

Mapping the Contours of a Contested Past: A Bibliometric Study of the Armenian Question

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Abstract

The Armenian Question has been a multidimensional and controversial subject occupying the focus of disciplines such as history, human rights, political science, and international relations since the early twentieth century. Beyond its historical roots, the 1915 deportation law implemented by the Ottoman Empire is interpreted in contemporary academic contexts with divergent terms such as “genocide,” “ethnic cleansing,” “massacre,” or “state violence,” while others view it as a wartime necessity. This divergence has transformed the issue from a strictly historical inquiry into a global political, legal, and ethical debate.

In light of this complex background, analyzing the scholarly publications related to the Armenian Question provides valuable insight into the academic trajectory and thematic evolution of the field. This study utilizes a bibliometric analysis method based on data from the Web of Science (WoS), using key terms such as “Armenian Question,” “Armenian Genocide,” “1915 Events,” and “Armenian Deportation.” The publications are analyzed using the VOSviewer software to identify publication trends, disciplinary distribution, dominant languages, prolific authors, and geographical publication patterns. The aim is to critically assess the structure of the existing literature and offer a roadmap for future research.

Key Words: Armenian Question, Bibliometric Analysis, Genocide Studies, Collective Memory

Introduction

Over the past thirty-five years, there has been a notable increase in global academic interest in the Armenian Question, raising critical inquiries into how this interest is reflected within scientific research. The Web of Science (WoS), as a widely recognized and reliable international indexing database, offers a robust foundation for investigating this dynamic.

The Armenian Question has evolved into a complex and multi-layered phenomenon. Originally rooted in the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, the issue has since expanded across diverse scholarly disciplines. Given the multifaceted nature of the topic and the analytical capabilities offered by the WoS database, this study aims to conduct a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of academic publications that focus on the Armenian Question. The goal is to systematically identify and interpret publication trends, dominant academic disciplines, leading researchers, countries of origin, and language distributions.

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- In connection with this main objective, the following research questions are posed:
- In which countries, in which languages, and within which disciplines is academic research on the Armenian Question most concentrated?
 - How has the volume and nature of these publications changed over time?
 - Who are the most prolific authors and institutions contributing to the literature?
 - What trends can be observed in publication types and journal representations?

This research aims to go beyond a mere content analysis by applying scientific criteria to assess the Armenian Question through quantitative, structural, and directional lenses. Additionally, the study contributes to the broader field of the sociology of knowledge by interrogating issues such as epistemic inequality, publication hegemony, linguistic dominance, and interdisciplinary openness. It not only maps the scholarly landscape surrounding the Armenian Question but also highlights the structural conditions under which such knowledge is produced and disseminated.

1. Historical Context: The Evolution of the Armenian Question in Modern

Initially an internal matter of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian Question became an integral part of the so-called “Eastern Question” by the late nineteenth century, gaining international relevance and complexity. What began as a series of social, economic, and political demands by Armenians living within the Ottoman territories gradually evolved into separatist movements and ultimately culminated in the events of 1915, giving the issue a significant historical dimension.

The Armenian community had long been known as the “Loyal Nation” within the Ottoman administrative structure, serving the state in various capacities. With the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839 and the Islahat Edict in 1856, non-Muslim communities, including Armenians, gained broader rights and legal protections under the principle of equal citizenship (Zürcher, 2004). However, under the growing influence of European nationalism, the dynamics began to shift, particularly among Armenians, who developed reformist aspirations and, eventually, political demands. (Akçam, 2008)

Following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, the Treaty of San Stefano and subsequently the Treaty of Berlin internationalized the Armenian Question. Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty, which required the Ottoman Empire to implement reforms in Armenian-populated provinces and to ensure their security, granted European powers the right to monitor these measures (Görür, 2018). This provision effectively opened the door to foreign intervention in the Empire’s internal affairs. (Hovannisian, 1997)

In the subsequent decades, revolutionary Armenian organizations such as the Hunchak and Dashnak parties launched armed uprisings aimed at achieving independence (Çelik, 2018). These

included the Erzurum and Kumkapı events in 1890, followed by incidents in Merzifon, Yozgat, Kayseri (1892), the Sasun Rebellion (1894), the Bab-ı Ali protests and Zeytun Revolt (1895), and the Van uprising and the Ottoman Bank takeover in 1896. Additional unrest occurred in cities like Antep, Maraş, Antakya, Mersin, and Urfa (Çabuk, 2013).

After a brief period of cooperation following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, tensions reignited with the Adana Massacres in 1909, during which thousands of Armenians and Turks lost their lives (Külekoğlu & Eyicil, 2024).

When World War I broke out and the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany, Armenian populations were perceived as internal threats, especially after some groups collaborated with Russian forces and attacked Ottoman supply routes. On April 24, 1915, the Ottoman government arrested 235 Armenian intellectuals and leaders affiliated with the Dashnak and Hunchak parties. This was followed by the enactment of the Temporary Deportation Law on May 27, 1915, which mandated the forced relocation of Armenians from conflict zones to southern provinces such as Syria and Iraq.

Although the Ottoman authorities allocated resources for the relocation process, many Armenians perished during the deportations due to attacks, disease, starvation, and general disorganization (Çelik, 2018)

In modern historiography, the 1915 Events continue to spark intense debate, both in academia and in international politics. Some describe the events as “genocide,” “massacre,” or “ethnic cleansing,” while the official Turkish narrative emphasizes wartime conditions and mutual conflict. (Dadrian, 1995)

2. Theoretical Framework

The events beginning with the Armenian uprisings in the 1890s and culminating in the forced deportations of 1915 are referred to collectively in the literature as the “Armenian Question.” Today, the term refers not only to historical conflicts but also to an area of inquiry encompassing international law, human rights, diplomacy, and diaspora studies. In this context, the Armenian Question has evolved from a historical dispute into a dynamic, multi-layered field of epistemological, political, legal, and cultural contention.

This study, therefore, seeks not only to analyze the historical sequence of events but also to examine how these events are represented, contextualized, and transformed into academic knowledge. In line with this objective, the research is structured around the following three conceptual axes:

Collective Memory and Trauma Theories; Drawing upon Maurice Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory and Pierre Nora’s concept of “lieux de mémoire,” this study regards the Armenian Question as a memory regime that is continually reproduced and reinterpreted across different sociopolitical contexts. The literature reflects this reproduction through a variety of thematic and disciplinary lenses.

Genocide Studies; Following the introduction of the term “genocide” by Raphael Lemkin in 1944, many academic circles have examined the 1915 events through this lens. These studies often extend beyond archival history to include legal, international relations, and sociological perspectives, especially in discussions of intent, responsibility, and international recognition.

Sociology of Knowledge and Epistemic Hegemony; The production and dissemination of academic knowledge on the Armenian Question—its languages, institutional origins, and theoretical sources—are shaped not only by scientific concerns but also by power dynamics and global knowledge regimes. This study thus interrogates the structural conditions under which knowledge is produced, identifying imbalances in representation, disciplinary access, and linguistic visibility.

This conceptual structure enables a multidimensional analysis of the academic literature on the Armenian Question—not only in terms of themes and topics, but also in terms of where, by whom, in which languages, and in which disciplines scholarly knowledge is produced. Ultimately, the study seeks to map the epistemic structure of this field within the global academic system.

3. Research Objective and Methodology

The primary objective of this study is to conduct a bibliometric analysis of scholarly publications on the Armenian Question based on data retrieved from the Web of Science (WoS) database. Using quantitative indicators, the study aims to map the current state of academic production on the topic, while offering a broader perspective and a potential roadmap for future research.

On May 12, 2025, a comprehensive search was conducted within the WoS Core Collection using the “All Fields” option. The following keywords were employed to retrieve relevant records: “Armenian Question,” “Armenian Issue,” “Armenian Genocide,” “1915 Events,” and “Armenian Deportation”. The time frame was set between 1976 and 2025. Data from 2025 were considered preliminary due to the year being incomplete at the time of retrieval.

The bibliometric analysis was conducted on multiple variables, including:

- Publication year
- Publication language
- Document type (e.g., article, book chapter, review, editorial)
- Author productivity
- Country of publication
- Academic discipline
- Source titles (journals and book series)

The collected data were processed quantitatively by calculating frequencies and percentages. For visualization and network mapping, the VOSviewer software was employed. The results were interpreted through descriptive and relational analyses to identify patterns, clusters, and trends.

It should be noted that the scope of this study is limited to publications indexed in the Web of Science Core Collection. Thus, academic works published in regional databases, particularly in Turkish or Armenian, may be underrepresented. This limitation, however, is balanced by the international credibility and comprehensive coverage of WoS in the fields of humanities and social sciences.

4. Methodological Overview: Bibliometric Analysis

Bibliometric analysis is a quantitative research method used to evaluate academic publications—such as journal articles, conference papers, book chapters, and scholarly reviews—by examining variables including authorship, citations, keywords, publication year, institutional affiliation, and collaborative patterns. This method provides researchers with a comprehensive overview of trends and structures within a particular field of study (Al & Tonta, 2004; Zan, 2012).

Bibliometric methods can be applied either to specific topics—such as the present study on the Armenian Question—or to analyze the output of specific journals or thematic collections. For instance, Zhao et al. (2023) conducted a bibliometric analysis on the concept of “conceptual metaphor” limited to the last two decades, while Sökmen and Özkanlı (2018) analyzed publications in the *Journal of Tourism and Gastronomy Studies* from 2013 to 2018.

The method is widely employed across diverse academic domains, including animation studies (Acar, 2023), digital gaming addiction (Tuncer et al., 2022), gastronomy (Sökmen & Özkanlı, 2018), information science (Al, 2008; Zan, 2012), psychology (Kwak, 2002), and science education (Yurdakul & Bozdoğan, 2022), among others.

In most cases, bibliometric analyses rely on large and reputable indexing databases such as Web of Science (WoS) or Scopus, which offer long-term access to detailed metadata on publications, including authors, titles, abstracts, institutions, and citation counts. These databases also allow for efficient data export, which enables the use of specialized software for deeper analysis.

In this study, data exported from the Web of Science were analyzed using VOSviewer, a widely used tool for bibliometric visualization. VOSviewer enables advanced network mapping and co-occurrence analysis through text mining techniques. It allows for the creation of cluster-based maps of citation networks, co-authorship patterns, keyword co-occurrences, and institutional collaborations (Dereli, 2024).

Through the use of VOSviewer, the study presents not only statistical distributions but also visual representations of the intellectual structure of the field. These visualizations enhance the

interpretability of bibliometric results and provide a more nuanced understanding of the thematic, disciplinary, and geographical dynamics of the literature on the Armenian Question.

5. Bibliometric Analysis of Publications on the Armenian Issue and Findings

The bibliometric analysis of academic publications on the Armenian Issue is important in understanding the representation of this controversial and multi-layered subject in the scientific field, thematic focuses it focuses on, geography of production and epistemic centers. This analysis, which was conducted using the Web of Science (WoS) database, covers a total of 950 publications indexed between 1976 and 2025. The study aims to reveal not only the quantitative volume of the literature but also its structural characteristics by evaluating it based on many variables such as publication language, publication type, distribution by years, author productivity, country representation, disciplinary tendencies and the journal/book series in which it is published.

5.1. Analysis of Publications by Language

As shown in Figure 1, the Web of Science (WoS) database reveals a striking linguistic distribution in the literature on the Armenian Question. A clear dominance of the English language is observed, with 817 publications—comprising approximately 86% of the total output—published in English. This overwhelming representation can be explained by the lingua franca status of English in academia and the international orientation of the WoS indexing policy.

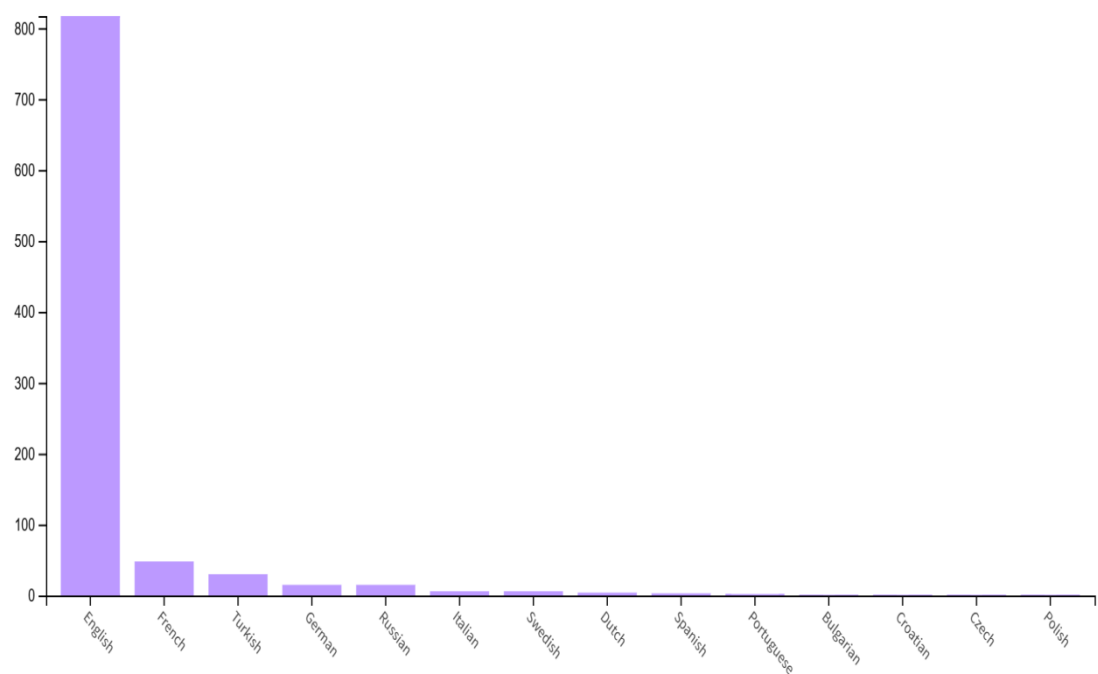


Figure 1: Distribution of Publications by Language

Among non-English publications, French (48 publications; 5.1%) and Turkish (30 publications; 3.1%) emerge as secondary scholarly languages. The relative prominence of French is likely linked to France's historical ties with the Armenian diaspora and its intellectual engagement with the issue. Turkish publications, while notable in number, remain limited—possibly due to the restricted presence of Turkish-language journals in WoS or the preference for local indexing platforms.

German and Russian, each with 15 publications (1.6%), reflect the historical and geopolitical connections of these nations to the Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Question. German interest is partly shaped by post-Ottoman historiography, while Russia's involvement stems from regional strategic considerations.

Languages such as Italian, Swedish, and Dutch are represented in marginal quantities, likely stemming from individual research initiatives. Lastly, Portuguese, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Polish appear only once or twice in the dataset, indicating minimal scholarly engagement and limited international visibility in these linguistic contexts.

This linguistic landscape not only highlights the dominance of Anglo-American scholarship in the field but also underlines the epistemological imbalance inherent in global knowledge production. The relative invisibility of local or alternative narratives—particularly in Armenian and Turkish—underscores the need for broader linguistic inclusion and diversification in academic publishing.

5.2. Publication and Citation Trends Over Time

Figure 2 illustrates the annual citation trends (blue line) of publications related to the Armenian Question indexed in the Web of Science. A notable acceleration in citation frequency is observed after 2010, culminating in a sharp increase in 2015. This spike can be attributed to the centennial of the 1915 deportations, which attracted heightened attention from both academia and the global public sphere. While citation numbers exhibit some fluctuations after 2015, a general upward trend continues through 2021, reaching a peak in 2022. The slight decline in 2024 and 2025 should be interpreted cautiously, as the data for 2025 were incomplete at the time of analysis.

This citation trajectory suggests a rising scholarly impact and growing academic interest in the Armenian Question over the past 10–15 years, particularly around milestone anniversaries and politically charged moments.

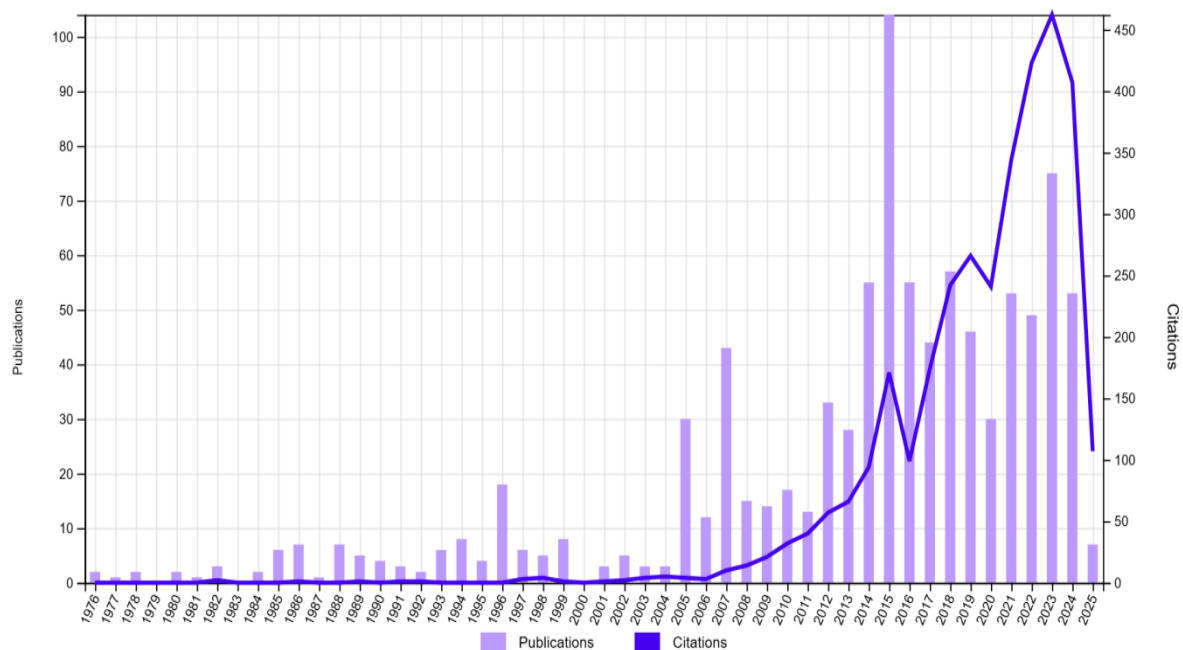


Figure 2: Distribution of Publications and Citation Numbers by Year

Regarding publication volume, 2015 again stands out as the most productive year, with 104 publications. This surge correlates with the centennial commemorations, which revitalized historical debates and generated renewed academic engagement. Other productive years include 2023 (75 publications), 2018 (57), and 2014–2016 (55 each). These peaks are likely tied to various political developments, such as national parliamentary resolutions, recognition debates, or archival releases.

Between 2017 and 2022, publication rates remained relatively stable, ranging from 44 to 53 per year. This consistency indicates that the Armenian Question has become a sustained field of inquiry, rather than one limited to occasional commemorative spikes.

By contrast, pre-2000 publication activity was considerably lower, suggesting limited international access and a lack of digital dissemination in earlier decades. As of 2025, only seven publications were recorded, a number expected to rise by the end of the year.

Overall, the temporal analysis confirms that academic engagement with the Armenian Question has intensified significantly in recent years, shaped not only by scholarly agendas but also by political and commemorative contexts. Bibliometric data thus offer a dual lens—both statistical and interpretive—for understanding the evolution of this field.

5.3. Analysis by Document Type

As shown in Figure 3, publications on the Armenian Question indexed in the Web of Science (WoS) can be categorized into various document types, including research articles, book chapters, book reviews, editorial materials, and monographs.

The data reveal that research articles dominate the field with 627 publications, accounting for 66% of the total output. This indicates that the Armenian Question is primarily discussed through peer-reviewed scholarly articles, often supported by original data, archival research, and theoretical frameworks. The prominence of journal articles reflects the disciplinary normalization of the topic within academic discourse.

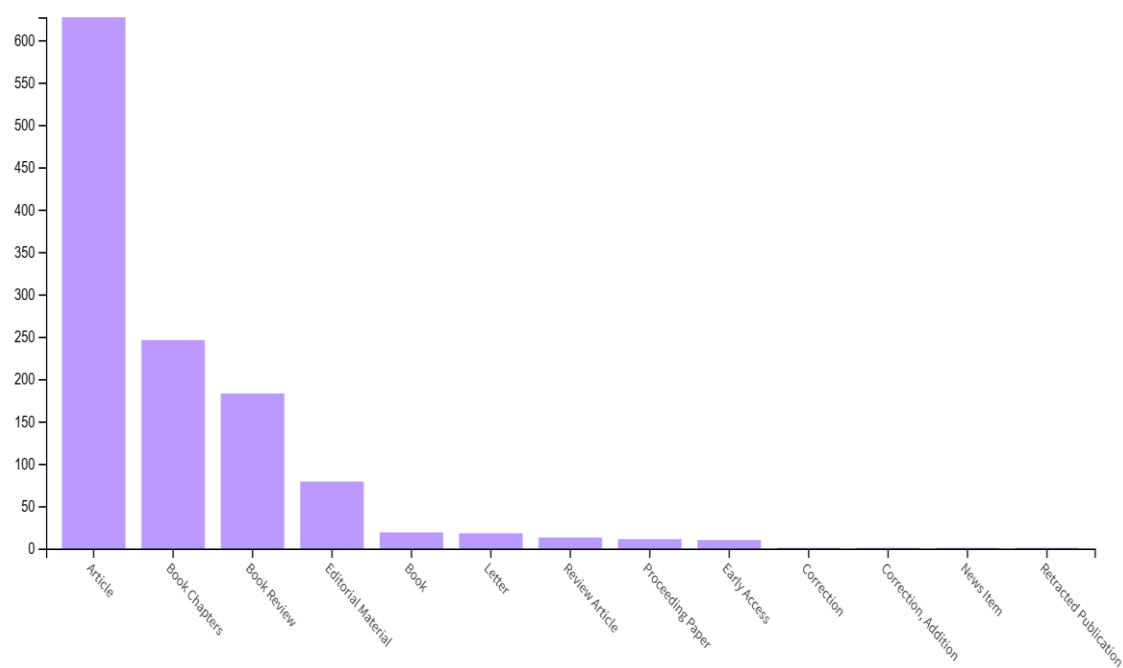


Figure 3: Distribution of Publications by Type

Book chapters, numbering 246 and constituting 25%, are also significant. This suggests that the Armenian Question is frequently addressed within edited volumes, often in the context of genocide studies, Ottoman history, diaspora narratives, or international law. These chapters typically provide thematic depth within broader collective works.

Book reviews appear in substantial numbers, with 183 entries (approximately 19.3%). The high frequency of reviews reflects the dynamic nature of the literature and sustained scholarly interest. These reviews offer critical evaluations of newly published works and contribute to ongoing debates by highlighting methodological shifts and historiographical perspectives.

Editorial materials make up 79 publications (8.3%). These include commentaries, special issue introductions, or reflective essays published in academic journals. They typically address methodological developments, disciplinary debates, or political contexts—especially around symbolic anniversaries or legal decisions.

Lastly, only 19 monographs (2%) were identified in the dataset. This low number may be due to the WoS’s limited indexing of standalone books, especially those published outside mainstream academic presses. Many monographs on the Armenian Question are likely captured in alternative databases or remain unindexed in global citation indexes.

In sum, the distribution by document type highlights the centrality of journal-based and chapter-based scholarship, while also pointing to the institutional and technical limitations of bibliometric data when it comes to capturing monographic contributions.

5.4. *Disciplinary Distribution of Publications*

Figure 4 presents the disciplinary categorization of scholarly publications on the Armenian Question, based on Web of Science indexing criteria. The findings reveal a strong interdisciplinary character, with a notable concentration in historical and political disciplines, alongside contributions from cultural and sociological studies.

The field is dominated by History, with 436 publications accounting for 45.8% of the total output. This high percentage reflects the centrality of historical analysis in the literature—particularly regarding the 1915 events, Ottoman state policies, wartime dynamics, and post-imperial memory politics. The dominance of history as a discipline also indicates that the Armenian Question is deeply embedded in historiographical debates and archival research practices.

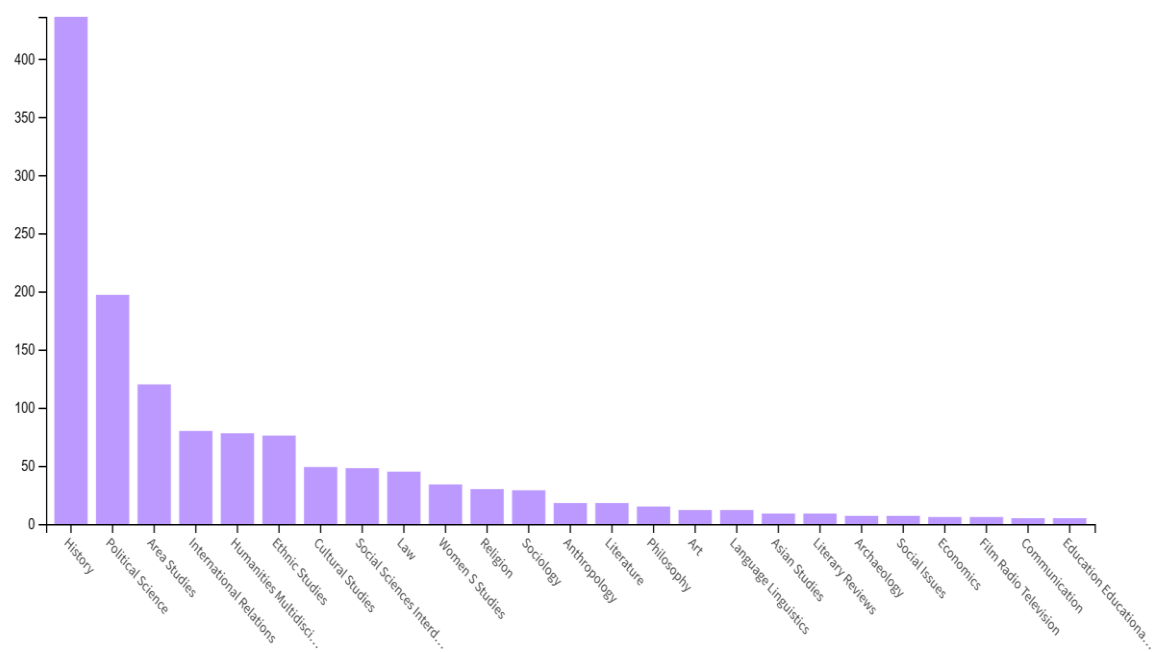


Figure 4: *Distribution of Publications by Academic Disciplines*

Political Science ranks second, with 197 publications (20.7%), underscoring the contemporary political relevance of the topic. Research in this domain often focuses on state policies, diaspora activism, international recognition campaigns, and identity-based policymaking. Closely related, International Relations accounts for 80 publications (8.4%), reflecting interest in foreign policy, diplomatic history, and legal-political recognition processes.

The literature also includes significant contributions from Area Studies (120; 12.6%), Ethnic Studies (76; 8%), and Cultural Studies (49; 5.15%). These works often examine the Armenian Question through the lenses of ethnic identity, cultural memory, diaspora representation, and symbolic narratives.

In addition, Humanities as a broad category includes 78 publications (8.12%), indicating the topic's relevance at the intersection of history, literature, and political thought. Sociology (29 publications; 3%), Anthropology (18; 1.8%), and Social Sciences (48; 5%) offer insights into migration, collective trauma, generational transmission, and memory regimes.

The field of Law, with 45 publications (4.7%), contributes legal perspectives on genocide classification, international accountability, and human rights frameworks. While not dominant, legal scholarship plays a crucial role in shaping the international discourse on the Armenian Question, especially in terms of recognition and reparation debates.

This disciplinary breakdown confirms the multifaceted and cross-disciplinary nature of the topic. It also suggests that the Armenian Question serves as a converging point for historical, political, legal, and cultural inquiry, making it a fertile ground for transdisciplinary academic collaboration.

5.5. Most Prolific and Most Cited Authors

Based on data retrieved from the Web of Science, the identification of the most prolific scholars in the field of Armenian Question studies provides valuable insight into the academic landscape and intellectual leadership shaping the discourse.

As illustrated in Figure 5, Elyse Semerdjian ranks as the most prolific author, with 29 publications (3.05%). Her work focuses on gender, memory, ethnic violence, and everyday life in the Ottoman Empire. Semerdjian's publications reflect a broader trend in the literature that emphasizes gendered trauma narratives and the role of Armenian women in historical memory.

Jean Zarifian, with 25 publications (2.6%), occupies the second position. His research centers on diaspora politics, memory culture, and identity formation—particularly within the French academic and political context. Zarifian's work exemplifies the close ties between the Armenian diaspora and French scholarly output.

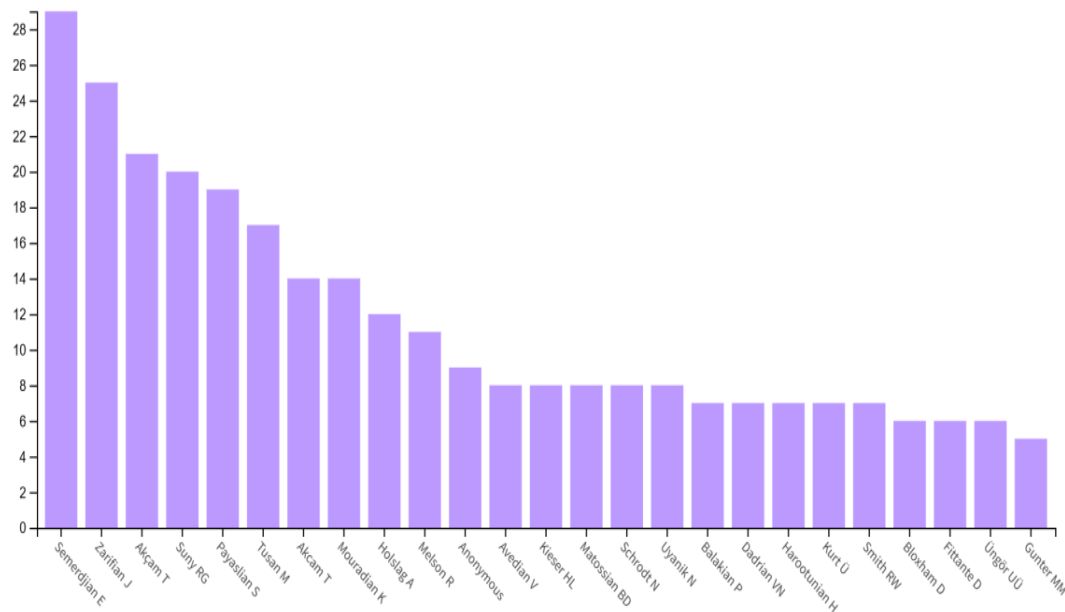


Figure 5: Most Published Authors

In third place is Taner Akçam, with 21 publications (2.2%). Akçam is widely recognized for his use of Ottoman archival sources, his critical stance on official Turkish historiography, and his contributions to genocide studies. His presence in the international literature highlights the growing visibility of Turkish-origin critical scholarship in global academic discussions.

Other key contributors include Grigor Suny (20 publications; 2.1%) and Simon Payaslian (19; 2%), both of whom have published extensively on Armenian identity, nationalism, and comparative genocide analysis. Suny, in particular, is known for methodological innovations in Ottoman-Armenian historiography.

Scholars such as Michelle Tusan (17 publications) and Khatchig Mouradian (14) have brought diaspora, cultural memory, and migration into the academic mainstream. Robert Melson (11) has made significant contributions to comparative genocide studies, while Vahagn Avedian and Lukas Kieser have engaged deeply with archival research and testimonial narratives. Kieser’s work on Talat Pasha is particularly noteworthy.

The co-citation network shown in Figure 6, generated via VOSviewer, visualizes the most frequently cited authors and the density of their academic interconnections. Central and large-noded figures such as Zarakol (2010), Suny (2015), Tusan (2014), and Dadrian (2002) represent epistemic hubs with substantial influence on the field. Links between nodes indicate shared citations, while color clusters reflect thematic or theoretical alignment.

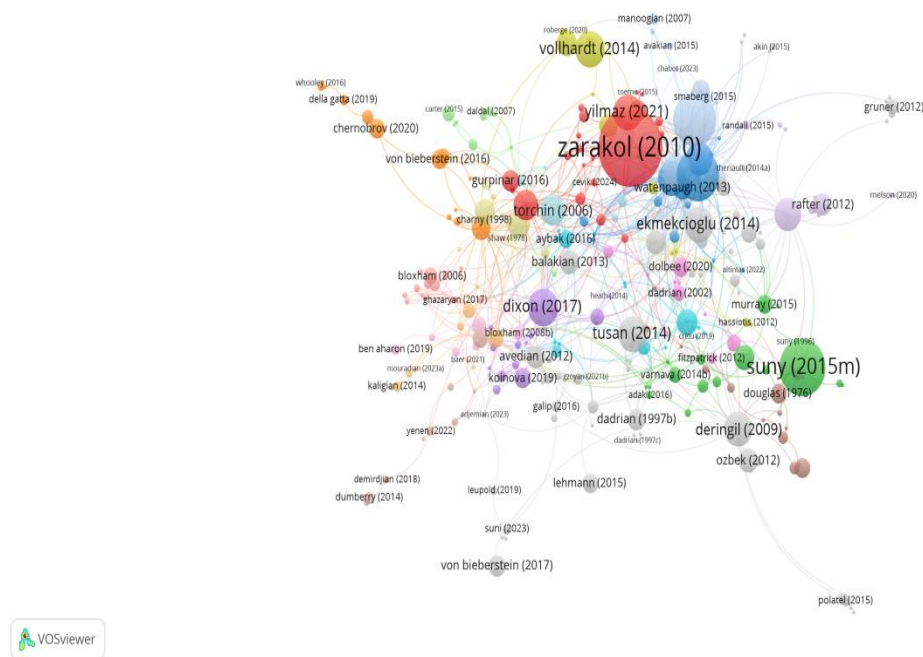


Figure 6: Most Cited Authors

For example, authors such as Tusan, Ekmekçioğlu, and Watenpaugh are clustered around topics like cultural memory, ethnic violence, and trauma narratives. In contrast, scholars like Suny, Deringil, and Adak are associated with historically grounded analyses and archival work. This network map illustrates that academic authority is concentrated around a small set of influential scholars, revealing the hegemonic structures of knowledge production in this area.

5.6. Analysis of Journal and Series Distribution

The distribution of publications across journals, book series, and academic platforms offers critical insight into the institutional and epistemological positioning of the Armenian Question within global scholarly discourse. Data from the Web of Science indicate that research on this topic is primarily disseminated through outlets focused on genocide studies, human rights, Middle Eastern history, and ethical-political scholarship.

As shown in Figure 7, leading journals include:

- *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (34 publications; 3.5%),
- *Journal of Genocide Research* (21; 2.2%), and
- *Genocide Studies International* (20; 2.1%).

These journals emphasize theoretical and comparative genocide frameworks, frequently situating the Armenian Genocide alongside the Holocaust and other 20th-century atrocities. Their prominence reflects the centrality of the Armenian case in the global development of genocide studies as a distinct field.

Other important venues include:

- *Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity* (28; 2.9%) and
 - *Genocide, Political Violence, Human Rights Series* (24; 2.5%),
- which focus on legal and ethical dimensions, including international justice, state accountability, and the persistence of impunity.

Culturally oriented publications such as:

- *Armenian Genocide: Cultural and Ethical Legacies* (26; 2.7%),
 - *Remnants* (26; 2.7%), and
 - *Transgenerational Consequences of the Armenian Genocide* (11; 1.1%),
- explore issues of cultural memory, diasporic identity, and intergenerational trauma. These platforms highlight the literary, artistic, and psychosocial representations of the genocide, often from a diasporic perspective.

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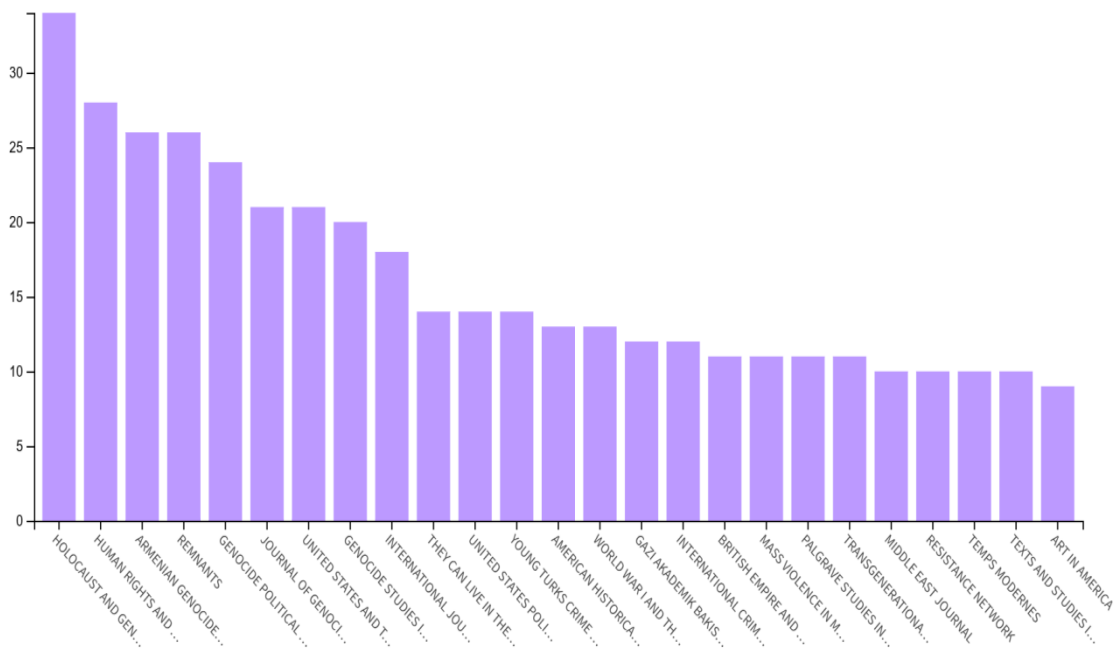


Figure 7: Journal Distribution of Publications

Series such as *Texts and Studies in Armenian History, Society and Culture* (10; 1.05%) represent more regionally and culturally anchored approaches to Armenian studies, combining history, literature, anthropology, and sociology in the analysis of Armenian experiences across time and space.

Middle East-focused journals such as:

- *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (18; 1.8%),
- *Middle East Journal* (10; 1.05%), and
- *Gazi Akademik Bakış* (12; 1.2%)

frame the Armenian Question within the broader context of Ottoman decline, nationalism, and state formation in the post-imperial Middle East. These journals tend to emphasize political transitions, ethnic conflict, and the international ramifications of empire dissolution.

Finally, high-profile platforms such as *American Historical Review* (13; 1.3%), *Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide* (11; 1.1%), and *Mass Violence in Modern History* underscore the comparative and historiographical relevance of the Armenian Genocide, particularly in relation to other mass atrocities and global patterns of violence.

This journal-level analysis demonstrates that scholarship on the Armenian Question is dispersed across a diverse range of disciplinary domains, each contributing a different lens—historical, legal, cultural, or ethical—to the study of this contested subject. It also reflects the institutional consolidation of genocide studies and the increasing integration of the Armenian case into broader comparative frameworks.

5.7. Country-Level Distribution of Publications

The country-level analysis of publications indexed in the Web of Science provides a clear picture of the geographical concentration, national research priorities, and epistemic centers that shape scholarly discourse on the Armenian Question.

As shown in Figure 8, the United States emerges as the most dominant node, both in terms of publication volume and international collaboration. The U.S. not only produces the highest number of publications but also maintains robust citation and co-authorship networks with countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, France, Israel, Turkey, and Armenia. This reflects the country's leading role in genocide studies, its hosting of significant Armenian diaspora communities, and its academic investment in Middle Eastern and historical justice issues.

Armenia, as expected, is one of the most active contributors to the field, maintaining strong scholarly connections with countries like France, Canada, the U.S., and the Netherlands—all of which are notable for their Armenian diaspora populations. These transnational academic links also indicate the diaspora's influence on knowledge production and international memory politics.

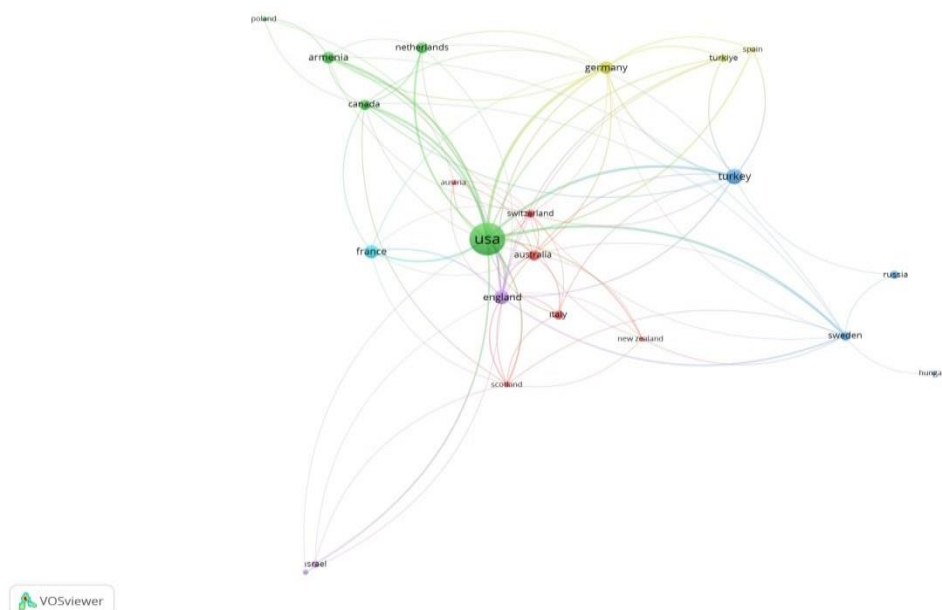


Figure 8: Distribution of Publications by Country

Turkey, in contrast, appears with a more limited presence and weaker connection lines on the collaboration map. This may reflect several factors: official state discourse, political sensitivities surrounding the topic, limited inclusion of Turkish-language publications in international indexes, and potential self-censorship within academia. The relatively low international collaboration associated with Turkey suggests a need for greater integration into global scholarly networks on this issue.

European countries such as Germany, France, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Poland show varying degrees of activity. Germany, in particular, has a multi-directional citation network, which may be linked to its historical engagement with the Ottoman Empire and its post-Holocaust human rights frameworks. Countries like Sweden and Switzerland are more active in legal and human rights dimensions, often focusing on international law, genocide prevention, and migration.

In summary, this bibliometric map illustrates that the global production of knowledge on the Armenian Question is heavily concentrated in Western academic centers, particularly in the U.S. and Western Europe. The diaspora's academic activism plays a key role, while the relatively peripheral position of Turkey highlights enduring epistemic asymmetries. These findings call for more inclusive and dialogical scholarly engagement, especially from regional actors.

5.8. Keyword Co-Occurrence and Thematic Clustering

Figure 9 presents a VOSviewer-generated keyword co-occurrence map that visualizes the conceptual architecture of the academic literature on the Armenian Question. This map reveals the

At the center of the map lies “Armenian Genocide”, the most prominent and recurring keyword. It is surrounded by strongly linked terms such as “genocide denial,” “cultural memory,” “postmemory,” “Holocaust,” and “genocide studies.” These clusters indicate that the literature increasingly situates the Armenian Question within broader discussions of collective trauma, memory politics, and comparative atrocity studies. Thus, the term “Armenian Genocide” not only denotes a specific historical event but also functions as a node for epistemological, legal, and cultural exploration.

A complex network visualization of concepts related to the Armenian genocide. The central node is "armenian genocide" (green). Other prominent nodes include "genocide" (purple), "armenia" (blue), "turkey" (yellow), "ottoman empire" (pink), and "armenians" (brown). The network is composed of numerous smaller nodes connected by lines of varying thickness, representing the relationships between these concepts. The nodes are color-coded and arranged in a circular pattern around the center.

 VOSviewer

Additionally, geopolitical and policy-oriented keywords such as “Turkey,” “Azerbaijan,” “European Union,” and “foreign policy” suggest that the literature also engages with contemporary international relations, state diplomacy, and recognition politics. These terms indicate that the

Armenian Question is not merely a historical dispute but also a living issue embedded in global political discourse.

This thematic clustering provides compelling evidence of the interdisciplinary expansion of the field—from classical historiography to legal studies, cultural theory, and transnational memory studies. It also underscores the ongoing epistemic contestations and the need for nuanced, multi-scalar frameworks to analyze the enduring significance of the Armenian Question in academic and political arenas alike.

Conclusion

This study has conducted a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of academic literature on the Armenian Question, drawing from data indexed in the Web of Science Core Collection between 1976 and 2025. Through statistical evaluation and network visualization, the research has identified major trends in publication languages, disciplinary orientations, author productivity, citation patterns, geographic distribution, and keyword clustering.

The findings demonstrate a clear dominance of English-language publications, a concentration of research in history and political science, and a strong epistemic presence of scholars from the United States, Armenia, and select European countries. While the United States emerges as the most prolific and collaborative academic center, Turkey's representation remains limited and peripheral. The low frequency of Turkish-language publications and the country's weak integration into international citation networks underscore the ongoing asymmetries in global academic knowledge production.

Furthermore, the thematic evolution of the literature—evident in the proliferation of keywords such as *genocide denial*, *postmemory*, *diaspora*, and *cultural representation*—signals a notable shift from traditional historiographical debates toward memory studies, trauma narratives, and comparative genocide analysis. The literature increasingly positions the Armenian Genocide within transnational frameworks of human rights, state accountability, and cultural politics.

Despite its contributions, the study acknowledges certain limitations. The bibliometric analysis is based solely on data from the WoS database, which may underrepresent non-English sources and monographic publications. Moreover, bibliometric methods privilege quantity over qualitative depth and are unable to account for the rhetorical strategies, ideological framing, or political sensitivities embedded in scholarly texts.

In light of these findings, future research could benefit from a multi-method approach that combines bibliometric data with qualitative content analysis, critical discourse analysis, and field-based ethnographic perspectives. Such integration would deepen our understanding of how knowledge about the Armenian Question is constructed, circulated, contested, and institutionalized within and beyond the academy.

Ultimately, this study offers both a map and a mirror: a map of how the field has evolved over five decades, and a mirror reflecting the structural dynamics, imbalances, and epistemic silences that continue to shape the global scholarly conversation on one of the most enduringly contested questions of the twentieth century.

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