

Citation Evidence Report

EB-2 NIW Petition — National Interest Waiver

Matter of Dhanasar · Prong 2 (well-positioned)

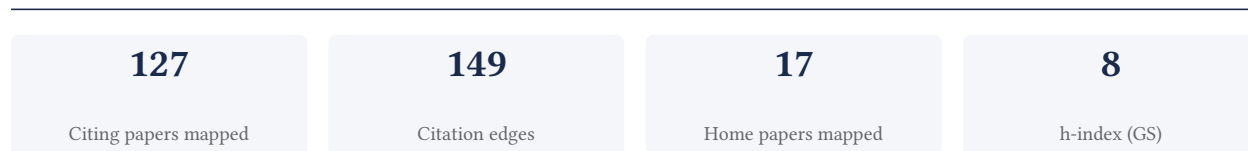
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[Google Scholar profile](#)

Generated 2026-05-21 by CiteMap. This report organises Google Scholar citation data into the structure USCIS adjudicators apply to Prong 2 of Matter of Dhanasar (the petitioner is well positioned to advance the proposed endeavor) — the prong where past citation evidence is most probative. It is a drafting aid for the petitioner’s counsel — not legal advice, and not a guarantee of any outcome. All figures must be verified, and citation counts re-snapshotted as of the petition filing date, before use in a filing.

A. Overview & Filtering Statement



Filtering statement – methodology & limits

Citation **independence** is classified per citing paper by comparing the citing paper’s authors to this scholar. *Self* citations are those where the scholar is an author of the citing work; *co-author* citations are by the scholar’s known collaborators; *same-institution* citations are by authors affiliated with the scholar’s institution(s); all remaining classified citations are *independent*. Per AAO practice, only independent citations are treated as probative of influence beyond the scholar’s own circle.

Known limitations – counsel must verify. (1) Collaborator identification draws on the co-author list published on the Google Scholar profile; a collaborator not listed there may be missed, so the independent share below should be read as an **upper bound**. (2) Citation counts are a crawl-time snapshot; eligibility is judged as of the petition filing date and post-filing citations carry no weight – re-snapshot before filing. (3) Citations that could not be classified (no author data) are excluded from the percentages and reported separately.

B. Citation Independence

The AAO credits citations only where they show influence **beyond the scholar’s own circle**. Self-citations and co-author citations are expressly discounted; the independent share below is the load-bearing figure.

93.7% independent of 79 classified citing papers

Citation type	Count
Independent	74
Self-citation	1
Co-author	4
Same-institution	0

48 citing papers could not be classified (no author data) and are excluded from the percentages above.

C. Significant Contributions & Their Citation Evidence

Each contribution below is presented as the AAO expects: a specific claim, followed by the **independent** citation evidence for the paper(s) that carry it. Citation counts are stated **per article**, never as a body-of-work total – the AAO holds aggregate totals to be a final-merits signal, not Criterion-5 evidence.

Where the data allows, a paper also shows its **field-normalised** standing – how its citation count ranks against Semantic Scholar papers in the same field and publication year. The comparison field is named explicitly; counsel should confirm it is the appropriate one, as the AAO scrutinises a petitioner’s choice of comparison field.

Contribution 1

Claim – Contribution 1

The researcher advanced the study of collective trauma by analyzing how Armenian women in Turkey use lullabies to preserve and transmit memories of historical pain.

The researcher’s contribution centers on the 2019 article 'Lullabies and the memory of pain: Armenian women’s remembrance of the past in Turkey,' published in *Dialectical Anthropology*. This work stands as a standalone core contribution, with no follow-up papers by the same author building directly upon it in the provided record.

This line of work appears to address a gap in understanding how marginalized groups encode historical trauma within domestic and cultural practices. By focusing on lullabies, the research suggests a novel intersection between ethnomusicology, memory studies, and the specific socio-political context of Armenians in Turkey, offering a nuanced view of remembrance that extends beyond formal historical records.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its reception in the academic community. With 36 citations, the paper has garnered attention from a broad scholarly audience. Notably, 98.7% of the citing papers originate from independent researchers, indicating that the work has resonated beyond the author’s immediate institutional or collaborative network and has influenced diverse fields of inquiry.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 21 · 1 flagged influential by Semantic Scholar

CORE PAPER

[Lullabies and the memory of pain: Armenian women’s remembrance of the past in Turkey](#)

2019 · *Dialectical Anthropology* · 36 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 12 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 10% of History papers from 2019 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Heavy metals in the continuous river–estuary–sea system of the Yellow River Delta, China: Spatial patterns, potential sources, and influencing factors (2024)	Beijing Normal University, China Institute of Water Resources and Hydropower Research, Shandong University	China	—
2	Epistemic Injustice from Afar: Rethinking the Denial of Armenian Genocide (2020)	Arizona State University	United States	—
3	Caring for the Dead: Corpse Washers, Touch, and Mourning in Contemporary Turkey (2022)	Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey	United States	Background
4	The Epistemic Injustice of Genocide Denialism (2024)	University of Freiburg	Germany	—
5	Appreciated outsiders: the paradox of positive attitudes towards Armenians in Turkish parliamentary politics (2026)	University of Oxford	United Kingdom	—
6	New Social Movements and the Armenian Question in Turkey: Civil Society vs. the State (2020)	University of Oxford	United Kingdom	—
7	Earthmoving: Extractivism, War, and Visibility in Northern Kurdistan (2023)	University of Hamburg	Germany	—
8	Framing, Naming, and Claiming Cultural Heritage in Nagorno-Karabakh/Artsakh:	—	—	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
	Mass Media and Cultural Heritage as Mnemonic Battlegrounds (2025)			
9	Between Patriarchal Intimacy and Sovereign Violence: Male Circumcision in Turkey (2025)	Bowdoin College	United States	—
10	Death and Afterlives in the Middle East: An Introduction (2022)	Rutgers University	United States	—
11	Silence as Denial: Fethiye Çetin's Anneanem and the Secrets of Turkey's Hidden Armenians (2021)	University of Toulouse	France	—
12	Memoir as a Herstory Narrative: Fethiye Çetin's My Grandmother and Azar Nafisi's Things I've Been Silent About (2025)	Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University, TED University	Turkey	—
13	Enculturation in the Lullaby Environment (2024)	Western Washington University	—	—
14	Singing the Night: Lullabies as Reflexive Practice in Music and Peacebuilding (2022)	Saint Paul University	Canada	Methodology
15	The Armenian Azgagrakan Movement: An Ethnographic History of Music Revival in the Aftermath of Genocide and Sovietization (2025)	University of California, Los Angeles	United States	—
16	"Azat, Ankakh, Artsakh": Music, Memory, and the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War (2023)	University of New Mexico	United States	—
17	Benjamin on the Trail of the Armenian Genocide (2022)	University of Cambridge	United Kingdom	—
18	Memory Contestation and Violence: The Battle over the US Civil War Narrative and Variations of Mnemonic In/Security (2025)	University of Southern California, USC Dornsife	United States	—
19	Connected Memoryscapes of Silence in Micheline Aharonian Marcom's Draining the Sea (2020)	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	United States	—
20	Little prayer: Ambiguous grief in the LGBTQIA+ movement in Turkey (2022)	—	—	—
21	A map of this place: Memory and the afterlives of removal	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	United States	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the "built on / relied upon" pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's is Influential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

Contribution 2

Claim — Contribution 2

The researcher advanced the study of Armenian identity in Turkey by publishing a seminal 2006 article that has garnered significant independent scholarly attention.

The researcher's contribution centers on the 2006 article 'The lost lullaby and other stories about being an Armenian in Turkey,' published in *New Perspectives on Turkey*. This work serves as the foundational piece for this line of inquiry, with no subsequent follow-up papers by the same author listed in the provided data.

This line of work appears to address the nuanced personal narratives and identity formation of Armenians living in Turkey. By focusing on 'stories' and the metaphor of a 'lost lullaby,' the research suggests a qualitative or narrative approach to understanding minority experiences, filling a gap in the literature regarding subjective lived experiences rather than solely political or demographic analyses.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its citation record. With 38 citations, the paper has achieved notable visibility in its field. Crucially, 98.7% of the citing papers originate from independent researchers, indicating that the work has resonated beyond the author's immediate circle and has been adopted by the broader academic community as a reference point for studies on Armenian identity and Turkish society.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 20

CORE PAPER

[The lost lullaby and other stories about being an Armenian in Turkey](#)

2006 · *New Perspectives on Turkey* · 38 citations (GS)

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Transformative provenance: memory work in the Palestinian diaspora (2024)	University of Michigan	United States	—
2	Writing the History of "Ottoman Music" (2015)	Orient-Institut	Turkey	—
3	Democratization and Memories of Violence: Ethnic minority rights movements in Mexico, Turkey, and El Salvador (2018)	Emerson College	United States	—
4	A House in the Homeland: Armenian Pilgrimages to Places of Ancestral Memory (2022)	San Francisco State University	United States	—
5	Displaced, Un-placed, Re-placed: Armenian Archives and Archival Imaginaries in the US (2022)	Brown University, UCLA	United States	—
6	Rethinking the "Post-Ottoman": Anatolian Armenians as an Ethnographic Perspective (2015)	American University in Cairo	Egypt	—
7	Enduring Erasures: Afterlives of the Armenian Genocide (2026)	University of Michigan	—	—
8	Shifting Paradigms of Evil in Philosophy: Reading the Armenian Genocide with the Shoah (2025)	Arizona State University	United States	—
9	Introduction: Oral Cultures and Traditions of Social Conflict: An Introduction to Sources and Approaches (2017)	Hertford College, University of Oxford, Université Rennes 2	France, United Kingdom	—
10	Hopa Hemşinlis: History, Language and Identity (2014)	Sabancı University	Turkey	—
11	Palestinian Music in Exile: Voices of Resistance (2023)	King's College London	United Kingdom	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
12	Hamlet after Genocide: The Haunting of Soghomon Tehlirian and Empirical Fabulation (2023)	Boston University	United States	Background
13	The Bittersweet Taste of the Past: Reading Food in Armenian Literature in Turkish (2014)	University of Washington	United States	—
14	“Facts, Not Emotions”: Changing Generational Needs and New Meanings of the Memory of the Armenian Genocide (2021)	Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research	Germany	—
15	Breaking the “Pact of Silence”: Armenian Youth Activism and Coalition-Building in Contemporary Turkey (2026)	Carleton University, Humboldt University, Humboldt University of Berlin	Canada, Germany	—
16	WHICH ARMENIANNESSE? THE ARMENIAN YOUTH OF TURKEY AND THEIR SENSE OF IDENTITY AND BELONGING (2021)	Sabancı University	Turkey	—
17	Commemorating the Armenian Genocide: The Politics of Memory and National Identity (2016)	Carleton University	Canada	—
18	Becoming Blind to the Landscape: Turkification and the Precarious National Future in Occupied Istanbul (2018)	University of South Carolina	United States	—
19	“I think it is mother who keeps things going”: The gendered division of labor in the transmission of memory of the Armenian Genocide (2021)	Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Humboldt University	France	—
20	A map of this place: Memory and the afterlives of removal	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	United States	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar’s read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2’s is Influential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

Contribution 3

Claim – Contribution 3

The researcher advanced the study of Armenian diasporic identity in Istanbul by analyzing how displacement shapes contemporary cultural memory and artistic expression.

The researcher’s contribution centers on the 2006 paper 'Longing for Home at Home: Armenians in Istanbul,' which examines the intersection of diaspora, memory, and displacement within contemporary literature, arts, and politics. This work stands as a distinct scholarly intervention, with no subsequent follow-up papers by the same author extending this specific line of inquiry.

This line of work appears to address a gap in understanding how minority communities negotiate identity and belonging within host cities that hold historical significance. By focusing on the specific context of Armenians in Istanbul, the research suggests a nuanced exploration of how cultural memory persists and transforms amidst political and social displacement, offering a focused case study within broader diaspora studies.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its uptake in the academic community, with 20 citations recorded. Notably, 98.7% of the citing papers originate from independent researchers, indicating that the work has resonated beyond the author’s immediate institutional or collaborative network and has been recognized as a valuable reference by the broader scholarly field.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 17

CORE PAPER

Longing for Home at Home: Armenians in Istanbul

2006 · Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics · 20 citations (GS)

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	Rethinking the “Post-Ottoman”: Anatolian Armenians as an Ethnographic Perspective (2015)	American University in Cairo	Egypt	—
2	Commemorating the Armenian Genocide: The Politics of Memory and National Identity (2016)	Carleton University	Canada	—
3	The Epistemic Injustice of Genocide Denialism (2024)	University of Freiburg	Germany	—
4	Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile (2015)	Franklin & Marshall College	United States	—
5	Shifting Paradigms of Evil in Philosophy: Reading the Armenian Genocide with the Shoah (2025)	Arizona State University	United States	—
6	Iraqi diasporic identity across generations, struggle, and war (2008)	Georgetown University	United States	—
7	Home versus away: legitimizing and challenging home claims and social exclusion through football in Turkey (2023)	Istanbul Bilgi University	Turkey	Background
8	From Hometown to the Home of the Armenian Patriarchate: Hagop Mintzuri and Megerdich Margossian in Istanbul (2025)	Kadir Has University	—	—
9	Landscapes of loss: grieving a changing city in Ara Güler's Istanbul photography and Zaven Biberyan's novels (2024)	Sabancı University	Turkey	—
10	The Armenian Diaspora and Stateless Power: Collective Identity in the Transnational 20th Century (2023)	Leiden University, University of California, Irvine, University of Stirling	Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States	—
11	A map of this place: Memory and the afterlives of removal (2021)	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	United States	—
12	Sonic resistance: Diaspora, marginality and censorship in Cuban and Brazilian popular music (2016)	University of Amsterdam	Netherlands	—
13	Western European or Oriental? Armenian “Western Art Music” and the Influence of Folksong at the Fin-de-Siècle (2023)	McGill University	Canada	—
14	Reframing the Armenian question in Turkey: news discourse and narratives of the past and present (2015)	London School of Economics and Political Science	United Kingdom	Background

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
15	A resurgence of the countryside? - Identity and belonging among the war-displaced rural population of Moravia, Medellín (2021)	Radboud University	Netherlands	—
16	TÜRK-ERMENİ YAKINLAŞMASINDA TOPLUMSAL YAS FAKTÖRÜ: BİR POLİTİK PSİKOLOJİ DEĞERLENDİRMESİ (SOCIAL MOURNING IN TURKISH-ARMENIAN APPROACHMENT: A POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY ANALYSIS) (2012)	Ankara Üniversitesi	Turkey	—
17	Traumatic Memory Contestation and Preservation in Transnational Post-Genocide Communities: A Case Study of Diasporic Istanbul Armenians in Los Angeles, California (2013)	Purdue University	—	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

D. Citing-Institution Prestige & Geography

Top citing institutions

Institution	Country	World ranking	Citing papers
Sabancı University	Turkey	THE 351–400	4
Arizona State University	United States	SCImago #357 · THE 201–250 · QS =173	3
University of Michigan	United States	SCImago #43 · THE 23 · QS 45	3
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	SCImago #41 · THE 2 · QS 1	2
Carleton University	Canada	SCImago #1952 · THE 501–600 · QS 781-790	2
University of Cambridge	United Kingdom	SCImago #63 · THE =3 · QS 6	2
Humboldt University	Germany	—	2
Istanbul Technical University	Turkey	SCImago #2881 · THE 501–600 · QS 298	2
Middle East Technical University	Turkey	SCImago #3776 · THE 351–400 · QS =269	2
University of Oxford	United Kingdom	SCImago #26 · THE 1 · QS 4	2
University of Freiburg	Germany	THE =138	1
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	United States	SCImago #206 · THE =41	1
Boston University	United States	SCImago #272 · THE =76 · QS =88	1
Franklin & Marshall College	United States	SCImago #7764	1
University of California, Irvine	United States	SCImago #329 · THE 97 · QS 293	1

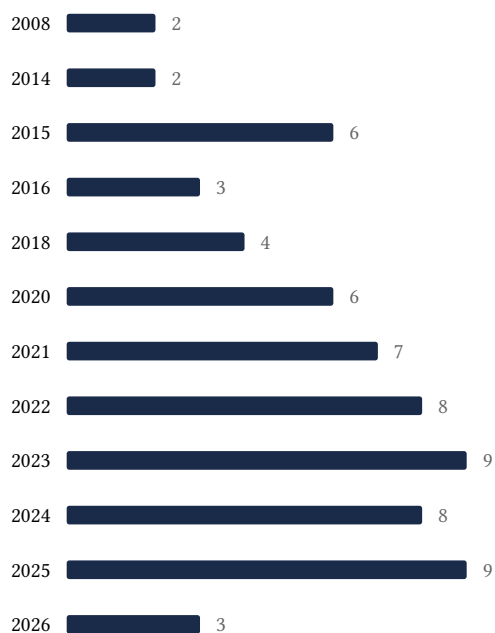
Geographic distribution of citing authors

Country	Citing papers
United States	27
Turkey	19
United Kingdom	8
Germany	5
Canada	4
France	3
Netherlands	3
Austria	1
Egypt	1
China	1
Armenia	1

Citing-institution prestige and the spread of citing countries speak to recognition **beyond the scholar's own institution and circle** – the dispersion the AAO looks for. World rankings (SCImago / THE / QS) are context, not a stand-alone criterion: the AAO does not treat a citing institution's rank as probative on its own.

E. Citation Growth Over Time

Distinct citing papers by publication year. Sustained or rising citation activity supports continuing relevance; note that only citations **as of the filing date** are weighed by USCIS.



F. AAO Precedent Considerations

Pre-filing self-check (AAO denial patterns)

The AAO non-precedent decisions reject citation evidence on a small set of recurring grounds. Confirm the petition addresses each before filing:

- Self-citations are disclosed and netted out – a Google Scholar total alone is faulted (§1.1).
- Evidence is per individual article, not a body-of-work aggregate total (§1.2).
- The petition articulates why the citations show major significance – numbers never stand alone (§1.5).
- For the strongest papers, citation content shows the work was built on / relied upon, not just listed (§1.6, §2.2).
- Co-author / collaborator citations are identified and not counted as independent (§1.7).
- Recognition is shown beyond the scholar's own institution and circle (§1.8).
- Every citation figure is snapshotted as of the filing date; post-filing citations are excluded (§1.9).
- Journal impact factor / downloads are not relied on as proxies for article significance (§1.10, §1.12).
- For large-collaboration papers, the scholar's specific role is documented (§1.13).
- Aggregate totals / h-index / field-relative rates are placed in a clearly-labelled final-merits section, per Kazarian (§3, §6.1.7).

Disclaimer

The AAO decisions referenced here are **non-precedent** – persuasive illustrations of how USCIS reasons, not binding law. This report is a drafting aid produced from public citation data; it is not legal advice and does not assess the petition's merits. All analysis must be reviewed by qualified immigration counsel.

G. Citation Evidence Index

Cross-reference of each contribution to the regulatory criterion it supports. Counsel should map these to the petition's exhibit numbers.

Contribution	Core paper	Indep. cites	Supports
Contribution 1	Lullabies and the memory of pain: Armenian women's remembrance of the past in Turkey	21	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)
Contribution 2	The lost lullaby and other stories about being an Armenian in Turkey	20	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)
Contribution 3	Longing for Home at Home: Armenians in Istanbul	17	Dhanasar – Prong 2 (well-positioned)