996, p. 299.

[15] L. W. Soldier, "Lewis and Clark Journey: The Renaming of a Nation," *Wicazo Sa Review*, *19*(1):2004, pp. 135–36.

Space has always been both political and strategic.[16] The conqueror or the new authority uses it to his or her advantage by shaping what is inside it for internal and external goals. In times of peace, and at times of upheaval, the residents do not pay much attention to the meanings of the street names. But in hindsight, meanings behind street names and the street names themselves are an indication of the structure of power and who controls it.[17]

Streets as Symbols – Shaping Collective and National Identity

The path of national identity can be paved through different methods and using different tools. Controlling the narrative of history and having a collective memory with which everyone can identify may together shape national identity.[18] 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 overseeing the naming process can shape collective memory and, consequently, national identity in various ways. Streets can be seen as symbols that point towards a set of a system of values or as commemorative tools of historical figures, heroes, events, or they may even be named after other places.[19]

Another factor essential to shaping national identity is how elites want to portray the nation publicly,[20] whether they want to create a religious identity,[21] a country that respects its war heroes,[22] or even a country that commemorates democracy or capitalism.[23] Depending on what names they give, they display

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[16] G. G. Caliendo, "MLK Boulevard: Material Forms of Memory and the Social Contestation of Racial Signification," *Journal of Black Studies*, *42*(7):2011, p. 1149.

[17] Azaryahu, 1996, p. 321; Ladbury & King, 1988, p. 364.

[18] K. DeBres, & J. Sowers, "The Emergence of Standardized, Idealized, and Placeless Landscapes in Midwestern Main Street Postcards," *The Professional Geographer*, *61*(2):2009, pp. 216–30; Forest & Johnson, 2002; N. Johnson, "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *13*(1):1995, pp. 51–65; Light, Nicolae, & Suditu; Yeoh, 1996.

[19] M. Azaryahu, "Street Names and Political Identity: The Case of East Berlin," *Journal of Contemporary History*, *21*(4):1986, pp. 581–604; Faraco & Murphy; K. E. Foote, A. Tóth, & A. Árvay; Forest & Johnson, 2002; Grounds; Palonen; B. S. Robinson, "Elizabethan Society and Its Named Places," *Geographical Review*, *63*(3):1973, pp. 322–33; K. H. Yong, "The Politics and Aesthetics of Place-Names in Sarawak," *Anthropological Quarterly*, *80*(1):2007, pp. 65–91.

[20] Johnson.

[21] Karpenstein.

[22] Azaryahu, 1990, 1992; O. Demetriou, "Streets Not Named: Discursive Dead Ends and the Politics of Orientation in Intercommunal Spatial Relations in Northern Greece," *Cultural Anthropology*, *21*(2):2006, pp. 295–321.

[23] DeBres & Sowers; Yeoh, 1996.

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.[24] The names of other people who deserve recognition are used too, but there are certain names which one might find in different cities within the country, names which represent the unity that national identity expresses. These names are of national heroes, events and places. They are important collective historical names which have shaped and which will continue to shape a nation's future for decades to come.[25]

Migration can also be a reason for national identity to change. Immediately after WWII, there was a large influx of Armenians who repatriated to Soviet Armenia from all over the world. With them they brought their historic background from Western Armenia (currently Eastern Turkey) and the places where they had settled after they had survived the Armenian Genocide. Some neighborhoods were renamed after the places the repatriates had immigrated from. This enabled the national identity within Soviet Armenia to broaden the limited scope it once had had. Now, through place names, people could recognize the notion that the Armenian nation was not constrained by the territories of Soviet Armenia.[26] 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 created a majority in some neighborhoods, Hebrew was added to the signs, with the order being 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.[27] 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 the different tools around them.[28]

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 to power with new or different values than those of their predecessors, a new narrative of national identity can

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[24] Yeoh, 1996, p. 300.
[25] Light, Nicolae, & Suditu, p. 135.
[26] Saparov.
[27] Azaryahu, 1992, p. 366; King & Ladbury, 1982; Peteet.
[28] K. R. Cox, "Illusion, Reality, and the Politics of Place," *The Good Society*, *10*(2):2001, p. 12; C. Nash, "Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial Locations," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *24*(4):1999, p. 460.

form.[29] 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"[30]

The size of the street, the importance of the building, the beauty of the square are all important when naming. Depending on the names the state authority gives to small streets or unimportant buildings, and the names it gives to crucial boulevards or key buildings, the ruling authorities are measuring the importance of the hero, event or national figure. Through this method, national identity adjusts based on the importance of these figures.[31]

Shaping a collective national identity is important for many other reasons. These may be for the political development of the country, for loyalty to the state and solidarity among its people, 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.[32]

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

> [c]ommemorative 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.[33]

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[29] S. Hoelscher, & D. H. Alderman, "Memory and Place: Geographies of A Critical Relationship," *Social & Cultural Geography*, *5*(3):2004, pp. 347–55; C. Méndez-Gastelumendi, "The Power of Naming, or the Construction of Ethnic and National Identities in Peru: Myth, History and the Iquichanos," *Past & Present*, 171:2001, pp. 127–60.

[30] Caliendo, p. 1150.

[31] D. H. Alderman, "Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American Community," *Area*, *35*(2):2003, pp. 163–73; Yeoh, 1992.

[32] L. Dittmer, "Taiwan and the Issue of National Identity," *Asian Survey*, *44*(4):2004, pp. 475–83, p. 476; G. H. Herb, "Double Vision: Territorial Strategies in the Construction of National Identities in Germany, 1949-1979," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *94*(1):2004, pp. 141–42.

[33] Azaryahu, 1996, p. 321.

METHODOLOGY

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

Data Collection Instruments & Sampling

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

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

The only two 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 the vast majority submitting it online. The data was then transferred to SPSS, which was then used to test many different variables using 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, providing short or long answers.

The survey was conducted in March and April of 2017.

Limitations of the Study

There were certain limitations to this research project. Time proved to be a major constraint on the research. One semester, or just a few months, proved to be too little time 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. Ideally, in order for the research to be more representative of the population of one million, the study should have had around 2400 respondents while gathering the data through random sampling. After long consideration, cluster sampling and other random sampling strategies were rejected because of time and financial constraints. Cluster sampling would have proved to be ineffective and inefficient since the topic of the research project had a direct relation to the city's geographic structure, which in this case means streets and with them, street names. Therefore, cluster sampling was rejected because it would not

have served this research since many street names or different parts of the city would have been disregarded.

DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

The survey instrument used for the research asked many different types of questions in order 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 is a set of pie charts, tables and bar graphs representing different types of data analysis.

Descriptive Statistical Analysis

PIE CHART 1 - TYPE OF STREET NAMES

Foreign Street Name 17%

Other 4%

Armenian Street Names 79%
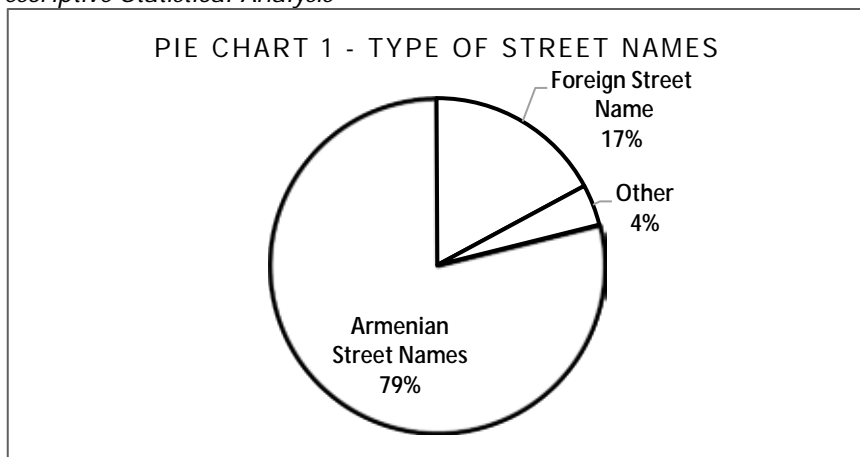
Pie Chart 1 above shows that 79 percent of those surveyed lived on streets with Armenian names. 17 percent lived on streets with names which were foreign and four percent lived on streets which had other types of names, such as numbers.

Bar Graph 1 shows the categories of the names of the streets that the respondents live on. The survey question broke down street names into six categories (religious, military, education, cultural, place name affiliation, other and an "I don't know" option). With a quick glance at this bar graph, one can easily point out that culturally affiliated street names were most common (almost 40 percent of the total) among the survey respondents. 29 respondents or about 19 percent of the total lived on streets with names that had nothing to do with the aforementioned categories. Military affiliated street names came in third with around 17 percent of the total 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 says something about the street

Bar Graph 1 - Street Name Category
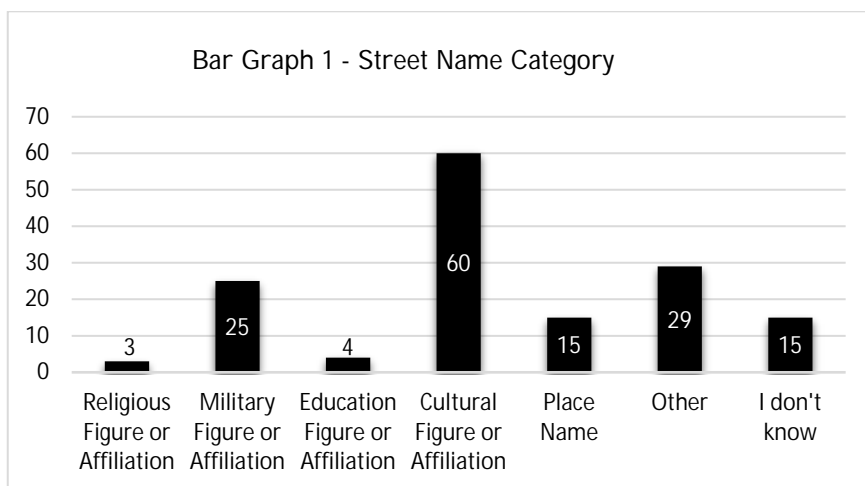
names that are given and the lack of historical knowledge of the residents, mostly about their own history.

Table 2 - Top 11 Answers about the 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 information. 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.

Data found in Table 2, show that the number one answer, with a share of 49 percent of the total, 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. In second place, with a little over seven percent of the total share of the population, were writers and poets. As we look further, patriotism, heroism, history and artists were at 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 might be unfairly represented and might have 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, both Armenian and foreign, whom the streets are named after. Armenian examples included Keri Street, Vahram Papazyan street, Garegin Hovsepyan street, Hakob Hakobyan street and others. Foreign examples included Kotovskiy street and Fuchik street.

Below in Table 3 you will find statistics on the aforementioned issue. Although, those that lived on Armenian named streets answered just a bit more[34] with "I do not know" or said that the name meant "nothing", and those that lived on foreign named streets answered a bit less[35], 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 speaking, those that live on streets with foreign names knew the name's meaning with a higher ratio than those living on Armenian named streets.

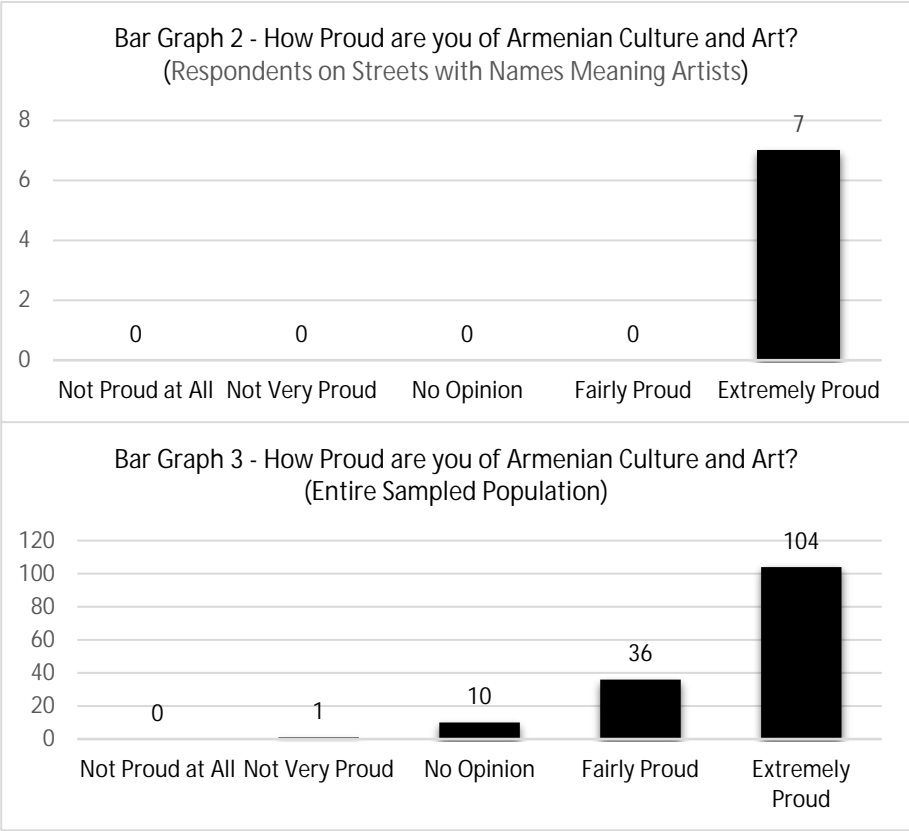| Table 3 - Armenian and Foreign Street Name Comparison Number of Responses to the Open-Ended Question on the Survey Questionnaire on the Meaning of the Street Name		
	Armenian Name	Foreign Name
Don't Know or Meant Nothing	61	11
Different Response	59	14

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

Bar Graph 2 analyzes the answers of those respondents who lived on a street with a name which had affiliation to an artist. All respondents who lived on

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[34] 1.03/1.0 ratio.

[35] 0.78/1.0 ratio.

those streets answered with "Extremely Proud" (5) 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 with a name meaning Artist to them. Bar Graph 2 and Bar Graph 3 do a fair job in visually showing the difference between the entire population and those living on a street with a name affiliated with an artist. 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.

Bar Graph 2 - How Proud are you of Armenian Culture and Art?
(Respondents on Streets with Names Meaning Artists)

Not Proud at All	Not Very Proud	No Opinion	Fairly Proud	Extremely Proud
0	0	0	0	7

Bar Graph 3 - How Proud are you of Armenian Culture and Art?
(Entire Sampled Population)

Not Proud at All	Not Very Proud	No Opinion	Fairly Proud	Extremely Proud
0	1	10	36	104

Regression and Other Analyses

To compare means, show correlations and 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. Table 4 shows the first set of independent t-testing.

Table 4 - Armenian Street Name 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	**2.68**	1.167	0.11
	Foreign Name	25	**3.24**	1.23	0.25

Table 4 shows an independent t-test analysis with two categories of street names being tested. The two categories tested were people living on streets with Armenian names and people who live on a street with a foreign 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 Table 4 shows, the independent t-test that was conducted was statistically significant.[36] The next two numbers to pay attention to would be the means for both categories of respondents. Those who lived on an Armenian-named street answered from "Disagree" to "No Opinion" to the question.[37] Those who lived on a foreign-named street answered from "No Opinion" to "Agree" to the same question.[38]

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 streets with Armenian names are, comparatively, a little more open and accepting of different cultures as opposed to those who live on streets with foreign names.

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[36] T-test: $p < 0.05$.

[37] Mean = 2.68 for respondents living on Armenian named streets.

[38] Mean = 3.24 for respondents living on foreign named streets.

Table 5 - 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	**2.8**	1.68	0.34
	Cultural Figure or Affiliation	60	**3.6**	1.42	0.18

Table 5 illustrates 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 streets with culturally affiliated names was 60 and those on streets 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 a one to five scale, one being "Not Important at All" and five being "Extremely Important."

The independent t-test was statistically significant.[39] The population who lived on a street with a name with military affiliation responded very close to "No Opinion" to the question.[40] Those who lived on a street with a culturally affiliated name answered between "No Opinion" and "Agree."[41] With a difference of almost an entire number in the mean's scale, the test result shows that Christianity being a part of Armenian identity is less important for those who live on streets with names with military affiliation compared to those who live on a street with a culturally affiliated name.

Next, the research focused on two variables, one independent and one dependent variable, on 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 research to explore and analyze.

When running a regression analysis 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," the study found a moderately weak, positive correlation[42] which was statistically significant.[43] In any case, this finding is still a positive correlation with the independent variable

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[39] T-test = $p < 0.05$.

[40] Mean = 2.8 for respondents living on military affiliated street names.

[41] Mean = 3.6 for respondents living on culturally affiliated street names.

[42] Pearson's correlation: $r = 0.262$, N = 151.

[43] $p < 0.05$.

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 into any further. 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 in 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 those surveyed who lived 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 a street 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 interesting topic of Yerevan street names. The research question was thoroughly analyzed and a vast amount of data was retrieved in order to answer the 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 as no surprise that place names, and with them 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 are 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 had been taken, further questioning could have been conducted to gain a deeper understanding of how street names were affecting the residents.

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serobabrahamian@gmail.com

Յօդուածը կը քննարկէ փողոցներու եւ հանրային հրապարակներու, զբօսավայրերու անուանափոխութեան ընթացքը, պատճառները եւ անուններուն ազդեցութիւնը ազգային ինքնութեան վրայ:

Հեղինակը կը նշէ թէ փողոցներու անուանափոխութիւն տեղի կ՚ունենայ երբ նոր վարչակարգ մը իշխանութեան անցնի: Նոր իշխանութիւնը կը ջանայ առկայ տարբեր ձեւերով իր գաղափարախօսութիւնը հաստատել ու տարածել բնակչութեան վրայ: Այս նպատակին հասնելու միջոցներէն կը նկատուի փողոցներու, հրապարակներու, հանրային վայրերու եւ զբօսավայրերու անուանափոխութիւնը:

Հեղինակը ապա կ՚անդրադառնայ Հայաստանի Գ. Հանրապետութեան հռչակումէն ետք կատարուած Երեւանի կարգ մը փողոցներու անուանափոխութեան: Ան կը հարցապնդէ տուեալ փողոցներու բնակիչներ եւ կը կատարէ եզրակացութիւններ, որոնք կը վերաբերին բնակիչներուն՝ իրենց բնակած փողոցներուն անուանատիրոջ մասին իրենց ունեցած գիտելիքին: Հեղինակը կը ջանայ նաեւ փոխկապակցութիւններ գտնել օտարանուն, մշակութային կամ զինուորական դէմքերու անուններ ունեցող փողոցներուն եւ համապատասխան բնակիչներուն պատասխաններուն միջեւ: Հուսկ, հեղինակը կը հաստտէ թէ ուսումնասիրութիւնը կարիքն ունի ներգրաւելու աւելի մեծ թիւով հարցապնդուողներ, որպէսզի կարելի ըլլայ աւելի հիմնաւոր եզրակացութիւններ կատարել: