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FRANCOPHILIA: CASE OF ARMENIA

Keywords: francophilia, diaspora, soft power, language, OIF

There are already a lot of papers about Francophilia. Nevertheless, most of them involve African countries or French speaking countries. Studying Francophilia in Armenia brings a new angle to the movement since it is an underlying and entrenched concept in the countries that do not speak French. So, we decided to study the weight of the French language in Armenia. The goal was to find explanations of this Francophile movement by understanding its roots, actors and dynamics. It is through readings and interviews that we collected our information to write this paper. The main and most obvious reason why French is so popular is partly due to the French policies and soft power throughout the world and as such also in Armenia. We acknowledge that we miss diverse sources to make this paper more relevant. What would be important to understand after this is how the vision of Francophilia is biased and only based on France whereas it covers numerous and diverse populations.

Introduction

The distance between France and Armenia is 3497 kilometers. No more than a person out of ten has notions of French in Armenia, and according to a study from the International Organization for Francophonie, there are 0,3% francophones out of 2,9 million Armenians. Then, how can we explain the Francophile movement? We decid-

ed to work on Francophilia and how it is a French soft power tool and to precisely study this in Armenia. In Armenia, French is not an official language and as the figures show it is not a predominant language either. Nevertheless, ties between the two countries are really deep and mostly unknown that is why we considered it interesting. Thus, through this paper, we hope we can shed light not only on their relations but also on the Armenian Francophile movement by focusing on the Armenian interest in the French language.

Francophilia concerns foreigners and their interests for the French nation, its culture and values. With not confusing with Francophonie, which is the quality of speaking French, it also includes all the people, institutions and governments that use French on a daily basis, either as an administrative language, teaching one or a chosen one. The word was invented by Onésime Reclus, a French geographer at the end of the XIX century. This represents France, Belgium, Switzerland but also twenty-six countries in Africa such as Congo, Madagascar and Rwanda. Francophonie is for France a diplomatic tool part of its soft power. Soft Power 30 is defining it as the “use of positive attraction and persuasion to achieve foreign policy objectives”. Soft Power 30 is a ranking made every year by the strategic firm Portland and the university of South Carolina; they ranked France first in 2017\(^2\) and 2019\(^3\).

The love for French in Armenia is a fact. However, the challenge here is to find reasons for this movement which is at first not expected. Indeed, as we mentioned, the two countries are far from each other and their relations are not obvious. Through this research we found explanations to it, either historical, political or economic. We decided to list and detail them to explain, as much as we can, the Armenian Francophile movement. First of all, this essay will focus on historic and deep ties of Armenia and France. These ties are political, cultural and economic and are such for centuries. Then, we will examine the Armenian diaspora in France which helps keeping relationships between the two nations. Another explanation for this interest in the French language is the French soft power; indeed, France has an important cultural diplomacy around the world, including Armenia. Finally, we will mention the Armenian membership of the International Organization for Francophonie and how this fact contributes to the enhancement of the Armenian Francophilia.

As far as the method used is concerned, I first tried to read as much as possible about what Francophonie and Francophilia meant, indeed the goal was to grasp the key concepts. There are a lot of research papers, books and reviews about Francophonie, its objectives, what it represents for France. For instance, Philippe Lane\(^4\) wrote about the French presence across the world explaining its roots, goals, the policies put in place. Most of the time, these papers illustrate their statements with African French speaking countries. Indeed, Africa is the continent with the most French speaking people. Also, this region is a priority for Francophonie. The following step was to link it with Armenia. For doing that, I looked for papers and books about the history, about the diaspora and about the relations between France and Armenia. Concerning cultural diplomacy, most papers speak about the African countries and rarely mention Armenia. Most of the papers I read were in French since it was about France, but

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\(^2\) See Overall Ranking 2017 https://softpower30.com/?country_years=2017

\(^3\) See Overall Ranking 2019 https://softpower30.com/?country_years=2019

I also read in English. For this research, I also tried to reach professors, organizations related to Francophonie that are in Armenia and abroad. Unfortunately, most of them did not answer. I tried to diversify the point of views and the sources of information in order to be more relevant. Therefore, this paper is mainly based on theoretical resources found on different research platforms.

**Deep and historic ties**

These deep and ancient ties can find an explanation in religion. Indeed, crusades were a series of religious wars supported by the Latin Church, the crusaders wanted to spread Christianity, by force, in order to recover the Holy Land from the Islamic rule. Since Armenia is the first country to ever adopt Christianity as a state religion, they represented an important ally for the crusaders in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

Thus, one of the first contacts between France and Armenia dates back to the crusades, at the time Armenia was the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (XII-XIX century). The Frankish lords got married with the Armenian princesses creating a French-Armenian royal line, the last king of it was Leon V. This royal line lasted for three centuries, meaning as much time to create and establish an important Francophilia sometimes with a Francophonie, which, depending on the social classes, lasted. For example, the king Leon II started a francization of the royal court and of the State, breaking thus with the Armenian tradition. He implemented the Frankish feudal system in the kingdom and a central and powerful royal power which corresponded to the French system.

Francophilia can also be explained by an important cultural and historical characteristic of the Armenian people: the “resistance”. Armenians are often described as resistant and conservative people. Indeed, they protected their language, their culture and traditions throughout the centuries despite the fact that they were scattered all over the world. Francophilia could have been included in what Armenians resisted for. First of all, three centuries of cohabitation leaves marks, Armenians would talk about it for generations creating a positive image of France in the Armenian imaginary. Something we need to understand is how France and the French language are still so appreciated when we know how important the Armenian language is for its speakers. Indeed, Armenian is one of the rare languages directly descending from Indo-European and is still alive more than two thousand years after. For linguists, it is a genuine treasury. As explained, the Armenian language is part of what we called the Armenian resistance.

Coming back to history, most of the high dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire were francophones and they lived in a French way. They succeeded in keeping their Armenian identity and living a French life. Thus, through all the XIX century, thanks to these lords and their patronage, French works were translated, especially Victor Hugo’s works. With the French Revolution of 1789, the republican ideas convinced the minority of the Ottoman Empire and more specifically the Armenian community. The fact that the Armenians took the French republican ideas does not look like a coincidence, it can be interpreted as an evidence of the Armenian-French old implicit relationships. The Armenian revolutionary movement was well implemented in the Eastern Anatolia, Cilicia and Constantinople. They created their own political parties: Armenakan in 1885, Hentchack in 1887 and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyn) in 1890. During World War I, the French Orient Legion, founded in 1916, was mainly composed of the Armenians that decided to enroll themselves in the army to fight for France. Moreover, most French Armenians supported the fight against the Axis by going to the Front or enrolling themselves into the Resistance, the most famous of them being Missak Manouchian, who received a Resistance medal.

Archarch Tchobanian is an Armenian that exiled himself in France in 1895. He is the founder of the armenophile movement in France and he convinced many French politicians such as Georges Clémenceau, Jean...
Jaurès. Moreover, he also created a pro-Armenian committee and a few years after in 1900 an armenophile newspaper, Pro-Armênia. Before moving to France, he had been translating French poets and participating in the spreading of French ideas among the Armenian community. Due to his efforts, France discovered the cultural and artistic dimension of Armenians but also how the Enlightenment thinking was developed among Armenians. Tchobanian works can be considered as the contact point, an achieved symbol, which for eight centuries linked peoples of Armenia and France.

These historic relations have consequences on political and diplomatic relations nowadays. Thus, the diplomatic relations between Armenia and France were established in 1992. Indeed, in 1984, Mitterrand, the French president at the time, was one of the first head of state to publicly recognize the Armenian genocide of 1915. Then, in 2001, the French Parliament voted a law recognizing the genocide. However, they still have not managed to make the negation of it punishable. Throughout years, the Armenian and French High Representatives met multiple times, Robert Kocharyan visited France in 2003, Chirac went to Armenia in 2006 and it was the first time that a French president visited Armenia. As far as economic ties are concerned, France mainly imports agricultural goods and there are big French companies established in Armenia such as Pernod Ricard or Veolia. For the centenary of the Armenian Genocide in 2015, François Hollande was present, confirming his own engagement but also the French one at the presidential level in the last ten years.

The Armenian diaspora in France

There are around 8 to 10 million Armenians around the world and 3 million of them live in Armenia, according to estimates of 2020. There is no precise calculation possible, but it is estimated that in 2011 there are around 600,000 Armenians in France and among them 400,000, were born in France. According to the INSEE\(^5\), in 2008, 15000 persons in metropolitan France were born in Armenia. The diaspora is concentrated in Marseille, Lyon, Valence, Paris and its suburbs. Thus, the French Armenian diaspora is the biggest in Western Europe and the third one in the world, after Russia and the United States.

The aim of the Armenian Diaspora Survey (ADS), conducted by the Armenian Institute of London, is to inform the public, scholars and policymakers about the reality of the Armenian diaspora in the XXI century. They did a study case about the Armenian diaspora in Marseille, a city on the Mediterranean Sea in France.

The first Armenian family to settle in Marseille was the d’Armény, back in 1612. The patriarch of the family, Antoine d’Armény, was close to Louis Fréjus, a major merchant in the city at the time. Thus, the Armenian neighborhood in Marseille was established in the XVII century. Indeed, an Armenian chapel from this century has been found as well as repositories belonging to merchants. There were a lot of Armenian merchants in Marseille from the Ottoman Empire, willing to establish their business in the city. Their presence led Colbert, one of the ministers of Louis XIV, to create Marseille’s free port of Armenians. Because of their number, a street was even renamed Rue\(^6\) Armeny. At the end of the XVII century, it is said that there were about 400 Armenians in Marseille. A 2nd flow of Armenian migration from the Ottoman Empire occurred after the massacre of 1894-96 and after the Armenian Genocide in 1915. The newcomers were helped by those who settled down during the previous centuries. Thus, the Armenian National Union was created in 1923, aiming to help the Armenian refugees of the Camp Oddo\(^7\). The next year, they formed a scouting union, Homenetmen. At the beginning of the the 20th century the Armenian diaspora also established itself in terms of politics. Namely, the three major

\(^{5}\) National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies. It is the national bureau of statistics in France.

\(^{6}\) Street, in English.

\(^{7}\) Camp for Armenian survivors of the genocide located near Marseille.
Armenian political parties - Ramgavar⁸, Hunchakian⁹ and Dashnaksutyan¹⁰ started operating in Marseille.

There are 900,000 inhabitants in Marseille. Almost one in ten people is Armenian, indeed the Armenian population would be about 80,000. Nowadays, a number of organizations continue to keep the community alive, such as a football club or Hamaskaine Cultural Association.

The Armenian Genocide is one of the defining elements of the diaspora and its migrations. It marked a change of scale, after the genocide we can talk about a great diaspora. After the Armenian Genocide and the 1922 massacres, many Armenians from Anatolia and Cilicia left for France where there was already an established diaspora. Most Armenians were killed by the Turks in 1915 in Western Armenia. The survivors were forced to settle down in Syria through the Der Zor desert. Thousands of people were killed or died on their way. Only a few Armenians remained in Cilicia until 1922. Nevertheless, Armenians from the Ottoman Empire represented the majority of the diaspora. After the genocide, they are first considered as stateless and eventually as refugees by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

After the signing of the Lausanne treaty (July 24th, 1923), 2000 new Armenians arrived in France within a few weeks. Never did so many Armenians arrive in such a short period of time.

A lot of them also would leave for the Soviet Republic of Armenia, after the Second World War, between 1945 and 1948, answering the call of the Armenian communists. While leaving, they would bring with them all their Francophonie and Francophilia back to Armenia. Between 5000 and 7000 Armenians left France, the country where they were living for 20 years. However, returning to Motherland did not really meet their expectations, indeed it was the beginning of a new Stalinian repression. When it was possible, many of them would leave back to France.

The French cultural diplomacy

Cultural and scientific diplomacy is really trendy since the 2008 election of Barack Obama. Following his first decisions, the debate around soft power arose again. Cultural diplomacy is a contemporary evolution of diplomacy, while being a part of foreign affairs. This is a policy that aims at exporting values of a national culture and to interact with other cultures. This is part of soft power, a notion developed by Joseph Nye at the end of the 20th century in his book Bound to Lead. It is an international relations concept explaining how a country can achieve its ends by using its power of attraction.

“Proof of power lies not in resources but in the ability to change the behavior of state.” Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power". Foreign Policy, no. 80 (1990): 153–71.

For Joseph Nye, it is more than just a political influence. He defined three ways of action: the agenda setting, the first tools of a country (its values, culture, etc.) and its diplomatic and public policies. In opposition to hard power, soft power needs civil society to exist. Nothing can be done without it and nothing against it. Since France has always given a great importance to its language, its culture, we can say it is a country of soft power. Cultural diplomacy is generally separated from public diplomacy. Thus, cultural diplomacy requires the involvement of the private sector as a partner to produce and provide the products, services and expertise for international outreach. In practice, it means that a typical state’s cultural diplomacy may involve a host of collaborators, from organizations to individuals. Among the purposes of cultural diplomacy the will to establish a dialogue and building trust with other nations, seeking cultural and political recognition, improving the image and reputation

⁸ Also known as Armenian Democratic Liberal Party, it is a political party operating within the diaspora that was established in Constantinople in 1921 as the reunion of three previous parties.
⁹ Also known as the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, it is the oldest continuously operating Armenian political party and was founded in 1887, in Geneva.
¹⁰ Also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, it has been founded in 1890 in Tbilisi, Georgia.
of the national culture can be mentioned.

France was ranked first of the Soft Power 30 ranking in 2017 and 2019. French cultural diplomacy is based on two ideas: culture is universal and non-political. It allowed the country to spread its ideas in numerous countries. Cultural diversity is one of the pillars of the French foreign policy. It means not only the promotion of all languages and culture but also the demonstration of the French diversity.

France is the only democratic country that is conducting its external cultural policy through the state and has a budget for it, according to Marie-Christine Kessler11. Its cultural diplomacy dates back to the end of the XIX century when the first Alliances françaises were created. However, we can even talk about French cultural diplomacy during the Ancient Régime13 when most diplomats were literary men. The Alliances françaises promote the French language and culture in the countries where they are being implemented.

France has currently 98 Instituts français and 813 Alliances françaises. The Alliances françaises, being in contact with the people, really created a francophone spirit. Moreover, they are held and supported by the civil society of the country where they are located, since Alliances françaises have the status of local associations and are managed by locals. Thus, France is the only country to have such a cultural network. The country is also active in the cinema industry with Unifrance, in the music industry, in the book industry, etc. The educational network is also really important for its policy, indeed, there are French schools in 130 countries, representing 300,000 students16 according to Frédéric Martel in one of his articles.

One of the pillars of the French external cultural policy is the French language. According to the Observatoire de la langue française7 and their last report in 2018, there are around 300 million people that can be considered francophone and they are on all the five continents. It is the 5th most spoken language in the world after Chinese, English, Arabic and Spanish. Africa is the continent where there are half of the French speakers, 59% of them to be precise. Because of that and of history, Africa is a high priority area for the development of linguistic cooperation. In an interview with La Revue Internationale et Stratégique8 Laurent Fabius, Foreign Affairs minister from 2012 to 2016, reminded that the cultural and francophone diplomacy is a priority. There are three main directions, “francophone family” that increase the influence in the non francophone countries by trying to increase the learning of French and finally promote French in the international sphere.

In Armenia, French is the third foreign language after Russian and English, according to the last report of the Linguistic Observatory of the French language19. The report mentioned a “shown voluntariness for Armenia that pays off”, indeed, a linguistic pact was signed in 2012 and was extended, in 2016, for three years. An action plan was validated in 2017, comprising an educational facet, which aims at making French the third taught language from the 5th grade. All in all, 43,000 students

12 French Alliances.
13 Name given to the French society for the two centuries before the Revolution in 1789.
14 French Institutes, they share almost the same goals as the Alliances françaises but are under the supervision of the Cultural minister and the Europe and Foreign Affairs one.
15 Organization promoting and spreading French cinema.
17 Linguistic Observatory of the French language. It collects and analyses data about French country by country in order to do statistics about it.
learn French in Armenia, according to this report. There is an international French school, named Anatole France, which is delivering French education. The head of the French chair mentions that the French university in Armenia guarantees a strong position for the Francophonie in terms of higher education. There are certainly French classes in many other universities, where students can study French as a second language.

Anaida Gasparyan who works at the French university in Armenia helped me with the research data collection. To the question on students’ choice of learning French, her main point was that the Armenians consider France to be the country of love, and Paris sounds like a dreamy city. In Armenia, they also listen to French songs, the most famous singer being Charles Aznavour. He created a strong link between the two countries and is really known both in Armenia and in France. All of these answers are part of soft power meaning France sounds attractive to students that is why they study the language.

An achievement: Armenia is a permanent member of the International Organization for Francophonie

The International Organization for Francophonie (OIF), founded in 1970, is an organization promoting multilateral francophone cooperation among its members, states and governments. Members have in common the French language and values such as cultural diversity, peace, and democratic governance.

In 2004, Armenia was accepted into the organization as an observer which was the first achievement. Then, in 2008, following the Quebec Summit, Armenia became an associate member making the country the 54th to join the Francophonie which was followed by Armenia becoming a permanent member in 2012. As a full member of the Francophonie, Armenia and the organization signed a linguistic agreement for three years. It concerns tourism, communication, culture and education, among others. The objectives are to develop French in schools, create a French-Armenian high school, encourage the diffusion of French-speaking films, having signs in French in touristic areas, etc. Eduard Nalbandyan, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2008 to 2018, was really devoted to the idea of Armenia being a member of the OIF. It is during his term that Armenia became a member and he put a lot of effort in the organization of the Yerevan Summit in 2018.

In 2015, Armenia hosted the 31st ministerial Conference of the Francophonie, emphasizing its commitment to the Organization. Then, in 2018, Yerevan welcomed a Francophonie Summit. The Summits are the highest instance of Francophonie. There is a Summit every two years which is presided by the government hosting it. They determine new members’ status and the orientations of Francophonie. The next Summit is at the end of 2020 in Tunis, it is the 50th anniversary of the organisation. The last summit was held in Armenia in 2018. The date was corresponding with the anniversary of Yerevan’s foundation 2800 years ago.

Zohrab Mnatsakanyan, the Armenian minister of Foreign Affairs since 2018, in an interview about the Yerevan Summit of the OIF mentioned that linguistic diversity is really important for a small country such as Armenia. Indeed, being able to speak different languages is an asset when one wants to develop relationships with partners. Also, Armenia and France have historic and deep ties. Armenia always supported the values of France. For the minister, being a member of the organization is not only a matter of language but also a way to support and defend democracy and human rights.

Conclusion

The first contact between Armenia and France developed through centuries which has been maintained ever after. This is the first explanation to understand the Armenian Francophile movement. Since the two nations lived together for a few centuries it has left traces in the collective memory. Nevertheless, it is not enough to explain the status of French in the country and its popularity especially because history is not sufficient to explain a
francophone movement. To keep a movement alive, there is a need of actors currently advocating it.

Therefore, history and the memorial heritage of a nation are not the only reason we can talk about a Francophile movement in Armenia. It is essential to mention the diaspora. There are more Armenians outside of Armenia than within the borders. The diaspora plays a key role in keeping an interest in France in particular because the country hosts one of the prominent Armenian diasporas in the world. The Genocide of 1915 shaped the diaspora and France was one of the countries where the Armenians massively fled to at that time. It signifies the fact that France had a special place in the collective imaginary. Many also returned to Armenia after World War II to eventually leave again for France. These movements of population are the source of the spread of values and in our case, of the French ones.

What was relevant to understand is how the French cultural diplomacy might have an influence in Armenia. Since the French cultural diplomacy is non-political, it is easier to be spread and to affect a greater number of countries. Thus, in Armenia, French is among the most spoken languages. Indeed, they work on attaching more importance to learning French. This shows the interest of Armenia in the French language at a state level. However, the best sign of their interest is the membership to the OIF. And it goes both ways, Armenia wants to play a part in the organization, and OIF trusts Armenia since they will host a Ministerial Conference and a Summit in three years. It can be interpreted as a sign of a successful French soft power. The OIF does not only promote the French language but also peace and democracy. Therefore, Armenia, by joining the OIF, does not only join this organization for supporting the French language but also for cherishing the values, which France and other francophone countries stand for as a sign of Francophilia.

Through this research, we tried to shed light on many dynamisms happening in Armenia. The purpose was to understand Francophilia in Armenia and we tried to provide partial answers to this broad question. Moreover, we tried by analyzing the key concepts to make this question more approachable. To be self-critical, it should be mentioned that we have missed diverse points of views concerning this issue, which might pose more questions and riddles. Nevertheless, we did our best to reveal and identify some key points related to the research topic.

Thus, our question was to understand the Armenian Francophile movement and, more precisely, the interest in the French language. The Francophile movement finds its origins in history and that was built throughout this history. However, as it has been mentioned above, there is a need of actors to keep the movement alive. We can mention the diaspora which is a key actor by its number but also by its movements of population. Of course, the Armenian government and the directions it has been taking over the past decades are crucial. The analysis has shown that Armenia attaches much importance to OIF membership and respects the engagements it represents. Finally, the last actor we consider important is France and its cultural policies. Indeed, it is through them that the country makes the others attracted to its values and its language. It creates a positive image of France making people interested to know more about the dreamy idea they have.

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In scientific literature, one can encounter numerous studies on francophony. Nevertheless, most of them are related to African or French-speaking countries. The study of francophony in Armenia is to some extent a new look at this issue, highlighting the fact that francophony also took root in countries that do not speak French. Within the framework of this study, we tried to uncover the phenomenon, its roots, preliminary, main actors, and the dynamics of the formation of francophony in Armenia. During the process of research, we studied publications on this theme, also using the method of interviews. The main and most obvious conclusion of our study is that French is popular in the world, including Armenia, to a large extent due to French policy and soft power. It should also be acknowledged that for further and deeper analysis of the issues to be studied, it will be necessary to study and use other sources.

Keywords: francophony, diaspora, soft power, language, International Organisation of Francophonie.